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(17)

(6) REPORT  
OF THE SHAH NA  
COMMITTEE

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(17)

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REPORT  
OF THE SHAH NA  
COMMITTEE

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CONTENTS

Pages.

I - VIII

INTRODUCTION

PART - A

CHAPTER:

- |   |        |
|---|--------|
| 1. LAST PLANS OF NETAJI SUBHAS<br>CHANDRA BOSE. | 1- 11  |
| 2. AIR CRASH AT TAIHOKU (FORMOSA).              | 12- 42 |
| 3. DEATH OF NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA<br>BOSE.      | 43- 63 |
| 4. CREMATION OF NETAJI'S BODY.                  | 64- 74 |
| 5. NETAJI'S ASHES.                              | 75- 91 |
| 6. TREASURE.                                    | 92-103 |
| 7. RECOMMENDATION.                              | 104    |

ANNEXURES:

- I Copies of relevant papers.
  - II Sketches and plans.
  - III Photographs.
-

## INTRODUCTION

(2)

During his life-time, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose had captured the imagination of the Indian public <sup>by</sup> his daring exploits, such as his escape from India to Germany, his voyage to the Far East in a submarine, and his fight with the British in Burma, with his Indian National Army. The lime-light was followed by a sudden black-out in August 1945. The information about the last stages of his life came out in bits and pieces, but not as a coherent whole. Naturally, the public desired that all the facts should be enquired into, and made known. This desire was voiced in Parliament from time to time. In response, to this, the Prime Minister, on the 3rd December 1955, announced in Parliament that an Official Committee would be appointed to go into the matter. Accordingly, the Government of India appointed a Committee as per Notification No. F.30(26)FEA/55, dated the 5th April 1956, consisting of the following :-

Shri Shah Nawaz Khan, M.P., (Major General I.N.A.), Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Transport & Railway.

Shri Suresh Chandra Bose, elder brother of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Shri S.N. Maitra, I.C.S., Chief Commissioner, Andamans & Nicobar.

Shri Maitra was a nominee of the Government of West Bengal.

The terms of reference of the Committee were -

"To enquire into and to report to the Government of India on the circumstances concerning the departure of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Bangkok about the 16th August 1945, his alleged death as a result of an air craft accident, and subsequent developments connected therewith."

2. The Committee began its work early in April and finished <sup>its</sup> ~~their~~ labour by the end of July. The principal line followed by the Committee was to examine as witnesses all persons in India and Far East, who had useful information on the last phase of Netaji's activities. They also studied reports of secret enquiries concerning Netaji, conducted by Civil and Military Intelligence soon after the war. Over and above official documents, the members of the Committee also studied books and articles concerning Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. In all, the Committee examined 67 witnesses. A complete list of witnesses will be found in Annexure I. Of these, 32 witnesses were examined at Tokyo (Japan), 4 at Bangkok (Thailand) and 3 at Saigon (Vietnam), and the balance of 28 at Delhi and Calcutta (India). A number of persons who were known to have been associated with Netaji in the last stages, were requested to appear before the Committee - in India directly, and abroad with the help of Indian Missions and

and Foreign Offices of the Governments of those countries. In addition, press notes were issued asking people who had information to give, to make it available to the Committee. The response to the press notes was encouraging. It may be mentioned here that throughout the period of its work, a large number of news items appeared in Indian and Japanese papers concerning the Committee's work. This was a measure of interest people continued to take in Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. In India the Committee examined five of the six persons who accompanied Netaji on his last flight from Bangkok including Mr. S.A. Ayer, Mr. Debnath Dass and Col. Habibur Rehman. Col. Rehman came all the way from Pakistan to appear before the Committee. The Committee also examined General J.K. Bhonsle, Chief of the General Staff of the I.N.A. The Commission examined not only those who had information to give, but those who had theories to propound. Everybody was given a chance. The first witness called by the Committee was Mr. M. Thevar, M.L.A. (Madras) who had made several statements that he had been in contact with Netaji recently. Unfortunately, Mr. Thevar refused to share his secret with the members of the Committee. The members of the Committee left India on the 26th of April, and the first halt was at Bangkok. Bangkok was one of the most important centres of the Indian Independence Movement, and was the headquarters of Netaji's Government when he retreated from Burma. There, the witnesses examined, included Sardar Ishar Singh and Pandit Raghunath

Sharma, who were leading members of the Indian Independence League in Netaji's time. Saigon was also one of the centres of the Movement, and Netaji's plane took off from there. At Saigon the witnesses examined included Mr. Anand Mohan Sahay, Secretary-General to the Azad Hind Government and now Indian Consul General, Hanoi. From Saigon, the members of the Committee flew out to have a look at Tourane on the Viet Nam coast, from where Netaji's plane took off on its fateful journey on the morning of the 18th August 1945.

3. The members of the Committee reached Tokyo (Japan) on the 5th of May and spent a month there. They found that Netaji's name was still a household word in Japan, and a great deal of interest was taken about him both by the public and the press. In addition to those witnesses who were called through the Japanese Foreign Office, a large number of Japanese witnesses volunteered and gave evidence, in response to newspaper notices. To mention one case, Mr. J. Nakamura, who was an Interpreter, and was present at Netaji's death bed, although 70 years of age, came on his own all the way from Kyushu, about 1200 miles from Tokyo. The members of the Committee were much struck by the interest displayed by the Japanese public in their enquiry, and by the patience and courtesy with which Japanese witnesses ~~which~~ stood long examination through an interpreter. They came from different walks of life. There were ex-soldiers, and ex-Generals, businessmen and truck-drivers. The Committee was fortunate in being able

to examine four of the six Japanese survivors of the plane crash, as well as two Doctors who attended Netaji during his last hours.

4. The members of the Committee were anxious to visit Formosa which was the actual scene of occurrence of the plane crash, Netaji's death, and his cremation. There were difficulties in doing so, as there were no diplomatic relations between the ~~Government of India and the authorities~~ Government of India and the authorities in Formosa. A reference was made to the Government of India, who informed the Committee that they did not consider a visit to Formosa feasible. So the attempt had to be given up.

5. After examining the witnesses, the Committee was engaged in studying the evidence recorded by them, as well as obtaining and reading all the papers concerning the last phase of Netaji, much of which was in the form of secret Intelligence recorded immediately after the war. Books dealing with Netaji Reports, or the I.N.A., were also studied. Thereafter the members of the Committee discussed the whole matter among themselves, and a list of points which was agreed upon by all three members, including Shri Suresh Chandra Bose, was drawn up on the 30th June 1956. This paper was signed by all the three members, a copy of which will be found in annexure I. All the members agreed then, that there had been an air crash at Taihoku in Formosa, in which Netaji met his death; that he was cremated



there, and the ashes now lying at the Renkoji temple in Tokyo, are in all probability his ashes. Since then, for reasons of his own, Shri Bose has taken a different view, and has not signed the report.

6. After going carefully through the evidence and relevant papers, the picture that emerged was like this :-

In the last stages when Japan's defeat seemed inevitable, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was preparing to shift his struggle from South-East Asia to Russia via Manchuria. He left Bangkok on the 16th, and Saigon on the 17th August 1945, in an aeroplane bound for Manchuria. That plane crashed in flames at Taihoku in Formosa on the 18th August. As <sup>a</sup> result of serious burns sustained, Netaji died in a Taihoku Hospital on the same night. His body was cremated at Taihoku. His ashes were flown to Tokyo early in September, and deposited at Renkoji temple. Netaji carried some treasure with him, details of which cannot be ascertained. A small part of this treasure was salvaged, and subsequently recovered. To bring out the above picture, it was decided that the Report should deal with the following points :-

- (1) Last Plans of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.
- (2) Air Crash at Taihoku (Formosa).
- (3) Death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.
- (4) Cremation of Netaji's body.
- (5) Netaji's ashes.
- (6) Treasure.

Each point is dealt with in a self-contained chapter. The conclusion of the Chairman and the other member who has signed the Report are also given in each chapter. In a final chapter (7), a suggestion has been made that Netaji's ashes should be brought to India with due honour. The Report is in two parts -

Part A - Report (with three annexures:-

Annexure I - Copies of relevant papers.

Annexure II- Sketches and plans.

Annexure III- Photographs.

Part B - Evidence of Witnesses

(with photographs of some witnesses).

7. A large number of witnesses were examined in Japan. Tracing the witnesses and securing their attendance would not have been possible without the ever-ready help and cooperation of the Japanese Foreign Office (Gaimusho). H.E. Mr. Shigemitsu, Foreign Minister of Japan, who had held the same position in Netaji's time, extended to the Committee every courtesy and consideration. The Committee wishes to thank the Government of Japan, Mr. Shigemitsu, and staff of the Japanese Foreign Office, most sincerely for their help and kindness. The Indian Embassy in Tokyo also, were very helpful. In particular, the Committee has pleasure in recording appreciation of the services of Mr. J. Rehman who was attached to the Committee throughout their stay in Japan. Assistance was also received from the

Indian Missions at Bangkok and Saigon. The Committee wishes to thank the Ministries of Defence, External Affairs and the Intelligence Bureau of the Home Ministry for lending secret Intelligence Reports. Shri R. Dayal, who was attached to the Chairman of the Committee as P.A., worked very hard from the very beginning to the end, and gave satisfaction all round. And finally the Committee wishes to thank with all sincerity, the Government of India, for making the arrangements for the work of the Committee at home and abroad, and the opportunity given to them to make a first hand study of an important chapter of the history of our times.

ANDAMAN  
SEA

BURMA

24TH APRIL

Rangoon

THILAND (SIAM)

17TH AUGUST.  
Bangkok

GULF OF  
SIAM.

MALAYA

16TH AUGUST  
Singapore

I N D O  
C H I N A

Tourane  
18TH AUGUST

17TH AUGUST  
Saigon

S O U T H  
C H I N A  
S E A

C H I N A

18TH AUGUST.

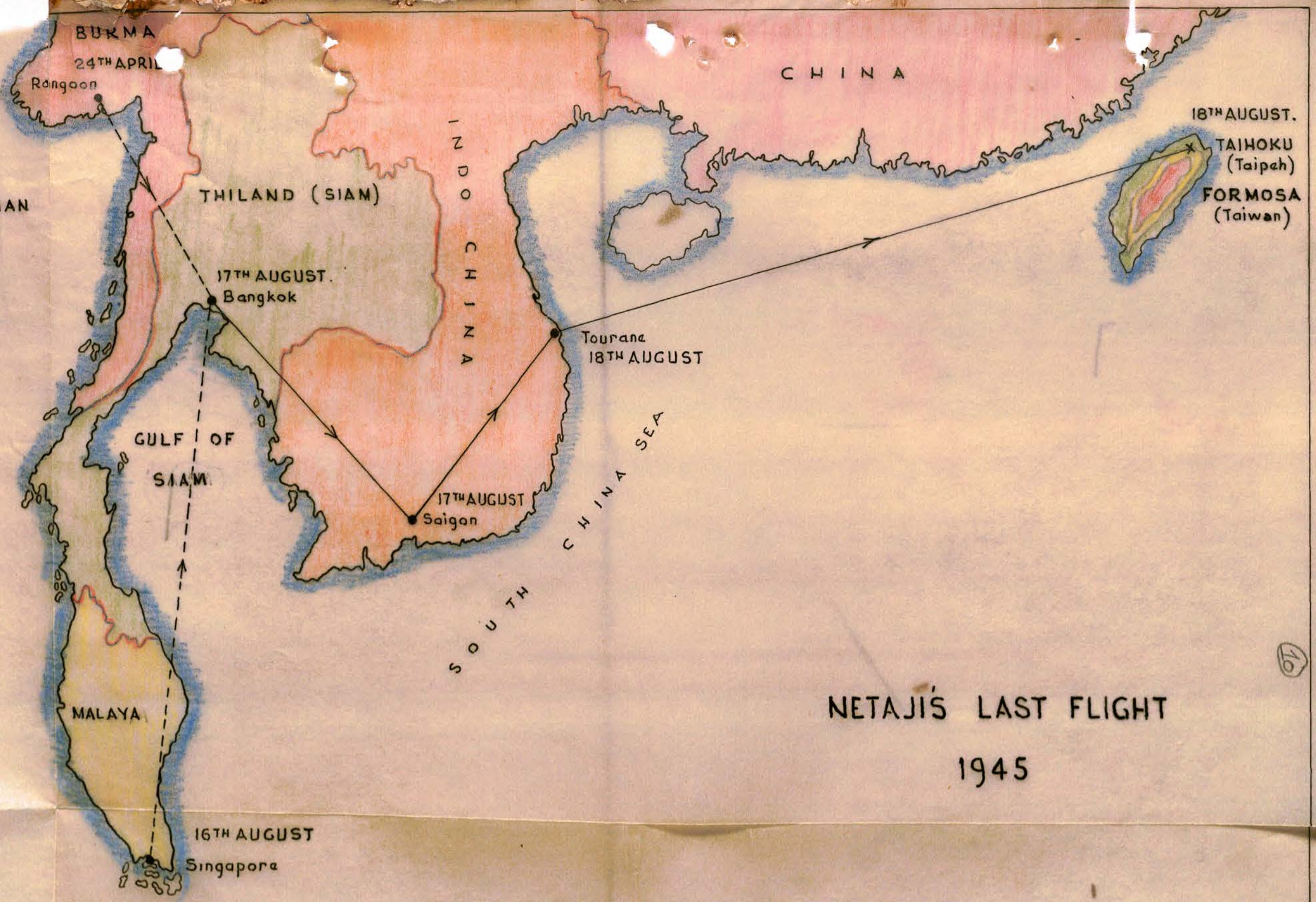
TAIHOKU  
(Taipeh)

FORMOSA  
(Taiwan)

NETAJI'S LAST FLIGHT

1945

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CHAPTER - I

LAST PLANS OF NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

The terms of reference of the Committee are -

"To enquire into and to report to the Government of India on the circumstances concerning the departure of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Bangkok about the 16th August 1945, his alleged death as a result of an air-craft accident, and subsequent developments connected therewith :-

2. We have been asked to write the last page which had up to now remained blank, but to do so, it is necessary to know a little of the background, of the first and intermediate pages. Early in 1942, the Japanese armies over-ran large parts of South-East Asia, which had been under colonial domination by European powers, and in so doing, they released a great impetus of nationalism. There were three million Indians in South-East Asia who took a leading part in this movement. They formed the Indian Independence League under Mr. Rash Behari Bose. Singapore fell on 15th February 1942, and the large British Indian Army stationed there surrendered. Out of this was formed the first Indian National Army under General Mohan Singh. This Movement, however, was without a real leader of sufficient political stature. From the very start, the movement was waiting for Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, who was then in Europe, having escaped from detention in India in 1941. After a long and perilous journey by submarine, Netaji arrived in

South-East Asia, and took charge of the Indian Independence Movement on the 4th of July 1943. Soon after, he assumed supreme command of the Indian National Army. Addressing a review of the Indian National Army at Singapore on 5th July, he first uttered his famous battle cry, 'CHALO DELHI!' 'DELHI CHALO! On the 21st October 1943, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was formed. There was great enthusiasm, and men and money poured in. The Japanese Army had over-run Burma and was poised for the invasion of India through Assam. Troops of the Indian National Army were sent to the front, and took a gallant part in the fighting around Imphal and Kohima. Netaji toured all over East Asia, and visited Japan more than once. Although belonging to a subject nation, and dependent on Japan for keeping his army in the field, he left an indelible impression of his personality on all those who came in contact with him. Even today, his name is a household word in South-East Asia and Japan. Between his arrival in Singapore in July 1943, and his departure from Bangkok in August 1945, barely two years passed, but great things were attempted, and partly achieved, during this short period. Under the stress of war, the Indian Independence Movement in South-East Asia had some of the qualities of an epic. Its full story is yet to be written. The story can be divided into several chapters. The first chapter, the spring of hope, ended with the incursion into the fringes of India and the failure to take Imphal. That was in April 1944. There was lack of air cover, artillery and food. Then the monsoons set in. The forward elements of the Indian National Army, along with the

Japanese Army, fell back across the Chindwin in Upper Burma. The rivers were in flood, and sick men were carried on the backs of their comrades. Many have heard of the historic march of the Communist 4th route Army across China to Yen-an, but few knew the story of the heroic retreat of the I.N.A. across Burma. Netaji however was not daunted by failure, and continued to work hard at reorganising the I.N.A. Addressing a public meeting at Bangkok at this time, he said, "March to Delhi still continues to be our battle-cry. We may not march to Delhi via Imphal, but it must be borne in mind that like Rome, there are many roads leading to Delhi."

3. There were changes in the Government of Japan and General Tojo was replaced by General Koiso. In October 1944 Netaji visited Japan for the third and last time, to meet the members of the new Government of Japan and discuss important matters with them. By that time there had been further reverses for the Axis powers in Europe, and for the Japanese in Asia. The British forces had advanced far into Burma, and were threatening Mandalay. The Americans were active in the Pacific. The chances of a Japanese victory seemed more and more remote. From the very outset, Netaji had declared that his battle was for the independence of India, and whatever happened to his Allies, Germans or Japanese, his war would continue till the liberation of India was achieved. From the time of his last visit to Japan Netaji looked out for another vantage point from which to fight the British. He

saw that the only country which could afford any assistance was Russia. He foresaw, and discussed with his Advisers, Members of his Government, and officers, that it would not be long before Russia fell out with the Anglo-Americans, and that the war-time alliance between the two was a temporary phase. He went even to the extent of predicting that there would be a third world-war in ten years' time between Russia on the one hand, and the Anglo-Americans on the other. Netaji felt that for him it would be good policy to take shelter in Russia, from where he could come out in time to continue his war of liberation against the British. On his way back from Tokyo in October 1944, Netaji met at Shanghai, Mr. Anand Mohan Sahay who had long been in Japan. He asked Mr. Sahay to go to Tokyo and try to establish contact with the Soviet Ambassador there, Mr. Jacob Malik. Mr. Sahay, who is at present our Consul General in Hanoi, was examined at Saigon. He said that he sounded several important personalities, including the Foreign Minister, Mr. Shigimetsu and the Home Minister Mr. Uzawa, but they advised him that it would be useless to contact the Soviet Ambassador. So Mr. Sahay returned to Singapore, and told Netaji the result of his mission. The quest, however, was not given up. The question of a "second front" became urgent in the middle of 1945, after the retreat from Rangoon and the collapse of Germany. An official reference was made to the Government of Japan by Netaji, to contact the Russian authorities on his behalf. Mr. Debnath Das has kindly supplied the Committee with a copy of the Japanese



Government's reply which was received sometime in June 1945. After thanking Netaji for his continuing cooperation with Japan, it says, "Nippon Government deems it almost without hope of success to get directly in touch with the Soviet Government on behalf of your Excellency, and it has no intention of doing so." Mr. Debnath Das has stated that about this time, several alternative plans were considered. First was to go to India and prepare for an armed revolution inside the country: Alternative, to go to Yenan (Communist China): And thirdly, to try and contact the Russians through the Japanese. The third alternative seemed to have found favour with Netaji. A direct approach to Russia seemed difficult; Manchuria, which was next door, and held by the Japanese forces, was increasingly considered as the best place to move to. But in case all of these failed, Netaji advised Mr. Debnath Das to organise cells in South-East Asia which could be used for going underground.

4. About the same time, the movement of the headquarters of the Indian National Army, and the Indian Independence League, to China, was also seriously considered. General Isoda, who was the head of the Japanese Liaison Mission, (Hikari Kikan) and through whom all correspondence with Japan passed, has given valuable information on this point. He has said, that the first proposal was that the headquarters should be moved to Shanghai, but this did not materialise. There is reason to believe that the Japanese Southern Army Command felt, that if Netaji moved out of South-East

Asia, it would be difficult to control the I.N.A. The second alternative was, that the headquarters should be moved to Saigon, with branches at Shanghai and Peking, or some other city in North China. The reason for establishing a branch in North China was, that Netaji would be nearer Russian territory, and be in a better position to contact the Soviet authorities. The Government of Japan and the Imperial General Headquarters were at first reluctant to accept this scheme, but they agreed when General Isoda explained to them, that Netaji did not intend to cut off connection with Japan, but to have an alternative connection with Russia. This plan was apparently approved by the Government of Japan in the middle of May. By that time British forces had broken through at Meiktila and Rangoon was lost. Netaji stayed at Rangoon as long as possible, and only moved out at the last moment on the 24th April, 1945. He retreated to Bangkok, arriving there on the 14th of May. The chapter of retreat which began at Imphal in June 1944 ended at Bangkok in May 1945. This was the second chapter of the I.N.A. story. The third chapter was brief. From Netaji's arrival in Bangkok on the 14th May, to his flight from Saigon on the 17th August, there were barely three months. To go back to the approved plan, before it could be given effect to, Netaji moved to Singapore especially to broadcast a series of talks to India, not to accept the terms offered by the Viceroy, Lord Wavell. Even at that time, Netaji and his Advisers calculated, that there would be

at least six months interval between the collapse of Germany, and the eventual surrender of Japan. It was hoped that by that time, the Headquarters would be shifted somewhere further east, and some contact made with the Russians. But Russia declared war on Japan on August 10th, and atom bombs were dropped by Americans on the Japanese mainland. All calculations were thus upset, and Japan surrendered on the 15th August 1945.

5. Mr. S.A. Ayer in Chapter V of his Book "UNTO HIM WITNESS" has vividly described the rush and turmoil of those days. Netaji was on a visit to Seramban in Malaya. On the 12th of August, Dr. Lakshmayya and Mr. Ganapathy of the Indian Independence League Headquarters rushed up in a car, and gave him the shattering news that Japan had surrendered. Netaji received this news in a calm and even carefree manner, typical of him. To quote Mr. Ayer's words, "He first broke into a smile, and almost his first words were: 'So that is that. Now, what next?'" It was the soldier speaking. He was already thinking of the next move and the next battle. He was not going to be beaten. Japan's surrender was not India's surrender." Netaji returned to Singapore immediately and held a nonstop series of conferences, night and day, with his advisers and officers. Against their advice, Netaji was determined to surrender at Singapore with his troops. But on the 14th evening they were joined by Mr. A.N. Sarkar, a member of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, who arrived from Bangkok with words from General Isoda, Chief of the

Hikari Kikan, and Mr. Hachiya, Japanese Minister to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Mr. Sarkar told Netaji that Messrs. Isoda and Hachiya were anxious to help him to get away from Malaya and Thailand to further East, so that he would not fall into the hands of the Anglo-Americans. At last Netaji was persuaded not to surrender at Singapore, and to proceed east. The final decision was, to quote Mr. Ayer, "Out of Malaya definitely, to some Russian territory certainly, to Russia itself, if possible." There were reasons why Netaji should go to Tokyo at that time. There was the pressing question whether the I.N.A. should surrender as part of the Japanese forces, or as a separate army. Netaji and his advisers were anxious that there should be an independent surrender, as the I.N.A. represented an independent State. The Japanese Commander in Singapore could not give an answer as he had no instructions. Probably, the authorities in Tokyo only, could give a definite answer. Mr. N. Kitazawa, a member of the House of Representatives, Japan, was examined by the Committee. During the war, he was a Counsellor attached to the Japanese Embassy in Rangoon. He has stated that a week before the surrender, the Japanese Government communicated to all heads of States who were allied with them, that they would be prepared to give them shelter in Japan. Accordingly, President Laurel of Philippines, Dr. Ba Maw of Burma, and Mr. Chenkun Pao, Head of the Chinese Government in Nanking, took refuge in Japan. So far as Mr. Kitazawa knew, this offer was communica-

communicated to Netaji by Mr. Hachiya. It is not certain whether Netaji accepted the offer, because Netaji's concern throughout, had been the continuance of his struggle, without any thought of personal safety. Mr. Kunizuka of the Hikari Kikan, who was attached to Netaji throughout the period, has stated that Netaji was not in favour of taking shelter in Japan, as Japan was a small country, and the occupation forces would be there soon. Perhaps, Netaji accepted it only as a gesture of courtesy.

6. On the 16th August Netaji came to Bangkok. Mr. Hachiya, the Japanese Minister to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, met him and delivered to him a message, which conveyed the decision of the Japanese Government to surrender. It thanked Netaji for the cooperation extended to them in the prosecution of war. The message also contained an offer from the Government of Japan to be of any assistance to him. Mr. Hachiya says, that Netaji told him, that the Government of Japan having surrendered unconditionally, they would not be in a position to afford any protection to him. He was, therefore, more inclined to contact Russia. About this, however, the local authorities at Bangkok could not give much help. All they could do was to carry him to Saigon, and discuss and take orders from Field Marshal Count Terauchi, who was the Japanese Supreme Commander in South-East Asia. Col. Yano, Staff Officer of that Command, knew that Netaji was coming, and that he wished to go to Russia. He has said that Field Marshal

Terauchi could not give any decision himself, but wished that Netaji should proceed to Tokyo and discuss the matter with the Government of Japan. So, there were a number of reasons for Netaji to go to Tokyo, although his ultimate goal was Russia via Manchuria. General Isoda, who, as the head of the Hikari Kikan, was consulted by Netaji on his return to Bangkok, says, that Netaji "expressed a desire to go to Russia. I promised to give all the help that I could give to Netaji. \* \* \* \* \* Eventually, the plan that was finally settled was that Netaji would first go to Tokyo, thank the Japanese Government for all the assistance that they had given him, \* \* \* \* \* and then proceed to Russia via Manchuria."

7. There was no time then, to contact Russian authorities or to make out detailed plans ahead. Russia was at war with Japan, and the Russian armies were advancing into Manchuria. Even if Netaji reached Manchuria, what would happen to him and the few trusted lieutenants whom he wanted to take with him, was uncertain. All that he could hope, was that they would be taken prisoner first, establish their bonafides as fighters for India's freedom, and later on, secure Russian assistance for their objective. The details were uncertain; the purpose was fixed. Netaji himself described his last journey "an adventure into the unknown." He chose Col. Habibur Rehman, Major Abid Hasan, Col. Gulzara Singh and Col.

Pritam Singh, Mr. Debnath Das and Mr. S.A. Ayer to accompany him, but they were not told where he was going. They all knew vaguely that they were going to Manchuria. General Bhonsle, Chief of the General Staff, who was left behind by Netaji in charge of the I.N.A. says, "On the eve of his departure, I enquired from Netaji whether he had been able to decide where he would make for finally, after his discussions with the Japanese Government, and his reply was that he was hoping to go to Russia, but that he would talk over the matter further with the Japanese Government." At Saigon, almost by chance, Netaji was met by Lt. General Shidei, who was proceeding as Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army in Manchuria. General Shidei ~~was~~ <sup>was</sup> a leading Japanese expert on matters Russian. According to Mr. Negishi, who was with the party up to Saigon, it was suggested that Netaji should accompany General Shidei to Manchuria, and he apparently fell in with <sup>the</sup> suggestion. The plane was proceeding to Tokyo by the following route :- Saigon - Heito - Taihoku (Formosa) Dairen (Manchuria) - Tokyo. A little element of doubt remained whether Netaji would proceed by the same plane to Tokyo or break the journey at Dairen. Japan had surrendered. There was profound depression and the elaborate machinery of Government was running down. Netaji was flying two days after surrender for an uncertain destination. It was indeed a leap in the dark. From this leap he did not return.

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CHAPTER - II

AIR-CRASH AT TAIHOKU (FORMOSA)

In pursuance of his plan, Netaji was moving out of South-East Asia. He left Singapore on the morning of 16th August 1945, with Col. Habibur Rehman, Col. Pritam Singh, Mr. S.A. Ayer and Mr. Negishi, the Japanese Interpreter, and arrived at Bangkok, the same afternoon. It was arranged that Messrs. Thivy, Chatterjee and Raghavan would follow him. At Bangkok, he held meetings with his Ministers, Military Advisers, leading members of the Indian Independence League, and made last-minute dispositions. General Bhonsle was to be left in command of the Indian National Army, and a Committee consisting of Sardar Singh, Pandit Raghunath Shastri and Shri Permanand was to look after the affairs of the League at Bangkok. Large donations were made to the Chulalongkorn Hospital and University, the Indian Association, Bangkok, and the Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge, and all officers and men were sanctioned two or three months' pay. A small number of civil and Military Advisers and officers were selected by Netaji to accompany him. These were :-

- Col. Habibur Rehman
- Major Abid Hasan
- Col. Pritam Singh
- Col. Gulzara Singh
- Mr. Debnath Das, and
- Mr. S.A. Ayer

The movement plan was as usual discussed with General



Isoda, Chief of the Japanese Liaison Mission (Hikari Kikan). The latter arranged for two aeroplanes to take the party to Saigon. Saigon was the headquarters of the Southern Army commanded by Field Marshal Count Terauchi, who was in overall command of all Japanese forces in south East Asia. Arrangements for transport beyond Saigon were to be made by the Headquarters of that Command.

2. On the morning of the 17th August, slightly different times are given by different witnesses, Netaji and his party arrived at Bangkok aerodrome. They were seen off by a large number of officers and leaders of the Indian National Army and Indian Independence League. General Isoda of the Hikari Kikan, Mr. Hachiya, the Japanese Envoy to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, and Mr. Negishi (Interpreter) also accompanied Netaji up to Saigon. In addition to Netaji's personal kit packed in three or four suit cases, two large suit cases, about 36" long, were also put on the board the plane. The two large suit cases contained gold ornaments and other valuables - more will be heard of them later. The party travelled in two aeroplanes and arrived safely at Saigon. There is some variation in the time of arrival at Saigon as given by different witnesses. Shri Debnath Das says that they arrived at 8 A.M., whereas according to Col. Habibur Rehman, the time of arrival was 10 A.M., which is also the time mentioned by Mr. S.A. Ayer. From the aerodrome, the party drove into the town, and

took rest in two houses belonging to an Indian gentleman - Mr. Chotir Mal. Whereas in Bangkok, important witnesses were available, unfortunately at Saigon, most of the Indians, who were active in Netaji's time, were no longer there. One alleged eye-witness was an Indian Darwan, Ramneo Gosai. He said that Netaji came to the bungalow, accompanied only by two Japanese officers and left hurriedly after having lunch. The statement of this witness may be ascribed to failing memory after 11 years. One Mr. Narain Das, then of the Indian Independence League, Saigon, and now of Tangier, has said that Ramneo told him the same story. Against his testimony, we have the evidence of the much more reliable persons who accompanied Netaji to Saigon. This witness also said that Messrs. Ayer and Chatterjee left that bungalow in Saigon only two days before Netaji's arrival, and that Netaji was enquiring about them. In point of fact Mr. Ayer was actually accompanying Netaji.

3. At Saigon, however, the arrangements did not work according to expectation. No special plane was available to carry Netaji and his party. F.M. Terauchi's headquarters had been informed beforehand by the Hikari Kikan of Netaji's pending arrival at Saigon. Col. Yano who was on the staff of the Southern Army, has stated that F.M. Terauchi had decided that Netaji should reach Tokyo as soon as possible, but due to difficulty in obtaining

passages by aeroplane, Netaji alone should go. The headquarters of Southern Army at that time was located at Dalat, a short distance from Saigon, and there were officers posted at Saigon to carry out the orders of Headquarters. The actual arrangements for transport by air were being made by Lt. Col. Kojima, while Lt. Col. Tada, a Staff Officer from Headquarters Southern Army who usually dealt with the Hikari Kikan, met Netaji's party which included General Isoda. Lt. Col. Tada informed General Isoda that only one seat was available for Netaji, in a plane that was leaving Saigon very soon the same day. General Isoda was naturally annoyed, and proceeded at once to Dalat to speak to F.M. Terauchi. On arrival at Dalat airport, General Isoda was informed by Col. Yano that it was no use seeing the Field Marshal, but he advised him to wait a little at the aerodrome. In point of fact the Headquarters was in a state of confusion following the Japanese surrender three days earlier. Soon afterwards, General Numata, Chief of General Staff of the Southern Army rang up General Isoda, and told him that he had brought the matter to the notice of the Field Marshal, and 2 or 3 seats besides that of Netaji would be available in a plane shortly. With this assurance, General Isoda returned to Saigon, but there, he was again met by Lt. Col. Tada, who gave him the disappointing information that the final decision was, that only one seat besides Netaji's would be available. When the first proposal of only one seat was broached,

Netaji turned it down flat. He insisted that the entire party of his officers and Advisers should go with him. There was a lot of discussion on this subject between Netaji and his Advisers on the one hand, and the Japanese officers on the other. His Advisers thought that Netaji should not go all by himself. According to Mr. Debnath Das, who was an Adviser in the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, the Japanese officers had said that Saigon was no longer safe, on account of Allied and insurgent activities, and therefore, Netaji should move on as quickly as possible. When the second offer of two seats was made, there were further discussions. During the course of these discussions, according to Col. Pritam Singh of the I.N.A., the Japanese gave out, that as the Allied Forces had restricted the flights of their planes after surrender, they could not be sure whether aeroplanes would be available in the future, and advised Netaji to accept the two seats offered. In the end, Netaji reluctantly agreed to accept these two seats, but on condition that those who were left behind were provided with transport on the following day. General Isoda promised to do his best.

4. Netaji selected Col. Habibur Rehman to accompany him. His choice was apparently approved of by the rest of his party, as he was a Senior Staff Officer, and had been in close touch with Netaji for a long time. This has been mentioned by Col. Pritam Singh and Col. Gulzara Singh of

(27)

the I.N.A. Netaji, still did not give up hope of getting more seats in the plane. He told all members of his party to pack up their kit, and come with him to the aerodrome to try their luck. On arrival at Saigon airport, however, the party was disappointed, as only two seats were available. Netaji's baggage was unloaded from his car. The Chief Pilot said that the baggage was too heavy, and could not be put on the plane, as it was already overloaded. Consequently, Netaji himself discarded a part of his baggage containing books, clothes, etc. The party came to the aerodrome in two cars. Netaji came in the first car. While all these arguments and arrangements were being made, the plane was waiting at the aerodrome. There were a number of Japanese officers who were to go in the same plane. The Japanese were very impatient to start, but this was delayed for about half an hour or so for the arrival of the second car. This car carried two leather suit cases containing jewelry etc., and Netaji refused to move without them. The plane was already overloaded, and there were protests against loading it any more. In spite of this, the heavy treasure boxes were loaded into the plane. Among the Japanese passengers was a distinguished Military Officer, Lt. Gen. Shidei, lately Chief of the General Staff of the Burma Army, who was proceeding to Manchuria as Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army. General Shidei came out of the plane and

greeted Netaji. Although there was an element of chance in Netaji travelling by the same plane as General Shidei, it appears that Netaji fell in with the idea that he should go up to Dairen (Manchuria) with General Shidei. Mr. Negishi, at that <sup>time</sup> <sub>an</sub> Interpreter attached to Netaji's headquarters says, "General Shidei was supposed to be an expert on Russian affairs in the Japanese army, and was considered to be a key man for negotiations with Russia. It was suggested that Netaji should accompany him to Manchuria." It may be mentioned here that before he took up the job of Interpreter, he was working in the important firm of Mitsubishi, and is now the head of that firm in India. Lt. Col. Nonogaki, an air staff officer of the Japanese army, says, "The plane was scheduled to carry General Shidei to Manchuria. Netaji agreed to go with him to Dairen in Manchuria. So there was no change in the schedule of the plane." The plane itself was a twin-engined heavy bomber of 97-2(Sally) type, and belonged to the Third Air Force Army stationed at Singapore. There is divergence of opinion on whether it was a new or an old plane. According to Captain Arai and Major Kono, the plane was of the newest type. General Isoda goes so far as to say that it was a brand new one. But Lt. Col. Nonogaki has stated that it was an old plane. General Isayama says that the engine of the plane was worn out. It is unlikely that the plane was a brand new one. The Ground Engineer, Captain Nakamura alias Yamamoto has stated, that while testing the engine at

Taihoku, the Chief Pilot, Major Takizawa had told him that the port engine had been replaced by a brand new one at Saigon. A brand new plane would not require the replacement of an engine.

5. Besides, General Shidei, the plane was carrying 5 other Japanese Military officers as passengers. These were :-

- Lt. Col. Tad~~ai~~ Sakai - a Staff Officer of the Burma Army.
- Lt. Col. Shiro Nonogaki- an air Staff Officer.
- Major Taro Kono - an air Staff Officer.
- Major Ihaho Takahashi - a Staff Officer.
- Capt. Keikichi Arai - an air force engineer.

Lt. Col. Sakai is now in Formosa on a special mission. The others are <sup>now</sup> ~~not~~ civilians. Lt. Col. Nonogaki is now the Branch Manager at Osaka of the firm of Tokyo Kagyo Byoeki Shokai Ltd. Major Kono has his printing business in Tokyo. Major Takahashi lives at Kanagawa city in Zushi prefection. Captain Arai is a lecturer at the Tokyo and Kieo Universities. The crew consisted of 5 or 6 persons -

- Chief Pilot - Major Takizawa
- Co-Pilot - W/O Ayoagi
- Navigator - Sargeant Okhista
- Radio-Operator - N.C.O. Tominaga

and one or two Engineers, whose names have not come out. Including Netaji and his Adjutant, Col. Habibur Rehman, the plane carried 13 or 14 persons in all. Netaji was in uniform wearing a khaki drill bush-shirt, trousers and shoes, with

I.N.A. cap and badges. He ~~bid~~<sup>brade</sup> good bye to all those who had come to see him, and shook hands with them, telling them, that they would meet him soon. After that, he boarded the plane through an entrance on the port side followed by Col. Habibur Rehman. That was the last time his faithful followers, whom he left behind, saw him.

6. At the instance of General Shidei, Lt. Col. Nonogaki made arrangements for the seating of the passengers. As there were no proper seats, passengers had to squat on the floor; Netaji being provided with a cushion. General Shidei, Netaji and Col. Habibur Rehman were given the best seats. General Shidei took the seat usually occupied by the Co-Pilot. The crew were in the nose of the plane, while the other Military passengers took their seats in the rear of the plane. Col. Habibur Rehman has given a detailed description of the seating arrangements, which is reproduced below, and has illustrated it by sketch which is attached :-(Annexure II).

"The number of occupants in the plane including the crew was 12 or 13. In the nose portion of the plane were probably a co-pilot, a Radio Officer and Navigator. The seat of the pilot was behind them on the port side, and opposite to him on the star-board side was sitting Lt. Gen. Shidei. Immediately behind the pilot was sitting Netaji, and nobody opposite to him, as the space was restricted by the petrol tank. I was sitting immediately



behind Netaji. The Co-Pilot's seat occupied by Lt. Gen. Shidei was offered to Netaji but he did not accept, as it was too small for him. In the turret was standing one officer of the Air Force, and in the rear portion probably 4 other officers of the Japanese Air Force <sup>or</sup> ~~of~~ Army. I do not exactly remember their ranks, except the names of one Lt. Col. Nonogaki and Capt. Arai whom I met later after the crash in the hospital."

The Committee has examined four of Col. Habibur Rehman's fellow passengers namely Lt. Col. Nonogaki, Major Kono, Major Takahashi and Captain Arai. Regarding seating arrangements, the versions of the different witnesses tally to a great extent. They all say the same thing about the relative positions of Netaji, General Shidei and Col. Habibur Rehman and the fact that the crew were in the nose and the other officers at the back. There are, however, some discrepancies as to the number of crew; some say it was four, others say it was five. There is, however, an important difference regarding Major Kono. According to Col. Habibur Rehman and Captain Arai, Major Kono was in the rear, but Major Kono says that he sat ahead of Netaji and talked to him during the flight. Col. Nonogaki also confirms this position. In his first written statement, dated 24-8-1945 by Col. Habibur Rehman, which was handed over to the Committee by

Mr. J. Murti, it was, however stated, that there was a Japanese officer sitting between the pilot and Netaji. So it seems more or less certain that Major Kono was sitting in the front of the plane.

7. The plane took off quite well from Saigon Airfield in the afternoon of the 17th August. There is some difference about the exact time, but most witnesses say that the plane took off between 5 and 5-30 P.M. As there was delay in starting, the pilot decided to halt for the night at Tourane on the Indo-China coast, instead of flying straight to Formosa. Tourane was reached safely in a couple of hours. There Netaji and the other officers spent the night at the largest Hotel in the town. Although the witnesses examined by the Committee could not give the name of the Hotel, but there is reason to believe that the hotel in question was HOTEL MORIN, which the Committee visited during their trip to the Far East. While taking off at Saigon, the plane had to run the entire length of the runway before it was air-borne. This showed that it was over-loaded. While the others rested at Tourane, the Chief Pilot, assisted by Major Kono, both Air-force Officers, were busy making the plane lighter. According to Major Kono, no less than 12 anti-aircraft machine guns, and all the ammunition were taken down from the plane. Some surplus luggage was also discarded, and the total weight reduced <sup>by</sup> ~~to~~ 600 Kilos. Thereafter, these officers attended to the maintenance of the plane and satisfied

themselves that everything was correct.

8. An early start was made next morning (18th August) at about 5 A.M. when the sun was rising. The passengers and crew took their seats in the same order as before. The plane was to follow the route :-

- Saigon - Tourane
- Heito (Formosa)
- Taihoku - (Formosa)
- Dairen (Manchuria)
- Tokyo

According to Major Takahashi, the normal route for aeroplanes at that time was to proceed to Tokyo via Dairen (Manchuria). The plane was much lighter and the take-off was very normal. During the flight from Tourane to Heito, the weather was perfect and the engines worked smoothly. The plane was flying at an altitude of about 12,000 ft. and it was quite cold inside the plane. As the weather was favourable, it was decided to cover some more distance, pass over Heito, and land at Taihoku which is the Japanese name for Taipeh - Capital of Formosa. According to Major Kono, during the flight, information was received that the Russians had occupied Port Arthur. It was feared that they might be in Dairen before long, and it became all the more necessary to reach there as quickly as possible. The plane landed safely and smoothly at Taihoku Airfield sometime in the afternoon. The landing time has been stated by different witnesses to be between 11 A.M. and 2 P.M.

9. On landing, everybody got down from the plane and walked to a nearby tent, rested there, and had light lunch of sandwiches and bananas. The tent had been pitched for a Japanese prince who was expected to pass through Taihoku. The prince was carrying orders from the Emperor to various Army Commanders to surrender. As the plane had been flying high, Col. Habibur Rehman was feeling cold, and on landing, changed into warm serge uniform of bush-coat, breeches and top-boots. He asked Netaji, who said that he did not feel cold. All the same, Col. Habibur Rehman handed him a pull-over. It is not clear whether Netaji did put on the warm pull-over or not. Different witnesses have given the time of halt at Taihoku air-field from half an hour to two hours. During this time, the plane was re-fuelled. The engines of the plane ~~was~~<sup>were</sup> also tested and checked. This was done by the Chief Pilot, Major Takizawa, helped by Major Kono and the ground staff of the aerodrome, headed by Captain Nakamura alias Yamamoto. As the state of the engine has an important bearing on the subsequent crash, it might be worthwhile to quote the relevant portions from the statements of Major Kono and Captain Nakamura alias Yamamoto. Major Kono says, "Mr. Takizawa tested it inside, and I tested it from outside. I noticed that the engine of the left side of the plane was not functioning properly. I, therefore, went inside

the plane and after examining the engine inside, I found it to be working all right. \* \* \* \* \*

An Engineer also accompanies the plane. He was accompanying it on this occasion also. I do not remember his name. He also tested the engine and certified its air-worthiness." Captain Nakamura alias Yamamoto who was the ground engineer incharge of maintenance at Taihoku aerodrome says, "At about 1-20 P.M. Major Takizawa and Co-Pilot Aoki got into the plane and tested it. I was standing just in front of the plane. When they started the engine, I found that one of them was defective. I raised my hand to indicate to him (Major Takizawa) that the engine of the left side was defective. On my signal, indicating that the engine was defective, Major Takizawa leaned out to listen to me. I told him that the left engine was defective, and should be put right. Major Takizawa slowed down the engine, and told me, that it was a brand new engine, which had been replaced at Saigon. After slowing down the engine, he adjusted it for about 5 minutes. The engine was tested twice by Major Takizawa. After being adjusted, I satisfied myself that the condition of the engine was all right. Major Takizawa also agreed with me that there was nothing wrong with the engine."

10. Thereafter, all the passengers after having had their rest and lunch, took their seats again in

the plane in the same order of seating as before; that is to say, with the crew in the nose of the plane, Major Kono sitting behind the pilot on the port side, behind them Netaji and Col. Habibur Rehman, on the star-board side General Shidei, and in the rear portion the other Japanese officers. Although the engines had been tested, the take off from Taihoku was not quite normal. The best account of the take-off has been given by Captain Nakamura alias Yamamoto, who was a Ground Engineer and was watching the plane. The other passengers inside the bomber could not see very much, as there were very few openings. There is some difference between the witnesses as to the actual time of taking off, but most <sup>of</sup> them put the time between 2 and 2-30 in the afternoon. Captain Nakamura alias Yamamoto says, "After everybody had taken seat in the plane, the plane taxied to one end of the run-way marked C in sketch 1 (enclosed). Having reached point C, the engines of the plane were speeded up to the maximum speed, and then slowed down. This was a normal procedure which all Japanese planes followed to test the fitness of the engines. Having satisfied that the engines were correct, the plane was speeded and allowed to run down the run-way. The length of the runway was 890 meters. In the case of heavy bombers, normally the tail gets lifted half way down the run-way marked D, in sketch 1, but in this case, the tail was not lifted off the ground until it had run

approximately 3/4ths down the runway to point E marked in sketch I. At that time, I was standing at a point marked F on the sketch I. This was about 30 meters away from the air strip. About 50 meters before the end of the runway, the plane took off and made a steep ascent." The plane had carried the distinguished leader of the Indian Independence Movement, and his fellow passengers, from Saigon to Tourane, and from Tourane to Formosa over the South China sea in safety, and nobody had any idea that disaster would overtake the plane without warning, and so soon after leaving Taihoku Airfield.

11. Hardly had the plane got air-borne, when a loud explosion was heard, and the plane tilted to the left. Col. Habibur Rehman has said that it was a noise like a cannon shot. The propeller and the port engine fell out. Captain Nakamura alias Yamamoto who was watching says "Immediately on taking off, the plane tilted to its left side and I saw something fall down from the plane, which I later found was the propeller". Major K. Sakai who came to the scene sometime later says that he found the port engine buried in the ground. The pilot, Major Takizawa, and the Co-pilot, Ayoagi, made desperate attempts to save the situation but without success. The list could not be rectified within the short height that the plane had gained.

Witnesses inside the plane have given different estimates of the height, but most of them say that the maximum height gained was about 30 meters. Captain Nakamura alias Yamamoto, who had the best view, has estimated the height between 30 to 40 meters. Mr. A.M.N. Sastri an Aircraft Inspector of the Director General Civil Aviation Government of India has said, in answer to a question, that considering that the aircraft left the ground 50 meters before the end of the runway and started climbing, the figure of 30 to 40 meters given by witness, Captain Nakamura alias Yamamoto appeared to him to be reasonable. The plane nose dived, making a wailing noise. The passengers inside the plane had not even seat belts and naturally lost their balance. The baggage came tumbling down. Col. Habibur Rehman has said that he was struck in the back by some of the packages. Captain Arai has graphically described his feelings by saying that the earth was rushing towards him. Major Kono had the presence of mind to try and switch off the ignition to prevent the plane from catching fire, but failed to do so as he could not keep his balance. He fell two or three times in the attempt. The plane crashed to the ground and immediately caught fire, in the front portion. According to Mr. A.M.N. Sastri, it would take only 3 seconds to fall from a height of 50 meters. Some witnesses like Lt. Col. Nonogaki have stated that the plane crashed on the concrete



runway; on the other extreme, Col. Habibur Rehman has said that the crash took place one or two miles outside the aerodrome. The most credible version is probably that of the Ground Engineer, Captain Nakamura alias Yamamoto, who says that the plane crashed about 100 meters beyond the concrete runway. His version is supported by Major Sakai who was in command of defence of Taihoku aerodrome. He says that he saw the wreckage of the plane lying 20 to 30 meters from the end of the runway. One of the passengers, Major Takahashi also says that the crash took place just outside the concrete runway, but within the boundary of the aerodrome.

12. As the plane came down on its nose, it crashed on its left side and caught fire in its <sup>front</sup> portion. It appears from the statement of witnesses, that the plane also suffered severe damage, and broke into two. Captain Arai, Lt. Col. Nonogaki and Major Kono have stated that on crashing the plane broke into two. They have illustrated the point at which the plane broke into two by supplying sketches of the plane, copies of which are enclosed. (Annexure II). Major Sakai who came to the scene immediately after the accident, and saw the wreckage of the plane also supports this version: a copy of his sketch is enclosed, (Annexure II). On the other hand, according to Col. Habibur Rehman, the plane split in the front portion, while Capt. Nakamura alias Yamamoto is positive that the plane was intact and the body was not broken. He, however,

says that the fire was confined to the front part of the plane. It is likely that the heavier than air plane, on falling to the ground, would sustain damage to its structure. So on examining the probabilities and weight of evidence, a major breakage in the rear part of the fuselage may be accepted. There might have been breakages and splits elsewhere also. But from a study of the photographs of the wreckage (Annexure III) it does not appear that the broken parts got separated, nor is any support lent to the statement of Lt. Col. Nonogaki, that the two split parts went in different directions on the ground.



13. What happened to the persons inside the aeroplane? The crash affected different persons

differently. Of the seven persons in the plane who ultimately survived, the Committee has examined in person five of them, and read the statement recorded by a sixth, (Lt. Col. T. Sakai). Lt. Col. Nonogaki who was in the turret was the luckiest. As the plane crashed, he was thrown out to the ground almost unhurt. He got up and ran away from the burning plane, and took shelter behind a pile of stones, against which the wrecked plane ultimately came to a halt. Lt. Col. Sakai, Major Takashi and Captain Arai became senseless the moment the plane crashed, but found themselves soon after on the ground, and moved away from the burning plane. Clearly, they had been thrown out. In the process, they received injuries and burns. Lt. Col. Sakai stated, that he received bruises on his head and some other parts, and burns on his face and hands, but they were not serious. Major Takahashi's left ankle was sprained. Injuries of Captain Arai were more serious. The right side of his face, the upper side of both his hands and the front portion of his fore-arm got burnt. Marks of these burns were still visible when he appeared before the Committee 11 years later. Major Kono was clearly an alert and observant person. At the moment of crash, instead of being flustered, he had his wits round him, and noticed what others were doing. He says, "As the plane was falling to the ground, the petrol tank inside the plane

fell down, and came between me and Mr. Bose. I looked backwards but could not see Mr. Bose because of this tank. I could see General Shidei after the plane crash. He had a cut injury at the back of his head. Major Takizawa was hit in the face and on fore-head by the steering which he was operating. N.C.O. Ayoagi was hit in the chest which was bleeding, and he was leaning forward. There was another Engineer between me and N.C.O. Ayoagi. I do not know what happened to him. During this time, the fire spread greatly and the heat became unbearable. I broke open the plastic cover on top of the plane and escaped through it. While escaping, the fire was so strong, that I had to protect my eyes by covering them with my hands which, as a result got burnt, and face and legs were also burnt. As I was escaping from the plane, I got splashed by petrol which was coming out from a pipe which connected the petrol tank with the engine which had been brought down. The petrol which was so splashed, caught fire. I ran about 30 meters and then rolled on the ground and put out the fire; at the same time, I also took off my outer garment which had caught fire. In this way, I managed to put out the fire that was burning on me."

It may<sup>be</sup> mentioned here that Major Kono was under treatment for 18 months, and even after the protracted treatment the skin of his face looked severely burnt when he appeared before the Committee 11 years after. He lost all his teeth and wore false teeth. Four of the fingers of his right hand, i.e. excepting the thumb,

were damaged and mis-shapen, and he could not clinch his right fist. The little finger of the left hand was also damaged and he could not clinch that fist in full. Both his hands were deformed. A picture of Major <sup>Kono's</sup> pair of hands was taken. They tell their own story.



14. Now we come to Col. Habibur Rehman and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. An extract from the statement of Col. Habibur Rehman as to what happened to him and Netaji immediately after the crash is given below in extenso :-

'Within a few seconds, the plane crashed on the ground, and fore-portion of the plane split and caught fire. Netaji turned towards me. I said,

'Please get out through the front: there is no way in the rear.' ('AUGEY SAY NIKALEAY PICHAY SAY RASTA NAHIN HAY') We could not get through the entrance door as it was all blocked and jammed by packages and others things. So Netaji got out through the fire; actually he rushed through the fire. I followed him through the same flames. The moment I got out, I saw him about 10 yards ahead of me, standing, looking in the opposite direction to mine towards the west. His clothes were on fire. I rushed and I experienced great difficulty in unfastening his bush shirt belt. His trousers were not so much on fire and it was not necessary to take them off. He was not wearing the sweater. He was wearing Khaki drill. I laid him down on the ground and noticed a very deep cut on his head probably on the left side. His face had been scorched by heat and his hair had also caught fire and singed. The cut in his head was a long one, about 4" long. I tried to stop his bleeding by handkerchief. As for myself, my both hands were very badly burnt. As I came through the fire, the right side of my face was burnt and I noticed I had received a cut in the forehead which was bleeding and also the right side of my right knee was also bleeding profusely, as it had hit some hard substance. The head cut was caused by hitting the floor as the plane crashed. My clothes did not catch fire. My hands

were burnt very badly in the attempt to take off Netaji's clothes. Both my hands up to the wrist show marks of deep burning even after a lapse of more than ten years. Later on, even my nails came off. The nail of the left thumb has not come up properly.

(NOTE: The members of the Committee examined the hands and saw marks of severe burn. Marks of burns were also noticed on the right side of the face and just near the right ear. Injury marks were also seen on the forehead and right leg). When I laid Netaji on the ground, I myself lay by his side. I was feeling acute pain and felt exhausted. I saw a Japanese passenger about 20 yards away bleeding profusely and moaning. Just then, Netaji enquired from me in Hindustani 'AAP KO ZIADA TO NAHIN LAGI'. ('Hope you have not been hurt badly'). I replied, 'I feel that I will be alright.' About himself, he said, that he felt that he would not survive. I replied, 'Oh! No, God will spare you. I am sure you will be alright.' He said, 'No, I don't think so'. He used these words -

'When you go back to the country, tell the people that up to the last I have been fighting for liberation of my country, they should continue to struggle and I am sure India will be free before long. No body can keep India in bondage now.'

'JAB APNEY MULK WAPIS JAYAN TO MULKI BHAIYON KO BATANA KI MEN AKHARI DAM TAK MULK KI AZADI KEY LIYAY LARTA RAHA HOON, WOH JANGE AZADI KO JARI RAKHEN HINDUSTAN ZAROOR AZAD HOGA US KO KOI GULAM NAHIN RAKH SAKTA.'

In a way this was Netaji's last testament and very characteristic of him. It was in keeping with the oath he took to fight for the independence of India till his last breath when he established the Provisional Government of Azad Hind on 21st October, 1943.

15. Lt. Col. Sakai and Captain Arai do not mention that they had seen Netaji immediately after the crash. Lt. Col. Nonogaki did. He says, 'When I first saw Netaji after the plane crash, he was standing somewhere near the left tip of the left wing of the plane. His clothes were on fire and his Assistant was trying to take off his coat. He took off Netaji's coat quickly but was finding difficulty in taking off the woollen sweater. Since Netaji was sitting very near the petrol tank, he was splashed all over with petrol. It seemed that all his body was on fire.' Major Kono says that he saw Netaji standing very near the plane facing away from it. He was standing erect with his legs apart and arms stretched downwards with clenched fists. He was completely naked and was wearing only his shoes. He did not see any fire on his body. Major Kono goes on to say that while he himself was feeling the heat of the flames 30 meters away, Netaji who was standing a couple of meters away from it, seemed to be oblivious to the heat. His face did not show any sign of pain. Then Col. Habibur Rehman moved him away from the burning plane. Major



Takahashi gives a somewhat different version. He says that he saw Netaji getting out from the left front portion of the plane. His clothes were on fire and he was trying to take off his coat. Then he says that he (Major Takahashi) went up to Netaji and made him roll on the ground and managed to put out the fire from his clothes. He says that Col. Habibur Rehman was there, but assigns him a passive role. He goes to say that petrol had splashed only on certain parts of Netaji's clothes and only those patches were burnt. His trousers were burnt only slightly. While other witnesses have said that Netaji had to take off his clothes and was naked, Major Takahashi says that Netaji had his clothes on. As for Netaji's clothes being on fire, the eye-witnesses who had seen him all agree. As for who helped to put out the fire, it seems much more likely that Col. Habibur Rehman should have been the man to have come to the aid of his leader. The version given by Col. Habibur Rehman and supported by the two more observant witnesses, namely, Lt. Col. Nonogaki and Major Kono appears more credible than the version of Major Takahashi. The Ground Engineer, Captain Nakamura alias Yamamoto has given a completely different version. He also says that Netaji's clothes were splashed with petrol and had to be stripped, but he claims that it was he (Capt. Nakamura alias Yamamoto) who rescued the passengers from the burning plane and specially Netaji. This version is completely uncorroborated by anybody else, and may perhaps be put down to confused recollection

after such a lapse of time.

16. Of the other Japanese inside the plane, passengers and crew, General Shidei could not get out and died inside the plane. It may be of interest to mention that a copy of General Shidei's service record (translated in English) was obtained through the Japanese Foreign Office, a copy of which is enclosed. (Annexure I). It will be seen that the date of his death was 18th August 1945 at Taihoku Air Field. The cause is given as death by war. His ashes were sent to Tokyo a week later through General Tanaka, Chief of General Staff Burma Army, who passed through Taihoku a week later enroute to Tokyo with Dr. Ba Maw, President of Burma. Some of the crew were apparently rescued. There is some doubt about the fate of the two pilots and some of the crew who were initially trapped inside the plane. Captain Nakamura alias Yamamoto definitely says that Pilot Takizawa and co-pilot Ayoagi perished along with General Shidei, and he helped to bury their entrails and put their ashes in three boxes. But Major Kono says that he heard that Co-Pilot Ayoagi had been pulled out. The two Doctors, Yoshimi and Tsuruta definitely say that they had treated co-pilot Ayoagi, who died later in the hospital. From all this it would appear that General Shidei died instantaneously. One or two others also died with him, but it is not certain who they were. Most likely Major Takizawa Chief-Pilot was one of them. The rest, passengers

and crew numbering about a dozen, were removed within a short time to Nanmon (South Gate) Military Hospital, which was a few kilometers away, in motor vehicles, trucks, car, and a peculiar vehicle called "Shidosha" in Japanese, which was used for starting aeroplane propellers.

17. Before going on with the story of medical treatment in the hospital, account may conveniently be taken here regarding the air-crash whether the crash took place, its cause, and whether there could be any survivor. From the evidence given to the Committee, there is sufficient material to believe that the plane carrying Netaji crashed at Taihoku air-field early in the afternoon of the 18th August 1945. There is no reason to disbelieve the large number of witnesses both Japanese and non-Japanese. There is no evidence before us to show that the plane in question did not crash at Taihoku. Unfortunately, no formal enquiry into the air crash was carried out by the Japanese authorities at that time. General Isayama, Chief of the General Staff of the Formosan Army in 1945 was asked about this matter. He first said, that since the aeroplane in question did not belong to the Formosan Army, the Headquarters of the Formosan Army had no responsibility to hold an enquiry into the matter. Then he said that it was the duty of the Commander within whose area, an air crash took place, to enquire into, and report it to the higher authorities. He said that in this case, a report was submitted to the

Imperial General Headquarters by his Staff Officer, Lt. Col. Shibuya through him. Lt. <sup>CR</sup> Shibuya who was also examined, denied knowledge of any such enquiry, and said that the responsibility of holding it lay entirely with the Air Division concerned. This matter was pursued further by the Committee and a report was obtained from the Japanese Foreign Office to confirm that no official enquiry was held into the air crash by the Japanese authorities (Annexure I). One would have expected a formal enquiry into the air crash, as it involved two important personalities like Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and Lt. Gen. Shidei. Perhaps there <sup>was</sup> ~~were~~ disorganisation following the surrender of Japan on the 15th of August. We referred the available evidence regarding the plane, its condition and the crash, to the Director General of Civil Aviation, Government of India, on our return to Delhi, after placing on record the evidence of Japanese witnesses. The Director General of Civil Aviation had these papers examined by an expert, and the Committee recorded the opinion of Mr. A.M.N. Sastri an Aircraft Inspector, Accidents Investigation Branch regarding the accident and its cause. Shri Sastri's opinion was :-

"From the statement of witnesses, sketches and photographs, it appears that the air-craft crashed, and after the take-off, within the boundary of the aerodrome. The maximum height attained by the plane might have been anything up to 150 feet. The initial cause of the plane falling to the ground, according

to the statement of witnesses, is the breaking away of the propeller and then the engine on the left hand side. It is not possible to establish the exact cause as to how the propeller came off from the engine from the details available. In the absence of details of construction of the engine, and the various control systems, and the maintenance records, and without examining the wreckage, it is not possible to trace the exact defect causing the crash. As observed by Major Kono, one of the witnesses, the engine seems to have been defective and over-speeding at the time of the take-off from Saigon. This appears to have something to do with the crash." Regarding the effect of the crash and chances of survival, Mr. Sastri has said, 'Taking into consideration the starting point of the fire to be from the star-board front as stated by Major Kono and the location of the petrol tank and also the inadequacy of emergency provision, it may be stated that -

- (1) those who were in the front could be the worst sufferers:
- (2) those who were in the centre left could be seriously injured; and
- (3) those who were in the rear could have chances of survival.

He went on to elucidate -

'In case of air accident, the survival of passengers or members of the crew is purely a matter of luck. I have come across accidents, where in major crashes, the occupants survived whereas in similar accidents, they died. It is very difficult to predict anything accurately as far as the survival

of passengers in an air craft accident is concerned".

18. From the evidence given by eye witnesses and the opinion of the expert, it is established that there was an air craft accident at Taihoku on the 18th August 1945 due to some kind of engine trouble, whose cause <sup>can</sup> not be established clearly in the absence of data. As for survivors, there is nothing surprising that seven out of the 13 or 14 persons on board the ill-fated plane survived. It is not a fact that Col. Habibur Rehman alone survived to tell the tale. So far as has been ascertained, the following persons survived :-

- 1) Lt. Col. T. Sakai
- 2) Lt. Col. S. Nonogaki
- 3) Major T. Kono
- 4) Major I. Takahashi
- 5) Captain K. Arai
- 6) Sargeant Okishta, and
- 7) Col. Habibur Rehman

Of these survivors, the Committee could not examine in person Lt. Col. T. Sakai (1) who was away from Japan. As stated previously, a written statement was obtained from him through the Japanese Foreign Office. Attempts were made to trace Sargeant Okishta (6) but he was not found.

CHAPTER IIIDEATH OF NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

Thus, Netaji was carried along with other injured persons to Nanmon Military Hospital, Taihoku. This was a small hospital, and had four general wards with accommodation for 80 patients, and 15 more in the infectious ward. As a precaution against air raids, the main Hospital and its several branches were removed to outer areas. The Nanmon Branch was the only one left in Taihoku city, where patients received first-aid treatment before being sent to other hospitals. The Medical Officer in charge of this branch was Captain T. Yoshimi who had graduated in 1938 and was commissioned in 1940. There was another Doctor, T. Tsuruta, who had qualified only in 1944. There was also a third Doctor. The other staff consisted of half a dozen Japanese and Formosan nurses and 30 medical orderlies. The Committee examined both Dr. Yoshimi and Dr. Tsuruta. None of the Japanese nurses could be traced. A Formosan nurse - Tsan Pi Sha - who had made an important statement before an Indian journalist, Mr. Harin Shah of Indian Free Press Journal in 1946, could not be examined as the Committee did not find it possible to visit Formosa. At 2 P.M. on the 18th August 1945, Dr. Yoshimi received a telephone message from the Taihoku aerodrome to be ready to receive a number of persons injured in an air accident. Sometime later, a dozen injured persons including Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose were admitted to the hospital. There is some discrepancy between the witnesses, as to who travelled in which vehicle, and who arrived first. But these are minor points

and may be overlooked. When Netaji was taken to the hospital most of the witnesses have said that he was without any clothes on him, but there are others who say that he came partly covered. A Military Officer identified the big-built foreigner as the Indian Leader, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. His Adjutant, Col. Habibur Rehman was also admitted at the same time.

2. When he was brought in, Netaji's condition was the most serious, but such was his magnanimity, that he told the doctors to attend to the others first, and to him last. In view, however, of his condition, the doctors attended to him first. Eye witnesses, both medical and non-medical have said that Netaji was burnt all over, and his skin had taken on a dark colour, but none of them mentioned any cut injury. Col. Habibur Rehman has said that Netaji had a cut on his head 4" long which was bleeding. This is a discrepancy. Netaji was examined by Dr. Yoshimi who says, "I found that he was severely burnt all over his body, and all of it had taken on a greyish colour like ash. Even his heart had burnt. His face was swollen. In my opinion, his burns were of the severest type, i.e., of the third degree. There was no injury on his body from which blood came out. His eyes were also swollen. He could see, but had difficulty in opening them. He was in his senses when he was brought in. He was in high fever; his temperature was 39<sup>o</sup> centigrade. His pulse rate was 120 per minute. The condition of his heart was also weak." Dr. Yoshimi has stated that after exami-



nation of Netaji, his impression was that his condition was so serious, that he was not likely to survive till the next morning. He says that Netaji's burns were caused by splashing of petrol. After examining Netaji and treating him, Dr. Yoshimi examined and treated the other injured persons. Netaji was not the only person who received severe burns. W/O Ayoagi, the co-pilot suffered similar burns over his shoulders. His fore-arms were also burnt and the legs below his knees were also burnt. All these were caused by splashing of petrol. Major Kono had third degree burns on his hands. Col. Sakai had burns on his hands. Only Lt. Col. Nonogaki did not have any burn or injury. Dr. Yoshimi has stated that Col. Habibur Rehman had burn on one side of his face and on his opposite hand. He also had a cut on his right temple.

3. Dr. Yoshimi has given details of the treatment given to Netaji. Initially Netaji's burns were dressed by Dr. Tsuruta who applied a white ointment and bandaged him all over. Dr. Yoshimi gave for his heart, one after the other, four injections of Vita-camphor and two injections of Digitamine. He also gave him three intravenous injection of Ringer Solution, 500 c.c. each. The treatment was given initially in the dressing room, and then Netaji was removed to the attached ward No. 2, where further treatment was carried on. Different witnesses have given different versions of the room in which the initial treatment was given. Dr. Yoshimi has given a sketch plan of the Hospital showing the ward where

Netaji lay (Annexure II). There is some discrepancy between the witnesses, as to who were in the same ward with Netaji. According to the two Doctors, only Netaji and Col. Habibur Rehman were there. Col. Rehman says that a third person, probably a pilot, was also there. Sketch plans of the Hospital and Netaji's ward, were also submitted by Dr. Tsuruta and Col. Habibur Rehman. These are enclosed (Annexure II). Major Takahashi and Major Kono have said that Netaji was in a separate room, while Lt. Col. Nonogaki has stated that all the injured persons including Netaji were taken to one room, while he himself was in another room. The Interpreter, J. Nakamura has stated that in addition to Netaji and Col. Habibur Rehman, there were 3 other Japanese officers in the same ward. After the lapse of years, it would perhaps be unwise to lay too much stress on such minor discrepancies, made by persons, many of whom were themselves seriously injured. It would be more reasonable to accept the statement of the two Doctors, that only Netaji and Col. Rehman were kept in one room. Dr. Yoshimi has stated that in the case of severe burns of third degree, the blood gets thicker, and there is high pressure on the heart. In order to relieve this pressure, blood is usually let out and new blood given in its place. Approximately 200 c.c. of Netaji's blood was let out and a blood transfusion to the extent of 400 c.c. was given to him. Dr. Yoshimi has said that this blood was obtained from a Japanese soldier in the Nanmon Military Hospital and was given between 4 and 5 P.M. that day. There is a little

difference here between this, and the evidence of Mr. Harin Shah an Indian journalist, who had the chance to enquire into this matter locally, in Formosa in 1946. According to Mr. Shah, the blood was donated by a Japanese Medical student. A more serious discrepancy is the statement of Dr. Tsuruta, who attended to Netaji, that no blood transfusion was given. Col. Rehman who was also in the same ward room could not remember if any blood transfusion was given to Netaji. There is no way of reconciling these different statements and they must remain as they are. Then Sulfonamide injection was also given to Netaji to prevent infection. Netaji's initial reaction to this treatment was favourable. Col. Habibur Rehman's injuries were also treated with ointment and disinfectant and bandaged. Thereafter, Dr. Yoshimi left, to attend the Japanese injured officers, with instructions to Dr. Tsuruta to look after Netaji and give him Vita-camphor injection at 30 minutes interval. Except the point regarding blood transfusion, Dr. Tsuruta's evidence corroborates that of Dr. Yoshimi's. As stated previously, none of the nurses could be examined. One Kazo Mitsui, a medical orderly, at that time at the Nanmon Military Hospital, came on his own, and gave evidence and said that he had helped the Doctor attending on Netaji by bringing medicines, etc.

4. Netaji was conscious at the beginning, and occasionally asked for water, a little of which was given each

time. An Interpreter was called in, so that Netaji could speak to the Japanese personnel if he so desired. In addition to the Doctors, some nurses were also attending on Netaji. According to Col. Habibur Rehman, Netaji was taken to the "operation theatre", and given a white transfusion which he thought was camphor. The Japanese Doctors did not refer to the operation theatre. In any case, since there was no surgical operation, it was not necessary to take him there. Perhaps, Col. Habibur Rehman was thinking of the dressing room attached to the ward. According to Col. Habibur Rehman, Netaji asked for water once or twice, and asked once, whether Hasan was there. According to the Interpreter, Nakamura, Netaji spoke three times. The first time, he said that some of his men were following him, and they should be taken care of, when they came to Formosa. The second time, he said that he felt that blood was rushing to his head. This is partly corroborated by Lt. Col. Nonogaki, who claims to have stood by Netaji's bed and talked to him. During all this time, Netaji must have been in very great pain, but not a word of complaint or groan escaped his lips. His stoic calm impressed the Japanese witnesses greatly. J. Nakamura says, "During all this time, not a word of complaint either of pain, or suffering, came from his lips. The Japanese officers at the other end of the room were groaning with pain, and crying out that they may be killed rather than continue to endure their suffering. This composure of Netaji surprised all of us."

59

5. Dr. Yoshimi has stated that about 7 or 7-30 P.M. he was informed by Dr. Tsuruta that Netaji's condition had deteriorated and his pulse was very weak. He hurried and gave Netaji injections of Vita-camphor and Digitamine. In spite of administering stimulants, his heart and pulse beat did not improve. Slowly his life ebbed away. Shortly after 8 P.M. he breathed his last. He made out a medical certificate of death in respect of the deceased, writing his name in Japanese (Kata Kana) as "Chandra Bose" and giving the cause of death as "burns of third degree." The following persons were present at his bed side at the time of Netaji's death:-

- Dr. Yoshimi.
- Dr. Tsuruta.
- Two nurses.
- Col. Habibur Rehman.
- Mr. Nakamura (Interpreter)
- One Military Policeman.

According to Kazo Mitsui, a medical orderly, he was also present. According to Dr. Tsuruta, the time was about 7 and 8 P.M. Col. Habibur Rehman gave the time as 9 P.M. six hours after the crash. It may be stated here that in a brief statement made by Dr. Yoshimi in 1946, when he was in Stanley Jail in Hong Kong, he gave the time as 11 P.M., and according to the telegram sent by the Chief of Staff, Southern Army to O.C. Hikari Kikan on the 20th August, 1945, which was recovered by British Military intelligence, the death took place at midnight. This was repeated in the first publication of the news on the 23rd of August 1945 by the Japanese Domei Agency. The evidence of the fellow injured persons does not help to establish the correct hour. Lt. Col. Nonogaki and Major Kono had stated that they were removed

to the second hospital the same night. Major Takahashi could only say that Netaji expired the same night. Only Captain Arai said that he heard from a nurse about 10 P.M. that Netaji had expired. So the time of death cannot be established with accuracy; it could be any time between 8 P.M. and midnight on the 18th August, 1945.

6. One of the reasons why many people cast doubt on the fact that Netaji was dead, was the manner in which the news was made known. For reasons not very clear, the Japanese authorities maintained a great deal of secrecy about it. Presumably, it was partly due to reasons of security. Even in their official correspondence between one Commander and another, Netaji was referred to by the Japanese as Mr. "T". In the Secret Telegram dated the 20th August 1945, from the Chief of Southern Army to O.C. Hikari Kikan, it was definitely stated that secrecy is to be maintained. The Interpreter, J. Nakamura says that the news about Netaji's death was kept a secret and known only to high-ranking Military Officers. General Isayama Chief of the General Staff, Formosan Army, had tried to justify this hush-hush policy, by saying that they did not want to make the news public, that an important persons like Netaji, who had taken a prominent part against the British for liberation of India, was fleeing to Tokyo. General Bhonsle says that the news about Netaji was promptly communicated to him at Bangkok in a series of telegrams. But Sardar Ishar Singh, who was the Adviser to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind

and Chairman of the Thai Territorial Committee of the Indian Independence League, says that the news about Netaji's plane crash and death, was communicated by Japanese Military authorities three or four days after Netaji had left Bangkok, that is to say, on the 20th or 21st of August 1945. Those of Netaji's party who were left behind at Saigon did not get any news about him during the time they were there, i.e., till the 20th of August, although it was the headquarters of the Southern Army, and a part of the time, General Isoda was there and in possession of the all important information. The news was broken to Mr. S. A. Ayer by Lt. Col. Tada, who was flying with him to Tokyo, on the afternoon of the 20th at Canton. Mr. Debnath Das and others who went on to Hanoi, learnt of the tragedy only from the radio broadcast from Tokyo. It was given out on the 23rd August. Then there was the curious incident narrated by Mr. Debnath Das that a couple of days later, a Japanese Staff Officer came and told him that the plane crash was just a story, and they were not to believe it, but to go on acting according to their plan. Col. Pritam Singh was told of this by Mr. Debnath Das. Next month Mr. Debnath Das went underground. There were some other persons in Bangkok, whom Netaji had already instructed, just before he left Bangkok, to go underground and keep touch with him by wireless. Some small arms, ammunition and wireless transmitter was handed over to two men, Mr. A.C. Das and Mr. Shunil Roy. Mr. Das was examined by the Committee at Bangkok. He said that when he heard the

news of the crash, he like others did not believe it. But although Mr. Sunil Roy had the wave-length, frequency, call signs, etc., to contact Netaji, he tried in vain to contact him. They gave up the attempt after 10 days, and believed that the plane had indeed crashed with Netaji. Mr. Debnath Das came to the surface in May 1946, in Bangkok, but could give no news about Netaji's continued existence to Mr. A.C. Das. So most of those who originally doubted the story of the plane crash gradually came to believe it.

Not only were the Japanese initially secretive, and delayed in publishing the news, but no convincing proof of the death of Netaji was produced before the Indians in South-East Asia. Some pictures were taken two days later after the death, one of which shows Col. Habibur Rehman keeping vigil, and another shows a sheet covering some object. From these photographs (Copies in Annexure III) the dead person cannot be identified. Dr. Yoshimi has said that it was against Japanese custom to photograph dead bodies. Col. Habibur Rehman has said that he did not allow Netaji's face to be photographed as it had swollen, and was disfigured. Neither were any of his personal belongings shown as having been recovered at that time. There has been certain amount of controversy about the watch Col. Habibur Rehman brought with him, which was later handed over by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the late Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, elder brother of Netaji. It was a rectangular watch. Col. Habibur Rehman has stated, that it was handed over to him by Dr. Yoshimi



as belonging to Netaji, but Dr. Yoshimi said, that he did not remember anything about it. Most of the pictures of Netaji show him wearing a round wrist watch. His personal valet, Kundan Singh, also confirms that he habitually wore a round wrist watch. On the other hand, it is a fact that Netaji carried in his baggage, a number of watches of different kinds, including rectangular ones, which were given to him as gifts on different occasions. Some rectangular watches in a damaged condition, are in the collection of articles salvaged from Taihoku air-field, now lying in the National Museum at the Rashtrapati Bhawan, New Delhi, which was inspected by the Committee. The point about the watch remains inconclusive. It may be stated here, that these salvaged articles were shown to Netaji's valet, Kundan Singh, who was with Netaji from his arrival in Singapore, till his departure from Bangkok on 17-8-45. Kundan Singh identified a number of articles as belonging to Netaji, such as a gold Cigarette case studded with precious stones presented by Herr Hitler, a cigarette lighter, a paper knife used for manicuring, and an oval supari box made of gold. The question of valuables carried by Netaji will be examined later. The point that is being made here, is that due to the secrecy, delay in publishing the news, and not bringing forward, proofs of Netaji's death by the Japanese authorities, many people were led honestly to doubt that Netaji had died. It is probable that in normal times, such delays and omissions would not have arisen, and that things were out of gear after the Japanese

surrender on the 15th of August, 1945.

8. Soon after the end of hostilities, the Government of India sent two parties of Intelligence officers (police) headed by Messrs Finney and Davies, to the Far East, to enquire about the whereabouts Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, and if possible to arrest him. Two Indian police officers who were in those parties, Mr. H.K. Roy and Mr. K.P. De appeared before us, and gave evidence. Mr. H.K. Roy worked in Mr. Davies' party and proceeded first to Saigon, and then to Taihoku in September 1945. He says that they interviewed the Japanese Military Officer in charge of Saigon Aerodrome, and obtained a list of the passengers of the plane. It was the only plane which left Saigon on the 17th August 1945. The last two names in that list were Chandra Bose, and H. Rehman. At Taihoku, they interrogated some officers connected with the aerodrome. They said that the plane had crashed on the 18th August, and caught fire, and as a result, Netaji who had been badly burnt, was taken to the hospital, where he succumbed to his injuries the same night. They added that Col. Habibur Rehman had also received injuries, and that a number of Japanese officers had been killed or injured. Mr. Davies also examined the medical officer in charge of the Hospital, who confirmed the death of Netaji. The conclusion of the Police Officers was that Netaji had died as a result of air crash, and they reported to the Government of India accordingly. Mr. H.K. Roy who helped Mr. Finney to write the report,

65

states that the report was definite, that Netaji was dead, and thereafter the Government of India withdrew the warrant of arrest against Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The Bangkok party, seized a telegraphic message, conveying the information that the plane carrying Netaji had crashed at Taipeh, on the 18th August, and that Netaji had expired on the same day. The telegram in question, Signal 66, dated 20th August from the Chief of Staff Southern Army to O.C. Hikari Kikan, is reproduced below:-

"TO OC KIKAN  
FROM Chief of Staff Southern Army  
Southern Army Staff II Signal 66  
20th August

"TOP SECRET"

'T' while on his way to the capital, as a result of an accident to this aircraft at TAIHOKU AT 1400 hours on the 18th was seriously injured and died at midnight on the same date. His body has been flown to TOKYO by the Formosan Army." (Mr. 'T' as already stated, was code name for Netaji). On being questioned the discrepancy about the body was sought to be clarified, by saying that the statement regarding Netaji's death, and not his body, was flown to Tokyo. Col. Tada was specially brought down from Tokyo to Saigon for questioning on this point. A parallel enquiry was conducted about the same time, at the instance of the Director Military Intelligence India, or Admiral Lord Mountbatten's Headquarter at Kandy, through Col. F.G. Figgess, at that time attached to General MacArthur's Headquarters at Tokyo, about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. This enquiry was handled by <sup>an</sup> American Intelligence Officer working under

G.H.Q. SCAP (Supreme Commander, Allied Powers.) The conclusion reached from these reports was that Netaji had died of burns at Taipeh as a result of the air crash.

9. In August 1946, i.e., the year after the events, Mr. Harin Shah, an Indian journalist, visited Formosa at the invitation of the Chiang Kai Shek Government. There he took up enquiry on his own about Netaji. Mr. Shah came across a number of Formosans, who had something to say as to what happened to Netaji at Taihoku. He met some medical students, who had heard that Netaji had been severely injured as a result of the air crash, and that a Japanese medical student donated blood for transfusion. He also examined at length, a Formosan nurse, Sis-ter Tsan Pis, who said that she was in attendance on Netaji at the Nanmon Military Hospital. She gave correct descriptions of Netaji and Col. Habibur Rehman. In the end, she said that Netaji had died at the hospital at 11 at night. It has already been stated, that the Committee had not been able to visit Formosa, much as they would have liked to, on account of the fact that there was no diplomatic connection between our Government and the authorities in Formosa. Mr. Harin Shah's evidence is, therefore, all the more valuable, as it was taken on the spot, soon after the time of occurrence. He was satisfied as a result of his enquiries, that Netaji had died at Taihoku as a result of the air accident.

10. It will thus be seen that the evidence given by witnesses before us, as to Netaji's death, is corroborat-

ed by the findings of British and American Intelligence organisations, who undertook independent enquiries very soon after the occurrence, and the conclusions of an unofficial enquiry conducted a year later by an Indian Journalist. As for the witnesses who have deposed before us, neither from their antecedents, nor from the manner in which they made their statements, has the Committee any reason to disbelieve their stories. These witnesses are of different nationalities. Some were Japanese, Col. Habibur Rehman, an Indian (now a Pakistani), and Col. Figgess an Englishman. They were unconnected with each other and came from different walks of life. There is absolutely no reason why they should come and depose to something which they know to be untrue. The Japanese witnesses came from all over Japan - some of them at much personal loss and inconvenience. For instance, Dr. Yoshimi who owns a medical clinic at Miyasaki-Ken in Kyushi Island, had to close down his clinic for several days and come to Tokyo, a distance about 1200 kilometers from his place. The Japanese Foreign Office, had themselves conducted an enquiry into the matter sometime ago, and had suggested the names of some witnesses, who might give us information. But Japan is not a totalitarian country, and the very fact that some names were suggested by the Japanese Foreign Office, need not necessarily mean that they were compelled to tell any particular story. It may be added that the Committee examined a much larger number of witnesses than originally suggested by the Japanese Foreign Office. These witnesses were

either called for by the Committee, or they themselves volunteered, in response to a newspaper notice, issued by the Committee. Most of the Japanese witnesses are not now connected with the Government of Japan, and are in no way obliged to give evidence, according to any particular brief. In fact, as will be seen, different witnesses have given different stories, which would disprove any suggestion of "prompting". So notwithstanding discrepancies and variations, which are only too likely, after the lapse of so many years, the statements of witnesses must be taken as worthy of credit. These statements are corroborated by enquiries through military and non-official channels soon after the events. They all point to the fact that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died at Taihoku Military Hospital on the night of the 18th August 1945. We accept this conclusion. In a way, the sudden and dramatic death fits in with the dynamic character of that national leader and patriot, Subhas Chandra Bose. In General Shidei's service record, the cause of his death is shown as death by war. The same was true of Netaji, only in his case, it was a different war, the war for the independence of India. His war was continuing. He was only changing over from one battle-field to another - from South East Asia to Manchuria.

11. Against this mass of evidence that Netaji had died as a result of the plane crash, there are some who hold that he is alive. Those who believe this are again divided into two schools. The first, mainly consisting of certain members of the Bose family,

believe that although Netaji is alive, nobody is in touch with him, and for reasons of his own, he is in hiding, and will reappear in India at a time chosen by him. The best spokesman of this school was Mr. Aurobindo Bose. According to him, Netaji was a master planner, as he had planned his last escape so well, that nobody could find his clues. The Japanese Government helped him to escape, and they have, therefore, put out an elaborate deception story which is supported by Japanese witnesses. As for Col. Habibur Rehman, he is bound by an oath of secrecy and his injuries are faked. These are largely presumptions. As has been stated before, there is a great deal of evidence that the plane had crashed and Netaji had died. There is no reason to disbelieve the numerous witnesses belonging to Japanese and other nations. From medical evidence, it appears clear that the injuries of Col. Rehman were genuine. If he was under any oath of secrecy, surely the others, particularly the Japanese witnesses, were not. Yet they have corroborated each other. So the line of reasoning of this school, cannot be accepted.

12. The other school claims that Netaji is not only alive, but people have seen him, and that he has appeared here and there, mainly in China, and also on the border of India and China. Mr. Muthuramalanga Thever, M.L.A. ( Madras ) has issued press statements from time to time, that he has been in contact with Netaji. He was the first witness to be called by the Committee. Although implored by the Committee,

he would not part with his secret. He took the plea, that he must first be satisfied that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was on the list of "War Criminals". When, on enquiry from the Government of India, he was told that the Government did not have any such list, he was still not satisfied. More than once Mr. Thaver stated, that he belonged to a political party, (Forward Block) and so he must view all things from a political angle. He was questioned about his press statements, to which he replied significantly, "This is an Official Committee; that was a public affair." A person who is not prepared to stand by the statements he makes to the public and press, before an official Committee, cannot expect to be taken seriously. Mr. S.M. Goswami has produced a sensational pamphlet "Netaji Mystery Revealed". He gave evidence before the Committee in Calcutta, and claims that Netaji is alive. Apparently, his theory started in 1949, when he went to Germany, and met a certain gentleman, Herr Heins Von Have, who told him that Netaji was alive. Herr Have claimed to have been acquainted with Netaji. Mr. Goswami was questioned regarding Von Have. In reply, he said that when the plane crash took place, Von Have was in Tokyo. He was not sure whether he went to Formosa to enquire into the plane crash, or heard it from some German friends. These German friends, about whom no particulars are supplied, told Von Have that there had been no crash. Mr. Goswami did not go to Formosa. Such information can only be described as hearsay. Mr. Goswami has put forward several



suggestions as to where Netaji was, or is, - Soviet Russia, China and Mangolia, Mr. Goswami is prepared to hold that by stages Netaji originally a Russian prisoner, became a Chinese Communist General, and subsequently a Mongolian Trade Union Delegate. But his main reliance is on pictures. Opposite page 8 of his pamphlet "Netaji Mystery Revealed" is a picture of Chinese Military Officers. The person sixth from the left is supposed to resemble Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Identity is very difficult to establish from such pictures, particularly when the persons appear in Foreign uniforms. But the picture on which Mr. Goswami pinned his faith, was that of the visit of the Mongolian Trade Delegation to Peking in 1952, which came to his hand in 1955, in a book published by the Workers' Press, Peking. He has enlarged the picture appearing on page 4 of that booklet, and submitted it to the Committee. He holds the third figure from the left has a striking resemblance to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The difficulty about identifying a person from a random picture, has been mentioned. It might be stated here, without any suggestion of flippancy, that cinema films of historical characters such as Rama Krishna, or Swami Vivekanand are produced now and again. Those who wish to be cast for such roles are called for interview by the producer, and quite a number appear bearing a close resemblance. But the actor who appears on the screen as Swami Vivekanand, is really an entirely different person from the original. In any case, that picture of the Mangolian Delegation was sent to the Indian

Embassy, Peking, for identification. The Foreign Office of the People's Republic of China has stated after enquiry, that the photo was of a Chinese gentleman Mr. Lee Ke Hung, Medical Superintendent of the Peking University Medical College, A copy of telegram conveying the information will be found in Annexure I. In his enthusiasm, Mr. Goswami appeared before the Committee for the second time. He was questioned further about the Mangolian Delegate. The questions and answers are given below:-

Question: How did you come to know about the activities of this particular Mangolian Delegate?

Reply: From the statement of Lt. N.B. Das made through the press.

Question: How did Lt. Das come to know of the whereabouts of the Mangolian Delegate?

Reply: It is up to him to answer.

In this connection, it may be stated that a certain person claiming to be Lt. N.B. Das appeared, and deposed, before the Committee. Mr Debnath Das, who was an Adviser to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, wrote a letter about this person to the Chairman of the Committee which reads as follows:-

"It appeared in the Press that one Lt. N.B. Das gave evidence to the Commission. Das was a Havildar attached to Col. P.N. Dutta and was at Zawabudy, Central Burma, when the allied troops took Burma. He was not a security Officer. He was not stationed at Bangkok as was reported."

The value of information gleaned from such a

source cannot be high, and the theories built by Mr. Goswami on such hearsay cannot carry much weight.

13. One responsible person who suggested that Netaji might be alive, is Mr. A.K. Gupta, Joint Editor of the Hindustan Standard. Mr. Gupta said that in 1951, he undertook a tour in the hill areas of Assam. There he met Mr. Phizo, the Naga leader. Mr. Phizo told him that even before the crash of Netaji's plane, he knew that such a false story would be given out. This story was published in the Ananda Bazar Patrika (Bengali) of Calcutta on 1st May 1951. While travelling in the Mishmi hills, some Mishmi headmen told Mr. Gupta, that some of them had been taken by some Chinese officers, who were on their border, to see an Indian among them. They were shown a person who looked Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Mr. Gupta added, that the Mishmis in question, had not seen Netaji before, and he could not vouch for the truth of their story. Vague suggestions have appeared from time to time that Netaji was with the Chinese Army, or with the fighting Nagas, or that one day he would come to India at the head of an Army. To such suggestions, one can only quote from the historic speech Netaji delivered when he assumed charge of the Indian Independence Movement in Singapore on the 4th July 1943.

"Even my enemies will not have the audacity to say that I can injure the interest of my country." (at page 79 in Major General A.C. Chatterjee's Book - India's struggle for Freedom.)

CHAPTER IV

CREMATION OF NETAJI'S BODY

Immediately after Netaji passed away, the Japanese present, stood up and paid respect to his body by saluting. Col. Habibur Rehman was one of Netaji's most trusted officers, and had been especially chosen by Netaji to accompany him on this journey. Habibur Rehman was deeply affected by Netaji's death. The Interpreter, Nakamura, who was present at the death bed, has graphically described how Col. Rehman prayed for the dead. At first he came and knelt by Netaji's bed, and prayed for five or six minutes. Then he opened the window, and looking at the sky, prayed for a longer time, and then slowly came to his bed and lay down. All present in the room were affected. Dr. Yoshimi says that tears were rolling down Col. Rehman's eyes. The nurses were crying loudly. Everybody present in the room was crying. In fact, describing this poignant scene before the Committee, Dr. Yoshimi himself broke down and sobbed audibly. Thereafter, Dr. Yoshimi informed the Military Headquarters of the sad event. Major Nagatomo was sent down from the Headquarters. He came and saw Netaji's body lying on the Hospital bed swathed in bandages. The body was removed to one corner of the room, and a screen was put round it, and according to Japanese

custom, flowers and candles were placed by its side. The changed position is shown in the sketches of the hospital furnished by Dr. Yoshimi and Col. Habibur Rehman (Annexure II), Major Nagatomo posted soldiers to guard the body.

2. Next day, i.e. on the 19th August, the Formosan Army Headquarters received a telegram from the Imperial General Headquarters, that the body should be flown to Tokyo by plane. Accordingly, Major Nagatomo instructed Dr. Yoshimi to inject Formalene into the body to preserve it. On the same day, the body was put in a coffin which, according to Col. Habibur Rehman was made of camphor wood. Major Nagatomo says, that he had lifted the lid of the coffin, and seen Netaji's face. He says, "I saw Mr. Bose's face. It was a big round face." Col. Habibur Rehman also saw the body being put in the coffin. Meanwhile, Col. Habibur Rehman had been pressing the local Japanese Military authorities, to arrange for the transport of the body, preferably to Singapore, or alternatively to Tokyo. On that day, i.e. on the 19th, some senior Military officers came to the hospital, and expressed their regrets for the unfortunate accident and Netaji's demise. But the body was not transported by plane either to Singapore, or to Tokyo. According to Major Nagatomo, the first telegram from the Imperial General Headquarters was followed by a second telegram, asking them not to send the body to Tokyo, but to cremate it at Taihoku. No reason was given for this change of orders. Col. Habibur Rehman was told, on the 20th, that the body could not be transported by plane, because the coffin was too big to be carried in the

small plane which the Japanese had. Formosa was hot in August, and it was the third day after the death. Finding no alternative, he had to agree to the cremation of the body at Taihoku. There is some discrepancy about the date of cremation. In his statement before us, Col. Habibur Rehman had given the date of cremation, as 20th of August, but in a statement signed by him dated 24-8-1945 and handed to Mr. Murti, the date was given as 22nd August. Mr. J. Nakamura definitely gives the date as 20th August. Dr. Yoshimi says that so far as he could remember, it was the 20th, but he was not very sure. Major Nagatomo has not mentioned any definite date, but says that the cremation was done "on the same day, on receipt of the second telegram from the Imperial General Headquarters" - which, appears to have been received on the 19th of August. It is unlikely that with so much argument, and change of orders, the body was cremated on the 19th, i.e. the date following the death. The cremation is more likely to have taken place sometime later.

3. The cremation was a simple and quiet ceremony. Although Col. Habibur Rehman says that the Hospital staff and a large number of others accompanied the cortege, this is not confirmed by Dr. Yoshimi, the Doctor in charge of the Military Hospital. Dr. Yoshimi simply says, "The body was taken away from the Hospital by the Captain of the guard that was posted there on the 18th. \* \* \* \* \* The coffin was placed in the truck and carried away."

Major Nagatomo who had been detailed by the Military Headquarters, to make all necessary arrangements for the cremation and funeral of Netaji's body, says that the coffin was placed on a truck, with twelve soldiers, and ahead of it he went along in a car with the Indian Adjutant (Col. Habibur Rehman) and the Interpreter (Mr. Nakamura). The Interpreter, Mr. Nakamura has given a detailed description as to what has happened at the crematorium. The crematorium was visited by Mr. Harin Shah. It was the Taihoku City Government Crematorium, and was reached after crossing the main Sun Yet Sen Avenue. Mr. Harin Shah took some photographs of the crematorium both from inside and outside. Apart from the Japanese soldiers, persons definitely present at the cremation were :-

- Col. Habibur Rehman
- Major Nagatomo
- Mr. J. Nakamura
- A Buddhist priest and the Crematorium attendant, Mr. Chu Tsang.

The Committee has examined the first three. The Buddhist priest and the Formosan attendant could not be examined, as we could not go to Formosa. Mr. Nakamura has given a detailed account of the crematorium, and what took place there. He says, "On arrival at the crematorium, the soldiers took up the coffin, and carried it to the furnace. The crematorium was a large sized hall with a furnace in the middle. The hall, as far as I remember, was approximately 16 ft. by 16 ft. as shown in the sketch B (copy enclosed) and the furnace marked 1 therein. From the entrance to the hall, the soldiers carried the coffin the

on their shoulders, and placed it in the sliding tray in the furnace, and after closing the door of the furnace they came out, and told us, that they had placed the coffin in position in the furnace. The soldiers went out, and we, who were waiting outside, went inside the hall. Col. Rehman was in the front. I was next to him. The other gentlemen totalling about 5 followed us. We went and stood in front of the furnace marked 2. All of us stayed there and saluted. After paying our respects, we went to the back side of the furnace where we found the priest standing with burning incense sticks (aggarbattis) in his hand. He wanted to hand over a stick to Col. Rehman but as he could not hold it, I took the stick and placed it in Col. Rehman's hands. Col. Rehman held it between the edge of his palms since he could not hold in his fingers and placed it in the hole which was located at the rear of the furnace. I took the next incense stick and put it down in the same hole and every body followed likewise. \* \* \* \*  
 As we came out of the entrance of the crematorium, the caretaker told us to come there the following day, at about noon time." The party came away after locking the door of the furnace. Both Col. Habibur Rehman and Major Nagatomo claim to have kept the key.

4. Next day, they again went to the crematorium to collect the ashes. Regarding collection of ashes, Major Nagatomo says, "Next morning at about 8 A.M. I went to the hospital to take the Indian Adjutant with me. I went to the hospital in a car, and as far as I remember, the Interpreter was also with us on the next day. On arrival at the crematorium, I opened the lock of the furnace No. 1 with the key that was with me,



and pulled out the sliding plate. From the headquarters I had taken with me a small wooden box about 8" cube. When we pulled out the plate on which the coffin had been put, we found that the whole skelton had still retained its shape, but it was completely burnt. According to the Buddhist custom, I first picked a bone from the throat with two chop-sticks and placed it in the box. Then I picked a bone from every portion of his body and placed it in the box. The Indian Adjutant did the same after me. I do not remember about the Interpreter, whether he picked up the bones or not. In this way, the whole of the box was filled up. The lid of the box containing the bones was nailed but I am not quite sure whether it was nailed here, or in the temple. After closing the box, it was wrapped up in a white cloth. After wrapping the box in a white cloth, it was put round the neck of the Indian Adjutant, and we went by car to the Nishi (West) Honganji temple. That day a special ceremony was held at the temple." Col. Habibur Rehman corroborates Major Nagatomo's version, but he does not give so much detail. Mr. Harin Shah had the advantage of not only visiting the crematorium in 1946, but he also had questioned the caretaker, Mr. Chu Tsang. He said that the coffin of Netaji' was very big. It was brought to the crematorium at about 3 P.M. and it took 8 hours to burn. The Japanese Officers had paid the usual fee of 18 Yens. The coffin was so big, that it could be put in the Chamber, and had to be placed in a smaller coffin. According to Mr. Chu Tsang, it was he who had

not

the body

not

collected the ashes next morning, and put it into the usual wooden funeral urn. He told Mr. Harin Shah, that one Indian with his fore-arm bandaged, came in a car with some Japanese and took away the urn. He described the Indian as a tall person dressed in white with his fore-arm bandaged.

5. Here again, about the cremation, the evidence has come from two Japanese, one Indian (Pakistani) and one Formosan witness. Their stories closely corroborate each other. There is no reason why these witnesses of different origin, should tell the same story, unless they themselves took part in the events they described. There has been no suggestion of disposal of Netaji's body in any other way but by cremation at the Taihoku Crematorium. The slight confusion caused by Southern Army HQ's telegram dated the 20th August, that the body had been flown to Tokyo, could be explained in two ways. First, their own explanation, that the report regarding Netaji's body was flown to Tokyo, presumably with Col. Tada. Secondly, they might have been referring at that time to the first instruction received from Imperial General Headquarters, to fly the body to Tokyo, which was subsequently countermanded. It can be taken as well established, that the body of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was burnt at Taihoku crematorium, and his ashes were thereafter deposited at the Nishi Honganji Temple in the same city. Thus dust returned to dust, and so little was left of so x big a man.

6. An ordinary person reading the story from the beginning, from the flight from Saigon, and ending with the deposit of the ashes in Nishi Honganji Temple, cannot help feeling that things were not arranged in the best possible way. Netaji's requirement for air transport was modest. He only asked for passage for himself, and six of his Advisers and Officers. It is not clear why this modest request could not be met. It is true that at that time, air passages were not easy to come by. Major Kono, for instance, who was on transfer to Tokyo, had to wait at Saigon for two weeks for his passage. But then we have it from the evidence of Captain Nakamura alias Yamamoto, that the flight of Japanese aircraft was restricted only after the 25th of August, i.e. 8 days after Netaji's departure from Saigon. Perhaps, it was not so difficult to arrange for 7 seats in an air transport. General Isoda the Chief of the Japanese Liaison Mission, expected this to be provided, and was disappointed when he was informed to the contrary. Then the plane itself was not probably in a particularly good state, as may be deduced, from the fact that an engine had to be changed at Saigon. General Isayama, Chief of the General Staff, Formosa Army, has said that the engine of the plane was worn out. When the crash took place, it was dealt with in a somewhat casual manner. No officer of any standing came to the spot, although it is clear from the evidence of Staff Officer, Major Nagatomo, that information about the crash was received from the aerodrome immediately after it had occurred. The Chief of the General Staff of the Formosan Army, General Isayama, was candid enough to say, that he

learnt of the accident when he went to his office the next morning! And although Lt. Col. Nonogaki has stated that on informing the Headquarters, some staff officers came while Netaji was alive, the Staff Officers themselves, namely, Col. Miyata and Major Nagatomo, say that they arrived after Netaji had died. Major Nagatomo says that immediately after receiving the information, General Ando, Commander of the Formosan Army, went to the Hospital to see Netaji. He also says that General Ando attended the subsequent funeral ceremony at Nishi Honganji temple. General Isayama the Chief of the General Staff, who should know what the Army Commander was doing, gives a completely different story. He says that neither he nor General Ando went either to the hospital to pay respects to Netaji's body, or attended any funeral ceremony. He goes on to say, that the Army Commander had shut himself up in his house from the day of surrender of Japan, and did not come out. In justification, he has said, that they kept away, so as not to give prominence to the fact, that an important person like Netaji was fleeing to Tokyo. That explanation does not appear very convincing, when he himself said, that a week later, he went and received Dr. Ba Maw, the Prime Minister of Burma, and General Tanaka, Chief of the General Staff Burma Army, who were on their way to Tokyo. Apparently, no particular interest was taken by the local Army Command as to what happened to Netaji's body. A comparatively junior officer, a

Major (Nagatomo), was detailed, and thereafter no further interest was apparently taken. General Isayama says, "I left the matter of disposal of Mr. Bose's ashes to my Staff Officer, and since I did not receive any report from them, I presume everything must have worked out smoothly." One would have at least expected a formal inquiry into the air crash, which is more or less a routine matter. More so, as the plane carried distinguished persons like Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, and Lt. General Shidei. But no such enquiry was held. On being questioned, General Isayama first denied that the Formosan Army had any responsibility to enquiry into an accident of air craft that did not belong to them - the plane in question belonged to the Third Air Army at Singapore. Later on, he admitted that the local Army Command was expected to hold an enquiry, and went on to say, that a report about this particular plane crash was submitted through him, by Lt. Col. Shibuya, to the Imperial General Headquarters. As mentioned in a previous chapter dealing with the air crash, Lt. Col. Shibuya denied knowledge of any such report. Netaji was the head of a State allied to Japan in war, but actually the cremation of his body was a very quiet affair, attended only by the same Major Nagatomo and a dozen soldiers. Truly, it may be said, "Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note." One would have expected him to be buried with the usual military honours - gun carriage draped in flag, soldiers lining with reversed arms, and so on. It is true that there

was a certain amount of disorganisation following the Japanese surrender on 15th of August 1945, but even taking this into account, there remains a residual impression that all that could have been done, was not done.

CHAPTER - V

NETAJI'S ASHES

The last part of this sad story is about Netaji's ashes. The day the ashes were taken out of the Crematorium, the urn in which they were kept was taken and left at the Nishi Honganji Temple in Taihoku City. Col. Habibur Rehman, Major Nagatomo and Mr. J. Nakamura, Interpreter, went to the temple. Mr. Nakamura has said that the urn was handed over to the Head Priest, with instruction that it should be well looked after, and fresh flowers placed before it every day. The urn was to be kept for the time being in the temple, till it was taken away to its final resting place. This temporary deposit seems to have been customary, for Mr. Nakamura says, that in the same temple he saw another urn containing the ashes of General Shidei. There were two Buddhist temples near Nanmon Military Hospital, Taihoku, one was the Nishi (West) Honganji temple which was the biggest temple in Formosa, and had twelve priests, and the other was the Higashi (East) Honganji temple which had eight priests. The Nishi Honganji temple was nearer to the Nanmon Military Hospital, and the other temple was 600 meters away from it. These details have been given by the priest of Higashi Honganji temple, Rev. H. Hidemaru whom the Committee examined as a witness. No priest from the Nishi Honganji temple could be traced. According to Rev. Hidemaru,

the ashes were kept in a white box in the Nishi Honganji temple. He says that the urn containing the ashes, was kept there by the Japanese Army, who looked after it carefully and later brought it to Tokyo. He says that a funeral ceremony was held at Nishi Honganji temple towards the end of August 1945. Major Nagatomo says that he attended a funeral ceremony at the Nishi Honganji temple, either on the day the ashes were deposited, or on the next day. Lt. Col. Shibuya, the Staff Officer, also mentions the funeral ceremony at this temple. It appears that there was a ceremony also in the Higashi Honganji temple. Rev. Hidemaru says that on the 22nd or 23rd of August (i.e. soon after the ashes were brought to Nishi Honganji temple) his own Head Priest told him, that a ceremony would be held for an important Indian personality on the 26th or 27th of August. He goes on to say that this ceremony did take place.

2. On the 5th of September, a plane was flying to Tokyo. A passage was secured for Col. Habibur Rehman who had been asking for it, from the Headquarters of the Formosan Army. Lt. Col. Shibuya, the Staff Officer of the same headquarters, also decided to send by the same plane, the urn containing Netaji's ashes, and the box containing valuables, and asked Lt. Col. T. Sakai to take charge of them. Sub. Lt. T. Hayashida was also asked to proceed to the Taihoku aerodrome, to carry the two boxes to Tokyo. According to the written statement of Lt. Col. T. Sakai, at that



time his hands and face were still bandaged, and he could not lift any luggage. One Major Nakamiya who was acquainted with Col. Habibur Rehman, also went on the same plane. Lt. Hayashida says that he arrived at the aerodrome at 11 A.M. on the 5th of September, and found that Lt. Col. Sakai, Major Nakmiya and Col. Habibur Rehman were there. There were also two boxes - one containing Netaji's ashes, and the other gold and jewellery. The first box was 1 foot cubical in shape, and the second box was 3 ft x 2½ ft x 2 ft. Both were of wood. The first was covered with white cloth, and the second with a leather covering. Both were nailed. He slung the box containing the ashes from his neck in the Japanese style. According to Lt. Col. Sakai, the aerodrome was Minami aerodrome near Taihoku. The plane accident had taken place at the bigger Matsuyama aerodrome. Major Nagatomo had arranged for the box containing the ashes to be taken from the temple, and delivered at the aerodrome. The aeroplane in which the party was travelling was, according to Col. Habibur Rehman, a redcross plane. Lt. Col. Sakai says that it was a 97 heavy bomber marked with a green cross. It flew to Gannosu airfield near Fukuoka in Kyushu, the souther-most Island of Japan. There is some discrepancy as to what happened then. According to Lt. Col. Sakai and Lt. Hayashida says that they all left by train next afternoon at 3 P.M., after having collected a guard of one Sergeant and two soldiers from the local Military Headquarters. According to Lt. Col. Sakai,

they had consultations at Fukuoka and decided that, in the interest of safety, the party should be divided into two. While Col. Habibur Rehman and Major Nakamiya flew on to Tokyo, he(Lt. Col. Sakai) and Lt. Hayashida, with the ashes and the box of valuables, proceed by train, attended by a guard of three soldiers from the local Army Headquarters. There is also discrepancy as regards the time of departure from Fukuoka and arrival at Tokyo. Col. Habibur Rehman says that the party left by night by goods train, and next morning (6th September), they reached Tokyo. Lt. Col. Sakai says that he and Lt. Hayashida left Fukuoka on the morning of 6th September, and reached Tokyo the same evening. According to the current time-table of the Japanese National Railways, even fast Express trains take 20 to 22 hours to reach Tokyo from Fukuoka (Hakata). It is unlikely that in 1945, after the War, the service was so much faster. So the time of travel, approximately 12 hours, given by Col. Habibur Rehman or Lt. Col. Sakai is incorrect. The timing mentioned by Lt. Hayashida is more reasonable. He says that the party left Fukuoka at 3 P.M. on the 6th September and arrived at 6 P.M. on the 7th September. This date tallies with what has been mentioned by two officers of the Imperial General Staff, Major Kinoshita and Lt. Takakura who received the ashes. However, the discrepancy as regards the time is not of great importance.

3. All the three witnesses, Col. Habibur Rehman, Lt. Col. Sakai and Lt. Hayashida, say that immediately on arrival at Tokyo the two boxes containing the ashes and valuables were taken to the Imperial General Headquarters. As it was after office hours, they made over charge to the Duty Officer, Major Kinoshita. The Duty Officer, Major Kinoshita, was examined by the Committee. He said that on the 7th of September at 11 P.M., an Officer of the rank of Lt. Col. handed over to him for safe custody two wooden boxes, which he said he had brought from Taiwan(Formosa). One box was 8" and the other 10" in size. One was light and the other heavy. The boxes were nailed and wrapped in cloth but were not sealed. The Officer who brought them, said that the smaller box contained the ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, while the bigger one contained gold. As the boxes were received late at night, Major Kinoshita kept them in his room in his personal custody, and in the morning handed them over to the next Duty Officer, Lt. Col. Takakura. Lt. Col. Sakai went round to the Imperial General Headquarters next morning, and met Lt. Col. Takakura, Chief of the Military Affairs Section, whom he knew, and confirmed that he had received the ashes and the box containing valuables. Neither the Duty Officers gave, or took any receipt for the two boxes, nor made any written entries about them. Having taken charge of the ashes, Lt. Col. Takakura called the other officers of the Headquarters and paid respects to Netaji's ashes. He then contacted Mr. Rama Murti, President of the Indian Independence League, Tokyo, over the telephone, and

asked him to come to the Headquarters and take charge of the ashes. A car was also arranged for Mr. Murti. Mr. Murti came in about half an hour's time, accompanied by Mr. Ayer who had by then arrived in Tokyo. At the main entrance of the Imperial General Headquarters, on the morning of the 8th September the ashes were handed over to Messrs. Murti and Ayer, by Lt. Col. Takakura in a simple and solemn ceremony which is described by Mr. Murti in the following words :-

"There Major Takakura (later Lt.Col.) was present, and there were two or three other officers. I do not recollect whether General Arisui was there. General Arisui was in the Imperial General Headquarters. Major Takakura told us that General Arisui had asked him to convey his personal condolences to us and to deliver the ashes to us. The urn was wrapped in white cloth, and was taken out from a safety locker. It had straps of long cloth with which to sling around the ~~neck~~<sup>neck</sup> of the bearer. It was a cubical box of about 1 foot dimension. Several other Military personnel who were present, solemnly bowed to the urn. It was received by Mr. Ayer. He was visibly moved by an overwhelming emotion. An Army Sedan car was arranged for our conveyance. Mr. Ayer and myself took the urn direct to my house."

4. At that time, Mr. Murti's house was being used for all purposes as the Headquarters of the Indian Independence League. The urn was placed on a pedestal and flowers and incense were put on it. On the

urn which was so far without any marking, the words "NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE" were written in English Letters by Mr. Ayer. Indian cadets, generally known as Tokyo Boys, came and kept vigil over the ashes. The same night Col. Habibur Rehman turned up first at Mr. Murti's house, and later went to Mrs. Sahay's house, and met Mr. Ayer who was staying there. Since hearing the story of the crash, Mr. Ayer had held up his judgment awaiting the arrival of Col. Habibur Rehman. Mr. Murti in his statement says, "Mr. Ayer lost no time in confronting him with a barage of questions, to all of which, Col. Rehman very calmly, seriously and solemnly gave adequate replies. This conversation definitely cleared all doubts which Mr. Ayer had, and now Mr. Ayer was resolved that the crash was an indisputable reality, and Netaji was a victim of it. Col. Rehman himself was surprised that Mr. Ayer should doubt his story. He showed his own hands and face as visible proof of what had happened. With a serious and solemn face, and eyes burning with sincerity, Col. Rehman allayed all doubts of any one who came in contact with him, and we all accepted this as truth without a shadow of doubt in our minds." Next day he repeated the **story** to a bigger audience. Fearing that he might be arrested by the Allies, Col. Habibur Rehman also handed over to Mr. Murti, a copy of a brief written statement which was dated 24-8-1945, about what had happened to Netaji. (As previously stated, this statement was handed over to the Committee by Mr. J. Murti) (Annexure I).

5. To revert to the ashes, as the American Occupation of Japan had begun, Mr. Murti and his friends felt that an elaborate funeral ceremony would attract attention, and might be treated as a hostile demonstration by the Occupying <sup>Alien</sup> Forces. They therefore, decided to hold such a ceremony on a modest scale. Large ceremonies are usually held at large temples like Nishi Hongani temple Tokyo. For the modest ceremony, they looked for a smaller temple, and fixed upon the Renkoji temple in the same quarter of Tokyo, Suginamiku, in which Mr. Murti lived. The priest, Rev. Mochizuku, also agreed to the proposal. At the request of Mrs. Sahay, the ashes were kept in her house for a day, and homage was paid to them also. Then the funeral ceremony was held at the Renkoji temple. There is some difference to the date. Mr. Ramamurti says that it was held on the 12th or 13th of September. Mr. Ayer gives the date as 14th September. According to Col. Habibur Rehman (who, however, was not present) it was five or six days after his arrival in Tokyo. According to the priest, Rev. Mochizuku, the date was 18th of September. On the day of the funeral ceremony, the ashes were carried in a procession from Mrs. Sahay's house to the Renkoji temple. Mr. J. Murti has described the occasion thus :-

"All the Tokyo I.N.A. cadets, my brother and I, Mrs. Sahay and her family, I.N.A. broadcasting unit were present. Mr. Ayer was also with the procession. Col. Rehman could not accompany the procession, as he was wanted by the American Police for interrogation. Besides the Tokyo cadets numbering about 40, there were a small number of Japanese. About 10 or 15 Japanese Military Officers and civilians were also

present in the procession. The ashes were carried by a cadet by the name of Virik. The procession went from Mrs. Sahay's house to the Renkoji temple, which was at a distance of about two miles from her house. On arrival at the temple, the ashes were put on the altar, and as the flowers and wreaths were placed, the religious ceremony was conducted by 4 or 5 Buddhist priests." Lt. Col. Takakura says that he attended the funeral ceremony as a representative of the Imperial General Headquarters. There were approximately 100 persons including some Japanese. The details of the procession given by Mr. J. Murti are corroborated by Rev. Mochizuki, priest of the Renkoji temple. About the Ceremony he says "The temple of which I am the priest, is a Buddhist temple. When the ashes were brought, we placed them on a wooden stand. The ashes were contained in a small wooden box about 8" cube. It was wrapped in white cloth on which was written :-

"NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE."

I can read printed English a little.

At the ceremony I called six other priests. I stood in the front. We burnt incense (aggarbattis). Mr. Murti gave 30 Yens wrapped in a piece of paper. I distributed this sum amongst all the priests. \* \* \* The ceremony lasted for one hour, after which people went away, and I stayed behind in the temple by the side of the ashes to make sure that no body came and took them away."

6. According to Rev. Mochizuki, after the

funeral ceremony, it is customary for the people to take away the ashes, but in this case, he was asked by Mr. Rama Murti, Mrs. Sahay and a Japanese Staff Officer to keep the ashes in a befitting manner, as they belonged to a great man Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. He agreed to do so till such time as they could be delivered to the proper authorities. Every year on the 18th of August, Rev. Mochizuki offers prayers to the dead. Between 1945 when the ashes were deposited, till 1950, nobody came to see or pay respects to the ashes except Mr. Rama Murti. In May 1950, the then head of the Indian Mission, Mr. K.K. Chettur, visited the temple. Since then, there have been many visitors including Mr. Ayer in 1951. Last year (1955) there was quite a big ceremony on the Death Anniversary Day, the 18th of August. A number of Japanese notables, including Madam Tojo, General Nakamura, General Kawabe, General Mutaguchi, General Katakura, attended. Our Committee visited the Renkoji temple and recorded a note which is enclosed (Annexure I). A series of photographs were taken showing the interior and exterior of the temple and the inner and outer casket in which the ashes are kept. Copies of these will be found in Annexure III.

7. From what has been said, it will be seen that the ashes were moved in stages from the Crematorium to Nishi Honganji temple, from there to Minami aerodrome, and thence to Tokyo Imperial General Headquarters.

The progress thereafter was from the Imperial General Headquarters, first to Mr. RamaMurti's house, and



then to Mrs. Sahay's house, and finally to the Renkoji temple. There is no break in the chain. From the first, i.e. from the crematorium, the ashes were taken charge by the Formosan Army, and responsible officers were concerned with its keeping in the Nishi Honganji temple, and its delivery to the Imperial General Headquarters. That the ashes were well looked after in the temple, has been deposed by the priest of a neighbouring temple. At the Imperial General Headquarters, the first Duty Officer kept the ashes in his own custody, and the next Duty Officer handed them over to the local representative of Netaji's movement, Mr. Rama Murti. Messrs Rama Murti and Ayer took delivery, and after due ceremony, installed the ashes in Renkoji temple. Since then, Rev. Mochizuki has looked after the ashes carefully. There is, therefore, good reason to believe that the ashes that were taken out from the crematorium, Taihoku on or about the 21st of August 1945, were the same ashes, as were deposited at the Renkoji temple Tokyo, on or about the 18th September 1945, and the very same ashes remain in that temple today. It is true that such precautions as were necessary to prove indisputable identity, were not taken. At no stage was the casket containing the ashes sealed, no formal receipts issued, nor again continuous watch kept over it. So although there cannot be absolute certainty, nevertheless, it can be said that, in all probability, the ashes kept in Renkoji temple, Tokyo, are the ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

8. Three witnesses have expressed doubts that the ashes kept in the Renkoji Temple are not the ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. One of the witnesses who had doubts is Mrs. Illa Pal Chawdhury M.P. She went to Japan in a party with Mr. J.C. Sinha, and another gentleman, in connection with the World Religionists Conference in 1955, and visited the Renkoji temple along with her companions. She says, "I got the feeling that the ashes were not Netaji's ashes, because the temple was in a very dilapidated condition. It is a tiny temple in an out-of-the way place. It is almost 18 to 20 miles out of Tokyo, it may be a little more or less. The ashes are kept in a casual manner, wrapped up in an old chaddar and that dignity which should accompany Netaji's ashes, is not there. That is the feeling which I had and I would like to convey this to the Committee." It will be seen that this opinion is subjective, and not so much based on a study of facts and circumstances. As for the condition of the temple, the information given by Mrs. Illa Pal is largely incorrect. The temple is not 18 to 20 miles out of Tokyo, but only 6 miles from the centre of the city, and is in that part of Tokyo known as Suginamaku. It is not in a dilapidated condition, but is in an excellent state of preservation. This will be seen from the photos of the exterior and interior of the Temple, taken at the time when the Committee was in Tokyo in May-June 1956. (Annexure III).



There is no reason to believe that the temple was in a dilapidated condition a year back. The ashes are not kept in a casual manner, but well kept, and looked after by the priest, Rev. Mochizuku. The Renkoji temple was inspected by the members of the Committee on the 30th May 1956. An extract from the note (Annexure I) given below, will show the condition of the temple and how the ashes are kept.

"The Renkoji temple is situated in Suginamiku quarter of Tokyo, about 6 miles from the centre of the town, where the Indian Embassy is situated. The

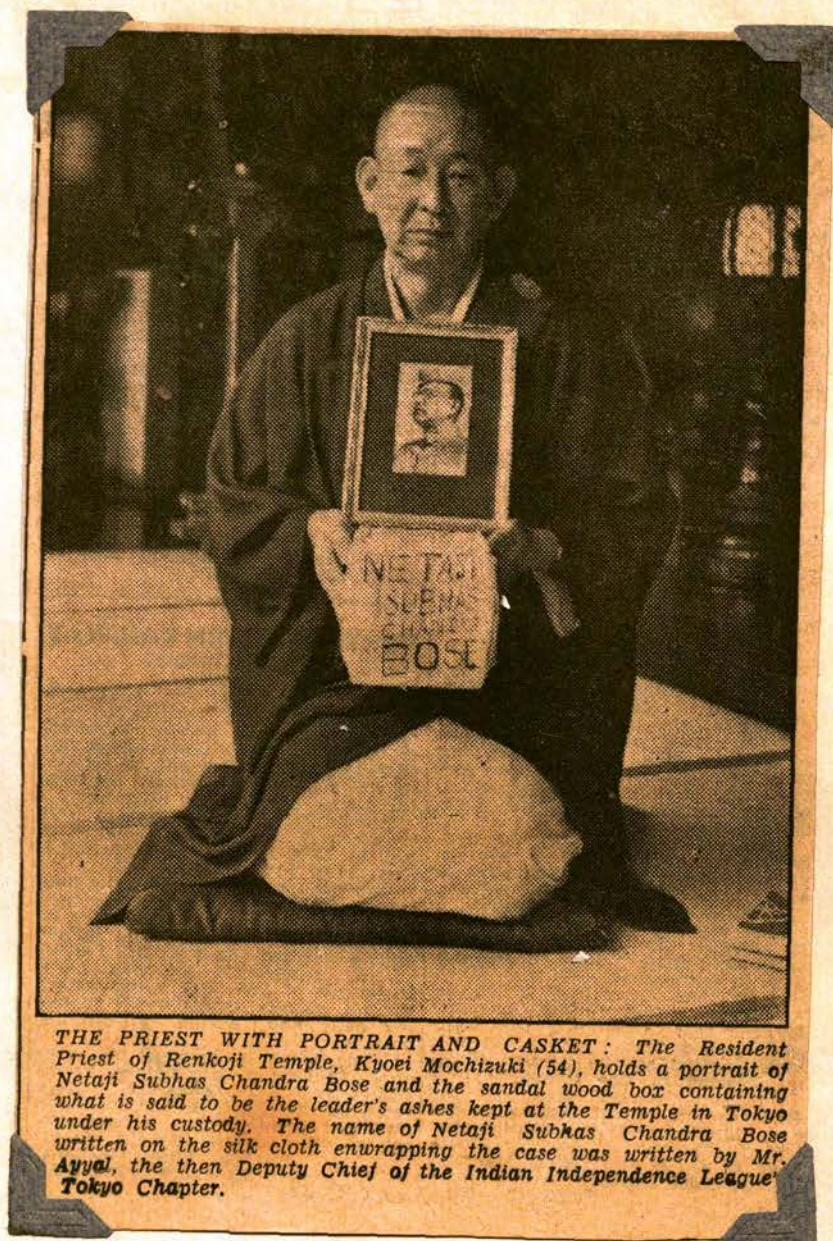
temple is of a moderate size, built of timber in the usual style of Japanese Buddhist temples. Around it is a small Japanese garden. The temple, although not very large, is well kept. The ashes are kept in the main shrine just behind the altar in a large glass case. In this case are kept various venerated objects such as gilded images of Bodhisattvas. On the left hand side of the glass case is <sup>a</sup>small wooden casket in the shape of a pagoda about 2 ft. high. In front of it is a small portrait of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. A larger photograph of Netaji is kept outside in the left hand corner of the glass case. Incense was burning before it. Rev. Mochizuki took out from the pagoda shaped casket, a rectangular shaped wooden box painted red. On opening it was revealed a small container about 8" cube covered with some kind of white cloth. On it was written in large English letters in black ink "NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE." The contents of the smaller container were not examined. As he was handling these objects, Rev. Mochizuku was intoning some sacred mantras. One by one, he put back the containers into their original positions and securely locked with a key the door of the glass case. \* \* \* \* As in the case of most Japanese temples, the temple was very clean both inside and outside. The Committee was satisfied that Rev. Mochizuku takes good care of the ashes, and they are being kept properly within the limited means of the authorities of the Renkoji temple."

9. The reasons for doubt given by Mr. J.C. Sinha

who went along with Mrs. Illa Pal in 1955, are somewhat different. He says that he had met one Mr. Virick, a young man, who was one of the Tokyo Cadets (I.N.A.) during the war. He was the cadet, who had carried the urn containing the ashes to the Renkoji temple, on the day of the original funeral ceremony on the 18th September 1945. Mr. Virick had returned to Japan, and was studying in the Tokyo University. His name was mentioned in this connection specifically by witness Mr. J. Murti. From Mr. Sinha's statement, it appears that Mr. Virick who went with him, had some difficulty in finding his way to the temple, and in finding out where the urn was kept. Mr. Virick confessed to Mr. Sinha, that since depositing the ashes in 1945, he had not been to the Renkoji temple since Mr. Sinha has given the reason why he did not believe that the ashes. He says, " \* \* \* had they been Netaji's ashes as Mr. Virick told me, the person who is in Tokyo for the last three years from today, and if he had been really that person who had carried the ashes to the temple, should have visited that temple a number of times to pay his homage and respect to that great departed leader." Mr. Virick was in Tokyo as a cadet when he was a boy. It is presumed that like others he was repatriated soon after the war terminated. Years have passed and he again came back to Tokyo as a University student apparently in 1952-53. As a young cadet he could not have had much to do with Netaji, and one cannot say how much boyish impression the grown up man

retained. In any case, it would hardly be fair or logical to arrive at any conclusion about the genuineness of the ashes, on the basis of personal reactions - apparent lack of attachment for the same ashes - on the part of Mr. Virick.

10. The third person who cast doubt is Mr. S.M. Goswami. Mr. Goswami appeared before the Committee twice. In his second statement recorded on the 16th June, Mr. Goswami says that whereas in 1953 he found that the writing on the urn of the words "NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE'S ASHES" was in italics, he was surprised to find a picture in Amrita Bazar Patrika, dated 5-6-1956 that the writing "NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE," was in block letters. He concluded that the whole thing had been changed since 1953. On looking at the Amrita Bazar Patrika dated 5-6-1956, that is the picture of the urn appearing on its front page it is seen that the writing is in block letters and not in italics. The picture cut from the paper is given here.



**THE PRIEST WITH PORTRAIT AND CASKET:** *The Resident Priest of Renkoji Temple, Kyoei Mochizuki (54), holds a portrait of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the sandal wood box containing what is said to be the leader's ashes kept at the Temple in Tokyo under his custody. The name of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose written on the silk cloth enwrapping the case was written by Mr. Ayyal, the then Deputy Chief of the Indian Independence League Tokyo Chapter.*

Mr, Ayer went to Tokyo and visited the Renkoji temple in 1951. He has submitted a photo of the urn. The Committee also took a photo of the urn in June 1956. The writing on all these photos "NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE" appears to be identical. They are in block letters. A copy of the photo submitted by Mr. Ayer and the one taken by the Committee are enclosed. (Annexure III). It will be seen that Mr. Gowami has made a completely erroneous statement. After having examined the statement of these witnesses, it is clear that the reasons for doubting that the ashes did not belong to Netaji, are either based on insubstantial grounds, or on wrong facts and therefore have to be discarded.

CHAPTER VI

TREASURE

Although in the terms of reference of the Committee, there was no mention of the treasure carried by Netaji on his last flight, in the course of their examination, a number of witnesses spoke of the treasure. In fact, in Japan, to judge from newspaper articles, there was keen interest as to what happened to this treasure. In view of the public interest on the subject, and evidence given before ~~him~~ them, the Committee feels that, some mention should be made in this Report about this treasure.

2. It was the intention of Netaji 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. 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 Indians in South East Asia. On the occasion of his Birthday in January 1945, Netaji was weighed against gold. Not only cash and valuables, but immovable properties used to be donated. Habib Sahib of Rangoon gave away at one time, all his estate in landed property, cash and jewellery valued at Rupees one crores and three lakhs. In return he asked from Netaji, a pair of Khaki shirt and shorts, so that he might work for the Independence Movement (Page 160 of Major General A.C. Chatterjee's book 'India's Struggle for Freedom'). The Funds of the



Azad Hind Government were handled by the Azad Hind Bank. How much of the liquid assets were carried by Netaji during his retreat from Rangoon onwards, is not precisely known. Mr. Debnath Das says that at the time of the retreat from Rangoon, treasure valued at Rupees one crore, consisting mostly of ornaments and gold bars, was withdrawn from the Azad Hind Bank, and taken away packed in 17 small sealed boxes. General Bhonsle says, that Netaji had brought with him to Bangkok gold ornaments and cash packed in six steel boxes. The jewellery was a gift from Indians in South East Asia. He did not see the Jewellery, and had no idea of its value. Mr. Dinanath, Chairman of the Azad Hind Bank, who was interrogated by the British Intelligence soon after the end of the war, had said, that on the 24th April 1945 when Netaji evacuated Rangoon, he took with him from the Bank 140 lbs of gold. According to Pandit Raghunath Sharma, one of the Leaders of the Indian Independence League at Bangkok, Netaji took with him gold and other valuables which were collected from the people, of a total value exceeding Rupees one crore. That some valuables were carried by Netaji with him, is clear from the evidence, but from the very start, doubt and discrepancies creep in, as to the size and value of the treasure. Pandit Raghunath Sharma has stated that the valuables were kept in 10 or 12 steel boxes - size 13" x 12" x 10"; some a little smaller than others. General Bhonsale says that the contents of six steel boxes were repacked in two canvas bags at the time of Netaji's departure. But Mr. Debnath Das has said, that before leaving Bangkok,

the contents of the 17 treasure boxes mentioned by Mr. Das, were repacked into two large suit cases 30" to 36" long. It is doubtful whether gold and ornaments of the value of Rupees one crore could be carried in two large leather suit cases. Netaji's personal valet, Kundan Singh was examined by the Committee. According to him, the treasure was packed in 4 steel cases of different sizes - 20" x 13" x 16" and 12" x 6" x 6". He was present, at the time when the boxes were checked before Netaji's departure from Bangkok. He says, "the boxes contained articles of jewell-ery which are commonly worn by Indian women such as chains of ladies' watches necklaces, bangles, bracelets, earrings, etc. They were mostly of ladies. There were also pounds and guineas. There were some chains which had guinea pieces attached to them. There were small gold wires, but there were no gold bars. \* \* \* \* \* Besides these 4 boxes containing the treasure, Netaji's personal effects, and certain other valuable articles which he had brought from -Singapore, were kept in a small leather attache case. These contained a gold cigarette case which was presented to Netaji by Hitler." Lt. Kunizuka of the Hikari Kikan who was constantly in touch with Netaji, mentions that he was shown the valuables the same night, and agrees with Kundan Singh although he does not mention the number of boxes.

3. On his last visit, Netaji made heavy payments both at Singapore and Bangkok. His Japanese Secretary and Interpreter, Mr. Negishi says that before leaving Singapore, as ordered by Netaji, he withdrew from the Japanese Bank,

8 crores Yens out of a loan of 10 crores from the Japanese Government. It was drawn in paper money, and spent in payments to I.N.A., and civilian personnel. Mr. Debnath Das says that on the 17th August, just before leaving Bangkok, Netaji made large last-minute gifts of 1½ million Ticals to Chulalongkorn Hospital and University and sanctioned two to three months' pay to all officers and men of the I.N.A. He adds that this was not paid out of the treasure brought from Burma, but from the funds of the Thailand Indian Independence League. The same witness has said, that among the baggage of Netaji, was a large suit case containing documents and currency. The picture of the last hurried days is confused. It is not known how much Netaji withdrew, how much was spent, and how much in gold and jewellery he took with him. As documents were destroyed to avoid falling into Allied hands, reconstruction would be difficult. The only thing that can be said, is that Netaji disbursed large amounts in the final stages, and took some valuables, gold ornaments, etc., with him. Netaji apparently did not want to take the treasure with him. According to the evidence of Pandit Raghunath Sharma, a few days previously, Netaji had enquired of him whether he would take charge of the treasure, to which Pandit Raghunath Sharma did not agree. Mr. Debnath Das has stated that again at Saigon airfield, Netaji proposed that he would leave the treasure behind. Mr. Debnath Das and Major Hasan did not agree to this, and so Netaji carried the valuables with him.

4. Indian and Japanese witnesses have all deposed

106

clearly about the treasure in Saigon. The plane was held up for about half an hour, as the car carrying the boxes of valuables was delayed. All witnesses have stated that the number of cases which came out of the second car, were two and they were hurriedly pushed into the plane, in spite of the protests of the Pilot. General Isoda has said, that Major Hasan rushed up to say, that the two boxes containing presents to Netaji by 3 lakhs of Indians in East Asia, had not arrived, and so Netaji delayed departure by half an hour till the boxes came. General Isoda did not know what the boxes contained, but from what Major Hasan said, he presumed that they contained gold and jewellery. While most witnesses say that the boxes were leather suit cases about 30" long, Captain Gulzara Singh and Col. Pritam Singh have said that they were wooden boxes of a smaller size. According to Mr. Negishi, he was told by some Hikari Kikan officers, that Netaji's baggage included 150 kilos of gold bullion. He goes on to say that some of this treasure accompanied Netaji, while the rest of it was left with the party at Saigon to meet various expenses. Be that as it may, it may be taken as conclusive, that from Saigon, Netaji carried with him two large leather suit cases about 30" long containing gold and valuables. While as stated before, it may be discounted, that the value was anything like rupees one crore, there is no evidence on record which gives the details of the contents of the suit cases, or any indication of their value.

5. The plane crashed at Taihoku on the 18th of August. Col. Habibur Rehman has stated, that he enquired next

day, as to what happened to the baggage, particularly the two leather suit cases which contained gold and jewellery. He was told that the plane was completely burnt, and with it the luggage, but some charred jewellery had been salvaged, and kept in safe custody at the Military Headquarters. The collection was done under the supervision of two Japanese Officers, Major K. Sakai, Officer in charge of the aerodrome defence, and captain Nakamura alias Yamamoto, Officer in charge of the aerodrome. According to Major Sakai, when he came to the scene two hours after the accident, he found Captain Nakamura and his men, collecting articles lying on the ground. As their number was insufficient, he lent 30 of his men. Captain Nakamura on the other hand says, that on being asked by Lt. Col. Nonogaki, he asked his men to collect the valuables. He came and found Major Sakai's men under one Lt. Yamashida doing the collection. Both officers however agree that charred and blackened jewellery such as necklaces, rings, medals etc., were collected. These were put in a 18 litre gasoline can, the top of which was sealed by means of strips of paper on which the officers placed their own seals. About the subsequent disposal, there is a slight discrepancy. According to Major Sakai, the can of valuables was kept only one night under guard, and delivered next day to Lt. Col. Shibuya at the Headquarters. On the other hand, Captain Nakamura says that the can was kept for 4 or 5 days in the air-raid shelter under guard, and thereafter delivered to Lt. Col. Shibuya. On the 5th of September, Col. Habibur Rehman was flown

to Tokyo. With him went Lt. Col. T. Sakai and Lt. Hayashida who had been detailed by the Army Headquarters, Formosa to carry with them Netaji's ashes and his valuables. Major Sakai and Captain Nakamura alias Yamamoto have both spoken of a 18 litre gasolene can. Lt. Col. Shibuya, Staff Officer of the Headquarters, also mentions the can. Lt. Col. T. Sakai in his statement describes the container as "one baggage as big as oil can." But Col. Habibur Rehman and Lt. Hayashida speak of a wooden box.

6. The box of valuables was delivered on the evening of the 7th September at the Imperial General Headquarters, Tokyo. The Duty Officer, Major Kinoshita, who first received it, made over charge next morning to Lt. Col. Takakura. Both say that the box was a wooden box nailed down but not sealed. How a sealed gasolene can could become a nailed wooden box is not clear. According to Lt. Col. Takakura, on the 8th September morning, he phoned Mr. Ramamurti, who came with Mr. Ayer and took charge both of Netaji's ashes and valuables. Mr. Ramamurti says that two or three days after his arrival in Tokyo, (that would be 9th or 10th September) Col. Habibur Rehman asked him to bring the box of valuables, and Mr. Ramamurti accordingly went and brought it from the Imperial General Headquarters. The box was a heavy wooden box, and a porter was engaged to carry it. Col. Habibur Rehman says that a few days after his arrival in Tokyo, Messrs. Ayer and Ramamurti were called to the Imperial General Headquarters and the box containing

the valuables was handed over to them. Mr. J. Murti corroborates his brother. Mr. Ayer does not say where the box was received, but indicates that in the last week of September, he chanced upon Col. Rehman, Mr. Ramamurti and Mr. J. Murti cleaning and sorting out the charred jewellery in the house he and Col. Habibur Rehman were occupying. There are major discrepancies as to the date, and who received the box. While Mr. Ramamurti says that Col. Habibur Rehman satisfied himself that the box was indeed the same box that had been packed before him at Taihoku, Col. Habibur Rehman says that the seals of the box were broken; it appeared to have been tampered with, was much lighter and only half full. The contents were found to be ornaments of gold and precious stone, all charred mixed and fused with base metals and small bits from the wreckage. They were roughly separated into three lots, according to whether they contained more gold or base metal. Afterwards, they were repacked into a box and nailed. The weight of the valuables was found to be 11 kilograms. This was noted, and a rough list was made and signed by Col. Habibur Rehman, a photostat copy of which is enclosed (Annexure I). Col. Rehman left the valuables in the charge of Mr. Ramamurti to be handed over to any authority which arose in India in succession to Netaji's movement. At the same time, Mr. Ayer left 300 grams of gold and 20,000 Yens in cash with Mr. Ramamurti with similar direction. They did this in order to avoid the valuable properties from being confiscated by the Allies.

7. Mr. Murti kept the valuables with him from 1945

110

to 1951. Mr. Murti did not keep the money in a Bank. When asked, he said he did this so that the occupation authorities, who would know of the assets of Japanese Banks, might not confiscate the valuables. He did not take any steps to contact any Indian authorities during all these years. In fact, there is reason to believe that he denied having the treasure with him. He made no attempt to contact even the Indian Mission in Tokyo. He says that he was in correspondence with Mr. Ayer and the latter had advised him not to take any action till the connected matter of Netaji's ashes was satisfactorily solved. Mr. Ayer came to Japan in 1951, and it was only then that Mr. Ramamurti acknowledged that the treasure was with him, and expressed willingness to hand over the same to the Indian Mission in Tokyo. He admitted that he had partly financed Mr. Ayer's trip to Japan. On his return to India, Mr. Ayer met the Prime Minister, and suggested that the treasure might be taken over by the India Government through the Indian Mission in Tokyo. The Prime Minister agreed to this and on instruction from him, the treasure was taken over by the Indian Mission on the 24th September 1951. The First Secretary of the Mission, Mr. V.C. Trivedi, signed the receipt on the copy of the list made over by Col. Rehman to Mr. Ramamurti in 1945. On the same day, Mr. Ramamurti also handed over 300 grams gold and 20,000 Yens which had been left with him by Mr. Ayer. The valuables were again checked and weighed by the



Indian Mission and the weight was found to be a little more than noted in Col. Rehman's original list.

8. The valuables were brought to India and have been kept in the National Museum at Rashtrapati Bhavan. As mentioned, the Committee inspected these valuables at the Museum. Their estimated value is Rupees one Lakh. The Museum was inspected twice, and on the second occasion the Committee went along with Kundan Singh, Netaji's personal valet. As already mentioned, in Chapter II, Kundan Singh identified a number of articles as belonging to Netaji. The articles found in the Museum were jewellery, and trinkets of the kind, which different witnesses have testified as gifts to Netaji, from the Indian public in South East Asia, and which he carried with him on his last journey. It is evident that the charred and damaged pieces of gold and jewellery etc., which are in the National Museum, formed part of Netaji's baggage, in his last journey, which was salvaged from Taihoku airfield, and later recovered from Mr. Murti. It is also seen, that what was handed over by Mr. Murti in 1951, tallied with the list signed by Col. Habibur Rehman in 1945. But it is not clear how much was carried by Netaji, and how much of it was recovered. Two suit cases in which Netaji took the valuables, were not weighed. We have only the evidence of witnesses that they were fairly heavy. Only one witness, Lt. Col. Nonogaki has mentioned the weight as 20 kilos each. Only 11 kilograms of burnt-down jewellery mixed with base metal and ashes had been recovered. Quite clearly,

the quantity that has been recovered is much less than what Netaji carried with him. There are a large number of gaps and discrepancies in the chain. It is not clear whether the plane was cordoned off immediately after the crash, and the collection of valuables begun under proper supervision. After it was collected, there is discrepancy, as to whether it was left for some days in an air-raid shelter, or taken next morning to the Hqs. There is doubt as to the container. Some say it was a gasolene can, while others say that it was a wooden box. If the gasolene can was originally filled and sealed there is no evidence to show who opened it, and why, and put the contents again in a wooden box. The wooden box that was handed over in Tokyo to Mr. Ramamurti was not sealed, but only nailed. Whereas Major Tkakura says, that he handed over the box to Mr. Murti and Mr. Ayer along with the ashes, Mr. Murti says that only he, was asked to come, and take the box of valuables a few days after taking delivery of the ashes. Col. Rehman says that Messrs. Ayer and Murti went and brought the box from the Imperial General Hqs. According to Mr. Ayer, he was not called, but came as if by accident, \* While Mr. Murti says that Col. Rehman was satisfied, that the box was in the same order as he had packed in Taihoku, Col. Rehman says, that the box appeared to him to have been tampered with, much lighter in weight, and less than half full. So it is far from clear as to what was collected from Taihoku air-field, whether and when the container was changed, whether there was any subtraction, and who

\* while Mr. Murti, his brother and Col. Rahman were cleaning and sorting out broken pieces of jewellery. No receipt was taken or given by the General Hqs.

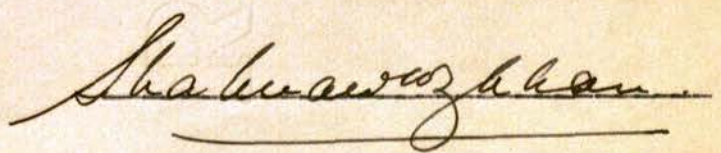
took delivery of it in Tokyo and when. From the evidence available to us, it is not possible to come to any definite conclusion about the treasure.

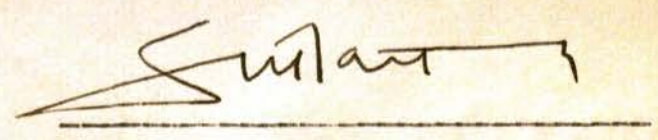
If it is considered desirable to go more closely into the matter, it may be necessary to institute a separate enquiry, whose scope might well include not only the treasure that was carried by Netaji on his last journey and its recovery, but also examination of the entire assets and liabilities, in cash and kind, of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. It is, however, not certain, how far such an enquiry would be profitable after this lapse of time, especially when, such records as they were, must have been largely destroyed.

CHAPTER VII

RECOMMENDATION

The Committee has come to the conclusion that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose met his death in an air crash, and that the ashes now at Renkoji temple, Tokyo, are his ashes. Rev. Mochizuki and the trustees of the Renkoji temple have already kept the ashes for a number of years. Their services deserve to be recognised. If the ashes are taken to be genuine, Renkoji temple cannot obviously be their final resting place. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died ten years ago. It is time that his ashes were brought to India with due honour, and a memorial erected over them at a suitable place. This we recommend for the serious consideration of the Government of India. It may be mentioned in this connection, that influential circles in Japan are considering putting up a memorial to Netaji in that country. If Netaji's mortal remains are honoured, and his ideals kept alive, then one could truly ask "Where is death's sting, where, grave thy victory?."

  
 (SHAH NAWAZ KHAN)

  
 (S.N. MAITRA)

NEW DELHI.  
 31-7-1956.

ANNEXURE I.

1. General Shidei's Service Record.
  2. Gaimusho's Report that there was no enquiry into the crash.
  3. Committee's report on Renkoji temple.
  4. Copy of telegram from the Japanese Government to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, received from Shri Debnath Das.
  5. Statement of Col. Habibur Rehman Khan, regarding the Air Crash at Taihoku, Formosa, dated 24-8-1945.
  6. Photostat copy of list of treasure, signed by Col. Habibur Rehman.
  7. Photostat copy of list of treasure, signed by Mr. S.A. Ayer.
  8. Points of agreement on writing the Report.
  9. Copy of Telegram about "Mangolian Delegate".
  10. List of witnesses.
-

June 4th, 1956

Dear Mr. Dar,

In compliance with the request of the Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose Enquiry Commission, made at the Third Regular Meeting on May 26, 1956, I wish to state as follows:

1. \* \* \* \* \*

2. Military Record on the death of the Late Lt.-Gen. T. Shidei.

\*Operation Branch  
Repatriation  
Relief Bureau,  
Ministry of  
Health &  
Welfare.

Two copies of the records in question, secured from the Section referred to above\*, is attached hereto as enclosures respectively.

Mentioned above be transmitted to the Commission.

I should appreciate it very much if you would be good enough to transmit the above reply to the said Commission.

Sincerely yours,

Hisaji Hattori  
Chief of 4th Section  
Asian Affairs Bureau  
GAIMUSHO

Mr. A.K. Dar  
First Secretary  
Embassy of India

Translation

RYU-SEN-MAN No. 483

August 4th, 1947

To : President of Demobilization Agency.

From : Chief, Korean & Manchurian Affairs Section,  
First Demobilization Bureau, Demobilization Agency.

Subject:- Application for Promotion of War-Dead.

Whereas the person mentioned below comes under Paragraph 5, Article 26 of ICHIFUKU (First Demobilization Bureau) No. 744 of 1946, the application for his promotion is submitted herewith for your consideration.

Date of Death	August 18, 1945
Cause of Death	Death by war
Place of Death	Taihoku Air Field
Position	Attached to Military headquarters in Manchuria
Military Rank	Lieut.- General
Name	Tsunamasa SHIDEI
Date of birth	January 27, 1895
Permanent Domicile	No. 24, Oku-onoe-cho, Yamashina-zushi, Higashiyama-ku, Kyoto-city.

Chief, Korean and Manchurian Affairs Section  
First Demobilization Bureau  
Demobilization Agency  
(Official Seal)

N.B. The promotion applied for was not approved.

Military Career of Lieut.-General Shidei.

- December 25, 1915 : appointed Sub-Lieutenant of Cavalry
- August 1, 1940 : appointed Major-General
- October 27, 1943 : appointed Lieut.-General
- May 23, 1945 : appointed the Chief of Staff of Japanese Corps in Burma.
- August 18, 1945 : died by war in Formosa.

Examined and authenticated by  
the Ministry of Foreign affairs.

SEAL

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS  
JAPAN.

JUN. 4, 1956.

Sd/- Yasuteru Asahina  
Secretary,  
Ministry of External Affairs.  
(Archives Section)



THE GAIMUSHO

June 4th, 1956

Dear Mr. Dar,

In compliance with the request of the Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose Enquiry Commission, made at the Third Regular Meeting on May 26, 1956, I wish to state in reply as follows:

1. Official Enquiry Commission on the Accident of the Plane wherein Netaji was emplaned.

As a result of investigation made at the Operation Section, Repatriation Relief Bureau, Ministry of Health & Welfare, it has been revealed that no official enquiry commission to determine the causes of the accident in question was held so far.

2. \* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* \*

I should appreciate it very much if you would be good enough to transmit the above reply to the said Commission.

Sincerely yours,

Hisaji Hattori  
Chief of 4th Section  
Asian Affairs Bureau  
GAIMUSHO

Mr. A.K. Dar,  
First Secretary,  
Embassy of India.

NOTE ON LOCAL INSPECTION OF RENKOJI TEMPLE TOKYO.

.....

On the 30th May after concluding the evidence of Rev. Mochizuku, the head priest of the Renkoji temple, the members of the Committee visited the Renkoji temple accompanied by Rev. Mochizuki and five lay members of the Temple Committee. The Renkoji temple is situated in Suginamiku quarter of Tokyo, about 6 miles from the centre of the town where the Indian Embassy is situated. The temple is of a moderate size, built of timber in the usual style of Japanese Buddhist temples. Around it is a small Japanese garden. The temple, although not very large, is well kept. The ashes are kept in the main shrine. Just behind the altar is a large glass case. In this case are kept various venerated objects such as gilded images of Bodhi sattvas. On the left hand side of the glass case is a small wooden casket in the shape of a pagoda about 2ft. high. In front of it is a small portrait of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. A larger photograph of Netaji is kept outside in the left hand corner of the glass case. Incense was burning before it. Rev. Mochizuki took out from the pagoda shaped casket a rectangular shaped wooden box painted red. On opening it was revealed a small container about 8" cube covered with some kind of white cloth. On it was written in large English letters in black ink "Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose." The contents of the smaller container were not examined. As he was handling these objects, Rev. Mochizuki was intoning some sacred mantra. One by one, he put back the containers into their original positions, and securely locked with a key the door of the glass case. Before entering the shrine, the Committee was entertained to tea in the Japanese style by the priest and members of the Temple Committee. In all, our Committee spent about half an hour at the temple. As in the case of most Japanese temples, the temple was very clean both inside and outside. The Committee was satisfied that Rev. Mochizuki takes good care of the ashes, and they are being kept properly within the limited means of the authorities of the Renkoji temple.

S hri Debnath Das,  
171/3, Rash Behari Avenue,  
Calcutta 19.

13th June, 1956.

To

The Chairman,  
Netaji Enquiry Commission,  
Government of India,  
NEW DELHI.

Sir,

Enclosed herewith you will kindly find some papers in connection with steps that Netaji adopted to continue India's struggle for freedom. I could not submit these papers when I appeared to give evidence since they were kept at some of my friend's house and could not be had in time.

1. This is the English translation of the message received by Netaji from Tokyo through the Southern Command in reply to Netaji's enquiry on the attitude of the Japanese Government to extend facilities to proceed to Russia with some of his associates should he (Netaji) so desired in the event of Japan's collapse. The English version is, no doubt, rendered by some Japanese officer as was usual and was submitted along with the original letter that was in Japanese. This was delivered to Netaji by the second week of June 1945. \* \* \* (The original English typed copy of this message submitted by the Hikari Kikan is in my possession, enclosed one being the true copy).

2 & 3. \* \* \* \* \*

Jai Hind.

Debnath Das.

COPY OF TOKYO'S TELEGRAM TO SOUTHERN COMMAND REGARDING YOUR EXCELLENCY'S  
OPINION FOR THEIR CONSIDERATION.

.....

1. The opinion of the Nippon Government with regard to Your Excellency's plan of approaching the Soviet is as follows:-

(a) Not only the assistance by Nippon Government to Your Excellency who are firmly determined to co-operate to the last with Nippon in order to attain the object of Indian Independence remains wholly unchanged but it also desire to still further strengthen the spiritual tie.

(b) Nippon Government pays a deep respect with its whole heart to Your Excellency's co-operation with Nippon on the moral strength to the utmost in order to attain Indian Independence, convinced of Nippon's certain victory and without resorting in the least to the opportunism of following in the wake of the powerful in spite of the present unfavourable world situation to Nippon. It may be added that the reason why the above (a) item which is apparently needless to mention has been repeated here is that the Government more than ever earnestly hopes that Your Excellency will push on fighting for the liberation of India with firm determination to display the spirit of live or die together by India and Nippon.

(c) Nippon Government deems it almost without hope of success to get directly in touch with the Soviet Government on behalf of Your Excellency and it has no intention of doing so.

2. Nippon Government would like to study separately as to the possibility of Your Excellency's making political move towards India through the Chungking Regime.

3. Nippon Government desires that Your Excellency would endeavour in bringing our active combined operations to a successful issue in spite of present difficulty of war situations through good understanding of Nippon's intention.

.....

STATEMENT OF COLONEL HABIB=UR-RAHMAN KHAN, INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY, REGARDING THE AIR CRASH AT TAIHOKU, FORMOSA,

on 18th August, '45, as a result of which Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, was seriously injured and subsequently succumbed to his injuries in the hospital.

At 10-30 hours on 16-8-'45 Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose accompanied by a few Government and Army Officers, I being one of the party, left Singapore for Bangkok by a Japanese bomber plane. We reached Bangkok at 15.30 hrs.

At 07.30 hrs on 17-8-'45, two bomber planes left for Saigon. On the Indian side, the following comprised the party:-

- Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose,
- Sri Ayer,
- Col. Habibur Rahman Khan,
- Col. Gulzara Singh,
- Sri Debnath Das,
- Lt. Col. Pritham Singh,
- Major A. Hassan.

Lt. Genl. Isoda, Chief of the Hikari Kikan, and H.E. Hachiya, Japanese Minister to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, travelled by the other plane.

Saigon was reached at about 10.45 hrs and negotiations with the Southern Regions Command were started.

At about 15.45 hrs, Lt. Genl. Isoda, H.E. Hachiya and Col. Tada, Staff Officer of Hq, Southern Regions, informed Netaji that a maximum of two seats were available in a bomber plane leaving Saigon at 17.00 hrs the same day. It was decided to avail of the seats and I was to accompany Netaji.

The plane left Saigon aerodrome at 17.15 hrs. Six senior Japanese officers, including Lt. Genl. Shidei, Chief of Staff of Staff of the Kwangtung Army also were the passengers on the same plane. We spent the night at Tourane in French Indo-China where we reached at 19.45 hrs.

At 07.00 hrs on 18.8.'45, we started from Tourane and reached Taihoku, in Formosa, at 14.00 hrs. Here we halted

for about 35 minutes. At 14.35 hrs. the plane took off. It had not yet gained much height and was within the outskirts of the airfield when a loud report like that of an explosion was heard from the front. In actual fact, one of the propellers of the aeroplane had broken. Immediately the plane crashed on the ground and it caught fire both in the front and in the rear.

At the time of the accident Netaji's position in the aeroplane was as follows:-

Immediately behind the pilot was seated one Japanese officer and behind him on the left side was Netaji. On his immediate right was the petrol tank. I was behind Netaji.

Netaji got out of the plane from the left side from the front. I followed him. We had to pass through the fire in doing so. As soon as I got out I saw that Netaji's clothes were on fire, from head to foot. I rushed to help him to remove the clothes. By the time his clothes were removed he had sustained severe burns on his body in addition to serious head injuries received during the crash. In my opinion, petrol had dropped on his clothes from the adjacent tank during the crash. Within 15 minutes we were rushed to the nearest Nippon Army hospital. It was about 15.00 hrs at the time. I had also received serious head and body injuries in addition to burns on the face and the body.

Netaji was given immediate medical attention but his condition was very serious. Nippon medical authorities did all they could in his treatment but he unfortunately expired at 21.00 hrs (T.T), the same day. Prior to his death he was in his senses and was quite calm. Whenever he talked to me it was regarding India's Independence. Prior to his death he told me that his end was near and asked me to convey a message from him to our countrymen to the following effect:-

"I have fought to the last for India's Independence and

now am giving my life in the same attempt. Countrymen!  
Continue the Independence fight. Before long India will be  
free. Long Live Azad Hind."

Lt. Genl. Shidei and two other Japanese Officers had  
died instantaneously after the crash and all others were  
seriously injured.

I requested the Army authorities to arrange for the  
early transportation of the body either to Singapore or Tokyo,  
preferably to Singapore. They promised all help. I was told  
that arrangements for a box for the body and for the aero-  
plane were being made and that they had informed Saigon and  
Tokyo regarding the accident.

On 21.8.'45 a senior Japanese staff officer informed me  
in the hospital that the length of the box did not allow the  
box being put into the plane. He suggested that the body be  
cremated in Taihoku. Seeing no other alternative, I agreed  
to the suggestion and the body was cremated on 22.8.'45 at  
Taihoku under the arrangement of the Army authorities. The  
ashes were collected on 23.8.'45.

I have requested the Army authorities to arrange for the  
removal of the ashes to Tokyo where they can be kept in a safe  
place and from where at a later date they will be removed to  
India.

Above is the true account of the unfortunate tragedy and  
I have requested the authorities to keep it with the ashes so  
that one day India will know the truth regarding the death of its  
outstanding and heroic Leader.

Note: Photographs of the body in the box, myself seated besides  
were also taken.

Taihoku, Taiwan, 24.8.'45.

Sd/-  
HABIBUR RAHMAN KHAN  
COLONEL.

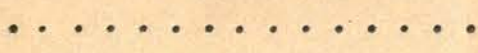
.....

Copy of telegram dated 21st July 1956 from Indembassy, Peking addressed to Foreign, New Delhi.



".... Concerning alleged photograph of SUBASH CHANDRA BOSE. We showed this to Foreign Office who have informed us that photograph is of LEE KE HUNG Medical Superintendent of P.U.M.C" (Peking University Medical College)?

"..... During his last two visits to Mongolia, Ambassador also made enquiries and was told that person in question was not a Mongolian."





List of witness examined by the Committee.

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place.</u>
1.	Shri Thevar	4th April 1956.	New Delhi
2.	Shri Debnath Das	5th April 1956.	New Delhi
3.	Capt. Gulzara Singh.	6th April 1956.	New Delhi.
4.	Col. Hahibur Rehman.	6th to 9th April 1956.	New Delhi.
5.	Col. Pritam Singh.	10th April.	New Delhi.
6.	Shri S.A. Ayer.	11th and 12th April, and morning of 14th April.	New Delhi.
7.	General Bhonsle.	16th April.	New Delhi.
8.	Shri A.K. Gupta.	16th April.	New Delhi.
9.	Shri Harin Shah.	16th and 17th April.	New Delhi.
10.	Col. Thakur Singh.	17th April.	New Delhi.
11.	Shri Majumdar.	20th April.	Calcutta.
12.	Shri Kunizuka.	23rd April.	Calcutta.
13.	Lt. N.B. Das.	23rd April.	Calcutta.
14.	Shri H.K. Roy.	24th April.	Calcutta.
15.	Shri Kalipada Dey.	24th April.	Calcutta.
16.	Shri S.M. Goswami.	24th April, and 9th June 1956.	Calcutta.
17.	Shri J.C. Sinha.	25th April.	Calcutta.
18.	Shri Deben Das.	25th April.	Calcutta.
19.	Shri H. Singha.	25th April.	Calcutta.
20.	Shri Negishi.	25th April.	Calcutta.
21.	Col. H.L. Chopra.	26th April.	Calcutta.
22.	Shri D.N. Bose.	26th April, and 8th June 1956.	Calcutta.
23.	Mrs. Pal, M.P.	26th April.	Calcutta.
24.	Shri A. Bose.	26th April, and 8th June 1956.	Calcutta.
25.	Pandit Raghunath Sharma.	28th April.	Bangkok.
26.	S. Ishar Singh.	28th April.	Bangkok.
27.	Shri U.C. Sharma.	28th April.	Bangkok.

128

28.	Shri A.C. Das.	30th April. 9 AM.	Bangkok.
29.	Shri Ramneo Gosai.	1st May, 1956.	Saigon.
30.	Shri A.M. Sahay.	1st May and 3rd May '56	Saigon.
31.	Shri Dastgir.	2nd May.	Tourane.
32.	Mr. Hachiya.	8th May, 1956.	Tokyo.
33.	Shri Narain Das.	8th May, 1956.	Tokyo.
34.	Capt. Arai.	9th May 1956, and morning of 10th May.	Tokyo.
35.	General Isoda.	10th May and 12th May 1956.	Tokyo.
36.	Mr. J. Murti.	11th May 1956.	Tokyo.
37.	Lt. Col. Nonogaki.	14th May 1956.	Tokyo.
38.	Mr. Watanabe.	14th May 1956.	Tokyo.
39.	Dr. Tsuruta.	15th May 1956.	Tokyo.
40.	Mr. Sato Kazo.	16th May 1956.	Tokyo.
41.	Major Kono.	16th May 1956.	Tokyo.
42.	Mr. Suriya Miyata.	17th May 1956,	Tokyo.
43.	Major Takahashi.	17th May 1956.	Tokyo.
44.	Col. Yano.	18th May 1956.	Tokyo.
45.	Major Kinoshita.	21st May 1956.	Tokyo.
46.	Lt. Col. Takakura.	21st May 1956.	Tokyo.
47.	Mr. T. Hayachida.	22nd May.	Tokyo.
48.	Dr. Yoshimi.	22nd May and 23rd May	Tokyo.
49.	Mr. Sen.	23rd May.	Tokyo.
50.	Lt. Col. Shibuya.	24th May.	Tokyo.
51.	Capt. Yamamote.	25th May.	Tokyo.
52.	Mrs. Yamamote	25th May .	Tokyo.
53.	Major Sakai.	28th May.	Tokyo.
54.	Mr. Kazo Nitshi.	29th May.	Tokyo.
55.	Mr. Nakamura.	30th May.	Tokyo.
56.	Rev. Mochizuki.	30th May.	Tokyo.
57.	General Isayama.	31st May.	Tokyo.
58.	Mr. Ota Hide Maru.	31st May.	Tokyo.

59.	Mr. Miyoshi.	1st June 1956.	Tokyo.
60.	Major Nagatomo.	1st June 1956.	Tokyo.
61.	Mr. Kitizawa.	2nd June.	Tokyo.
62.	Shri Asada.	2nd June.	Tokyo.
63.	Co. Figgess.	5th June.	Tokyo.
64.	Dr. Dutt.	9th June.	Calcutta.
65.	Shri Kundan Singh.	19th June.	New Delhi
66.	Shri Ramamurti.	21st June.	New Delhi
67.	Shri A.M.N. Sastri.	27th June.	New Delhi

( Col. T. Sakai - Written Statement ).

PROHIBIT

PROHIBIT

SWEDEN

ANNEXURE II.

1. Sketch of plane by Col. Habibur Rehman.
  2. Sketch of runway by Captain Nakamura alias Yamamoto.
  3. Sketch by Lt. Col. Nonogaki of plane showing breakage.
  4. Sketch by Major Kono of plane showing breakage.
  5. Sketch by Major K. Sakai of plane showing breakage.
  6. Sketch by Captain Arai of plane showing breakage.
  7. Sketch plan of Hospital by Dr. Yoshimi.
  8. Sketch plan of Hospital by Dr. Tsuruta.
  9. Sketch plan of Hospital by Col. Habibur Rehman.
  10. Sketch plan of crematorium by Interpreter, J. Nakamura.
- 

ROYAL  
MADE IN SWEDEN

2  
Li Ram Nanti  
Chairman I.L.C.  
Territorial Committee  
Japan.

Dear Sir,

I am leaving with you  
the following quantity of Gold which  
was salvaged at Tominaka Prison after  
the fatal air accident <sup>on 10/11/45</sup> in which  
Natygi Subhadra Chandra <sup>was</sup> expired at  
M.A. on 18.8.45 in the hospital.

1. Approximately pure Gold - Kg - gm  
in two wooden boxes and 7-800  
paper wrapper (weights, includes  
wooden boxes).

2. one packet - Gold Kg gm  
mixed with metal - 3-100  
metal iron etc. (weights, includes weight  
of Gold, metal iron etc  
paper wrapper).

Total

1. Since the Gold is mixed with  
the metal, except weights  
cannot be assessed at present  
Hence at a better date the  
arrangement for Gold the  
purification of Gold may please  
be made.

3. As requested that all  
Gold may be handed over  
to a competent <sup>person</sup> authority who  
representing <sup>India</sup> may be  
dealing with the affairs  
of the Indian Independence  
Movement led by Natygi  
Subhadra Chandra (son) in  
East Asia.  
Yours sincerely,  
Habibullah Khan

10/11/45

Habibullah Khan

To Kyoto 11/45.

To  
Sri Rama Murti.

I am leaving with you  
three hundred (300) grammes of gold and  
ten thousand. At the proper  
time and place, kindly hand  
this to the competent national  
authority which will  
undoubtedly one day come  
into existence to handle affairs  
arising as a sequel to the  
movement for India's independence  
led by Netaji Subhas Chandra  
Bose in East Asia. The gold is  
intact and brought it from  
Beigon, the cash is balance after

- 2 -

Changing this into  
Yen and meeting my expenses  
during my stay in Japan  
since August 22, 1945.  
The total in this is and the  
exchange rates as  
shown in the bank slips.

S. A. G.  
15/11/45

1. It was Netaji's idea to continue the struggle for the liberation of India. This was thought of by Netaji some time before Germany and Japan surrendered and which Netaji had at that time said to a selected few that they would sooner or later lose the war. Netaji also discussed with his Cabinet members about this point.

Since October 1944, when Netaji visited Tokyo, he carried out these intentions of his and attempted to contact the Russian Ambassador, and finally decided to go to Manchuria with that purpose in view.

2. Whether the plane crash did take place? ~~and~~ The plane carrying Netaji did crash. There is no other evidence to the contrary; the evidence should be considered carefully and in details.
3. Whether Netaji met his death as a result of this accident? The witnesses support this story. There is no reason why they should be disbelieved. After a lapse of about 10 years, these witnesses, who belong to different walks of life and of different nationalities, Habib an Indian and subsequently a Pakistani and the others, who are Japanese who who mostly are unconnected with one another and no longer <sup>in the service</sup> subordinates of their Government and Japan not being a totalitarian State, would not be expected to state what was not true.

Enquiries made subsequently (1) by British Intelligence teams operating from Delhi and (2) British and American Intelligence teams operating from Tokyo (3) non-official Enquiry appear to corroborate the statements of these eye-witnesses and a few others, who appeared on the scene immediately after.

A person of the status of Netaji as Head of a State, that was not only recognised by Japan, but was helped materially in every way by Japan and vice versa.

was not given the requisite facility and honour due to him, from the very start, viz: by providing a separate plane or seats for him and for all of his associates; treatment in a small hospital with a junior medical officer - Captain; manner of cremation; disposal of ashes etc, all without due honour and respect, viz: full military funeral; body placed on a gun carriage with full military honours etc.

4. Cremation:

Preliminaries - by the 2 doctors and some of the subordinate Hospital staff.

Main evidence by (1) Habib (2) Nakamura and (3) Nagatomo - More or less corroborative.

Re: Habib - oath of secrecy may be argued only.

Re: other two - no interestedness, so their stories supporting Habib takes away most of charge against Habib for oath of secrecy; in what way could they be obliged to Habib?

No other suggestion that the body was disposed of in any other manner - <sup>So</sup> body cremated.

the  
The evidence of/doctors will have to be discussed very carefully, as it will surely be a matter of detailed criticism by eminent doctors throughout the world.

5. Ashes: Ashes from the crematorium to Renkoji temple is a long way - first to Nishi Honganji temple; then to Tokyo etc.

There is nothing to show that there was tempering, but to prove that it was definitely those of Netaji, much more stringent measures required by law should have been taken and a different



and very strict procedure by way of seals, guards, etc. should have been taken.

In all probability, the ashes could be said to be those of Netaji.

6. Treasure:

Comments should be minimum.

Evidence recorded by us should be placed in a guarded manner.

We may state that out of the quantity carried by Netaji, a portion eventually was deposited in the National Archives.

The <sup>Scattering</sup> dropping of the treasure from the plane, its charred and molten condition and identification of some items, would help the report. *after it is done*

We should state that this may be the subject-matter of a separate Enquiry and this Enquiry should start from the complete assets, in cash and kind and liabilities of the Azad Hind Government.

7. Shri Thevar's statements and statements of Shri Goswami.

Their statements should be discussed while dealing with Netaji's death or otherwise and a little more in details separately later on.

Draft by Shri S.N. Maitra.

Draft - 10-7-56.

Discussion, correction and finalisation. 13-7-1956.

Submission to Government of India. 16-7-1956.

S. C. Das  
27.56.

*[Signature]*  
29.57.

1. It was Netaji's idea to continue the struggle for the liberation of India. This was thought of by Netaji some time before Germany and Japan surrendered and which Netaji had at that time said to a selected few that they would sooner or later lose the war. Netaji also discussed with his Cabinet members about this point.

Since October 1944, when Netaji visited Tokyo, he carried out these intentions of his and attempted to contact the Russian Ambassador, and finally decided to go to Manchuria with that purpose in view.

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Enquiries made subsequently (1) by British Intelligence teams operating from Delhi and (2) British and American Intelligence teams operating from Tokyo (3) non-official Enquiry appear to corroborate the statements of these eye-witnesses and a few others, who appeared on the scene immediately after.

A person of the status of Netaji as Head of a State, that was not only recognised by Japan, but was helped materially in every way by Japan and vice versa

was not given the requisite facility and honour due to him, from the very start, viz: by providing a separate plane or seats for him and for all of his associates; treatment in a small hospital with a junior medical officer - Captain; manner of cremation; disposal of ashes etc, all without due honour and respect, viz: full military funeral; body placed on a gun carriage with full military honours etc.

4. Cremation:

Preliminaries - by the 2 doctors and some of the subordinate Hospital staff.

Main evidence by (1) Habib (2) Nakamura and (3) Nagatomo - More or less corroborative.

Re: Habib - oath of secrecy may be argued only.

Re: other two - no interestedness, so their stories supporting Habib takes away most of charge against Habib for oath of secrecy; in what way could they be obliged to Habib?

No other suggestion that the body was disposed of in any other manner - <sup>So</sup> body cremated.

The evidence of <sup>the</sup> doctors will have to be discussed very carefully, as it will surely be a matter of detailed criticism by eminent doctors throughout the world.

5. Ashes: Ashes from the crematorium to Renkoji temple is a long way - first to Nishi Honganji temple; then to Tokyo etc.

There is nothing to show that there was tempering, but to prove that it was definitely those of Netaji, much more stringent measures required by law should have been taken and a different

and very strict procedure by way of seals, guards, etc. should have been taken.

In all probability, the ashes could be said to be those of Netaji.

6. Treasure:

Comments should be minimum.

Evidence recorded by us should be placed in a guarded manner.

We may state that out of the quantity carried by Netaji, a portion eventually was deposited in the National Archives.

*Scattering*  
The dropping of the treasure from the plane, its charred and molten condition and identification of some items, would help the report. *after it is charred*

We should state that this may be the subject-matter of a separate Enquiry and this Enquiry should start from the complete assets, in cash and kind and liabilities of the Azad Hind Government.

7. Shri Thevar's statements and statements of Shri Goswami.

Their statements should be discussed while dealing with Netaji's death or otherwise and a little more in details separately later on.

Draft by Shri S.N. Mitra.

Draft - 10-7-56.

Discussion, correction and finalisation. 13-7-1956.

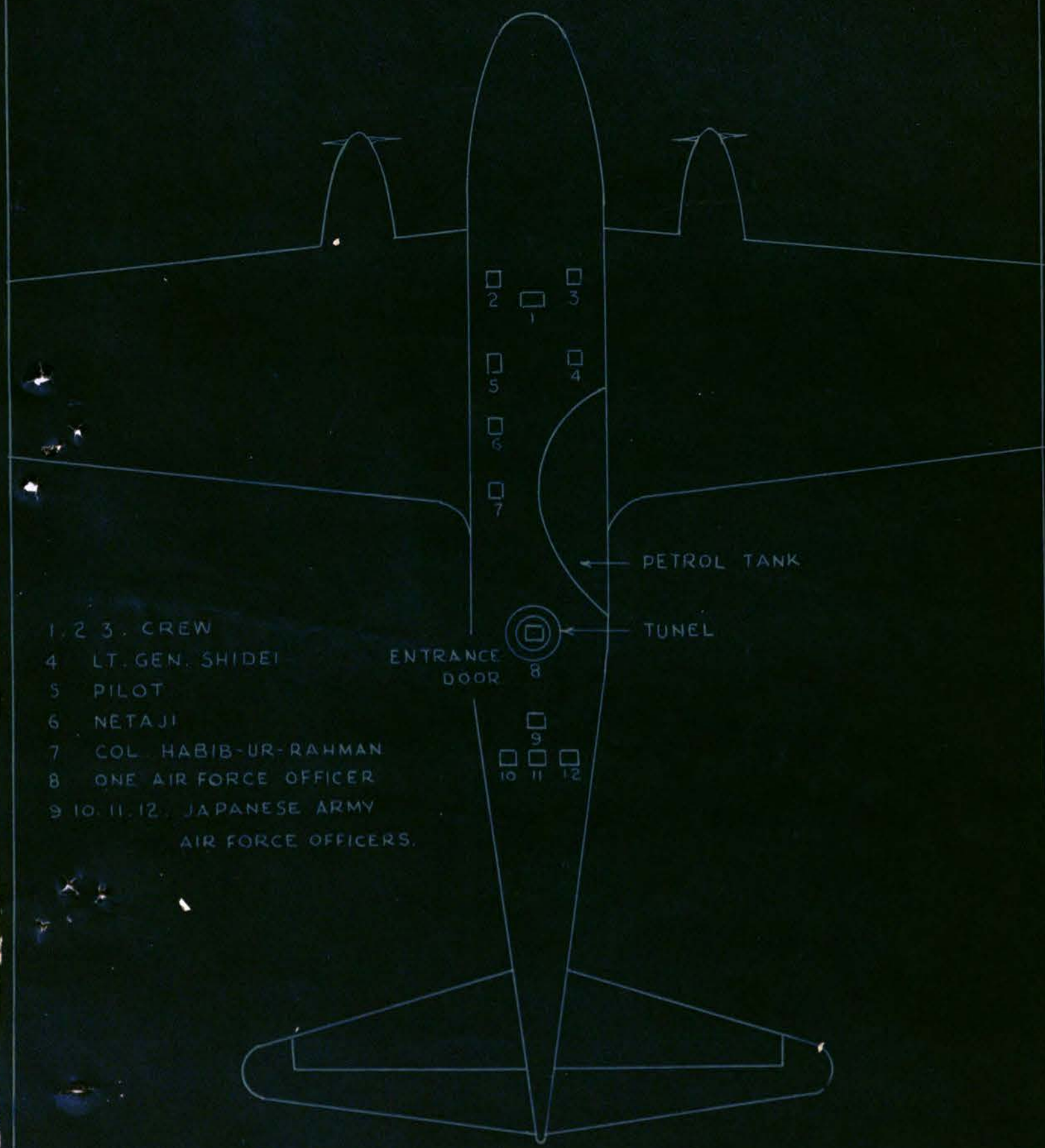
Submission to Government of India. 16-7-1956.

S. C. Son  
27.56.

*Sant*  
29.57.

*S. C. Son*  
27.56.

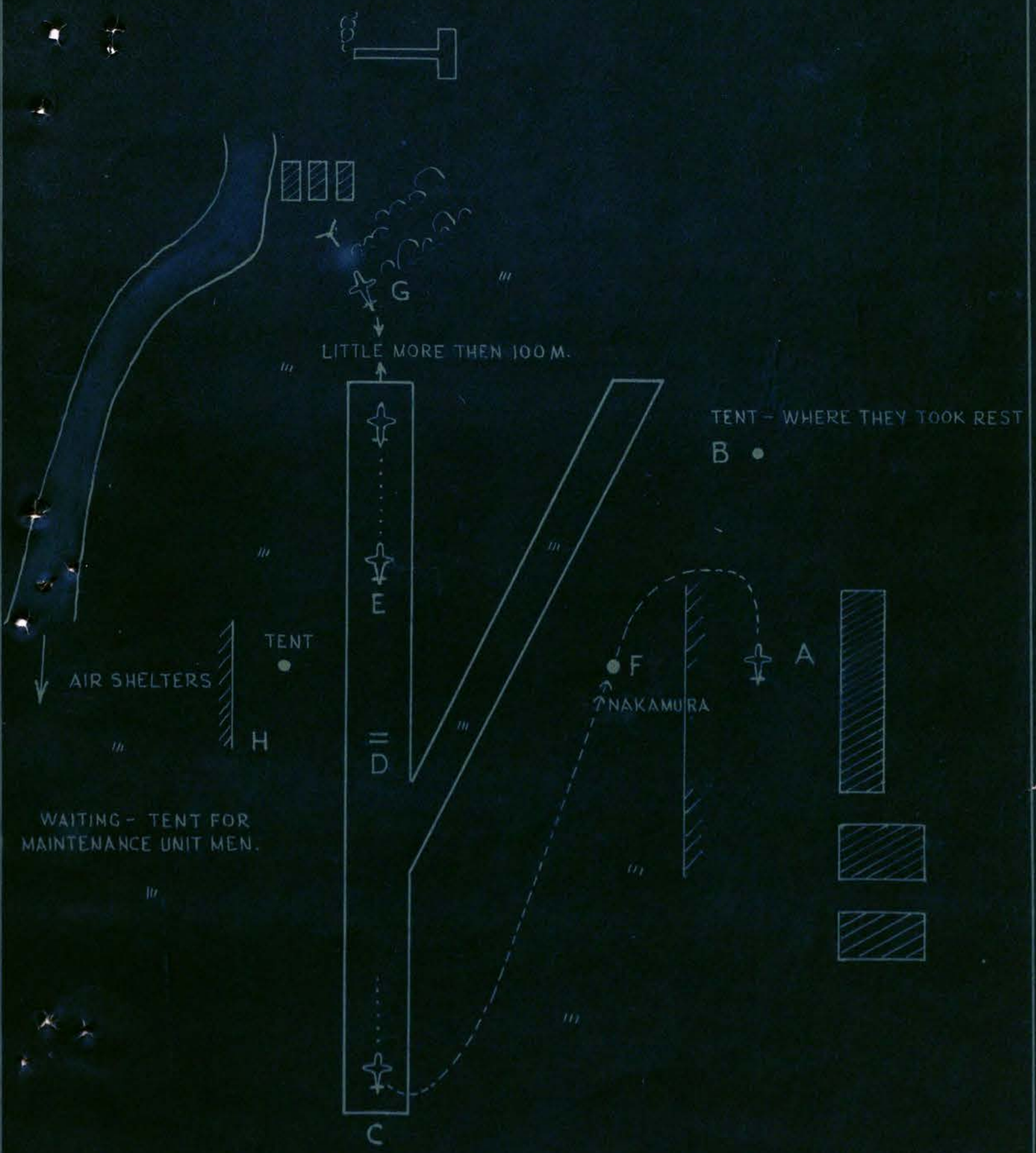
# SKETCH OF JAPANESE BOMBER IN WHICH NETAJI TRAVELLED FROM SAIGON TO TOIHOKU (FORMOSA)



- 1. 2. 3. CREW
- 4. LT. GEN. SHIDEI
- 5. PILOT
- 6. NETAJI
- 7. COL. HABIB-UR-RAHMAN
- 8. ONE AIR FORCE OFFICER
- 9. 10. 11. 12. JAPANESE ARMY  
AIR FORCE OFFICERS.

SKETCH PLAN SUBMITTED BY  
CAPT. M. YAMAMOTO (NAKAMURA)

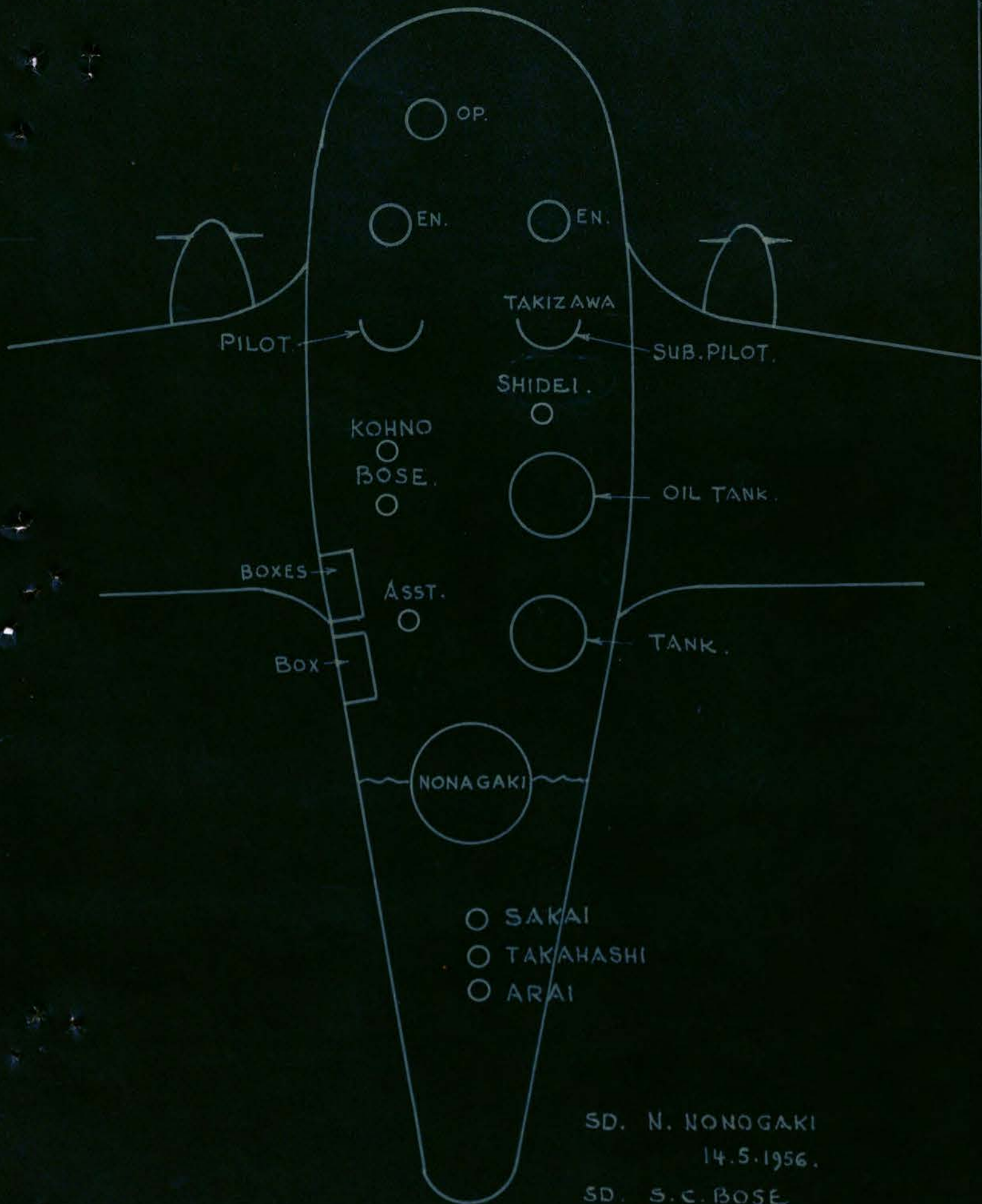
140



SD. M. YAMAMOTO .  
SD. S.C. BOSE .  
SD. SHAH NAWAZ KHAN .

SKETCH PLAN BY N. NONOGAKI.

142



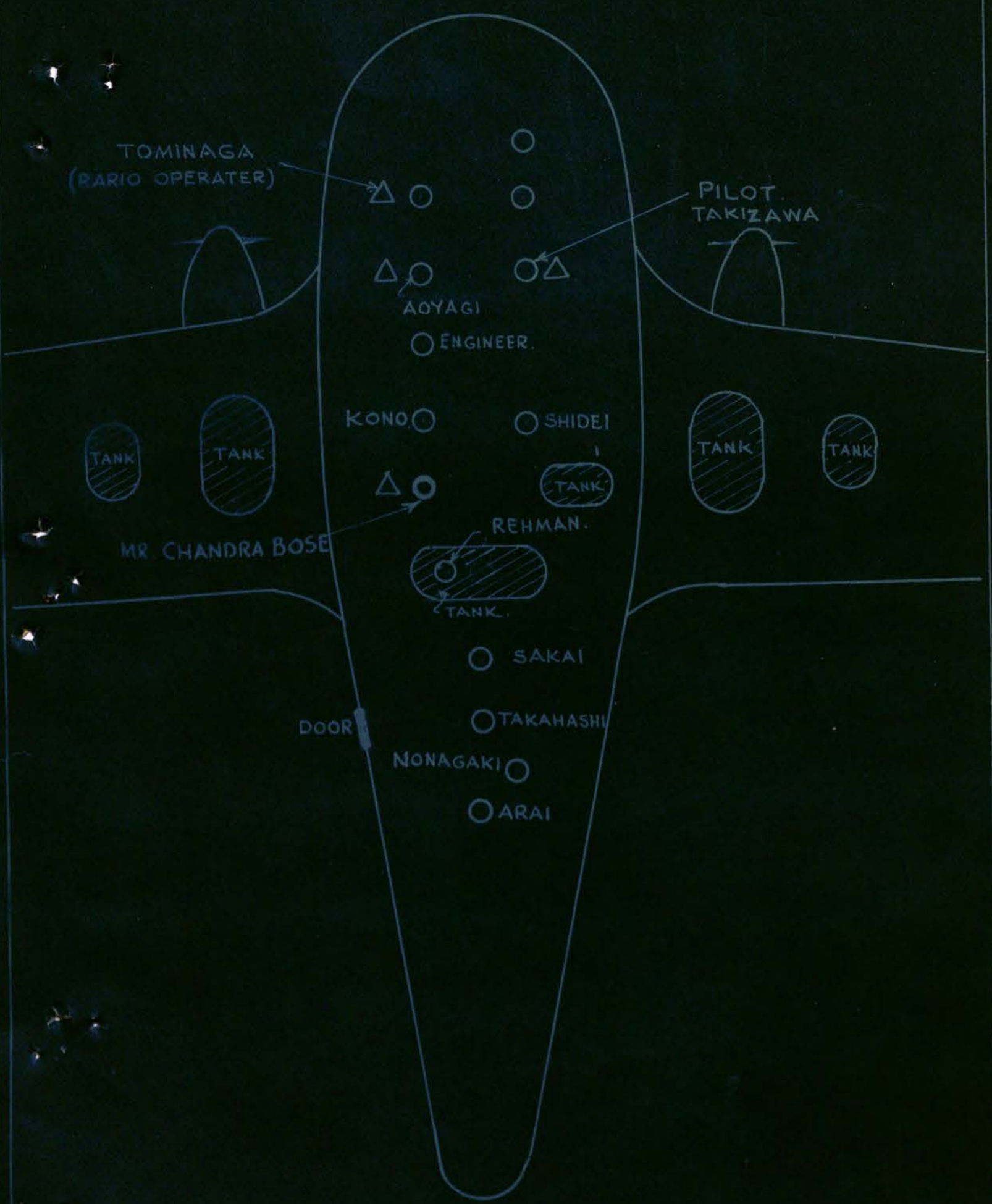
SD. N. NONOGAKI  
14.5.1956.

SD. S.C. BOSE  
14.5.56.

SD. SHAH NAWAZ KHAN.  
14.5.56.

SKETCH PLAN BY TARO KONO.

142



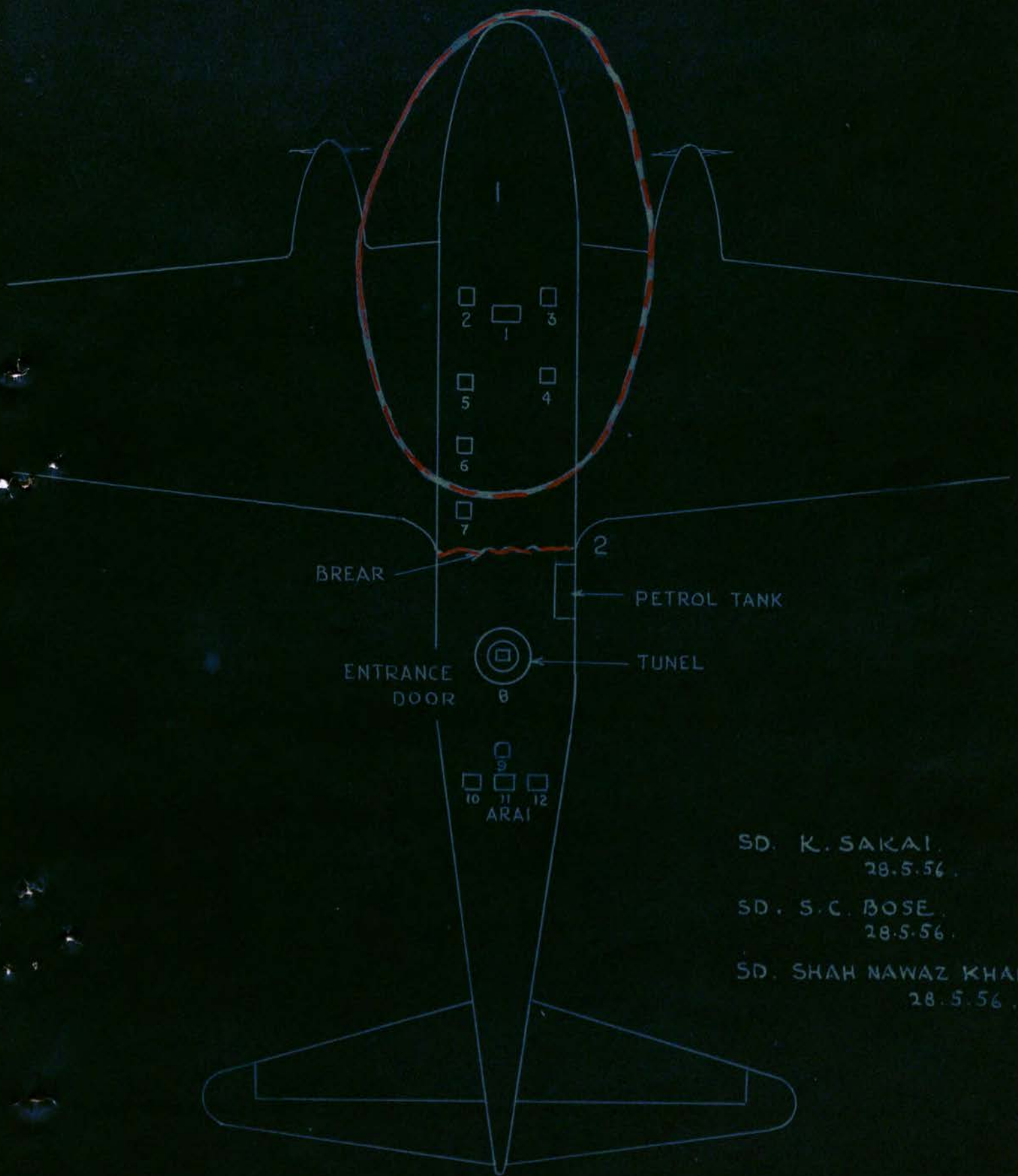
SD. TARO KONO.  
18. MAY. 1956.

SD. S. C. BOSE  
18. MAY. 56.



SKETCH OF JAPANESE BOMBER IN WHICH NETAJI TRAVELLED FROM SAIGON TO TOIHOKU . (FORMOSA)

143



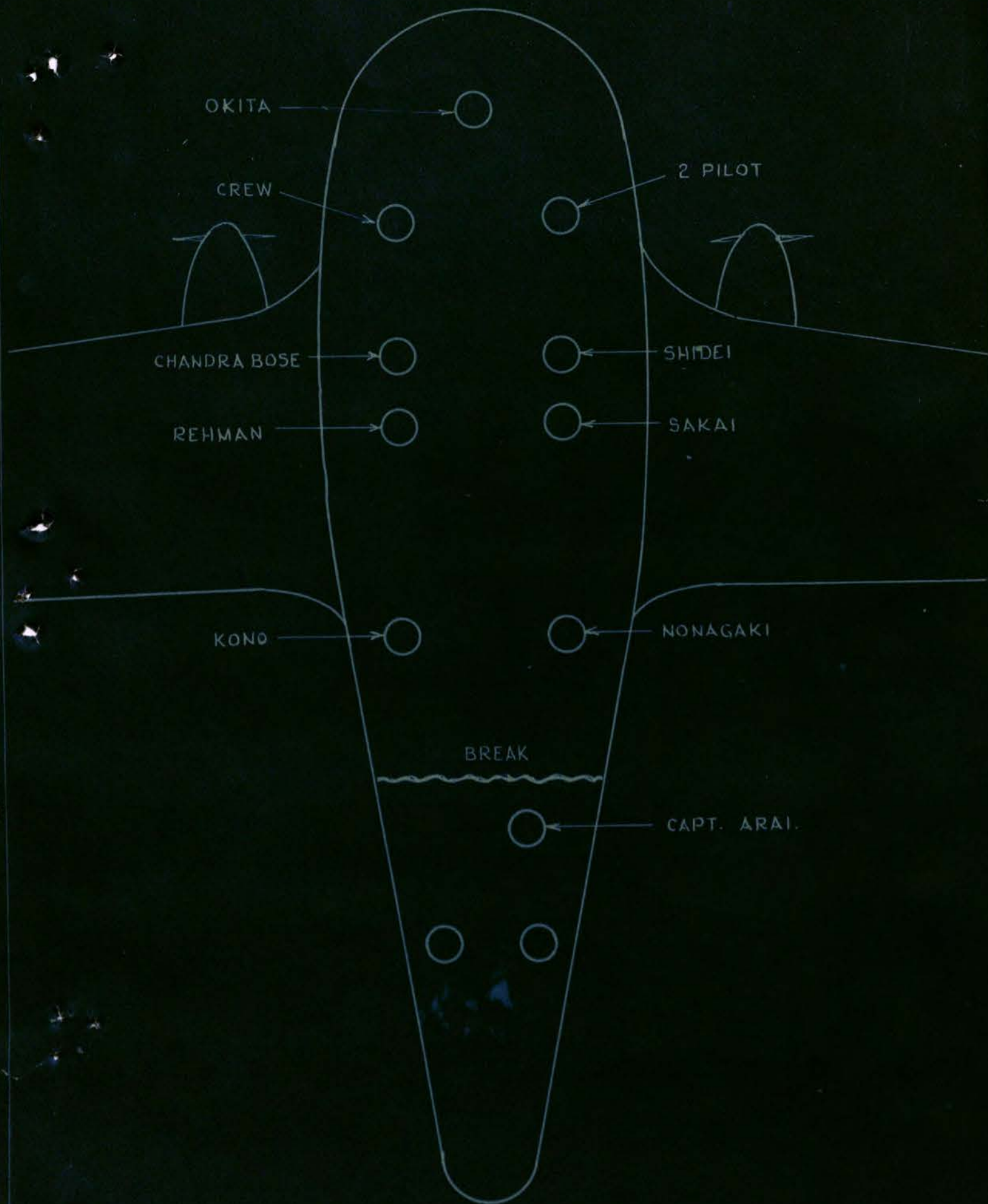
SD. K. SAKAI.  
28.5.56.

SD. S. C. BOSE.  
28.5.56.

SD. SHAH NAWAZ KHAN  
28.5.56.

# SKETCH PLAN BY K. ARAI

(119)



SD ... K. ARAI.

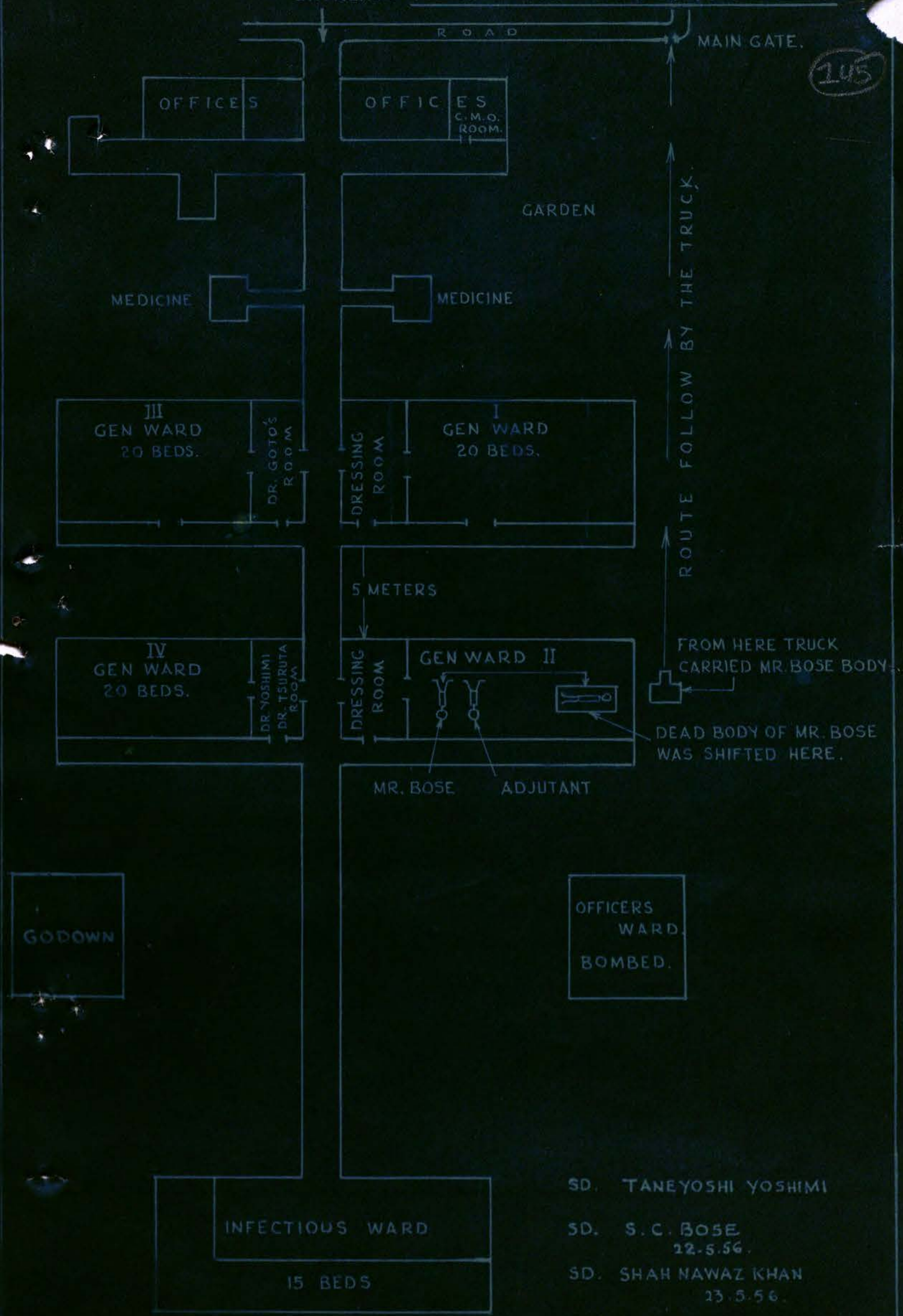
SD ... B.C. BOSE.  
9.5.56.

SD... SHAH NAWAZ KHAN.  
3.5.56.

# SKETCH PLAN OF THE HOSPITAL NAMMON

ENTRENCE AT TAIHOKOU BY DR. T. YOSHIMI.

145



ROUTE FOLLOW BY THE TRUCK

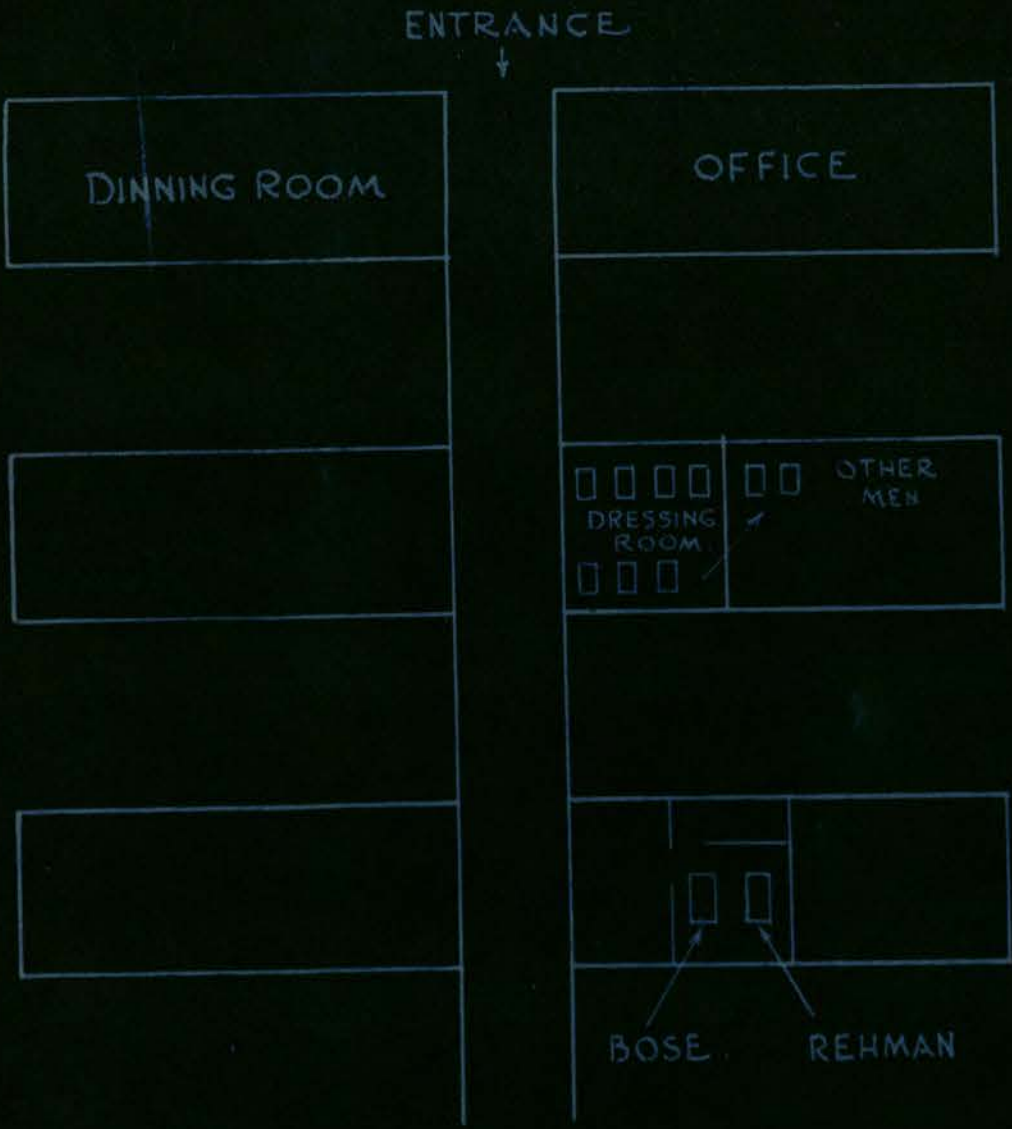
FROM HERE TRUCK CARRIED MR. BOSE BODY

DEAD BODY OF MR. BOSE WAS SHIFTED HERE.

OFFICERS WARD BOMBED.

- SD. TANEYOSHI YOSHIMI
- SD. S. C. BOSE  
12.5.56.
- SD. SHAH NAWAZ KHAN  
23.5.56.

SKETCH PLAN BY TOYOSHI TSURUTA



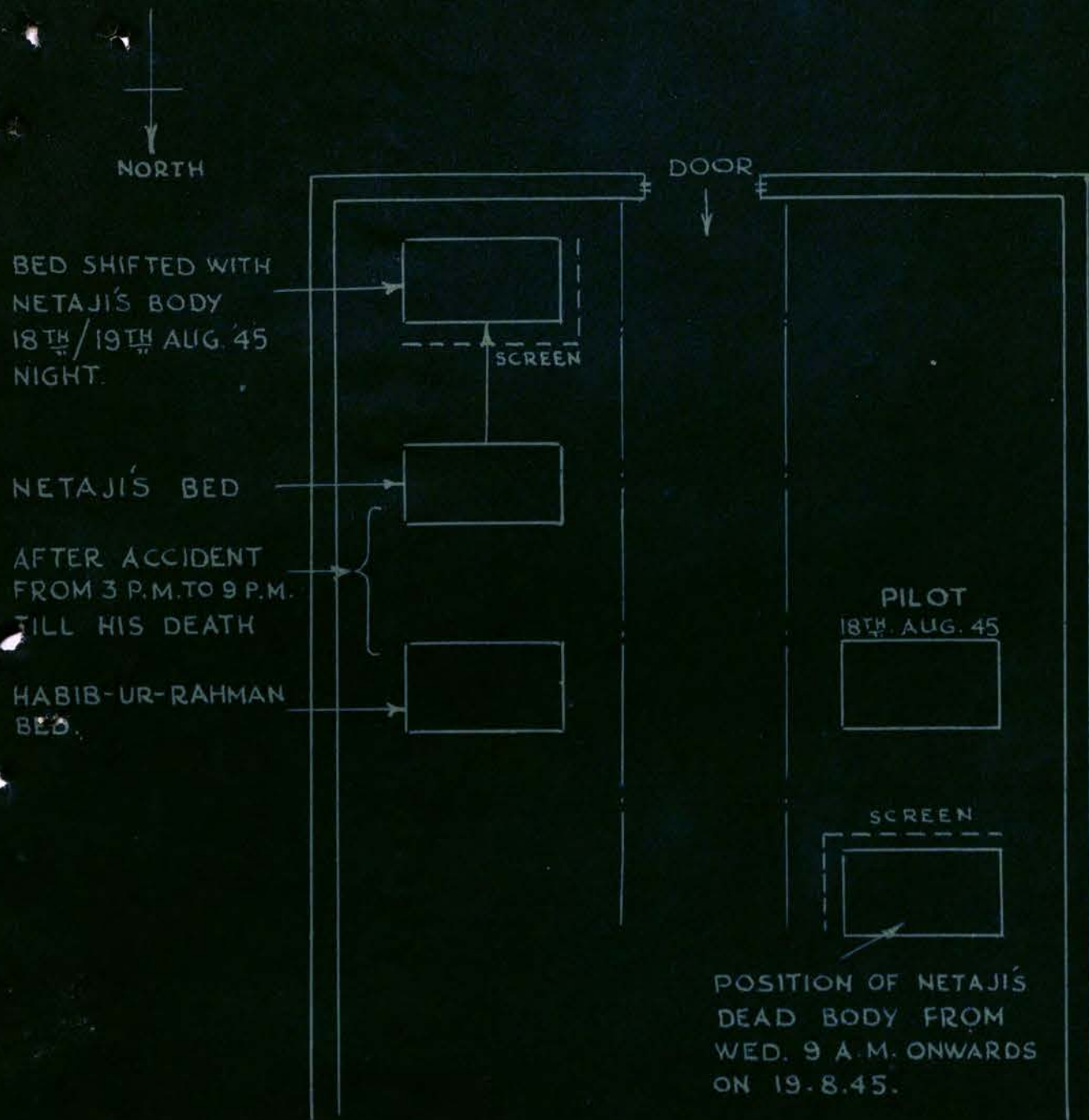
SD. TOYOSHI TSURUTA  
15.5.1956

SD. S.C. BOSE  
15.5.56

SD. SHAH NAWAZ KHAN  
15.5.56

# SKETCH PLAN OF THE WARD OF JAPANESE EMERGENCY HOSPITAL AT TOIHOKU (FORMOSA)

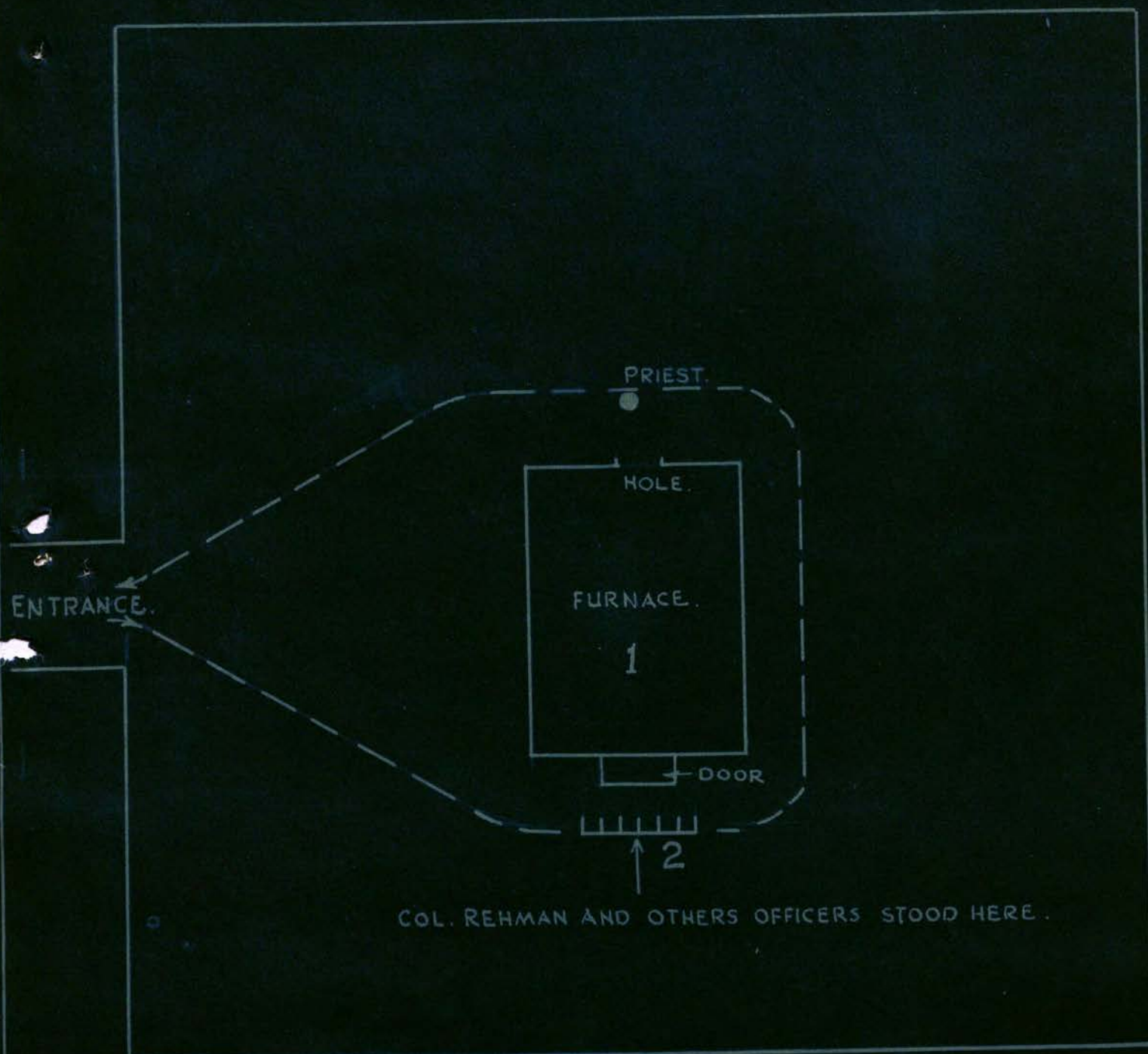
(147)



SD. SHAH NAWAZ KHAN  
14.4.56

SD. COL. HABIB-UR-RAHMAN

# SKETCH PLAN OF THE CREMATORIUM AT TAIHOKOU



SD. J.H. NAKAMURA  
31.5.56.

SD. S.C. BOSE.  
31.5.56

SD. SHAH NAWAZ KHAN.  
31.5.56

———→ ROUTE FOLLOWED BY COL. REHMAN & OTHERS INSIDE THE CREMATORIUM

ANNEXURE III.

1. Wreckage of plane at Taihoku.
2. -ditto-
3. Col. Habibur Rehman sitting by Netaji's ashes.
4. Object covered with a sheet.
5. Exterior view of Renkoji temple.
6. Interior view of Renkoji temple- showing how Netaji's ashes are kept.
7. Ashes - Outer Casket.
8. Ashes - Inner Casket.

\_\_\_\_\_

SWEDEN  
MAGNET



Wreckage of plane at Taihoku.





Wreckage of plane at Taihoku.



Col. Habibur Rehman sitting by Netaji's ashes.



Object covered with a sheet.

167.88 X  
154

Meeting of the Special Enquiry Committee  
held at 9.15 AM on 14th April, 1936.

Witness: Sri Mathuramalanga Thevar, M.L.A.  
Pasurumon, Aurangabad, Ramnad District.

Chairman: You know Government have set up this Enquiry  
Committee. We want to know the truth regarding  
Netaji. What happened to him, and we read your  
statement which you had issued in Calcutta.  
Perhaps you would like to tell us something.

Thevar: But, are you going to start the evidence with me  
first?

Chairman: It is not the case we are putting you first but  
because you are in a hurry to go.

Thevar: I want the business to be started first with  
others and mine to be the last. I prefer to be  
the last as I would then be in a position to  
know the views of other witnesses.

Chairman: It is a matter of evidence. It is a secret  
enquiry and you are not supposed to know the  
statements of other witnesses. After the  
Committee submits its report to the Government,  
then the whole Report will come out later on.

Thevar: Then if you want to begin with me, I want some  
clarifications. Will I be able to get before  
making my statement.

Chairman: First, I feel, as per laws, this Committee  
is to proceed to Japan alone and Japan alone.  
It can proceed to any place. There is no  
restriction or guidance from any side.

Thevar: Then to my knowledge, I feel that Netaji's name  
is in the War Criminals List. If it is not, then I  
want a categorical declaration in the form of  
an order from the Government before entering into  
the subject. As my knowledge, he is a war

No. 1.

155

Meeting of the Netaji Enquiry Committee  
held at 3 P.M. on 4th April, 1956.

Shri Muthuramalinga Thevar, M.L.A.  
Pasumpon, Kumudhi Post, Rannad District

You hon. Government have set up the Enquiry Committee. We want to know the truth regarding Netaji. What happened to him, and we read your statement which you had issued in Calcutta.

Perhaps you would like to tell us something.

But, are you going to start the evidence with me first?

It is not the case we are putting you first but because you are in a hurry to go.

Thevar:

I want the business to be started first with others and mine to be the last. I prefer to be the last as I would then be in a position to know the views of other witnesses.

Committee:

It is a matter of evidence. It is a secret enquiry and you are not supposed to know the statements of other witnesses. After the Committee submits its report to the Government, then the whole Report will come out later on.

Thevar:

Then if you want to begin with me, I want some clarifications will I be able to get before making my statement.

First, I feel, as per news, this Committee is to proceed to Japan ~~alone~~ and Japan also

Committee:

It can proceed to any place. There is no restriction or guidance from any side.

Then to my knowledge, I feel that Netaji's name is in the Criminals List. If it is not, I want a categorical declaration in the form of denial from the Government before entering the subject. To my knowledge, he is a war

criminal; if he is not, when the name was removed and how? I must be in a position to know that. For that a Government communique is necessary for me because I belong to a political party. If I am not in a position to know then I will not be in a position to participate in the Committee's work. Being a political party man, I do have a stand, it is a vital matter for me.

Chairman: You raised this question with the Prime Minister.

Shri Bose: At least he has no idea that he is in the list of war criminals.

Chairman: What is meant by the list of war criminals?

Thevar: List of war criminals prepared by the Allies.

Chairman: No.

Thevar: Let the Government say that.

Chairman: Anyway, whether the Allies have a war criminal list or not, it is immaterial.

Thevar: I know it, but let the Government say that either through you or direct. Before that declaration I cannot, because I belong to a political party, and because we are not in the good books of the ruling party.

Shri Maltra: Even if the Allies have a list, so far as the Government of India have got no hand in it. Indian Government was not in existence at that time.

Thevar: No, there are very many things.

Chairman: You have given a press statement. Since it has been made public, the Committee would like to know what you issued.

Thevar: This is an official committee; that was a public affair. I cannot do anything before I know the place of my Leader and myself first. Any

political party man will do like that.

Shri Maitra: This Committee has been appointed not by any of the Allied Governments. It has nothing to do with them. Suppose the Indian Government say they have no information.

Thevar: Let Government say that. If they say, I will.

Shri Bose: I cannot understand why that is necessary for making you a statement about Netaji. What stands in the way of your making a statement?

Thevar: If the Government says 'No', then my position will be different. Either the Government should categorically say 'Yes' or 'No'. It is immaterial. Let any statement in this form. It is necessary to make a start.

Shri Bose: So the reason for withholding your statement is that you want an indication with regard to that.

Chairman: Read out a statement from the Hindustan Star dated 4th April.

Thevar: Explained that Sikang District is that which touches Assam.

Chairman: Have you got anything else to clarify.

Thevar: The second is that. Is there any possibility of another member being included in the Committee <sup>jurist of international knowledge</sup> Radha Bined Pal/being included.

Chairman: I had talked to the Prime Minister. There is no possibility. He has or is getting some international appointment. Apart from that, he was there during the War time and the Prime Minister does not think that he could be associated with this Committee because he has already formed his opinion that the plane crash did not take place.

Thevar: Now I want the clarification of the war criminalx business from the Government, a

*[Handwritten signature]*

categorical statement either from the Government or from you.

Chairman: I am telling you that Netaji is not on any war criminal list prepared by the Government of India.

Shri Bose: It cannot be the list prepared by the Government of India. If anybody has prepared and declared him as war criminal, it must be American or her allies.

Thevar: Yes, now they have given us independence.

Shri Maitra: This has nothing to do with the Allies as such.

Chairman: It appears that your cooperation or non-cooperation depends upon that.

Thevar: I feel that the Indian Government as long as it remains in the Commonwealth, it has some secret ties with the U.K. I know it is a Republic but there are very many ties.

Chairman: This question whether Netaji, if he appeared, would be declared a war criminal, was posed to the Prime Minister by Shri Bose on the 3rd. The answer was: "He laughed at the idea and he said, "He is Subhas Chandra Bose but even if it was any citizen of India, is it inconceivable that we can hand him over to government.

Thevar: Was he ever declared a war criminal? If he was not declared, let the Government say that. If he was declared, how that has been removed and what was the present status and when that status of war criminalx changed.

Chairman: We have no information.

Thevar: If that is so, may I take that he was never declared a war criminal. That is a very vital matter but Government has no information at this moment. Naturally it will take some time. If, however, there was any such thing, whether the Anglo-Americans would furnish that informat



Thevar: Either the Government must say that he was ~~xx~~ not declared a war criminal. Any answer must come from the Government.

Chairman: Government have no information.

Thevar: In what way may I take it?

Shri Bose: It will take some time to obtain information from U.K. and U.S. governments.

Thevar: If I am kept under suspense, I am not cooperating in this.

Shri Maitra: It is a matter entirely up to you. You wanted the information. We have supplied you the information.

Thevar: If they say that there is no information with them, then I feel sorry I cannot cooperative in this.

Shri Maitra: It is not that they are withholding. They have not got that information.

Thevar: Whether he was declared a war criminal or even, if he was declared, any such statement must come from the Government.

Shri Maitra: That has nothing to do with any statement you make. We see no relevance.

Thevar: My stand is as a political party man.

Shri Maitra: We do not know your stand. We asked you as a patriotic Indian.

Thevar: I know my status. It is U.K. government that declared him as a war criminal. That has promoted India's independence as per Eden's statement. This Government remains in the Commonwealth.

Shri Bose: Have you any knowledge that Netaji was ever declared a war criminal.

*[Handwritten signature]*

May we know the source of your information?

Thevar: If Government says 'no' then I will prove, but the present status might have changed.

Shri Maitra: Suppose we accept your statement that he was declared a war criminal, what you would say.

Thevar: What is the real position of the same declaration with this Government?

Shri Maitra: Suppose we accept that he was declared a war criminal.

Thevar: If he is a war criminal, then I am not going to depose before the Committee. I have nothing to do with this Committee. I cannot say anything.

Chairman: Supposing the Government does not accept him as a war criminal.

Thevar: It is a hypothetical question. Let the Government say this way or that way, let the matter stand as it is.

Shri Maitra: Are we to take your unwillingness to give your evidence?

Thevar: It is left to me to say that.

Shri Maitra: We cannot force you to make any statement.

Chairman: What, I have not been able to follow. You have issued a press statement. It has been flashed throughout. Now when you are prepared to give this information in public why you are not prepared to say it before the Committee.

Thevar: It is a matter of cooperation with the Government.

Chairman: The Government of India say that they have no information.

Thevar: Allies have declared him a war criminal.

*[Handwritten signature]* ....

Shri Bose: May we not have that proof from you?

Thevar: If Government says that he was never declared a war criminal, then I will go into the question. I am sure that he was declared a war criminal; his status might have changed but the suspicion is that it remains in the Commonwealth. Even if it is to remain in the Commonwealth the Government ~~know~~ says anything I can take it for granted.

Chairman: You are in touch with Netaji?

Thevar: Before going into the matter and deposing before the Committee constituted by a Government, I must know the status of that Government towards the man who is considered to be a war criminal.

Shri Bose: May I take that you are going to make different statements at different places.

Thevar: It need not be stated here.

Shri Bose: It is clear that you are unwilling to make any statement.

Thevar: Without knowing whether he is a war criminal or not.

Chairman: So far as the Governments of U.K. and U.S.A. are concerned, we are relying on foreign Governments. We do not know what the position is, but from the Indian Government we have made enquiries.

Thevar: It must be through a statement; Government communique to that effect. This war criminal matter is a very vital matter.

Shri Maitra: You asked for information. So far as the Government is concerned, they have no information.

Thevar: There is no categorical denial.

Chairman: No such list.

Thevar: When it has been changed.

Shri Bose: Unless the Government says categorically that they have changed the situation.

Shri Maitra: Your attitude is dependent entirely on what the

t the U.K. or the U.S.A. did. The present Government of India did not exist then.

Thevar: Let them say so, the present Government do not consider it and they are not bound by it. I am not an ordinary witness. I belong to a political party. This Government belongs to a political party.

Shri Maitra: I am afraid we cannot ask the Government to issue a communique.

Thevar: If Government cannot enlighten me on this subject, I am sorry.

Chairman: We have called you here to let us know whether you can throw any light on Netaji's whereabouts.

Thevar: Not before knowing whether Netaji remains in the war criminal list or not and what the present position is.

Chairman: Do you regard the present Government of India as part or subordinate to the decision of the Anglo-American bloc.

Thevar: Not subordinate but co-workers in the same policy. As long as they remain in the Commonwealth, they are co-workers in the same policy.

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*L. Parthasarathy*

16

163



Mr. Debnath Das.

373  
164

Evidence given by Shri Debnath Das,  
171/3 Rash Behari Avenue, Calcutta-19,  
on 5-4-1956.

....

I was Chairman of the Reception Committee of the First Indian Independence Conference in East Asia that was held from 15th June 1942 to 22nd June 1942 in Bangkok. Before the Conference was held, I was General Secretary of the Indian National Council for Freedom of India in Thailand soon after the Japanese came, and after the Bangkok Conference when the constitution of the Indian Independence League was formed, according to the Constitution, I was elected as the Chairman of the Territorial Committee of Thailand and continued in that post till the arrival of Netaji on the 4th July 1943. When Netaji took charge of the I.I.L. Headquarters at Singapore on the 5th July 1943, I was General Secretary of the I.I.L. Headquarters, East Asia and was stationed at Rangoon. When the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was formed on the 21st October 1943 at Singapore, I was appointed as one of the Advisers <sup>and Member, Council of Ministers of</sup> to the Azad Hind Government. I continued as General Secretary of the I.I.L. Headquarters till the end of the war. On the 29th March 1945 I was asked by Netaji to evacuate from Rangoon. I was in Rangoon with Netaji in the beginning of 1945 when Netaji started moving back from Rangoon in the last stages. I was in charge of the I.I.L. Headquarters, was executing orders of the Cabinet. Of course, it was sometime in the month of August/September 1944 after the landing of Allied Forces in Normandy in France that Netaji began to review the whole situation. At that time, there was no question of retreating. Netaji reviewed the whole position of the war. He gave more importance to the mobilisation of I.N.A. because we had suffered terrible losses in some of the fronts. As the Chairman knows, we had Ministers but not the Ministries

*Dr. Das*

and most of the work undertaken by the Ministers had to be implemented by the General Secretariat of the Indian League Headquarters, and then even the training, supply, equipment, food and other things connected with the Supreme Command of the I.N.A. - all this the General Secretariat had to do. And according to the Constitution, the General Secretariat of the I.I.L. was the machinery of the Azad Hind Government. We had secret services also - one by the Supreme Command and another by the I.I.L. Then from the beginning of 1945, of course some of our Commanders had to be put in the fronts. We took up our position at Mandalay and Prome Area. We were advancing; there was no break-down in the morale of the I.N.A. anywhere in any part of Asia and we had series of conferences with the Japanese and I do not think that they were pessimistic either. The morale of the INA and the Japanese was intact and new forces were being put to reinforce them. So I can say that from December 1944 to March 1945, we gave more importance and emphasis on the recruitment and supply because lack of supply was one of the defective parts in the Imphal area, and that sometime in the month of February when the Allied Forces were advancing, we sent No. 2 Division under the command of Major General Shah Nawaz Khan with Col. Sahgal and Col. Dhillon to take the position in the Prome Area. That was one of the most important sectors. General Kiani himself took charge of near Mandalay area. General Bhonsle was Chief of Staff stationed at Singapore. Col. Aziz was put as a Deputy Chief of Staff, was in charge of the Rangoon Supreme Command stationed at Rangoon because Netaji was going to visit fronts. What I mean to say is that we were determined to undertake military positions with new vigour o

Ambedkar

on the front. After the retreat, the I.N.A. & I.I.L. machine<sup>ry</sup> had to be geared up again and INA forces reorganised to put up the defence with renewed vigour. Even up to the middle of March there was no question of evacuating. Netaji was in a fighting mood and we had no intention of evacuating Burma. But some incidents occurred in the Burmese Government, and myself and Shri Ayer were negotiating with the Burmese authorities. Certain difficulties we began to face with regard to positions of our troops in some parts of Burma. Till that moment, we did not have any difficulty with Dr. Ba Maw Government. Early in March, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind started experiencing difficulty in dealing with the Burmese Government. Our dealing with the Burmese troops were all along very cordial. Our troops were far more disciplined than the Burmese and we were looked upon in highest esteem by Thakin Nu and all the Burmese Ministers.

( The Chairman stated that the relationship between the Burmese Government and Netaji's Government were cordial and so were the relationship of the INA and the Burma Defence Army. )

The main idea of Netaji and his directions to the Indian National Army were to protect the life and property of all sects of people including the Burmese, Chinese, Anglo-Indians and other communities and for which the Burmese nation also had a high regard of INA. Even in public and social welfare, Netaji used to give more importance to the needs of all communities after the bombing of towns and villages.

There were some incidents; our troops were attacked and some supplies towards Moulemein were attacked, destroyed and looted by the Burmese troops. We took up the case

*D. S. Bhat*



with the Burmese Government in the middle of March 1945 to make matters smooth. And then it so happened that in the first week of March, General Aungsan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Burma Defence Army mobilised lot of officers and soldiers and he was given a hearty send-off by the people because he created a sort of an impression that he was going to fight at the front against the British but subsequently, he crossed over to the Allied Forces. He manipulated so nicely that even the Japanese also gave him sufficient arms and ammunition because he seemed to be going to fight the British. From the first week of March we also got some information that relation between Dr. Ba Maw and General Aungsan were getting strained and it was on the 17th or 19th of March that all of a sudden we were alerted by the Supreme Command. We put up a special guard at the Headquarters.

*Dr. Das*

The rank and file of the Burmese Army were so much indisciplined that the Burmese military officers had no control over them. The relationship between Dr. Ba Maw and Netaji continued to be cordial however and the relation between General Aungsan and Dr. Ba Maw became strained. Meanwhile, we found that the Allied Forces were advancing towards Rangoon. On or about the 25th March 1945, Netaji held a Cabinet meeting. In this meeting, other officers also came. The following were present in the Cabinet meeting:-

General Loganathan,  
General Chatterjee,  
Shri J.A. Thivy,  
Shri S.A. Iyer,  
Col. Aziz Ahmed,  
Shri Debnath Das, and  
Shri Parmanand.

At that time, Netaji began to think of new strategy in

the context of new situation and he sent a word to General Bhonsle to come over there. He took some decisions with regard to withdrawal and other movements in the context of new strategy which he discussed in consultation with the Military Officers. It was decided that our line will be along the Sittang river. Netaji reviewed the whole war situation and as a result of that certain important decisions were taken. The first decision on the positive side was that we will take our defence along the east side of the Sittang river. It was decided that the INA and the Japanese would retreat and occupy new positions on the line of the Sittang river. At that time, the first thing was to do was to take some of our Rani Jhansi girls. Rani Jhansi Regiment was a regiment that consisted of Indian women who fought side by side as combatants. Their number in Rangoon was about 600 to 700. In Burma, there were as many as half of them say about 1000. The total strength was 2500. It was decided that the Rani Jhansi girls belonging to Burma would stay at the camps till Netaji remained there. So Netaji decided that those who came from other territories should be evacuated, and that we shall consider about those girls who are residents of Burma in future as the exigency arose. In the Cabinet plans were formulated for the evacuation of such of the Rani Jhansi girls who came from territories other than Burma. I was assigned the duty to make arrangements for the evacuation of about 350 members of Rani Jhansi regiment in two batches, with Azad Hind treasure that was in the Azad Hind Bank there and some important documents. After consultation with the Japanese authorities because I had to fix a route, it was decided that I would start on the 29th of March for Bangkok. Shri Bhaduri was in charge of the Bank at Rangoon. The treasure given to me by Bhaduri himself

...

*Amber*

valued at about Rs 1 crore in Indian currency. There were 17 sealed boxes. We were given details of the contents, They were mostly ornaments and gold bars. Then on the 29th of March evening I left with Captain Rawat and 350 officers and men as guard. Netaji decided that I should take one batch of say 200 along with the treasure of 17 boxes. Captain Rawat was in charge of the soldiers and Lt. Pritima Pal was in charge of the 200 girls. The arrangement was that on the 29th I would take one batch, I would wait on the other side of the river till the 1st April. Meanwhile on the 31st March another 150 girls would come and join me at Sittang because it was very risky to take all the girls all at once. We arrived at Sittang on the 30th morning. We had to face lot of bombing from the Allied Forces and we got the report that we were almost surrounded by Burmese insurgents, and so myself and Jamuna Singh with two or three soldiers again left Sittang on the 30th evening and arrived at Rangoon on the 31st morning and reported to Netaji and delivered back the gold treasure since I told him that it was too risky to take the gold since that area was already surrounded by insurgents. On the 31st March another batch of 150 girls scheduled to start for Sittang was therefore stopped. I again went to Sittang. They were waiting for me and we came to Moulemein with 200 girls plus 350 officers and men as escorts. We were attacked on the way and we lost two of our women, Lt. Josephine and Lt. Stella. I arrived at Moulemein. We came by train from Moulemein to Bangkok. We arrived on the 7th May. It took about 5 weeks to reach Bangkok. We took 5 weeks due to bombardment and dislocation of communications. About one-third of the distance we

*S. Subhas*

covered on foot through jungles and country-side. On the 7th May we reached Bangkok along with the Rani Jhansi girls. Only two women were lost and then when we arrived at Bangkok, we came to know that the Germans had already collapsed on the 1st of May 1945. On the 12th May we came to know that Netaji and his party had already arrived at the destination (Bangpong) near Bangkok about 12 or 13 miles from the town because at that time Railway was stopped at that point due to bombardment. So immediately we took some trucks and carts and went there on the 13th May 1945. At that time Netaji was accompanied by Major General Kiani, Shri Ayer, Shri Thivy, Shri Parmanand, Mr. Karim Ghani (under arrest), Col. Thakur Singh, Col. Malik, Major Abid Hassan, E. Bhaskaran, along with Rani Jhansi girls. They had left Rangoon on the 29th April and arrived on the 13th May. The distance between Rangoon and Bangkok was about 400 miles. We arranged transport and brought Netaji. Netaji's party consisted of about 50 or 60 girls because most of the girls belonged to Burma were sent to their homes. Netaji had about 60 officers and men with him. There were no extra military personnel with him; for personal protection about 30 guards were with him and the Ministers and staff officers were with him. The following were the important officers and Ministers accompanying Netaji:-

Shri Ayer,  
Shri Thivy,  
Shri Parmanand,  
General Kiani,  
General Bhonsle,  
Shri Karim Ghani (under arrest),  
Major ~~Shri~~ Abid Hassan and  
Shri Bhaskaran.

Netaji brought all the gold treasure including the 17

*See last*

boxes to Bangkok intact <sup>which</sup> I delivered back to him on the 31st March. When Netaji came there, we were trying to take care of those Rani Jhansi girls and to accommodate them in different houses. We were busy in finding the houses. The League office was already there and Shri Ishwar Singh was the Chairman of the Territorial Committee, Thailand. The I.I.L. functioned as usual. Pandit Raghunath Sharma also known as Pandit Raghunath Shastri was the Secretary of the Finance Department, I.I.L. Thailand.

So Netaji arrived in Bangkok. He stayed at the house of S.T. Mahtani as from the 14th of May. The Burma command was left in the charge of General Loganathan. About 5000 officers and men were put under his command to take care of the property of Indians, Burmese and other people and he was given the full powers to act in the exigencies of the situation. There is one important thing that when Netaji evacuated Burma, he gave the charge of whole things, military and civil, to General Loganathan. We had in the Azad Hind Bank lot of gold ornament and money deposited by the Burmese and Indian people and by other peoples for security. This gold and deposit did not belong to the Azad Hind Government. As such Shri Bhaduri was entrusted to return them to depositors.

So Netaji's headquarters moved to Bangkok. The rear headquarters remained in Burma. The first Cabinet meeting was held on the 17th of May at Bangkok and before that Netaji went to see our training camps there because Thailand was one of our training centres. What he told us at the outset was that he did

Index

not hold the meeting earlier since as soon as he came there he wanted to see the morale of our forces. So the 15th and 16th he devoted visiting INA camps at Cholburi about 80 miles from Bangkok to see the morale of our INA officers and men, especially the trainees and found the morale of all very high. He naturally consulted some of the Indian merchants. Also at the meeting on the 17th he told us " I think we can continue the war, there is nothing to get afraid of. Let us continue in our own way. The morale of the people has not come down anywhere and the funds could be raised too. " So Netaji's attitude was unchanged. Then he just asked the opinion of the members of the Cabinet as to what they thought of the Japanese resistance. " What do you think how long the Japanese would hold on?" German surrendered on the 1st May 1945. As soon as we arrived in Bangkok we got the news of German surrender. The German Ambassador ( Baron Wendland) to Thailand informed us as soon as we arrived in Bangkok. Netaji also got the news on the way. It was a formal <sup>Cabinet</sup> meeting. The situation was discussed and reviewed. There were the following:-

- Shri Ayer,
- Shri Parmanand,
- Myself,
- Shri Thivy,
- Shri A.M. Sahay,
- General Bhonsle,
- General Chatterjee,
- General Kiani,
- Col. Habibur Rahman,
- Col. Pritam Singh } specially invited.
- Col. Thakur Singh }  
Col. Malik }

and then Netaji sent for Mr. Raghavan who was at Penang to come.

Col. Pritam Singh

Col. Thakur Singh, and Col. Malik were specially invited.

The opinion of all the members was that two to six months was the period when Japan could hold

*Amber*

out, after the German collapse. We had discussed things into two contexts. In the first context, that Japan would continue to fight for a maximum period of six months. So Netaji wanted to make arrangements how to fight for six months and then within this frame-work, he made another suggestion that during this interim period when the fight would continue, we shall also try to contact the Indian soldiers who would come on behalf of the Allied powers as part of the occupation forces. So he asked me to send some of the men to Sittang in order to contact some of the Indian soldiers when they come to Rangoon as part of the occupation forces and try to convert them to INA ideas and to fight for India's independence.

Netaji said that first we should transfer our fight on Indian soil. His future plans were as follows:

*Amber*

That he must come to India after the surrender of Japan, because that will be the most opportune moment to contact the demobbed Indian soldiers and patriotic people to prepare them for armed revolution in India. That was the first plan. The second was that if this failed, then some arrangements should be made for him to go to Yen-an, the Headquarters of MaoTsetung. The third thing he asked Shri Iyer was to write a letter to Mr. Shigemitsu in May 1945 whether the Japanese Government would give any facility, provided Netaji and some members of his staff desired to go to Russia, if Japan surrendered. ~~Japan~~ <sup>Russia</sup> declared war against ~~Russia~~ <sup>Japan</sup> on the 7th August 1945.

So there were three plans:-

- (1) to go to India and prepare an armed revolution inside the country;
- (2) If that failed, then to go to Yen-an.
- (3) To try and contact the Russians through the Japanese.

We received the reply sometime in the middle of June 1945. The contents were that the Japanese Government did appreciate that Netaji would continue the fight for India and should he so choose to go to Russia, the Japanese Government have no objection but could not give any facility since though the relation between Russia and Japan had not reached the stage of belligerency, it was not cordial either. Next: The Japanese Government would be pleased to know the date and time so that in future, if the Japanese Government were in a position to help Netaji and his associates in the exigencies of the situation, they might help. In other words, we depended on the operative machinery of the Japanese Government for the execution of our plans. Before Netaji started for Singapore, this letter was discussed about the middle of June soon after the receipt of the letter. Netaji told us that we shall see in future. Netaji told me to contact General Isoda and to let him know latest Japanese position in Manchuria and other places in North China. No firm decision was taken. He enquired about the position of INA pockets and he told me to form pockets in different parts of S.E. Asia and to keep a small organisation all over the area from Bangkok to Moulemein which were still in ~~xxxxx~~ our control and from Bangkok to Hanoi and other places so that in future these might be of some help to us. Netaji did not want to remain in South East Asia because he was afraid that this area particularly will remain under intensive Allied control, but if the three above-mentioned alternatives failed, he might be compelled to choose some place in S.E. Asia to remain underground for some time and asked me to prepare small cells consisting of Indian people all along the route because we had Indians in almost every village

Isoda



and every city and town. Netaji stayed for about 5 weeks at Bangkok. On the 18th June he left for Malaya. Before that, of course, we arranged sending the Rani Jhansi girls to Malaya. Before leaving on the 18th, he asked about cells. He told General Isoda just to continue letting him know about the position of Manchuria and North China. At that time, the League Headquarters was re-organised and the morale was also normal. He went to see the I.N.A. formations in Singapore and other parts of Malaya. Singapore was the Rear Headquarters No. I. That was the main place because the Chief of Staff was there. Col. Habib was Deputy Chief of Staff Headquarters at Singapore. General Kiani went with Netaji to take charge of the INA at Singapore where Col. Habib was stationed as the Deputy Chief of Staff. The I.I.L. Headquarters at Singapore was in the charge of Mr. A.N. Sarkar and Shri J.A. Thivy. We had the I.I.L. branches not only in Singapore but in the outskirts, in the villages and in the towns. So Netaji went to Singapore and other places in Malaya on the 18th of June. General Bhonsle was left in charge of the Headquarters at Bangkok.

Then on the 10th August night, we came to know over Radio London that some surrender talks were going on between Japan and the Allied Powers but nothing was heard from Tokyo. We immediately consulted the Japanese but none could say. Then it was on the 16th August morning 8 A.M. that I received a secret telegram stating that I should take care of the treasure and keep it secretly. Then immediately I took about 20 or 25 carts with Buchan Singh as the head. We put some grass and straw over the

Notes

cars and brought them to Netaji's residence at Bankappi, Bangkok, where the treasure was kept under the care of General Bhonsle. Kundan Singh, Netaji's personal servant, was holding the key. Subsequently, another telegram was received at about 10 A.M. to the effect that Netaji was coming. So we kept the treasure as it was because we thought that it was better to consult Netaji when he was coming to Bangkok from Singapore. We rushed to the Aerodrome to receive him -- General Bhonsle, Bhaskaran and myself. Netaji arrived at 11 or 11-30 A.M. on the 16th August in Japanese Military plane, with others. General Isoda was with him, Mr. Hachia, the Japanese Ambassador to Azad Hind Government was with him. Shri Ayer was with him and Col. Habibur Rahman and Col. Pritam Singh were also in the plane. After coming, he did not address. He just went to our INA camps and in the evening he told all the INA officers and men that Japan had surrendered. It was only on the 14th August night that he came to know about the surrender talks that were going on and he rushed to Singapore. At that time, General Kiani was in Singapore. Netaji came and put everything under the command of General Kiani at Singapore. Netaji told that he had left Singapore and Malaya under the command of General Kiani ; on the political side were Shri Sarkar and Shri Thivy. Netaji told the officers and men about the way of surrender. He told that " INA is an independent army and you must keep an independent character at the time of surrender and that the INA must not surrender along with the Japanese forces. " He told that he had already informed to that effect General Nakamura and General Kawabe and that they had agreed in principle that the INA should surrender independently and not with the Japanese. Then Netaji told that we have to fight the war and we should all try to go in our own way to India and he told more about the Indian

political situation prevailing at that time. He said that it was right time for revolution because soon after the end of the war lots of officers and soldiers would be demobbed and there would be a great movement in India.

Then we had a dinner.

At about 10 or 11 P.M. he told me that Debnath you are coming with me. I did not ask him where. Around 12 midnight, he collected all officers. At that time exactly he did not give us any picture. We came to know that the following officers were going with Netaji:-

Shri S.A. Ayer,  
Col. Gulzara Singh,  
Col. <sup>Hal</sup>Rahman,  
Col. Pritam Singh,  
Major Hasan, and  
myself.

*Notes*

At that time he did not tell anything about the places and then at about 2 A.M. I left the place. Within one hour I came back with my kit. Bhaskaran was with Netaji. Netaji was in his room. General Bhonsle was also with Netaji. He told the limited few to remain till morning because some of them were very close so that he could see them off. So at about 5 or 5-30 in the morning on the 17th some officers came. Even on the date of leaving he asked the League office to contribute about 1½ million Ticals to the Chulalongkoran Hospital and University, Thai-Bharat Cultural Lodge and Indian Association, Bangkok, and sanctioned two or three months pay to all officers and men and the balance, he directed, should be given to other charitable institutions. He made a Committee consisting of General Bhonsle as Chairman to make arrangements for the pay before leaving Bangkok. He left the command of the whole INA and League organisation under General Bhonsle with a Committee consisting of Shri Ishwar Singh, Mr. Parmanand and Pt. Raghunath Shastri to deal with all matters.

...

General Loganathan was in charge of the Burma area and General Kiani was in the charge of the Malaya and Singapore area. The account of the I.I.L. Thailand was with a Bank in Bangkok and this account was being operated on by Shri Ishwar Singh, Chairman, and Pt. Raghunath Sharma, Secretary, I.I.L. Thailand. This money was in deposit with the Thai Bank. The donations as above mentioned or the salary to officers and men were not contributed out of the treasure Netaji brought from Burma. The funds were out of the account of the Thailand I.I.L.

Around 5-30 in the morning of 17th August, 1945, we left by car to the Bangkok aerodrome, in about 5 or 6 cars. The aerodrome was about 8 miles, arrived at the Bangkok aerodrome at about 6 A.M. We did not wait at the aerodrome for a long time. I think within 10 minutes we got into the plane. The following officers were present at the Bangkok aerodrome just before we took off:-

*Notes*

- General Bhonsle,
- Shri Ishwar Singh,
- Pt. Raghunath Sharma,
- Shri Bhaskaran,
- Shri Kundan Singh,
- Shri Sunil Roy,
- Shri U.C. Sharma,
- Col. Thakur Singh,
- Col. Raturi,
- Col. Malik.

The following Japanese officers were present.

General Isoda and Mr. Hachia.

At Bangkok, two planes were placed at our disposal. So far as I remember, the following officers were present in Netaji's plane.

- General Isoda,
- Mr. Hachia,
- Shri Ayer,
- Col. Habibur Rahman, and
- myself.

In the other plane, the following were:-

Col. Gulzara Singh,  
Col. Pritam Singh,  
Major Abid Hasan,  
Nigesi (Interpreter) and  
some Japanese officers.

So we landed at about 8 o' clock. Netaji's plane landed earlier at Saigon aerodrome. We waited at the aerodrome for about half an hour. At about 8-30 we started for the town. We were accommodated in two houses belonging to some Sindhi gentleman. The contents of the 17 boxes were put in two large suit cases with some other treasure. The original 17 boxes were made of steel and were of small size. When these were brought to Bangkok these were re-packed at the time of Netaji's departure from Bangkok in two large suit cases. Some of the boxes were of the size of biscuit tins and some smaller.

*An. Kes.*

I am not certain who were sitting in which plane but I do remember the persons who constituted the party that went to Saigon with Netaji from Bangkok. It was a short trip of two hours and I am certain that the under-mentioned Japanese and Indian officers constituted the party besides Netaji:-

Shri S.A. Ayer,  
Col. Habibur Rehman,  
Col. Gulzara Singh,  
Major Hassan,  
Shri Debnath Das, &  
Col. Pritam Singh.

General Isoda, Mr. Hachiya,  
Nigesi (Interpreter) and  
some other Japanese officers. ( I donot know).

The suit cases were full to capacity and tied with ropes. The suit cases were about 30" to 36" and the third box also leather contained documents and in the box there was some foreign currency but not of great value. The size of the third box was the same as that of the other two. Besides

this there were three or four suit cases belonging to Netaji. We left Bangkok at 6 o' clock and reached Saigon at 8 in the morning. We went to the house. Netaji was tired. It was very difficult to prepare food there. We came to the house along with other Japanese. We took some rest. We occupied two houses. Netaji, Col. Rehman and myself were in one house and the second house was occupied by others, namely, Col. Gulzara Singh, Col. Pritam Singh and Shri S.A. Ayer and Major Hassan. At that time Netaji opened some of the suit cases and tried to see some of the things which were important and unimportant and told me to destroy some. Then after an hour or so at about 10-30 Netaji pushed me and woke me up. There was one Japanese officer. I do not recognise him. Netaji said, " I am afraid the Japanese are changing the plan. " Netaji said to me " I think they were now taking me to Tokyo. " Col. Habib was sleeping at that time. Others were in the other house. I asked Netaji, " Why to Tokyo Sir? You give up the idea of going to Tokyo." Netaji asked me to call Habib and other officers. Then I asked Habib to come in. I told Col. Habib that the Japanese were changing the plan. Then I called Ayer and other officers. They all came and then we were all standing in one room. Meanwhile, General Isoda came. Sometimes, we were talking in English, sometimes in Japanese because General Isoda could not speak in English very well. Sometimes I translated. Netaji asked General Isoda whether all of us were going together. Then General Isoda asked the Japanese officer what was the position of the plane. Then he told me in Japanese that there is only one seat because some important Japanese persons are going to Tokyo and this plane was touching Saigon. Hassan said what is this? General Isoda said in English to Netaji that

*Handwritten signature*

there was only one seat for him. Then Netaji told General Isoda " How can you think that they will leave me alone". A Japanese officer told General Isoda that the area was already dangerous and he felt that Netaji should leave Saigon as soon as possible. That is why we agreed that Netaji should leave as soon as possible from Saigon for security reasons; we were helpless. So everyone of us argued in our own way and asked General Isoda how many seats he could give and why Netaji should go to Tokyo. General Isoda said that this area was very much infected by the insurgents, and that another plane was following you. So it is better to go to Tokyo and then think of the plan. Meanwhile, Mr. Hachiya came. Japanese consulted each other and told us that one more seat could be given. Then Netaji told Habib to come with him. Then some of us said that suppose Habib became ill, who would look after Netaji. Netaji asked General Isoda, " Why do you not give one more seat"? General Isoda said, "Now I cannot say, let us go to the Aerodrome and see". Meanwhile, Hassan said" If there are unimportant Japanese personnel, why, General, you do not ask them to wait for the next plane; let us all go together." General Isoda said, " I do not know yet". It was around 12-30 noon. Nobody took any food. One Japanese officer came and said, " Hurry up because the plane has already touched the aerodrome and in about 20 minutes it will fly". So we had no time to pack up the things and most of the Netaji's personal things were left there. About three or four suit cases were left. Then Netaji told us to take our minimum kit and that all should come.

*H. V. Desai*

Netaji left three suit cases consisting of books, papers and files and some clothes and then we went by two cars. One of the cars reached the aerodrome earlier. When we came to the Aerodrome the plane was practically on the move. So we hurried up. General Isoda and Mr. Hachiya were there. They asked Netaji to board the plane as soon as possible. I was there, Hassan was there and Col. Pritam Singh was there. But we were there before the second car reached. Netaji told the Japanese "I am not going, I am waiting for the second car". The treasure was in the second car. Netaji said that he would better leave the gold. Hassan and myself said "We cannot take responsibility for it". Netaji asked me to tell the Japanese to wait till the second car came. Meanwhile, the car came and Netaji shook hands with all of us. In the second car were Shri Ayer and Col. Habibur Rahman. I do not exactly remember who came by the second car and who came by the first car. There was another car of the Japanese. I am not certain whether Netaji came by the first car <sup>or by a car with Japanese officers</sup>. I asked Netaji "Where they are taking you, Sir." Netaji said that they were going to Tokyo. We were all in a very helpless position. Then he told General Isoda, "When are you going to give the second plane for the rest of my officers." Hassan said that General Isoda must promise before you, otherwise it would be difficult to get the plane. General Isoda could not give any assurance but promised that he would arrange another plane immediately. Netaji asked General Isoda whether he made arrangement for him to see Marshal Terauchi. General Isoda said, Yes. Then he said, "If you give them the plane after two or three hours, then certainly we shall see them in the evening." At about <sup>(10 o'clock)</sup> 10' Clock, the second car came and again Shri Ayer and every body asked when we would get the plane. All this

*H. K.*



happened between 11 and 1 P.M. Again we told Netaji ~~and~~ <sup>that</sup> General Isoda promised to give the plane the same afternoon to go towards Netaji's destination. General Isoda said that the plane was too heavy, and so no gold should be put in it, but we insisted that the gold must go with Netaji and we put ~~the~~ treasure boxes inside the bomber. Meanwhile, the propellers started. There was no time. Netaji shook hands with all of us and wished us well. The gold boxes were put on the floor of the bomber. It was a two-engined bomber just like a supply plane. Netaji decided that Habib should go. Habib had previously also accompanied Netaji on various hazardous missions either to the front or to some other places. Then the plane left at 1 P.M. ( It was on the 17th August 1945).

*Ar. Des.*

The plane was <sup>a</sup> two engined bomber; the colour was grey (silver). I did not count the number of people who were already inside the plane. The Japanese had already said that there were 9 or 10 persons. Netaji went inside and after that the plane moved. There were two boxes which contained gold and ornaments and another box contained some papers and currency. There was one suit case consisting of his personal effects. It was a leather suit case. Habib had one Haversack and one small suit case. Netaji entered the plane first and then Habib. Netaji entered from a side opening to which a ladder was attached. Netaji was wearing the usual top boots and Khakhi drill uniform, and his head dress was usual. He was wearing INA cap. Netaji was wearing the INA and IIL badges. He was carrying his revolver. He was wearing his usual spectacles. He had the badge. I do not remember the numbers of the plane. I thought that the plane would touch Dalat and we shall meet him in the evening.

After repeated requests, we got the plane only on the morning of the 21st. Netaji had left on the 17th at 1 P.M. The same evening, we were not given any assurance. On the 20th evening, we came to know that two planes would be placed at our disposal on the 21st morning. Then Shri Ayer went by one plane and we went by the other plane. It left Saigon at 7-30 in the morning. We could not go in the same plane, as we were told that Shri Ayer would go to Tokyo. A Japanese officer said that there were some other Japanese officers to accompany Shri Ayer. We told them that it was very funny. They told us that they propose to take Shri Ayer to Tokyo and four of us to Hanoi. They said that the reason was that it <sup>was</sup> difficult to arrange plane from Saigon. At Hanoi, it would be easier for you to get planes for Tokyo, the Japanese officer remarked. Both the planes left on the same day. We reached Hanoi some time before evening on the 21st. We were not sure whether we were at Hanoi. Then on enquiry we came to know that we were away from Hanoi and began to search the League office (I.I.L. Hanoi). We met Shri A.M. Sahay. We reached Hanoi town in the evening at 5-30 or 6 after walking half-way from where we got some Japanese truck. We put up in the same house. In the afternoon next day General Chatterjee with his ADC Lt. Pran Nath and Shri J.A. Thivy came to Hanoi from Singapore. We asked them why they were there. They said that they were instructed by the Japanese to come to Hanoi as per instructions of Netaji. On the 24th August 1945 at about 9 or 9-30 night when Mr. Sahay came from the town, he said that he had heard in the town that Tokyo Radio announced that on the 18th August an air-crash took place at Taihoku (Formosa) and that Netaji had been killed in the air-crash and that Col. Habibur Rehman was wounded.

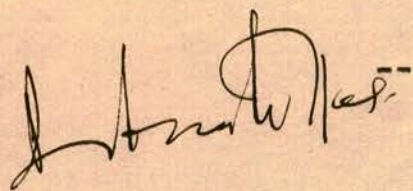
*Anders*

On the 26th August one Staff officer of the Japanese Army came to see me and told me that the plane crash was just a story and asked me not to believe it but to act according to our plan. I broke the news to General Chatterjee and Col. Pritam Singh what this officer had told me. The Japanese officer knew me as I was entrusted with a special work and therefore he gave me the news. Then after consultation with my colleagues I went underground on the 21st September 1945 and moved in different parts of the South-east Asia and appeared in Bangkok some time in May 1946. I was arrested in Bangkok and brought to India on the 30th August 1946.

According to my finding, the air-craft crash was stage-managed and deliberate because the Japanese were afraid of Indian sentiments if they surrendered Netaji to British troops and at the same time they were afraid of Anglo-American powers if they allowed any facility to Netaji to go underground according to the plan. The Japanese were completely frustrated. They were anxious to save Japan.

I would suggest that the Committee enquire some more witnesses whose names are given in the attached list.

Admitted correct.



11.4.56

185



Captain Gulzara Singh.

Evidence given by Captain Gulzara Singh (I.N.A. Col.) on 6-4-1956.

First, I was appointed No. I Battalion Commander in Gandhi Brigade. Later I was appointed Second-in-command, Azad Brigade. Then I came to Rangoon with advance party as Second-in-command of Azad Brigade. Then after the break-up of the first I.N.A., I was recalled from Rangoon to Singapore. Later, when Netaji came to Singapore, I was appointed Commander of Azad Brigade. I first came in contact with Netaji in October 1943 when he sent for me and I had a personal interview with him. Then I was taken in the Cabinet as a member representing the army. Then my regiment left for Burma in the beginning of 1944. I arrived in the front in May 1944 and was given a sector north of Tamu-Palel <sup>protecting</sup> guiding the right flank of Tamu-Palel road. I continued on the front-line until we were asked to withdraw in July 1944 to Tamu, then to Sittang and then by boat to Kalewa and then by road to Ye-u. Eventually, our Brigade concentrated in the camp between Mandalay and Monywa. Then I was sent for by Netaji who was at Mandalay. He brought me to Rangoon with him. I think it was in October 1944. I was appointed as a Assistant Chief of Staff in the Supreme Headquarters at Rangoon. I held this appointment throughout. I was present at Rangoon at the time when Netaji retired from Rangoon to Bangkok either on the 23rd or the 24th of April 1945. I was in the party which accompanied Netaji during the withdrawal. Then in Moulemein we separated in two parties. Netaji with certain members went in the first party and I followed with another party

in train. We travelled by the newly-constructed Railway line joining Thailand and Burma. We arrived in Bangkok either in the end of May or early in June. I donot remember the exact dates. At Bangkok I was sent for by Netaji who asked all the information about my party and then also told me that Col. Thakur Singh's Brigade had reached Moulemein and we have to send somebody to receive them and asked me as to who should go. I volunteered to go myself. Netaji told me that since I had just arrived in Bangkok and that I would be feeling tired. Anyhow, he did not give any definite decision. I was called after another two or three days and told me that he had tried to secure a plane for me to take to <sup>Moulmein</sup> Rangoen but that he had not succeeded. When I arrived in Moulemein, I found that Col. Thakur Singh's party had not actually arrived there but that they were expected to arrive in a day or two. So I made all the arrangements for their food etc. Eventually, when Col. Thakur Singh's party arrived, they were sent to Bangkok by the same Railway route and I left with the last party, arriving in Bangkok sometime in July. When I returned to Bankok from Moulemein, I found that Netaji was not in Bangkok and that he had left for Singapore. Then on the 16th evening, Netaji came to Bangkok from Singapore by plane. When Netaji returned to Bangkok, I think he was accompanied by Col. Habibur Rahman and Col. Pritam Singh. Later on, Netaji sent for senior officers and held a meeting at his residence. Briefly, Netaji give us a review of the world situation. We had known of the Japanese surrender one or two days before this. Then he asked me in Hindustani

'KIUN BHAI CHALOGAY'. I replied 'HANJI ZAROOR CHALOONGA'. He did not say to which place. Then he instructed me to report to his residence early next morning with my baggage on the 17th of August. Early next morning at about 5 A.M. I reported at his bungalow and left by car for the Aerodrome soon afterwards. Netaji, Col. Habibur Rahman, Pritam Singh and Debnath Das, Col. Abid Hasan and myself. I cannot remember if any other senior officers came to the Aerodrome to see us off. There were two Japanese bombers at the Aerodrome which were to carry us. The bomber in which I was accommodated was carrying Netaji, myself and one other officer whose name I do not remember. I am not quite sure if there were any other Japanese in that bomber. I had no seats. We squatted on the floor. The other officers came by the other bomber. I think we must have taken off from Bangkok aerodrome at about 7 A.M. We knew that we were going in the direction of Japan, but I had an idea that we were heading for Russia. In that meeting at Bangkok on the 16th August at which he reviewed the international situation, Netaji had told us that there was no other country where we could go to, and that it was only Russia where we can but we have got no contact with them and we do not know what is going to be their treatment towards us. He also said that a Japanese Officer who had long been in Manchuria would probably guide us. He did not give the name of the Japanese officer. Netaji had an idea of going to Russia through Manchuria with the help of the Japanese. I had no idea what the Japanese officer was. On the

17th August at about 9 A.M. we arrived in Saigon. We landed at Saigon and proceeded straightaway to one of our I.I.L. bungalows. On arrival at the Aerodrome at Saigon, we were told that the bombers that had transported us to Saigon, would be returning to Singapore and that on that day there would be no transport available for us to take us any further. We were accommodated in two bungalows. Netaji was in a different bungalow than mine. At about 1 P.M. when we were resting, Netaji sent for all of us and said that we should come in any dress in which we were. There were some officers staying in the same bungalow as Netaji. Then we all came to Netaji and he said that one Japanese has given him the message that one aeroplane is going today which can accommodate only one of us. Then Netaji asked us whether we should avail of the one seat that was being offered to us. We were anxious that Netaji should get away since we felt that the Anglo-Americans may land and we may be stopped and captured. We all advised Netaji to leave but insisted that the Japanese should be requested to provide one more seat. Then suddenly Netaji turned round to us and said that in case the Japanese offered us one more seat who should that person be. We all unanimously suggested that Habib should be that person and Netaji said alright, we would be leaving at 5 o' clock. All of you should be there so that in case we got more seats then we might avail of them. At 5, all of us went to the Aerodrome with all our kit and then we said Good-bye. There was



only one plane at the Aerodrome. I do not remember the type of the plane, nor do I remember its marking. It was a transport plane. Netaji emplaned through the side of the plane in the normal way. Col. Habib also entered the same plane. The reason for specially selecting Habib to accompany Netaji was that he had been working with Netaji for a long time and also that Habib was from the Army side and in case anything happened, he was there to give help. There were two persons who had been long with Netaji. The other was Abid Hasan. We preferred Habib being an Army chap so that both sides could be covered. I have a rough idea that there were two sealed wooden boxes approximately 1 foot long, 9" wide and 6 to 9" in height. I do not know what those boxes contained. Besides these boxes, I think Netaji was also carrying some other items of his kit. I do not remember anything about it. There were some other Japanese besides Netaji and Habib in the plane. I have no idea who they were. Netaji was wearing his usual Khaki uniform. I think he was wearing his usual top-boots. I am not quite sure about it. Habib was wearing surge uniform. Netaji appeared quite hale and hearty. There were one or two Japanese officers who saw Netaji off at the Aerodrome, but I do not remember who they were. I think they were our Hikari-Khikan chaps. Netaji told us that we would be following him shortly. We knew that Netaji was going in the direction of Japan but not to Japan. Exact destination was not known to us. I do not know if Netaji had any plan for seeing

seeing any other important Japanese personality in that area. The plane took off quite normally at about 5-15 P.M. Then we returned to our bungalows and contacted the Hikari-Khikan as usual to make arrangements for our transport and knowing the Hikari-Khikan as usual we were not very sure that if ever we were going to have any transport any further. We did not get any transport on the 18th. On 19th, we requested the Hikari-Khikan to take us at least to Hanoi if not further. We made this request because Hanoi was nearer to China from where, if necessary, we could go to China and again contact Netaji. Then on the 20th, we got a plane and we were taken to Hanoi. In Hanoi we came to know of the plane-crash. We had left Saigon in one plane. The following were the members of the party:-

Col. Pritam Singh, Shri Abid Hasan,  
Shri Debnath Das and myself.

On arrival at Hanoi, we met Shri A.M. Sahay. We stayed in the same house as Mr. Sahay was staying. I do not remember exactly the distance but it was 3 or 4 miles from the air-port to the town of Hanoi. Later, General Chatterjee and Shri Thivy joined us at Hanoi. We learnt about the plane-crash from Shri A.M. Sahay when we first met him at Saigon. Shri Sahay told us that the plane carrying Netaji had crashed on one of the Islands and that Netaji had been killed. I think Shri Sahay got this news from the Japanese sources and then all our hopes were shattered, and even the idea of going to China was not there because we knew that even if Netaji was alive, we could not trace him because everybody said that he had already died. Then we

stayed in Hanoi from August till about the 23rd of December and during this period we were all the time in touch with India. During this time we were listening regularly radio news from India and we knew what was happening in India regarding the trial of INA officers. After staying there for 15 or 20 days we got fed up and decided that we should also go to India but how to reach India was the problem. Luckily that area came under Chinese occupation and the first day the Chinese General came there, we sent General Chatterjee to meet him and to tell him that we ~~XXXX~~ are all here. The Chinese General told us that since we had done nothing against China, we could live as ordinary citizens and then we used to send General Chatterjee regularly to the Chinese General to request him to send us to India somehow. He gave no definite answer, but he said that he would try. In the meantime, the French reported that there were certain Indians in Hanoi who were helping the Ho-Chi-min party we were blamed for doing so. So the Saigon Headquarters sent one British Lt. Col. to take us from Hanoi to Saigon. That Colonel approached the Chinese headquarters who said that they would like to return to India. Eventually round about Christmas time, the British Col. made a direct contact with us and had consultations with General Chatterjee. We told him that we were prepared to go to India with him. Then in the next one or two days, we left for Saigon in one plane. I do not remember if any senior Japanese officers ever came to our house in Hanoi. We were living in two separate houses. In the house in which I was

living, the other officers who were living were General Chatterjee, Shri Abid Hasan, Pritam Singh and myself. The other bungalow in which the rest of the officers were living was approximately 300 yards away. In this, there were Shri A.M. Sahay, and Shri Thivy. Shri Debnath Das stayed there in this house for sometime but later he disappeared from there.

After hearing<sup>of</sup> the plane crash, the next day we got the news that somebody had heard on the radio American news saying that the plane carrying Netaji was seen over China. This information we received while we were at Hanoi. There was general rumour that the plane crash did not take place but the source of the information we do not know. In March 1946 I met Col. Habibur Rahman in Kabul Lines and asked him about what has actually happened about Netaji's plane crash. He gave me the story that the plane was forced to land and caught fire and while we were getting out of the plane, Netaji had more fire on him than he had. So he was helping Netaji to put off his fire. Then Netaji was taken to the Hospital. Then suddenly I told him " I believe your story but one thing I do not believe that although you were wearing the same dress as you are wearing now and you were putting out Netaji's fire, your hands had burnt but nothing had happened to your shirt or the sleeves of the shirt." This I do not believe. He said "ACHHA BHAII MANO YA NA MANO". The sleeves of the bush-shirt were long. There were burnt marks on his hand. I do not remember which hand it was. After my talk with Col. Rahman, my conclusion was that the plane-crash

194

did not take place.

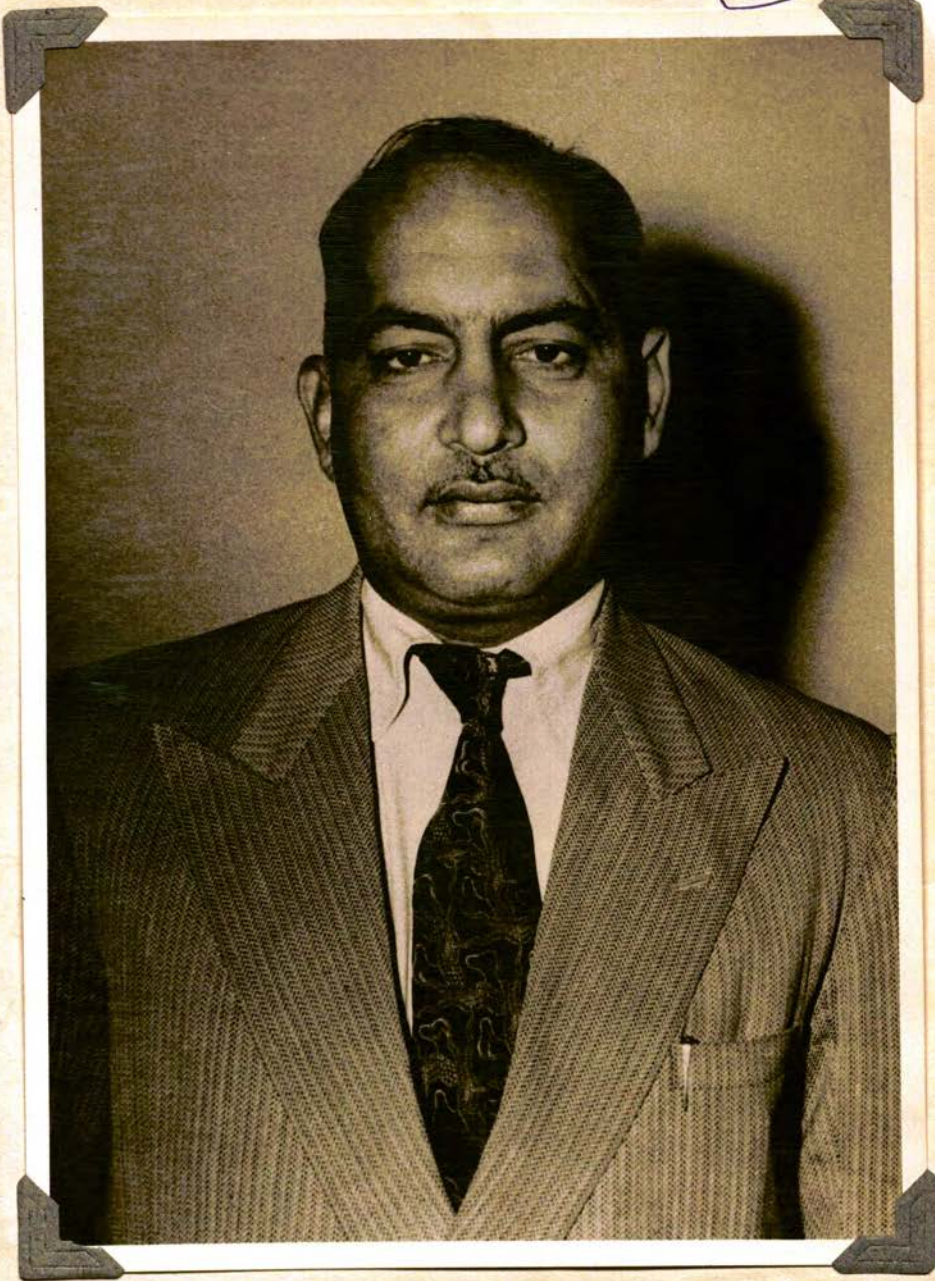
My rank in the INA was a full Col. When I rejoined the Indian Army in 1949, I started as a 2nd Lieut. I served for one year as 2nd Lieut. and then I applied for permanent regular commission and I was hoping to get a permanent <sup>regular</sup> commission but I got the orders that as I had served for one year, I was asked to go home. I came home in December 1950. And then we had a meeting of the INA Central Advisory Committee in April 1951 in the Prime Minister's room. In that meeting, General Bhonsle told Pandit Ji that Gulzara Singh went to the Army and he had been sent back. He got some papers from me and within six days I was posted to the Madras Regiment in 1951. I now hold a permanent commission with the rank of Captain.

Admitted Correct.

Gulzara Singh  
captain  
7/4/56

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195



Col. Habibur Rehman.

Witness No. 4

*Sy*  
3-7-66  
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196

Evidence of Col. Habibur Rahman.  
(at present member of the Central  
Administrative Service of Pakistan).

My first assignment in the Indian National Army was that of a Commandant of the Officers' training centre at Singapore. Thereafter I became Assistant Chief of Staff and later Deputy Chief of Staff and as such was in charge of the Supreme Headquarters in Burma. On or about the 18th February, 1945, I was transferred back to Singapore where I took over charge from the Chief of Staff, Major-General J.K. Bhonsle, of the INA forces in Malaya and Singapore, totalling approximately 23,000 and continued in this appointment till the 15th August, 1945.

I was a member of the Provisional Government of the Azad Hind and a Member of the War Council also.

At that time when I left Burma for Singapore on or about 18th February, 1945, I.N.A. forces had taken up defensive position. The Military situation in Burma on the 18th February 1945 was as follows:

No. 2 Division which was under the command of Major General Shah Nawaz Khan, had taken up defensive position in the area of Meithla. No. 1 Division, after reorganisation, was concentrating in Pymina area and the Supreme Headquarters was at Rangoon. The Japanese had also withdrawn and they were covering Mandalay, and they were holding the same line, north of INA No. 2 Division. The advance elements of the Allied Forces were facing the Japanese and the INA No. 2 Division on the opposite bank of Irrawady river. The military situation generally at that time looked desperately unfavourable to us. Roughly speaking, our future plan was that our troops should continue the struggle in whatever way they could till the liberation of India. The Burmese forces, as we had some information, at that time were not putting up the resistance that was expected of them and it was feared that they might not make a definite stand against the Allies.

When the battle in Burma started and INA forces advanced Netaji wanted to go himself and to see all the forward areas and the INA troops in actual battle fields. But for safety reasons, he was advised by the Japanese Command as well as our own not to expose himself to such risk, involved in the visits to the front line. This was during the battle of Imphal in the beginning of 1944. As mentioned above, when No. 2 Division was concentrating in Meiktila-Popla area, Netaji again proceeded for an inspection tour of the front-line areas on the evening of 18th February, 1945, by road, in spite of the advice given by the Japanese as well as our own for safety reasons. I went by plane to Singapore on 19th February, 1945 and assumed charge of the troops in Malaya and Singapore as already stated above on or about the 23rd February, 1945. After some time the situation in Burma deteriorated and the allied forces advanced towards Rangoon rapidly and the situation became untenable and Netaji was obliged to move his Headquarters from Rangoon on 24th April 1945, to Bangkok arriving there on the 14th May, 1945. Besides Rani of Jhansi Regiment, as many troops as could get back also withdrew to Bangkok and this withdrawal was done by stages, by road.

As stated above, on the 19th February, 1945, I left by plane for Singapore. After his handing over charge, General Bhonsle went by plane to Rangoon, accompanied by Major General Doganathan.

A few days after the arrival of Netaji in Bangkok, I was summoned up there for a few days, approximately two weeks after the arrival of Netaji in Bangkok. I flew to Bangkok and there we discussed the war situation and I acquainted him about the developments since my taking over charge in Singapore. We also discussed in general terms the world situation although the war situation was against



Japanese and it appeared in the end they might lose, but no time limit could be thought of at that time. After staying there for about <sup>3</sup> 8 days, I returned to Singapore. I cannot say whether I went back to Singapore with Netaji or alone. Netaji also came to Singapore on the 18th June 1945. After his arrival in Singapore, he visited several camps and units of the Azad Hind Fauj, also visited an important station in Malaya where he addressed some meeting and also inspected the camps. During his last tour of Malaya, he was accompanied by General Alagappan, Major Swamy, Col. I.J. Kiani, Col. Nagar and myself. All this had a great effect on the morale of the civilian population as well as on Azad Hind Fauj.

In the beginning of August, situation was hopeless and it looked that the battle would not last very long.

Netaji went to Kuala Lumpur and Saremban in the middle of July and Major General Alagappan, Mr. Ayar and myself accompanied him. While we were occupied with an enquiry, news was received through Col. I.J. Kiani from Kuala Lumpur that Russia had also ~~declared~~ declared war against Japan. Mr. Ayer was sent up by car from Seramban to Kuala Lumpur to contact Col. Kiani to confirm the news in person. Col. Kiani informed Mr. Ayer that he had received this news through Major General Kiani from Singapore who found it difficult to contact Saremban on telephone. At that time war situation was pretty bad. On 11th August 1945, at about lunch time, a telephone call was received from Major General Kiani from Singapore saying that Netaji should return to Singapore immediately in view of the latest war situation. When we returned to Singapore Col. Kiani conveyed the news of declaration of war by Russia and we discussed the position and it looked that the Japanese would not last more than

few days hereafter. We also discussed the effects of Atom Bomb and the Japanese morale and we started thinking as to what arrangements would have to be made for the troops etc. during the surrender period. Then the surrender news was received on the 12th August through an unofficial source. We met at Netaji's house which was situated on the sea-shore. Apart from Netaji, Mr. Ayer, Dr. Lakshmaya, Major General Alagappan, Major General Kiani, myself and a few others whose names I do not recollect and Mr. Sarkar, who had come from Bangkok, were present. The discussion centered round the immediate situation and how to face it. Mr. Sarkar and some others also suggested that Netaji should leave Singapore and go away to some other safer place as the Allies would adopt a very vindictive attitude towards him. Netaji said "No." He was prepared to face the consequences with his other colleagues. As a matter of fact he said, "The worst they can do is to put me against the wall and shoot me and I am prepared for it." While commenting on the immediate situation, Netaji said "no doubt we have lost in the battle-fields but the tremendous sacrifices made by the soldiers of Azad Hind Fauj and civilian population will not go in vain." He also added that our efforts should be to see that all we had done in the Far East should be known to our countrymen and once it was known, it was bound to have a tremendous effect on the freedom struggle. He said that one should not be dismayed by the present temporary defeat but should continue struggle by all means. Some person suggested that Netaji should not stay in Singapore but ultimately it was decided that he would stay there. The consensus of opinion was that Netaji should stay there because at that stage he could not look for protection or help from any country. Then we discussed the arrangements for the surrender of the Army etc. It was also discussed that we as

Azad Hind Government and Army would surrender as a separate entity. Arrangements for liaison with Japanese General Headquarters in Singapore were made in this regard.

On the 15th August, 1945, at about 8 p.m. a meeting was called at Netaji's house where besides Netaji, Mr. Ayyar, General Alagappan, Major General Kiani, myself and Mr. Sarkar were present. At this meeting, it was made known that the Japanese Commander in Singapore could not give an assurance for a separate surrender by Azad Hind Government and Army as he said that he had no such instructions and it would not be practicable for him to get in touch with Tokyo; even wireless communications having been disrupted. It was decided that Netaji should not stay there and explore possibility if he could secure asylum so as to continue the struggle. It was decided that Netaji should visit Tokyo and try to obtain a decision regarding separate surrender by INA and the Azad Hind Government.

After further discussion, it was decided that Netaji would be accompanied by Mr. Ayer, Lt. Col. Pritam Singh and myself from Singapore to Bangkok on the first stage where more persons were to join the party. Major Swamy was sent to Penang to fetch Mr. N. Raghavan. Similar arrangements were made for Mr. Thivy and Major General A.C. Chatterjee to join the party. It was also decided that I should make over charge of the troops in Malaya and Singapore to Major General Kiani who was on a short visit to Singapore from Bangkok. In the early morning of the 16th August, 1945, Netaji, Mr. Ayer, Lt. Col. Pritam Singh and myself went by plane to Bangkok, which was at that time the seat of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. After negotiations with the Japanese Liaison Mission which was known as Hikari Kikan, it was decided that Netaji

and party would leave for Bangkok in the first instance so as to get in touch with Field Marshal Terauchi's Headquarters for transport arrangements to Tokyo. From Bangkok Mr. Abid Hasan, Mr. Dev Nath Das, Col. Gulzara Singh, were also to accompany the party. On this day, as far as I remember, Netaji visited the Indian Independence League <sup>Bangkok</sup> Headquarters where he met a large number of prominent civilians who were there and also members of the Azad Hind Government and discussed the present situation. At this time as I was very tired, having kept awake the whole of previous night, I did not take part in any of the discussions and was resting. On the morning of the 17th August, 1945, we left Bangkok at the appointed time, as far as I remember in two parties in two different planes. In one plane, Netaji, Mr. Ayer, Lt. Col. Pritam Singh and myself were travelling and in the other Major General Isoda, Chief of the Japanese Liaison Office in Hikari Kikan, Mr. Hachia, the Japanese Minister-designate to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, Col. Gulzara Singh, Major Abid Hasan, and Mr. Debnath Das, It may be of interest to mention here that as soon as the Azad Hind Government was formed, in 1943, a twin engine transport plane was presented to Netaji by the Japanese Government for his personal use. This plane was piloted and maintained by the Japanese. Netaji used to travel in this plane and used this plane to go to Malaya and Singapore in July-August, 1945. It had the insignia of Azad Hind Government painted on it, was crossed national flag with a leaping Bengal tiger on it. I am not quite sure as to whether we travelled by Netaji's plane from Singapore to Bangkok or some Japanese plane.

We reached Saigon at about 10 A.M. where we were met by an Indian whose name I do not remember but who was probably President of the League. We drove from the aerodrome to the house of this gentleman in two cars. At the aerodrome, Netaji had some talk with the Japanese Liaison Officers who came with us and drove to the President's house in two cars and the Japanese Officers went, as far as I remember, to contact the Headquarters of F.M. Terauchi which was probably located at Dalat, to make transport arrangements for the entire party to go to Tokyo. At Saigon we were accommodated in two houses. In one house were accommodated Netaji, Mr. Ayer, myself and I think Mr. Abid Hasan in separate rooms and in the other house were staying Lt. Col. Pritam Singh and Col. Gulzara Singh. I am not quite sure in which house Mr. Debnath Das was staying. By about 10-30 we reached the above-mentioned house. At about 12 noon the Japanese Liaison Officers including General Isoda and probably Mr. Hachiya and one more officer of the Japanese army arrived at the house where Netaji was staying. At first Netaji talked to the Japanese Officers separately and after a few minutes I was called in. During my presence, the Japanese officers informed that it was not possible to get a separate plane for the party as was originally expected because the Allied had ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ issued instructions to the Japanese Government which had surrendered on the 15th August 1945, not to fly any plane without their permission. They said, however, that one plane was leaving soon in which one seat was available. Netaji insisted that we should get a separate plane as he wanted the whole party to go together. After discussion for some time it was apparent that only one seat

13

could be made available as the Japanese expressed their inability to afford more help under the changed circumstances. The Japanese were requested to stay on and Netaji and myself came out and called the rest of the party together. I think the officers who were staying in the separate house from that of Netaji took some time in arriving there. When we all were together Netaji informed all present that only one seat was offered and it did not appear possible to get more seats for others. After a little discussion we requested him that we should not make use of one seat as it was not advisable for Netaji to go alone and we must insist on more seats, if possible. Thereafter Netaji and myself returned (as far as I remember, Mr. Ayer also joined us) where Japanese were waiting for us. After further consultations by the Japanese over the telephone, with their Air Force authorities, we were informed that one more seat could be made available. All three of us then returned and joined the rest of the party. Here Netaji informed that now we had two seats to avail of. Netaji then asked as to who would accompany him. He looked at each of us who were standing there and while he looked at me he said " You will come with me " (AAP CHALANGAY) to which I nodded in affirmative. As far as I remember he asked Col. Gulzara Singh and Mr. Ayer to bring their luggage to the air-field and in case more seats could be procured, they would also accompany him in the same plane. For the rest of the party, he requested the Japanese to make a plane available for them and they promised to do their best to help them. During our discussions with the Japanese, it was known that the plane would go to Tokyo via Formosa and some of the passengers were destined for Manchuria. The usual route from S<sub>g</sub>igon to Tokyo is via Formosa. I cannot say exactly whether the same plane was to take some passengers to Tokyo and from there to Manchuria or there was transshipment of one party or the other

on the way. We informed the Japanese officers that Netaji and myself would be utilising the two seats offered. The Japanese officers then went away. On recollection I may mention here, that one junior Japanese Officer who was a part of Hikari Kikan came to the house first where we were staying and informed quietly that only one seat was available in the plane, which was to leave the same day in the afternoon. He was told that Chief of Hikari Kikan, General Isoda and Mr. Hachia should come for discussion and they arrived after some time. About an hour discussion we decided to make use of the two seats as already stated above. We departed for the aerodrome in two cars. Netaji, myself and Mr. Ayer and probably one more, were in one car and the rest were in the other car. When we arrived at the airport, the engine of the plane was running and all the passengers were seated in it.

At the airport we had to wait for about half an hour for the second car to arrive as it included some belongings of Netaji. The Japanese were getting very impatient for the delay. We could not get two more seats as thought of. As soon as the second car arrived, we greeted the rest of the party and hoping that they would join us soon, Netaji and myself boarded the plane. The luggage which we had brought with us was also kept in the plane. I was carrying an expanding small suit.case and I do not remember the exact number of packages of Netaji. I think there was a big (about 36" long in size) leather suit-case and probably two more small leather suit-cases (approximately 20" long in size and 8" in height) which were brought in the second car. As we had boarded the plane they were rushed and put into the plane. As to the contents of the three packages I was told, probably, by Mr. Abid Hasan at the

airport that the big suit-case contained Netaji's clothes and the small ones contained jewellery. Netaji's one box containing clothes was left behind which was later brought by Mr. Ayer to Tokyo. I am not certain whether both the small suit-cases contained jewellery. We boarded the plane in a great hurry as Japanese were very impatient and the engine was running for more than half an hour. The plane was a Japanese twin engine bomber probably of Sally type and we got into the plane from the port (left) side. Before we boarded the plane, one of the Japanese officers, by the name of Lt. General Shidei who came out of the plane, greeted Netaji. As far as I know, he was on the staff of Field Marshal Terauchi's headquarters at Saigon. F.M. Terauchi was the Supreme Commander of the Japanese Forces of South East Asia Command. General Shidei got into the plane first and Netaji followed him and I went in afterwards. There were no proper seats in the plane. The seating arrangements in the plane was as shown in the enclosed sketch. The number of occupants of the plane including the crew was 12 or 13. In the nose portion of the plane were probably the co-pilot, Radio officer and the Navigator. The seat of the pilot was behind them on the port side and opposite to him on the star-board side was sitting Lt. General Shidei. Immediately behind the pilot was sitting Netaji and nobody opposite to him as the space was restricted by the petrol tank. I was sitting immediately behind Netaji. The co-pilot's seat occupied by Lt. General Shidei was offered to Netaji but he did not accept it as it was too small for him. In the turret was standing one officer of the Air-Force, and in the rear portion probably 4 other officers of the Japanese Air Force and of the



Army. I do not exactly remember their ranks except the name of one Lt. Col. Nonogaki and Capt. Arai whom I met later after the crash in the hospital. We were all sitting in a cramped position. The plane took off at about 5 p.m. and we landed at Touraine on <sup>China</sup> Indonesia coast after about 2 hours. The take-off was quite normal. We rested in Touraine for the night. Netaji and myself were put in two separate rooms in a hotel which was not far away from the landing ground. When asked to explain if I knew why Mr. Hachia and General Isoda did not accompany him, I told the Committee that my own impression at the time was that they were not enthusiastic about Netaji's going to Tokyo at that time on account of transport and other difficulties involved because of surrender having taken place 2 or 3 days before. The reason may be that there was not enough space in the plane, as I had already stated above. I know there were some junior Japanese officers also in the plane but I cannot explain exactly as to why General Isoda and Mr. Hachia could not be allowed to travel in their place or did not travel in the plane.

So far as I know Touraine was not an important airport.

Netaji and myself were conducted by some Japanese officers in a car with all our belongings. Netaji's belongings were kept in his room of the Hotel. Netaji was in uniform (Bush-shirt-coat and Khaki drill trousers) and shoes. I am definite that from Bangkok onwards Netaji was wearing the above mentioned uniform. I also was wearing Khaki drill (Bush shirt-coast and shoes).

On the 18th August, in the morning at about sunrise, we were taken in Japanese car to the Aerodrome. The Japanese officers and the passengers were waiting for us at the Aerodrome. As on previous evening, the order in getting

207

into the plane was as follows:-

General Shidei, Netaji and myself and then others follows. The crew were already in the plane. The seating arrangement was the same as before as far as Netaji and myself were concerned. The luggage was put in the rear part of the plane - just below the turret. I was in the Khakhi drill uniform (cotton). Netaji was in the same Khakhi drill uniform, wearing the usual badges of the INA and I.I.L. badge and was also wearing serge (warm) cap. Soon after our arrival at the airport we boarded the plane in the order mentioned above and the plane took off. I did not see anybody carrying out the check-up of the plane or the taking out the certificate of its air-worthiness. The take-off was quite normal and we did not notice any trouble with the engine during its flight to Taihoku, in Formosa, where we landed at about 2 p.m. (Japanese time). During the flight I felt cold in the clothes that I was wearing. In my opinion, the plane was flying at the time at a fairly high altitude, possibly over 12-14000 feet. The plane had no seat belts. Since it was a bomber, there were no windows in the front portion between the turret and the pilot to see through the ground. It did not carry any parachute for bailing out. We touched down in the normal manner. It came to stop and we were told that we could get out and have a light lunch and in the meantime they would refuel the plane. Everybody got out of the plane. As far as I remember the runway appeared to be a pukka runway and a large one, but I am not sure whether it was of a concrete one. There were buildings which were of concrete but badly bombed out and were not in use. I did not see any pens or shelter in the vicinity for keeping fighting aircraft. I did not see any other plane in the air-field. As on previous occasion in November 1944, when

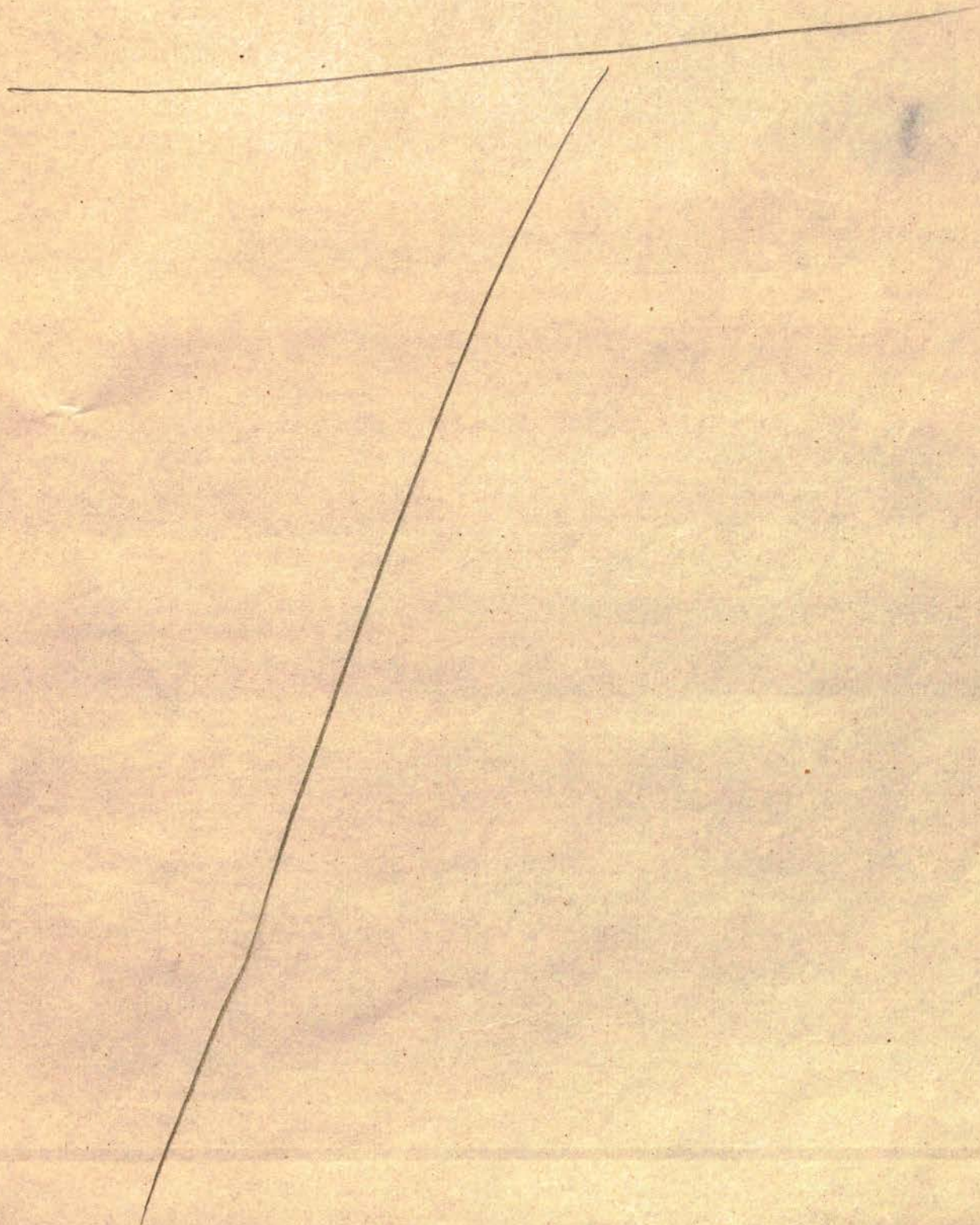
208

I accompanied Netaji to Tokyo we landed at the same air-field and also on our visit to Shanghai in the same month in 1944. The direction of runway was north to south. The runway is in flat country with mountains to its north and north-east at a distance of about 8 to 10 miles. I did not notice any control-towers and I am not sure about radio-communications, but I found the usual air-field personnel working there. I did not see any hangers either. As soon as we got out of the plane, I told Netaji that I wanted to change my clothes from Khakhi (cotton) clothes to warm uniform as I was feeling very cold during the flight since the plane was flying at a very high altitude, and I asked him if he would like to change into warm uniform. He said that he did not feel cold and therefore he did not want to change. However, I took out Netaji's pull-over - I do not remember the colour- from his suit-case and handed <sup>it</sup> over to him before I changed my clothes. He was standing there and I went over to the starboard side of the plane and changed into warm uniform, bush shirt-coat (full sleeves) breeches and top long boots. While I was changing clothes, Netaji was standing there. When he was standing, I saw him looking into the distance which struck me something unusual. Then we both moved on to a tent at the end of north-eastern of the airport where other Japanese were having light lunch. We also helped ourselves to sandwiches and some bannanas. All this took us about half an hour when we were signalled again to emplane. The sitting order in the plane was as before. I did notice the refuelling of the plane; some people round about the plane but I did not see any proper check-up. As a matter of fact, I did not look for it. The plane took off just about 2.35 p.m. and it circled over the aerodrome. I did not notice anything unusual

in the way of noise. The entrance was fairly wide and one could easily get in and get out. We were the last to get in. There was only one opening. After taking off, the plane circled over the air-field at a few hundred feet height and then it turned north or north-east. We were not more than 5 or 6 minutes in the air and the plane was still gaining height when suddenly I heard a deafening noise as if some cannon shell had hit the starboard side of the plane. My immediate reaction was that some enemy plane carrying cannon had fired at our plane and had hit it. As soon as the noise was heard, the plane started wobbling with nose its downwards and I heard a wailing noise usually heard at the time the plane makes a nose dive. My immediate reaction was to cover my face with both hands and at that time our heads were down-wards and I remember having been struck by the packages at my back. Within a few seconds the plane crashed on the ground and its fore-portion of the plane split and caught fire. Netaji turned towards me. I said, "Please get out through the front; there is no way in the rear". ("AUGAY SAY NIKABAY PICHAY SAY RASTA NAHIN HAY"). We could not get back through the entrance door as it was all blocked and jammed by boxes and other things. So Netaji got out through the fire; actually he rushed through the fire. I followed him through the same flames. The moment I got out, I saw him about 10 yards ahead of me standing looking in the opposite direction to mine towards the west. His clothes were on fire. I rushed and I experienced great difficulty in unfastening his bush shirt belt. His trousers were not so much on fire and it was not necessary to take them off. He was not wearing the sweater. He was wearing the Khakhi drill. I laid him down on the ground and I noticed

|| a very deep cut on his head probably on the left side. |  
His face had been scorched by heat and his hair also  
caught fire and singed. The cut in his head was a long one  
about 4" long. He was bleeding profusely. It was a  
straight cut. I tried to stop his bleeding with hankerchief.

Note:- See next page.



211

As for myself, my both hands were very badly burnt. As I came through the fire, the right side of my face was burnt and I noticed I had received a cut in the forehead which was bleeding and also the right side of my right knee was also bleeding profusely as it had hit some hard substance. The head cut was caused by hitting the floor as the plane crashed. My clothes did not catch fire. My hands were burnt very badly in the attempt to take off Netaji's clothes. Both my hands up to the wrist show marks of deep burning even after a lapse of more than ten years. Later on, even my nails came off. The nail of the left thumb has not come up properly.

Note:- The members of the Committee examined the hands and saw marks of sever burn.

Marks of burns were also noticed on the right side of the face and just near the right ear. Injury marks were also seen on the forehead and right leg.

When I laid Netaji on the ground, I myself lay by his side. I was feeling acute pain and felt exhausted and I saw a Japanese passenger about 20 yards away bleeding profusely and moaning. Just then, Netaji enquired from me in Hindustani " APP KO ZAIADA TOU NAHIN LAGI ". (Hope you have not been hurt badly) I replied, " I feel that I will be alright! About himself, he said that he felt that he would not survive. I replied, " Oh! No, God will spare you ". I am sure you will be alright." He said, "No, I don't think so." He used these words-

" When you go back to the country, tell the people that up to the last I have been fighting for liberation of my country, they should continue to struggle and I am sure India will be free before long. No body can keep India in bondage now." (" JAB APNEY MULK MEN WAPIS JAYEN TOU MULKI BHAYON KO BATANA KI MEN AKHRI DAM TAK MULK KI AZADI KE LIYA LARTA RAHA HOON. WOONGANGEE-AZADI KO JARI RAKHEN. HINDUSTAN ZAROOR AZAD HOGA. US KO KOI GULAM NAHIN RAKH SAKTA.

I said I am sure you will be alright and actually I believed in that. I made attempts to stop the bleeding in his head, as I laid him down. We were in that position for about, I think, 15 to 20 minutes when a Japanese ambulance and lorry with some Japanese nurses arrived there. I think the air crash took place not more than 1 or 2 miles outside the air-field. It was a plain open land. I noticed a heap of stones near the place where the plane had crashed. The plane continued to burn. I did not notice any village or habitation nearby. We were removed in a lorry. We lay on the floor of the lorry and rushed to the nearest Hospital. Later on, I discovered that that was Air-force Emergency Hospital. It was a purely military hospital. There was one Doctor in charge of that Hospital. I think we reached there at 3 O'clock. The ward in which both of us were kept was double the size of this room (20x20). At the time we arrived at the hospital there, we were the first to be put into that room. There was no other patient in that ward. But later on, some other patients were brought there. That ward could have about 10 to 12 beds. On the first day there were three-Netaji, myself and one more person who was very badly burnt. I think he was the pilot. Netaji's and mybed, were side by side. I stayed in the Hospital for about a week or so. A number of other patients were put in there. The doctor's name was probably Captain Ayogy. He was in charge of the Hospital. As soon as we were taken to the Hospital, the doctor came to dress me because I was still in uniform. I told him to attend to Netaji at once. He immediately attended on him and somebody else stitched my hard wounds- right leg wound and dressed my hands. Netaji was conscious when he came in the lorry but he was in acute pain. He was taken to the Operation Theatre room. There the doctor gave him a white transfusion which I think was Camphor. I enquired the doctor later on. He said that it was a very deep injury and his heart was affected by the burns. I was being attended to separately in the same

ward. I was not taken to the operation theatre. When Netaji was brought back from the operation theatre, he did not talk much; he was a little conscious. After about an hour, he fell into complete coma. The doctor's opinion was that he was in a bad state but that he would be alright. May be that he wanted to assure me. Two or three nurses were fanning him. The nurses were in their uniforms. The names of the nurses I did not know even then. I do not think blood transfusion was given. I cannot say whether they did not have it. I would here state that that area had been very heavily bombarded by the Americans and the place was in a mess. So I do not know what was the state of other hospitals. The doctor was sanguine in the beginning but after about 3 hours he was not so hopeful. Once or twice Netaji asked for water. Once he mentioned that name of Hasan. I said, "Hasan is not here" and I gave him my name. He asked for water at that time. Thereafter I think he was completely unconscious. During this period some senior Army officers of the Japanese headquarters came and said that they were very sorry about the accident. About other passengers, I was told that General Shedi had been killed, and three others had also been killed. Then three of four had died in the hospital later on. Only four persons survived. The survivors were:- myself, the person whom I saw immediately after arrival in the hospital, he was one Col. of the Airforce. His name ~~was~~ I think was Nonogaki who was in the turret and was not hurt. The pilot was badly burnt and he survived after several months' treatment. I do not know the name of the other survivors. I was told that four had survived including myself out of the whole number of 12. One Capt. Arai also survived. He was sitting in the rear behind me.

A civilian Japanese who probably belonged to the local administration came to the Hospital at that time knew



us well because he had met us before at Taihoku during our previous visit in 1944. I cannot recollect his name his name. This Japanese civilian was either in the intelligence or security service. He spoke English well.

At about 9 O'clock (Japan time) on 18th August, 1945 Netaji expired, i.e. six hours after the crash.

On the first day three or four Japanese staff Officers came to see Netaji. Netaji was still alive. I think when the Japanese civilian came, he was still alive.

Netaji was lying in the bed next to mine when he expired. At the time when Netaji expired, the following persons were present:-

Captain Ayogy, myself and some Japanese nurses.

The English-speaking Japanese civilian was also there.

The doctor certified that Netaji was dead. I am not aware whether the doctor made out any death certificate. I told this Japanese civilian that he should go and inform the Headquarters and request them on my behalf that I would like Netaji's body to be transported to Singapore where all our Government and Army officers were present. This was during evening time. He did not come back that night. As far as I remember, I sat up the whole night in that room because it was quite hot and I could not sleep. The body was there and a Japanese sentry was guarding it.

This was on the 18th August night.

On the morning of the 19th August at about 9 O'clock, the Japanese civilian mentioned above, returned to the hospital accompanied by a Japanese Army Staff Officer from the local Military Headquarters. I repeated my request to the Japanese Officer that arrangements for the transportation of Netaji's body to Singapore should be made. He said that he would make the arrangements as desired. He also asked me if any more help was required, and I said that the body should go in the coffin and arrangements for

its preservation should be made. The Japanese staff Officer went away saying that they would do their best. Netaji's body was still in the same room but it was shifted on the morning of the 19th, to the other corner of the room further from the entrance, where a screen was put round it and a Japanese sentry was on guard. The bed of the pilot was also in the same room and as far as I remember it was shifted towards the entrance. On enquiry I was informed that the other injured were in the other wards. We were only three in the same ward, Netaji, the pilot and myself. I had developed fever and I did not like taking food for several days. I cannot say who were in the other wards and what their condition was. After sometime, a coffin box of camphor wood was brought in and Netaji's body was put in that. I think, this was done in the afternoon and the box was nailed, and I was given to understand that this was being done so that the body could be transported conveniently. The doctor and the other staff of the Hospital were present there at that time. I was told that the box was sent by the Military headquarters. I again conveyed to Japanese headquarters through the Japanese civilian who had come the previous day that they should expedite the transportation of Netaji's body to Singapore or Tokyo. On that day, a number of senior Japanese Military Officers, including a full Col. came and expressed their regret to me over the unfortunate accident and offered condolences. They promised to help to transport the body and me to Singapore as requested by me. (I cannot give the names of the Japanese officers; they were three or four in number). The body was wrapped in a white sheet of cloth with cotton padding underneath and the coffin was nailed. I was present when the body was put in the coffin. The body was fully dressed and no part of it was visible, my be the feet were visible. In the Hospital he was dressed in the usual Japanese type gown which reaches 6" above the ankle. The upper part of his

body was smeared with white burn ointment. The coffin was laid on two benches or two stools in the same screened portion. On the morning of that day, i.e. the 19th August I also conveyed through the Japanese civilian that they should go and see what has happened to our luggage. I actually told him that I believed that there was some gold~~g~~ jewellery also in one or two of the leather suit cases and that they should see that that was not lost. Sometime in the same afternoon, this person returned and said that the plane had been completely burnt including our luggage in it and the Japanese headquarters were able to salvage some charred jewellery etc, and had kept it in safe custody under amilitary guard in their Headquarters.

When the Japanese officers came on the 19th, I asked them as to what was the cause of the accident. They said that they were looking into the matter. I am not aware whether a proper enquiry was held by them at that time or not as to the cause of the accident.

On the evening of the 19th August, I again sent that civilian officer to the Japanese headquarters enquiring as to whether we were being flown to Singapore the next morning. He returned and said that the Japanese commander was very sorry that they could not arrange for the transportation of the coffin of Netaji as requested by me and one of the reasons which he gave was that that the coffin could not be placed in a bomber. I had lot of arguments with them over this and I personally was not satisfied with this.

Next morning, i.e. on the 20th, the Japanese staff officer from the Headquarters whose name I do not know, came and expressed their inability to help at this juncture for the transportation of the body and said that they had in fact measured the size of the coffin and the space into the plane and they found that the coffin as it was, could not be put into the plane. I asked as to why they could not arrange for

for a bigger plane but the officer informed that they did not have a bigger plane at that place. Then the officer asked me as to what I wanted to be done with the body. I said " Can't you arrange for the embalming of the body." After consultation with the officer commanding the Hospital, I was told that they did not have the necessary medicines available with them for this purpose. Finding no alternative, it was decided that the body should be cremated. As far as I remember, the officer commanding the Hospital, the staff officer (who was a Major General whose name I do not recollect) and the Japanese civilian were present at the time when this decision was taken on the 20th morning.

I also made enquiries whether any Indian was living in Taihoku or in any other part of Formosa and I was informed that there was nobody from India or of Indian nationality living in Formosa. In fact I asked this on the 18th August.

On the 20th Morning, a photographer arrived and one photograph in which I was sitting beside Netaji's coffin was taken. Then the lid of the coffin was removed and the body was uncovered. The body was probably covered in Japanese Hospital gown. The lower part of the body was not uncovered. The head was bandaged; the face was open. It was swollen and disfigured. It was coated with white ointment for burn. It was hot in Formosa at that time and it was the third day after the accident. The face could be recognised by me. I am not sure whether a part of the face was covered with bandage. The chest part was also covered with the same white ointment. The signs of burn were visible all over the chest. He had burns on the hands and I think the arms were alright. One of his fingers was damaged. His upper lip also appeared cut. The body remained in the coffin throughout and that was the reason why I did not see the back. The abdomen was swollen. The lower portion of the body remained covered. The photo of his body (excluding the face) was taken at my request. Since the face was not in good condition as

I mentioned above, I requested them not to take the photo of the face out of sheer sentiment. The photographer was sent by the Japanese Headquarters and I learnt that Photos of the burnt plane had also been taken. They were taking the photos themselves and as the face was disfigured I asked them to take the photo without the face. I would not have objected to the taking of the photo of the face had it been in normal condition. I cannot exactly say why the photograph was not taken on 18th and 19th August 1945.

✓ On the 20th August, 1945, I was informed that arrangements for the cremation had been made and soon after the coffin was put in a Japanese military lorry or ambulance. The coffin was escorted by two lorries full of Japanese soldiers and staff of the hospital and Japanese officers in four staff-cars. There were also a few civilians present. In one of the cars, a Japanese General (probably Garrison Commander) also came. I also went in one of the cars. My hands, head and face and legs bandaged and wearing the hospital dress. Most probably, the civilian officer was with me in the car. As far as I recollect one car was leading, followed by the lorry carrying Netaji's coffin, followed by escorts and other cars. I was in one of the cars in the rear. After arrival at the crematorium, which was approximately at a distance of 3 to 4 miles from the Hospital, Netaji's coffin was removed from the lorry by the Japanese soldiers and the escort paid compliments according to their customs and all those present also paid compliments. All this took place just outside the entrance of the crematorium. As far as I remember a Japanese priest was also present at that time. Body was taken out of the coffin and was taken up by the Japanese inside the crematorium.

The crematorium was a pakka building, fairly high (18-20) and approximately 40 to 50 feet in length. Its width was about 25 to 30 feet. There were 12 to 14 incinerators in

219

probably two rows with metallic doors which could be locked.

The chamber was just near the passage. The body of Netaji was taken out from the coffin and was placed on a stretcher like thing, into the incinerator. The fire was burning under-neath. The door of the incenerator was locked and I kept the key with me over-night. We did not stay there all the time. This was approximately between 11 a.m. and 12 noon. I was brought back to the Hospital from crematorium, after the fire was set on. My own impression was that it was a civilian creatorium. The Japanese civilian who has been mentioned previously was also present. I do not recollect his name. He was a man of above 45 years of age; 5' 4" in height, slight in built, dark for a Japanese. He had spent about 6 to 8 years in the United States and could speak English well. This person was attending us during our visit to Japan in November, 1944 when we were obliged to stay at Taihoku in a hotel for 4 or 5 days on account of weather conditions. Mr. Nigechi who was in Hikari Kikan, was acting as interprter and was with us at that time. He might remember him.

On the morning of the 21st August, 1945, I went to crematorium accompanied by two or three Japanese including the civilian and opened the lock of the incinerator with the key which was with me. I was present and I saw the ashes of Netaji's body inside it. We had a wooden urn to collect the ashes. We collected some ashes from the head-side, neasrest to the door, and placed them in the urn. I remember distinctly that a little piece of gold, which was from the filling off one of Netaji's teeth was removed and placed in the urn. Then we came back back and deposited the urn containg ashes in a Japanese temple which was on our way to Hospital. Arrangements had already been made for offering of the prayer in Japanese customs in that temple and I myself saw a number of Japanese priests praying there. This continued

for several days. The urn was made of whitish-coloured wood, square in shape (about 6" or 7" ) and height also 6" or 7". As far as I remember the top was nailed in the crematorium. I was told by the Japanese that the ashes would be carried with me when I am taken to Tokyo. The temple was outside Taihoku town. Probably on the day, we collected the ashes or on the following day, a wooden box of about 8" square at the base and 16" high was brought to me by an officer of the Japanese Headquarters, accompanied by the civilian mentioned above and they informed me that it contained some charred Jewellery. The box was nailed at that time. I asked them to open the box in front of me which they did. I saw that it contained some pieces of gold bangles, some ear-rings and charred gold. Everything was not taken out. These were mixed with a good deal of newly burnt ashes and pieces of clay and some small stones. The box was nailed down again and tied up with a tape and sealed with sealing wax by the Japanese in front of me. I did not see the body of General Shind<sup>e</sup>i and I do not know how the bodies of other passengers who were killed in aircraft crash or died shortly after, were disposed of. It was then taken back again to the Japanese Headquarters. I was still sick and was removed along with 2 or 3 patients to a Japanese military hospital about 8 to 10 miles away in the hills.

The Hospital was well-equipped one with a number of wards, doctors and could, in my opinion, accommodate about 100 patients. I was under treatment in that hospital up to the 5th September, 1945 when I was brought down to Taihoku airfield, and was flown in a Red-cross plane to an airport, some distance away from Tokyo. Accompanying me at the time were two or three Japanese Officers, Probably one of them was Col. Nonogaki. The urn containing ashes of Netaji and the wooden box containing valuables were also taken charge of by this officer. I had not completely recovered at the time and my head, hands and legs were still

221

bandaged. I was wearing the same serge uniform which I was wearing at the time of crash. I was taken to the military aerodrome on the main island of Japan from where we boarded a Japanese train for Tokyo at night. One Major Nakamiya, a Japanese Officer whom I knew before, also accompanied us from Taihoku in the same plane and he was with us in the train also, in the night. We arrived on the 6th September 1945 in the suburbs of Tokyo in the morning. It was a goods train. As far as I remember, the urn and the box were being carried by Col. Nonogaki. The ashes were being carried by him personally in a Japanese style (supported by white cloth band from the neck). I was told that the urn and the box would be deposited in the General Headquarters. I spent 6th of September and the night of 6th-7th September, in the house of Major Nakamiya. On the 7th September, I was taken to the house of Mr. Ramamurty in Tokyo city who was then the President of the I.I.L. The ashes of Netaji had been collected by Mr. Ramamurty and Mr. Ayer from General Headquarters and were kept in his house. The same night I went to the house of Mr. Sahay where I met Mr. S.A. Ayer who I learnt had flown from Saigon to Tokyo a day or so after the news of the air-crash at Taihoku ~~and~~ had been communicated to Saigon. I was staying in a house quite close to that of Mr. Ramamurty's and Mr. Ayer, who was previously staying with Mrs. Sahay, also shifted to Mr. Ramamurty's house. I communicated all that had happened about the air crash from the time we left Saigon to Mr. Ayer on the night when we met first at Mr. Sahay's house. I was still sick and weak.

For 5 or 5 days after my arrival in Tokyo, Netaji's ashes were deposited by Mr. Ayer and Mr. Ramamurty and some other Indians after due ceremony in a Japanese temple not far away from Mr. Ramamurty's house. Since I was



sick, I was not present on that occasion. One Japanese Lt. Col., whose name I do not remember, saw me in Major Nakamiya's house in the morning of the 6th September and conveyed condolences on behalf of the Japanese Government on the unfortunate air crash at Taihoku in which Netaji had died. Later on I went to the Japanese Foreign Office where I met Mr. Fukai whom I knew before. A few days after my arrival in Tokyo, Mr. Ayer and Mr. Ramamurty were called at Japanese General Headquarters and the wooden box containing the valuables was handed over to them. When they brought it to Mr. Ramamurty's house, I was called and was shown the box. I recognised that the box was the same which I got sealed at Taihoku but the seal had been broken and it appeared the box had been opened. Mr. Ramamurty and Mr. Ayer told me that they got the box in that condition and that they had to wait for getting this box for about 1½ to 2 hours. I am not aware whether the contents of the box were shown to them at the time of its handing over to them or not. I felt that it was much lighter in weight and when it was opened in my presence I could see that it was less than half full and contained some ashes mixed with some charred gold ornaments. It appeared that the box had been tampered with. The contents of the box were removed in my presence and were weighed and recorded. I remember having signed some paper, but I do not remember whether others signed it or not. These were deposited at Mr. Ramamurty's house. I was interrogated by the American Intelligence after ten days after my arrival and after two weeks thereafter I was also interrogated by the British Military Officers. I stayed in Tokyo up to the 18th November, 1945 as a free man; of course, the British Intelligence knew where I was but it was arranged that whenever I went out of Tokyo, I was to inform them.

It may be of interest to mention here, that when I left Taihoku I was given a watch by the Officer commanding of the Hospital who had treated Netaji saying that it was Netaji's watch which was removed from his wrist after his death. I do not remember the make of the watch but it had charred leather strap because of fire. Later on, I managed to hand the watch over to Netaji's family through Mr. Bhulabhai Desai. I left Tokyo on the 18th night and arrived in Delhi on the 23rd September in connection with Red Fort Trial.

I did not personally hand over the watch to Shri Sarat Chandra Bose and I could not exactly tell you whether the watch was running or not when I received it from the Medical officer.

Admitted correct.

— *Harib R...*  
9-4-56

224

received from the Medical Officer.

...

QUESTIONS BY SHRI SURECH CHANDRA BOSE  
AND  
ANSWERS BY COL. HABIB UL RAHMAN.

....

- Q. At what time <sup>did</sup> the air crash <sup>take</sup> took place ?
- A. At about 2.30 (Japanese time) p.m.
- Q. What was your rank in the British Indian Army when you surrender <sup>ed</sup> to the Japanese ?
- A. I was Captain.
- Q. What was your rank in the I.N.A. when you first joined it ?
- A. I was commissioned first as ~~lx~~ 2nd Lt., but was promoted as Captain the same day in September, 42.
- Q. To which division or brigade were you attached?
- A. My first appointment in INA was Commandant, Officers Training School.
- Q. Did you subsequently hold any position in any brigade or division?
- A. No.
- Q. Who were your superior officers when you first joined INA under Netaji ?
- A. I was under ~~Mxjn~~ General Staff Branch.
- Q. What was your rank at the last stage when you left Saigon with Netaji ?
- A. Full Colonel.
- Q. When did you become the Dy. Chief of Staff and did you hold that position till the last ?
- I became Dy. Chief of Staff some time in early 1944, and held it till 15. 8. 45.
- Q. As such <sup>was</sup> / Maj. General Bhonsley, Chief of the Staff, the only military officer in the whole of <sup>the</sup> INA, ~~xxxx~~ above you and I take it he was also only under Netaji, the Supreme Commander ?

225

A. Major-General Bhonsley was ~~my~~ Chief of Staff. His Headquarters was at Singapore. We never worked together since my headquarters was at Rangoon. Then we changed ~~places~~ on the 23rd February, 1945.

Q. 3 Although some other military officers had a rank higher than that of yours, was your position in the INA next only to the Chief of the Staff and higher than the others stated above ?

A. No.

Q. May I take it that Netaji made you Deputy Chief of Staff due to your high standard of competency, efficiency and reliability?

A. 4 I am not in a position to answer "Yes" or "No".

Q. Was Netaji, in your opinion, a just and impartial superior officer?

A. Yes. *just and impartial*

Q. When you told us previously that Netaji told you "you are coming with me, Habib Bhai", does this mean that he had selected you to accompany him?

A. Yes.

Q. At the time of such selection, Shri S.A. Ayyar, Col. Gulzara Singh, Col. Pritam Singh, Major Abid Husain and Shri Dev Nath Das were there. Out of these 6 officers, was ~~not~~ it not on you that this first choice fell?

A. It appears so.

Q. How many times have you been to Taihoku airport before your last visit there on the fateful flight with Netaji?

A. 5 Two or three times.

Q. Could you please give us an idea of the area of land covered by airfield?

A. I do not remember it. I saw only one run-way at the airport and I think it was in the middle.

Q. You have already stated that the plane before it crashed attained a height of a few hundred feet. Would it be within 500 feet or 1000 feet?

A. I think it was about 1000 feet or above.

Q. You have stated that the crash took place about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or 2 miles from the boundaries of the airport. Did it crash against the side of a hillock?

A. *Yes*. No, ~~it~~ it crashed on plain ground.

Q. You have stated that Netaji was seated in front of you when the plane crashed. What was the distance between both of you?

A. We were sitting close to each other; almost touching each other.

Q. Was the entrance and exit door on the port-side and did the door open ~~into~~ outside?

A. Yes.

Q. As both of you were on the port-side, how far were each of you from the exit door?

A. Roughly speaking, Netaji was about 8 to 9 feet and I was about 6 to 7 feet.

Q. You said the fire was confined to the front portion of the plane. Did it reach Netaji's seat?

A. ~~4~~ No.

Q. Did the fire reach the exit door also? when both of you were inside?

A. No.

Q. You requested Netaji to get out through the front portion of the plane and through the fire that was <sup>burning</sup> reaching there, though you knew that there was no exit there?

A. Since the entrance which was also the exit was blocked with packages etc. and to save ourselves from being engulfed with petrol fire - the tank having burst - instinctively I requested him to get out from

the front portion where there was fire and at the same time there was an opening because of split or breakage in the front portion of the plane. From the place where Netaji and myself were sitting <sup>and</sup> towards the rear, the structure of the plane was in tact.

Q. What was the distance between the breakage and Netaji's seat?

A. Hardly 2 or 3 feet.

Q. When the plane crashed and the front portion broke and the ~~px~~ petrol caught fire, did the fire come up to where Netaji was ?

A. The fire was almost there.

Q. How far was the fire from ~~the~~ Netaji when you requested him to rush through the front portion of the plane ?

A. The fire was almost there.

Q. Why did you not make an attempt to go through the exit door?

A. As stated above, it must be appreciated that the plane had crashed with nose down-wards, the front portion having been split, showing an opening although the fire was there, whereas there ~~was~~ was not an inch of space permitting us to get to the rear as all the packages having fallen on top of me and having blocked the entire place. Therefore, there was no alternative to save ourselves but to rush through the fire. *It is a question of luck to go*

Q. Did you help or push Netaji to go through the fire?

A. No, he himself was able to get out quite quickly and I followed just behind Netaji through the fire.

Q. Could you please give us the <sup>width -</sup> length of the fire through which Netaji rushed through?

A. I think it was hardly 2 or 3 feet in length.

220

Q. May I take it that both of you came practically simultaneously out of the plane ?

A. No. Netaji got out first and I followed him from the same opening.

Q. You shouted to Netaji to get out from the front side because you saw that the front portion had been broken and an exit had been caused thereby?

A. Because there was a breakage of the front portion of the plane and created an opening, I requested him to get out.

Q. Was the breakage between engines and Netaji's seat or between the engines and the nose?

A. I could not see anything at the time except an opening in front of Netaji and the fire.

Q. As the plane had nose-dived as you stated and that the rear portion was in tact, did the rear portion strike against the wrecked front portion and the ground thereby causing no passage between the two ?

A. \* No. There was no overlapping and an opening did exist *in front*.

Q. As you had great regard for Netaji, I believe you took particular care to avoid dashing against him when the crash took place.

A. \* I do not think there was any chance of my dashing against him. If at all it did happen I had no such knowledge *in that crash*.

Q. You told us that when the crash took place, the packages in the rear hit against your back: did not this make you push forward?

A. I have no such recollection.

Q. 2 Apart from the bleeding injury on Netaji's head, will you please tell <sup>us</sup> on which parts of his body you saw burn-marks when he was undressed in

229

the Hospital and his burns attended to there ?

A. On the face, chest and hands.

Q. You say after coming out of the plane, you saw Netaji standing with his uniform burning all over, may we know whether the whole of his clothing from the lowest part of his trousers to the collar of his coat and <sup>o</sup>frage cap were on fire?

A. There was more fire on Bu<sup>sh</sup>shirt. All the same, <sup>his</sup>trousers had caught fire but my own impression is that since he was sitting in a <sup>gna</sup>scotting way in the plane, the petrol spread more on the ~~XXXXX~~ upper portion of his clothes and that is ~~why~~ the fire was more on the upper portion.

Q. When you found him standing with fire on him, why did you not lay him on the ground and roll him over to control or to extinguish the fire more easily?

A. It did not ~~XXXXX~~ take long to tear all his clothings in order to put out the fire. All the same, the idea of rolling him down on the ground did not strike me at all.

Q. On which side and how far from the wrecked plane, was he standing and how far were you from him?

A. As soon as I jumped out of the plane after Netaji had done, I saw him standing about 10 to 15 yards on the port-side of the plane and I rushed up straightaway and tore his clothes. I did not have to wait.

Q. Where did Netaji's or your suit-cases fall from the plane?

A. I do not hink the suit-cases dropped out of the plane. The whole plane was in fact on fire and



230

as far as  
and everything I know was on fire.

Q. Did the leather suit-case containing the valuables remain inside the plane or drop out of it?

A. I think it remained inside the plane. There was no chance of getting anything out but ~~At least I~~ ~~did not~~ did not notice anything dropping out of the plane.

Q. So I take it that according to you, not a single item of luggage came out of the plane.

A. As I have stated above, I did not notice anything falling out of the plane or anybody taking anything out of the plane.

Q. As what time did Netaji give his message to you for his countrymen?

A. As soon as I laid him on the ground after tearing his clothes, thereby putting ~~out~~ the fire, I also laid down beside him, as I ~~was~~ felt completely exhausted. At that time he enquired from me as if I had not been burnt, to which I replied that I was not badly hurt. About himself, he said that he did not hope to survive and at that stage he gave the message for the countrymen.

Q. After that and before he expired, was he in a position to speak much to you or to anybody else except water, water, Hasan, or some words or short sentences?

A. We did not carry out any long conversation, he was in my opinion ~~I can say~~ <sup>as I recall</sup> in great agony on account of acute pain. I was also suffering from pain although I was conscious. At the time the medical officer ~~was~~ attending on him enquired about his pain, he talked only that. It was not an occasion for ~~me~~ me either to ask for any lengthy questions. What was required was immediate medical relief. <sup>near his eye</sup>

Q. Could it then be said that Netaji was unconscious for the whole of the period from his admission to hospital and till his death except consciousness for short moments?

~~SINCE~~

A. Since he did not speak ~~much~~ much, it might be so

as you ~~put~~ put by you but I am certain of this fact that for about 2 hours or so before his end came, he was completely unconscious and in a coma.

Q. When both of you were admitted into the Hospital, were both of you placed on beds nearest to each other and except for the period he was taken to the operation theatre for having his wound on his head attended to, was he all along in the same bed as before and did he expire on that bed?

A. Yes.

Q. Was a movable partition or <sup>a screen</sup> something placed round his bed during treatment and before his death?

A. I do not remember having seen one.

.....

QUESTIONS OF SHRI SHAH NAWAZ KHAN  
AND  
ANSWERS BY COL. HABIB UL RAHMAN.

...

Q. You said that at the time ~~of~~ the plane crashed, you were wearing top boots. What happened to your boots later on?

A. I took them to Japan and I did not bring them to India when I came back. I did not remember ~~the day~~ where I discarded them but I think it was most probably in Mr. Ramamurty's house.

Q. You said at the time you jumped from the plane as a result of which right side of your face was burnt badly, could you tell me whether any part of your uniform also caught fire.

A. No it was warm serge uniform. In my opinion, the woollen clothings do not catch the fire as the summer clothes. Also I think one of the reasons why my clothes did not catch fire was that no petrol spread on my clothes, as ~~in~~ in the case of Netaji, and we were not

standing in the fire; we rushed through the fire. Getting out of the plane did not take more than a couple of seconds.

Q. You say you have still preserved that warm uniform. Have you brought it with you here?

A. No.

Q. You said you have some photographs ~~xxxx~~ etc. ~~xxxx~~ with. Have you brought them here?

A. I have not brought them here. I have 4 photographs. Two photos are of the crashed plane, which I was told are the photo of the same plane; Out of the rest two, one is that of the coffin and <sup>in</sup> the other I am shown as sitting beside the coffin with bandages etc. on the head and the hands. That is an authentic photograph.

Q. Do you think you could send those photographs to us here?

A. Yes I could do so.

Q. You had sealed the other box but you have not told us ~~xxxxxxx~~ whether the urn was sealed or anything written on it?

A. I think Netaji's name in Japanese was written on the wooden part of the box but it was not sealed.

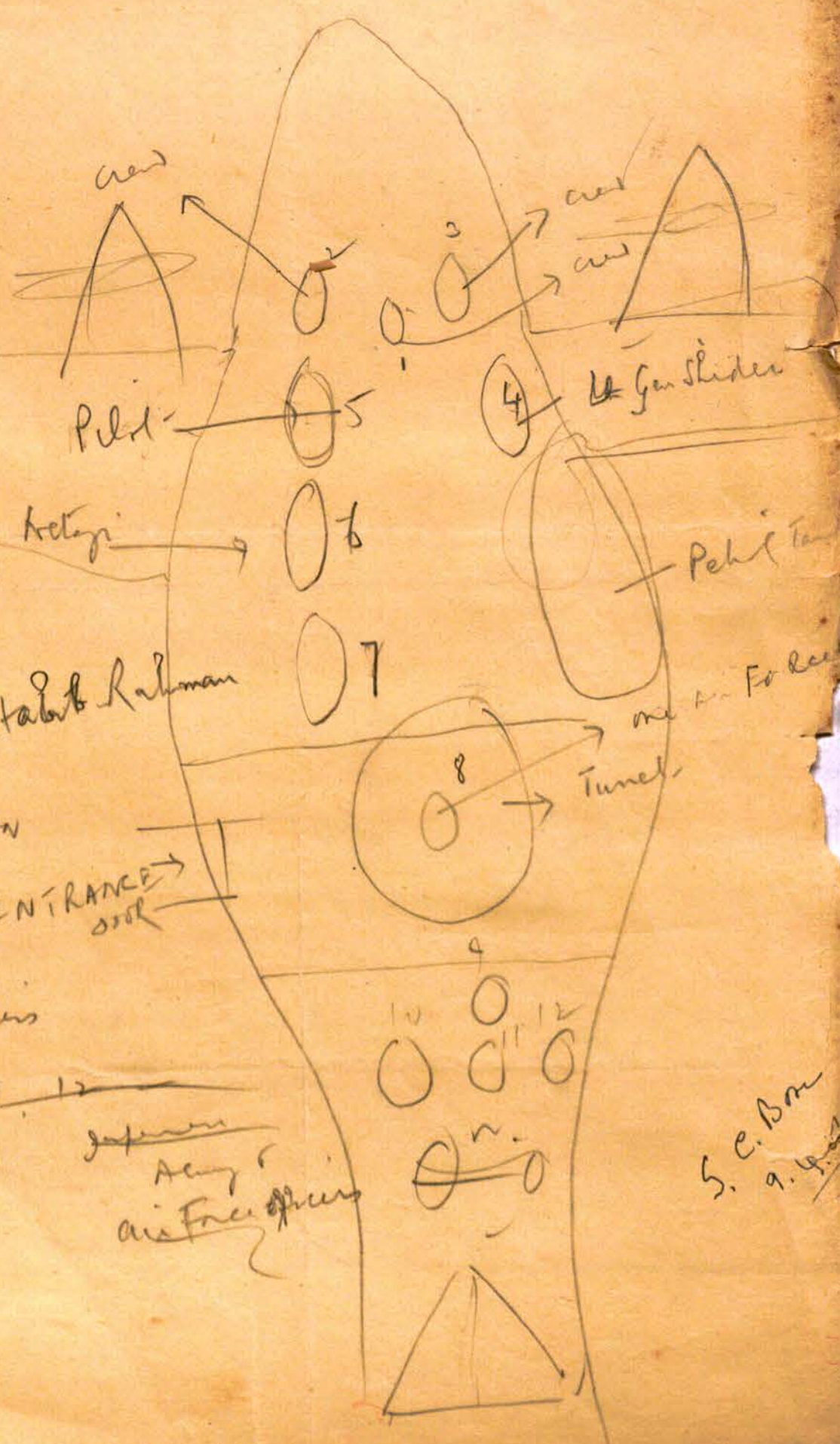
Q. This urn was carried from Taihoku to Tokyo by Japanese officer. When this urn was placed in the temple near Mr. Ramamurty's house, did you recognise that this was the same urn which you yourself had placed in the temple?

A. The urn that I saw in the house of Shri Ramamurty was the same urn which I had placed. ~~xxxxx~~ ?  
~~xxxxxxx~~ ...

Habibul Kabir  
9/4/57

SKETCH OF JAPANESE BOMBER

IN WHICH NETAJI TRAVELLED FROM SAIGON TO TOIHO KU (FORTOSA)



1, 2, 3 - aed

4 = Lt Gen Shidei

5 = Pilot

6 = Kotaji Subst Chm Bm

7 CPT HABIB-UR-RAHMAN

8 on Air Force

9, 10, 11, 12 - Japans

Any 6 Air Force Officers

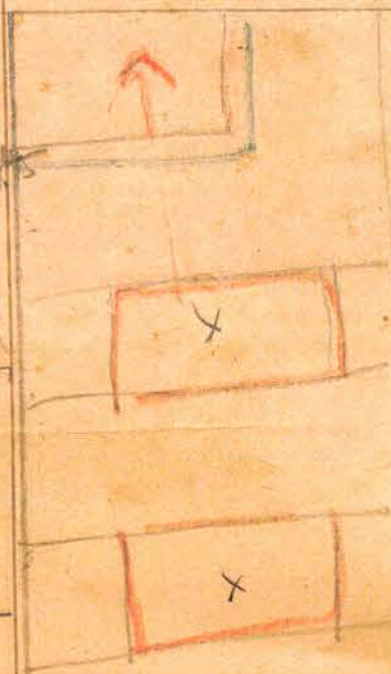
9, 10, 11, 12

Japans  
Any 6  
Air Force Officers

S. C. Bm  
9.4.44

SKetch Plan of WARD of JAPANESE EMERGENCY HOSPITAL at  
 (234) TAI HSEK  
 Formosa

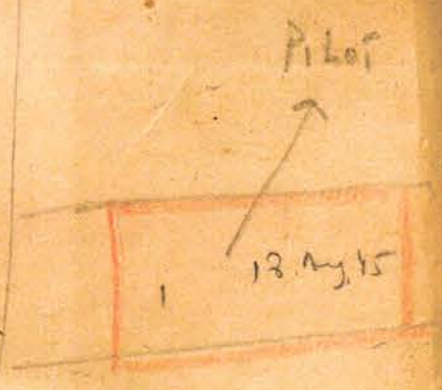
Bed Skipped with  
 Nohji 18/9/45  
 right



Nohji Bed

After accident in  
 Jan 3 1949  
 left his death

HABERER-  
 RAN MAN



Pilot

18 Aug 45

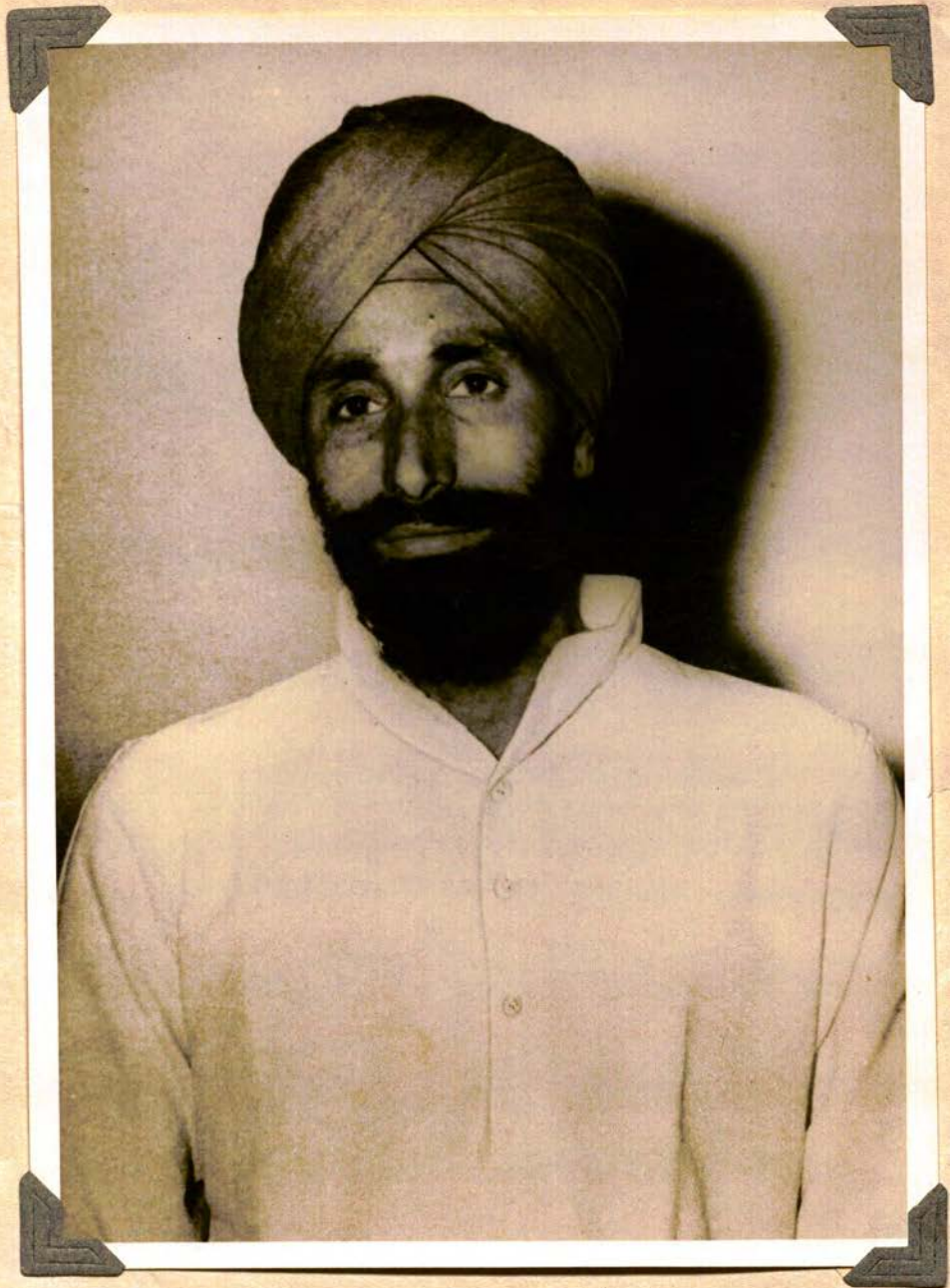
Screen

Position of  
 Nohji bed by  
 in 19.4.45 from the 1st  
 floor

Br. Col Haberer Return on

235

25



Col. Pritam Singh.

Evidence of Col. Pritam Singh.

(10th April, 1956).

I was acting Captain in the British Indian Army when we surrendered to the Japanese. In March, 1941, I went to Malaya with Kapurthala unit. My rank at that time was Lieutenant. I took part in the fighting in Singapore against the Japanese. I surrendered in Singapore near Buktimah road on the 15th February, 1942. I joined first I.N.A. under General Mohan Singh. I was present in Singapore on the day when Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Singapore. I was present at the aerodrome, among other officers, to receive him. At the time of arrival of Netaji, I was Major in the I.N.A. I was second in command of Azad Guerilla Brigade. Then later on I was transferred to No. 1 Division Headquarters As G. 2. I held staff appointments in No. 1 Headquarters almost to the date of our surrender in Bangkok. I moved with the Headquarters of No. 1 division from Singapore to the main land of Malaya, and later to Burma via Bampton. Under No. 1 Division, we took part in Imphal operations. On arrival at the front - opposite Palel - I took command of the fighting forces of the Gandhi Brigade that reached the front by that time. Towards the end of April, 1944, my detachment was ordered to attack Palel. We advanced approximately 50 miles inside the enemy lines, and came into contact with the 20th Indian Division under command of General Gracey. There was severe fighting in that action and as a result of which two British officers were killed and a number of Gorkha troops surrendered. For bravery in this operation, I was decorated with the Sardar-e-Jung by Netaji. With the onset of Monsoon we started withdrawing, our supply were cut off by enemy air action. Eventually we concentrated in Mandalay area. After Mandalay we withdrew to Pyinmana area. In the beginning of 1945, we began concentrating at Pyinmana where we stayed for 2 or 3 months re-organising ourselves. In February, 1945, Netaji came to Pyinmana<sup>area</sup> and he wanted to take part in the fighting in person. Eventually we prevailed upon him to return to Rangoon. We felt much relieved by this. After about 2 months, we started preparing for continuing the Guerilla warfare and disperse our ration and ammunition in various area. About the middle of April, our position in the front took the turn for the worst. There was a general withdrawal all along the front and we had to withdraw with the other Japanese forces. From Pyinmana we withdrew

east-wards across the River Sitang, moving about 10 miles on Toungoo-Mawchi road. There was a Conference with the Japanese General there and it was decided that the Japanese main troops would withdraw on the Toungoo-Mawchi road and we were to withdraw through the Karen hills towards Moulmein. We withdrew to Papun through difficult country after meeting slight resistance. By the end of June, we retired to Moulmein where we learnt that Netaji and party had moved to Bangkok. I had a sum of one lakh of rupees which I handed over to the Base Commander. Then we arrived in Bangkok after 4 or 5 days from Moulmein. On arrival at Bangkok, I explained the military situation regarding No. 1 regiment to Netaji who was very pleased to learn that regiment had managed to come through. In his talk with me, Netaji explained the general war situation in the world. After explaining Netaji came to the conclusion that sooner or later his allies namely, the Japanese and Germans, would have to surrender. Netaji was as usual in optimistic mood. At that time I was alone with him. Netaji was of the view that even if his allies surrendered, the war of Indian liberation would go on, might be in a different form. He made arrangements for the reception of regiment which was still on its way to Bangkok. Regiment arrived in Bangkok about three weeks later under the command of Col. Thakar Singh. In the meantime, Netaji was busy making arrangements for supplying proper clothing and ration to his troops. I remained somewhere near Bangkok. On or about the 18th July, Netaji left for Singapore. I did not accompany him. In the beginning of August, I was transferred to Singapore as Brigade Commander. I went by plane from Bangkok to Singapore. This was early in August. When I arrived in Singapore, I learnt that Netaji was on tour of inspection somewhere on the main land of Malaya. He returned back to Singapore on about the 10th August, 1945. Then I learnt that Netaji's main object was to organise a united front of Indians, Malayans, and Chinese so that they could fight for their independence. On the 12th or 13th August, official news was received that the Japanese had surrendered. This was just after the atom bombing of Hiroshima. Netaji, on the 13th or 14th August, invited to Dinner a number of senior officers including myself. Others present were - Col. Bishen Singh and members of Rani of Jhansi Regiment. Other senior officers at that time in Singapore were: Col. Habibur Rehman, General Kiani, Col. Stracey, Col. Kasliwal. At about mid-night

85







when everybody had gone, Netaji asked me to stay on. He took me to his room and after speaking about the situation in general, he asked my opinion as to what we should do next. My suggestion was that we should continue the struggle somehow or the other. I did not see any point in being arrested and put in jail like thousands of others in India. He told me that he had contacted Russia through the Japanese Foreign Minister, Mr. Shigemitsu. Although Netaji did not divulge the plan to me, I got the impression that it was his wish that he and some of his party should move to Russian territory and operate from there. Netaji said that the ideology of the Russians and Anglo-Americans were so different that sooner or later, they would come to a clash. He assessed that this would happen in about 10 years time and that would be an opportune moment for us to go into action again. He was of the view that the clash was likely to be hastened if Churchill returned to ~~xxx~~ power. I left him after this interview. Next day, he sent for me again and told me to get myself in readiness to move to an unknown destination the next day. I returned to my house and started packing my kits. On the morning of the 16th August, we reached the aerodrome at Singapore. The plane in which we were to travel was a bomber. The under-mentioned officers were in the plane : Netaji, Col. Habibur Rehman, Mr. Ayyer and myself. I think there was some representative of the Hikari Kikan also. We were seen off at the Singapore aerodrome by General Kiani. The plane took off at 7 A.M. and we arrived at Bangkok just about mid-day. On arrival at Bangkok aerodrome we were met by the transport that was waiting for us. We drove to Netaji's bangalow in Bangkok. Soon after his arrival at his residence, Netaji held a conference of senior officers. I think Col. Thakar Singh, Col. Gulzara Singh, Major Abid Hasan, ~~xxx~~ myself and Mr. Dev Nath Das were present. I remember distinctly that during the course of his talk, Netaji told us that although we had lost the war, we had succeeded in creating an awakening among the soldiers of the Indian Army for the freedom of our country which the Congress had so far failed to achieve. He considered this to be of very great significance and was confident that the pace of the freedom struggle would be hastened and that India would be free before long. He was determined to continue the war for India's independence. He praised the sacrifices made by the soldiers of the Azad Hind Fauj in the battle for freedom in Burma

85

and he further stressed upon every officer present the desirability of continuing the struggle even at the cost of much sufferings and torture. In the morning of the 17th August, we went to the aerodrome in two cars. At Bangkok the party that arrived from Singapore with Netaji was joined by Major Abid Hasan, Shri Dev Nath Das, Col. Gulzara Singh, General Isoda and Mr. Hachia. We left Bangkok at about 7 A.M. in two planes and arrived at Saigon after an hour or so. At the Saigon aerodrome, I learnt that the Japanese were of the opinion that it would be difficult to conceal such a big party. The inference I drew from this was that the Japanese wished to take Netaji alone to some unknown destination. But Netaji was of the opinion that it was not for the purpose of going into hiding that he was going to some unknown destination. His primary object in doing so was to continue the struggle for India's freedom for which it was essential that he should be accompanied by a number of his officers. Netaji discussed all these points with the two Japanese officers, viz. General Isoda and Mr. Hachia who had accompanied us from Bangkok. After consultations with Netaji at the aerodrome, the two Japanese Officers left by plane for the Headquarters of Field-Marshal Count Trauchi at Dalat. They were accompanied by some other Japanese officers as well. I saw their plane taking off. Their object in going to Dalat was to have consultations with the Field Marshal, who was the Supreme Commander of the Japanese Forces in South East Asia. After finishing our breakfast at the aerodrome we drove in two cars to Saigon. We were accommodated in two bungalows. I do not remember correctly the distance from the aerodrome to these bungalows but I think it was approximately 4 miles. Col. Gulzara Singh, one more officer, and myself were staying in one bungalow and the rest of the party in the other bungalow, with Netaji. The bungalows were adjacent to each other. On reaching there, we relaxed. After an hour or so, we were sent for in a hurry by Netaji. We were asked to come in whatever dress we were in. On arrival at Netaji's bungalow, I saw the two Japanese Liaison Officers, General Isoda and Mr. Hachia, seated in one corner. Netaji was talking

85

242

to the other members of the party at some distance from the Japanese. Netaji told us that the Japanese had informed him that they would like to take him away alone. We requested Netaji to request the Japanese Officers to take all of us together, failing which, at least one of us should accompany Netaji. Netaji had further consultations with the Japanese and insisted on at least one more seat being made available in the plane. They eventually agreed to this. Netaji then asked all of us as to who should be the person to accompany him. All of us suggested the name of Col. Habibur Rehman. We suggested his name to accompany Netaji because he was the most senior staff officer of Netaji, and was in personal touch with Netaji as the Deputy Chief of Staff for some time. In the meantime, one Japanese Major arrived in the Bungalow and told us that the ~~pxi~~ plane was about to leave and that we should hurry up. Netaji told all of us to carry our kits to the aerodrome in case some more seats were made available at the last minute. The Japanese stressed on the fact that since the allies had restricted the flying of their planes after surrender, it might not be possible in future to fly their planes and because of this they insisted that Netaji should utilize the two seats that were made available. All of us drove to the aerodrome in a haste, in two cars. Netaji discarded some of his kits in bungalow in Saigon and took only one suit-case and I think three boxes containing gold, valuables and documents. I think the boxes containing the valuables were wooden and about 24" long, 16" wide and 10" high in size. One car arrived at the aerodrome a little later than the other car. On arrival at the aerodrome, Netaji again asked the Japanese to provide one more seat in the plane but the answer was in the negative. The Japanese Liaison Officers assured Netaji that they would do their utmost to secure transport for the rest of the party to join Netaji later on. But my own impression was that the Japanese did not wish to provide transport for the whole party. I did not notice any other plane at the aerodrome at that time. Some Japanese officers including one General, besides General Isoda and Mr. Hachia, were there. After a brief talk by Netaji with them and later telling us that he had asked the Japanese to make the transport available for the rest of the party

SS

243

he boarded the plane. Before boarding the plane, he bid farewell to us by embracing with every one of us in turn. Netaji entered the plane through the door on the left side of the plane. The Japanese declined to accept the boxes in the plane as they stated that the plane was already overloaded, but Mr. Dev Nath Das, myself put the box inside. One Japanese General also boarded the plane. I did not know how many ~~other~~ Japanese officers did. Netaji was wearing Khakhi drill uniform. I am not sure but I think he was wearing his top boots. The plane left at about 5 P.M. (Japanese time). The take off was quite normal. We had no idea where this plane was going to. After that all of us returned to our bungalow in Saigon. Some Japanese Liaison Officers later on told us that they were attempting to arrange transport for us but we did not get the transport up to the 20th August. On the 20th August in the morning, all the party, except Mr. Ayyer, were asked to get ready to board the plane for an unknown destination. They were providing Mr. Ayyer a seat in another plane. We were to follow Netaji. We left Saigon at about 10 A.M. and to our surprise, we landed at Hanoi in the afternoon. The surprise was that after reaching Hanoi we did not find Netaji there as we were supposed to follow Netaji. We were taken to Hanoi town where we met our Government's representative Mr. A.M. Sahay. All of us went to the residence of Mr. Sahay. General Chatterjee, Mr. Thivy and the Private Secretary to General Chatterjee also reached Hanoi. At night, we heard the broadcast from Tokyo Radio a brief announcement that the plane carrying Netaji had crashed at Taihoku (Formosa) and that as a result Netaji had died. We did not take this news seriously as we did not ~~believe~~ believe it to be true. Two or three days later, we heard from Mr. Dev Nath Das that a Japanese Officer from F.M. Trauchi's Headquarters had called <sup>on</sup> and told him that we should not believe the report about the crash of plane and he also said that we should continue our activities as if nothing had happened to Netaji. At Hanoi our plans were to reach Manchuria through China by land route. We were anxious to reach Manchuria in view of Netaji's previous talk with us regarding going to Russia and we expected that we would probably find him somewhere there. We were going to Manchuria because it was held by the Japanese and the Russians were advancing into it.

We did not expect Netaji to go to Japan as it would be occupied by the Anglo-Americans. Mr. Dev Nath Das and myself were very keen to follow this plan but were dissuaded by General Chatterjee. We continued to live at Hanoi. Two or three days later, Col. Gulzara Singh said that it had been heard over the Radio, American broadcast, that Netaji's plane had been seen over China. We stayed in Hanoi for 4 months. As we were in touch with Ho Chi Minh's Government at Hanoi, the French wanted to arrest us. Their request to Chinese, Hanoi being under Chinese occupation, for our arrest was turned down by the Chinese. We asked the Chinese Commander to arrange for our transport to India. As we were anxious to go to India, we allowed ourselves to be arrested by the British on the 22nd December. We were flown to Saigon and eventually to Singapore civil jail. As the British were very anxious to find out the whereabouts and plans of Netaji and ourselves we were closely interrogated by the British Intelligence. On the 26th December, on the day when the news was flashed that General Shah Nawaz Khan with other companions, was released, an Australian told us that the American, British and Australian Intelligence Departments were not yet convinced about the truth of the news that Netaji's plane had crashed. This Australian was a Sergeant in rank and was employed in jail. We were shifted from Singapore to Changi jail where some Japanese war criminals were also detained. On March 8, 1946, we were flown to Delhi for further interrogation.

My personal opinion is that Netaji may be dead or may be alive. I keep an open mind regarding this matter.

...

Admitted correct

*Pritam Singh*  
(Col. Pritam Singh)  
10.4.1956.

245



Mr. S.A. Ayer.



Evidence given by Shri S.A. Ayer  
on the 11th April, 1956.

I was Minister for Publicity and Propaganda in the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. I went as Reuter's Special Correspondent in Thailand with headquarters in Bangkok. I worked there till December 1941. When the East Asia war started, I tried to cross the Thai-Burma frontier but failed, then returned to Bangkok and just was cooling my heels there. By then the Indian Independence movement had started in Thailand also under the leadership of Shri Rash Behari Bose who came over to Thailand in the first half of 1942. I met Shri Rash Behari Bose in June, 1942. He came from Tokyo and I joined the Indian Independence League after meeting him. I was Secretary of the Publicity Section of the I.I.L. Headquarters. I stayed in Bangkok till February, 1943, then shifted to Singapore under Shri Rash Behari Bose's orders in the same capacity because he wanted to shift the headquarters of the League to Singapore. I reached Singapore in March and organised the publicity side of the League headquarters in Singapore. On 2nd July, 1943, Netaji arrived in Singapore and he assumed leadership of the movement on the 4th July, 1943, i.e. 2 days after his arrival in Singapore. I continued to work as Secretary of the Publicity Department under Netaji. He reorganised the entire League Headquarters and then on 21st October, 1943, he proclaimed the formation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. On the proclamation of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, I was appointed Minister for Publicity and Propaganda in Singapore. At that time, we already had a broadcasting station at Singapore, broadcasting on short-wave length. We were also doing broadcasts over the radio of the Thai Government in Bangkok.

Netaji left for Tokyo on the 28th of October 1943. I stayed behind in Singapore. He, having formed the Government of Azad Hind, wanted to have consultations with the Government of Japan as to what further steps he could take with their aid for the liberation of India. The following officers accompanied him to Tokyo: Major General Bhonsley, Shri A.M. Sahay, Col. Raju and Major Abid Hassan. While in Tokyo, he received the cession of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands from the Japanese Government. The understanding between the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Japanese Government was that any Indian territory that came under Japanese control, would be handed over to the Provisional Government of Azad

Hind and in accordance with that understanding the Islands of Andaman and Nicobar were ceded to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. On the cession of these Islands to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, Major General Loganathan was designated the Administrator. He was actually sent there but what he exactly did there I am not aware.

Netaji was also an invitee to the Greater East Asia Conference in Tokyo. He attended as an observer.

Netaji returned from there in the latter half of December and he flew to Andamans and hoisted the Indian National Flag on the Islands on the 31st December, 1943. Then he shifted his headquarters to Rangoon on the 6th January, 1944 and himself went there. I reached there in February 1944 and carried on the publicity and propaganda work of the Ministry of Publicity and Propaganda from Rangoon from February 1944. At that time, Netaji was arranging for the INA troops to move from Malaya into Burma with a view to sending them up to the front. We had the news that the INA on the Arakan front had fired the first shot on the 4th February 1944. Then later we had the news that the INA had crossed the Burma-India frontier and stood on Indian soil on 18th March 1944. The next very important event was that Netaji opened the National Bank of Azad Hind in Rangoon on the 5th April 1944 and with a view to mobilising the maximum resources of the Indian population in Burma to support the troops on the front, Indians throughout Burma observed the Netaji Week from 4th to 10th July 1944 during which tremendous enthusiasm prevailed among Indians in Burma and they made a very special effort to pour into Netaji's war chest all that they could give, thus demonstrating that they ~~were~~ stood solidly behind the INA which was fighting on the front. Then the next important event was the observance of the first anniversary of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind in Burma as well as all other countries of East Asia by Indians resident there. This week lasted from 18th to 24th October, 1944. Then Netaji left Rangoon for Tokyo on the 25th October, 1944, with a view to have further consultations with the Japanese Government in regard to the prosecution of the war for India's independence. This time he was accompanied by Major-General Chatterjee, Major General Kiani and Col. Habibur Rahman. He returned from Tokyo to Singapore in December 1944. I was asked to meet him in Singapore. I flew from Rangoon to meet him in Singapore. Immediately after reaching Singapore, Netaji started on a tour of Malaya on which he asked me to accompany him.

(218)

It was an unforgettable tour because of the genuine enthusiasm and active support that was extended to him by Indians who gathered in their thousands at public meetings held at the places he visited. Some of the important places he visited during the tour are - Kuala Lumpur, Seramban, Malaya, Ipoh and Penang. Then he returned to Rangoon in January 1945. Cabinet meetings were held fairly regularly at Netaji's headquarters in Rangoon.

The next important event was the celebration of Netaji's birthday from 23rd January to 29th January <sup>1945</sup> during which once again the Indian civilian population pledged its whole-hearted support and redoubled sacrifices to find the necessary supplies and equipment for the INA fighting on the various fronts on the Indo-Burma border.

After return from Tokyo, Netaji did give us some idea of the matters in which he had indicated he needed Japanese help. He received general assurance from the top-men in Tokyo that they would do their best. I got the impression that Netaji went to Tokyo primarily to discuss military matters which were occupying his mind predominantly.

About the middle of monsoons, the military situation took a turn for the worse. The INA and the Japanese Army started retiring towards Mandalay.

Netaji paid a number of visits to the front and contacted his Commanders and inspected the troops himself. After his visit to front-line troops, he gave a review of the general military situation. He said that he was more than satisfied about the morale of our INA troops but he was making no secret of the very heavy handicaps under which the INA was fighting and he expressed his determination to continue the fighting at all costs. Netaji remained optimistic till it was known that the British forces had actually crossed the Indo-Burma frontier and were coming faster than expected towards Mandalay without practically any resistance from the Japanese side. However, the rapid advance of the British forces did not come as a total surprise to Netaji because he had information that the Japanese resistance was in a sense cracking up. Then news came through that the British had advanced further south of Mandalay and it was only a question of time before they might reach Rangoon. This was in April, 1945.

Before the British really started advancing south of Mandalay, when Netaji was still away from Headquarters, I wish to recall a rather important meeting at which to the best of my recollection, Major General Chatterjee, Major General Shah Nawaz Khan and myself were present, and we

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had a rather serious discussion among ourselves as to what should be Netaji's future plans in case the military situation continued to deteriorate and in case the British advanced into lower Burma. To the best of my recollection, there was a general agreement among the three of us that whatever happened, Netaji must not allow himself to be taken prisoner by the British in Burma but on the contrary he should move further east so that he ~~can~~<sup>could</sup> continue to conduct the operations of the INA from wherever he was.

In April 1945, the situation was deteriorating day by day and Netaji was himself in Rangoon at that time. There were a series of consultations formal and informal between Netaji and his Advisers in the Government as to what he should do. Ultimately, it was decided that Netaji must leave Rangoon. This he did on the 24th April, 1945. The Japanese were prepared to offer a plane and place it at the disposal of Netaji and that would have enabled him to reach Bangkok in just two hours, but Netaji pointblank refused this offer because he said that if he was pulling out of Rangoon, the girls of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment must also pull out of Rangoon and as it was impossible to transport the Rani of Jhansi Girls in Burma by plane to Bangkok, he would take the same transport that might be offered to the Rani of Jhansi regiment. It was, therefore, decided that Netaji and party including the Rani of Jhansi girls would leave Rangoon by motor transport which they did on the 24th April.

<sup>if</sup> In taking any important decisions, Netaji had an opportunity to consult the Chief of Hikari Kikan, Lt. General Isoda, who acted as Liaison between Netaji on the one hand and Field Marshal <sup>e</sup>Trauchi as well as the Military Headquarters in Tokyo on the other. The Provisional Government of Azad Hind had no direct courier system or communication with the Japanese Government nor any wireless to contact ~~with~~ anybody nor any code of their own. In other words, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind were handicapped in the matter of communications and transport. On the eve of his leaving Rangoon on the 24th April, Netaji issued a Special Order of the Day to officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj:

Page 317-318 of my book <sup>(copy attached herewith)</sup>  
Netaji's party at the time of withdrawal from Rangoon consisted of about 100 Jawans of the Jan Baz Regiment and about 100 members of the Rani of Jhansi regiment. It took us about 3 weeks to reach Bangkok. The party moved by lorry at the first stage, then on foot and then by rail. Netaji reached Bangkok on the 14th May 1945 and I reached there the next day. Later on some troops also arrived in Thailand. Immediately

*Shan* ...../5.

(250)

on arrival in Bangkok Netaji got busy thinking out plans of future action. When Netaji shifted the headquarters of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Supreme Headquarters of the INA from Rangoon to Bangkok, Major General Loganathan had been left in charge of the Government <sup>and</sup> the INA forces in Rangoon. The bulk of the INA No. 1 and No. 2 Divisions were left behind in Burma. In Bangkok, Netaji held a series of formal and informal conferences with his colleagues and advisers as to future action. Netaji had news that Germany had surrendered, immediately after reaching Bangkok. In thinking out plans for the future, he did so against the background of the certainty, in his view, of a third world-war within 10 years after the end of the second world war. The belligerents in the third world war would be Russia on the one side and America on the other. He came to this conclusion because though they were allies at that moment, already a ~~xxx~~ number of factors were coming up to the surface to show that differences had started making themselves felt as between Russia on the one hand and the Anglo-Americans on the other. In his view, therefore, it was only a question of time especially after the end of the war how soon these differences between the then allies would deepen and ultimately lead to a third world war after ten years.

Against this background he decided to contact Russia and to prepare them as the future friends of India in his intended continuation of India's fight for liberation, if Britain persisted somehow to continue to rule India after the Second World War. He devoted a great deal of thought to this particular plan of his and was keen on ascertaining how far even at that stage the Japanese would extend to him facilities to establish some sort of contact with the Russians. As far as I remember, the immediate reaction of the Japanese was to discourage Netaji in this intention of his to contact the Russians. At that time, I gathered from talks at the Government Headquarters that this reluctance was to some extent due to the anxiety of the Japanese to keep on the right side of Russia; They feared that if at that stage they extended any facilities to Netaji to contact the Russians, the Russians may not be very cordial; on the contrary, they <sup>might</sup> ~~may~~ even be anti-pathetic to Netaji to some extent because he had associated himself with the Axis. I have no direct knowledge of the personal reaction of Mr. Shigemitsu, the Japanese Foreign Minister, to Netaji's wish to contact Russia, but from my knowledge of the very cordial and friendly relations that prevailed between Netaji and Mr. Shigemitsu all through the independence movement in East Asia, I have every reason to believe that Mr. Shigemitsu was in sympathy with Netaji's idea of contacting Russia.

Jan ...../6.

251

After that the next important event was the news from India of Lord Wavell's attempts to arrive at an understanding with Congress Leaders about India's demand for freedom. News came through about the middle of June, 1945 that what was known as the Wavell talks i.e. the conferences between Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, on the one hand and Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress Leaders on the other were about to begin in India. Immediately on hearing this news Netaji decided to fly to Singapore which he did on the 18th June, 1945 without any loss of time and began broadcasting over the Singapore Radio Station in English, Hindi and some times in Bengali also. He kept up these broadcasts until the end of the Wavell talks in India. The gist of these broadcasts of Netaji's, night after night, was an appeal to the national leaders inside India not to arrive at any understanding with the British Empire, one of the reasons being that if they arrived at any understanding with Lord Wavell, the issue of India's freedom would cease to be an international issue and would automatically become a mere domestic issue of the British Empire. He did not stop at this negative appeal; he went further and told his colleagues in India on the Radio that the British general elections were not far off and in the next elections he had every reason to believe that the Labour Party would come into power. If the Indian leaders then negotiated with the Labour Government, they were bound to get a very much better deal than they could ever get through their talks with Lord Wavell and the Conservative Government. He was greatly relieved to hear the news from India that Wavell talks had failed. He had proceeded to Singapore for the specific purpose of doing the broadcasts from there because Singapore had the most powerful transmitter in that region.

He left Singapore for Seramban on the 25th of July and there he was occupied with certain matters concerning the INA station there. While staying in Seramban he made a short trip to Kuala Lumpur to inspect the INA there. During his stay at Seramban, he received the news on the night of the 10th August, 1945 that Russia had declared war on Japan. ( I had flown to Saigon from Bangkok on the 6th June to look after the broadcasts from there. He sent me a message to join him in Singapore and I flew to Singapore on the 27th July. I reached Seramban, where Netaji was, on the 31st July, 1945.)

Late on the night of August 11, Netaji received the news, personally brought by Dr. Lakshmaya, General Secretary of the Indian Independence League headquarters in Singapore, who had made a dash by car all the way from Singapore, that Japan had surrendered. Netaji decided on the spot that he would

Jan ...../7.

252

return to Singapore the next morning which he did arriving there on the evening of the 12th August. From the moment he reached Singapore, he called his civilian and military advisers including Major General Kiani, to decide on the future plans. These consultations continued almost non-stop with only short breaks till the 15th August when after the pros and cons had been thrashed out thoroughly it was finally decided that Netaji must not allow himself to be taken prisoner by the British whose landing in Singapore was expected any day. Early in the day on the 15th August, official news had come through on the Radio about Japan's surrender. Netaji was extremely busy issuing instructions as to what should be done regarding the civilian<sup>ian</sup> personnel as well as the INA in Malaya and other regions of East Asia in view of Japan's surrender and the INA also ceasing to fight. It was decided that Netaji would fly first to Bangkok and there consult the Japanese Liaison as to the exact facilities that the Japanese could place at his disposal to get away from Thailand, and if possible, to contact the Russians. Mr. A.N. Sarkar, the legal adviser of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind flew from Bangkok to Singapore on the afternoon of 14th August and gave Netaji to understand that General Isoda, the Chief of the Japanese Liaison Office in Bangkok attached to Azad Hind Government and Mr. Hachiya, the Japanese Minister-designate to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind were keen to render whatever service they could in Netaji's plan if he had any to get away from Malaya and Siam and to go as far East as he wished, so that he would not fall a prisoner in Anglo-American hands.

The tentative decision till the afternoon of the 14th August had been that Netaji would stay on in Singapore with members of his Government and his officers of the INA and would be prepared to be taken prisoner. The procedure of surrender as such was not discussed. The final decision for Netaji to leave Singapore was influenced by the message brought by Mr. Sarkar from Bangkok.

Netaji left Singapore on the morning of 16th August accompanied by Col. Habibur Rehman, Col. Pritam Singh, myself and Mr. Nigeshi, the Japanese Interpreter. We reached Bangkok the same afternoon. He had consultations with the Japanese Liaison Officers, and Conferences with the civilian and military colleagues of Netaji followed. Early on the morning of 17th August, we left for Bangkok aerodrome. At about 8 a.m. Netaji and his party took off from Bangkok for Saigon by two planes. In one plane were Netaji, Col. Habib, Col. Pritam Singh, myself and Mr. Nigeshi. In <sup>the</sup> other plane were

S.A. .... / 8.

General Isoda, Mr. Hachiya, Col. Gulzara Singh, Major Abid Hasan and Mr. Deynath Das. Usually Netaji and ourselves travelled by bomber, except when his plane was available.

Netaji had a plane of his own, named Azad Hind, but it had been grounded in Bangkok since April, 1945, having been badly damaged in an air raid.

The plane by which we travelled from Bangkok to Saigon was a bomber. In the plane, Netaji was sitting just behind the pilot, facing the nose. Netaji's luggage consisted of three or four suit-cases. I did not know the contents of those boxes at that time. He was wearing cotton Khakhi drill uniform including top boots. A hurried consultation followed soon after landing at the Saigon Airport which we reached at about 10 a.m.

It was decided that General Isoda, Mr. Hachiya and Col. Tada, a staff-officer of the Terauchi command should fly to Dalat, Headquarters of Field Marshal Terauchi, Supreme Commander of South East Asia Region, and ascertain from him what facilities could be afforded to Netaji to pursue whatever plans he had in mind at the moment. We knew that they had flown to Dalat.

From the talk we had in Singapore just before leaving, the idea definitely was either Russia or at any rate Russian-held territory in Manchuria as a preliminary stage to reach Russia. Meanwhile Netaji and party drove into the city and waited for news. Some time later, Capt. Kiano of the Hikari-Kikan, Saigon, drove to where Netaji was staying and wanted to speak to Netaji very urgently. When asked what the message was, Netaji was informed by the Japanese officer through Major Abid Hasan that there was a plane ready and waiting to take off immediately and there was only one seat available.

I have no idea as to where the two small bomber planes in which we travelled from Bangkok were taken.

Netaji wanted to know where the plane was going and whether General Isoda and Mr. Hachiya had returned from Dalat. The answer was that there was no time to lose and that Netaji should hurry up. Netaji said that he would not hurry in that manner and if Kiano did not know where the plane was going, somebody else should know and that he should go back and find out. Kiano left and a little later General Isoda and Mr. Hachiya and Col. Tada drove up to Netaji's residence. Netaji met them and immediately ushered them into one of the rooms. Col. Habib was also asked to join the Conference.

Our idea was that sooner or later we would reach Russian-held territory in Manchuria, the ultimate destination being Moscow. The idea was very vague, and we also did not know whether we had to get off the two planes at Saigon. Until

.../9.



we reached Saigon, I was not aware of any talk of either Netaji going to Dalat or somebody else to consult Field Marshal Terauchi.

Netaji came out with Col. Habib and summoned Major Abid Hassan, Mr. De<sup>b</sup>xnath Das and myself into his room and asked us to close the door and then he said that he would also like Col. Pritam Singh and Col. Gulzara Singh to join us immediately. They did so very soon. He stood there and we i.e. Col. Habib, Col. Gulzara Singh, Col. Pritam Singh, Major Abid Hasan, Mr. De<sup>f</sup>xnath Das and myself stood round him. He looked at us and said "there is a plane ready to take off in the next few minutes". He did not mention where the plane was going but he added that we would have to take an important decision "right now". He said that the Japanese had told him that there was only one seat to spare and we had to decide whether he should take that one seat even if he had to go alone, unaccompanied by anyone of us. We were completely puzzled as to what answer to give him. We told him that he must try his very best to get the Japanese to spare at least one more seat. Then he repeated to us the question: "Supposing they give only one seat, shall I or shall I not go alone". Probably we hesitated for a second and then said "Sir, for Heaven's sake insist on the Japanese to give one more seat and if still you cannot get it then you had better take the one seat and go. Also please insist on the Japanese that they should provide us with transport as soon as possible to take us wherever you might be going". Then Netaji and Col. Habib went back to the Conference room, met the Japanese, came out and told us "we will get one more seat. Let Habib come with me. I am sure they won't spare any more seats in this plane but let us try our luck". Then after that he said to Col. Gulzara Singh and myself "you had better also come with your luggage to the airport and in case we get two more seats in the plane, you can also join me, otherwise you will have to come back from the airport with your luggage. Any way hurry up". So we prepared ourselves and set off in two cars. The car containing Netaji, Col. Habib and myself reached the airport after about 4 p.m. When we entered the aerodrome we could see a plane with its engines roaring. Even after we reached the aerodrome, there was no trace of the second car and Netaji was getting very impatient at the delay in the arrival of the second car, because he was actually determined to take some luggage which was put in that car to be taken with him and put into the plane by which he was to travel. The Japanese too were getting very impatient but Netaji insisted that he would not leave until the second car had arrived.

After a little while, the second car arrived and the luggage, consisting of two suit-cases, from the second car was almost catapulted into the plane because they did not want to lose time. Netaji headed towards the plane, shook hands with Lt. General Shidei who was accompanying him and then said Good-bye to General Isoda and Mr. Hachiya and turned to us. He shook hands with each of us. He stretched his hand towards me and said "Well, Jai Hind, I will meet you later" and gave me a vigorous handshake. I mumbled something, steadied myself, returned his Jai Hind and stood there. After the round of farewell hand-shakes, Netaji stepped up the plane and entered it. Habib also said Jai Hind to all of us and followed Netaji into the plane. The plane by which Netaji left Saigon looked to me a medium bomber and it was much bigger in size than the two planes in which we came from Bangkok to Saigon. I think there was no talk any time of General Isoda or Mr. Hachiya accompanying Netaji.

The two boxes might or might not have been part of the luggage of 4 boxes.

Nobody could look into the plane as the engines were roaring and the wind was very heavy. He entered the plane from the port side. Then I went round the tail of the plane to the starboard side in the hope of getting a last glimpse of Netaji inside the plane if he was sitting just behind the pilot as I knew he used to do on his air trips. I tried but I could not see Netaji where he was sitting; so I guessed perhaps he was sitting farther away from there. To the best of my knowledge, he was in his usual Supreme Commander's uniform (cotton Khakhi) which he usually wore; and I think he was also wearing top boots at that time. So at 5.15 p.m. the plane took off from the aerodrome and the take off was quite normal. We all left the aerodrome after the plane had vanished into the horizon. This was the 17th August (evening).

We returned to our quarters in Saigon on the 17th August (evening) in a very depressed mood. There was no news the whole of the next day, i.e. 18th, and on the 19th, we learnt that a plane was going to Japan on the 20th and one seat on that plane would be available to one of our party which would enable the person taking that seat to join Netaji very soon. This was said by Capt. Kiano of the Hikari Kikan. They said that the remaining 4 of our party would be flown to Hanoi where they could contact the local Japanese authorities who would try to fly them onward from Hanoi. Then my comrades insisted that I must take the single seat offered in the plane bound for Japan because they ~~thought~~ <sup>thought</sup> that I would be of some immediate help to

Contd. on 12th  
April, 1956.

Jan ...../11.

Netaji in doing work of a secretarial nature. I reached Saigon airport on the morning of August 20, along with my comrades and they took off for Hanoi about 9 a.m. Sometime later I accidentally met Mr. Fukuoka, Chief of Domei News Agency for the East Asia Region, who told me abruptly that he was sorry for Netaji. I could not quite understand what he meant but I presumed that Netaji had perhaps been held up by bad weather on Formosa island, a place notorious for its unreliable flying weather and he more or less encouraged me in that belief but he asked me not to say anything about it to anybody. A little while later as I was preparing to board the plane for Japan, I met Rear Admiral Chuda of the Japanese Navy whom I had known in Rangoon and he gave out the news that Netaji was dead. "I had no chance to ask him for any detailed information because in the next few moments I was aboard the bomber bound for Japan." On the flight I was escorted by Col. Tada, staff officer of Field Marshal Terauchi's command and by Capt. Aoki. When we reached Canton at about 5 p.m. and halted for refuelling, Col. Tada, through Capt. Aoki, told me for the first time that Netaji's plane crashed near Taihoku (Formosa) on August 18 and that Netaji was seriously injured and succumbed the same night and Col. Habibir Rehman, who was not so seriously injured, was still alive and lying in a Hospital at Taihoku. I told Col. Tada bluntly that neither Indians in East Asia nor Indians in India would be prepared to believe the story of the air-crash unless positive proof was forthcoming and I pressed him to see that the plane took me to Taihoku so that I may have a chance of seeing Netaji's body with my own eyes and be of some service to Col. Habib in his then condition. I also told him that it was necessary as thereby at least one more Indian besides Habib could claim to have gone to Taihoku and satisfied himself about the truth of the air-crash story. Col. Tada promised that I would be taken to Taihoku, but later we actually landed at what I learnt was Taichu aerodrome. (So far as I know Taihoku was the Japanese name for Taipei.) I expressed my bitter disappointment particularly when I was told that from Taichu we were to fly direct to Japan without touching Taihoku." (I did not make any enquiry about the possibility of going to Taihoku by land). We spent the night at Taichu. We reached Tokyo on August 22nd. In Tokyo, accompanied by Capt. Aoki, I moved into Daiichi hotel and stayed at the hotel till the next day. On 24th I moved into Mrs. A.M. Sahay's house. Then I paid occasional visits to the Japanese headquarters to see if there was any news from Formosa. They said they had none.

*Saha* .../12.

257

The Japanese in consultation with me drafted a brief communique announcing the death of Netaji following an air-crash in Taihoku. The Japanese were emphatic in their protestations that the story of Netaji's air-crash was hundred per cent correct even if I was not convinced of the truth of it.

Eventually on September 7, I went again to the Japanese Military authorities in Tokyo who asked me to call the next day at the High Command headquarters which I did. They told me that the ashes of Netaji brought by Col. Habibur Rehman from Formosa the previous day, would be handed over to me for safe custody and that Col. Habibur Rehman himself would be joining me some time that evening. On this occasion I was accompanied as on previous occasions, also by Shri Ramamurti, Chairman, I.I.L. in Japan, which had ceased to function actively after Japan's surrender. There at the main entrance to the Imperial Japanese Military Headquarters I received the ashes at the hands of a senior Japanese Military Officer. The officer escorted by other officers carried the urn in both his hands with due solemnity, descended the steps to where I was standing ready with a loop of cloth slung round my neck and reaching down to my waist in front and placed the urn very respectfully on the loop and I gripped the urn tightly with both hands and bowed head and got into a car and drove with Murti off to his house, which for all practical purposes was being used as the IIL Headquarters especially after Japan's surrender. It was an urn of light colour wood about 6" to 8" cube. It was not covered at all. There was nothing written on that urn. It was nailed down and there was no other covering and I do not remember having seen any prominent writing on the wood in any language. After placing the urn on a pedestal in a room in Murti's house and offering our respects, we had the urn covered with cloth and I wrote the words "Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose" on the cloth covering. Then the same night, Col. Habib arrived in the house of Mrs. Sahay where I was staying. That was the first time that I met him after saying good bye to him at the Saigon airport on August 17. Then immediately I asked him a number of questions as to what happened from the time he took off from Saigoa and until he walked into Mrs. Sahay's house. Col. Habib said that "in about a couple of hours' time after we took off from Saigon airport on August 17, we landed at Touraine (Indo-China) and halted there for the night. Taking off again early the next morning (August 18) we landed at the Taihoku airport about 2 p.m. When the plane was refuelling we had something to eat and were ready to take

Jan.../13.

258

off again. Meanwhile I changed into warm clothes and asked Netaji if he too would not do so because we would be flying into colder regions. Netaji laughed away the idea and said that there was no hurry for him to change into warm clothes. He was in cotton Khakhi drill and bush-coat. He was not in a hurry to discard these for woollen Khakhis. After half an hour, we walked across to the plane. At about 2.35 p.m. the plane took off. We had just cleared the runway and gained about 200 or 300 feet, we were over the outskirts of the aerodrome. Then a sudden deafening noise was heard. We started losing height pretty fast. Then I turned round and looked at Netaji. He was absolutely unperturbed but he must have been the acutest distress in my face and in less than a few seconds after that, the plane crashed on its nose and then everything went black for a while. Just before the crash, the whole weight of the plane was being put on the star-board engine, because apparently the port engine was not functioning. After the crash, everything went black for a while. When I recovered consciousness I realised that all the luggage had crashed on top on me and a fire had started in front of me. So exit by the rear was blocked by the packages and exit by the front was possible only through the fire. Netaji was ~~xxx~~ injured in the head but he struggled to his feet and was about to move in my direction to get away from the fire and to get out of the plane through the rear. But this was out of question. There was not an inch of passage through which we could get out. So I said to him "Agey Say Nikaliyay Netaji". He sized up the situation and then tried to make his way through the nose of the plane which was already smashed and burnt. With both his hands he fought his way through the fire. He got out and stood there about 10 or 15 feet away anxiously looking out for me. When the plane crashed, Netaji got a splash of petrol all over his cotton khakhi, (I have not met Col. Habib since 1947) and it caught fire when he struggled through the nose of the plane. So he stood with his clothes burning and himself made desperate efforts to unbuckle the belts of his bush-coat, and round his waist. I dashed up to him and tried to help him to remove the belts. My hands were burnt in the process. As I was ~~st~~ stumbling with these belts I looked up and my heart nearly stopped when I saw his face battered by iron and burnt by fire. A few moments later he collapsed and lay on the ground of the outskirts of Taihoku aerodrome. I too was exhausted and went and lay down next to him. The whole place looked horrible with the crashed plane and

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259

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and we passengers ~~stood~~ ~~stood~~ about all over the place. The next thing I knew was that I was lying on a Hospital bed next to Netaji. I found out later that within 15 minutes of the crash, military ambulances had rushed us to the hospital in Taihoku city. Netaji lost consciousness almost immediately after reaching the hospital. He revived a little later and lapsed into a state of comma. I was not so badly injured or burnt though I was hardly able to stand up. I struggled to my feet and went up to Netaji as often as I could. The Japanese made super-human efforts to save Netaji but it was all in vain. Six hours after he was brought into the Hospital, i.e. at 9 p.m. on August 18, Netaji's end came peacefully. I find it difficult to describe to you those six hours of mental agony not so much for Netaji as for me. In all these six hours not even once did Netaji complain about the writhing pain that he must have been suffering.

(Col. Habibur Rehman's version continued.) Except for brief spells, Netaji was practically conscious throughout. In one of these delirious moments, Netaji whispered the name of Hasan. I was sitting near him and I said "Hasan Yahan Nahin Hai, Saheb, Men Hun Habib". He was convinced that he was not going to survive. A moment before his end came, he said to me "Habib, my end is coming very soon. I have fought all my life for my country ~~and~~ <sup>freedom</sup> I am dying for my country <sup>freedom</sup>. Go and tell my countrymen to continue the fight for India's freedom. India will be free and before long". These were the last words he spoke to me. I was prostrate with grief. I did not care what happened to me. I was not interested in anything. The Japanese tried to coax me and did their best to make me eat a little by way of nourishment but they found it was useless for the time being. When I felt well enough to talk to them, I told them to arrange to send Netaji's body by plane to Singapore preferably or to Tokyo if Singapore was out of the question. They promised they would. I am quite sure they did try their very best. They told me that there were practical difficulties in getting Netaji's coffin into the plane. They told me then that it was impossible to carry Netaji's remains out of Taihoku and cremation had to be arranged as early as possible. They wanted my consent to it. I had no other alternative but to agree to the cremation in Taihoku. The funeral service with full military honours was held in the shrine attached to the hospital and the cremation took place on the 20th August. They placed Netaji's ashes in an urn and kept it in the shrine. My wounds were healing slowly; my health improved steadily.

*Jan* ...../15.

Then I told the Japanese that I did not wish to stay in the hospital one day longer than necessary and I must take Netaji's ashes to Tokyo as early as possible. They could not decide whether they should send me across by ship or by plane as they were not sure whether any ship or plane was leaving Formosa for Japan. Three weeks went by without much hope of reaching Tokyo. Then suddenly they told me that a single ambulance plane was leaving Taihoku and I could get a seat. I took charge of Netaji's ashes and flew by that plane and reached Tokyo on the 6th September. I was taken straight to one of the suburbs for the sake of secrecy and it was only two days later that the Japanese took first the ashes and then me into Tokyo city."

That was the end of Col. Habib's version of what had happened since he took off with Netaji from Saigon airport on the evening of the 17th August and until he reached Tokyo and met me.

We kept Netaji's ashes for a few days in Murti's house and then took them to the house of Sahay at both of which houses prayers were offered. On 14th September, we took the ashes to the Rinkoji temple, Horinuchi, Suginamiku, Tokyo, where we held a funeral service conducted by the priest of that temple and left the ashes in his safe custody. Those present at the funeral service included Murti's family, about 40 ~~xxxx~~ Indian cadets who had been sent to Japan for military training by Netaji, one or two representatives of the Japanese Government, Habib and myself.

About the time of the funeral service at the temple, Habib had shifted to another house - two streets away from Murti's house. On the evening of the 23rd September, Habib and myself went to the barracks where the Indian cadets were staying and Habib started giving them a talk. When he was about to conclude it, someone walked into the room and whispered into my ear that a Japanese Military Police officer was waiting outside and wanted to see Habib. We knew then that Habib was about to be arrested and taken to the lock up. We first drove to Murti's house and had something to eat. Then Habib was driven off by the Japanese officer to the Police Headquarters. We visited Habib at the Police Headquarters the next morning and the same night Habib was released and told that the arrest and detention had been due to some slight misunderstanding of American instructions on the part of Japanese Military Police. A day or two ~~lx~~ after that I myself shifted from Sahay's house to where Habib was staying.

Jan. .... /16.

He was occupying a room upstairs and I occupied a room down-stairs. Two or three mornings later, I walked upstairs and found Col. Habib, with the help of Murti and his brother, Jaya, cleaning up and sorting out tiny little collections of charred-looking metal on the floor. They asked me to sit down and continued with the work of cleaning up and sorting out what I then found was golden ornaments including plain bangles, rings, ear-rings, some of them with charred small red-stones and white-stones of the type which is worn by Indian ladies largely in South India. Nearby was an empty kerosene tin which I presumed must have been the container. The whole thing was sorted out and cleaned as far as possible and wrapped in pieces of paper and put back into the tin and closed and properly tied up. Later on in the course of my talk with Col. Habib, he told me that the valuables that Netaji was carrying had been involved in the crash and had been charred in that manner and the Japanese had salvaged whatever they could and delivered it to him. It was kept safe in that house as long as Habib and I stayed there until our departure for India on November 19, 1945.

S. A. Agw.  
14.4.56



262

A few hours before Col. Habib and I left Tokyo, Col. Habib weighed the valuables, wrote a note and left them both with Murti. The weight was about 12 kilograms including the weight of the containers, i.e. equal to about 26 lbs, and he had written there that Murti<sup>t</sup> should hand over the valuables to any organisation that would eventually take charge of the INA affairs in India. Himself, myself, Murti and, I believe, Murti's brother also, were there. (By containers I mean wrappings of paper which must be of negligible weight).

I had been cautioned by the Japanese Foreign Office on November 7th that I was wanted by Mountbatten's Headquarters in India. Later on, I was told that I should be ready to fly on the 12th. An American Captain visited me in my quarters on the 12th, and examined me because I was ill at that time and said that I should be fit to fly by the 16th, but actually under the escort of an American Captain, Col. Habib and I were put aboard an American aircraft at Tokyo and we took off on the morning of the 19th for Delhi where we reached on November 22nd.

I gave evidence on the 11th December 1945 as a defence witness in the Court Martial of Major General Shah Nawaz Khan, Col. P.K. Sehgal, and Col. G.S. Dhillon. I left Delhi five days later for S. India, rested there for a few weeks and returned to Delhi in the first week of April 1946, attended a meeting of the INA Enquiry and Relief Committee and immediately after that started working in Delhi at the office of the A.I. I.N.A. Enquiry and Relief Committee as Hon'y Joint Secretary with Col. Sehgal. I returned to South India in June 194~~5~~<sup>6</sup> and went back to Bombay in July 1946 having taken on an assignment as the

S.A.

Special Correspondent in Bombay of the Hindustan Times, Delhi. I joined the Government of Bombay as Director of Publicity in September 1946 and continued to work in that capacity till 1951. Towards the end of May 1951, I paid a brief visit to Japan. On the eve of my leaving for Japan, I heard from Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay that the Secretary, External Affairs Ministry (Shri B.N. Chakaravarty) would like me to make enquiries about Netaji's ashes in Tokyo and about the valuables he carried with him on his last flight. I reached Tokyo on May 24, 1951. The first thing I did the next day was to go to Renkoji Temple to make sure that Netaji's ashes were there in tact as I had left them in 1945. I undertook the journey to Tokyo primarily because I felt a moral responsibility for the safety of the ashes as I had received them personally at the hands of the Japanese in August 1945. I had been a witness of Col. Habib's handing the valuables to Murty in November 1945 and since then Habib had gone over to Pakistan and the INA in India had absolutely no contact with him. (Murty financed the flight). During my stay in Japan I tried to meet as many Japanese nationals as I could with a view to checking up thoroughly the truth of the story of Netaji's plane crash. In Tokyo I contacted Mr. Fukuoka whom I had last seen at the Saïgon airport on the morning of August 20, 1945. I recalled to Mr. Fukuoka's mind his very words of that morning hinting that something had gone wrong with Netaji's programme and asked him exactly what all he knew at that moment. He told me that he knew at that time from certain messages picked up by Count Terauchi's command in Indo-China that Netaji's plane had crashed in Taihoku and that Netaji had been seriously injured, but he was not aware that Netaji had succumbed

to his injuries. He heard about Netaji's death only some time after my plane took off. He was convinced of the truth of the story even at that time because he had also heard it from different Japanese military officers stationed at that time in Saigon. I requested Mr. Fukuoka to contact Col. Tada, the officer who accompanied me from Saigon to Tokyo in August 1945 and ask him to come down to Tokyo to meet me without fail. He did so and I met Col. Tada in Tokyo on June 5, 1951. I asked Col. Tada to tell me all ~~th~~ he knew about Netaji's flight from Saigon and asked him why he failed to take me to Taihoku in spite of the fact that he promised to do so. His explanation was that it was past 10 P.M. when our plane reached Taichu and it was considered too risky to proceed at that hour to Taihoku and land there as the aerodrome was surrounded by hillocks. They did not wish to touch Taihoku the next day because August 21 was the last day given by the Allies for the Japanese to ground all the planes in Japan or elsewhere. If Netaji had been alive at that time in Taihoku they might perhaps have taken the serious risk of flying to Taihoku instead of flying direct from Taichu to Japan. For the rest he repeated the story of six years before in all essential details and told me that it was no use anybody doubting the truth of the report of the plane crash in Taihoku and Netaji's fatal injuries.

I asked him to provide me with further authentic proof of the tragic events. He mentioned the names of two Japanese officers, Col. Nonogaki of the Japanese Air Force and Captain Arai of the Japanese Army as the only two Japanese survivors of the air crash who could be contacted in Tokyo itself. I pressed him to put me in touch with those two officers immediately. He

Ja a.

contacted Col. Nonogaki whom I met for the first time in Tokyo on the evening of June 5, 1951. I heard from Col. Nonogaki a graphic description of the crash. He drew sketches for me of -

- (1) the route chalked out for the plane on its flight from Saigon to Tokyo via Dairen (Manchuria),
- (2) Taihoku airport and the spot where the crash took place,
- (3) the seating arrangements inside the plane when it took off from Taihoku, and
- (4) the list of passengers by the plane.

I tender to the Committee the originals of Col. Nonogaki's sketches and the list in his own handwriting and would like these to be returned to me when done with. Col. Nonogaki's address is on one of these four papers.

Col. Tada had told me earlier that according to Count Terauchi, to help Netaji to the best of <sup>his</sup> ability, they were to drop Netaji and General Shidei at Dairen (Manchuria) and proceed to Japan. The intention was that General Shidei would look after Netaji in Dairen as long as he remained there. Then Netaji would disappear with a view to crossing over to Russian-held territory and thereafter the Japanese would announce to the world that Netaji had disappeared. Col. Nonogaki confirmed Col. Habib's version of six years ago and Habib's report that General Shidei was killed on the spot as he was sitting nearest to the pilot. Through the good offices of Col. Nonogaki I contacted Captain Arai who gave me a brief eye-witness account of the crash and confirmed Netaji's death in the Hospital at 9 P.M. on August 18, 1945. After that I made sure that the valuables that Col. Habib had left with Murti were intact. During my stay in Tokyo I called on the Chief of the Indian Liaison Mission in Tokyo, Shri Chettur and in the course of my talks with him, suggested

*Jaia*

that the Mission could take over Netaji's ashes and the valuables for safe custody pending any decision as to what should be done with them in due course. Shri Chettur expressed his inability to do so in the absence of any instructions from Delhi. Then I requested him to cable Delhi and ask for instructions. He said he was doing so but he had not received any reply from Delhi till I left Japan on June 11th. Before leaving Tokyo, I paid another visit to the Temple and paid my respects to Netaji's ashes, and had a photograph taken on that occasion. I tender to the Committee a copy of the photograph. The priest who was in charge of the Temple in 1945 was still there when I visited the Temple in 1951. I do not know the name of the priest but in a group photo which I tender to the Committee, he is on the extreme right.

After my return to India I made a brief report to Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay and informed him about the safe custody of Netaji's ashes, of my enquiry regarding the plane crash and of the safe custody of the valuables carried by Netaji. This was at the end of June. I met Shri Sri Prakasa, then Minister for Commerce, Government of India, and now Governor of Madras, in Delhi in September 1951 and informed him in his capacity of Chairman of the Finance Sub-Committee that had been set up by the INA Enquiry and Relief Committee at its meeting held on 14th April 1951. In a brief communication to Prime Minister, Shri Sri Prakasa informed him about the ashes and the valuables and conveyed my suggestion that the Indian Liaison Mission in Tokyo may take charge of both. I sought an interview with P.M. on September 15, 1951 and reported to him about Netaji's ashes and the valuables and personally made the suggestion that our Mission in Tokyo may kindly be instructed to take

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charge of both. In my presence, the P.M. kindly instructed the Commonwealth Secretary, Shri Dutt, to cable our Mission in Tokyo to take charge of the valuables.

Having spoken personally to P.M. about Netaji's ashes and the valuables, I had a feeling of relief as far as my own personal, direct or indirect, responsibility was concerned. I showed him certain documents and photographs in connection with my enquiry about Netaji's last plane journey. He asked me to give him the fullest possible report on Netaji's plane crash which I did in a document, dated 24-9-1951.

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Admitted correct.

*S. A. Dutt*  
14. 4. 56

Evidence by General J.K. Bhonsle  
tendered on 16-4-1956 at 11.30 a.m.

I was the Chief of Staff of the Indian National Army right from the time when Netaji came in July 1943 till the end of the war and my headquarters were in Singapore. Before that I was the Director of Military Bureau (Head of the Army) under Shri Rash Behari Bose, President, Indian Independence League.

In March 1945 I was sent for by Netaji from Singapore to Rangoon. I reached there a month after his call and met him at 12 O' Clock on the night of the date of my arrival.

I had witnessed complete British air superiority and it gave me a feeling that the Japanese would not hold out for long. The moment I met Netaji, his words were "I had given you up as lost". I had travelled from Singapore in Netaji's own plane "Azad Hind" but the plane had to force land at Penang and Bangkok due to engine <sup>and other</sup> trouble. I told him that I was absolutely convinced that the scales had turned in favour of the Allies. He thereupon asked me to give him a written appraisal of the entire situation. I wrote out an appreciation of the situation accordingly and the following day with the aid of a map tried to explain the war situation as I could reconstruct it and impressed on him that the sooner we left Rangoon, the better it would be. At the same time, I suggested to Netaji to leave Burma himself as soon as possible. As the war situation then was in Burma, my own view was that the only way in which the Japanese could hold out for some time in Burma area was along the Sittang river. On the other hand, the Japanese Commander-in-Chief, General Kimura, was determined to hold Burma and refused to believe that Rangoon would fall for at least four months and therefore had <sup>no</sup> plan to retreat from Rangoon.

Netaji ultimately decided to discuss the war situation with the Commander-in-Chief, Japanese Army in Burmah and we went and saw the latter the following day. General Kimura felt convinced that he could hold on to Rangoon until after the rains were over but at the same time suggested that Netaji, Ministers of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and all the Rani of Jhansi Regiment girls numbering about 150 stationed in Burmah at the time, might go to Siam or some other station on the way, while the transport situation was still good.

The latter suggestion was welcome news to me as in our Cabinet

16

meetings which were being held regularly every day, all the Ministers and senior officers except me were advising Netaji not to leave Burmah and in the event of an emergency, to stay and fight to the last. My advice was that all others might stay behind in Burmah and fight to the last but that a person of Netaji's calibre must be got out of Rangoon to a place of safety along with 150 Rani of Jhansi girls and whatever may happen to others, they must not at any cost fall into the enemy hands. The Cabinet meetings used to be attended by Shri S.A. Ayer, Col. Gulzara Singh, Shri Ishwar Singh, Shri A.N. Sahay, Shri A.N. Sarkar, and Shri Parmanand. At last Netaji agreed to leave Rangoon and go to Siam via Pegu, across Sitang river and accordingly that night (23rd) we left Rangoon in Japanese trucks. The party included Netaji, myself, Shri Ayer, Isan Kadir and 150 of Rani of Jhansi girls, General A.C. Chatterjee, Shri Parmanand, Shri Ishar Singh and a few officers of the Supreme Headquarters. We arrived at Pegu at 6 a.m., and found the place in absolute ruins having been bombarded the night before and we crossed the Sittang river on the night of 25th. The journey from Rangoon to Siam was a difficult one owing to (a) Anglo-American air superiority which had made movements by day almost impossible and (b) transport difficulty on crossing Sitang river. We had managed to get a few cars and trucks over and the major portion of the journey had to be done in cattle trucks involving lot of hardship and inconvenience to all.

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I must at this stage mention that Netaji had to be persuaded to leave Rangoon. He was firmly determined to stay on at Rangoon with the majority of the I.N.A. forces and to fight till the last. We did not have more than about 10,000 troops in and closer to Rangoon at that time. Had we been two days late, the enemy forces would have either captured us along the Pegu-Rangoon cross-road or shot us as they did a number of lorries and cars which tried to escape across that road towards Sittang river. One of our very able and gallant officers, Col.....accompanied by Lt. Col. Ogawa of the Japanese Army, a very brave and sincere friend of India was shot by the 7th Light Cavalry tanks which had by then taken possession of that road. This escape of Netaji and the party was arranged just in time to escape capture. The journey all the way from Sittang river to Bangkok had to be undertaken at night owing to strong enemy air actions both by fighters and bomber planes.

On my arrival in Rangoon earlier, I had a number of discussions with Netaji with regard to our future plan of action in the event of the Japanese surrendering. So far as I was concerned, my greatest worry was for Netaji's safety. As a result of these discussions a number of alternatives were suggested and it was tentatively suggested decided that Netaji should try to go over to Russia or failing that make an attempt to go to the North West Frontier Province and with the help of the Fakir of Ipi continue our struggle to fight for the liberation of our country. Netaji refused to entertain the idea of surrendering or to be captured by the enemies.

We arrived in Bangkok on the 14th May, after a very hazardous journey. For a week or ten days, we had a number of Cabinet meetings to decide our future plans but in the midst of our discussions Netaji suddenly had to go to Singapore to settle certain differences of opinion among some of our senior officers of I.N.A. and the Indian Independence League. Netaji remained in Singapore (Malaya) for over two months during which period, the Japanese had decided to surrender. Had Netaji been spared this visit to Singapore, his going to Tokyo would have been done earlier.

Netaji's object in going to Tokyo was to negotiate for a

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separate peace with the Anglo-Americans and not to surrender with the Japanese. He was not in favour of I.N.A. surrendering as a part of the Japanese Army.

After his visit to Singapore, I lost touch with him for over a month or so as means of communication had completely broken down then. The Japanese surrender, although anticipated, came to us as a bolt from the blue.

I received a personal telegram from Netaji saying that he was arriving in Bangkok on the 16th of August and leaving for Tokyo on the 17th. He arrived in Bangkok on the 16th evening and I received him at the aerodrome. I apprised him of the developments in Bangkok during his absence. The morale of the Army was very high indeed but some of the army officers were very keen to go under-ground and thus escape capture by the British Army. We had about 10,000 I.N.A. personnel in Bangkok at the time, including about 300 personnel who had retreated from Rangoon. Netaji was against officers deserting their troops and told all the officers when he met them that evening that they should stand by their men. He also made it very clear that the I.N.A. should not surrender but that in the face of superior forces, should temporarily lay down the arms.

After saying 'Good bye' to all the officers and men, he wanted to know what I proposed to do, whether I would accompany him or remain behind with the troops. I chose the latter course, which he accepted, emphasising the dangers inherent in it.

Arrangements were then made for the party to leave Bangkok at 7 a.m., the following morning. The party consisted of the following:-

Netaji, Shri Ayer, Col. Habibur Rehman, Col. Gulzara Singh, Major Pritam Singh and a few others.

Shri Debnath Das was in Bangkok and Netaji had assigned him a special duty, namely to come to India and contact our national leaders.

In Bangkok, we had six boxes of jewellery containing gold ornaments and cash. This jewellery was part of the jewellery

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presented to Netaji ~~to Netaji~~ by the Indian community in various meetings throughout the period of his stay in South East Asia. I had no idea of its value. They were steel boxes and I had no occasion to see its contents. They were brought from Rangoon. These boxes, as far as I remember, were put in two big canvas bags and put in the plane in which Netaji was travelling.

While the Thais generally were not friendly, some of the leading officials, however, viz: their Foreign Minister, Home Minister and Prince Wan were very friendly and sympathetic.

Two planes left that day from Bangkok. These were arranged by the Hikari Kikan and Netaji was escorted by some Japanese officers as usual. One of them was General Isoda, Mr. Hachiya, Japanese Ambassador accredited to Azad Hind Government did not accompany Netaji.

On the eve of his departure, I enquired from Netaji whether he had been able to decide where he would make for finally after his discussions with the Japanese Government, and his reply was that he was hoping to go to Russia but that he would talk the matter further with the Japanese Government. I did not probe into his plans since I was not accompanying him. Just before boarding the plane, he embraced me and said with visible emotion, "Good bye and thank you very much for all you have done and I must say that you have been right on all the three occasions. Any way, I hope and pray that we shall meet again somewhere in India or on the border and continue our struggle till our country is free from foreign domination."

His order before he left Bangkok as on every previous occasion when he left his Headquarters was as follows:-

"Major-General J.K. Bhonsle, Chief of Staff, I.N.A., to be in charge of the I.N.A. during my absence and to exercise all powers which are normally exercised by me as the Supreme Commander, Indian National Army".

(This was typed by Shri Ayer).

All the secret documents in my possession were lost.

(The gold watch given to me by Netaji as a parting gift was shown to the members.)

I learnt of Netaji's death on the 18th at about 11 O ' Clock and I remember very clearly some of the coded telegrams brought to me by Lieut. Kunizuka, Japanese Liaison Officer.

Rs

The first telegram read as follows:-

"The Plane carrying Netaji and his party crashed at Taihoku at 2 p.m. While taking off, left engine burst, when at 500 feet off the ground. Pilot lost control of the plane. Pilot, one senior Japanese General killed instantaneously. Netaji who was in the passage near the petrol tank, was splashed with petrol and his body caught fire. Habibur Rehman and all others who survived, dragged him out of the burning plane, his condition very serious, burns severe and all over. Admitted Hospital."

(I lost this telegram along with my other documents)

The second telegram ran as follows:-

"Netaji operated upon, operation not successful and expired. (Time was mentioned but I do not remember clearly) Body being flown to Tokyo for cremation. Habib-ur-Rehman accompanying."

The third telegram ran as follows:-

"Coffin too big for plane to be taken to Tokyo. Body being cremated in Taihoku."

The following morning I communicated the sad news as contained in the telegrams to a few of my trusted colleagues. These were:-

Mr. Parmanand.  
Mr. Ishwar Singh.

and a few other Officers:-

Col. Chopra } They are now  
Maj. Gupta } in Calcutta.

Mr. Pillai.

By the 19th evening, I think, the Japanese Radio gave out the news and everybody came to know about it.

I continued to receive official messages concerning Netaji for the next five or six days till their despatch was stopped by an order of the Anglo-American Military Command. These messages used to be brought to me by Lieut. Kunizuka. (Mr. Kunizuka is in Calcutta).

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By another telegram I was informed that Netaji's body was cremated at Taihoku the same day, i.e., on the 18th night in a crematorium according to Hindu rites and that his ashes were being flown by Col. Rehman to Tokyo. After four or five days, another telegram came saying that Col. Habib and Shri Ayer had left for Tokyo, and that gold and other jewellery in truncated form was handed over to Col. Rehman at Taihoku. When Col. Habib and Shri Ayer arrived in Tokyo, I received another telegram to say that Netaji's ashes were received with due ceremony in Tokyo by Indian representatives, prominent among whom was Murti. I also had a telegram saying that the rest of the party had to be left behind at Saigon as they could not be accommodated on available transport. (All this information was being conveyed to me officially by the Japanese authorities as it was to their knowledge that I had been left in charge of the I.N.A. by Netaji).

I am convinced beyond doubt and on the information made available to me which I have recaptulated above, that the plane crash did actually take place and that Netaji lost his life in the accident.

A few days before the British troops had landed in Bangkok, the Siamese troops surrounded my bungalow and wanted to keep me under arrest. A guard of one Major and about 12 Thai soldiers was put on duty. Later on during the day on a representation made to their Prime Minister, whom I knew very well, the guard was withdrawn.

When the British troops landed at Bangkok, they demanded our surrender. I made it clear to them that I.N.A. would not surrender. I was then arrested and sent to Burmah and India.

*Ret. Rehman*  
13.7.56

16th April, 1956.

Witness No. 8

275

Evidence by Shri Aswini Kumar Gupta,  
Joint Editor of the Hindustan  
Standard.

...

I have been in Delhi since June, 1951.

In course of my special assignment in N.E.F.A.,  
in Manipur and Naga Hills etc. I had come across  
several reports about Netaji. One of them has  
been published in ~~Amrita~~ <sup>Ananda</sup> Bazar Patrika dated the  
1st May, 1951 about my talk with Mr. Phizo.

*Mr. Phizo told me that before this <sup>of the air crash</sup> story came out, some outside  
(in the Indian Union in Burma) connection informed them that they should not believe  
the story of Netaji's death. Such story would be  
given out as was done previously also. Though  
this crash was dated the 18th August, 1945, but they  
had this news before hand. Therefore I gave some  
weight to this report.*

In December, 1950 and January, 1951, I was  
travelling in the Mishmi hills where communications  
had all been disrupted by the earth-quake and I was  
just touring about there getting some information  
about that area and my second point of investigation  
was the story <sup>about Netaji</sup> that the Chinese Army <sup>reportedly</sup> had <sup>to some Mishmis</sup> given. There  
is a place called Rima where Chinese Army had given  
out the news ~~that~~ Tibetan officials were actually  
interned ~~in~~ a place-called Teju which is in N.E.F.A.  
My object was to know how far this news ~~was~~ about  
Netaji was true. While I was moving into ~~the~~ some  
of the Mishmi hills villages, I ~~again~~ saw some pictures  
of Netaji. I put the question to <sup>a</sup> Mishmi Headman whether  
they knew who Netaji was, ~~and they~~. He said that they  
knew Netaji who had also come to Naga hills and all  
these places and then came the interesting story.  
They stood with these Chinese Commanders who had asked  
them to come and help them in building roads, but

*Aswini*

the Mishmis are proverbially very loyal people. The Mishmi Headman <sup>said that</sup> when the first offer came to them to go to work for the Chinese soldiers, <sup>they</sup> did not agree, to make ~~the~~ roads because they said that they would not like to work for a foreign Government. Although the time was very bad especially because of earthquakes, there was terrible disruption of communications and from Indian side hardly provisions could go. Then these Chinese Commanders sent some Mishmis from the Chinese side and these people came and talked to these people and persuaded them to ~~xxx~~ go and meet the Chinese Commanders. Then the Chinese Commander had a talk with the Mishmi Headman and said that they should help ~~us~~ <sup>them</sup> because of ~~our~~ old and friendly relations. Besides, he said, "one of your great leaders ~~ixxxx~~ was with us." ~~Theyxxxxxx~~ When asked as to who was this leader, the Chinese ~~xxxx~~ mentioned about Netaji and they took some of the Mishmis to an interior place where in a tent they saw a person whom they identified with those pictures ~~that~~ of Netaji, in military uniform. These people, however, ~~xxxxxx~~ had never seen Netaji, so they could not know whether the person was ~~the~~ Netaji or not. They had only seen Netaji's pictures. But the Chinese Commanders said that he was Netaji.

I have no personal knowledge of this nor have those persons who told me this story had any previous acquaintance with Netaji. I had given this version for whatever it is worth.

The third report I heard was in Kalimpong in October, 1949. There was some Indian scholar doing some research work there. This gentleman whose name I do not remember as far as I recollect is a Maharashtrian, probably having a degree of doctorate.

*Amfola*

He suddenly brought out a group photograph and he showed me that photograph and asked me if I knew anybody in that group. There was one gentleman sitting there in the group who resembled very much like Netaji, who <sup>was</sup> not in military uniform, but just in closed collar. When I told him that that gentleman looked like Netaji, he said, ~~that~~ "that was the reason why I had shown this photograph to you." I asked him whether he knew about ~~the~~ *the/whereabouts about Netaji*, but he kept silent.

Mr. Gupta was shown a group photograph contained in the book " Netaji's mystery" facing page 8. He stated that there is one person in the picture who also resembled like Netaji.

This was not the picture which was shown to ~~him~~ *him* by the scholar,

..

*A. Gupta*





নেতাজীর বালিন্দ্র হেডকোয়ার্টারে নেতাজী সুভাষচন্দ্র বসু। নেতাজীর পত্নীর নিকট হইতে এই অপ্রকাশিত চিত্রখানি পাওয়া গিয়াছে।

*Amal Singh Prabhu 1.5.51*

# নেতাজী সুভাষচন্দ্র বসু শীঘ্রই স্বদেশে প্রত্যাবর্তন করিবেন

## বিমান দুর্ঘটনায় নিহত হইবার সংবাদ অলৌকিক কাহনী

### নাগা জাতীয় পরিষদের সভাপতি নেতাজীর সহকর্মী ডাঃ ফিজুর অভিমত

(বিশেষ প্রতিনিধি প্রেরিত)

কোহিমা, ৩০শে এপ্রিল—অন্য সকালে এক সাক্ষাৎকার প্রসঙ্গে নাগা জাতীয় পরিষদের সভাপতি মিঃ আই জেড ফিজু দত্ত তার সহিত এইরূপ আশা প্রকাশ করেন যে, নেতাজী সুভাষচন্দ্র বসু এখনও জীবিত আছেন এবং শীঘ্রই তাঁহার প্রধান কর্মক্ষেত্র ভারতে প্রত্যাবর্তন করিবেন। গত মহাযুদ্ধের সময় নেতাজী রহস্য উপনীত হইবার পর হইতেই মিঃ ফিজু তাঁহার অন্তর্গত সহকর্মীরূপে কাজ করিয়াছেন। আজাদ হিন্দ বাহিনীর ঐতিহাসিক কাগজপত্র ও নাগা পাহাড় অভিযানের সমস্ত তথ্য তিনি নেতাজীর অন্যতম প্রধান উপদেষ্টা ছিলেন।

মিঃ ফিজু বলেন যে, বিমান দুর্ঘটনায় নেতাজীর মৃত্যু হইয়াছে বলিয়া যে সংবাদ প্রচারিত হইয়াছে, উহা সম্পূর্ণ কাল্পনিক কাহনী। "নেতাজীর কয়েকজন ঘনিষ্ঠ সহকর্মী পূর্বে হইতেই জানিতেন যে, নেতাজীর ভবিষ্যৎ গতিবিধি প্রচ্ছন্ন রাখিবার জন্য নেতাজীর মৃত্যু সম্পর্কিত এই ধরণের ঘোষণা করা হইবে।"

করিতো নেতাজী বর্তমানে কোথায় অবস্থান করিয়াছেন সম্বন্ধে জিজ্ঞাসা করা হইলে মিঃ ফিজু বলেন যে, দুঃখের বিষয় ব্রিটিশ ও ভারতীয় জে.এ.সি. বৃহদ্দিন বন্দী থাকায় এবং নাগা জাতীয় পরিষদের কাজে বিশেষ ব্যস্ত থাকায় যুদ্ধাবস্থানের অব্যাহত পরবর্তী

নেতাজীর পরিবারের অন্য চিত্র অষ্টম পৃষ্ঠায় দ্রষ্টব্য

অবস্থানাদির সহিত তাঁহার সংযোগ নাই। এই জন্য নেতাজী বর্তমানে ঠিক কোথায় রহিয়াছেন তাহা তাঁহার পক্ষে বলা সম্ভবপর নহে। তাঁহার ধারণা, নেতাজী এক্ষণে নিশ্চয়ই বহিমঙ্গোলিয়া অথবা ডাঃ হো চি মিনের প্রভাবাধীন ভিয়েটনাম এলাকায় রহিয়াছেন অথবা মালয়ে জঙ্গলের কোন নিভৃত স্থানে আত্মগোপন করিয়া রহিয়াছেন।

স্বদেশের এই সংকটকালে নেতাজী কিজনা আত্মপ্রকাশ করিতেছেন না, সে সম্বন্ধে জিজ্ঞাসা করা হইলে মিঃ ফিজু বলেন যে, নেতাজী একজন দূরদর্শী রাজনীতিক। তিনি যথোপযুক্ত সময়ে আসিবেন। পরিশেষে মিঃ ফিজু বলেন যে, নেতাজী অতিশয় স্বাধীনচেতা। কোন বৈদেশিক শক্তিই তাঁহাকে ক্রীড়নব্যবহার করিতে পারিবে না; যদি তিনি কিছুদিন কমান্ডারদের সহিত অবস্থানের সিদ্ধান্ত করিয়া থাকেন, তাহা হইলে রাজনৈতিক আশ্রয়প্রার্থীরূপেই তিনি তাহা সিদ্ধ করিয়াছেন।

May God grant him many more years to live and fulfil his sacred will.

*Amal Singh Prabhu*

17. 4. 51.

১৯৫১ সালে ১৭ই এপ্রিল ভিয়েনায় নেতাজীর পত্নী শ্রীমতী বসু উপরের কথাগুলি নেতাজীর একখানি চিত্রের পশ্চাৎভাগে লিখিয়া আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকার বৈদেশিক প্রতিনিধি ডাঃ তারাপদ বসুকে স্মরণচিত্র হিসাবে প্রদান করেন।

April 16, 1956.

Witness No. 9.

Evidence by Shri Harin Shah, the Editor of "Indian Worker" which is the official journal of I.N.T.U.C., connected with several public institutions, member of the Central Board of Bharat Sewak Samaj, member of All India Newspapers Editors' Conference etc.

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I was sent by Mr. Sadanand who was the Chief of the Free Press of India News Agency and the Free Press Journal Group of papers at Bombay, in the Far East in the year 1945. I was there as the Chief of Far Eastern Bureau of the said News Agency.

In November, 1945, I went to China as a War Correspondent on behalf of the said News Agency. Then in 1946, August, the Chinese Government based at Nanking invited a number of prominent foreign correspondents accredited to them to pay a visit to Formosa which by then had been taken over by the Nanking Government from the surrendering Japanese authorities. Our International Press party consisting of 22 foreign correspondents of French, American, British, Indian, Chinese and Russian nationalities, broke journey at Shanghai on way to Taipeh (Taihoku). It was at Shanghai that two Indian businessmen who were staying there for business purposes for a long time and with whom I was dining enquired of me whether in Formosa I was also going to investigate into the reported death of Neaji in Formosa. The idea struck me very much and I soon made up my mind to concentrate all my efforts while in Formosa on finding out the truth and the relevant details. We reached Taipeh (Taihoku) airport on the 30th August a little after noon. I showed to the Committee a copy of the Formosan Daily Newspaper published in Taipeh showing the two photographs of my Press party which had reached Taipeh. After reaching Taipeh and going through the usual

*Harin Shah  
20/8/56  
Harin Shah  
April 16, 1956*

formalities as in a conducted tour, I began to think in my mind the line of enquiry and the line of action with regard to Netaji's death. I may mention here incidentally that it was the same airport where Netaji's bomber had crashed after taking over from Taipeh for a destination. I have got a photograph of the same airport with me. It is a picture card. The first idea that occurred to me at that time was that I should check up with the War Graves Commission which was based at Taipeh in case they had any information with regard to Netaji's death. I tried to get in touch with Lt. Richards, Officer Commanding, Research Division, American Hqrs., Taipeh. I had called at his Villa but he was away, hence my letter to him. In my letter I had asked him for time to discuss the question of the death of Netaji. I happened to see him next day and Lt. Richards informed me that he never came across any information or mention about Netaji's grave. He did not touch the topic of his death nor did I feel like pursuing it with him.

I got in touch subsequently with Mr. Huang, Superintendent of Police, Taipeh, who proved right throughout extremely helpful for nearly 4 days. He deputed Mr. S.P. Chun, Secretary to the Commissioner of Police, Formosa, ~~Mr. S.P. Chun~~ and Mr. Chung Yung-kai who worked in the office of the Governor General of Formosa. Both of them helped me quite a lot. In a preliminary chat both of them told me that they knew that Netaji had died in the plane crash and according to them there was a fair chance of coming across individuals who had personally witnessed the treatment given to Netaji in the South Gate Military Hospital at Taipeh which was at that time the Japanese Army Hospital. They also suggested that I might come across further evidence from people connected with other offices which had to deal with cases of death, cremation etc. I went to the Hospital accompanied by Mr. Huang and the two other friends. At the Hospital I met Col. Wu Kuo Shing (Chinese) M.C., the Chief Medical Officer at the Chinese Army Hospital (formerly Japanese Military Hospital in 1945). He confirmed that Netaji had been brought to that Hospital according to what he had

*Hawai Skel  
April 16, 1956.*

learnt from the staff (mostly Formosans) which was working at the Hospital in 1945. Then I made enquiries as to the personnel which might have witnessed the bringing of Netaji in the Hospital and were still available to testify before me. He made enquiries and then said "Yes, there is some good news for you because there is a sister Tsan Pi Sha (Formosan)". Sister T San who was brought before me a few minutes later was in the beginning reluctant not being sure what the enquiry was about. Later on, I learnt through the interpreter that her apprehension was that the enquiry might be about war criminals. Taihoku Liku Gun Byoin Nammoon Ponyishich is the full name of Taihoku South Gate Military Hospital. She was the witness for several hours while Netaji was fighting against death. She gave me in reply to my question the most convincing and correct description of Netaji. Besides, she gave me accurate identification of Col. Habibur Rahman who was wounded along with Netaji and was treated in the same hospital. She was present by Netaji's bed till the last moment and she testified about removal of dead body in a truck. I cross-examined her for nearly an hour. It required lot of patient assurance to Sister Tsan. There was another sister with the name of Sister Chu Chow Tse (Formosan) who also was employed at the same hospital as a Nurse but was on short leave and away when Netaji was brought to the hospital. She said that she also heard the same thing.

Sister Tsan's story is as follows :-

She told me she identified Chanda Bose. She worked in operation theatre. Netaji was very heavily burnt. He was treated in the medical ward. He was brought to the hospital about noon of August 18 and died at 11 in the same night. According to sister TSan, he stayed about 11 hours in the hospital. When asked whether any Indian accompanied Netaji injured or treated she said that there was an A.D.C. with Netaji, tall man with beard. To the question whether there were other Japanese officers brought to the Hospital, she said that three other men were

*Haris Shah*  
*April 16, 1958.*

burnt and admitted with Netaji. These three Japanese officers died after 3 days. When asked about the injuries to Netaji, she said that details were not known to her. After the Netaji's death, the body was put in a wooden box and put in a truck. After the death, the body was kept in the hospital for three days. There is a house, called a temple, inside the Hospital compound, where dead bodies are taken for rites. Netaji's body was taken to that house. At that time the C.M.O. was Capt. Ashimi Yoshimi. The C.M.O. ordered his military subordinates to give full military honours at the funeral. After the death, Netaji's body was taken to the temple, stated above, and kept there for 3 days according to the Japanese Buddhist customs, after being removed from the Hospital. I asked the question, "Did Netaji bring here any jewellery, clothes or luggage brought to the Hospital?" In reply to this question she said he had a military uniform only, nothing else. She said further there had been an air raid and all doctors worked on surgical side. Netaji was placed in the medical ward which was converted for surgical purpose. She is a surgical nurse and took care of Netaji till he died. I asked what medicines were given to him, to which she replied "Netaji was burnt all over the body, only olive oil was applied." To the question what was administered through mouth, she said that she did not know. To the question, "Did Netaji speak to her at any time," she said, "no, because he was unconscious. Did she give Netaji water? She replied, "he was sometimes groaning and she gave water several times". As he was very severely burnt, there was no place where injections could be given. Just before death he seemed to groan and seemed to her to say "quiet death". Then my question was about her impression about Netaji. Her impression - very fat, tall, did not care about face or body - courageous. I put a set of five questions to her :

- 1) What happened to another Indian?
- 2) Any picture of Netaji taken?
- 3) Any rumours she heard after death?
- 4) Are you satisfied he was given proper treatment?
- 5) Did Japanese ignore him?

*Harein S. K.*

*April 16, 1956.*

Her reply collectively was. "The other Indian had burnt his fore-arm. He was treated in this hospital for about 20 days."

I asked her more questions "Did the Japanese keep records in the Hospital?"

"It is not known".

"Was it a practice to have picture of patients?"

She said "No"

Does she definitely know that Netaji died?

She said, "I can prove that he died. I did not know what was done to his body. I also did not know where the body was ~~xxx~~ taken."

The other Indian was near Netaji's bed in the hospital.

I was taken to the Ward where Netaji was kept. It was a room measuring about 13½ yards by 9 yards. Netaji's bed was kept in a corner of the room and Bahibur Rahman's bed was close to Netaji's bed. There were three beds: Netaji's bed, Habibur Rahman's bed and third bed was for the Nurse.

Neither did I ask her nor did she give information whether there were more beds. On the north of that room, there are 6 windows, on the south<sup>4</sup>, the entrance is from South. Netaji's bed was in the South-West corner, near the door. It was a one-storey building.

I went to Taiwan Medical University Hospital No. 1. I met Dr. Chu who was the Deputy Director at the Hospital. Dr. Chu, himself a ~~maxit~~ native Formosan, belonged to a village called Ta-Hu in the Sinchu district which was about 50 kilo-meters, from Taipeh. Before coming to the University Hospital, Dr. Chu at the Sinchu Hospital. He was in Taipeh with the University Hospital during the Japanese Army occupation and at the time of air crash of Netaji's plane. He introduced to me at the University Hospital two persons. No. 1 was Dr. Kunio (Japanese). He was a Professor of Surgery in the Hospital. Dr. Kunio aged 52 years, said he knew about the accident of Netaji, and subsequently also read about the accident in the local newspapers named "Taiwan Didi Shimpao" which meant "The Taiwan Daily". This

*Harin Shah  
April 16, 1956.*

This paper was closed down according to Dr. Kunio by 1946 and its machinery and printing establishment was taken over by another newspaper (Chinese) called "Shin Tsung Pao" (which means "The New Life Daily").

He said that this Formosan newspaper published the news also about the tragic crash but no pictures were published in the paper. Netaji was referred to as Chandla Bose. According to Dr. Kunio, perhaps Netaji died at Matsiama, a suburb of Taipei on way to the airfield. I asked him "Is Netaji dead or alive, what do you believe? His answer was: "Is it still a question? No No, he said he is happy in Heaven. Present at this questioning was also Dr. A. Motogi (Japanese) Professor of Opthelmology, Taiwan University Hospital No. 1. Dr. Motogy, aged 50, stated that Ober Lieutenant Teramoto Aoki Kobayashi was the Commanding General of the Japanese Army in Taiwan at the time of the crash. Kobayashi was a Division Commander. In 1946, when I was talking to Dr. Motogy, Kobayashi was in prison. I asked the following questions to which Dr. Kunio replied as follows :

How Netaji was treated after death?

By cremation

Then Dr. Kunio sent for following four Formosan medical students. Their names were M/s Kuchin Mui, Chin Chu-chang, Huan Kuo Hya and Cheng Juo San. According to these students, they received the message that Netaji who was the leader of free India Government had been severely injured in air crash and that blood was required urgently for transfusion. They further added that a Japanese medical student studying at that time volunteered and his blood was sent for transfusion. That Japanese student has been repatriated to Japan. Dr. Kunio introduced to me a Japanese servant at the Hospital. The brother of that Japanese servant ~~at~~ was an M.P. (Military Police). The name of the Military Police Sergeant was Masanori Nagaki. He was a Military Police Sergeant according to that brother of his. The M.P. Sergeant was at the airport when the ~~crash~~ crash took place. Nagaki told his brother

Hawai Skel  
April 16, 1956.

that he saw one tall Indian Indian heavily burnt and removed from the plane. Later Nagaki had learnt and told his brother that that Indian had died. The brother-in-law of this Military Police Sergeant named Matao Oyabu was sent by the Japanese authorities to the airport for further investigation.

On August 22nd, 1945, the Japanese newspaper "Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimbun" from Taipeh published the following reports:

"A press note issued at 2 p.m. on 22nd August, 1945, by the Intelligence Bureau of the Japanese Garrison Commander, Taihoku, Chandra Bose, Leader of the Provisional Government of Free India, set out on a plane from Singapore on 16th August en route to Tokyo. He was proceeding to Tokyo to discuss the situation with the Imperial Government.

At 14 hours on the 18th August, the plane met with an accident in the vicinity of Taihoku (Taipeh) airfield and Chandra Bose was heavily wounded.

Although he was given treatment at the Tungti Military Hospital, it proved of no avail, and he passed away on 19th August at 0 hours (mid-night). On the same plane along with the Indian leader were Col. Rahman, who was heavily wounded, Lt. Gen. Szechengcha who died immediately and 4 others Generals and Colonels who were all injured heavily or slightly."

That newspaper was closed down by the Chinese authorities after Japanese surrender. The paper was taken over by the Chinese and reappeared under the new Chinese name "Chin Sheng Jir Pao".

Dr. Lee Wan-Chu (Chinese) who edited this Chinese paper and met me was also the Deputy Speaker of the new Taiwan Legislative Assembly. He found out in his newspaper office a copy of the "The Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shimbun".

I also met Professor K.W. Wei (Chinese) connected with the Taipeh University on 2nd September, 1946, at Taipeh. He told me the following :-

Speaking about Netaji, he said you can be proud of him.

*Harin Shah  
April 16, 1956.*



I met him three times. First in 1943 in Bangkok in fact all the three times in Bangkok. I loved him very much. Prof. Wee gave his personal impression of his bravery and courage of Netaji. At that time he heard the news and remembered that it was also published in the newspapers about the air-crash of the bomber in which Netaji was travelling.

The Professor sent me a letter on the next day on the death of Netaji. He also sent to me a book (in Japanese) called "20 years of Pacific Hurricane". On page 107 of that book, there is a mention of Netaji's death by air crash at Taipei. I do not recollect the name of the author.

I proceeded subsequently to the Bureau of Health and Hygiene in Taipei. I met there Dr. Kan King-yen. He was earlier a private medical practitioner in Taipei and leader of the local Chinese underground during the Japanese occupation period. He was at that time when I saw him, the Director of the Bureau of Health and Hygiene in Taipei. Dr. Kan had the following to say:-

The death records were maintained by a combined Japanese-Formosan unit in the city during the occupation. These records were handed over after the surrender to the new Chinese Government on the Island. The Bureau was also transferred to the succeeding Chinese Government. The death records used to be and were housed in the Bureau.

According to Dr. Kan the Japanese did not want to see Netaji proceed to Russia. So they deliberately dived the plane down on the airfield and killed Netaji. The plane, Dr. Kan proceeded, it was rumoured, crashed while taking off from the Taihoku airport. No pictures were published but a small obituary notice appeared in the papers. The Bureau records, Dr. Kan said, had been preserved since last 10 years.

On my enquiry whether any records could be traced with regard to the death, and cremation of Netaji, he, after consultation with his subordinates, sent for two clerks both Formosan working in his Bureau - Mr. Li Chin Kui and Mr. Tan Chi Ch, found out the following:

*Harin Shek*  
*April 16, 1958*

987

Both the gentlemen sorted out from their files the duplicate of the permission which had been issued by the Bureau for cremating the body of Netaji. The clerks were on duty when Netaji's body was brought to the Bureau. Both of them were serving in the Bureau for the past 10 years. The Japanese officer accompanying told the then Japanese Chief of the Bureau that the body was of Netaji. Normally the clerks would examine the body but they were not allowed under orders saying that the body was of a distinguished person ~~but~~ but they marked that the body was very big. They saw it being taken out from the coffin. After it was taken out it was placed on a wooden plank. Later it was transferred to a bier. The body was wrapped in cloth. The doctor's report is as follows: I took photostat copies of the following documents:-

- 1) the doctor's report on the death of Netaji.
- 2) the police officer's report, and
- 3) the certificate issued by the Bureau permitting cremation.

They are all in Japanese.

The doctor's report and the other papers which were shown to me at the Bureau by the clerks in the presence of the Director, Dr. Kap, were read and translated to me in English by Mr. Chung and other gentlemen from the Governor's office serving as my interpreters. The doctor's report reads as follows :-

From the Army Hospital  
To the Bureau of Health and Hygiene.

Date of the Report: 21st August, 1945.

Certification of the Death

Name of the person: Okara Ichiro (meaning big ware-houses of food and Ichiro means eldest son)

Sex: Male

Birth: Borne in the Meiti 22nd year April 9.

Occupation: He was Taiwan Military Government Army's obedient officer.

Reason of death: By sickness.

Nature of sickness: Heart-failure.

Time of sickness: 17th August, 1945.

Time of death: 19th August 4 p.m.

Place of death: Army Hospital.

The writer's certificate;

Dated: 21st August.

The name of the doctor and the seal:

Chhuluta Toyoji Chentze  
Siskwan (Japanese University)

*Harin Shah*  
*April 16, 1958*

I did ask clerks as to why false particulars were given in the certificate with regard to the identity and other details of Netaji? The clerks said to the effect that they did not know precisely and were acting under instructions of the Military Officer <sup>who</sup> accompanied the body. They were told by the Japanese officer accompanying the body that for State reasons, the particulars of the person had to be kept confidential.

*Havin Shek  
April 16, 1958 -*

Continued by Shri Harin Shah at 3-30 p.m. on 17.4.56.

The Police report is more or less a confirmatory paper on the line of the doctor's report.

Now follows the Cremation Permit from the Taipeh Bureau of Health and Hygiene. On the top right hand of the paper are four hand-written Japanese letters running between two printed lines vertically indicating the number of the permit. The number is 2641. The red seal by the side of the permit says that it is the permit to cremate the body in the furnace Class I at the Japanese Crematorium in Taipei. There are three classes of Chambers. Persons of high distinction were permitted to be cremated in the Chamber Class I. Now reading vertically, the bold printed Japanese letters in the first column say that this is the official permit of the Bureau to cremate the body. The seal of the Bureau is in the same column in purple ink.

Column 2: First Line:

Native Place: Tokyo

Second Line:

Present address: Taipeh (Taihoku which is the other name of Taipeh)

Column 3 and 4: Same as in Doctor's certificate with regard to death, Name, ~~Sex~~ <sup>Birth</sup> ~~Place~~ <sup>Place</sup> date and occupation of the deceased.

Column 5: Where the body will be cremated  
Taihoku City Government Crematorium.

The crematorium is reached after crossing the main Chung Shan Lu (The Sun Yat Sen Avenue).

There is a bridge called Sampang Kyo (meaning the three logs wooden bridge) to be negotiated before reaching the airport.

Column 6: Time and date for cremation  
6 p.m. 22nd August 1945.

Column 7: Relationship of applicant  
His close friends.

Column 8 and 9: The Capital printed Japanese letters show that this is an application for the Government



*Harin Shah  
April 16, 1956*

to cremate that body.

Column 10: Blank

Column 11: Date of application; August 21st, 1945.

Column 12: Blank

Column 13: Army and the number of the deceased:  
Army in Formosa No. 21123. In Japanese it was  
put down as Taiwan Dainichi nichu Bruhai.

Column 14: Name of the applying Japanese officer of the  
Police Station:

Yoshimi Yami Yoshi

The officer's seal in red is also on the paper.

Crematorium: There was Mr. Chu Tsung (Formosan) who was in  
charge of this crematorium. He looked a semi-illiterate haggard  
ordinary worker type.

I visited the crematorium which was known by the name  
of Tyong Chung Chna.

According to Mr. Chu Tsang, the crematorium had been  
in existence for 12 years. He had on his file the permits issued  
from the Bureau only from October 1945 onward. According to him,  
the coffin was a very big one. 7 or 8 Japanese officers who were  
in the plain clothes accompanied the dead body. It was brought  
at the crematorium at about 3 p.m. It took about 8 hours for the  
body to be consumed. The Japanese officers paid the ordinary  
fee of 18 Yens. The coffin was so big that it could not be  
accommodated in the Class I Chamber. So the body had to be changed  
and placed in another coffin. In reply to the question "Did you  
see the body when it was being changed? He replied, "I dare not  
see it". This was perhaps because there were Japanese army officers  
accompanying.

When asked about the ashes, he said, according to his  
usual practice, the next morning he had collected the ashes in  
the usual wooden box. One Indian with fore-arm bandaged came with  
Japanese. They had come in two cars, one a truck and another a  
Sedan. The box containing the ashes was taken away by the Indian.  
Answering to the query as to whether he can describe the other

*Harun Sheh  
April 16, 1958*

Indian who came the next day and took the box containing the ashes, he said he was a tall man with his fore-arm injured, dressed in spotless white and he burnt incense and then went away with the box containing the ashes.

After taking into account this detailed and varied information as it came out from a number of sources most of whom had been in Taipeh on 18th August 1945, and who had also some role to play between the air crash and the cremation at different stages, I come to a clear conclusion that the air crash did take place at Taipeh airport on 18th August 1945; that Netaji was severely burnt in that crash; that after spending some hours at the then Japanese South Gate Military Hospital, he died; and that he was duly cremated at the Japanese crematorium at Taipeh. There is no way off getting away from relying upon human beings for evidence when adjudging death, since ~~ne~~ neither the deceased nor the death could be summoned to testify. I was convinced that the various witnesses who gave an account of the crash, death and cremation to the best of their knowledge spoke out of honesty and without any motives. I believe the curtain is rung down irrevocably upon the physical being of Netaji, much as his life may continue to inspire for generations. In my view, speedy steps need to be taken to preserve the hallowed spot where he was cremated in Taipeh.

On my return to Nanking from Formosa on about 8th September 1946, I conveyed the gist of my findings confidentially to our then Ambassador in Nanking, Ambassador K.P.S. Menon. I believe he transmitted a report on the subject to the Prime Minister. On my return to India in the middle of 1947, I was based at New Delhi as the Head of the Free Press of India Bureau. I was known to Sardar Patel, Deputy Prime Minister. I had long talk with him and I placed all the material before him. He told me that he was convinced that Netaji had died in that air crash. He suggested that if I could meet Shri Sarat Chandra Bose and convince him that Netaji was dead, I would be rendering a great service. Col. Rahman had by then come to New Delhi. I met him at his residence in New Delhi

*Harin Shah  
April 16, 1956.*

and talked to him for several hours. I went on interrogating on events, their sequences and details regarding places and persons in the light of information I had gathered at Taipeh, and I found complete corroboration from Col. Rahman. Later on, most probably in the year 1952, a request was received by me on behalf of the Prime Minister for the information, papers and pictures bearing on Netaji's death. The Prime Minister included my findings in the Report on Netaji's death which he placed on the table of the House in the Parliament.

*Haren Shob  
April 16, 1952.*

Statement by Col. Thakur Singh, I.N.A.  
on 17-4-1956 at 11-30 A.M.

....

I went to Malaya with Kapurthala State Forces. I was present in Singapore when the British Forces surrendered there. I joined the I.N.A. which was organised by General Mohan Singh. I also met Shri Rash Behari Bose in Singapore. I was present at the aerodrome in Singapore on 2nd July when Netaji arrived.

After the arrival of Netaji in Singapore, I was appointed as Second-in-command in Gandhi Guerilla Brigade. Later when the Subhas Brigade was organised, I was appointed as Second-in-command in that Brigade. We went to the front-line to take part in Imphal operations early in 1943. We stayed there till about the middle of monsoons when we started withdrawing. Later we retired via Mandalay and eventually concentrated at Pymna. At Pymna, the remnants of No. I Division were reorganised into one regiment which was designated 'X' Regiment and was allotted the role of holding up the enemy as long as possible at the cost of even every body. In March or April 1945, I received a wireless message from Netaji informing me that the British were very near Rangoon and that I should save as many of my soldiers as possible and retire to Moulmein. On receipt of this message I crossed the Sittang river and through jungle routes I was able to make my way to Moulmein via Papun. This took us approximately two months. At Moulmein we were met by a party which had previously been deputed by Netaji to meet us. From Moulmein we went to Bangkok by train. We reached Bangkok sometime early in June. On arrival at Bangkok I met Netaji. The whole of 'X' regiment that had accompanied me there was in a

*Thakur Singh*



very weak state of health. Netaji then called Shri Ishwar Singh, the then Food Minister of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and ordered him to make best arrangements for feeding and clothing the regiment. Netaji told me that he would like my regiment to be in a fighting fit condition after about 20 days. He told me to select a party of approximately 150 soldiers and to keep them ready to go as an advance guard to Saigon. In the meantime, Netaji had left for Singapore. When he returned from Singapore, I reported to him that my regiment was in a fit condition to take part in the fighting. Netaji told me that it was not necessary at that particular moment to send the regiment for fighting. He told me that it would not be necessary for the regiment to move to Saigon then. Instead he ordered that the regiment should be moved to Cholburi ( Chanthaburi, a District of Siam) where the Indian National Army had a big training centre. It was also the headquarters of the Thai Army. This place was approximately 60 miles away from Bangkok on the sea-coast. The regiment moved to the new site at Cholburi.

On the morning of 16th August, I was called to Bangkok where I was to wait for the arrival of Netaji from Singapore. Netaji arrived in Bangkok on 16th evening. That night I was present at a dinner party which was given by Netaji at his residence. Col. Malik Shaukat, Col. P.S. Raturi, Col. H.L. Chopra and others were present. The total number was approximately 15. During or after the dinner, I remember Netaji talking to us. He said that the setback which the INA had received during the war was only a temporary one and that he was confident that in the long run the victory would be ours and that the British would have to quit India. He said that he had largely

*Ishwar Singh*

295

succeeded in his object of instilling the spirit of independence in the British Indian Army and as a result of which it would not be possible for the British to stay in India for long. Netaji said that he was not in favour of going to India at that moment because he was not satisfied with the Wavell Talks that were going on at Simla. He said that he had another special mission on which he would be proceeding. He did not tell us any further details about his mission.

The next morning, i.e. on the 17th August, at about 5 A.M., we arrived at the airport from where Netaji took off. We were told that Netaji was going to S<sub>e</sub>igon. There were two aeroplanes at the aerodrome. I do not remember the officers who accompanied Netaji. The aeroplane took off early in the morning round about 5-30 A.M.

Three or four days later, I was told by the Siamese Governor of Choburi that he had heard a Radio report saying that the plane in which Netaji was travelling had caught fire and that Netaji had died as a result of it. I asked the Governor whether he believed the report to be true. He said he was not convinced with the report.

Eventually, we were taken prisoners by the British and arrived in Red Fort sometime in December 1945 to give evidence in Red Fort Trials.

I cannot believe that Netaji is dead.

Admitted correct.

*Shakur Singh*

17.4.56

REGD.A/D.

296

Witness II

9/1, Gariahat Road,  
Calcutta-19.

Dated, the 23rd April, 1956.

.....

To

Shri R. Dyal,  
P.A. to Chairman,  
Netaji Enquiry Committee,  
Block-B New Secretariat Buildings,  
Calcutta-1.

Dear Sir,

I have corrected the enclosed statement  
and forward it herewith for your information.

Yours faithfully,

*S. Majumdar*  
23/4/56  
(S. Majumdar)  
Deputy Director, S.I.B.,  
Calcutta.

Enclo:1.

Statement of Shri S. Majumdar,  
Deputy Director, Subsidiary  
Intelligence Bureau, recorded  
at Calcutta on 20-4-1956 at 3 P.M.

From 1924 to 1948 I was in the  
Intelligence Branch, Bengal and West Bengal;  
from 1948<sup>9</sup> to 1950 in the Intelligence Bureau,  
New Delhi, and from October 1950 to date, I am  
in charge of the Subsidiary Intelligence Bureau,  
Calcutta.

I have no personal knowledge <sup>of any</sup>  
~~matter in the~~ <sup>about any</sup> terms of reference contained in the  
Government of India communique appointing this  
Committee, ~~but~~ I know that immediately after  
the ~~news of~~ the air-crash in which Netaji is  
alleged to have been involved, ~~was published,~~  
the Government of India sent two teams of Civil  
Intelligence Officers - one team was led by  
Mr. P.E.S. Finney, and the other team by  
Mr. W.F.N. <sup>M</sup> Davies. Both Messrs. Finney and  
Davies had some Indian officers under them.

As far as I remember, Mr. Finney  
was to go to Rangoon, Penang and Bangkok, and  
Mr. Davies was to go to Saigon and to the  
Chinese mainland, if necessary.

When both of them returned after  
6 to 8 weeks, I had a talk with Mr. Finney  
and asked him whether really Netaji was dead.  
Mr. Finney's reply was that as far as human  
intelligence went and as far as he with his  
Indian officers and the Army Officers who  
were also making enquiries were able to make  
investigation, he was more than 95% sure that  
Netaji was dead.

Two officers of the Intelligence

Branch, Bengal at that time accompanied Mr. Finney - one was Inspector <sup>Shri</sup> Himangshu Kumar Roy (now S.P.) and another Sub-Inspector, Kalipada Dey (now Inspector). To my knowledge, no Civil Intelligence Officer from the Government of India either went to Formosa (including the two teams mentioned above) or made any enquiries there.

~~Whatever I understood from discussion with Mr. Finney at that time was that he had found out from a talk with the Br. authorities who might have made enquiries in Formosa that Netaji was dead.~~

Questions by Shri Bose.

About two days ago, there was a statement (made by a West Bengal Police Officer) in the paper, regarding Netaji's death. Did you read that statement? Could you give us the name of that Police Officer?

Reply: Yes, I read that statement in the Hindustan Standard. I do not know the name of the Police Officer.

May I know who is your boss in your Calcutta office?

Reply: I am the boss of my office.

Did you discuss this matter with any other Police Officer regarding the truth or otherwise of the statement referred to above?

Reply: No.

May I know what your <sup>information</sup> ~~opinion~~ is

is regarding these statements?

Reply: As the papers have been destroyed I am unable to say whether what has been said is true or false. As far as the Bengal Intelligence Branch papers were concerned, they were all destroyed. I do not know what happened with the papers at the Centre.

A few minutes ago, you told us and gave us the percentage of the truth or falsity or otherwise of these statements. May I know what these percentages are?

Reply: I do not remember to have said 10.

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Statement given by Mr. K. Kunizuka, 217, Kalelee House  
Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

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I was conscripted to the Japanese Army after my college study, and I was commissioned Second Lt. as Emergency Commission Officer in 1941, and promoted to the rank of Captain in 1945 at the time of Japanese surrender.

I landed in <sup>Singapore</sup> Shingola, Siamese Malayan border town on 8th December 1941, as a member of the Japanese Forces which was going to attack Malaya. At that time, I was an Intelligence officer attached to 5th Divisional Head Quarters. On 12th December 1941, the first battle was fought, in Gitra near Shingola, Malaya, and there I came to know Cap. B. M. Patnaik, then I.M.S. After few days, I met Capt. Mohan Singh and was with him throughout the Malayan Campaign, and thus I started as liaison office between Indian side and Japanese Army. I acted as liaison officer throughout the War until the Japanese surrendered on 15th August 1945. I was an only Japanese officer who was connected with I.N.A. from the very beginning to the last day. Singapore surrendered on 16th February 1942. In July 1942 Mr. Rash Behari Bose came to Malaya and he took over the command of I.N.A. and I.I.L.

Netaji arrived in Singapore on the 2nd July 1943. I received him personally at Singapore Aerodrome. Netaji assumed the leadership of the Indian Independence movement in East Asia on 4th July 1943. The Provisional Government of Azad Hind was formed on 21st October 1943 and at that time all Axis countries recognised Netaji's Government.

Then on 6th July 1944, Netaji shifted the headquarters from Singapore to Burma. I could not go to Burma because I was attached to the Rear Headquarters of I.N.A. as Liaison Officer.

At that time I was attached to the military Organisation called "Hikari Kikan". This organisation was specially organised to do the Liaison work between I.N.A. and Japanese Army. I was acting as the Liaison Officer between the Japanese Hikari Kikan and the I.N.A. Before the formation of the Netaji's Provisional Government of India, this Hikari Kikan was a Liaison Office between the Japanese Military Headquarters and I.N.A. & I.I.L. At that time, they served two purposes - one military and the other civil, but after the formation of the Provisional Government of India, Mr. T. Hachiya, a Japanese Minister was appointed to the Provisional Government of India. So afterwards Hikari Kikan was a Liaison body between the I.N.A. and the Japanese Military Command.

Netaji's headquarters moved to Burma on 6th January 1944. The Rear headquarters remained in Singapore. In February 1944, units of the I.N.A. proceeded to Arakan front. On 18th March, 1944, the I.N.A. crossed the frontier and stood on the Indian soil. The Hikari Kikan also proceeded with the I.N.A. as the Liaison body. At that time General Isoda was the Chief of the Hikari Kikan organisation which was assisting I.N.A. in Burma.

The strength of the Hikari Kian was 500.

Apart from the liaison between the INA headquarters and the Japanese Military Command, a Hikari Kikan officer was to be attached to an INA regiment at the front so that they could act as liaison with Japanese units at the front, besides the Hikari Kikan headquarters in Rangoon. The Hikari Kikan organisation assisted the Provisional Government of India in securing such equipments, stores and provisions from the Japanese Government and Military units as were not available elsewhere. The Provisional Government of India also had their own separate organisation for obtaining supplies such as foodgrains, clothing etc. through their own sources.

Although I did not visit the front-line personally but I learnt from official sources that the INA fought very bravely on the Imphal front as well as on the Arakan front. For their spirit of fighting on the front-line, the Japanese admired the INA Officers and soldiers and appreciated their courage very much. After the attack on Imphal the Japanese and the Indian National Army units had to withdraw. I was at that time in Singapore and I had no direct knowledge of the fighting there. In April 1944, the Japanese Army units started evacuating from Rangoon and Netaji also retired. Netaji took with him some units of the INA and some members of his Government. At the time, the decision to evacuate Rangoon was taken I was deputed to fly to Rangoon and be of assistance to Netaji there. I did so but unfortunately by that time Rangoon had been occupied by the enemy forces. The plane carrying me returned to Bangkok. At Bangkok I made arrangements for a convoy of approximately 10 lorries belonging to the Japanese Military units and proceeded with that convoy by road in the direction of Rangoon. I met Netaji's party at Moulmein. This was some time at the end of April 1945. Then Netaji ordered me to help in the evacuation of the Rani of Jhansi unit from Burma to Siam. From Moulmein to Bangkok, Netaji travelled in the same car as General Isoda and H.E. Mr. T. Hachiya. They were accompanying Netaji from Rangoon. On 15th of May I returned to Bangkok with the detachment of Rani of Jhansi unit. Netaji stayed at the house of Mr. Mehtani a Sindhi gentleman in Bangkappi, Bangkok, as temporary residence.

In Bangkok, Netaji had discussions with high Japanese officers regarding his own movement and the future plan of his Government and INA. So far as I know his idea at that time was to move his headquarters to a place called "Cho-Ka-Ko" North China near the Mangolian border. At that time Netaji's intention was to transport all INA units under his command through French Indo-China to North China near the Mongolian border.

Netaji's reading of the situation was that sooner or later Malaya, Siam and French Indo-China would fall to the Allied forces and that the days of Japanese resistance were numbered. He, therefore, wished to move the INA to North China which was still occupied by the Japanese forces and which was very near the Russian side. Netaji was anticipating that his next allies would be the Russians after the fall of Japan. The Chinese Red forces were also fighting in the neighbouring area.

It was a great shame for the Japanese to retreat from Burma and along with us Netaji also suffered the hardships during his



retreat. So we felt very sorry for him and at the last stage, we wanted to comply with any Netaji's wishes whatever these might be, whether advantageous or disadvantageous to the Japanese and we proposed to him to take his units to any place desired by him. These discussions continued for some days in Bangkok. After having discussions with the members of his Cabinet, Netaji had further discussions with General S. Isoda at the Hikari Kikan on the future movement of his Government and INA. Since this matter was beyond the jurisdiction of General Isoda he sent a cable to the Imperial General Headquarters at Tokyo for a decision. At the same time Netaji also requested us to make contact with the Russian Embassy in Tokyo. Mr. Jacob Malik was then Russian Ambassador in Tokyo at that time. The communication to the effect that Netaji wished to establish contact with the Russians and to move his headquarters and other forces to Russian side was made through Japanese Channel. This was made sometime in June just before Netaji left for Singapore. As far as I remember no reply reached to Netaji from the Russian side because the Japanese Government themselves were desperately trying to secure the good offices of the Russian Government for the termination of the hostilities and secondly, the Russians themselves had declared war on Japan. I think that the Russian Embassy was busily occupied with these important matters. So they were unable to reciprocate.

On 16th of June, Netaji left for Singapore on urgent work. At that time I was asked by Netaji to accompany him to Singapore but I was unable to do so as I was looking after the INA in Bangkok.

Negotiations for the Japanese surrender started on 10th of August 1945 and the formal declaration was made on the 15th August 1945.

On 16th August, Netaji returned from Singapore to Bangkok. I went to the aerodrome to receive him. Mr. T. Negishi, a member of the Malayan Branch of the Hikari Kikan, was accompanying Netaji from Singapore to Bangkok.

As soon as Netaji arrived, he went to the residence of General S. Isoda for discussion and decided that he would fly for Saigon on the following day. During the conference the following alternatives were discussed:-

- (1) That Netaji should fly to Tokyo and seek shelter in Japan like Dr. Bamo of the Burmese Government.
  - (2) That he should surrender with his forces in Bangkok to Lord Mountbatten.
  - (3) That he should fly to Manila and surrender to General McArthur.
- and (4) That he should proceed to Manchuria to join the Russians who had already occupied Manchuria.

Course No. 1 was considered undesirable as Japan was a small country and he was sure to be found out by the occupation forces.

Course No.2 was detested by Netaji as he hated the idea of surrendering to the British.

Course No.3 was considered to be little better than Course No.2 but was not favoured by Netaji.

Course No.4 was considered by Netaji to be the best course for which he prepared himself for long time and he requested General S. Isoda to make necessary arrangements for his transport.

Having taken this decision, Netaji returned to his own headquarters to have further consultations with his own Ministers and decided on the strength of the personnel who would accompany him. Netaji handed over the list of the persons who were to accompany him, to me. As far as I remember, the list included approximately 10 names. But due to the difficulty of air transport, the number that could accompany Netaji was limited: also at that time it was prohibited for the Japanese forces to fly by the order of Allied Forces.

Mr. Kunizuka continued: -

Then very early in the following morning - (17th August, 1945) I went to Bangkok airport and I saw Netaji off. That morning Netaji and his party left by two planes. I only remember Netaji's plane. As far as I can remember, it was an ordinary transport plane. Netaji was accompanied by Col. Habibur Rahaman and I believe General Isoda and Mr. Negishi were also in the same plane. In the night before his departure, I was shown by Netaji the treasure that was accompanying him which consisted of gold jewellery, bangles, necklaces etc., and Netaji presented me with a gold cigarette case with his autograph engraved as a sign of his thank for my service. Unfortunately I lost it during the time I was taken as prisoner by the Allies. I do not remember whether the treasure was put in the same plane and I do not remember the details of the luggage, as I did not pay any attention to it because the occasion was so serious. As soon as Netaji's plane took off, I returned to my headquarters. The other plane must have left afterwards. I rushed back to my headquarters to send cables to the Japanese authorities in Saigon informing them of the time of arrival of Netaji. From Bangkok, Netaji was told that the planes carrying him and his party would fly only as far as Saigon. I told Netaji that from Saigon the Japanese Expeditionary Forces in Saigon would make further plane arrangements for his ultimate destination which was Manchuria. The military headquarter was situated at Dalat near Saigon. The cable that we sent regarding Netaji, was addressed to the headquarters of the Southern Command. I do not remember whether Mr. T. Hachiya accompanied Netaji. The same evening we received information of Netaji's safe arrival in Saigon. I communicated the news about Netaji's safe arrival to Gen. J.K. Bhonsle, Netaji's representative in Bangkok. At about 9 A.M. on the morning of the 19th August '45,

304

I received a telegram from the Japanese headquarters at Saigon informing us that Netaji had expired as a result of a plane accident at Taihoku aerodrome on the 18th of August. I transmitted this information immediately to the INA authorities in Bangkok. I gave this information to General Bhonsle at Bangkok but it was kept as a top secret. The following morning, that is, on the 20th of August, the news regarding the demise of Netaji was broadcast over the Tokyo Radio by Mr. J. Ito, the Chief of Information Bureau. We took down this information and circulated it to all/Hikari kikan officers. By this time the news of Netaji's demise was known to the public at Bangkok. But the general feeling including among the Japanese was to disbelieve this news. We thought it was the last favour of the Japanese Government to facilitate Netaji's escape by making this false announcement. On the 20th August I came to know more details about the plane crash from Tokyo broadcast which had stated that Netaji and General Sidei had expired. General Sidei was the newly appointed Chief of General Staff to the Manchurian Forces and he was supposed to accompany Netaji from Formosa to Dairin, Manchuria. We also learnt that Colonel Habibur Rahman and other Japanese officers in the plane had received injuries. The broadcast was very brief and only mentioned that Netaji and General Sidei had died. The original cables and other documents at the Hikari Kikan office were destroyed by us just before the British Forces landed at Bangkok. After 20th I did not received any further communication regarding this. I kept touch with General Bhonsle for about a month after which time the British landed at Bangkok and I was arrested and put in Bangkok jail. I was detained in Bangkok jail till January 1946. During this time I was very frequently interrogated by the British Intelligence. They were keen to know the movements of Netaji about which I told them that I had no idea. Then I was transferred from Bangkok jail to Singapore jail where I was kept in detention till June 1947. I was detained as a suspected war criminal. But I was released in July 1947. Although I was only a Captain and a junior officer in the Hikari Kikan, I was kept as a special prisoner for the reason that I had personal contact with Netaji from the very beginning till the very last. Mr. T. Negishi was a civilian. Before the war he was in the service of the Mitsu Bishi Shoji Co. Ltd. and he was in Calcutta before the war. As soon as it was learnt that Netaji was coming to East Asia, the army felt the need for a better interpreter who could speak English fluently. This was necessary as the number of good English interpreters in the Hikari Kikan was limited. At that time Mr. Negishi was in the service of the Rangoon Branch of the said Company. He was recommended by General M. Senda who was adviser to Netaji. As soon as Netaji arrived in Singapore in July 1943, Mr. Negishi was posted to Netaji's staff and he took up residence in Netaji's house. Being a civilian and being experienced in the business line, Mr. T. Negishi was a good personal friend of Netaji joking with him frequently, and Netaji appreciated him very much. Mr. Negishi accompanied Netaji on his missions to Tokyo twice including the historic East Asiatic Conference which was held in November 1943. During Netaji's last flight from Saigon to Bangkok after the Japanese surrender, Mr. Negishi accompanied him

M. /MA /

305

from Singapore to Bangkok and stayed overnight in Bangkok and then flew with Netaji to Saigon. He did not return to Bangkok but stayed on at Saigon as a civilian. General S. Isoda returned to Bangkok after seeing off Netaji at Saigon. He returned to Bangkok on the following day. He was also detained in the Bangkok jail.

Certified that the above statement is correct to the best of my knowledge and recollection.

*K. Kunitzuka*

K. KUNITZUKA.

(300)

NETAJI ENQUIRY COMMITTEE

Evidence of Lt. N. B. Dass, formerly belonging to  
the Supreme Command of the Indian National Army.

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I first met Netaji on the 17th July, 1943 in Singapore. On the 7th of December, 1943, I went with the Advance Party to Burma. I was working in the Quartermaster's Branch of the Supreme Headquarters. I visited various places in Burma in connection with secret service work. I also visited the Arakan front with Col. Raturi's unit. Later we had to return to Rangoon. My job was to collect intelligence from military as well as civilian population. In Siam and Saigon we were contacting civilian population and watching shops etc. At that time I knew Malayan, Thai language, Siamese and Japanese. Later on I returned to Bangkok. At that time I had no particular work in Bangkok. I was sitting at the aerodrome and talking to a Japanese and I saw two aeroplanes at the aerodrome. Probably it was 16th or 17th of August, 1945. In one plane I saw Netaji and General Kimora take off and in other plane Lt.Col. Habibur Rahman and some other Japanese officers. There was no other Indian officer in either of the planes. I was at a distance of approximately one hundred yards from these aeroplanes inside the aerodrome. Just as Netaji was getting inside the plane, he told me, "Don't worry, we will ~~xxx~~ again meet in due course of time, Jai Hind, Jai Bharat." The Japanese to whom I was talking was a good friend of mine. He had worked with me in the Arakan front and his name was Timeotoo. He belonged to the Intelligence Department. Lt.Gen. Kimora was a brigadier in the Japanese Army and he was commanding armies in Burma, Saigon and Bangkok. I was told by a Japanese friend that he was General Kimora.

I did not know him personally.

Then these two planes flew off in two  
different directions.

I was recruited in the R.I.S.C. as a clerk in 1940. Before that I was an accountant in the Urban Cooperative Bank in Chittagong. I am now an Agent in the Aryasthan Insurance Co. My age is now 52.

I learnt Japanese, Malayan and Burmese while in military service. Asked by the Chairman, the witness could not say the Japanese words for "please sit down" or "water".

Questioned by the Chairman about certain points which Lt. Das made in his written statement in respect of the Manchuko hill top, Lt. Das said that he learnt these things from the Japanese and he had no personal knowledge of the planes that flew over Manchuko.

Admitted Correct.

Lt. B. Dass  
23/4/56

Statement by Shri Shri Himangsu Kumar Roy,  
Superintendent, Government Railway Police,  
Howrah, recorded on 24th April at 11 A.M.

In 1944 I was drafted in the Foreign  
Section of the Intelligence ~~Bureau~~<sup>Branch</sup> dealing with  
external intelligence in the Far East. I was  
then an Inspector. In 1945 I was a member  
of the party that was sent to the Far East  
to secure the arrest of Netaji.

There were two parties- one led by  
Mr. Finney and the other by Mr. Davies. I was  
a member of the second party. In Mr. Finney's  
party were Mr. Nagina Singh Inspector and  
Mr. Kalipada Dey, Sub-Inspector, & in Mr. Davies'  
party, myself and Sub-Inspector Pritam Singh.  
Although the Central Intelligence were aware  
of the alleged plane crash and death of Netaji,  
they did not believe it and considered that it  
might have been a hoax. We were sent to arrest  
Netaji and to find out the truth or otherwise of  
the statements about the death of Netaji which had  
been broadcast.

On 13th September 1945 both the parties  
together started from Calcutta. After a short stay

309

at ~~Cox Bazar~~ <sup>Chittagong</sup> Aerodrome, we reached

Muktima Aerodrome at about 5 P.M. the same day. We had to halt there for the

following day on account of inclement weather. We arrived in Rangoon on the

15th. Both the parties stayed together.

We waited in Rangoon for a day or two.

Then we left for Bangkok. We reached

Bangkok on 16th or 17th of September. The following day in the morning my party

left for Saigon. We reached Saigon on the 17th or 18th. I started enquiries at Saigon. I enquired of the Saigon

Aerodrome Japanese Military officer and asked

him to produce the list of passengers of the

plane which left Saigon on the 17th of August

with Netaji and Col. Habibur Rehman. He

produced a paper written in Japanese which was

translated with the help of the Interpreter.

// It contained 20 or 21 names. The last two names

// were Chandra Bose and H. Rehman. The other names

were of Japanese. It was the only plane that left



that afternoon. The list was kept date-wise. I think that that particular list was hand-written. From the same office I also seized another paper which was a Radio message from Tokyo to Saigon received on the 22nd August as follows:-

"NETAJI BOSE DIED IN AIR CRASH".

It was in Japanese. I do not remember from whom the Radio message originated but it was addressed to <sup>the officer</sup> ~~some~~ Commanding in Saigon.

*D. D. D. D.*  
 24. 4. 56.

written by Clā

Statement by Shri Himangshu Roy, I.P.S.

We interviewed a number of persons, Indian as well as Japanese. Among the latter was one Agasi Kawa, a Japanese civilian Intelligence Officer. I learnt from him that Netaji actually left on the 17th by plane with Col. Habibur Rahman. We stayed at Saigon for about two weeks. I started interrogation with Loko Singh, President of the Indian Independence Mission, Saigon. Then we examined Chandan Singh and a Muslim jeweller. I did not interrogate any of the Japanese except Agasi Kawa. Mr Davies, Pritam Singh and I were interrogating separately. I am not aware whether Mr Davies interrogated any Japanese.

Mr Davies and I proceeded to Taihoku, leaving Pritam Singh at Saigon, on or about the 29th September. There was some delay in obtaining permission from the American authorities who were in control of all the areas above 16th degree of latitude including Formosa and Taihoku was above 16th degree of latitude.

The interrogations in different spots were done by Mr Davies. I did not interrogate anybody myself. I was present only when Mr Davies was interrogating some Japanese officers at the

Taihoku airfield. These were officers who were connected with the aerodrome or were staying there for other reasons and who had witnessed the plane crash. Mr Davies examined three such witnesses in my presence. I do not remember the names and other particulars of the witnesses. Their statements were interpreted by an interpreter. As far as I can remember, the Japanese witnesses stated as follows:

" When the plane was going to take ~~off~~ off from the Taipeh aerodrome, the left propeller flew off when the plane was at a low height. As such the plane came down and it collided with some hard substance and the plane caught fire and Netaji was badly burnt and he was taken to the adjacent military hospital where he succumbed to the injuries on that night." He was badly burnt on the face and chest. I do not remember the details of the treatment. Col. Habibur Rahman was also injured and had burns on his face and hands which I noticed later when he passed through Saigon. The crash took place at 8 or 8-30 A.M. and I was told that Netaji had expired at about midnight.

I was also told that the pilot and some other Japanese officers including one colonel were killed. I think three or four were killed and several others received injuries. We spent only a short time in Taihoku. We reached there at about

11 a.m. in the morning and left at about 4-30 p.m. in the same ~~even~~ afternoon.

After the interrogation which ~~he~~ did not take very long, I was told by Mr Davies not to go beyond the aerodrome.

Mr Davies proceeded with an American officer to the hospital where Netaji had been given treatment. Mr Davies returned after lunch. After he came back, Mr Davies had a talk with me.

He told me that he had interviewed with the Japanese Medical Officer in charge of the hospital and other attendants there. I do not recollect their names. They had confirmed that Netaji had met with the accident in the aircrash, had been taken to the hospital, given treatment there and had expired there.

He did not tell me anything about the details of the treatment given or where he was kept in the hospital. As far as I can remember, Netaji's body was cremated next day or the day following. I cannot recollect ~~whether~~ where it was cremated.

I am not aware whether ~~there was~~ any documentary evidence was obtained at Taihoku. Then I returned to Saigon in November and after that I came to Bangkok and stayed there for about a month. The report was written about Netaji by Mr Finney. The report was written in Bangkok. I did not read the report myself. I came to learn of its contents from my conversation with Mr

Mr Davies and Mr Finney.

Before we left Calcutta a case was made out under the Enemy Agent Ordinance against Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and a large number of his associates including Col. A.C.Chatterjee, Debnath Das and others. These were all civilians. The military officers were being dealt with separately. The report was submitted to the Government of India. The conclusion was that the officers were satisfied that Netaji died in aircrash and thereafter the case against Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and others was dropped.

I did not see the crashed plane at the Taihoku aerodrome.

I heard at Taihoku that Netaji's ashes were sent to Tokyo as well as such of his belongings as were found in the wreckage of the plane.

I did not make any statement to the press about these matters.

*D. S. D. S.*  
24. 4. 56.

Statement by Shri Kalipada Dey,  
Inspector, Enforcement Branch,  
Calcutta.

In the middle of 1945 I was an Inspector attached to the Intelligence ~~Bureau~~<sup>Branch</sup>, Bengal and my services were lent to the Government of India, Home Dept. Our party had two I.P. officers. It was headed by Mr P.S. Finney and another officer. I do not remember definitely the name of the other officer. It may be Mr Adams. The party consisted of Mr Finney as in charge, Mr Adams, two Inspectors from Bengal Police, namely, Shri H.K. Roy and myself, and two Inspectors from the Punjab Police, namely Nagina Singh and Pritam Singh, I think and one European Wireless Operator.

The party started perhaps on the ~~14~~ 13th September, 1945 from the Dum Dum airport, Calcutta. Our party was attached to the British Military Mission. We left Dum Dum at about 8 A.M. on 13.9.45 and after halting for a short time at Chittagong and another aerodrome, reached Rangoon at 3 P.M. on the same day. We waited at Rangoon one or two days and then we flew to Bangkok. At Bangkok our party was divided into two groups. Our party consisted of Mr Finney, Nagina Singh, myself and the wireless operator. The other party was headed by Mr Adams and included Shri H.K. Roy and Pritam Singh. They went to Saigon and our party stayed

Kalipada Dey  
24/9/45

behind at Bangkok. We were daily in touch with the party at Saigon and with the Fort William, Calcutta, by wireless. At Bangkok we made enquiries regarding civilian personnel attached to the Indian National Army. We also made enquiries about the alleged death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. From the interrogation of several persons, I remember that they told us that Netaji had arrived at Bangkok on the 17th August, 1945. From there he went to Saigon and had flown for Tokyo. I remember to have seen some Japanese documents handed over to us by the British Military Mission which was operating in the area and interrogating the military personnel.

It was a wireless message from Taipeh. I do not remember whether the wireless message that was given to us was written in English or Japanese.

The message conveyed the information that ~~Netaji~~ the plane carrying Netaji had crashed at Taipeh. It gave the names of other persons who were also in the same plane. The name of Col. Habibur Rahman was also mentioned in the message. The message was received perhaps on the 22nd of August. It stated that the plane had crashed on the 18th and Netaji had expired the same day. The message contained some information about other Japanese personnel but I do not remember that. We did not get any further information from Bangkok. After three

*Netaji had been  
24/8/45*

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317

or four weeks the Saigon party returned to Bangkok. At Bangkok the report of the Saigon party was incorporated in the report of Mr Finney. So far as I can remember, I learnt from Mr Finney that the other party which went to Saigon could not proceed beyond Saigon due to unsettled conditions. I did not see the whole report which Mr Finney had written but I saw parts of it as I helped him write out the report. The report was mostly written by Shri H.K. Roy and revised by Mr Finney. The report was definite that Netaji was dead. The report was submitted to the Government of India, Home Department.

Our enquiry related to civilian personnel of the INA and the military personnel were, being dealt with separately by the military units.

We were in Bangkok up to 3rd or 4th of November, 1945 when both the parties returned to Calcutta at a few days' interval.

I have seen the press statement which appeared in <sup>a</sup> Calcutta Paper~~s~~, the Ananda Bazar Patrika, on the 17th of April, 1956. The report as it appeared in the paper is incorrect on many points. ~~We~~ did not make the statement. ~~We~~ have nothing to do with that statement.

Kalipada Roy  
Insp. S.P. Calcutta.  
24. 4. 56.



Witness No.16.

Statement by Shri S.M.Goswami, Ex-Special Officer, Anti-corruption, Government of West Bengal, at present a merchant in Calcutta.

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Shri Goswami: I record my protest that a statement from New Delhi has been issued on the 1st of April, 1956, in the Amrita Bazar Patrika - the source of which is unknown - in which it has been stated in the concluding paragraph, "it is now known that when the Mongolian Trade Union Delegation visited Peking last year (the photo was taken at that time), Mr Raghaban, India's ambassador in China, met them. Mr Raghaban was a Minister of Netaji's Azad Hind Government."

Chairman: This Committee is not aware of the source from which this statement was made.

Shri Goswami: Has the Committee come across any rejoinder by me published in the Hindusthan Standard on 5.4.56?

Chairman: We have not seen it or considered it.

Shri Goswami: A news item dated 6th April from New Delhi says that the Netaji Enquiry Committee today examined Shri Debnath Das who was an adviser in the Provisional Government of the Azad Hind. The Committee has started a thorough examination of the photographs taken at Peking during a visit of a Mongolian Trade Union Delegation whose leader is said to have the resemblance of Mr Subhas Chandra Bose. The Indian Embassy staff who were in the photograph are being contacted to enlighten the Committee. Mr C.Raghaban, former Indian Ambassador in China, who was the Finance Minister of Netaji's Azad Hind Government, is one of those seen in the photograph.

Chairman: This statement was not issued by the Committee.

Shri Goswami stated that he does not believe that the plane carrying Netaji actually crashed.

*SS*  
*20/4/56*

In 1949 I went to Germany and there I came across a gentleman by the name of Heins Von Have who told me that Netaji was alive. After my return in 1949 I gave a statement to the press stating that Netaji was alive as the German civilian revealed to me and this is incorporated in my book "Netaji Mystery Revealed" on pages 11 and 12. (Shri Goswami presented the Chairman and the members of the Committee with three copies of his book). Then in 1953 when the news of depositing of the ashes of Netaji in a temple first came out in the papers, I immediately flew to Tokyo. There in company with Mr V.B.Seth, Director of the Indo-Japanese Brotherhood Association and many other gentlemen I went to see the priest of the Renkoji temple. There I cross-examined the priest and immediately on my return to India I made out a statement which was published in the Hindusthan Standard on 5.4.53 (vide pages 21 and 22 of my book). I found out from the priest that one Ramamurti deposited a box on the 18th of September, 1945. I was very surprised to find that a fresh oil cloth was covering the box and with the butt end of a pen it was written thereon "Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's ashes". I cross-examined the priest to know whether that was the box that came in 1945 to which he answered in the affirmative. Then I asked whether the wrapper was there in 1945 and the priest also answered that in the affirmative. I asked him whether the cover had been changed and the priest answered in the negative. But I could see that the oil cloth was fresh and milk-white and any oil cloth of eight years' standing would definitely turn creamish which would be corroborated by any scientist. The priest told me that Mr Ramamurti occasionally used to come here, close the doors, get the box in front of him and pray in front of the box. So I said that these eight years have passed and how is it that these things never came out in the limelight. You got a box on the 18th September 1945 and in 1953 there is a revelation of the ashes. He said that Ramamurti knows about everything. At that time I searched

26/4/56-

for Ramamurti and I was told that Ramamurti has left for India. He is in the Madras airport running a curio shop and he is the man who embezzled at least four to five crores of rupees from Netaji's Azad Hind Govt fund. No attempt has been made either to seize him or to interrogate him. I made two attempts and once I reported this matter to the Chief Secretary, Mr S.N.Ray and told him that Ramamurti is hanging around the Japanese Consul office to get a visa for going to Japan. But there was no attempt either to get him or to ask him anything and I was told by the Indian citizens in Japan "get hold of Ramamurti, you get Netaji's treasure as well as Netaji".

A man dies once and at a particular time but here in case of Netaji we find that he died on four different dates and five different timings. I shall now place before the Committee all the information I have collected up to now from Japanese sources and from ~~K~~ Kyodo News Agency and whatever has come out in the press.

(1) The official Japanese New Domei Agency stated on the 22nd August 1945 the date of death to be 18th August, 1945 and the time of expiry midnight (Ref. my book - page 41).

(2) The United Press of America gave out the date of death as 15th of August, 1945 and expiry time 9 P.M. (Ref. page 43 of my book).

(3) Col. Habibur Rahman stated the date to be 18th August, 1945, the time of the accident 2-35 P.M. and the time of death to be 9 P.M.

(4) Kyode News Agency in 1955 came out with the statement of two high-placed Japanese army officers, Lt.Gen.Haruki Isayama and Capt. Tano Yoshi Yoshima, declaring that the air accident took place on the 18th August, 1945 at 5 p.m. and Netaji died at 11-30 p.m. (reference - Hindusthan Standard dated 27.9.55).

26/9/56

(5) Shri Velay Uddham, M.P. in a press conference gave out that while enquiring in Japan he was told by Major Sukiama that Netaji died on August 12, 1945 - four days after the atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima (Ref. Hindusthan Standard dated 29.10.55).

(6) The latest statement of Mr S. Muira, Leader of the Japanese War Graves Commission, now touring Manipur, gave out on the 5th March, 1956, that Netaji died in a plane crash on the 19th August, 1945.

(7) On the 7th April, 1956, in the local Press came out a statement from Tokyo. Two of these eye witnesses are reported to be Mr Tsaruta, Army Surgeon of Namon Branch of Taipeh Army Hospital and Mr T. Yoshima, Head Surgeon Captain and gave out that Bose is believed to have died at 7 P.M. on August 18th, 1945.

(8) On 17.4.56 comes the story of a West Bengal Government Police Officer in the press that Netaji died on the 19th August in Taipeh Hospital ~~at~~ 12 to 14 hours after admission.

(9) Shri Hiren Sinha and Shri Deven Das, narrated in Amrita Bazar Patrika on 22.4.56 that the plane crashed at 1-30 p.m. on the 18th August, 1945 and in this respect I emphatically lodge my protest against the paper Amrita Bazar Patrika for giving publicity to this article when the Enquiry Committee is holding its session here and when the matter is under its consideration.

Question by Shri Bose: In the earlier part of your evidence today you have stated that in a photo-print presented by you to the Committee, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is seen. Do I take it that according to you he was a member of the Mongolian Trade Union Delegation that came to Peking in 1952? Is it correct?

Shri Goswami: What he was I don't know. I ~~gx~~ will give you the original documents. I will show it to you. He might be a sight-seer and then just a snap-sho~~x~~t was taken.

*SS.*  
*28/4/56*

Shri Bose: I refer you to page 23 of your book in which you have published an extract from the Indian Life dated 27th February, 1953, that when with the formal cessation of war which followed the atom bomb on Nagasaki and Hiroshima, Japanese forces in Manchuria surrendered to Russian Army in the middle of August, 1945, Netaji wanted to go in hiding but was captured by Russians and removed to a remote part of Siberia under orders of Kremlin. May I know whether you would accept the latter statement as true?

Shri Goswami: I shall not accept the whole thing as true. Netaji was never taken in the prison, he was in Russia in a village. He was with the Kwantung Army originally. That he was in Russian Prison is absolutely wrong. He was never taken a prisoner. Although the Japanese forces in Manchuria surrendered to Russia, they are still prisoners of war and all of them are now armed with Russian guns and armaments and most probably in Sankuri Island and with the cooperation of the Japanese people may enter Japan in near future. There were five lakhs of them. The word "in Russian prison" has been used purposely by the Editor of the Indian Life with some bad motive to go against the communists and the Russians. I know from my subsequent enquiries that this man was hobnobbing with the Americans and declared that the Russians had taken Netaji in prison. This paper is now defunct and I definitely did not give this word personally. It was he who has done it and I am not to be blamed for it. Netaji was very well treated.

In my book on page 41, Mr S.A. Aiyer drafted this Domei Agency News and he said, "I told them, you have lost four valuable days and the more you delay the announcement of Netaji's death, the less chance there is of anybody believing the news. So the sooner you announce it, the better. I dictated the draft, 22nd August.

" Immediately after the news was flashed about

S.A. Aiyer  
26/4/56

(6)

Netaji's death, the Manchester Guardian remarked, "Though Subhas Bose was reported to have been killed in an air crash in Formosa at the end of the war, his body was not found and a legend grew up that he was in hiding. He led a revolt against Gandhi and the ideas of non-violence." (Ref. page 1 of my book).

Shri Bose: Mr Goswami, did you meet Herr Have.

Shri Goswami: Yes, Sir, I met him.

Shri Bose: When did you meet him for the first time?

Shri Goswami: I met him in May 1949.

Shri Bose: Where did you meet him?

Shri Goswami: I met him at Monckeberg-strasse, Hamburg.

Shri Bose: Where was he when the plane crash took place.

Shri Goswami: When the alleged plane crash took place, he was in Tokyo.

Shri Bose: Did Have go to Formosa to make enquiry about the alleged plane crash?

Shri Goswami: He did not tell me particularly whether he went or some other German technicians went there. He said that from his German friends in Taihoku he came to know that there was no such crash in which Subhas Chandra Bose died. The Japanese Foreign Office also asked him not to bother his head over this issue because this was a top secret.

Chairman: Did you go to Formosa?

Shri Goswami: No.

Shri Bose: What was your opinion after your conversation with Herr Have regarding Netaji's reported plane crash?

Shri Goswami: There was no plane crash in which Netaji died and it is not so very much substantiated. When I again visited Germany in 1951 I saw two pictures of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the office room of Mr Heins Von Have. In one picture, Netaji was clad in civilian clothes and at the bottom it was written, 'to my friend Heins Von Have, with kind regards - Subhas Chandra Bose, Berlin 1935' and in

another picture, he was in a military uniform and written 'to my friend, Heins Von Have, Tokyo 1943'. I asked Mr Have wherefrom did he get those pictures. He said that he got them from a common friend of ours. I asked him whether he remembered what he told me in 1949. He said, 'yes, I told you that it was a stage play. He did not die of any air-crash but if he has died a natural death or whether he has been shot dead by the Japanese he does not know. He said - I confirm now that he is alive.

I will now come to another very important matter. I have with me a booklet entitled 'Trade Union Delegation in China' published by the Workers' Press, Peking, China, September 1952. In that booklet at page 4, is a picture an enlargement of which I have filed to this Committee, in the figure third from the left has a striking resemblance to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. I received this booklet in 1955. I had made copies of this picture and circulated them to various persons, both in Calcutta and outside, who knew Netaji very intimately and who all endorsed my view that central figure is of Netaji. I also sent copies of this picture to the members of Parliament and many have agreed with my view that the person third from the left has striking resemblance to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. On the 4th October I called a press conference and released to the press this picture.

Chairman: Did you show this picture to Major General J.K.Bhonsle and what was his remark?

Shri Goswami: I showed him this picture and he said that the face has striking resemblance to Netaji but the legs as they appeared to him were either injured legs or something. The face was definitely of Netaji.

Shri Maitra: Did you enquire of the Workers' Press, Peking, as to the identity of the persons in the photograph?

Shri Goswami: No.

Chairman: Did you show this picture to Shri S.A. Aiyer?

Answer: I did not show this picture to him. I have never met him.

Chairman: Did you show this to Shri Debnath Das?

Answer: No I have not met him.

Chairman: Are you aware that Shri Debnath Das lives in Calcutta?

Answer: Since Debnath Das came out with a statement after a lapse of about nine years ~~xx~~ that it is the Japanese who have poisoned Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, I was trying to contact him but I could not get him. Since then I was told that he has taken up a Government job in the Community Project and I did not pursue the matter.

Chairman: Did you show this picture to Shri Suresh Chandra Bose:

Answer: Yes, he was maintaining a rigid silence.

Chairman: Did you show this picture to Shah Nawaz Khan?

Answer: Yes.

Chairman: What was his remark?

Answer: His remarks were that the face appeared to be that of Netaji but the shoulders were rather narrower than those of Netaji.

Chairman: Did I make any remarks about the legs?

Answer: No.

Shri Maitra: What other steps did you take to establish the identity of the person in the photograph?

Answer: I went to the Chinese Embassy, in New Delhi and also the Consulate office in Calcutta to ascertain this particular person. They informed me that they will write to Peking and get the particulars. They took down my address but up till now I have received no reply from them.

I also contacted Shri ~~xxx~~ H.V. Kamath asking him if he could manage to get some particulars from the Chinese Embassy. After this I called for a press conference and



(9)

issued this to the press which was published in the Hindusthan Standard, Ananda Bazar Patrika and some other papers. I gave a paper clipping, a book of mine entitled 'Netaji Mystery Revealed' and a photo in the hands of Mr Shah Nawaz Khan to be handed over to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. On my arrival in the month of November 1955 in Delhi I enquired of Mr Shah Nawaz Khan whether he had handed over the picture with my paper clipping and the book to Pandit Nehru. I got the reply in the negative. Then I handed over the picture, my book with a letter to Pandit Nehru personally. In the letter I made a request to the Prime Minister that no useful purpose will be served by this Commission going to Japan. Instead of that I suggested that that particular bald-headed gentleman resembling Netaji be invited to India through diplomatic channel. The Prime Minister through his Joint Secretary replied to my letter on the 5th of January, 1956, stating that my suggestion has been ~~xx~~ noted but to my great surprise I find that it has not yet been translated into operation up to now. When I could not do anything from the Government level, I placed the matter in the hands of six members of the Parliament to press through the Parliament and the result was the setting up of this Enquiry Committee.

Shri Bose: Mr Goswami, I am referring you to page 44 of your book to an extract from Major General Shah Nawaz Khan's book entitled "~~the~~ Azad Hind Army and Netaji". Will you please read it out?

Shri Goswami: "Col. Rahman stated that the plane started from a Formosa airfield on way to Tokyo. Suddenly something struck the plane. The impact seemed to be heavy. It was Col. Rahman's belief that a buzzard had descended upon a wing of the plane. The plane at the time had reached the height of 300 feet or so. The impact brought down the plane on a small hill near the airfield and the plane immediately

J.G.  
26/4/56.

caught fire. Rahman jumped out of the burning plane and extricated the wounded Netaji out of the flames. Col. Rahman too received some burning injuries. Scars on his hands and face bear testimony to the fact. Rahman goes on describing the incident by saying that Netaji received head injuries at two spots. The injuries were too serious yet he was completely in senses for full half an hour. Thereafter he collapsed into unconsciousness. Both of them were hustled off to the same hospital and six hours after admission Netaji breathed his last."

On page 43 - Netaji left Singapore as per Domei News Agency, S.A. Aiyer, Col. Habibur, Col. Pritam Singh and Japanese Negoshi, Interpreter accompanied him. According to United Press of America Netaji left Singapore on the 13th August, vide page 43 of my book.

I request the Committee to inspect the wrist watch which has been handed over by Habibur Rahman to late Sarat Chandra Bose and after that most probably kept in the Netaji Bhawan in the Elgin Road or in late Sarat Bose's family custody. It will be seen from the photograph of the watch itself that it is a rectangular wrist watch. I shall give you here some new. Netaji up to the last day of his leaving even Bangkok was wearing a round wrist watch of fairly big size which was presented to him by late Rai Bahadur Janaki Nath Bose: and this wrist watch was seen on the 16th August in his wrist and so how is it that Habibur Rahman handed over a rectangular wrist watch saying that Netaji's wrist watch.

Shri Bose: He may have more than one wrist watch.

Shri Goswami: He was not a man to use more than one wrist watch or more than one fountain pen. It is well known fact that a rectangular small wrist watch was handed over to Sri Shah Nawaz by Col. Rahman saying that the same was Netaji's watch. Mr Shah Nawaz handed over the same to late Bhulabhai

20/9/56

Desai for handing over to late Sarat Bose. I request this Committee to get a picture from Mr Arabinda Bose in which the picture of that wrist watch handed over by Habibur Rahman was given. Netaji always wore a round wrist watch. I can prove that he was wearing a round wrist watch till the last day up to 16th August.

Chairman: Are you aware that Col. Chopra was arrested with the rest of the INA men in Rangoon in April 1945?

Shri G. Swami: I am not aware of that.

Netaji had a reading glass and a silver cigarette case with him. Where did they go? If the wrist watch could be taken out, the reading glass which used to remain in his breast pocket and the cigarette case could have been equally taken out.

Chairman: You wrote a book entitled Netaji Mystery Revealed. When did you write this book?

Answer: On 23rd April, 1954.

Chairman: Opposite page 8 of your book you have given a photograph of some Chinese Generals and in that photograph underneath you have written third from the left in the second row. What exactly is the implication of this?

Answer: They said that it was the photograph of the Chinese Liberation Army fighting against Chiang Kai Shek. The picture third from the left in second row very much resembles Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the implication is that it is his photograph. It looks very much like Netaji.

Chairman: You have also produced before the Committee a photograph of a Mongolian Trade Union Delegation who visited Peking in 1952 in which you have suggested that the third man from the left bears a striking resemblance to Netaji. Is it your contention that the photograph of the Chinese General and the Mongolian Trade Union Delegate are one and the same person?

Answer: Yes, Sir.

Chairman: Can you throw any light on how the General of the Chinese Army became a delegate of Mongolian Trade Union Delegation?

Answer: Yes, right from 1947-48 this particular gentleman resembling Netaji has been fighting for Mao Tse Tung against Chiang Kai Shek. There may be some difference in the face as one is of 1947-48 and the other is of 1952, which is after a lapse of five years. When Mao Tse Tung settled down in New China, the question of fighting does not arise and therefore the particular Mongolian Trade delegate seen in the picture may not be in full military uniform but is at least wearing a dress which is worn by Mr Chau En Lai and other top ranking Chinese officials.

Shri Bose: Mr Goswami, I refer you to page 41 of your book in which the headline is "USA contradicts". Would you please give us the gist of the contents noted therein?

Shri Goswami: On 29th August, 1945, the Associated Press of America from New Delhi gave the following statement.

"An American correspondent asked Shri Jawaharlal Nehru about his mental reaction on Subhas Chandra Bose's activities. The correspondent emphasised that Subhas Chandra Bose was not dead. He was alive and probably at Saigon.

"He however went on holding that Subhas Chandra Bose ought to be treated as a war-criminal, as his men had caused murder to many American and he himself had forcibly extracted money from the poor in Malay and Burma."

Page 42 - "London, 2nd September (Reuter) - Sunday Observer's correspondent at New Delhi declares that war councils - both British and American- attach little credence to the Japanese news that Shri Bose has been killed in an air accident. U.S.A. has strongly resented

26/4/56

the request made to Jawaharlal Nehru for releasing a .  
condolatory message in honour of Shri Bose and asserted  
that Shri Bose should be tried as a war criminal and there  
were enough evidence to show that Shri Bose was found in  
Saigon even some days after the Japanese Radio announced  
his death to the world."

Shri Goswami: In conclusion I hereby emphatically  
declare that if the authorities give me the proper  
facilities and necessary help, I am prepared to get in  
touch with the Chinese Government at Peking and am prepared  
even to bring this man resembling Netaji to India at my  
own cost to dispel the doubts from the minds of the people  
of India.

*Shri Goswami*  
*26/4/56*

Second statement of Shri Goswami, recorded at Calcutta on 9th June 1956 at 4 P.M.

One gentleman by the name of Captain Rao took all the belongings of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Singapore after Netaji's departure on 16th August, 1945 and reached them to Shanghai in the year 1945. This gentleman was a Captain in the first World War in 1914-18 and was an INA officer in the Second World War. Captain Rao made attempt to contact Netaji in China through Burma and Shan States two or three times but he failed. He was sent to India in 1954 as he was caught while sneaking his way to China and he was externed from Burma for that reason. He made an attempt here to again go back to Burma but he was refused visa. I met him in Sealdah along with late Taranath Roy, the Manager of Bashumuti. After that I saw a Post Card written by Capt. Rao from Margharrita in Assam wherein he stated in an indirect language that he tried every possible way to pass through Assam-China border to China but he could not succeed and the only course left open to him was to become a Christian and thereby possibly he could cross the border as a missionary. (The Post Card referred to was addressed to late Taranath Roy). After that in his (Rao's) last letter which was shown to me by late Roy, he stated that all his attempts to cross the border had failed and that he was living in a village in Manipur. After giving my evidence before this Committee on the 24th of April, I was told by late Taranath Roy (Shri Roy died in the month of May) that whether I could proceed to Assam where someone would meet me either at Gauhati or Shillong and give me detailed confirmation about Netaji's existence in China. As it was not possible for me to proceed immediately, I told him that I would proceed in the last week and distinctly gave him the date either 29th or 30th of May and requested him that his representative or his agent in Assam may be informed to meet me at the State Transport Office, Gauhati, Assam. I met his agent accordingly at the State Transport Office at Gauhati on 30-5-1956 at about 11-30 A.M. This man appeared to be a Khasia or may be some hill-man. I cross-examined him and he confirmed that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is in China and that he visited Assam-China border in the past. I asked him where he lived....

*Shri Goswami*  
17.6.56

lived. He said that he lived very near to Assam-China border. He did not give me his home address. He was a thin chap about 5 ft. 6 inches in height, of dark complexion and aged between 32-35. He did not speak English well. He was wearing trousers and a bush-shirt. I did not ask his name because I was in a hurry and moreover, as the meeting had been arranged by late Taranath Roy for me, I did not consider it necessary to ask his name and address etc.

Question by Mr. Maitra. Did he mention at what point he saw Netaji.

Reply : I asked him if he had seen Netaji himself. He said that some of his friends who live in a village on the border, had seen Mr. Bose along with some Chinese Officers. From him all I could gather was that everyone living in village on the border knew that Netaji was in China and he used to come sometimes on other side (China) along with others. That man had told me that his friends had seen Netaji in the uniform of a Military Officer. He was accompanying other Chinese Military personnel.

Question : Did you get any indication at what point of Assam-China border, Mr. Bose is supposed to have been seen ?

Reply : I did not get any indication.

Question : When was Mr. Bose seen ?

Reply : My impression is that it must be between 1954-55.

Question by Chairman: Can you produce the letters of Capt. Rao ?

Reply : No, because they were all addressed to late Taranath Roy. I think the last letter written was in an envelope, the previous two were Post Cards and the language was indirect. In this connection I would refer to a statement made by Phizo in the Anand Bazar Patrika in which he emphatically says that Netaji Subhas Bose has not died in a plane crash but is in Outer Mangolia or may be in Indo-China. I would request the Committee to get hold of the Anand Bazar Patrika of 1-5-1951.

Question : Have you attempted to contact Phizo ?

Reply : No, how can I, but one thing I contacted some Military Officers at Shillong. I have given a statement in Shillong which was published in Assam Tribune and Shillong Times of 2nd June, 1956.

I.....

*12/6/57*  
*S. S. Sanyal*

I would refer to the Committee page 22 of my Book, "Netaji Mystery Revealed" and Sunday Hindustan Standard of 5/4/53, wherein I made observations regarding the box containing the ashes on my return from Japan in 1953. I gave a statement to the Hindusthan Standard that the box containing Netaji's ashes is of 14" x 10" x 10" completely wrapped by a new white oil cloth and on one side is written in Italics "Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's Ashes", but I find from the pictures in the Amrit Bazar Patrika of 5-6-56 that the box held by the priest of Renkoji temple is of a smaller size (9") and the writing is in block letters, only "NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE" which apparently means that the whole box and its relics since 1953 has been changed.

Regarding the photo of the Mangolian Delegate. On the 6th of October 1955, I saw Shri Shah Nawaz Khan at No.2, Moira Street, Calcutta, in the house of Shri Ranjit Bose. During the course of discussions, Shri Shan Nawaz Khan told me that if this particular Mongolian Delegate visited Peking in 1952, the Indian Ambassador, Mr. Raghavan must have had the knowledge. I emphatically challenged that Mr. Raghavan was not the Ambassador then. After that in my letter to the Prime Minister dated 31st December 1955 I wrote that this particular Mangolian Delegate who was lodged in the Peking Hotel refrained from presenting himself or holding discussions with any other delegates altogether 130 in number.

Question : How did you come to know about the activities of this particular Mangolian delegate ?

Reply : From the statement of Lt. N. B. Das made through the press.

Question : How did Lt. Das come to know of the whereabouts of the Mangolian Delegate ?

Reply : It is up to him to answer.

Since then I find in the papers Hindusthan Standard, Calcutta Edition, dated April 1st and also of 6th that statements have been made by the Enquiry Committee that Shri C. Raghavan was the Ambassador (it is not C. Raghavan but N. Raghavan). I challenged the Chairman who denied to have made any statement like this and accused the Press. It is, therefore, imperative that the Press should be asked the source

from.....

*Shri B. Das*  
12/6/58



from where such statements were issued to prejudice the public regarding the gravity of the photographs and its genuiness.

In my press conference on the 4th October 1955 when I released to the press this photograph of the Mangolian delegate with the striking resemblance of Netaji, visiting Peking in May Day celebrations in 1952, I made a request to the Government ~~me~~ to come forward to say who the person is. Up to now, the Government is sitting meticulously silent over the issue. In my evidence on the 24th April, I have again come out with a challenge that I am prepared to go at my cost to China and find out this Mangolian delegate with the resemblance of Netaji and if found Netaji to bring him back at my own cost. All that was necessary from the Government were proper facilities. This has not been responded. Lastly, in all the evidence that has been adduced from Japan and published in the local dailies, it is stated that Netaji breathed his last at 9 P.M. on the 18th of August 1945 though Domei Agency and others categorically stated that he breathed his last at 11-30 P.M. But how is it that Mr. Kunizuka, the Japanese Liaison Officer, heard of Netaji's death over radio transmitted from Formosa on the 18th August at Bangkok at 3 P.M. six hours before the official time and informed the same to Col. Chopra the same evening. Mr. Kunizuka and Col. Chopra it is learnt have given evidence to this effect.

Checked and found correct.

*[Handwritten Signature]*  
17/10/56

*[Handwritten Signature]*  
17/10/56



In Peking the trade union delegations visited many places. Here are the Mongolian and Australian Trade Union Delegations visiting the Peking Union Medical College Hospital.

Statement by Sri Jagdish Chandra Sinha,  
Paikpara Raj, Belgachia Villa, Calcutta  
on 25th April 1956.

In January 1947 the INA reception was held in my house at Belgachia Villa where I met all important members of the INA including the Chairman of this Committee. I had also had occasion to meet Col. Habibur Rehman. As far as I can remember, Col. Rahman told me that he and Netaji were travelling in the same plane which is alleged to have met with an accident. in some airport in Formosa. As a result of the accident Netaji received burn injuries and he was taken to a military hospital nearby along with Col. Habibur Rahman and later on Col. Rahman was told that Netaji was dead. I asked him, "have you seen Netaji's dead body after that or at any time". He said "No, I was not allowed to see the dead body of Netaji". And after one or two days of the incident some ashes were handed over to him alleged to have been the ashes of Netaji and he took them to Japan.

I went over to Japan last year in July 1955 in connection with the World Religionists Conference sponsored by some Japanese people. The delegation included amongst others Mrs. Illa Pal Chowdhury, M.P., Professor Tripurari Chakravarti of the Calcutta University and myself. In Japan, naturally, the main topic in my mind was about Netaji. While in Japan, I tried to contact as many persons as possible to enquire about Netaji's death or if he is alive, to find out any information whatsoever concerning him. I found out that there were two opinions in Japan. Some believe that he is dead. Some believe that he is still alive. This opinion prevailed both amongst the Japanese as well as among the Indians in Japan. One Mr. Nair, who runs a restaurant in Z Avenue in Tokyo, believes that Netaji is alive and he said that he could give you substantial proof concerning Netaji. He did not disclose the reasons for his belief but stated that he would be prepared to submit his proof before the Committee if a committee was at all appointed by the Government of India. Mr. Nair was connected with the Indian independence movement. He had been connected with the Indian

Jehin

Independence League since the time of Shri Rash Behari Bose. I also met a number of Japanese people who also believed that Netaji was alive. These persons I met at a number of places during my tour in Japan but I do not remember their names and other particulars.

I met one Mr. S.S. Virick, an Indian studying in the Tokyo University. His address is c/o Colonel Chatterjee, Military Attache to the Indian Embassy. He was one of the 48 cadets sent by Netaji to Tokyo for military training. He told me that Col. Habibur Rehman came to Tokyo and when he met him he was actually crying like a child with an urn tied round his neck containing Netaji's ashes and that Mr. Virick along with some other Indians met and arranged for depositing that urn containing Netaji's ashes to Renkoji temple in the suburbs of Tokyo. There was some sort of a lottery as to who would carry that urn and Virick's name came out and he carried it to the Renkoji temple. So I told Mr. Virick naturally if he would take us to the Renkoji temple and I am sorry to tell you that he hesitated at first and he tried to avoid us. Eventually he took us to that place. On the 15th of August last year he took us there. Professor Chakravarty, Mrs. Pal Chowdhury and I accompanied Mr. Virick in a taxi. Again, Mr. Virick could not find out the road leading to the Renkoji temple. Fortunately, the taxi driver found it out for us. Renkoji temple is inside Tokyo city but it is approximately 15 miles outside the main town in the suburbs. After we reached Renkoji temple, again Mr. Virick said that that was not the place where they deposited Netaji's ashes. He went round in the locality to find out whether we actually reached Renkoji temple or not but the driver said that it was that temple. Then we were taken inside the main shrine. The temple was a Buddhist temple. At first Mr. Virick was doubtful whether this temple was the Renkoji temple but afterwards he admitted that that was the Renkoji temple. He told us that since first depositing the ashes there in 1945 it was his first chance to visit that place again. And then we asked him whether that was the room where he deposited the ashes. He could not give any satisfactory answer. When I asked him

*Jehin*

where was the exact location or the spot in which the urn was kept. He could not show it to us even. Then we asked him if he would please ask the Chief Priest to see us and in the meantime we found out that in the corner of an almira, a glass case rather, a small box with Netaji's photograph in front of it. So I said to Mrs. Pal Chowdhury and Professor Chakravarty that this must be the urn containing Netaji's ashes otherwise why this photograph should be there. Then the head priest came out to see us. He was very ill on that day and he could not even recognise Mr. Virick as the person who deposited the ashes on that day, nor could he give us any satisfactory proof that those ashes were of Netaji. Of course, he spoke in Japanese and Mr. Virick translated the same to us. The head priest told us that he had no personal knowledge that the ashes which were contained in the urn in the temple were those of Netaji. He was only told that those were Netaji's ashes. Therefore, having studied these two statements, one of Col. Habibur Rahman in 1947, who, by the way, made several confounding statements, and one was that he (Col. Rahman) were at that particular moment the same suit which he wore on the fateful occasion of the air crash, and his clothes were spotless, and also that of Mr. Virick and that of the head priest of the Renkoji temple, I personally believe that Netaji did not die in that air crash. He might be dead later on, under what circumstances not known to us and we are eagerly awaiting the report of the committee on that matter. Also I believe that the ashes alleged to have been kept in Renkoji temple are not those of Netaji because had they been Netaji's ashes as Mr. Virick told me, the person who is in Tokyo for the last three years from today and if he had been really that person who had carried the ashes to the temple, should have visited that temple number of times to pay his homage and respect to that great departed leader.

Chairman: Can you tell us what exactly was the age of Mr. Virick?

Reply: At the time I met him in 1955 he must have been 25 or 26.

Chairman: Did he tell you whether any ceremony was held on the day of depositing the ashes?

Reply: He told me that while placing the urn in the Renkoji temple a regular

*John Virick*

ceremony was performed. He told me that a large number of people, Japanese as well as Indians attended that ceremony.

Shri Bose: Did all of you put up in the same hotel in Tokyo?

Reply: Yes, Professor Chakravarty, Mrs. Pal Chowdhury and I were staying at Marunuchi Hotel in Tokyo.

Shri Bose: When Mr. Nair made the statement regarding Netaji's existence were the other two persons present there?

Reply: Yes, Professor Chakravarty, Mrs. Pal Chowdhury and also Mr. Virick.

Shri Maitra: Is this ceremony going on in the Renkoji temple since 1945?

Reply: Yes, every year it is being held, but Indian Embassy in Tokyo does not seem to take much interest about it.

Shri Bose: Are you one of the proprietors of the Paikpara Raj Estate?

Reply: Yes, I am one of the owners of the Paikpara Raj Estate which no longer exists. We had properties in East Pakistan, West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh. We had zamindari which have been taken over by the Govt. but we still retain houses in those provinces.

Shri Maitra: Do you recollect the names of any of the persons other than Mr. Nair who hold the view that Netaji was alive and gave reasons for such view?

Reply: No.

Chairman: For how many days were you in Tokyo?

Reply: We reached Tokyo on the 27th July 1955, stayed there till the 4th August and then we went round in Japan and came back to Tokyo on the 14th of August and left Tokyo on the 16th night and reached Calcutta on the 17th August.

Chairman: During this time how many visits did you give to the Renkoji temple?

Reply: I paid only one visit.

Chairman: Did you visit any other temple in Tokyo?

Reply: We visited many other temples in Tokyo and other places.

Chairman: How does the Renkoji temple compare with other temples?

Reply: Compared with other temples the Rankoji temple is a very small one. It did not look very important to us at all.

Chairman: Were you satisfied about the way in which the urn was maintained?

*J. Virick*

Reply: I was not satisfied about the manner in which it was maintained in the temple.

Chairman: Were you satisfied that proper respect was being paid to the urn?

Reply: It is kept along with a number of other urns and in a corner and it is not having that proper honour which is due to Netaji if it really contains Netaji's ashes.

Chairman: What was your own feeling?

Reply: My own feeling is that those ashes were not Netaji's ashes. As Col. Habibur Rahman told me that he did not see Netaji's dead body himself, I do not believe that Netaji died in that alleged air crash. Had he died there at the air crash we should have seen photographs of Netaji's dead body and other records should have been available to us by this time because even if Japan was being occupied by allied army at that time, the allied Government must have knowledge that this will lead to a controversy later on in India and there might be some enquiry at a later stage so that they must have kept some records about it which should have been available to us by this time and we are completely in the dark about these things.

Chairman: Do you believe that the plane crash at all take place?

Reply: I believe that some plane crash did take place because I saw some scar marks on Col. Rahman's body. But there is another version of this story also which was given to me at Belgachia Villa in 1947 by Lt. N.B. Das of INA, who told me that Netaji and Habibur Rehman did not take off in the same aeroplane from Bangkok. They went in two different planes and which of these two planes actually crashed he did not know. He told me that both the planes ~~se~~ flew in the same direction from Bangkok but they might have changed their courses later.

Chairman: Did Mr. Das tell you if Netaji said any words to him or any message?

Reply: I do not remember.

Jayadish Chandra Sircar

(34)

Statement by Sri Deven Das, at present engaged in press and publicity business and also a sub-editor of the Howrah Municipal Gazette, 18, Rajballav Saha Lane, Howrah.

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I typed out the article, "How Netaji met with plane accident". This article appeared in the Sunday Edition of the Amrita Bazar Patrika, April 22, 1956. All the information was given by the Flying Officer. I am afraid I ~~xxx~~ cannot disclose the name of the person who gave this detailed information including the sketch of the plane to us. We are pledged to keep this information secret in the interest of that person. He is a Japanese. When we meet him he was not a military officer but he was engaged in doing business. I met him some six months ago ~~probably in the first week of December, 1955~~ which was the last time when I met him. I have no knowledge whether he is in Calcutta or not.

Chairman: Have you any personal knowledge about the accuracy of the information?

Reply: I have no personal knowledge to verify the accuracy of the article or of the details contained in the sketch or the article. This article was written by him in English and after being duly corrected, it was dictated to me and later I typed out this article.



Chairman: Why did you publish this article now when it came into your hands some six months ago?

Reply: He requested us not to publish the article then. Now that there is a fact finding committee, we published it in the public interest for which he has given his consent.

admitted to be  
true statement.  
Deben Das.  
25.4.56.

witness no. 19.

Statement by Shri Hiren Singha, owner  
of a printing press, India Super Printer,  
3, Mangoe Lane, Calcutta-1 on 25th  
at AM

(303)

No 19  
19

Shri Bose: How many men do you employ?

Reply: I have 5 employees.

Chairman: In the Amrita Bazar Patrika of the 22nd April, 1956, you published an article under the heading "How Netaji met with plane accident". Was this article given by you?

Reply: Yes this article was given by me.

Chairman: Will you please let us know how you came to know these things?

Reply: As an admirer of Netaji I had a strong curiosity to know the facts of Netaji's accident and accordingly I met several persons, both Indians and Japanese, in Calcutta and tried to ascertain the truth from them and in that way I got this article.

Chairman: From which particular person you got this article?

Reply: I got the information contained in this article in parts from some Indians and from some Japanese and I put all this information together and gave them out in the form of an article in this paper.

Chairman: When did this information first come to your hand?

Reply: I first came across this

information contained in the detailed sketch of the plane some six or seven months ago from some friends of mine who are both Japanese and Indians to whom I have given a pledge not to disclose their identity. I published this article in the hope that it would be of some help to the Committee in arriving at the truth.

Chairman: Are you aware that without knowing the source of this information this information will have no weight and no value to the Committee?

Reply: I have written in my article that one of those persons was a Japanese flying officer.

Chairman: Is he now at Rajgir?

Reply: I do not know because I am not in touch with him for the last six months.

Shri Bose: Did you happen to meet this officer at Rajgir?

Reply: No, I met him in Calcutta.

Shri Bose: You have no personal knowledge of any statement made in this article?

Reply: No, I have not.

Admitted as  
the statement is true  
Hiren Seagis  
25.4.56.

345



Mr. T. Negishi.

Statement of Mr. T. Negishi,  
7 Old Court House Street, Calcutta,  
recorded on 25th April at 3 P.M.

Before the war, I was in Calcutta in business and Mr. Sendan knew me very well. Mr. Sendan had his own business firm in Calcutta before the war.

At the time when the last war broke out, I was in Shanghai in the same company. Early in March 1942 I was deputed to Bangkok. Later, I was directed to proceed to Rangoon after it had fallen to the Japanese forces. After about six months in Rangoon, I was asked by the Japanese Army in Rangoon to take up the work of an Interpreter and I was posted with the Iwaguro Kikan in Burma in the capacity of a civilian Army attache. I worked there in this capacity for about one year. By that time Mr. Sendan who was the Supreme Adviser to the I.I.L. and the INA at the time of Shri Rash Behari Bose at Singapore, came to know of my presence in Rangoon. Then all of a sudden, I received order from the headquarters of the Hikari Kikan in Rangoon to proceed to Singapore (Shoynan). This was early in April 1943. Then I proceeded to Singapore from Rangoon. There I was told by Mr. Sendan that Netaji would be coming to Singapore soon. I was called to Singapore to be attached to Netaji's staff and be of assistance to him. Mr. Sendan, Col. Yamamoto and I proceeded on a very secret mission to Sabang Island, one of the Japanese naval bases in Sumatara, where Netaji was to land by submarine. I do not remember accurately but I think it must have been sometime round about the 14th April 1943. Netaji arrived there on the expected date. We stayed there for some days and flew to Penang by a special plane. From Penang we flew direct to Tokyo touching French Indo-China and Hainan Island in South China. We landed at Hamamatsu Army aerodrome, spent the night there and the next day we arrived in Tokyo. This might be towards the end of April or early in May 1943. We stayed at the Imperial Hotel. Netaji's party which included Col. Hassan, Col. Yamamoto, Mr. Sendan, a Japanese Lieut. and myself, all stayed at the Imperial Hotel. Netaji had certain consultations with the Japanese Government including the Foreign Minister as well as top military & naval commanders. Netaji's real name was not disclosed till then. His disguised Japanese name was Matsuda. Our stay in Japan was for about one month. Announcement about Netaji's arrival in Tokyo was made all of a sudden on 28th May 1943 and it appeared simultaneously in all Japanese papers and it was also broadcast from all Stations in Japan. After staying for one month in Japan, Netaji went direct to Singapore. I accompanied him. I do not remember it accurately but I think it was most probably via Formosa on our way to Tokyo. On our first trip we also touched Formosa and Netaji shaved off his beard. It was at the Railway Hotel, Taihoku, Formosa. We arrived in Singapore on 2nd of July 1943. I continued to be attached to the Netaji's staff. I was with Netaji for about nine months working at his official residence, Mayor Road, Singapore. I was acting more or less as a Personal Secy. to Netaji. I stayed in Singapore throughout this period except for one trip to Sumatara where I accompanied Netaji. I also accompanied Netaji to Bangkok once. Soon after Netaji's arrival in Singapore, Prime Minister, Tojo, also came to Singapore. When Netaji moved his headquarters to Burma, I remained behind in Singapore. This was in the beginning of 1944. I stayed behind in the headquarters of Hikari Kikan in Singapore. On his return from Burma in 1944 I was again sent to Netaji's bungalow in Singapore for a short time. In October 1943 Netaji went to Tokyo for the Greater East Asia Conference as an observer. I accompanied him. During this trip as far as I can remember, we touched Formosa. We landed at Taihoku aerodrome. A reception in Netaji's honour was arranged by the Governor General of Formosa, Admiral Hasegawa. We also met here a civilian interpreter officer in Formosa. I do not remember the name but he was attached

to the Governor General's office. We reached Tokyo and stayed there for one month.

The Greater East Asia Conference was attended by Mr. Wang Chin Wei of Nanking Government, President Laurel of Philippines, Dr. Ba Maw of Burma and Prime Minister of Manchuria, Mr. Chang Ching Ching. On that occasion the house of Count Shibuzawa, then the President of the Bank of Japan, was placed at the disposal of Netaji. On the return journey Netaji was the State guest at Nanking, China and later at Philippines. He also visited Shanghai on the invitation of the Mayor of Shanghai, Mr. Chin Kung Ko. We returned to Singapore in the middle of December 1943.

We stayed in Singapore for some time. Early in 1944 Netaji moved his headquarters to Burma and I stayed behind in Singapore.

After the Greater East Asia Conference, I also accompanied Netaji to Bangkok as a State guest of the Siamese Government. Netaji paid his third visit to Japan in November 1944. This was after the strategic retreat of Japanese and INA forces in Burma. He went to Tokyo to have strategic discussions with the Imperial General Headquarters, Tokyo. During this trip too, we followed the usual course, Bangkok, Saigon, Taihoku and Formosa.

By that time General Tojo had resigned and General Koiso had taken over the premiership of Japan. The main purpose of Netaji's visit this time was to ascertain the views of General Koiso for the Provisional Govt. of Azad Hind. During this visit, Netaji met almost all the important dignitaries including General Koiso, Field Marshal Sugiyama, Chief of Imperial General Staff, Mr. Togo, then Foreign Minister. I was not present at any one of those meetings. At that time, the war situation was deteriorating rapidly from our point of view, but I did not observe any weakening in the determination of Netaji. The proof of Netaji's determination to continue the struggle can be observed from his actions that he went to inspect young Indian boys who were under military training in the Japanese military academy in Tokyo. He paid the keen attention for them.

I do not know the details of discussions that Netaji had in Tokyo. After about one month's stay in Tokyo Netaji returned to Singapore via Shanghai. Netaji's intention for visiting Shanghai was to purchase medicines for the Indian National Army. We returned from Tokyo some time in the beginning of December 1944. After a few days Netaji again left for Burma and I stayed behind in Singapore. Next time I met Netaji in Singapore was some time in June 1945. At that time Netaji was not in good mood. Some time after his arrival in Singapore, Netaji went on a tour of inspection of INA units on the mainland of Malaya. I did not accompany him on that trip. On 11th of August 1945 we received information through our Ambassador in Thailand that the Govt. of Japan had moved for the acceptance of surrender terms of Potsdam agreement. This news was conveyed to me through the Japanese authorities in Singapore and a special letter marked "Top Secret" was handed over to me for being delivered to Netaji. I at once proceeded to Seramang with that letter and personally handed over that letter to Netaji and requested him to return to Singapore immediately. Netaji returned to Singapore on the 12th August. After his return to Singapore, Netaji was very busy. He hardly slept at all. I was instructed by Netaji to draw from the Japanese Bank a sum of nearly 8 crore yen out of the original State loan of 10 crores from the Japanese Government. At that time, the rate of exchange was 100 yens = Rs.80/-. I drew the money in paper notes and handed over the same to Netaji. That money was expended on the payment of INA and civilian personnel. Netaji left Singapore on the 16th August by an army bomber. The following officers accompanied Netaji:-

Mr. Hassan, Col. H. Rehman, Mr. Ayer and myself.

We arrived in Bangkok the same day. We spent the night and very early next morning, Netaji's

348

Throughout this time I was a civilian.

My first reaction was that the information about the plane crash was a genuine one. I say so because at that time the condition of Japanese aeroplanes was not so good due to heavy duty and wear and tear.

CERTIFIED THAT THE ABOVE MENTIONED STATEMENT IS CORRECT & TRUE TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND RECOLLECTION.

T. Negishi,  
T. NEGISHI.

morning, Netaji's party with the additional personnel including Shri Debnath Das, Col. Pritam Singh, Col. Gulzara Singh and General A. C. Chatterjee flew from Bangkok to Saigon in one plane. I do not remember exactly but I think there were six persons in the party. I am not quite sure but there might have been two planes but all Indian officers were in one plane.

We reached Saigon on 17th of August 1945 in the morning. I went with Netaji. We were put up at a private bungalow in Saigon. As far as I remember, the whole party was accommodated in one house. At Saigon, we contacted the headquarters of Japanese Southern command. The Staff officer representing the Southern Command was present at the aerodrome to receive Netaji and accompanied him to residence. His name was Major Kojima. When we started from Bangkok, we knew that we were proceeding to Saigon to contact the headquarters of Field Marshal Count Terauchi, Commander of Southern Army. Then at Saigon, we requested the Southern Army command to make arrangements for Netaji a special plane to take him.

As far as I could make out, Netaji's intention was to go to Manchuria. He wished to contact Russians because he was convinced that Russia was the only country which would later on fight against Britain. The idea of Netaji in coming to Saigon was that he would contact Field Marshal Terauchi and discuss further plans and also obtain transport.

A special plane was not available. Then the Army headquarters suggested to Netaji that a plane was proceeding to Manchuria with General Shidei on board. General Shidei was supposed to be an expert on Russian affairs in the Japanese Army and was considered to be a key man for negotiations with Russia. It was suggested that Netaji should accompany him to Manchuria.

As far as I remember, General S. Isoda and Mr. T. Hachiya did proceed to Dalat to contact the headquarters of Southern Army.

Col. Habibur Rehman was also accompanying Netaji. Other officers were to continue the journey to Hanoi by another plane. We all went to the aerodrome at Saigon. When we went to the airport, I saw only one aeroplane. It was an army bomber and there were several Japanese officers on board as passengers. Netaji boarded the plane and the plane took off. The take-off was quite normal. I do not remember accurately what Netaji carried but I was told later on by Hikari Kikan people that his baggage included some gold bullion which weighed about 150 kilos. Netaji took some treasure with him and the remainder he left with the party at Saigon for meeting various expenses. So far as I know that bullion came from Japanese sources. I stayed behind in Saigon. I do not remember the ~~EXACT~~ exact time when Netaji's plane took off from Saigon - may be in the morning. On the following day or on the 19th, I received information through Hikari Kikan that Netaji's plane met with an accident and that as a result Netaji had expired. The news was first received at the Japanese headquarters in Saigon who conveyed it to the head of the Hikari Kikan whom I remember to be a young Captain. He conveyed the news to us. This news was not disclosed to the INA officers in Saigon. Only one Mr. Ayer was asked by Hikari Kikan to proceed to Formosa immediately. I do not know why only Mr. Ayer was asked by Hikari Kikan to proceed to Formosa.

I remember the contents of the news also included the information that General Shidei had died and Col. Rehman had received injuries. After a few days, Mr. Ayer left for Formosa.

In the meantime, five officers left for Hanoi. After that, since my duty was over and I was free to ~~join~~ rejoin my company at Saigon.



350

List of witness examined by the Commit

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	
var	4th April 1956.	N
h Das	5th April 1956.	N
ra Singh.	6th April 1956.	N
r Rehman.	6th to 9th April 1956.	New D.
Singh.	10th April.	New Del.
yer.	11th and 12th April, and morning of 14th April.	New Delh
al nsoe.	16th April.	New Delh
A.K. Ga.	16th April.	New Del
Harin .	16th and 17th April.	New Delh
Thakurgh.	17th April.	New Delh
Majumd	20th April.	utta.
unize	23rd April.	utta
. De	23rd April.	itt
. K. I	24th April.	
. lipy.	24th April.	
. M. d.	24th April, and 9th June 1956.	
. C.	April	

No. 20 21

381

Witness No. 21.

Statement of Col. H.L. Chopra, formerly of the INA, recorded on 26th April at 11 A.M. Address: 23 Netaji Subhas Road. Calcutta-1.

Residence  
2, Russell Street  
Calcutta - 16.

My last rank in the INA was that of a Colonel. I was A/Q Supreme Command, Bangkok. I was in Ziabadi on 22nd April when I received a message through Col. Aziz Ahmad that a wireless message had been received that Netaji wanted me in Rangoon. The same night I left Ziabadi and reached Rangoon on 24th morning at about 7 A.M. I went straight to Netaji's residence to make a report but I could not see him then and I was asked to call again at 9-30 A.M. which I did. Col. Mahboob Ahmed Military Secy, INA took me to Netaji and I made my report. Then after the talk I was asked to wait outside and was called again after 10 minutes. I was told by Netaji that with a party I would have to go the same evening, i.e. 24th April 1945. Till then I did not know who was going in the party. <sup>when</sup> At about 7 P.M. at his residence I was told that the entire Govt. was moving and Netaji was also going in the <sup>& that I was to be included</sup> <sup>(was given)</sup> <sup>we</sup> convoy. At that time, <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ order that I received ~~was~~ that we were proceeding to Moulmein. On 25th morning <sup>near Wala</sup> ~~we~~ <sup>reached moulmein</sup> we reached Moulmein. 5 days after Netaji had reached <sup>moulmein</sup> there. Then After a stay of <sup>a week</sup> about ~~10~~ days in Moulmein, say on the 3rd or 4th of May we left Moulmein for Bangkok by road <sup>again</sup> and I was then in charge of the entire convoy. <sup>After a couple of days march official of the Govt</sup> Netaji went by trolley rail and I followed <sup>them by</sup> ~~them~~ <sup>car along with the troops & other transport</sup>. On 18th of May I arrived in Bangkok. Netaji and the entire Government was already there. Netaji was there for a while, then he went away <sup>Sometime in June 1945</sup> to Singapore. We re-formed the headquarters

H.L. Chopra  
26/4/56

of Supreme Command and reorganised our forces and I was appointed A/Q Supreme Command. Then Netaji went to Singapore and he was there for quite a while. Then ~~he~~ came back on 16th ~~of~~ August in the afternoon. I accompanied Netaji on his inspection of the troops <sup>in the Camps</sup>. After the inspection, we <sup>all</sup> ~~returned~~ <sup>went</sup> to Netaji's residence and stayed on for dinner. After the dinner, certain alternatives were discussed- one of them was whether we should surrender to the British. Then Netaji said that he was going to make <sup>certain</sup> contacts. I knew at that time that he was proceeding to Saigon and later to Tokyo. I learnt this from the officers who were accompanying him. The following officers accompanied Netaji from Bangkok. ~~I did not~~ go to the Aerodrome personally but those officers who did and returned to the camp told me that the ~~following~~ officers had accompanied Netaji, ~~on his trip:-~~

- Mr. Ayer, Col. Gulzara Singh,
- Mr. Deb Nath Das, Major Hasan,
- Major Pritam Singh, Col. H. Rehman.

I have no personal knowledge of any Japanese accompanying Netaji but it was a normal custom for the Japanese to accompany Netaji. <sup>as interpreter & otherwise</sup>. I know for a fact that Netaji arrived in Saigon safely. This I came to know from ~~the~~ detachment of troops that we had posted in Saigon. Further I have no information as far as other movements are concerned, except that on the 18th afternoon I met

Major Ran Singh <sup>of the I.N.A.</sup> He said that a

*Mr. Chatterjee*  
*26/4/56*  
*Officer & personnel*

message had been received that Netaji had been killed in an air-crash, and later on, the same day of course, it was confirmed by the Japanese Liaison Officer of the Hikari Kikan at Bangkok, Capt Kunizaka. We received all information through them.

I am definite about the date.

I do not remember the exact date on which Netaji left Bangkok for Singapore. I think he went some time in June. It is difficult to give the date.

I left Moulemein on 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> ~~of~~ May for Bangkok. It may <sup>be</sup> a day this side or that side since it is now a long time past. Unfortunately I never kept a diary.

<sup>Two</sup> ~~Three~~ or <sup>Three</sup> ~~four~~ days after receiving the news, we held a condolence meeting to mourn the death of Netaji in the headquarters of the IIL under the chairmanship of Sardar Ishyar Singh.

It was a very very crowded meeting where all Indians in Bangkok collected. The feeling at that time was, <sup>so charged with emotion</sup> that <sup>we felt that</sup> it was a genuine air crash and Netaji had really died. The whole atmosphere was so charged with emotion that it was very difficult to check one's tears.

A few officers of the Br. Army arrived in the ~~first~~ week of September. On 25th of September 1945 I was taken a

*McCoyson*  
26/4/58

prisoner by the Br. authorities. Eventually, I was flown to the Red Fort to give evidence in the Red Fort trials & *reached Delhi on 11.12.45.*

In 1946 December or Jaauary 1947 I was in Bombay. A statement appeared in the Times of India Bombay. The statement was given by Sardar Sardul Singh Cavesheer saying that he had definite information that Netaji was alive. I was staying in the same <sup>Sea Green Hotel</sup> hotel where Sardarji was staying. I contacted him and asked him as to what the source of his information was. He avoided a discussion with me and the next day he disappeared and I had no discussions with him. Then there appeared another statement <sup>by Sardar Sardul Singh Cavesheer</sup> in the Times of India Bombay to the effect that Netaji <sup>which</sup> was crossing into Mahcnuria ~~from~~ Mangolia and he was shot dead.

I also came across the statement of Mr. Thaver as also the statement of an M.P. from Travancore Cochin. ~~which is given~~ *The latter is quite incorrect.*

I am convinced after seeing the photograph in the Mangolian delegation that that particular photograph is that of Netaji.

I have not seen the watch that was handed over to Babu Sarat Chandra Bose but as far as I know Netaji used to have a round watch. I do not know whether he was using that watch or some other watch at the time of the air crash. As far as I remember he always used to have a round watch. I did not see Netaji using more than one watch.

Netaji used to receive many watches as donations and these used to be presented to officers. Netaji presented a watch to Genl. Bhonsle. *also.*

*1/22/57*  
*26/4/57*

22  
Unenclosed  
22

Statement of Shri Dwijendra Nath Bose,  
No. 2, Woodburn Court, Calcutta-20,  
recorded on 26th April 1956.

It had come to my knowledge that Netaji had received some wrist watches rectangular in shape from Mr. Laurel, then Head of the State of Philippines and that he had distributed them to officers of the I.N.A. and other officers also. You had also one of those watches given to you and I had seen you wearing it till very recently. I have also information that a similar watch was also presented to Col. Habibur Rehman and that Netaji had not kept any of those watches for his <sup>own</sup> use. He had only one solitary wrist watch - gold round Omega wrist watch with a thick glass on it. The <sup>rectangular</sup> watch which was given to Sarat Babu by Pt. Jawaharlal in December 1945 when the latter came to Calcutta to attend the session of the Working Committee, is said to have been given to Panditji by Col. Rehman through, I think, the Chairman. I produce herewith a photograph of that wrist watch. The photograph is contained in the INA Albums Freedom's Battle 1942-45. During the INA Conference here in January 1947 I had a talk with Col. Rehman and I saw him without any wrist watch although he was presented with one such rectangular wrist watch like that by Netaji. I asked him in joke as to whether the rectangular watch presented to him by Netaji was intentionally and sparingly ~~used~~

<sup>burnt</sup>  
by him and eventually handed over  
Dwijendranath Bose.

to Sarat Babu through Panditji to allow it to pass ~~it~~ on as Netaji's wrist watch recovered from his body after the alleged air-crash. I also enquired of him as to what had become of Netaji's reading glasses, silver cigarette case and the three metallic badges which he used to wear always in military uniform during the INA movement. The first badge was the INA cap insignia . Second was the I.I.L. Headquarters badge and the third was the INA rank and file badge. I also enquired of him about the gold round Omega wrist watch with thick glass on it which Netaji always used to carry with him because it had very much of sentimental value for him because it was a gift from his reverre mother. I asked him why were not these articles handed over to Sarat Babu. He of course gave no reply but only smiled ~~and~~ I told him point blank that he could not produce them as they were still with Netaji. I have known from Col. H.L. Chopra of the INA that he had seen the round wrist watch on Netaji's wrist at Bangkok before his departure to Saigon on the 16th August 1945. It passes all my imagination how the rectangular wrist watch which is alleged to have been on Netaji's wrist at the time of accident could have only been slightly damaged such as the watch remaining unbroken and only the fringe of the leather strap being slightly charred at bases,

*a few places*  
 although

*Swijendranath Bose*

although Netaji was alleged to have been severely burnt so much so that it is said that he could not survive for more than six hours. I was one of those nephews of Netaji who was taken into confidence by him in the plans relating to his escape from India in January 1941. When we were discussing the details of the plan, the question of what articles he would carry came up. Netaji insisted that he should carry nothing which would help in his identification, so much so that he even discarded the spectacles which he used to wear in those days, and decided to take out and wear the old spectacles which he used in the Twenties when he was the Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation. But when it came to the question of his round/<sup>Omega gold</sup>wrist watch, he insisted on wearing it. We protested at this. In justification he told us that he would on no account part with that wrist watch as it was a gift from his mother. Other members of our family who were connected in the matter of his escape would surely bear me out on this point. Apart from Col. Chopra, General Shah Nawaz Khan had also told me that he had seen the gold wrist watch on Netaji's wrist when he saw Netaji last.

It is my request to the Committee for the sake of truth and justice to bring down Col. Rehman and I undertake to prove that the wrist watch brought by him and eventually handed over to Sarat Babu belonged to him<sup>(Col. Habib)</sup> and

*Srijindranath Bose*



nobody else. I am ready even to stand his expenses for the journey. The Chairman said that they had already examined Col. Rehman and that he ~~would~~ try for this himself. ~~and~~ I say that the marks of injury and burns on Col. Rehman's body were made artificially. I say that Col. Rehman was tutored by Netaji to give out the story of the so-called plane crash and his death in order to put the Anglo-American forces off his track and also to save the Japanese Government from embarrassment and responsibility. This I say from my personal experience when Netaji tutored me and my cousins regarding the story which was to be given out by us in connection with his disappearance from his Elgin Road residence. I and my cousins had to stick to what Netaji had ordered us to say even when he had safely reached Europe and broadcast from there. As we were ordered to give out about his disappearance from his residence 10 days after his actual departure from there and which we complied with in toto to give him time to get out of India. Similarly, the Japanese Govt. had declared about Netaji's so-called death as per his direction, I say, five days after his departure from Taihoku or some other Japanese area to give him sufficient time to reach a safe place for him.

The chairman agreed to the request of Shri D. Bose that on the committee's return to Calcutta the rectangular wrist watch will be had from Shri Aniruddha Nath Bose when Shri D. Bose will be again called and examined and allowed to conclude his unfinished deposition.

Dwijendra Nath Bose  
26/4/56.

Books tendered to the Committee:-  
Freedom's Battle 1942-45 and The Nation, and the Photograph.

Here Shri Bose showed some photographs of Netaji wearing round gold Omega wrist watch. in  
(1) Photograph Netaji in Berlin 1942.  
(2) " Netaji in Berlin page 20 of the Book The Nation Netaji Number.  
(3) " Netaji broadcasting p 34 of the same Book.  
Dwijendra Nath Bose

Evidence of Sri Dwijendra Nath Bose, 2, Woodburn Court, Calcutta-20, in continuation of the evidence he tendered on 26th April, 1956.

Witness: I repeat that Netaji had at no time used the rectangular wrist watch which the Committee had inspected this morning at the residence of Sri Amiya Nath Bose in my presence. From the two photographs of Netaji shown by Sri Amiya Nath Bose this morning to the members of the committee it could be clearly seen that Netaji had a round wrist watch on his wrist. The photographs tendered by me as exhibits on the 26th April 1956 during my evidence also show Netaji wearing the round wrist watch, such as photographs on page 20 "Netaji in Berlin" and "Netaji broadcasting to India from East Asia on page 34 (The Nation, Netaji Special, 23rd January, 1950.) Another photograph of Netaji in Berlin tendered by me on the same day also shows him wearing the round wrist watch.

(This photograph is marked Exhibit A in connection with the statement of Sri Dwijen Bose.)

Besides the rectangular wrist watch shown by Sri Amiya Nath Bose to the members of the Committee this morning in my presence he had also shown them another round wrist watch given to the late Sarat Chandra Bose by Major Swami of the I.N.A. but that round wrist watch did not tally, as has been noticed by the members of the committee, with the two photographs shown by Sri Amiya Bose, copies where of he has promised to forward to the members of the Committee through the External Affairs Ministry, New Delhi. The said round wrist watch also does not tally with the <sup>the round</sup> wrist watches shown in Netaji's photographs tendered by me. I dare say and I can challenge no one on earth can produce a real photograph of Netaji with that rectangular wrist watch on, which was handed over to Sarat Babu by Sri Nehru. I ask the members of the Committee if they have received any photograph of Netaji with that rectangular wrist watch on. I want

SB

a reply...

a reply from the Chairman

Mr. Chairman: He cannot give a reply to this question as he is not entitled to be a witness in these proceedings.

I had told Habib Sahib that that particular rectangular wrist watch was used by him and was presented to him by Netaji as was also presented to other members of the I.N.A. including the Chairman of the Committee. Habib Sahib had only smiled and did not reply. On inspection of the rectangular wrist watch, *and its photo in the album tendered by me on 26-4-56* it could be seen that it had stopped at about 6 minutes past 1 o'clock and the plane crash is alleged to have taken place about two hours later. Therefore it is quite clear that that rectangular wrist watch did not stop working as a result of the alleged plane crash.

I tender two more photographs of Netaji taken at the Imperial Hotel at Tokyo during a press conference.

Mr. Chairman: Can you give a rough date?

Ans: This was perhaps in the year 1944.

(These photographs are marked Dwijen/Exhibit B and Dwijen/Exhibit C.)

In one of them marked Exhibit B Netaji is shown wearing the round wrist watch. Both these photographs were taken nearly at the same time at the Imperial Hotel, Tokyo. In the photograph marked Exhibit C, pressmen could be seen and in the background the wall of the Imperial Hotel. When the members of the Committee were inspecting the said two photographs and the two wrist watches, the rectangular and the round one shown by Sri Amiya Bose, they also could see and expressed that the round wrist watch shown by Sri Amiya Bose did not tally with the wrist watches shown in the said two photographs.

During my talks with Habib Sahib at Sarat Babu's residence in Calcutta I had suggested to him that Netaji had not met with a plane crash and that he was producing his own wrist watch, a little charred, to pass it off as if Netaji had worn it. I had also told him that if he had tried to extinguish with his palms the fire on Netaji's body the  
*J.S.* inner....

inner side of his palm (~~and far more than the outer side~~  
~~with which no one tries to extinguish fire~~) should have also  
~~and far more than the outer side with which no one tries to extinguish fire.~~ <sup>He</sup>  
been badly burnt. He did not reply of course and I had also  
suggested to him that the sleeves of his tunic which  
according to him was the only one he had in East Asia and  
till then did not catch fire or shrivelled. If it had not ~~ca~~  
caught fire it should have at least shrivelled. This I say  
from my knowledge <sup>of woollen and cotton fabrics!!</sup> as an agent of woolen and cotton mills  
also.

Sri Bose: Was he wearing that tunic at that time?

Ans: Yes, he was.

Sri Bose: What was the nature of the sleeves of that  
tunic - full or half?

Ans: Not half, full sleeves.

Sri Bose: Did you see any damage on the fringe of the  
sleeves?

Ans: No damage; it was intact. Not even the sewing  
had gone out.

Sri Bose: Was he wearing the same pair of trousers  
at that time as he was wearing at the time of the alleged  
plane crash?

Ans: Yes.

Sri Bose: Did you find any damage on any part of it?

Ans: No.

Sri Bose: Did he point out any damage on any portion  
of the trousers?

Ans: No. I had marked his dress with proper scrutiny  
but there was no mark of any damage done to them.

Sri Bose: In that view of the matter did you  
question him why there was no damage on his dress?

Ans: Yes, I did.

Sri Bose: Did he give you any reply?

Ans: He told me "You take it or not I say that  
Netaji died as a result of the plane crash". Then I asked  
him in confidence at least as a member of his (Netaji's)  
family.....

family and being one of the conspirators in helping him (Netaji's) to get out of India he should confide in me as to whether Netaji had died or not. Then Habib Sahib replied "I did not expect such a question from a close relation of Netaji who was also closely associated with him in politics". On that answer I could definitely guess that he was giving out the story of his death being tutored by Netaji because it was on the same lines of tutoring us when he (Netaji) left India in January 1941.

Sri Bose: Did you give out any information as to the manner in which Netaji left India in January, 1941, to any of your relations or friends?

Ans: No, not to anybody including my grandmother, and parents - nobody.

Sri Bose: Why was that so?

Ans: Because that was necessary; I was tutored like that.

Sri Bose: Was there any oath of secrecy or such like thing?

Ans: Yes.

The matter of disappearance without informing people had been, I would say, an usual thing for him. He had left his home in Cuttack during his boyhood when he was in school for nursing cholera patients in the interior of the subdivision of Jajpur. He had never expressed his mind to anybody at that time. He had disappeared also from Calcutta when he was studying in the Presidency College, later on known, in search of a Guru. That too he did without informing anybody or taking anybody's opinion. When he left India in January 1941, he did not take anybody's opinion or inform anybody except his three nephews, namely, Aurobindo, Sisir and myself and neice late Ila who used to look after Netaji, and we were asked not to divulge the matter of his disappearance to anybody even if we were hanged by the British, and we kept the oath of secrecy. I say that Habib Sahib was also under the oath of secrecy and cannot divulge...

*Ans*

divulge about his disappearance.

I was told by late Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, when, as far as I remember, he was a Minister in the Central Cabinet, that he had information that Netaji was alive and that information was also with Sri Nehru and that Sri Nehru was shown a photograph of Netaji with Tibetan Lamas in Tibetan Lama's dress during Sri Nehru's Ladak tour and the photograph was snatched away by Sri Nehru and the person showing the photograph was ordered not to speak about this to anybody. The late Dr. Syamaprasad also told me that at the opportune moment he would come out with all these things to avoid the public being hoodwinked by Sri Nehru.

Mr. Chairman: Do you remember if Dr. Syamaprasad Mukherjee ever came out with that statement which he promised to you?

Ans: No, he did not.

Sri Bose: Could you please give us any reason why Dr. Syamaprasad Mukherjee could not come out with that statement of his which he proposed he would come out with at the opportune moment?

Ans: He did not tell me the reasons. Then I presume he was in the Cabinet and also he thought it fit not to come out with the statement at that time which according to him might have been inopportune.

Sri Bose: When he made that statement to you was he a member of the Central Cabinet?

Ans: Yes, as far as I remember.

Mr. Chairman: May I ask you whether you are aware of the fact that during the last General Elections Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee contested from Bengal on Jan Sang ticket and that he was in the Opposition until he died?

Ans: Yes.

Mr. Chairman: You are aware of it?

Ans: Yes. Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee also opined to me that Sri Nehru and his Government would go on saying that....

*Ans.*

that Netaji was dead and would perhaps try to make some sort of memorials for him in order to convince the Indian public that Netaji was dead. The suppression of this fact that Netaji was alive, according to him, was necessary because Sri Nehru and others in the Government felt that it would be difficult for them to manage the public going against them in case of Netaji's appearance or in case his voice was heard in the radio and that in case Netaji's voice was heard in the radio or in case he marched into India it would be easy for Sri Nehru and the members of his Government to say that the voice heard or the person marching into India was that of an imposter as was done in the case of the Bhowal Sannyasi. The same opinion was also expressed by the late General A.C. Chatterjee of the I.N.A. at his residence in Puri where I and my uncle Sri Suresh Chandra Bose had gone to see him because he was ailing there. He also said that he had definite information that Netaji was alive.

Mr. Chairman: Have you read the book about Netaji and the I.N.A. which General Chatterjee has written?

Ans: No. He also told us that before his disappearance from South East Asia Netaji wanted to contact him for a very important and secret consultation with regard to the opening of the second front and movement of some of the I.N.A. people to the second front and along with him, but General Chatterjee was late in reaching there.

Sri Bose: Do you remember where that second front was desired to be opened by Netaji as stated by General Chatterjee?

Ans: He did not give me the name of the place - it was in Russia.

Sri Bose: Have you any idea how long General Chatterjee survived after that interview of yours?

Ans: I cannot remember exactly, but he died a few months after that. He did not survive long thereafter.

*J.S.*

It is....

It is said that the great Naga leader Mr. Phizo has had contact with Netaji after his alleged death. This was also told by Mr. Phizo to one of my very close relations last year in Shillong where Mr. Phizo had gone for a few hours to meet Mr. Mehdi, the Chief Minister of Assam, and some others with regard to the demands of the Naga people. Mr. Phizo was putting up in side by side rooms with my relation in a hotel.

My contention is that Sri Nehru is suppressing the fact of Netaji being alive to the India public for his own personal ends. He had always been an enemy of Netaji as would appear from his various activities from 1928 onwards. He had betrayed Netaji in 1928 in the Independence Resolution that was brought before the Indian National Congress Session in Calcutta for the sake of getting for him the presidentship of the Congress at the Lahore Congress in 1929. He had betrayed Netaji after having promised to help him after Netaji had resigned from the Congress Presidentship in 1939. In 1942, in a public meeting Sri Nehru had publicly said that he would be the first Indian to take up his sword to fight Netaji unto death if he entered India.

Sri Bose: Where was that meeting held?

Ans: That meeting was held in one of the parks in Calcutta.

Mr. Chairman: When was that?

Ans: In 1942. We were in jail; we read that in newspapers, Hindusthan Standard and Anandabazar Patrika. If you give me time I would give you excerpts of the speeches also.

Mr. Chairman: You can send them to us to Delhi.

Ans: I will do so.

In order to convince the Indian public that Netaji was dead Sri Nehru tried another trick on our family by asking my aunt, late Srimati Bibhabati Bose, through Dr. B.C. Roy to arrange and make a committee also for erecting....

J.B.



erecting a memorial for Netaji and that, <sup>the</sup> would, after we agree to do so, also come to our help in the matter.

Mr. Chairman: Was the committee formed?

Ans: We turned down the proposal. The same game is again being tried by Sri Nehru who had promised to the members of the Parliament that he would ~~appoint~~ <sup>bring</sup> a non-official committee to enquire about Netaji and instead of doing the same he has appointed a committee with no jurists, no eminent High Court or other judges, the two members of the committee (appointed by him) being Government servants.

Mr. Chairman: Are you aware of the fact that one of the members who happens to be your uncle, Sri Suresh Chandra Bose, had been an eminent Magistrate in his time?

Ans: A Magistrate is no jurist; a Magistrate is no Judge. He cannot come up to the standard of Dr. Radha Benode Pal or Sri Phanindra <sup>Prabhu</sup> Nath Chakrabarty of the Calcutta High Court. He cannot come up to Sri Kunzru and <sup>Sri</sup> Jayakar and others. Such people should have been taken. He may be my uncle. With all respects to him he is not of the same calibre with them.

I conclude therefore that Netaji is alive and I have certain other information which I do not want to lay before the Committee lest attempts may be made to kill Netaji.

Mr. Chairman: Opportunities of killing him - by whom? By the Committee?

Ans: By unscrupulous members of the Government, not by the Committee.

What has the Committee got to do with it?

*Dwijendranath Bose*

Sd: Dwijendranath Bose.

21

26th

23

Statement by Mrs Ila Pal Chowdhury, M.P.

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Mrs Pal Chowdhury presented to the Committee a picture of the Renkoji temple and said that she took these photographs herself.

These pictures I took in Japan when I went to attend the World Religionists Conference some time in August 1955. Netaji's ashes are supposed to be kept in this temple.

We went in the morning to the temple and met the old priest who was not very well that day. He spoke in Japanese and it was interpreted to us in English by Mr S.S.Virick, a Tokyo Cadet.

*Sri Jagadish Ch. Saha, & Sri Tripurari Chakravarti also went with me*

*The Priest*

He pointed out the box which contained Netaji's ashes. It was covered with a white sheet and there was a picture of Netaji in front of the box. He showed the box to us. We did not look inside the box. Mr Virick gave the statement before us at that time which is as follows:

"One evening just after the surrender of Japan round 7-30 P.M., C.P.Krishnan and other cadets and myself were in Mr Murti's house when Colonel Habibur Rahman entered carrying a wooden box wrapped in a white linen hanging round his neck. Both his hands were wrapped in handages and one side of his face was burnt and blistered. He was weeping.

This box containing Netaji's ashes later was taken to A.M.Sahay's house at Ogikubo where S.A.Aiyer and Col. Habibur Rahman were also staying. It was decided to place Netaji's ashes in safe-keeping in a Buddhist temple. For this purpose a lottery was held and my name was the first one picket out by the youngest daughter of Mr Sahay. I carried the box containing Netaji's ashes in a jinrickshaw accompanied by a few cadets on bicycles and handed the ashes over to a Buddhist priest at Renkoji temple, ~~Kai~~ Koenji."

Mr Virick said that no ceremony was held but that he went at midnight and handed over the ashes to the priest. The Japanese priest could not recognise Mr Virick at once. I do not know if he did later. It might have been due to the fact that it was dark when Mr Virick delivered the ashes to the priest. Secondly it appeared to us that Mr Virick had not visited the temple very often after depositing the ashes. I got <sup>the</sup> this feeling that the ashes were not Netaji's ashes because the temple was in a very dilapidated condition. ~~It~~ It is a tiny temple in an out-of-the way place. It is almost 18 to 20 miles out of Tokyo, it may be a little <sup>or less</sup> more. The ashes are kept in a casual manner wrapped up in an old chaddar and that dignity which should accompany Netaji's ashes is not there. That is the

feeling which I had and I would like to convey <sup>his</sup> to the Committee.

I also met Mr Nair in Tokyo who has a restaurant in Tokyo. He told us that he worked with Netaji for many years. Mr Nair told us that he had conclusive proof which he could place before any Commission if such a Commission visits Japan to show that Netaji was alive.

I met Swami Satyananda in Tokyo. He was a member of the same delegation. He runs an ashram under the name of <sup>Pure</sup> ~~Poor~~ Life Society somewhere <sup>near Singapore</sup> ~~near~~ Malay. He was convinced that Netaji was dead.

I hope that some clarification will come of this Commission - and I also earnestly hope that Netaji is yet alive & admitted correct.

Jha Palchandhuri  
Jha Palchandhuri

26/4/56.

24

Witness No: 24

370

Statement by Shri Aurobindo Bose recorded at Calcutta on 26th April 1956, and 8th June 1956.

There are two schools of thought - one says that Netaji is dead and the other that Netaji is alive without rhyme or reason. I must <sup>state at the outset</sup> say that I do not subscribe to any of <sup>these</sup> ~~the~~ two schools of thought.

I say that Netaji was a past master in planning secret schemes.

To substantiate this, I will just refer to three important aspects of his activities.

Firstly, the British Government could never get direct clue of his revolutionary activities from 1921 to 1940. Hence, they used to arrest him mostly under Regulation III of 1818;

Secondly, his plan to escape from India in 1941. British Intelligence completely failed to unravel it till the last, and

Thirdly, his submarine voyage from Germany to S.E. Asia was also another blow to the prestige of British Intelligence.

My second point is about Col. Habibur Rehman's attitude and stand. I was taken into confidence by Netaji in connection with his plan to escape from India and I had the honour of announcing that he was missing from his room on the 26th January, 1941. Those members of our family who were involved in this, <sup>were</sup> we administered an oath of Secrecy by Netaji, so much so that we did not take into confidence even our grandmother to whom I related the same story which I had given to the Press. I remember that my father, mother and other elders of the family had questioned me on the subject and even rebuked me for not telling them the truth. They tried various ways of cross-examination, yet I had the same story to dish out to every body. It is my firm belief that Col. Habibur Rehaman is under a similar oath of secrecy and he has to repeat the story which Netaji has tutored him to give out to the world, and in this he cannot make any difference....

A. Bose

difference with regard to personalities or members of the family, etc., till he is released from that oath of secrecy. I have not yet been released from the original oath of secrecy that was administered to me by Netaji before he left.

Col. Habibur Rehman has not told me that he is under any oath of secrecy. *I did not ask him whether he was under any oath of secrecy.* It should be taken for granted.

About the air-crash, from my conversation with various I.N.A. men and officers, it has been clear to me that Netaji busied himself in good time to thrash out alternative plans for the I.N.A. and himself as he could clearly see that the defeat of the Axis Powers was fast approaching.

My next point is about his destination. I believe that his destination was kept a mystery. There was just a vague idea. Here I would quote page 72 of Mr. Ayer's Book wherein he has written thus :-

But there was a general impression that Netaji's destination was Manchuria - see page 69 (Ibid) last paragraph.

The final destination to my mind was definitely Moscow - see page 75 last paragraph, and I would like the Committee to give due importance to these portions of Shri S.A.Ayer's book. Here I would like to say that those who are trying to make out the case that the plane was bound for Tokyo, are doing so with an ulterior motive and it is definitely an after-thought. There could not have been any question of his proceeding to Manchuria or Moscow via Tokyo. *[Vide p.75, Ibid.]*

My next point is that there was only one Indian taken into confidence *by Netaji* and that was Col. Rehman because Netaji did not want to take chances with any other Indian. I have come in touch with almost all INA men. I have known many of them intimately. I say with confidence that certain exceptional qualities.....

*A. Jones*

qualities of Col. Habib made him and him alone eligible for selection by Netaji for the arduous job that was coming. Even Shri Ayer was side-tracked. This will be borne out by what Mr. Ayer has written in his book, pages 84 - 87.

" ..... that not a single Indian in India or East Asia will believe the story unless you produce conclusive proof."

In spite of this clear warning, Mr. Ayer was flown not to Taihoku but to Taichu airport. Even after landing there he was under the impression that he had reached Taihoku. My other points are that I have seen Col. Rehman at close quarters on several occasions. I believe that the marks on his person are artificial. I believe that he could not have got out of the so-called air-crash with so little injury. I have seen the uniform which Col. Habib was wearing at the time of the alleged crash. I say that I did not find the slightest trace of any ordeal on it. I say that Col. Habib's story is what Netaji had tutored him to say. I have to regret that in certain details Col. Habib's memory has failed him on occasions and he has given different stories at different times, the reason being lapse of memory and too much elaboration. I have seen the four photographs brought by Col. Rehman and I say that they prove nothing. I say that he could not have brought anything better because Netaji was not involved in any 'plane crash. These pictures are to be found in the Book "Freedom's Battle."

My next point is that during the Belgachia Villa Conference of the INA in 1947, Col. Habib and other INA officers spent a night with us. Some of the other officers told Col. Habib that his uniform gave the lie to his story whereupon Col. Habib pulled the blanket over his face and turned round.

At the Monument meeting on the 23rd January, 1951, Shri Shah Nawaz Khan, who was the main Speaker at that meeting, publicly declared that he believed that Netaji was alive and linked up Dr. K.N.Singh's movement that was going on in Nepal at that time.

Question.....

A. Jones

Question by Mr. Bose. Will you please explain the type of the uniform that Col. Habib was wearing?

Reply: It was the usual officers' uniform of the British Indian Army - Khakhi coloured, very tight-fitting. It was a warm uniform. And I state categorically that we were told repeatedly that these uniforms were given to them when they were in the British Indian Army.

Question by the Chairman: Can you give us details of the uniform?

Reply: Tight-fitting trousers. On one occasion I saw Col. Habib wearing top boots and on other occasions I saw him wearing ordinary shoes.

Question by the Chairman: Can you tell us which trousers was he wearing at that time ?

Reply: He claimed to have had the very uniform which he was wearing in Calcutta and at Kanpur at the time of the accident and I have heard it from all the three I.N.A. heroes of the First Trial that they had advised Habib that his admission that he was wearing this uniform at the time of accident was some sort of a weak point in his story, which he should change. This advice was tendered to Habib when the INA people were in the Red Fort. So far as the trouser is concerned, Col. Habib was also heckled when he showed some mark of injury on his right leg, a little below the knee, but the trouser did not bear any evidence of damage, etc.

A. Am

Question by the Chairman: Earlier you said that you had seen Habib wearing top boots as well as in ordinary shoes, you are also aware that top boots are worn in breeches, which of these two dresses are you referring to ?

Reply:.....



S. A.D.

374

Reply: I am referring to the trouser and not the breeches. I saw Col. Habib once or twice in top boots but usually he uses the trouser.

Question by the Chairman: Can you tell us which one of these two was he wearing at the time of the accident?

Reply: He was wearing the same trousers. He had been telling the whole world repeatedly that the uniform which he was using in India was the identical one which he had on at the time of the plane crash.

Question by Mr. Bose. Do you remember how many times you met him in Calcutta or elsewhere?

Reply: I could not give the exact number of times but for days together we have been with each other like brothers and such occasions were many in Calcutta as well as out of Calcutta.

Question by Mr. Bose. Do you remember on how many occasions he visited Calcutta?

Reply: Yes. He visited Calcutta once definitely, may be twice.

Question by Mr. Bose. Have you any idea of the duration of his stay on each occasion?

Reply: Between 3 to 5 days.

Question by Mr. Bose. Have you any idea where he was putting up?

Reply: I could be precise. At least on one occasion he stayed with us partly and partly with Shri Jagdish Chandra Sinha at the Belgachia Villa.

Question by Mr. Bose: Did you ever meet him at the time, at Mr. Sinha's house and did you have any conversation with him there?

Reply: Yes.

Question by Mr. Bose. Do you remember in whose presence that conversation took place?

Reply:.....

A. Sinha

Reply: There were many people, mostly members of the family and some INA officers.

Question by the Chairman: Can you give us any idea of the dates when Habib came here. You said that he came at least two times.

Reply: About one date, I could be specific. Round about the 23rd January, 1947. A conference of INA officers was held. If I am not wrong, it was convened by Shri Sarat Chandra Bose and almost all the important officers of the INA, and delegates, representing the rank and file and other ranks, attended the said conference. The conference was confined entirely to the INA people except a few political leaders but there was a mammoth rally inside the Belgachia villa. There was a crowd of about 50,000 persons. It could not be held outside the Villa because there was Section 144 in Calcutta at that time, due to communal disturbances and most of the INA officers and men were introduced to the public by Col. G.S.Dhillon.

Question by the Chairman: What was the next occasion?

Reply: I would not venture to answer that question because I have a feeling that his first visit was prior to his visit to Belgachia Villa.

Question by the Chairman: Can you tell us the approximate date of his visit?

Reply: I would not say that but it was when we were staying at Netaji Bhavan.

Question by the Chairman: Can you tell us roughly the year and month.

Reply: I do not remember the month.

A. Amis

Sri S.C. Bose: Would it be any time in 1946?

Ans: In all probability, yes.

Regarding the uniform, he was accustomed to wearing a coat and a forage cap.

Mr. Chairman: What type of coat?

Ans: Almost the exact replica <sup>of one</sup> that you generally wear: so you can describe it, Ad.

Mr. Chairman: That is Military Tunic.

Ans: If that is the technical word for it. It is not a double-breast coat - I am certain of that - and it is very tight fitting.

Sri Bose: Could you please give us an idea about the sleeves?

Ans: Yes, unusually short in length and width.

Sri Bose: By short did you mean half-sleeves?

Ans: No, usually coats come nearabout the base of the thumb. It was more or less slightly above his wrist.

Sri Bose: Slightly above or below the wrist?

Ans: Above the wrist. He used to have khaki coloured shirts and khaki coloured tie.

Sri Bose: Did he wear any badge of the I.N.A. or the I.I.L. (Indian Independence League) or any small photo of Netaji?

Ans: Yes, and on ceremonial occasions I.N.A. shoulder badges of his rank.

Sri Bose: I believe a belt was no part of his uniform?

Ans: No.

Sri Bose: Did you ever see him in glasses?

Ans: No.

Sri Bose: Will you please let us know where those meetings referred to in your statements before us on the 26th April, 1956, in Calcutta were held?

Ans: Ochterloney Monument, Calcutta Maidan and Mahajati Sadan on Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta.

The Chairman had challenged the veracity of my statement and wanted me <sup>to</sup> if I could produce some evidence that he actually made that sort of statement. At that time I had told him that thousands and thousands of people would come and bear me out on this point if they were put this question whether Sri Shah Nawaz had made such a statement in these meetings or not. The Chairman had mentioned whether there were any reports on the same lines in the newspapers. I have gone through the old files of only two Calcutta newspapers, namely, the Hindusthan Standard dated 24th January, 1951 and the Ananda Bazar Patrika dated 25th January, 1951, and have got the following excerpts from the news published in these papers.

(True copy of excerpts from news published in Hindusthan Standard and a verbatim transliteration of excerpts from news published in the Ananda Bazar Patrika dated 25th January, 1951 submitted by Sri Arabindo Bose to the Netaji Enquiry Committee in Calcutta on the 8th June, 1956 - later withdrawn by him in the absence of a receipt.)  
*But this was ultimately submitted. A.D.*

Sri Bose: This news matter which you have just spoken of was regarding the meeting at Mahajati Sadan?

Ans: Mahajati Sadan.

Sri Bose: Do you remember on which date that meeting was held?

Ans: 23rd January, 1951.

Sri Bose: The birthday anniversary of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose - was it that date?

Ans: Yes.

Mr. Chairman: Has Mahajati Sadan been completed?

Ans: No, the construction work is still going on.

Mr. Chairman: Under whose auspices?

Ans: If I am not wrong, I think the West Bengal Government has taken over the whole thing.

Sri Bose: Then it is fortunate or unfortunate,

I.....

*A. Bose*

I must say, that Netaji's idea of independence is still incomplete like the Mahajati Sadan which is still not complete yet.

Mr. Chairman: Which is being completed by the West Bengal Government.

Ans: My next point ~~is~~ <sup>AA</sup> Four photographs were brought by Colonel Habibur Rahman and a wrist watch as the only evidence to confirm Netaji's death in the plane crash.

Sri Bose: Was that during Colonel Rahman's first visit to Calcutta?

Ans: Yes, but he had released the photographs to the press after he was let off by the police?

Sri Bose: Was he not a free man when he first came to Calcutta?

Ans: I have no idea if he was whisked away prior to his formal visit to Calcutta; Many of the I.N.A. people were brought to Calcutta - technically that would be under police escort - then they were whisked away to Delhi or certain other camps. I have submitted these photographs to the Commission on 26.4.56 which are contained in an album (copies of those photographs). On serutiny it will be found that these photographs prove nothing at all, much less Netaji's death. One of the photographs in which a canvas is supposed to be covering Netaji's body is shown could have been easily manipulated and under the canvas anything else could have been placed. Two photographs are of the crashed plane and in one of them only the tail is shown in a vertical position. I have checked up with aeronautical and medical experts and none of them would give even one per cent. chance of survival to any passengers occupying such an ill-fated plane. In the fourth one, Colonel Habibur Rahman is shown sitting on a stool before a

*G. Am*

Pedestal on top of which there is an urn, containing Netaji's alleged ashes. This again cannot prove anything. I conclude that though it was a very heavy responsibility which had devolved on Col. Rahman to prove to the world that Netaji was actually involved in a plane crash and had died, yet he could not bring with him better evidence as the plane crash did not take place and Netaji was not involved in any fatal accident. To questions why Colonel-Sahib did not take photographs of Netaji his answers had been different at different times. On one occasion he said that he could not get hold of a camera in Taihoku though he tried his best, yet he actually must have got hold of a cameraman to take these photographs. On another occasion he made the plea that Netaji's dead body was such a fright and displeasing thing to him that he never saw his dead body and much less would he have allowed it to be photographed.

Sri Bose: Did Col. Rahman tell you that he saw Netaji's dead body from the time of his alleged demise up to the time of his alleged cremation with regard to Netaji's face requiring for identification purposes?

Ans: I definitely remember that on all occasions he told not only me but so far as my knowledge goes to everybody who talked to him on the subject that he never saw Netaji's dead body.

Sri Bose: So this conduct of Col. Rahman explains to a great extent these four photos which do not disclose the identity of Netaji alleged to be therein?

Ans: My answer is emphatic yes.

Mr. Chairman: Are you aware that Col. Habibur

Rahman.....

A. Anon

" AA.

Rahman has appeared personally and given his evidence before the Committee?

Ans: Yes.

This is with regard to the photographs. About the wrist watch, this is what I have to say. Pandit Nehru visited Calcutta some time in December, 1945. He was staying at the residence of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose at 1, Woodburn Park, during the first half of his stay and had shifted to Dr. B.C.Roy's residence later on.

Sri Bose: Do you remember the occasion on which Panditji visited Calcutta and stayed with Mr. Bose giving the purpose?

Ans: There was plenty of work in Calcutta. It was his first visit to Bengal after his release from Ahmednagar Fort.

Mr. Chairman: What was the reason why he came to Calcutta - was he holding any official position?

Ans: De jure and de facto he had become some sort of Protagonist and a protector of the I.N.A. people and he was intimately connected with the I.N.A. movement - practically it was his own effort in rousing the people.

Mr. Chairman: You mean to say it was his show to arouse the people?

Ans: Do not use the words I have not used. It was almost his effort in rousing the people in favour of the cause of the I.N.A. officers and men. On reaching 1, Woodburn Park, he met the members of the family, had a wash, had his breakfast and then returned to his room. He opened one of his bags and told me that he had brought a wrist watch which Col. Rahman had brought to India. I saw it. His room was on the ground floor; we went upstairs and he handed

A. Ans

over the watch to the late Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose.

Sri Bose: What was the type and nature of that watch?

Ans: It could better be described by the Chairman because it was almost identical to the one he had been using before the present one. The watch was rectangular in shape, smallish, with a leather band.

Sri Bose: Was the watch in proper working order?

Ans: No.

Sri Bose: Was the leather wrist band also in proper condition?

Ans: It was slightly charred, as far as I remember. It was not absolutely new.

Sri Bose: Was the watch running?

Ans: No, it was out of order.

Sri Bose: You remember what time the watch indicated?

Ans: About two. The watch hands showed 7 minutes past two. I will explain a bit on this point. The small hour hand was near 2, while the minute hand was between 5 and 10, and I was told that the watch had stopped exactly at the time of the plane crash.

Mr. Chairman: Did Col. Habibur Rahman ever say that it was Netaji's watch?

Ans: Later on he certainly said that he brought the watch which Netaji was using at the time of the crash.

Sri Bose: Did you ask him at that time at what time and under what circumstances he came into possession of that small rectangular wrist watch?

Ans: He told me simply this much that it was the watch which Netaji was using at the time of the accident. He did not tell me the time and the

circumstances.....

A. Bose



circumstances of his getting it.

Mr. Chairman: Did you and Col. Habibur Rahman inspect the watch together?

Ans: No, but he has verified the photograph which is also contained in the album and admitted that it is the same watch.

Mr. Chairman: Since you seem to have studied the watch very carefully, may I know what make it is ?

Ans: I do not remember the make of the watch and I do not and I have not claimed at all that I have studied the watch very well - at least that has not come out from what I have said.

Mr. Chairman: Did the watch besides having an hour and minute hands have the seconds hand also?

Ans: I do not think so.

Mr. Chairman: Do you remember it clearly?

Ans: That is my answer. If you want more definite information I want to see the photographs I sent to you.

(At this stage the Committee was adjourned till 2.30 p.m.)

A. Jones

(The Committee resumed its sitting after Recess.)

(Evidence of Sri Arabindo Bose continuing.)

Witness: The photographs I have referred to are on the page opposite the one which is the I.N.A. Memorial in the Album "Freedom's Battle" (1942-45) and which was tendered by Sri Dwijendra Nath Bose.

Sri Bose: You have not said about that ill-fated plane ?

Ans: Yes, I said I have consulted aeronautical and medical opinion - that is already on record.

Sri Bose: About the tail, does the tail appear to be fixed to the wrecked plane ?

Ans: Yes, fixed to the wrecked plane.

Sri Bose: To the fusilage ?

Ans: Yes.

Mr. Chairman: You have referred to certain aeronautical experts that you have consulted. Would you like to give us the names ?

Ans: No, that I would not. They are top men in their line, but I would not disclose their names.

Sri Bose: Could you please give us an idea whether they are Indians or non-Indians ?

Ans: Indians and non-Indians.

We were on the topic of that wrist watch. I would like to put on record the fact that Netaji, to the best of my knowledge and specially from what I have come to know from the I.N.A. people, always used a wrist watch other than the one which has been brought by Col. Rahman. I would like to tender, as you call it, to the Committee a photograph of Netaji's first arrival in Bangkok - if I am wrong in these matters the Chairman would be in a much better position to correct me - from Tokyo, the first time he arrived in Bangkok to take over the charge of the I.I.L. and the I.N.A. from Sri Rash Behari Bose. The photograph was taken at the airport as he was moving away from the plane that had brought him and on the left wrist

A. Bose

of Netaji will be seen clearly his famous round wrist watch. This wrist watch had very great sentimental value to him and when we were working out his plans for his escape from India in January, 1941, though he had given us instructions that he should not have anything with him which could identify him, so much so that he even changed his glasses, yet he insisted on taking this wrist watch with him. I conclude that I do not believe that Netaji used one of the wrist watches which were presented to him for the I.N.A. people by President Dr. Jose Laurel. He could never have parted company with his own wrist watch for which he took such a great risk when he left India as that was the only thing which belonged to him and was carried by him. Even his clothes and underwears did not have the dhobi marks; they were absolutely new and brought straight from the shops.

(Photograph showing Netaji wearing the wrist watch referred to above is submitted to the Committee and is marked as Exhibit A.)

This is with regard to the four pictures and the wrist watch which Col. Habibur Rahman brought to India with him as positive proof! I think it has been my endeavour to convince you that it was just a sort of make-belief because if Netaji was really involved in a plane crash, certain other things, even broken or in certain other state, would have been brought by Habib Sahib. Take for instance his glasses. That was a thing which Netaji could not dispense with. That is why Col. Rahman could not bring it, and I am sure there was no reason for the glasses to be put into the coffin and sent to the crematorium for burning! It has not been brought by Col. Rahman because Netaji could not get another pair of glasses as he did not probably have <sup>the</sup> time or had certain other difficulties. When he left India in 1941 we actually gave him - got the time to give him - a new pair of glasses and the old two pairs were left on his table so that that sort of thing would help us in convincing the police at least that it was a case of renunciation. Apart from the glasses, certain personal effects ....

A. Jones

effects like cigarette case or lighter and specially a small Hindu religious book which Netaji used to keep under his pillow, etc. - in one word his personal effects are missing. They could not have been brought by Col. Rahman because Netaji could not get their substitutes and had to take them with him.

Now, I will come to a very relevant issue which will help the Commission in finding out the truth. I am rather unfortunate that we could not take up this point earlier before you left for South East Asia, for you could have done certain things. On the 8th September, 1955, I had occasion to go to Delhi on my way to PEPSU.

Mr. Chairman: Are you aware of the fact that quite a good deal of what was supposed to be Netaji's personal effects and pieces of gold has been salvaged and it is now in the Rashtrapati Bhaban in New Delhi ?

Ans: I have seen certain reports but the things which I have been trying to emphasize, his glasses, etc., I am sure are not there up till now. Nobody whom I know has been informed that Netaji's Gita or his cigarette case or his glasses or his fountain pen - such intimate personal effects which he probably carried always on his person - are in the National Archives. Nobody has said so. I have only heard from the Chairman that a few lumps of gold or molten pieces have been deposited in the Archives.

On the 23rd January, 1951, the Chairman, who had several meetings to address in Calcutta, was to meet Dr. Radha Benode Pal at his residence and then catch the train, but as he was delayed in the meetings we informed Dr. Pal that the engagement had to be cancelled. Fortunately or unfortunately, General Shah Nawaz missed the train and we returned home, contacted Dr. Pal over the 'phone and told him that General-Sahib had missed the train; so could we come over tomorrow? Dr. Pal invited General-Sahib and myself and my brother, Sri Ranjit Bose at 10 in the morning the next day. The three of us went to Dr. Pal the next day and were closeted with him for more

A. Am

than an hour, when there was a threadbare discussion about the veracity of Col. Habibur Rahman's statement about the plane crash. At that time Dr. Pal was staying at 21, Beadon Street. The door was closed and we discussed the whole thing with him for more than an hour and I distinctly remember that General Shah Nawaz agreed with Dr. Radha Benode Pal that Col. Habibur Rahman's story of Netaji having died in a plane crash was not true and that Netaji was still alive. I would like to tender before this Committee a letter, which is in my possession, written by Dr. Radha Benode Pal to one Mr. Nair of Tokyo on the 14th February, 1953. The importance of this letter will be clear from the fact that Dr. Radha Benode Pal, who at that time had little or no axe to grind in politics, was not only doubting the story given out by Col. Rahman but had expressed that he had reasons to doubt its correctness. Dr. Pal was very fortunate, more fortunate even than this Commission in having gone to Tokyo as a Judge representing the then Indian Government which was controlled by Whitehall and as such he had access to various documents which came up before the International Tribunal which tried General Tojo and others. Only the second para is relevant, para beginning "It is really ....." and ending "its correctness". I am going to tender one of these photostats to the Commission.

(A photostat copy of the above-mentioned letter of Dr. Radha Benode Pal to Mr. Nair dated 14th February, 1953, is submitted to the Committee and is marked Exhibit B.)

My next point - I come straight to September, 1955, and I will be very brief on this point. On reaching Delhi on the 8th September en route to PEPSU I was met at the station by General Shah Nawaz, Sri Jagannath Kolay, M.P. and others. During my brief stay there I heard repeatedly from General Shah Nawaz about certain plans to bring Netaji's so-called ashes lying in Renkoji Temple and putting up some sort of memorial. About a fortnight after that I had again occasion to pass through Delhi when a certain member of Parliament put certain questions to the Government regarding the ashes and I would refer to relevant portions of short-notice questions Nos.13 and 14, dated 29th September, 1955, and the Supplementaries and answers by the

A. Jones

Prime Minister connected therewith.

"Sri Kamath: The Prime Minister has said that the question with regard to the ashes, or the supposed ashes, of Netaji S.C.B. is a matter for his family to decide. He said in the last Parliament on the 5th March, 1952, that personally he was not satisfied that the report presented or submitted by Mr. S.A.Ayar, one-time member of Netaji's Arzi Hukumat-e-Azad Hind was convincing enough, and therefore that was not the last word on the subject. May I know whether Government still hold the view that that is not the last word and that the report of Mr.S.A.Ayar is not convincing, and whether it is because of that that Government have not taken any action in this matter with regard to the ashes? May I also know whether this matter is merely a family affair or a national affair?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The honourable member will notice that what I have said is that the approval of the family is necessary and desirable. I do not say that it is entirely a family affair; certainly, it is a national affair also.

Honourable members will remember that some time ago, for a considerable time, some people in this country doubted the fact of Netaji S.C.B.'s death, and challenged that. It became difficult for Government to take any action in this matter when this fact was doubted by some, and certainly not without the approval of the family.

The honourable member has referred to a report by Mr. Ayyar, and to what I am reported to have said. I have absolutely no recollection of having made the remark which the honourable member says I made.

Shri Kamath: I shall pass it on to you.

Mr. Speaker: Later.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It may be that I made the remark in regard to certain details in that report. But I have no doubt in my mind - I did not have it then, and I have no doubt today - of the fact of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death. It may be that the circumstances may not be quite clear; it may be so.

A. Amey

In a matter of this kind, the only enquiry, that is to say satisfactory enquiry that can be made is by the Japanese Government. The matter is in Japan; the whole thing is there. We cannot impose ourselves or an enquiry committee on the Japanese Government. Of course, if they choose to enquire, we will very gladly co-operate and give such help as we can. But we simply cannot enquire into their territory, and more specially also, when probably all the possible witnesses are either Japanese Government officials or others connected with that Government.

Shri Kamath: Am I to understand that Government will welcome a proposal for a Indo-Japanese Commission to enquire into this matter at official level or governmental level?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have said that the question of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's death is, I think, settled beyond doubt. There can be no enquiry about that. But as for the exact circumstances, possibly if there is an enquiry held, it may be that some additional facts may come to our notice. And as I said, the initiative must come from the Japanese Government in this matter. If it comes, naturally we shall gladly give them such help as we can.

Shri H.N.Mukherji: The Prime Minister has told us that he has no manner of doubt in his own mind about the death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. Do we take it that this is based on a definite finding by Government in regard to the finality of the information? In that case I want to know how is it that we are not taking steps to secure the expeditious return of the ashes, and also, apart from that, to do in this country certain jobs which we owe to the memory of the dead. I ask this question because this question of the death of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose or otherwise has been contested, and the whole matter is hanging fire for a long time, but people's emotions require to be respected on this issue of the death of a very great man. And that is why I ask the Prime Minister to tell us what steps Government intend to take - now that he is certain that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose is dead - in regard to the perpetuation of

A. Am...

his memory in this country?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I thought that I had answered this question already.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: The Prime Minister has said that Government have not approached the Japanese Government or the management of the Renkoji Temple to bring those ashes to India in the absence of the approval of the family of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. May I know whether Government have approached that family or sought their permission to bring those ashes to India.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Not recently. But references have been made in the past.

Mr. Speaker: Let us go to the next question.

(Shri Hirendra Mukherji rose)

Mr. Speaker: He has answered the question already. I do not want to argue.

Shri Hirendra Mukherji: I have not got the answer. The House has not got the answer. The country has not got the answer. Let us have it.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. It is not a debate that is going on. The honourable member will realise that he is asking for information. Even the long question that he put was really speaking not a question which should have been allowed by me, but it is because of the emotions and sentiments that I have allowed it. Now, there is an end to it."

This announcement of the Prime Minister repeatedly in the Parliament that in his opinion Netaji was dead, represents the view of the Government and we have to simply note the fact that two members of this Committee are directly associated with the Government.

My next point is - On the 6th of October, 1955, Shri Shah Nawaz Khan arrived in Calcutta and on the same evening he presided over a meeting convened by the Netaji Smarak Samiti. I was present in that meeting which was attended by several prominent citizens of Calcutta and the President explained the whole position of the Govt. of India in view of Pandit Nehru's recent announcement

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in the Parliament that the Government were not in favour of setting up an official Committee but however, if the Netaji Smarak Samiti pressed, then he would meet the Prime Minister and secure his good offices to obtain co-operation of the Government of India without which no Enquiry Committee could function in Japan. I am tendering a copy of the Resolution unanimously adopted at the said meeting. Another important aspect of that meeting, I would like to refer here, is that the President explained to the persons assembled there that the Japanese Government gave out reports of death or disappearance of all the Heads of States which were Japan's allies during the war at the time of surrender and specially mentioned the names of Dr. Ba Maw, ~~Laurel~~ and Head of the Chinese Nanking Govt. but all these gentlemen were later on traced out or had surrendered to the Allied Powers. With regard to Netaji, a similar report was put out by the Japanese Govt. This is a very important point because if actually the Japanese Government did put out false reports about people who were later on found to be quite hale and hearty, then automatically the presumption would be that their version of Netaji having died in a plane crash, had also been done with the same motive. Whereas the others could take the risk of giving themselves up, it <sup>was</sup> ~~has~~ not been possible for Netaji as he was considered to be much more important and also more dangerous. This very fact explains that the Japanese Government, in conjunction with Netaji had, to draw up a comprehensive picture of a plane having crashed and the consequent inevitable things that would follow. Therefore, starting from the Foreign Office and the Army Headquarters down to the Hospital staff, crematorium staff etc., all have been tutored and their statements should be brushed aside on the ground of alibi. It is natural to expect that there would be persons from various departments of the Japanese Armed Forces, etc. who would be expected to be involved in particular phases of this plan, to draw up and make their story as realistic and convincing as possible.

I would like to state before the Committee that there have been several instances in Netaji's life when he secretly slipped out of the house-not very well known to the public-but equally

A. Am

important. Because this is a sort of secret planning and surreptitious movement-going into hiding-was more or less in his blood. In his boy-hood when he was a school student, on one occasion, he went away from his house without informing any body on a medical mission. In spite of the best efforts of the family none could trace him. Ultimately he was discovered by some of his associates and he returned home according to his time-table. No other factor could prevail upon him to return home-like a weeping mother, angry father or elder brothers, etc. The second instance is that when he was a student in the Presidency College, Calcutta. None could trace him though there was a frantic search and he returned home only when he ~~was~~ felt like coming back. Netaji was a patriot first and then a politician and my personal feeling is that though this Committee has taken on itself the task of finding out the truth about his mysterious disappearance, yet nothing should be done to upset his plans and disturb his scheme of things. If he has elected to remain in silence, it would not be a friendly job to try to search him out.

We have heard from several INA officers that his parting message was that he would meet them in Free India. Also, before taking leave of his colleagues and friends, he had indicated that that would be the last meeting for some time. We naturally expect that he would return to India and meet his friends again.

Though you have also done a little spade work about jewellery, I do not know how much, what is the worth of the stuff which has been deposited in the National Archives? I think that the treasure was being sent with him with a particular idea and the treasure, if it has not been misappropriated as some say, -its absence- that no body is finding it also gives a clue that Netaji carried the treasure with him and the actual purpose in putting the treasure in his luggage is being served. By saying this, I would not dissuade anybody from pursuing the matter, but this gap also indicates that Netaji actually disappeared from the scene, went into hiding and was not killed in the alleged plane crash.

A. Jones

My last point is that Col. Rahman has often made different statements, because he could not actually work out the minute details and after all these years he forgot what he told previously and these discrepancies have been marked many times by many of his colleagues in the INA and others. It is also to be noted that there are certain discrepancies in the original story and certain facts which would naturally arouse suspicion in the mind of the public about the veracity of what Habib was saying. I have a feeling that this was also planned by Netaji so that the intelligent<sup>s</sup> among his countrymen would read between the lines and keep it to themselves that Habib's story is confusing and has to be taken with a grain of salt. That touch is definitely there and I feel that this clue has been left as per Netaji's instructions.

Question by Chairman: What is your theory - whether Netaji disappeared with the treasure or without the treasure?

Reply: He disappeared with the treasure. It is not available because it has gone with him. Only a little fraction has been left in a molten state etc. to show that there was a plane crash.

Question by Mr. Bose. Who is Mr. Hemanta Bose?

Reply: He presided over the meeting of the Mahajati Sadan on the 23rd January 1951. He is the Chairman of the Forward Bloc and an MLA of West Bengal.

Question by Mr. Bose. Can you tell us the antecedents of Shri Amar Bose?

Reply: He is also a Forward Bloc leader.

A copy of excerpts from newspaper Hindustan Standard front page (dated 24th January 1951) is submitted to the Committee, marked exhibit 'C'.

*Anokindo Anon*  
 15/6/56

245

Statement of Pandit Raghunath Sharma, taken on 28.4.1956, at 10.30 A.M. at Bangkok.

Address: Raj Store, 183 Samphang Street, Bangkok.

I first came to Bangkok in the year 1942. I am doing business in cloth. I first came in touch with the Indian independence movement in 1942 when the Japanese first occupied Bangkok. I also met Shri Rash Behari Bose and I joined the Indian Independence League. Prior to this, Swami Satyanand Puri had started a movement known as Indian National Council which was later renamed Indian Independence League. Swamiji was later on killed in an air crash while on his way to Tokyo to attend a Political Conference held by Shri Rash Behari Bose. I continued to do some work for the I.I.L. until the time Netaji arrived. I first came in contact with Netaji when he arrived in Singapore in July 1943. At that time, I was the President of Thailand Territorial Committee. I was present in Singapore on the day when he assumed leadership of the Indian independence movement in the Far East in July 1943. My main functions as an important office holder of the I.I.L. were to collect funds and enrol volunteers for the Indian National Army. As far as I can remember we collected over 1 crore and 15 lakhs Ticals. At that time, the value of the Tical was Rs 1/4/-. We also collected ~~much~~ plenty of clothing material and other supplies in Bangkok. I met Netaji on numerous occasions when he came here either to attend conferences or on tours of inspection or when he was on his way to Tokyo. I was present in Bangkok when Netaji arrived here on 14th of May 1945 from Rangoon. He was accompanied by a detachment of Rani of Jhansi regiment. Netaji was followed shortly afterwards by the members of his Provisional Government and other members of the staff of Supreme Headquarters. The duties that were entrusted to the I.I.L. in Bangkok were to make arrangements for providing adequate and nourishing food and clothing for the members of

*[Handwritten signature]*

394

CERTIFICATE OF AUTHENTICITY OF TRANSLATION

Certificate No. 27

This is to certify that the statement attached hereto has  
made by Mr. Tadao Sakai, formerly a lieutenant-colonel of  
Japanese Army.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
(Official Seal)

ify that the text set forth above is  
translation of the accompanying certificate  
Japanese.

Tokyo, May 28, 1956



Hisaji Hattori  
Chief of 4th Sect  
Asian Affairs Bur  
Ministry of Fore

the Azad Hind Fauj and the League was asked to look after the patients in Bangkok also. After about a month and a half or two Netaji proceeded to Singapore. Netaji returned from Singapore in August. It was either 14th or 15th of August. When Netaji returned from Singapore we met him at his residence in Bankippi in the house of Mr. S.P. Mehtani, 10 or 12 miles from Bangkok. Among those who were present were:

- Shri Permanand,
- General Bhonsle,
- Sardar Ishar Singh,
- Col. Gulzara Singh,
- Shri Debnath Das,
- Shri S.A. Ayer, and

several others whose names I do not remember. Those from Bangkok requested Netaji to stay on here. I know that the Japanese had surrendered before Netaji arrived in Bangkok. The relations between the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Thai Government continued to be friendly. At that time, Netaji gave out the impression that although he had trusted the Japanese fully, we had not received the same amount of aid and cooperation from them as was expected of them. On being requested by us from Bangkok to stay on here, Netaji said that he had already made his plans to move onwards. The first move was to Saigon. The details of his further move were not known to us. Early next morning, all of us assembled at Netaji's residence. His baggage was loaded in a military truck. With him was treasure consisting of gold, silver, and other valuables some of which were collected from the people and some were the property of the Azad Hind Government. Its value was estimated at over Rs. 1 crore. I did not see the contents but I saw the boxes in which they were carried. There were 10 or 12 steel boxes about 30" long, about 12" wide and 10" high. They were not all of the same size; some were a little larger and some smaller. 15 or 20 days previous to this, Shri Debnath Das asked me on behalf of Netaji whether I

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could take charge of this treasure. I declined. Netaji arrived at the aerodrome at about 8 A.M. When we arrived at the aerodrome, we saw the plane which was to carry Netaji. The treasure boxes and other baggage were kept in the plane. It was a biggish military plane. Besides Netaji, the following officers also emplaned:-

Shri Debnath Das, Shri S.A. Ayer, Col. Gulzara Singl  
Col. Habibur Rehman, Major Abid Hasan, Col.Pritam  
Singh.

I do not remember about ~~the~~ others. I do not remember distinctly but I think they left by one plane. There were several Japanese officers at the aerodrome too. I do not remember their names. A few days after Netaji's departure from Bangkok, we heard through the Japanese sources that the plane carrying Netaji had crashed and caught fire somewhere in Taiwan (Formosa) and that Netaji had been killed as a result of the plane crash. This news was confirmed to me by the Japanese officer whom I met on my arrival at the League office. At that time, we did not believe that this news was correct. We all thought that it was a pre-planned thing and there was a possibility that Netaji had escaped somewhere. A few days afterwards when this news was confirmed officially by the Japanese Govt., a condolence meeting was held which was attended by a large number of Indians as well as Japanese. At this condolence meeting, a large number of persons were in tears. I do not know anything definite about Netaji after this date. I have, however, read various news that appear in papers from time to time and have also heard varying rumours from different persons. My own feeling now is that Netaji is no more as I see no reason why he should continue to conceal himself for so long after India has achieved independence and also when Netaji has a wife and a child. It is also possible that Netaji may be still hiding in view of political situation.

Admitted correct.

Witness No: 26.

397

Statement by Shri Ishar Singh, Rajabans Road, Bangkok, ex-President of the Indian Independence League, Thailand, recorded on 28th April 1956 at 11.30 A.M.

I have been in Bangkok since 1929. I am doing cloth business. I was in Bangkok when the Japanese forces occupied Thailand. Even before the Japanese occupied Thailand, Giani Pritam Singh (deceased) and Swamiji Satyanand Puri were in touch with the Japanese. I joined the Indian Independence League which was organised by Shri Rash Behari Bose. Although I sympathised with the aims and objects of the I.I.L. under Shri Rash Behari Bose, I was not an active worker in it. I became a whole-time worker only after I met Netaji. I first met Netaji in Bangkok in August 1943. He put me in charge of the Social Welfare Department of the I.I.L. My job was to look after the interests of Indians and also give relief to those persons who had suffered as a result of the Japanese action. At that time the Japanese were seizing the assets of certain Indians who had connection with British firms. When the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was going to be established, I was invited to Singapore. I was present at the ceremony which was held at the Cathay Building in Singapore on the 21st of October 1943. I was appointed as an Adviser in the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. I was also appointed as Chairman of Thailand Territorial Indian Independence League. My main duties as the President of the I.I.L. Thailand were to collect funds, clothing and provisions for the Azad Hind Fauj. I was also entrusted with the task of recruiting volunteers from civil Indian population for the INA. We established a training camp for the training of Indian volunteers in Cholburi where we trained approximately 1000 volunteers. In all we trained approximately 2000 volunteers in this camp. We collected over Tcs. 10,000,000.00 (Ticals one crore) in cash. At that time, the value of

Ishar Singh

[Signature]



Tical was Rs. 1-4-0. During this period, I had an occasion to visit Singapore once again. I met Netaji on every occasion whenever he visited Bangkok. Throughout the duration of war the relations between the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the local I.I.L. on the one hand and the Thai Government on the other were friendly. I was present in Bangkok on the 14th of May 1945, when Netaji arrived in Bangkok from Rangoon. On that occasion Netaji stayed at a house which belonged to Mr. S.T. Mehtani. This house was in Bangáppi area, Bangkok. Netaji was accompanied by a detachment of Rani of Jhansi Regiment, members of his Provisional Government and was later on followed by a regiment commanded by Col. Thakur Singh. In all there must have been three to four thousand INA personnel in Bangkok. Most of the officers and men of the Indian National Army were in a poor state of health and most of them were in tattered clothes. It was our duty to provide adequate rations and clothing for them. In a few days the men were again in a fit state of health to take part in fighting again if required. Netaji left for Singapore on 18th of June 1945 after staying over a month in Bangkok. At the time of his departure he left all the treasure which he had brought from Burma. This treasure was left in charge of a military guard. I have kept no records as we were ordered to burn all records by Netaji. In this connection, he cited the instance of his departure from India which he kept a secret even from his own mother. Netaji instructed us to burn all records because he was keen to keep many things secret from the British and he was anxious that none of our records should fall in the hands of the enemy so that the British would not be in a position to harrass any Indians as a result of information given from the official records. When Netaji was at Bangkok, after his arrival from Rangoon and before he left for

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Singapore, in a Cabinet meeting we requested him to disclose how he departed from India in 1942. He declined to do so saying that he did not disclose the same even to his mother before departure and that he would disclose the whole of the story when he returned to India after it had achieved its independence. At the Cabinet meeting we discussed the points which Netaji was going to make at the public meeting that was going to be held the same day. The meeting was held in Public Theatre, Bangkok. At that meeting Netaji declared that the war of Indian independence would be continued even if our allies, Germans and Japanese, laid down their arms. This war of Indian independence would continue until such time as our country was fully liberated. After addressing the mass rally in the Public Theatre, Netaji returned to his residence. Afterwards a few days later he went to Singapore. So far as I remember Netaji returned from Singapore on 14th of August and left on the 16th. Prior to his departure from Singapore Netaji had constituted a Committee, consisting of -

General Bhonsle,  
Shri Permanand and myself

to manage all the affairs of the INA and I.I.L. in Thailand. Netaji returned from Singapore without any notice being ~~given~~ given to us and so I was unable to go and receive him at the airport. But later on the same day we met him at his residence. When we met at Netaji's residence that day I saw the following officers there :

1. Shri S.A. Ayer,
2. Col. Gulzara Singh,
3. Major Hasan,
4. General Bhonsle,
5. Col. Habibur Rahman,
6. Shri Debnath Das,
7. Shri Permanand,

and there were some other officers also. We all had dinner together. After dinner, Netaji gave us full instructions as to how we were to conduct ourselves when the British forces arrived in Bangkok. I was told, as the Chairman of the I.I.L. in Thailand to hold aloft the national Tricolour even after the British

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Smaran

400

occupied Thailand. It was Netaji's desire that the INA soldiers must not lose heart and that they must continue to have the spirit of resistance within them. While reviewing the post-war situation, Netaji instructed that the INA officers and men should not surrender in an undignified way but when they would be forced by the British to give up their arms they should do so. Netaji foresaw that as soon as the INA soldiers came in contact with their brethren in the British Indian Army, the spirit of the I.N.A. would permeate into the ranks of the British Indian Army. And once the British Indian Army was infected with that spirit then the independence of India would only be a matter of short time. Netaji also insisted that the INA should not surrender as a part of the Japanese Army. If they had to lay down arms they should do so quite independently of the Japanese. This was because Netaji wished to prove to the world that the INA was an independent army. In actual fact, a few days before the arrival of the British forces, the INA was asked to submit a list of weapons and equipment under their charge to the Japanese authorities. This was stoutly resisted by the officers and men of the Indian National Army and in actual fact the arms were handed over separately to the British by the INA.

Ganaraj

At that last meeting either on 15th or 16th August, I suggested to Netaji that he with the whole of his Cabinet should surrender to the British authorities on Indian soil and not outside his country. I suggested this because I was convinced that if such a thing was done on Indian soil, it would have a profound effect on the public opinion and it might even lead to an open rebellion against the British in India. I was convinced that if we were to be arrested by the British, they would either shoot or hang us all. But the majority of the members present were opposed to this idea and wished to leave the decision to Netaji himself. During the course of the discussion, Netaji said that there were only two alternatives open to him:

1. to proceed to Japan; and

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101

2. to enter China (near Russian border) with a view to entering Russian territory.

Netaji was not very favourably inclined towards the first alternative and he was keen to continue the struggle for India's independence at all costs. He asked me if I had any contacts with the Chinese which would help him to enter China. I made enquiries but found that it was too late. When we pressed Netaji to tell us definitely about his plans, he told us that this would be settled after he had talks with Count Terauchi at Saigon. That night I developed high fever and left Netaji after midnight. I did not see him after that. The next day I was told by Pandit Raghunath Sharma and several others who had been to the aerodrome to see off Netaji that Netaji had left with -

Shri S.A. Ayer,  
Col. Pritam Singh,  
Capt. Gulzara Singh,  
Col. Habibur Rehman,  
Shri Debnath Das, and  
Major Hasan,

and that he had taken with him all the treasure. I have no personal knowledge of the value of the treasure but it was contained in six or seven cases which were put in the same aeroplane. Previous to this, we had discussions in the Cabinet and Netaji had asked whether we could take the responsibility of the treasure if it was left and ensure its proper utilisation in the interest of the freedom movement of the Indian community. We could not undertake this responsibility.

3 or 4 days afterwards, we were informed by the Japanese Military authorities that they had received a telegram from their Military headquarters at Saigon conveying the information that the plane carrying Netaji had crashed and caught fire and that as a result of this, Netaji had expired. After this we (General Bhonsle, Shri Permanand and myself) met the Japanese two or three times either in the League Headquarters or in the Japanese Military headquarters to obtain further details and proof of the accident and Netaji's death but we were told by the Japanese

*General Bhonsle*

*Bhonsle*

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that that was the message which they had received from their headquarters and he had sent the same to us and that he had no further details to give to us. We told the Japanese that they were in the habit of taking Netaji's photographs wherever he went and that they must produce photographs of Netaji's plane crash and of his body to prove the accident. No further proof or any photographs were shown to us by the Japanese. We did not believe that the story about Netaji's plane crash was true. In spite of this, we held a condolence meeting three or four days afterwards. This we did in all solemnity because we thought that even if the plane crash did not take place and it was only a hoax, the holding of this condolence meeting would help to establish what Netaji had intended to do. The meeting was held in the compound of the I.I.L., Bangkok and it was largely attended. The opinion among the officials of the I.I.L. was divided. Some majority thought that the Japanese had deliberately given out a false rumour about the plane crash with the object of concealing Netaji. The other party thought that the Japanese might have disposed of Netaji to please the Anglo-Americans and to secure better terms for themselves.

*Handwritten signature/initials on the left margin, possibly 'S. Narayan'.*

I was arrested on 2nd of September and I was interrogated by Major Kennedy and later by Sub-Major Wahab Khan. On arrival of the British forces in Bangkok, I was under house arrest from 2nd to 18th of September 1945. On 18th September, I was taken to a lock-up in a Siamese jail for about two months. Later we were transferred to a British jail under the British Military authorities. Then we were transferred to Singapore jail where we spent two months. Two or three days prior to the visit of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru to Singapore in 1946, we were released and allowed to return home.

I also met Mr. Finney of the Bengal Police Department. He was accompanied by Messrs. Dey and Roy. I also

*Handwritten signature 'S. Narayan' and initials 'SN' at the bottom right.*

103

met a Police Officer by the name of Nagina Singh. He was a crook.

In the beginning I was of the strong conviction that Netaji was alive. I felt this especially in view of the fact that Dr. Ba Ma, Prime Minister of Burma who had been declared missing by the Japanese, later surrendered himself to the American Military authorities in Tokyo. When we heard this, my conviction that Netaji was still alive, and in conceal, became even stronger. In 1950-51 I went to Delhi. During the course of discussions with my relatives, the subject of Netaji's being alive and dead came up. One of my relations told me that there was such a law framed by the Allies under which any person who is declared a war criminal, should be tried within seven years. I hoped that after seven years Netaji would re-appear but since he has not done so now, the strong conviction which I had about his being alive is beginning to weaken. I also read an article which appeared in the Blitz in which it was written that Netaji had been shot dead under orders of General MacArthur in Japan. Since then, I have become confused.

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Admitted correct.

Statement by Shri Uttam Chand Sharma,  
Bharat Vidyalaya, 136/2 Sripdongse  
Road, Bangkok.

404

27

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I am an English teacher in the Bharat Vidyalaya Bangkok. I have been in Thailand since 1933. I joined the Indian Independence League in May 1942. During the time of Shri Rash Behari Bose I worked as the General Secretary of Indian Independence League, Thailand. I was present in Bangkok when the Conference was held here and attended by Netaji. When Netaji came to Bangkok he reorganised the Indian Independence League. I was transferred from the post of General Secretary to the post of Officer-in-charge Social Welfare and Education. Later, when Sardar Ishwar Singh was appointed the President of the I.I.L. Thailand, I was ~~given~~ again appointed its General Secretary. Later on when the advanced I.N.A. units started moving to Burma I was transferred to I.I.L. Burma and put in command of the camp for training civilian recruits. I left Rangoon on April 24, 1945 ~~when~~ <sup>with</sup> Netaji's party and reached Bangkok in the last week of May. When we arrived in Bangkok I was appointed as the Assistant General Secretary in the Indian Independence League headquarters. Originally it was Netaji's intention to take the Supreme Headquarters to Saigon and further east as dictated by events but later on after the atom bomb was dropped over Japan this scheme was given up. ~~I/Netaji/~~ I do not remember the exact date when Netaji went to Singapore but I remember that he returned on 16th of August and left Bangkok on 17th. I learnt

24

405

later on that Netaji had arrived in Bangkok on 16th and left on 17th morning. I/dø/n I did not attend any of his meetings. I was working with Shri Dev Nath Dass who was General Secretary of the I.I.L. Rangoon. Before that he had also been the Chairman of I.I.L. Thailand. He was a very trusted ~~lxl/~~ lieutenant of Netaji and was of very independent ideas. He could not believe in accepting a subservient role under the Japanese. Some time after arrival in Bangkok from Rangoon Shri Dev Nath Dass told me that we would have to organise some sort of underground movement as it was expected that the British would occupy Bangkok shortly. The type of work that we would have to do ~~would~~ when carrying out an underground movement would be to spread propaganda amongst the Indian soldiers of the British Indian Army. Certain persons were given revolvers. As the British forces arrived in Bangkok I went underground for five or six days but when I learned that they were merely interrogating people I returned and reported to their headquarters. Colonel Fanny was in charge of the Interrogation Centre. He ordered my statement to be taken. My statement was recorded and I was let off. I then busied myself with the job that was entrusted to me i.e., that of spreading propaganda amongst the ranks of the Indian Army. I used to contact soldiers, officers and men of the Indian Army and used to tell them of Netaji, Indian National Army and the I.I.L. We also distributed old I.N.A. papers and leaflets among the men of the Indian Army.   
 (M.P. C.R. NAR-6(279))  
Later we published a collection of I.N.A.

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photographs in a booklet form and distributed it among Indian soldiers. I present a copy of the same to the Committee. It was entitled "Azadi Hamara Paidaishi Haq Hai". I felt that this propaganda proved effective among the rank and file of the British Indian Army. I learned about the plane crash and Netaji's death on or about 25 or 26 of August in Chumpon. At that time I believed that the news about the plane crash and Netaji's death was false. Prior to Netaji's departure as a part of the underground movement that would be continued in Bangkok and other parts of Thailand a wireless set was given to Shri A.C. Dass, the wave length and call signs and exact time of making contact was settled with him. Later on Shri Dev Nath Dass returned from Hanoi where he had gone underground and joined Shri A.C. Dass also underground. They continued these activities for about eight months. <sup>Mr. C.R. Narula</sup> I and some of my friends helped them to remain underground and to continue the work. It was only after they had made every endeavour to contact Netaji and failed that they gave up this work and surrendered. We gave up this work because there was no response from Netaji. For some years we believed that Netaji was alive and in hiding. This belief was based on the fact that Japan was ~~not~~ under the occupation of the Americans and we hoped that Netaji would emerge after the Americans withdrew from Japan. In 1951 or 1953 when I went to Calcutta Shri Dev Nath Dass showed me a photograph in a Chinese magazine. This photograph contained some 8 or 10 well built persons in military

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dress. One of those persons looked like Netaji. I have no personal knowledge of these things but I was told by Shri Dev Nath Dass on his return from Hanoi. He ~~believed~~ told me that the original plan was for the Japanese to drop Netaji somewhere in India. But they changed this plan at Saigon. The alternative scheme was for Netaji to take refuge somewhere in East Asia until such time as it was possible for him to return to India. Shri Dev Nath Dass also told us that some officer of Japanese Headquarter at Hanoi had told him that the story about the plane crash was false and it was only because of this hope that Dev Nath Dass remained underground for 8 months in the hope ~~that~~ of contacting Netaji. After this I did not hear anything except various reports that kept on appearing in papers from time to time. It appeared from Shri Dev Nath Dass's report in the press that there had been some foul play. I am inclined with <sup>to believe</sup> ~~a view~~ that the plane crash was arranged deliberately by the Japanese to get rid of Netaji who might have proved a problem to them.

24

408

Statement by Shri Anil Chandra Das,  
166 Sampang Street, Bangkok recorded  
on 30th April at 9 A.M.

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I first came to Bangkok in 1933.

20

I was an absconder in Dacca and I came to Bangkok to seek political asylum. I joined the I.I.L. and went to Singapore and I was posted to the Reconstruction Department of the IIL. I was working under Mr. A.N. Sarkar. I went to Burma in 1943. I went with the front-line troops as far as <sup>MOREH.</sup> Meulemein (Tamu). About the middle of 1944 I returned from the front line and eventually retired ~~from~~ to Rangoon. I left Rangoon on the same day as Netaji. It was, I think, 24th or 25th April 1945. I returned to Bangkok. It took us about one month to reach here. On arrival at Bangkok, I did not report at any INA camp but I was staying separately with a friend. I was present in Bangkok on the 16th of August when Netaji returned from Singapore. Netaji asked me to meet him at his residence in Bankappi at 1 A.M. I met him accordingly. During the course of our talk Netaji told me that our war for independence had not ended and that we were merely changing our tactics. He asked me to carry on underground activities and for this he gave me some arms and ammunition and a wireless set. From the talk with him, I understood that Netaji's idea was to go to India and if that was not possible, he told me that he would contact us and let me know his whereabouts. There was another INA Sub officer by the name of Shunil Roy who was an expert in handling the wireless set. Mr. Roy did not tell me the exact details of how he was to contact Netaji. Instructions regarding wave-length, frequency call signs etc. were known to Roy and not to me. Early next morning Netaji left Bangkok for the aerodrome. I also went to the aerodrome. As far as I remember the following officers went with Netaji.

Shri S.A. Ayer, Col. H. Rehman, Shri Debnath Das,  
Col. Gulzara Singh, Major Abid Hasan

and some Japanese also went with Netaji. I do not know their names. I remember that the number of the plane was 13. After

Anil Chandra Das.

409

Netaji's plane took off, we returned.

We were keeping the wireless set at the house of a friend at Bankappi. His name was Shri Raj Kumar Sachdev. Shri Roy tried to contact Netaji on a number of occasions but failed. We tried this for a few days. Then we heard about the plane crash. At that time of course we did not believe it. After this news, Shri Roy continued his efforts at contacting Netaji for about 10 days but still there was no response. After about 10 days Shri Roy gave up home and told that it was useless now trying to contact Netaji and that he was convinced that the plane had crashed. He then left for Burma. After this, I went up country in hiding. Shri Debnath Das returned after five months. He returned from Laos. He met me in a friend's house in Bangkok. When I met him, he could give no definite information about Netaji but he said that probably the news about the plane crash was true. He asked us to hand over the arms and equipment to Col. Thaur of Laos.

Admitted correct.

Anil Chandra

Witness No. 29.

410

Statement by Shri Ram Neo Gosai, C/o Chotirmall Co., 34/36 Venot Street, Saigon, recorded on 1st May 1956.

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I am employed as a watchman in the firm of Chotirmall Co. I came to Saigon in 1939 two years before the war started. I stayed in Saigon throughout the war. Netaji used to come to Saigon every now and then and stay for a short time not exceeding a ~~month~~ day at a time. Netaji had taken for his own use one house belonging to Seth Chotirmall in Samga area near Gojap. This place is about 3 or 4 miles outside the town. He had taken another house for use of military unit about a mile away from that place. This house was situated in the area known as Bachao. General Chatterjee, Shri A.M. Sahay and Shri Ayer used to live in the same house in which Netaji used to stay. I had some cows and used to sell milk and I was staying in a house adjoining the house meant for Netaji. I used to do marketing for three INA officers who used to reside in this house. Their names, as far as I remember, were General Chatterjee, Shri Sahay and Shri Ayer. There used to be two INA soldiers in the house also. They were working as orderlies. About a week after the Japanese surrendered, Netaji came to that house. He was accompanied by two Japanese officers only. He came to the house and enquired about Chatterji, Sahay and Ayer. All these officers had left Saigon two days before his arrival. The military unit which was stationed in Bachao had also disappeared. He arrived at the house at about ~~midnight~~ mid day. He came to the house in a motor car and made enquiries about Sahay, Chatterjee and Ayer. The house was lying empty. There was no Indian in the house but there was an Annamit servant who was engaged by Netaji as his cook. His name I do not recollect. I have not seen him for some years. Two or three months previously, Netaji had also come to Saigon and at that time this boy was engaged as a cook. After having his meals, Netaji left the house at about ~~2 o'clock~~ 2 o'clock, accompanied by the same two Japanese officers who came with Netaji. I did not see him leaving the house as I was engaged in my own work. The entry to the house was restricted and people were not allowed to go there, as there used to be ~~two~~ two INA sepoy at the gate. During his previous visit two or three months earlier Netaji addressed mass gatherings of Indians and other locals at various places. 3 or 4 days after his departure, we heard the news that the plane carrying him had crashed and that he had been killed. This news was broadcast over the radio and it was heard by a large number of people.

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At the house where Netaji arrived only two Japanese

411

came along with him. I do not know whether any other Indian came and put up in any other house.

My quarter was in the same compound, and on arrival Netaji personally asked me where Chatterji and others were. I replied that they had gone away. He then asked me to call the Annamit cook and asked him to prepare his meal immediately as he was leaving at about 2 o' clock. The meal was cooked.

The house in which Netaji stayed was burnt down by the Annamits in the postwar period.

Netaji was in his usual Khaki clothes. I did not see his baggage being taken out of the car.

There was no house within about 50 yards of Netaji's house where his officers stayed.

In those days, the President of the I.I.L. was some Sindhi whose name I do not know.

Admitted correct.

(11/11/11/11/11)

Statement of Shri Anand Mohan Sahay, Consul General for the Government of India, at Hanoi (North Vietnam) recorded at Saigon, on 1st May 1956 at 3 P.M.

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I first went to Japan (Kobe) in 1923. I was a student of medicine at Patna when Non-cooperation movement started in 1920. I joined the movement and was Private Secretary to Dr. Rajendra Prasad before going to Japan. In 1923 when the first non-cooperation movement became slack, I felt that I should not waste time. I decided to go to U.S.A., complete my study, and then come back and join the resistance. But I could not get a passport for U.S.A. because I was in correspondence with the Gaddar Party of San Francisco. My uncle, Dr. S. Sinha, was then the Finance Member of the Executive Council of Bihar and with his help I secured a passport for Japan. I hoped I would be able to get a passport from Japan for going to America. In Japan I applied for passport for U.S.A. but could not get. Perhaps, the British Consul General, there, did not trust what I said. I continued to stay in Japan. I could not continue my studies because of language difficulty in Japan and could not get passport for U.S.A. I did not wish to return home. In Japan I used to earn my livelihood by writing articles for journals. I also taught in Foreign Language College of Y.M.C.A. I continued my political activities. I wrote articles on the life of Shri C.R. Das, Mahatma Gandhi and other eminent leaders. I tried to organise the youth of local Indian community in Japan. Most of the Indians in Japan were traders not interested in politics. I came in contact with Shri Rash Behari Bose who was in Tokyo. He was known top-most Indian revolutionary in Japan. He had sought asylum in Japan since 1918 war.

Anand Mohan Sahay

413

2. I had no particular outside contacts except with a few friends in San Francisco who were connected with the Gaddar Party. I also met Raja Mahendra Pratap who came to Japan in 1925. I maintained my correspondence with Dr. Rajendra Prasad and used to get his guidance.

3. In August 1926, we organised an Asian Conference in Nagasaki. I attended that Conference along with Rash Bihari Bose and others. After the deliberations of that Conference, I felt that I should go to India to establish contacts. I decided to come as a merchant. I had some business connections because I was working for some Indian firms in Japan. So, in November 1926, I left for India with some samples, via Hongkong, Malaya, Singapore and Colombo; thence to Madras, Calcutta and then to Patna.

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4. I knew Subhas Babu since 1922. In 1927 when he returned from Mandalay after his imprisonment there, he was sickbed. I met him at his house. We discussed as to what we could do outside India and he said that Japan would play a very important part in future and we should carry on our propaganda and publicity about India's struggle for freedom in Japan as well as other parts of the world. During this period, I also met Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru; but, I had no detailed discussion with him. I returned to Japan in October 1927 with my wife and continued my political activities with the object of strengthening the movement for India's independence. While in Singapore, I met Mr. Abid Ali who is now Dy. Minister, Labour. In Japan I organised Indian National Congress branch in 1928 with headquarters at Kobe. Then I corresponded with Panditji and he welcomed my idea and through his support the Japan Branch was recognised by the Congress. Since then, I was in regular correspondence with Panditji and with Netaji.

An Sahay



5. I was in Japan when the last war broke out. When the war broke out in Europe, Raja Mahendra Pratap came to me from Tokyo and we decided to do something to help India in her struggle for freedom. We collected some funds from the Indian community. Then we started some publicity to mobilise public opinion in our support and to intensify our activities. I contacted my Japanese friends. There were many young Japanese officers in the Army who were my ex-students. They liked my idea and helped me in contacting senior Japanese officers when I was trying to secure their cooperation. We formed a "Committee of Action" with Raja Mahendra Pratap as Chairman, Shri Rash Bihari Bose as Vice-Chairman and myself as Secretary. Japanese authorities, in the beginning, did not like to cooperate because they did not believe in Raja Mahendra Pratap's capacity to keep things secret.

6. When Japan declared war against the Anglo-Americans on 8th December 1941, I was in Tokyo staying in Railway Hotel. We held a dinner in the hotel where we invited Shri Rash Behari Bose to take the leadership of the movement. He accepted it. We all merged ourselves into one movement. Raja Mahendra Pratap did not join us. We had a conference in Tokyo of all the Indians in Japan in the end of December 1941 or the beginning of January 1942. At that conference, we all agreed to appoint Shri Rash Bihari Bose as the President of the Indian Independence League, and other office bearers were also appointed. Previously, we had decided to have our nucleus in Bangkok and had sent Shri Debnath Das to organise the movement there. I had friends already there.

7. Shri Rash Behari Bose continued to remain in Japan.

A. Sahay

415

As the Japanese forces advanced into Malaya, Indian volunteers from Bangkok went forward with them with the object of working behind the lines among Indian troops. When the British surrendered at Singapore, we held a conference in Tokyo of the representatives of Indians in Malaya, Thailand, China etc. and Indian Army representatives who had surrendered and were handed over to the Japanese. It was in March/April 1942. It was decided that we should organise the Indian National Army to fight for freedom and it was also decided to hold a more representative conference later on in Bangkok. Then Rash Bihari Bose, myself and a group of Indians working with us came to Saigon by a ship and thence to Bangkok by air. There, a more representative conference was held in June 1942. We appointed a Council of Action consisting of Shri Rash Bihari Bose, Mohan Singh, Zilani, Raghavan and Menon. Capt. Mohan Singh was appointed G.O.C. of the Indian National Army. We also sought certain clarifications from the Japanese regarding their aims towards India and our freedom movement. We also passed a resolution requesting that Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, who was then in Berlin, be invited to the Far East.

8. The Japanese were not very keen to invite Netaji. We established our League headquarters at Bangkok and we continued to press the Japanese to bring Netaji. At last they agreed. At that time, my main concern was to keep our movement free from Japanese influence and dominance. Since before the Japanese war, I had direct contact with Netaji in Berlin through the German Embassies at Tokyo and ~~Bangkok~~ <sup>Shanghai</sup>. After the Bangkok Conference, I was allotted a very unimportant piece of work. After some months, the headquarters of the League moved to Singapore and there was some crisis in the I.N.A. because of some differences of

A. Subhas

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opinion between Gen. Mohan Singh and Shri Rash Bihari Bose. As a result of that crisis, the first I.N.A. collapsed and Gen. Mohan Singh was removed from the command probably towards the end of 1942. When these events were taking place, I was called to Singapore by Shri Rash Bihari Bose. He explained the position to me and asked for my help. He was in a very disturbed state of mind. He was endeavouring to prevent the I.N.A. from disintegration. Eventually, he succeeded in reorganising the army with Gen. Bhonsle as Director of Military Bureau. I went back to Bangkok. I was not interested in all these moves and my main attention was concentrated on how to get Netaji to the Far East.

9. Eventually, Netaji arrived in Singapore on 2nd of July 1942. I arrived in Singapore one day later. I met him on the 3rd evening and had a long talk with him during which I sought clarification regarding his attitude towards the Indian National Congress and towards Gandhiji and Panditji. He gave me a full picture of what had happened between him and the Congress during the last few years. When I asked him if our movement would seek the cooperation of the Congress, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru or would he go against it, he told me that Mahatma Gandhi was just like his father and he could never think of going against him. So far as Jawaharlal Nehru was concerned, he said, he felt Nehru belonged to the left camp and his only complaint was that Nehru should not stand on the middle of the road but should come and lead the left. He said "after India was liberated there would be no cause for such differences". When I told him that for any success of our movement from without, the cooperation of the masses of India was necessary and for this reason, the Congress should not be antagonised, he agreed with me and he assured me that his

Ashok

478

whole idea was to appeal to the people of India and that he knew that the Congress was India. After that, I decided to work with him whole-heartedly and offered my cooperation. I was appointed Secretary in charge of the Indians overseas in Indian Independence League. From time to time, I was given other important work too, because he trusted me.

10. I was present in Singapore on October 21st <sup>1943</sup> when Netaji organised the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Hindustani translation, which was treated as original, of our Declaration was translated and read by me at the Conference. I was appointed as the Secretary General to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind with the rank of a Minister, and took oath of allegiance with other Ministers. Japanese recognised our Government. In appreciation of Japanese help, Netaji declared at the public meeting a donation of the cost of 10 aircrafts to Japanese army and navy. Immediately after that, on 28th October, we left for Tokyo to attend the Greater East Asia Conference. We stayed for one night in Philippines and one night at Nagasaki on our way to Tokyo. We flew over the East Indies islands. Netaji's party consisted of the following officers:

General Bhonsle, myself, Major Hasan and Col. Raju

11. Netaji attended the conference as an observer because Netaji considered that conference to be more or less a Japanese-sponsored movement and did not fit in with his ideas. After that conference, we had a special conference with the representatives of Ministry of Navy, the Foreign Ministry and other departments regarding the transfer of Andamans and Nicobars. We issued letters to all Axis powers informing that a Government of Free India was formed with Netaji as Head of State. I stayed in Tokyo for about one

A. Subhas

418

month. I did not accompany Netaji on his return journey from Tokyo as I had to stay behind in Japan to negotiate regarding currency notes etc. for the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. I returned to Singapore by the end of December 1943. Immediately, on arrival, I was asked to accompany Netaji to Andamans. We left for Andamans on 21st of December and stayed there for 3 days. Civil administration was partly handed over to us; but, security and defence was maintained by the Japanese. From Andamans we flew to Bangkok where we stayed for two or three days as State guests of Thai Government. Thence we proceeded to Rangoon. We reached Rangoon on the 5th or 6th of January 1944 and established and organised our headquarters there. At that time, the I.N.A. troops from Singapore had begun to arrive in Rangoon; some of them were still on their way.

12. Later on, the Azad Hind troops were sent to the front-line. The Rani of Jhansi regiment was also organised. I am not aware of the full details of the military operations but I know that I.N.A. participated in the battle of Imphal. By that time, we had moved our advanced headquarters of the Provisional Govt. to Maymyo. In Rangoon, we had organised Azad Hind Dal to man the civil administration of the liberated areas in India soon after Imphal fell and we occupied it. So we went with our staff from Rangoon to Maymyo. Then Netaji asked a group of us to go to the central front, Chamol, and we (Major General Chatterjee, myself and a number of others) started with some ration for our troops. After several days track, we arrived at Tamu; thence we visited Chamol. This was sometime in April/May 1944. After inspecting the fighting conditions of the front-line troops, we returned to Tamu and to Maymyo. We reported

A. Sahay

419

the condition of our troops to Netaji. Conditions were not satisfactory and we tried to help the situation as best as we could. Netaji had returned to Rangoon. We followed Netaji after some time.

13. As a result of the setback that the Azad Hind Fauz and the Japanese had received on Imphal front, the position was reviewed by Netaji in a Cabinet meeting. It was decided to reorganise the Cabinet so that the future war could be prosecuted more efficiently. Consequently, Netaji appointed a War Council.

14. From 18th October to 23rd October, 1944, the first anniversary of the establishment of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was celebrated in Rangoon with great enthusiasm and large funds were collected. An impressive parade of I.N.A. was held. Uptil that time, Netaji was still in an optimistic mood and was determined to continue the struggle to the bitter end. He was confident that the Japanese would be able to hold on in Burma.

15. Soon after the celebrations and in view of certain changes that had taken place in the Government of Japan, Netaji went to Tokyo to have consultations with them for the future prosecution of the war. Netaji was not getting as much aid from the Japanese as he expected. He was of the opinion that the Japanese, being in a bad way themselves, were not able to give all the aid in supplies needed.

16. Netaji left for Tokyo on or about 25th October 1944. The following officers, as far as I remember, accompanied him to Tokyo:-

General M.A.Kiani, General Chatterjee, Col.Habibur Rehman, and Major Abid Hasan.

I did not accompany Netaji as at that time I had been deputed to undertake a tour of Central and South China, Philippines and Indo-China in furtherance of the programme

Abid Hasan

420

of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind for the total mobilisation of (men, money and material) resources of Indians in the Far East. In accordance with the instructions, I visited Saigon and among other places Shanghai. While I was still in Shanghai, Netaji passed through that city on his way back from Tokyo. I met him. From the talk I had with him, I gathered that the things were not very hopeful. Netaji was not hopeful about the successful outcome of the war so far as the Japanese were concerned. From Shanghai, I went to Tokyo in Jan/February. At that time, Netaji was visualising some change in his future plans. With that object in view, he told me to proceed to Tokyo to sound the Japanese if they would help us in establishing direct contacts with the Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo and also to report my assessment of the situation. In Tokyo I met several high officials including Foreign Minister Shigemitsu. From my talks with the Japanese, I felt that some of them who were <sup>in</sup> responsible positions were in somewhat pessimistic mood although they would not openly admit. I was advised by my friends in the Japanese Government, particularly by my old friend Mr. Yuzawa, the Home Minister of Japan, that it would serve no useful purpose to try to contact the Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo. They were probably afraid that by our direct contact with Russians, latter might come to know the weakness of Japan. I returned to Bangkok via Taihouku, accompanied by my eldest daughter who wanted to join Rani Jhansi Regiment. At Saigon, I learnt of the withdrawal of the Japanese from Rangoon and also that Netaji was on his way to Bangkok. I flew to Bangkok where I awaited the arrival of Netaji. 17. Two or three days after my arrival at Bangkok, Netaji arrived at Bangkok with others. He enquired about

Arshad

421

the position in Japan and other matters. I gave him a report on my work there and my assessment about future. I told him that, while our currency notes were getting ready, I had formed an impression that the Japanese higher circles were not very hopeful about the successful outcome of the war. After that in the course of a few days, I gave him all details of my talks with the German Ambassador and with my Japanese friends. I also told him that I tried through my Japanese friends to contact the Soviet Embassy but I was told by my friends that no useful purpose would be served by establishing contacts with the Soviet Embassy.

18. Question. When you tried to contact the Russian Embassy in Tokyo in November or December 1944, under instructions of Netaji, it appears that the Japanese obstructed your doing so. Why did you feel bound down by what the Japanese felt. You were an independent Government. Why did you not contact the Russian Ambassador direct without referring the matter to the Japanese Government.

Answer. In the first place, we did not have any direct contact with the representatives of countries other than Axis powers and those who were fighting for freedom in Asia like Thailand, Burma, China etc. If we wanted to establish contact with the Soviet Ambassador in Tokyo, it would have been discourteous to go straight to the Soviet Ambassador without consulting or informing the Japanese Government because we were conducting our war against England in cooperation and with the help of the Japanese. In the third place, I knew that there was no love lost between the Japanese and the Soviet Union although diplomatic relation existed between them. Taking any step to contact the Soviet Ambassador over the head of the Japanese Government ~~XXXXXXXX~~ might have been interpreted by the Japanese

A. Subba



422

Government as an unfriendly act and also as a conspiracy against them. I, therefore, thought it fit to try to establish contact through them with the Soviet Embassy to avoid any misunderstanding between ourselves and the Japanese.

19. Question: When you gave the report of the Japanese unwillingness to let you contact the Soviet Embassy in Tokyo, what was Netaji's reactions?

Answer: Netaji felt that if we did not want to commit suicide, to give up the fight for freedom completely, we must continue our efforts to establish contact with the Soviet Union.

20. Efforts to contact the Soviet Union were continued. As I had learnt during my visit to Shanghai that Ho Chi Minh's party of Vietnam was in contact with the Chinese communists and as I was also informed that the agents of the Chinese communists were also present in Chungking, the then capital of the Koumingtong Government, I suggested to Netaji that there might be some possibility of establishing contact with the Soviet or the Chinese communists through Vietnamese revolutionaries in Indo-China.

21. After some discussion, Netaji agreed that I should go to Hanoi in North Vietnam (Dr. Ho Chi Minh's headquarters were at that time at Hanoi). It was decided that League's work be divided into two parts in Indo-China, Col. Chatterjee being in charge of organisation and collecting funds in South Vietnam and myself being in charge of North Vietnam. Netaji also told me that he had instructed Col. Chatterjee to continue our efforts at contacting the Soviet through the Japanese sources. Col. Chatterjee was instructed to do this through F.M. Count Terauchi's headquarters at Dalat. I do not know whether Col. Chatterjee was able to do anything in that respect. When I was in Tokyo in

A. Saha

423 423

February/March 1945, I also met Mr. Shigemitsu, the then Foreign Minister. I did not discuss this subject with him, because I knew that he could do nothing without the concurrence of Gen. Tojo.

22. On the conclusion of these discussions with Netaji, I was ordered to proceed to Hanoi. I proceeded to Hanoi via Saigon sometime towards the end of June 1945. I had to spend one month in Saigon because Col. Chatterjee said he was facing some difficulty in collecting funds at Saigon and wanted me to help him. I reached Hanoi on 31st of July 1945 and proceeded with my preparations to establish the headquarters of the League there. I collected all the Indians in a meeting held in a Cinema Hall and addressed them and told them that we needed their cooperation in money as well as in other ways because our fight had to be continued. The office of the League was opened in the building which was a shop of a Muslim Indian in Rue Paul Bert. Some funds were collected. In Hanoi, I met a few Vietnamese youngmen who were revolutionaries. They first did not trust us and said that we were the tools of the Japanese. However, after some talks and discussions, they began to believe that we were not puppets in the hands of the Japanese militarists but we were fighting genuinely for our freedom. After that they became friends. I tried to ascertain whether they had any connections with China and I came to know that they had some friends in Chuking and Nanning. I explained to them that my ideas on politics were not anti-marxists and that I appreciated many aspects of their ideology. I gradually revealed to one or two of them that I wanted to contact the communists in China because I said I wanted to join hands with them to fight against imperialism and Fascism and for that I wanted even

Chatterjee

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to go to China. Through their efforts, I was able to get a youngman who offered to go to Chuking. I promised to meet all his expenses including the cost of clothing etc. He promised to carry my message to their friends and to bring their reply. This boy left Hanoi only two or three days before the surrender of the Japanese. I had expected the war to continue for some months atleast. I do not know if he ever went to Chuking and returned. I never met him after that.

23. I informed Netaji of my arrival in Hanoi. There was no communication with him other than this. Our ultimate aim was to have our headquarters in Manchuria by the time the Japanese surrendered and the war came to an end. I had a feeling that when the defeat of the Japanese became imminent, Russians would decide to declare war against the Japanese in order to have a favourable position at Peace Conference; and, if we were in Manchuria at that time, we would allow the Soviet to capture us and hold us as their prisoners. I thought that once we were their prisoners, we would gradually be able to persuade them to consider us not their enemies but genuine fighters for freedom of India. I also discussed this with Netaji at Bangkok before I left for Hanoi. Netaji and myself had agreed that after the war, the alliance between the Anglo-Americans and the Soviets would not last long; and, if India was not free by that time, we might persuade the Russians to help us in liberating ~~the~~ our country.

24. Japanese surrender came unexpectedly early. We had expected that they would be able to continue their resistance for atleast another six months. Although the Japanese had surrendered, there was no change in our original plan to continue the struggle for India's freedom, if possible

A. Subhas

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25. When I heard between the 18th and the 20th August from the Japanese sources that Netaji was leaving or had left for Tokyo, I tried my best according to our plan to get some transport from the Japanese to take me to the Manchurian side and meet Netaji there, but the Japanese did not help me. Although I was told that Netaji's destination was Tokyo, I was confident, he was acting according to his original plan and was proceeding ultimately to Manchuria. I hoped either to rejoin him in Manchuria or to reach there earlier to make arrangements for his reception. I had travelled widely in Manchuria and North China in 1938 and I felt that I would be able to do something there although I had made no previous arrangements this time.

26. On or about the 20th August, Col. Pritam Singh, Col. Gulzara Singh, Abid Hasan, Col. Chatterjee, Mr. Thivy and Mr. Das arrived in Hanoi by air. Col. Chatterjee was accompanied by his A.D.C. Lt. Pramnath. They arrived in Hanoi in two batches. The first consisted of Col. Pritam Singh, Col. Gulzara Singh, Shri Debnath Das and Abid and the second batch of Col. Chatterjee, Mr. Thivy and Lt. Pramnath. I was at that time staying with some other Japanese officials in a big building which is now the Ministry of Communications. All of us put up in the same house for a few days. Japanese friends were not very happy about my other colleagues being accommodated in that house. After a few days, I rented two other houses and we moved from the previous building to relieve the Japanese of their anxiety. I was told by the first party that Netaji had left Saigon for Tokyo. From my talks with them, I gathered that upto Saigon some of them had come with Netaji. Later due to difficulty in getting accommodation

A. Subhas

426

in the plane, only Col. Habibur Rehman and Mr. Ayer were to accompany Netaji. Finally Mr. Ayer was also left out with arrangements with the Japanese that he would follow, and only Col. Rehman accompanied Netaji. These friends who were left behind came to Hanoi. They were in a disappointed mood having been left behind. When they learnt that I was trying to get a plane to take me to Manchuria some of them expressed their desire to accompany me. On the day they arrived, while I was talking with them in my drawing room, suddenly the news came from some Japanese controlled Radio Station about 6 or 7 P.M. that Netaji's plane had crashed at Taihoku(Taipeh) and that Netaji was dead. No further details were given. The news gave a great shock to all of us but afterwards most of us began to feel that the report might not be true. I felt so because of my knowledge of the plan of Netaji to go to Manchuria. I felt that this might be a camouflage to keep the mind of the enemies from following him. From subsequent Radio broadcast, I could gather some more details according to which Col. Rehman was with him but he was saved and Netaji died in the same hospital. The broadcast which I heard originally had stated that the plane crash had taken place at Taihoku (also known as Taipeh), the capital of Formosa.

27. The Japanese were unable to make any arrangements for our transport to Manchuria and we were held up in Hanoi. We were in a state of suspense because we were not sure whether the news about the plane crash was correct. Later when we shifted to the two newly rented houses and started living there, we started planning future course of action. Some of us thought that we might go to China

A. Subhajit

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by land route, some of thought we might go to Thailand. But nothing was finally decided. I had a car in Hanoi with me which I had bought for I.I.L. Some of us thought that, because the car was there, we could hire another truck and all of us cross the border into Chinese territory. But when we were told that the journey was not safe and there was danger of our being robbed and killed, this frightened my friends and the idea was dropped. Then again when we heard that Indo-China was divided into two parts, for the sake of occupation, so far as I remember, at 18th parallel, to be occupied by the British forces in South and by the Chinese in the North, it was decided by all of us that we should remain in the territory that would be occupied by the Chinese forces because we felt that Nationalist Chinese Government occupation troops might be more sympathetic towards us in their treatment than the British.

28. At last, the Chinese troops arrived in Hanoi in September. Chinese Commander-in-Chief was General Lo Han. After he had established his headquarters at Bao Dai palace, I tried to contact him through a Chinese Army officer whom I used to meet. After some negotiations, General Lo Han invited us to meet him at the palace. So far as I remember, I started by telling him as to who we were and requested him to help us in going to Delhi. I told him that as we were fighting against their Allies, the British, we were prepared to be arrested but we wanted to be sent to Delhi. General Lo Han asked me as to what did we do that he should arrest us. I told him that I fought his Allies during the war. He asked "Did you fight against us". I said "No, Netaji's instructions were that if we had to face the

A. Subhas

Chinese army we should either withdraw or surrender because the Chinese were not our enemies." He then suggested "But you were with the Japanese, our enemies." I said, "Yes, that was the most unfortunate part of the whole drama. We were with your enemies and you were with our. But Your Excellency knows that neither we nor you were fighting either for the Japanese or for the British. We were fighting for our own respective countries." At this he laughed and said "You are right. I am not going to arrest any one of you. You are as free in Vietnam as anybody else. You can do whatever you like so long as you abide by the law of the land."

29. I told him that although it was very kind of him, the British who had occupied South Indo-China might come and arrest us. He replied that so long as his troops were in occupation of North Indo-China, no British or American had any right to come and touch anybody without his permission, "unless my Government ask me to hand you over to the British, I will not do. In the meantime, if you want to go away to some other place, you are at liberty to do so." I suggested that the only place where we could think of going was China but we could think of doing so only if the Commander-in-Chief agreed and helped us in reaching China safely. He said that he could not undertake to send us but he would see that nobody obstructed us in our going there. Later we discussed the question among ourselves. In the hope of going to China, many of us had converted the local currency into Chinese dollars. I also converted League's fund because we would have needed for our traveling and cost of living in China. But, we could come to no agreement as a result of our discussions because we felt that it was unsafe to undertake such a journey because of reported lawlessness on the border and in hinterland between Vietnam and China. This was in the month of

A. Subhag

129

September or October. Later, Das escaped to Bangkok. He wanted some money. I gave him 10,000 Indo-China Piastres.

30. I was not too keen to go to China as I had my doubts about Netaji having safely arrived in Manchuria because he had no contact with anybody there. I had begun to doubt the possibility of Japanese helping Netaji to go to Manchuria. I knew that they were adamant on this point and after armistice they were too scared to take any action to help us. So I felt that if Netaji were alive, he might have been kept in hiding either in Formos or in Japan by the Japanese.

31. Then, towards the middle of December 1945, a British Military Mission under Col. T. Wilson arrived in Hanoi. The Chinese Commander-in-Chief, very kindly, indirectly informed me about their arrival. After a few days, Mr. Kewal Ram, a Sindhi merchant of Hanoi came to me and informed me that Col. Wilson, the head of the British Military Mission, wanted to see me at his headquarters. I asked him to go and tell the officer that till then I was a Minister of the Azad Hind Government and he was a Colonel in the British Army. Therefore, as he should have known, my rank was much higher. If he wanted to meet me it was his duty to come to me and not mine to go to him. If and when I was arrested, I would be his prisoner. Then I would be entirely at his mercy but not before I was arrested. Next day, i.e. on the 20th of December, Kewal Ram came back and told me that Col. Wilson had agreed to call on me and had asked for appointment. I told Kewal Ram that next day, i.e. on the 21st December, I would receive him at 4-30 P.M. and I would be glad if he came and had tea with me. Col. Wilson came with his revolver in his belt. I received him and we had tea together. Although all other

Arshad



U36

members of my party were in the house, only Col. Chatterjee was with me during the discussion. He told me that he had come to arrest us. I told him that I was ready; but, there were two conditions, one that we all would be taken together, and second that all of us would be taken to Delhi and not to any other place. He said that he would send a message immediately to his headquarters, perhaps in Saigon or in Singapore, and would let me know on the following day. We agreed to meet again on the following day at 4 P.M.

32. In the meantime, I contacted my Vietnamese friends and I informed them that on the 22nd December, we were going to be arrested and asked them to broadcast on their radio thrice that we were arrested and that we were being taken to Delhi. Next day at 4, two cars came from Col. Wilson with ~~an~~ another officer with a message that Col. Wilson was waiting in another place for me and had asked all of us to go there and meet and talk and that he had received a message from his headquarters. We took the car and followed their instructions. Col. Wilson was waiting at the shop of Kewal Ram. He came into my car and we were taken to Col. Wilson's headquarters where we were arrested and the Chinese army officer, who was there, formally handed us over to the British. Next morning we were flown to Saigon and then to Singapore, where we were put in Pearl Hill jail and interrogated after two months. I was released at Singapore on 31st March 1946. Almost all my belongings including valuables disappeared from prison store. Then I contacted Mr. Chettur, who was Agent of Government of India in Singapore and asked him to repatriate me to India. This was done 2½ months later.

Arshad

U31

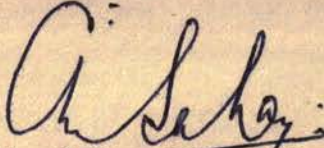
33. When the party of my friends came to Hanoi, I learnt perhaps from Mr. Das that a box containing jewellery worth, so far as I can surmise, not exceeding 1½ lakhs was with Netaji. I know nothing about funds of I.I.L. because I was never ~~in~~ directly incharge of Finance and funds.

34. About Netaji, my frank opinion is that if Netaji was alive, he would have come out or would have sent information to us. So far as I know, no one received any communication from him. I always think over the question particularly when I see some reports in the papers that he is alive. I always ask myself if he is alive, why he should be in hiding. If his purpose is to come to India with some political objective, he knows that today if he comes back or he had come back since 1947, he would be received with open arms because he would have been a great asset to our country at this juncture and during the last five years. Some people might think that he is not satisfied with the present Government and, therefore, he might be coming at some suitable moment in order to stage an armed revolt in India. I feel very disappointed at such thoughtless suggestions; because, after all, apart from anything else, it is an insult to a great patriot like Netaji to suggest that he would do anything to throw the country into chaos and disorder. These friends do not realise that if Netaji comes to invade India with the help of any army - foreign or Indian, whole of India will be shocked and he will fall in the esteem of the people of India as a whole. If he is in disagreement with the policy of the Government and dissatisfied with the present state of things and if he or his supporters feel that he could do better, there should be no necessity to stage armed conflict. Netaji would know that, today in India, he can have more freedom to preach his ideas than ever before.

A. Sahg

35. I am sure Netaji would have realised it that he would have much greater chances of success in winning over the people if he had appealed to the people and had shown the faults of the Government. I feel that I will be insulting the intelligence and the greatness of that great leader and patriot if I think that he could even dream, if he is alive, of coming with the aid of a foreign army to invade or to create an armed revolt in India. One may suggest that his political ideas and objective were not in line with the policy and programme of the present Government. But, I am sure, if he was alive, he would not try to achieve his end by creating disorder and chaos in India. However, if Netaji were alive, nobody would be happier than myself. I have entertained great regard for him since I came in contact with him. During the war, at times, I said things on radio to question the stand then taken by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru which in ordinary time I would never have thought of saying. But today I feel confident that Netaji, if he is alive, would be a great asset and a tower of strength to Nehru Government, and to us all, in the gigantic task of shaping the future of our great country. He said at Singapore, "Once India is independent, all these differences will disappear".

Dt. 3rd May '56.

  
(A.M. Sahay, Minister)  
Consul General for India.

Statement by Mr. Mir Ghulam Dastgir,  
recorded on 2nd May 1956 at Tourane. (433)

Address:- Rue Quang Nam, Tourane.

Address in India:- Nidur Post, Mayuram Taluk,  
Tanjore District, S. India.

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31

I have been in Tourane for the last 14 years. I was here during the Japanese occupation. One day some time in the year 1945 a Japanese officer, who was the Administrator of Tourane, by the name of Zuziko (Suziko) called me at his residence in Hotel Morin and told me that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was in Tourane. He asked me to see at about 8-30 P.M. As I was preparing to go and see him, there was an air-raid and I could not go to his place. The bombs burst on the same house in which he was residing. Netaji was putting up in a house on the way to the Station as had been arranged by the Japanese. It is about two furlongs from the Hotel Morin. At about 9-30 P.M. the same night Suziko sent his car for me asking me to come to the house where Netaji was staying. I could not go as the air raid alarm had sounded again. The air raid was on till about 3-30 A.M. and I could not meet him at night. The house in which he was residing was completely destroyed by the first bomb. Netaji was shifted to another house. I was informed of this by Suziko. Next day I learnt that Netaji had left early in the morning for Hanoi. He had come here from Saigon where I learnt he had addressed public meetings and asked the people to help in organizing the Indian National Army. In Hanoi he too, he had addressed public meeting and appealed for men and money for the Azad Hind Fauj. This was 2 or 3 months before the end of the war. I do not remember the dates accurately. I never heard of his coming here again after that day.

Mr. Suziko who was Civil Administrator of Tourane first came here in 1941 and stayed in Tourane till the cessation of hostilities in 1945. ( I do not remember in which month the war ended). In 1947 I visited Quangi and met Mr. Suziko there. He was training Viet-Minh forces. I have not met him since then. He could speak Hindustani fluently as he had been in Bombay for about seven years. He could also speak English and Chinese.

Only two bombs were dropped here that night.

Admitted correct.

*Dastgir*

U34



Mr. T. Hachiya.

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VBS

Statement by Shri Teruo Hachiya,  
370 Marunouchi Building, Marunouchi,  
Choyoda-ku, Tokyo, recorded on 8th  
May 1956 at 10-30 A.M. at Tokyo.

I was appointed a Minister to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, as far as I remember, some time in December 1944. At that time, I was in Tokyo. I went by a ship "Awa-Maru" from Japan to Saigon. Previously, I understood that Mr. Ishii, the Japanese Ambassador in Burma used to deal with the Azad Hind Government in case he was so requested, although not accredited to the latter. I was appointed as the first Minister to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind because Netaji thought that it would be better to have direct diplomatic relations with the Foreign Office in Japan through a Minister duly accredited and not always through the Military Officers.

From Saigon to Bangkok I and my party went by car. I stayed in Bangkok for some time waiting for a seat in a plane. On 17th of March, I went by a military plane to Rangoon; all the other members of my staff remained behind in Bangkok waiting for transport. I arrived in Rangoon on the 17th March 1945. On my arrival in Rangoon, I tried to meet Netaji. Mr. Ota who was already in Rangoon and had been working with the Hikari Kikan, but who was then attached to my staff, was asked by me to arrange for an interview for me with Netaji. This, however, could not be done owing to some diplomatic difficulty regarding credentials. I was under the impression when I left Tokyo that all these matters had been settled previously between the Foreign Office and Netaji. In this way, I could not meet Netaji while I was in Rangoon. Netaji and his party left Rangoon on the evening of 24th. We followed shortly afterwards. I could not go with Netaji's party as he was accompanied by the Hikari Kikan party. On the way, my car broke down and I and my party were obliged to undertake the

U36

journey by a military truck. At Waw, we found that the ferry bridge had been blown up. We were obliged to wade across the river. Next day when we were resting in a wood by the side of the road, Netaji learnt about me from some of the officers. We met there for the first time and Netaji asked me to accompany him in his car. From there Netaji and I went in the same car up to Sittang. General Isoda who was the Chief of the Hikari Kikan was also with us in the same party. He was staying in a separate house across the Sittang in a forest. After crossing the Sittang, Netaji and General Isoda discussed transport arrangements for the rest of his party particularly the Rani of Jhansi girls. Since adequate transport could not be provided for them, Netaji decided to walk on foot. I deputed Mr. Kakitsubo who was at that time First Secretary of the Legation, to accompany him. Mr. Kakitsubo is now in the Japanese Consul General in Sydney. He was a good friend of Netaji. From this place, I parted company with Netaji and went with General Isoda and Mr. Ota by truck to Moulmein. Netaji arrived soon after our arrival in Moulmein, one or two days later. We stayed in Moulmein for about a week when transport arrangements were made for Netaji's party and Netaji left Moulmein by car. We left Moulmein together. We arrived in Bangkok on 14th of May. The last portion of our journey to Bangkok was undertaken by train. In Bangkok, we stayed in a hotel, while Netaji was given a separate house. Netaji's house was outside the town. I remember I met Netaji once while he was in Bangkok. It was a brief interview of 10 or 20 minutes. I do not remember the subjects discussed but they were not of great importance.

After a short stay at Bangkok, Netaji went to Singapore. He returned from there on 16th of August after

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7 A.

U37

hearing that the Japanese had surrendered. As soon as Netaji arrived in Bangkok, I went and delivered to him a message which I had received from the Government of Japan. The message conveyed the decision of the Japanese Government to surrender. It contained an appreciation of the co-operation that Netaji had extended to them in the prosecution of war. The message also contained an offer from the Government of Japan to be of any assistance to him. I remember having a short discussion with Netaji on this subject and I think it was on this occasion that Netaji said that the Government of Japan having surrendered unconditionally would not be in a position to afford any protection to him. He was, therefore, more inclined to contact Russia. I did not make any further comments on this suggestion, but conveyed the gist of our conversation to my Government. I do not remember having received any reply to this from my Government. The next day, we left Bangkok in two aeroplanes which were arranged by General Isoda of the Hikari Kikan. As far as I remember, Netaji was accompanied by General Isoda, some other Japanese and five or six Indian officers whose names I do not recollect. As far as I remember, we left Bangkok in the morning and reached Saigon a few hours later. I do not remember what type of plane it was but it was a small plane in which Netaji travelled. About the time we left Bangkok, my impression was that Netaji was to proceed to Manchuria either direct or via Japan. I think he was first going to Japan. My impression was that he wanted to go to Japan to discuss his future plans and make necessary arrangements with the authorities in Japan.

I remember having been to Dalat once but it was not on this occasion. Matters relating to transport

J. A.



(13)

were being dealt with by the military authorities. At that time, I had no occasion to interfere and felt sorry that Netaji could get only two seats in the plane from Saigon but the situation was such that it was entirely beyond my control to provide more seats for him.

So far as I am concerned, I felt that once Netaji left Bangkok for Japan, it was not necessary for me to proceed any further but being asked by General Isoda to accompany Netaji up to Saigon, I did so. I had no plan to accompany Netaji beyond Saigon but might have done so if asked by our Foreign Office.

Netaji left Saigon some time in the afternoon. From Saigon Netaji was accompanied by one Indian Staff Officer. I know that General Shidei was also travelling by the same plane. I was told that General Shidei was going to Manchuria on transfer. I thought he was going either as Chief of the General Staff or as Assistant Chief of General Staff of the Japanese Army in Manchuria. The plane took off quite smoothly. We spent the night in a hotel. Mr. Kakitsubo, First Secretary, was also with me. As far as I remember, I returned to Bangkok by an aeroplane accompanied by Mr. Kakitsubo. I do not remember whether General Isoda accompanied us but I remember General Isoda told me either at Saigon or Bangkok that Netaji's plane had met with an accident. I cannot exactly remember whether he told me whether Netaji had been killed or not. Later I learnt that he had been killed. I think this information came through the Military Headquarters in Saigon to General Isoda who conveyed the same to me. I did not see the actual telegram that General Isoda had received. He conveyed the news to me verbally.

We stayed in Bangkok till November 1945 when I was taken to Delhi to appear as a witness in the Red Fort Trials.

Admitted correct.

*Tarun Chatterjee* 29th May, 1956.

439

33

Statement by Shri Narain Das, 64 Rue Fes Tangiers, French Morocco, recorded at Tokyo on 8-5-1956 at 3 P.M.

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During the war-time when the movement for India's independence was at its height in East Asia, I was at Saigon. I was Housing Secretary in the Indian Independence League, Saigon Branch. My job was to provide houses for the staff of the I.I.L. and I.N.A. I was a member of the Fund Collection Committee, Saigon. I do not exactly remember how much we collected. We collected about 70 to 75 lakh Piastres.

I first met Netaji when he arrived in Saigon accompanied by a young Indian having a small beard. I think his name was Hasan. They were on their way to Tokyo. The Japanese had sent for prominent Indians in Saigon to meet him at the Hotel Majestic which was at that time known as Nippon Hotel, where he was putting up. During the course of my stay in Saigon, I also met Col. Allagappan and General Chatterjee when I was appointed Housing Secretary. I handed over my residence to General Chatterjee. This house was located in the Giadingh area and belonged to our firm of Chothirmal.

Netaji visited Saigon a number of times but he always stayed at the Hotel Majestic. Netaji addressed meetings of Indians everytime he came to Saigon and he always demanded contributions for the Azad Hind Fauj who were fighting on the front-line. He also exhorted Indians to co-operate with him in furthering the Indian independence movement in the Far East. In all he must have come to Saigon about four or five times.

Mr. Loko Singh Advani was the Vice-President of our Indian Association and the President of our Sindhi community in Saigon. On day, it was, I think, on the

87

440

17th of August 1945, at about Lunch time, Mr. Advani was informed by the Japanese liaison that Netaji had come at my bungalow in Giadingh area and had been asked to come and meet Netaji there with all the prominent members of the Indian League and to make arrangements for food etc. Mr. Advani informed me and both of us went to the bungalow. It was at about 3 P.M. We went there and kept waiting till 4-30 or 5 P.M. Then we enquired of the orderly, Ram Neo Gosai who told us that Netaji had arrived with only one Japanese and that after taking food, had left immediately after lunch, i.e. before our arrival at the bungalow. We were very much disappointed.

Two or three days later, we read in the local papers that the plane carrying Netaji had crashed and that Netaji had died.

Two or three days later, I met General Chatterjee in Saigon. He came to the bungalow in Giadingh area. General Chatterjee was in a very disappointed mood because he was extremely anxious to meet Netaji and he was under the feeling that Netaji was anxious to meet him. General Chatterjee was accompanied by Lt. Pran Nath, his A.D.C. There were two or three other I.N.A. officers. They did not stay there for long; I think they hardly stayed there for one or two nights and they left for some unknown destination. When the British forces arrived in Saigon, I was arrested and kept in detention for 25 days. Later there was a Viet-Minh movement in Saigon and I could not go to my Villa for two or three months. When order was restored, I went to see my bungalow. I found that it had been totally destroyed.

In addition to this big house in Giadingh area, we had also rented other houses for accommodation of

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441

League and INA personnel. There was a broadcasting unit in Saigon also. We rented a house for this Unit which consisted of five or six persons. There were a number of ~~INA~~ officers. Some were connected with the broadcasting unit, others as Instructors for training, some more as orderlies and guards. These persons were ~~connected~~ occupying flats and outhouses which we had rented for them.

After we heard the news of the plane crash, we did not believe the news. So we did not hold any memorial meeting.

After my arrest in Saigon, I was interrogated by Capt. Brickwith and Captain Quereishi of the British Occupation forces. I left for India in 1946 and stayed there for three or four months and came again to Saigon.

Admitted correct.

*Lee an*



Captain K. Arai.

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443

Statement by Mr. Keikichi Arai (at present Leading Director, The Society of Polymer Science, Japan, Lecturer of Tokyo Univ. Lecturer of Keio Univ.), 9, 3-chome, Honcho, Nihonbashi, Shuo-ku, Tokyo, Japan, recorded on 9th May 1956 at 3 P.M.

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I was in the same plane as Netaji.

I was a Captain in the Air Force belonging to Ftukasa Unit No.2793. During the course of my service, I was posted at Saigon, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Taiping, Rangoon and Mandalay. I was also posted in Sumatra, Java and Indochina. At the time of the Japanese surrender, I was at Saigon. I was in Saigon for two weeks waiting for an aeroplane, to return to Tokyo, where I had been ordered to come back and report to War Office.

I met Netaji at Saigon aerodrome on 17th August 1945 at about mid-day. I was in the plane and the propeller had already started when Netaji and his party came in a car and asked the plane to wait so that they could come on board. In the plane were the following:-

Lt. Col. Nonogaki.  
Major Kono.  
Lt. Col. Sakai.  
Sergeant Okshita.  
Col. Habibur Rehman.  
Netaji Chandra Bose.  
General Shidei.  
Myself and others.

There were in all 12 or 13 persons on board including 3 or 4 members of the crew. I was a Ground Engineer in the Air Force and my job was to supply spare parts etc. The plane in which we flew was a twine-engined bomber of the latest type. It was not carrying any bombs at that time but was being used for transport. There were no seats and we were sitting on the floor. We took off from Saigon at about 1-30 P.M. quite smoothly. We reached Tourane in the evening; the flight took about 3 hours to reach Tourane from Saigon.

Netaji, Col. Habibur Rehman, General Shidei, Lt. Col. Nonogaki, myself and all the other officers on board, put up in the night at the largest hotel in the town whose name I do not recollect. We had dinner together and at the table General Shidei, myself and Netaji talked about the future of Asia and Europe.

Netaji said:-

"Although Japan was defeated in the war, it was significant in touching off national emancipation movements or stimulating underdeveloped countries of Southeast Asia

W.A.

444

to rise up. The objective of the Holy War has never died out because of Japan's defeat in the war, and I should like to declare that French Indo-China, Burma, Java as well as India would achieve their independence in the near future. Now, this has been realized and I am deeply impressed with it."

At that time, I was not aware where Netaji was proceeding. We kept talking till late hours in the night. We had breakfast early in the morning at break of dawn and proceeded to the plane and took off soon after. The take-off was smooth and the seating arrangement was as before which I have shown in the sketch plan. The crew was in the nose of the plane. On the right side was General Shidei and behind him Lt. Col. Sakai; opposite General Shidei was Netaji and behind him Col. Habibur Rehman. Then came Col. Nonogaki, Major Kono and myself.

After taking off from Tourane, the plane proceeded towards Formosa and landed at Taihoku at about noon on 18th August 1945. We got down and had our lunch in one tent. Some cotton cloth was spread on the ground as some very important persons were expected. We stayed at the air-field for about one hour. At the air-field I heard Netaji talking to Col. Rehman that his intention was to proceed to Mukuden, the capital of Manchuria. Myself, General Shidei and others were bound for Tokyo. Finally, it was decided that the plane should proceed to Mukuden although it was more distant than Japan. In order to go to Mukuden it was necessary to take on board more gasoline. It was filled to capacity. As a result, what with the baggage and passengers on board, the plane became overloaded. In a few minutes, we had gained about 500 meters approximately. I could not judge the height accurately as I could not see the ground. I heard two loud noises and the plane started to dive towards the earth. I found the ground rapidly approaching towards us, and the next moment I realized that the plane was crashing. I learnt later that the two loud noises were due first to one of the propellers dropping and the second to one of the engines falling out.

(Remarks:- "Cause of crash because of over-loading"

K. A. It was the first time in the history of Japanese Army plane that an aeroplane crashed as its propeller came off and the reaction caused the engine slip out of the

445

plane. The pilot was the veteran of Japanese Army and was matchless in the skill. He was specifically selected as special precaution was exercised for the safe flight.)

On crashing to the ground, the plane broke into two about the middle as shown in the red pencil in the sketch plan. Since I was sitting in the rear portion, I was thrown out. Since General Shidei and Netaji were sitting in the front portion, they were badly burnt, as they were trapped and could not get out. When the plane crashed, I was tossed out and almost senseless but I ran away from the aeroplane and halted about 15 meters away from the plane but I was not in my senses. Even though I was 15 meters away, the heat of the burning plane burnt the right portion of my face, the back sides of both my hands and the front portion of my fore-arm. (These show burnt marks).

I lost my senses. When I regained them, I saw a man running round the wrecked plane shouting "Shidei, shidei". I recognised that man to be Lt.Col. Sakai. Hearing this, I realised that I was not dead. As I was not in my senses, I cannot give details of the fire which was put out by the fire-fighting staff there. After that, I was taken in a motor vehicle to the Hospital. I was the first to be taken there. I was left at the Hospital gate from where I walked a few paces and went inside the hospital.

After sometime, Netaji and General Shidei were brought in the hospital. General Shidei was very badly burnt and his body was charred. Blood was coming out of his eyes and the corner of his mouth. I could not recognize the condition of his dress as he had been burnt all over his body.

V.A.



446

I was waiting at the entrance of the hospital.

|| I saw all the 12 or 13 persons involved in the plane crash being brought there in military vehicles. There were soldiers and army nurses accompanying them. All of them, including Netaji and General Shidei, with one exception, were carried on stretchers. Col. Nonagaki could walk. He told me that as I was injured I should go and receive treatment. So I came and laid down on a bed inside the hospital ward. Netaji and General Shidei were taken to a room to the left of the entrance. I was in a room to the right of the entrance. Those who were seriously burnt or injured, were taken to the room to the left of the entrance, others whose injury or burn was not so serious, were taken to the room to the right of the entrance. When they were brought in, I noticed that the bodies of Netaji and General Shidei had taken on the colour of tanned leather. I could not tell whether either Netaji or General Shidei had put their clothes on which had been burnt. My impression at that time was that both were dead. After I laid down on the hospital bed, my hands were in a state of cramp, my head was reeling and there was darkness before my eyes, and my whole body was in pain and I could not move. Half an hour after I laid down on the bed I enquired of a hospital nurse, whose name I did not recollect, about the condition of Netaji and General Shidei. I continued to ask about their condition from time to time thereafter. When I asked the nurse the first time, she told me that Netaji was alive but that General Shidei was dead. She kept me informed about Netaji's condition till she told me at about 10 p.m. || that he had expired. I was under the impression that a Doctor had been in attendance on Netaji all the time. I was given treatment, bandaged and confined to bed for

K.A

447

a few days. I was then transferred to another hospital. It might have been after 2 or 3 days. I did not see Netaji again. During my stay in the first hospital, I did not have any talk with any of the other injured persons. When I came to my ward, Netaji and General Shidei were taken to the other ward. I did not see them at all. There were three or four injured persons, in the same room as myself but I did not have any talk with them. I am not aware how the dead bodies of Netaji and General Shidei were disposed of.

2 or 3 of the injured persons who had also been taken to the second hospital (adjacent to Ryoto Hospital) died there.

Among those who were also taken to the second hospital, were Col. Nonogaki, Col. Habibur Rehman, Major Kono, and Col. Sakai. There were some others. A few days after going to the second hospital when my injuries were a little better and I could move a little, I met Col. Habibur Rehman and had talks with him. Col. Habibur Rehman's head, face and hands were bandaged. After two weeks, Col. Habibur Rehman with Col. Nonogaki went away to Tokyo taking with him Netaji's ashes and belongings. I do not know where the ashes were.

I was in the second hospital for about 40 days. Col. Sakai also went in the same plane as Col. Nonogaki. After the three above-named gentlemen had left, myself, Major Kono and one or two survivors from the crew of the wrecked plane proceeded to Tokyo in another plane. Among the survivors of the crew, I only recollect the name of Sargeant Okshita.

On returning to my home in Tokyo, I was nursed by my wife, who was doctress and later reported myself

K.A

448

to the Army Headquarters (Riku Gunsho). I was not interrogated either by American or British Intelligence. I did not relate the incident to any body lest it should cause sensation in the world, as I had a great respect for the late Netaji.

Question by Chairman: After the plane crash when did you see Col. Habibur Rehman first?

Answer: I saw him in the second hospital.

Question by Shri Maitra: Was there any official enquiry after the air-crash?

Answer: There is always an official enquiry but in the present case I have no knowledge of it as I was in the hospital.

Interpreted by Mr. Rahman.

Admitted correct.

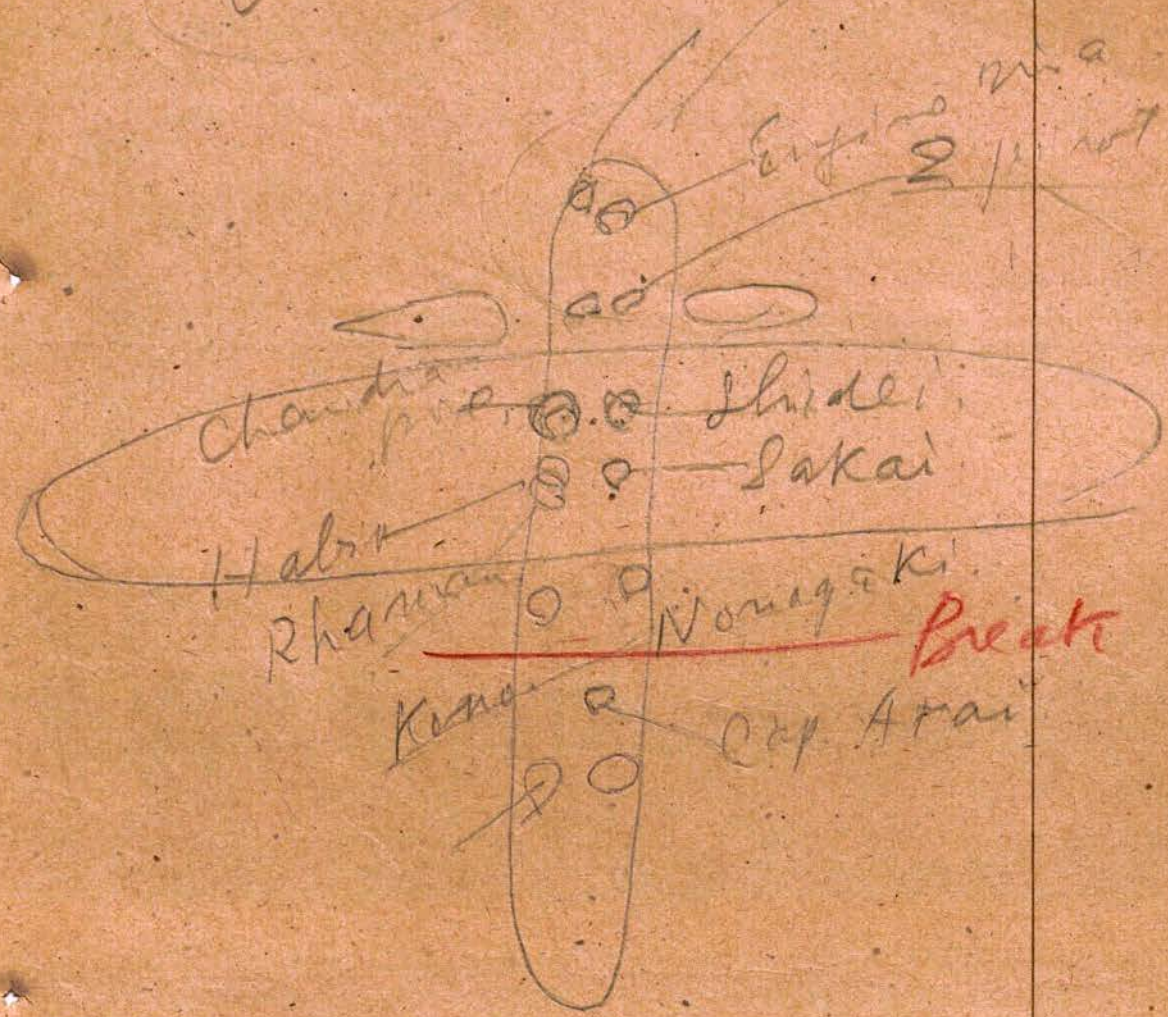
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General S. Isoda.

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Statement by Ex-Lt. General Saburo Isoda, Manbamaichi, Tanogun, Gumma Prefec., recorded on 10th May at 3 P.M., 12th May at 11 A.M. and 2-30 P.M. at Tokyo. (Wst)

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On the 7th of January 1944 I was appointed Chief of the Hikari Kikan by the Imperial Order in China. By the end of the month I made contact in Tokyo with the Chief of Army Staff and Chief of the Naval Staff. Sometime in the end of January, I went to Singapore.

Previous to this appointment, I was commanding the 22nd Division in China with the rank of Lt. General.

At Singapore, I met General Chatterjee who was the Foreign Minister to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. I met senior officers of the Azad Hind Fauj in Singapore and left for Rangoon on or about the 10th of February. In Rangoon I met Netaji.

The Hikari Kikan was a liaison organisation between the Provisional Government of Azad Hind on the one hand and the Government of Japan on the other. At the same time, it was also a liaison organisation between the I.N.A. and the Japanese Military Command.

I reported to Netaji that I had taken over from my predecessor, General Yamamoto and told him that I would try to discharge my duties to the best of my ability. In reply, Netaji told me that he would look to me for all help and assistance in the matter of any difficulties that might be met regarding the movement etc.

The organisation of the Hikari Kikan was as follows:-

General Yamamoto was the Chief of Staff.

Col. Kagawa was the Political and Supply Staff Officer.

*Isoda*  
Lt. Col....

Lt. Col. Takagi, General Staff Officer, who was the Liaison about special service and information and dealt with the I.N.A. soldiers.

Major Takahashi, Senior Adjutant.

Lt. Nyui, Junior Adjutant.

Different officers dealt with different functions at the headquarters. In addition there were branches of Hikari Kikan in different places, such as Singapore, Penang, Bangkok, Saigon. There were sub-sections in Djakarta, Manila, Hanoi, Sumatara. In Djakarta, Manila and such other places where there were no I.N.A. units, the Hikari Kikan dealt with the local branch of the I.I.L. There were also Hikari Kikan units in the front-line area where the I.N.A. units were operating.

Shortly after my arrival in Rangoon, it was decided that the I.N.A. would take part in the Imphal operations in accordance with the plan which was arranged previously. Accordingly Netaji went to Meimyo where he had consultations with General Mutaguchi, Commander of the Japanese Army in that front. As a result of these discussions, the I.N.A. was deployed for action. During the discussions with General Mutaguchi, it was confirmed again that the I.N.A. would function on an equal basis on the front-line and that the Indian National Army would receive orders direct from their own Supreme Headquarters under the guidance of Netaji in Rangoon which were agreed between the Japanese Army and I.N.A. previously.

In the initial stages in the battle of Imphal, the Japanese and the I.N.A. forces made good headway but later on their advance was halted due to certain difficulties connected with the transport, rations and ammunitions. Early in July 1944, the Japanese and the INA forces had to make a general withdrawal all along the front. Then the I.N.A. first concentrated in the area of Mandalay and

*Soder*

453

and eventually in the area of Pyinmana.

After the withdrawal, Netaji was disappointed but he ordered re-organisation of his forces and was determined to continue the fight.

In the first instance, previous to the Imphal operations, Netaji thought that the offensive from Akyab side to Chittagong area would have better chances of success as there was more political activity in that area but later due to other more important military considerations, the Imphal front was selected.

On or about October 23rd, Netaji left Rangoon for Tokyo, via Saigon, Hainan, Taihoku and Osaka. I accompanied Netaji with Col. Kagawa, Mr. Nigeshi and Lt. Nyui. General Chatterjee, General Kiani and Col. Habibur Rehman accompanied Netaji.

One of the principal objects of his visit was to arrange for assistance from the Japanese Government in the form of repayable loans rather than as outright gifts. The second object was to obtain supplies of arms and ammunition including tanks, guns and supporting weapons. The third object was to increase the strength of the I.N.A.

The loan was arranged payable on a monthly basis. Due to shortage, the Japanese Government could not supply tanks and guns but arranged for a bomber plane for Netaji and also a small quantity of ammunition. The Japanese Government recognised the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and agreed to establish diplomatic relation with it. Netaji was not in favour of the relations previously subsisting with the Government of Azad Hind which was something like the relation with the Government of Manchuko. He wished that there should be a separate and directly accredited Minister or Ambassador to his Government. Mr. Hachiya was appointed as the

*Sode*



454

Japanese Minister to the Provisional Government. Mr. Hachiya arrived in Rangoon in February 1945 but as he carried with him no credential from the Emperor, he was not received by Netaji. The credential was subsequently sent to Mr. Hachiya by the Japanese Government.

On his return journey from Tokyo, on the 29th of November, Netaji stayed in Fukuoka due to bad weather and from there proceeded to Shanghai. He reviewed the work of the I.I.L. at Shanghai. At Taihoku, he was held up for three days due to bad weather. From Taihoku, we went to Saigon via Hainan. At Saigon, Netaji met General Count Terauchi, the Supreme Commander of the Southern Japanese Forces. There Netaji informed him of the talks he had with the Japanese Government in Tokyo. From there I proceeded to Rangoon and Netaji went to Singapore. Netaji returned to Rangoon from Singapore in the end of December after inspecting his troops in Malaya. During the month of January, there was no special activity except that Netaji inspected the I.N.A. units. Also during this month, Netaji's birthday week was celebrated on which occasion, people donated large quantities of gold and jewellery. 1½ times his weight was collected in gold and jewellery.

In February, Netaji inspected the front accompanied by Col. Habibur Rehman and Major Takahasi, Senior Adjutant. Netaji inspected the front-line of Meiktila.

At that time, in a certain sector from the Irrawady river, some of the Army units had surrendered as a result of which, the situation had become very critical. Netaji was keen to visit that sector himself. Netaji went to Meiktila and contacted General Shah Nawaz Khan and put him in charge of that front to restore the situation. Since the military situation was getting very precarious on that front, I sent a telegram to Netaji advising him not to proceed to

Soda

455

the Popa sector as that was considered to be very dangerous. Instead I went there myself with Col. Gulzara Singh. When Col. Gulzara Singh and I were returning from Popa front to Rangoon, at about mid-night a plane dived and machine-gunned our car. This was at about mid-night. Such instances generally occurred. After we returned to Rangoon, Netaji was at Meiktila area. As it was rather dangerous to remain there, the British forces having advanced, I was anxious that Netaji should return to Rangoon soon. After inspecting his troops at the front, Netaji returned to Rangoon about the 10th of February 1945. Due to advance of the British forces and withdrawal of our forces Netaji was rather disturbed and we discussed some of our future plans about the defence in the front-line at Rangoon. Eventually, Netaji decided to retire with his headquarters and some I.N.A. units from Rangoon to Moulmein on 24th April 1945. Netaji's party arrived in Moulmein about the 1st of May. Netaji's departure was delayed almost to the last minute because Netaji insisted that the Rani of Jhansi unit should be evacuated from Rangoon before he left Rangoon. At Moulmein Netaji attended to various details for arranging transport for the rest of his party, his troops and the Rani of Jhansi regiment. Having left Moulmein on or about the 10th of May, Netaji arrived in Bangkok on the 14th of May. It was after our arrival in Bangkok that I started negotiations with the Government of Japan regarding Netaji's plans to move his headquarters to Shanghai. After Netaji retreated to Bangkok from Rangoon, we discussed some of our future plan. Netaji wanted to remove his headquarters to Shanghai and a Branch at Peking and disperse his forces in different parts of China. As the Japanese Military authorities could not provide Netaji with the necessary transport, this plan

*Gode*

456

fell through. Another plan was that the Headquarters would be at Saigon with Branches at Shanghai and Peking or any place in North China and Netaji would inspect these places by plane. The reason for selecting Peking was that Netaji would be nearer Russian territory and so would be in a better position to contact Soviet Russia. In the beginning, the Government of Japan and the Imperial General Headquarters, Tokyo, were reluctant to accept this scheme but later when I explained to them that Netaji's intention was not to cut off his relations with Japan even a little but to have an alternative contact with Russia while maintaining full contact with the Government of Japan, they accepted this plan. This plan was approved by the Government of Japan with regard to Netaji's Government, the I.N.A. troops and the Indian Independence League. This was in the middle of May after Netaji came to Bangkok. The normal channel of communication with the Imperial General Headquarters and the Japanese Government was through the headquarters of F.M. Count Terauchi but in very urgent cases, we could deal direct with the Imperial General Headquarters, Tokyo, under intimation to F.M. Terauchi. The channel of communication from the Japanese Government and the Imperial General Headquarters was the same. The acceptance by the Government of Japan of Netaji's plan was conveyed to me direct by the Imperial General Headquarters, Tokyo, over the wireless. The intimation was also formally sent to me through the Headquarters of F.M. Terauchi. I communicated this decision of the Government of Japan to Netaji immediately. I do not know what Netaji's reactions were but he was of the opinion that the Army should start moving towards Saigon.

In Bangkok, Netaji made arrangements for the reception of the troops who were pouring into Bangkok and he also made arrangements to reorganise the units of the

*Soda*





159

は生きて居る北だ、其の機亡く留られたこととを分院で聞いた。

殺傷者は同日夕方北の航空分院に患者輸送者で送られた。その時ボース氏

している。

つたが通訳らしき人と割合はつきり落着いた口調で話していったことを見聞

上段の段であった。ボース氏は向い側へ立ち去る。午後二時頃搭乗

通りにして居る何事か

赤松の山



移つていたが、<sup>残留</sup>の關係、<sup>考謀</sup>には兩名の赴任の處に正東に候旨を以て  
 らに<sup>候旨</sup>を以て置いた。終戦の詔勅はサイゴン放送局で  
 八月十七日に當つて我々兩名に飛行機搭乗を許すとの通知<sup>早々に</sup>  
 身廻品を携つて自動車で飛行場に馳付けた。當時は終戦とは申し  
 下ら<sup>現</sup>地では申すしも齊整の状態ではなかつたし、情勢の混沌化を予  
 想出来る事態<sup>の</sup>が兩名の赴任の實現<sup>の</sup>と當つたものと想像を以る。正午頃  
 飛行場に若くは始め、来る飛行機が九七重爆機と、これがホルの第五航空  
 隊のもの、日本に行くものなると、米配を振つて居る飛行服の將校が初より二期下  
 の野々垣中佐考謀なことを知つた。そして同隊中に赴任される四手井中將  
 がロス氏一行が同様搭乗するとの話を聞いた。「四手井中將がロス氏一行は大分  
 遅<sup>飛行場に</sup>に到着し、特にロス氏の従員の制限などで文滞が長引いて結局ロス氏  
 と副官のブライマン大佐(若音がむづかしかつたので少々違ふかも知れないが以下  
 へう記述する)が搭乗することとなり漸く二一五時以離陸しておいて時頃  
 づう飛行場に着陸、同社の共站宿舎に泊つた。宿舎で四手井中將から  
 ロス氏の希望が満洲に行くこと、より副中將と同行すること、従つてこの



2462

Indian National Army. The I.N.A. units were accommodated in Choulburi camp near Bangkok. Later about the middle of June 1945 Netaji left Bangkok for a tour of inspection of units in Singapore and Malaya with the object of raising their morale. I did not accompany Netaji to Singapore. Mr. Hachiya also stayed behind in Bangkok. Mr. Hachiya had proceeded independently from Rangoon, but at Waw, he met Netaji's party and from there to Sittang river he and I came with Netaji in the same car. Netaji returned from Singapore to Bangkok on 16th of August 1945.

On 9th or 10th of August while listening to Radio broadcasts from San Francisco and Moscow and some other places, I came to know that the Government of Japan had started negotiations for surrender through the Russian Govt. Then I came to the conclusion that this was probably correct. I was, therefore, keen that Netaji should return to Bangkok quickly, so that I could explain the situation to him but since Netaji was very busy in the inspection of his troops he could not return before the surrender. On 13th of August I heard over the San Francisco and Moscow Radios that the Government of Japan would accept unconditional surrender which was requested by the Allied Powers. At this stage, too, I tried to contact Netaji and asked him to hurry back to Bangkok but this too could not be done. On 13th August after I listened to the Radio broadcasts, I received the following order through the G.H.Q. of F.M. Terauchi from the Imperial General Headquarters, Tokyo. The order was to the effect -

1. that the Kwantung army in Manchuria will take up a defensive attitude and continue to resist all attacks from Soviet Russia. The main force of the Japanese Army was to continue fighting as best as it could in the Pacific Ocean operation.
2. that the forces under F.M. Terauchi were to continue to hold their present positions and continue the task already allotted to them.
3. that the orders given above relating to the Kwantung army, Pacific region army and armies

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463

under the command of F.M. Count Terauchi, were to be communicated to the Head of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army.

Since Netaji was not present in Bangkok then, I communicated this information to General Bhonsle who was the Chief of Staff of I.N.A. I made it clear to General Bhonsle that this order was received from the Imperial General Headquarters in Tokyo and that I did not know what the intention of the Japanese Government, which had the authority to decide yes or no towards the request of unconditional surrender, was as I had received no information from the Japanese Government in this respect. Since I suppose that the Japanese Govt. will probably accept the request of the unconditional surrender, I hinted General Bhonsle about this point as above stated. I communicated this information to General Bhonsle on the 14th of August.

At mid-day on 15th of August, I heard a special broadcast by the Emperor of Japan asking the Japanese forces to surrender. I communicated this to General Bhonsle. The content of the Emperor's broadcast was that in order to save the Japanese nation from destruction, he (the Emperor) had decided to surrender. He appealed to all his forces to obey the surrender order.

General Bhonsle and I sent a telegram to Netaji informing him of the Japanese Government's surrender and requesting him to return to Bangkok immediately.

On 16th of August, Netaji returned to Bangkok. Mr. Hachiya, Lt. Col. Takagi, Col. Kagawa, Lt. Nyui, General Bhonsle and I went to the aerodrome to receive him. From the aerodrome, Netaji came straight to my house which was nearer the aerodrome than Netaji's usual place of residence. I did not remember who accompanied Netaji. I remember that Netaji was accompanied by three or four I.N.A. officers. They had travelled from Singapore in Army bomber - probably his own plane. I do not remember exactly he might have travelled

*Gode*

464

in his own plane. I found Netaji very much depressed. At my house, we discussed the present situation arising out of the surrender of the Japanese. Netaji expressed a desire to go to Russia. I promised all the help that I could give to Netaji. Netaji had some difficulty regarding funds. Eventually, the plan ~~was~~ that was finally settled was that Netaji would first go to Tokyo, thank the Japanese Government for all the assistance that they had given him and secure some more financial aid, if necessary, and then proceed to Russia via Manchuria.

At Bangkok, I made arrangements for two aeroplanes to take us to Saigon. Next day, i.e. on 17th August 1945, early in the morning at about 7 A.M. we left Bangkok by these two planes; in one plane were Netaji, Ayer, Hasan and Habibur Rehman. I do not remember if Gulzara Singh was there but later I saw him at Saigon, and in the second plane were myself, Minister Hachiya, my Adjutant, Secretary to Mr. Hachiya and some other Japanese officers. It took us about an hour and a half to reach Saigon. We arrived there at about 9 A.M. Both the planes landed safely at Saigon. At the aerodrome, we were received by Staff Officer Lt. Col. Tada of the Terauchi Army (Southern Army). As soon as we alighted from the plane, we were told by Col. Tada that there was only one seat available on the plane and that Netaji alone could go by that plane. On hearing that the Southern Army were prepared to offer only one seat to Netaji, I was very annoyed and told Col. Tada that it was a very regrettable matter that Netaji who had done so much for us, should find difficulty in securing more seats by the plane. In order to secure some more seats in the plane, I decided to go to Dalat near the headquarters of F.M. Count Terauchi. I told Netaji of this decision and requested him to proceed to the headquarters of the Indian Independence

Goda

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465

League, Saigon, and to wait for my return from Dalat. I went to Dalat accompanied by my Adjutant, Lt. Nyui. From Saigon I went by a very small plane which could accommodate only two or three passengers. As soon as I arrived at the Dalat aerodrome and was preparing to proceed to the headquarters of F.M. Terauchi, Col. Yano accompanied by another Staff Officer, arrived at the aerodrome. Col. Yano was the Chief of the Information Section at the headquarters of the Southern Army, Dalat. He asked me to wait a little at the aerodrome and not meet F.M. Terauchi as no useful purpose would be served by my meeting him then as no plane was available. Shortly afterwards, I received a telephone call from General Numata, Chief of Staff of the Southern Army, Dalat, informing me that he had brought matters relating to Netaji, to the notice of F.M. Terauchi and that he was hopeful that they would succeed in providing two or three seats besides Netaji in a plane shortly. Having got this assurance from General Numata, I did not consider it necessary to meet F.M. Terauchi, and returned to Saigon by the same plane by which I had gone to Dalat. When I arrived at the Saigon aerodrome, I was told by Col. Tada that besides Netaji only one more seat would be available on the plane. I was very much upset to hear this news as I had been assured at Dalat that at least two or three seats more besides Netaji would be available. I was in a fix and was very reluctant to go to Netaji. Eventually, I did ~~go~~ ~~xxxNaxajix~~ go to the place where Netaji was staying in Saigon at the Branch office of the I.I.L. and told him about the situation. I do not remember whether Col. Tada, who told me that only one seat besides him would be available, met me at the aerodrome or at the residence of Netaji. At the residence of Netaji, I saw Ayer, Chatterjee,

*Sode*

466

Hasan, Habib and Gulzara Singh. I do not remember accurately but I think Mr. Debnath Das and Col. Pritam Singh were also there. Netaji, when told by me that only one seat besides him would be available in the plane, was of the opinion that it would be useless for him to go unless he was accompanied by all the other officers and he insisted that seats should be made available for the whole of his party. Netaji wished to take the whole of his party with him but I told him that it was impossible at that moment as only two seats were available. This discussion went on for a long time. Netaji was insistent upon taking the whole of his party with him. Eventually, on the persuasion of Mr. Ayer and General Chatterjee, Netaji asked me to wait for his decision which would be given to me after 10 minutes. I waited there for 10 minutes when Netaji came and told me in a very disgusted mood that he would avail of the two seats that were being offered to him on the condition that the rest of his party should follow him the next day. I requested Netaji to avail himself of the two seats offered and promised him that we would make arrangements for carrying the other officers the next day as the circumstances permitted. After this Netaji left for the aerodrome.

I remember Netaji told me at Saigon in his house that he would like to go to Russia via Dairen. After reaching Dairen, he would try and contact the Govt. in Tokyo by flying direct from Dairen to Tokyo. If the circumstances did not permit this, then he would proceed direct to Russia from Dairen. Netaji was to fly to Dairen via Taihoku (Formosa).

We arrived at the aerodrome at about 5 P.M. The plane had been delayed for over three hours. All the

*Soda*

467

passengers were sitting inside the plane. The whole of Netaji's party, Mr. Hachiya, Staff Officer Col. Tada, my Assistant, a Major, my Adjutant, 3 or 4 military officers and some members of the I.I.L. went to the aerodrome to see off Netaji. The two seats that were offered in the plane were availed of by Netaji and Col. Habibur Rehman. On arrival at the aerodrome, Netaji's baggage was unloaded from his car. We were told by the Chief pilot that the baggage was too heavy and could not be put on the plane. Consequently about one-half or one-third was left behind. I told Netaji to take as little baggage as possible as the plane was already heavily overloaded. I told him that since General Shidei was accompanying him, he would make all the arrangements for his requirements on arrival at the destination. Netaji's baggage was sorted out at the Saigon aerodrome and only the bare necessities were taken with him but even then it was quite a lot. Just at that moment, the propellers of the plane started. I requested Netaji to board the plane. Just then Major Hassan came and told me that the two boxes containing presents to Netaji from three lakh Indians in East Asia had not arrived. He requested me to hold up the plane till these arrived. At the aerodrome Netaji had to wait for 30 minutes for Mr. Nigeshi and two other I.N.A. officers who were bringing two leather suit cases each of which were about 30% long, about 8" high and about 16" wide. In order to get these boxes on board, the propellers of the engine were stopped again. I have no idea what these cases contained. The plane was accordingly detained and the engines stopped. When these two boxes arrived at the aerodrome, we loaded them in the plane. The propellers of the plane started. While loading these boxes,

Soda

468

I found that although they looked small in size but they were quite heavy. I cannot say exactly what the weight was of these boxes. From what Hassan told me I concluded that these boxes contained gold and jewellery. I do not remember accurately the number of packages that Netaji took with him but I think they were four or five. Netaji's clothings were contained in leather suit cases which had been loaded on the plane previously.

Before emplaning, Netaji shook hands with all of us. At the last minute, he turned to me and shook hands with me again. Netaji did not say anything to me while saying Good Bye but I wished him a happy journey and safe arrival at the destination and success in his mission for securing India's freedom. The plane took off quite normally. It was a brand new plane. Besides Netaji and Col. Habibur Rehman, there were six or seven other Japanese officers on the plane but I do not know their names except General Shidei. It was not the same plane which had carried Netaji from Bangkok to Saigon. It was a bigger and new bomber. I knew General Shidei well. Previously he was the Chief of Staff with General Kimura, Commander-in-Chief of Burma Army. At that time, he was proceeding to Manchuria to take up his new appointment as Vice Chief of the Staff, Kwantung Army. He was proceeding to Dairen via Taihoku. Although the Emperor had broadcast on 15th calling upon all the Armies to cease fighting, the armies in Manchuria were resisting the Russian advance and fighting was still in progress there. General Shidei was being sent to Manchuria.

It was expected that all the passengers on board, would get off the plane at Dairen and then later if the circumstances were favourable, Netaji would undertake the journey to Tokyo and return to Dairen. In case the

Gode

469

circumstances for his going to Tokyo were not favourable, he would enter Manchuria independently and try and contact the Russian forces there.

After Netaji's plane took off, I spent that night in Saigon. On the following day, i.e. 18th August 1945, while I was still at Saigon, I received a telegram from the headquarters of the Southern Army, Dalat, in the later afternoon or early evening. The telegram contained the news that the plane carrying Netaji, the leader of the Indian Independence Movement, had crashed at Taihoku aerodrome and that Netaji was very seriously injured and that he had been taken to the hospital. As soon as I received the telegram, I sent a telegram to the Army H.Q. in Taihoku expressing my grief at the accident and hoping that Netaji would recover soon. I communicated this information to the Branch of the Hikari Kikan at Bangkok. A few hours after the first telegram, I received another telegram from the Southern Army telling me that Netaji had expired in the hospital, at about 9 P.M. I communicated this information to my headquarters at Bangkok. I did not communicate this to any body else as I thought that it must have been communicated to them separately. I also sent a telegram of condolence to the headquarters of the Formosan Army. I cannot remember if I sent any message to the Formosan Army, regarding taking of photographs, etc. of Netaji's body as a proof of his death but I know that the Formosan Army wished to cremate him at Taihoku. I did not communicate with the Imperial General Headquarters at Tokyo because I know that the Formosan Army and the Southern Army would be communicating direct with the Imperial General Headquarters on the subject. The same day from Saigon I sent a telegram to the Imperial General Headquarters in Tokyo to ensure that Netaji's ashes and other belongings

Goda



470

are treated with care during the journey and preserved carefully in Japan. I cannot remember exactly whether I left Saigon for Bangkok on 19th or 20th but it was on one of these days. At Saigon I learnt that General Shidei had been killed in the plane crash. At that time, I did not know what had happened of Col. Habibur Rehman but later I learnt that he had been badly burnt. I do not remember if I received any official information about the accident. *in addition to these telegrams* I learnt later that the plane took off and soon after there was engine trouble and it crashed.

I wished to go to Taihoku where the plane crash had taken place but at that time there was a great difficulty in securing a passage to that place by plane. A few days after Netaji's departure, the rest of the party of Netaji, including Mr. Ayer and General Chatterjee, were moved to Hanoi by plane. I cannot say what happened to that party later on. They might have entered China.

Then I left for Bangkok and reached there the same day. On reaching there I talked with General Bhonsle. I kept in constant touch with him until September, the 17th, when I was arrested and sent to jail in Bangkok. A few days later I was flown from Bangkok via Taipeng to Singapore. In Singapore I was lodged in the Outram Jail. On arrival of Lord Mountbatten, I was given orders that I was not to talk to any other person whether he be an Indian or a Japanese. I stayed in Singapore for about two months. In the beginning of November, I was taken by plane to Delhi to appear as a witness in the Red-Fort trials. On arrival at the Red Fort, I met Mr. Hachiya and Col. Khagawa. Three or four days after my arrival in Delhi, I met Col. Habibur Rehman. His face was badly burnt. His

Goda

477

His hands were also burnt. I talked to Col. Habibur Rehman and heard the full story about Netaji's death from him. He told me that he had taken the ashes of Netaji to Tokyo. He did not tell me where he had kept those ashes. Later I learnt that those ashes were kept in a temple known as Renkoji temple. I learnt of this when I arrived in Japan. General Yamamoto and General Kawabe told me about the ashes being kept in Renkoji temple. Since my arrival in Japan I have been to that temple twice. I went to the temple to pay my homage and respects to Netaji's ashes. Mrs. Tojo, General <sup>W b</sup> Kawabe, General Yamamoto and I and Mr. Murti with his Secretary also went to the temple. I was 18th of August <sup>or three</sup> two years ago. We carried offerings to pay homage to the memory of Netaji according to Buddhist custom. I do not remember the exact date when I went there next; but I remember that I did go there again to offer my respects.

I have no personal knowledge of what happened to Netaji's belongings or to the treasure that he was carrying. I read certain reports in newspapers that when the plane crashed at Taihoku, the contents of those boxes containing treasure, were scattered all over the place. These were collected and placed in a box and later sent to Tokyo. I have no personal knowledge about this treasure but I learnt from newspapers that Lt. Col. Tanaka received this box from Formosa and handed over to an officer of the I.I.L., Japan.

I consider Netaji to be a very great patriot whose ~~only~~ thought was about the welfare and independence of his country. He did not care for money and spent the minimum amount on his personal comfort.

I am convinced that Netaji died in the plane crash that took place at Taihoku.

Isoda

Is

Interpreted by Mr. Rehman.

Admitted correct.

Saburo Isoda  
 Ex-Lt. General, Chief of Hikeri Kikan

472

Statement by Shri J. Murti, 760 Asagaya 1-Chome Suginami-ku, Tokyo, recorded at Tokyo on 11-5-1956 at 3 P.M.

86

I came to Japan in December 1938 and I have not been to India since. I am the younger brother of Shri M. Rama Murti who was the President of the Indian Independence League, Tokyo. At present, my brother Mr. Rama Murti is in Madras at Mound Road, Rayala Building, Coronet (Madras). I was in Tokyo when Netaji came to Tokyo for the first time either in May or June 1943. He was staying at the Imperial Hotel. He was accompanied by one officer whom I recognise in the photograph. This officer is recognised by the Chairman as Major Hassan. There was no other Indian with him on that occasion. He called all the Indians to the Imperial Hotel and gave us a ~~xxxxixix~~ talk on how to organise ourselves for the coming struggle for India's liberation. I did not see him again on that occasion. Next time when I saw him was when a big meeting was held in Hibya Park. This meeting was held soon after the announcement of the establishment of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. I think it was in October 1943. It was a very big gathering consisting of Japanese and Indians. It was addressed by all the leaders of East Asia who had gathered in Tokyo for the Greater East Asia Conference. The greatest applause was given to Netaji. That was the last time when I met him.

I heard the news of the air crash through my brother to whom Mr. Ayer had spoken about it the day after Mr. Ayer himself arrived in Tokyo. This would be in the last week of August 1945. After 4 or 5 days I met Mr. Ayer personally in Mrs. Sahay's home. He was staying in Mrs. Sahay's house. Mr. Sahay was not there. Mr. Ayer told all the Indians present there, Tokyo cadets

478

and Mr. Sahay's family that he had heard from the Japanese sources that the plane carrying Netaji had died as a result of the injuries received in the plane crash. He told us that Col. Habibur Rehman who was involved in the same crash, was expected to come to Tokyo and on his arrival we would be able to get the true story from him. A few days afterwards, Col. Rehman arrived in Tokyo. He was accompanied by some Japanese Military Officer who brought him to the house of my brother who took him to Mrs. Sahay's house as accommodation for him had been arranged at her house. Mr. Ayer was also staying at Mrs. Sahay's house. On recollection I now remember that perhaps on the same day or a day before Col. Rehman came to our house, Mr. Ayer had brought Netaji's ashes and kept them in our house. I do not know from where they had brought the ashes. My brother had accompanied Mr. Ayer when he went to bring the ashes. They told me later that they had brought those ashes from the Japanese Military Headquarters. I place before the Committee a letter signed by Col. Habibur Rehman, dated 24-8-1945, Taihoku, Taiwan, purporting to be a statement of Col. Habibur Rehman Khan, Indian National Army, regarding the air crash at Taihoku, Formosa. This letter gives the details of the air crash on 18th August 1945 and the details subsequent to the crash including the demise of Netaji and General Shidei. I found this letter on my brother's file. As far as I remember, it accompanied the ashes.

When I first saw Col. Habibur Rehman, his head, hands and his right knee or just below it were all bandaged and he was limping. When Col. Habibur Rehman arrived at our house, the first thing he did was to go to the place where Netaji's ashes were kept and bowed before

474

before them. All the Tokyo cadets were present in our house at that time. Immediately after this, Col. Habibur Rehman was taken to the house of Mrs. Sahay where he was given a room to stay. I used to attend regularly to Col. Habibur Rehman's injuries. The day after his arrival at Mrs. Sahah's place, Col. Rehman asked all Tokyo cadets to assemble at Mrs. Sahay's house and other local Indians were also invited. These included Mrs. Sahah's family and our family; the I.N.A. broadcasting unit, Tokyo, were also present. Col. Habibur Rehman made exactly the same statement which is contained in the written statement which I presented to the Committee. Briefly, he said that due to lack of space, Mr. Ayer could not also accompany Netaji as was expected previously. So it was decided that Col. Habibur Rehman should at least accompany Netaji. The Japanese allowed Netaji only one seat for himself but on great insistence they allowed one more and it was decided that Col. Rehman should accompany Netaji. As soon as they came to Taihoku and took off after reaching a ~~high~~ height of about 100 ft. or 200 ft, the plane crashed and it caught fire and Netaji being in the front, received severe burns. Col. Habibur Rehman was not severely burnt but while he was trying to put out clothes of Netaji, his hands were burnt. Netaji was taken to the hospital where he died.

I do not remember whether he mentioned having  
seen Netaji's body or not. I remember he said that Netaji was cremated near the Taihoku aerodrome and his ashes were brought. The ashes came to Tokyo along with him. These ashes were handed over to Mr. Ayer in the morning and Col. Habibur Rehman came to our house in the evening. The ashes were kept in our home originally. Then after about 7

475

-4-

to 10 days of being brought to our house, it was decided that it would be better to transfer the ashes to some shrine as it was apprehended that the Anglo-Americans would take custody of the ashes. My brother, as the President of the I.I.L. went to several temples to select a suitable one. It was found that in a larger temple, there were difficulties as there were many authorities to consult. Eventually a small temple was selected. The ashes were taken in an informal procession to the temple from our home. On the insistence of Mrs. Sahay, the ashes were transferred from our house to her house and kept there for one or two days. From there the ashes were taken in a procession to the temple. All the Tokyo INA cadets, my brother and I, Mrs. Sahay and her family, I.N.A. broadcasting unit were present. Mr. Ayer was also with the procession. Col. Rehman could not accompany the procession as he was wanted by the American police for interrogation. Besides the Tokyo cadets numbering about 40, there were a small number of Japanese. About 10 or 15 Japanese Military Officers and civilians were also present in the procession. The ashes were carried by a cadet by the name of Virik. The procession went from Mrs. Sahay's house to the Renkoji temple which was at a distance of about two miles from her house. On arrival at the temple, the ashes were put on the altar and as the flowers and wreaths were placed, the religious ceremony was conducted by 4 or 5 Buddhist priests.

Mr. Ayer had written on the cloth wrapping on the urn the words-

"NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE"

I am not quite sure whether he wrote this at our house or at the temple. At the conclusion of the ceremony, we

U70

returned to our homes leaving the ashes in the temple. The name of the priest in charge of the Renkoji temple is Rev. Mochi Zuki. Since then, on the 18th of every month I and my family with a priest have been paying our respects.

As there was every likelihood of the ashes being taken away by the Occupation forces, Mr. Ayer divided the ashes and kept a small portion in our house. My brother used to worship the ashes regularly. These ashes are still at our home in Tokyo.

When Mr. Ayer brought these ashes to our house, he did not bring anything else with him nor did my brother bring anything else from the Japanese headquarters. Col. Habibur Rehman had three metallic or leather suit cases with him but these were left in the truck and taken with him to Mrs. Sahay's house. These boxes contained Netaji's clothes which were eventually taken back to India by Mrs. Sahay. The clothing included an over-coat. After about one or two days's stay at Mrs. Sahay's house, Col. Habibur Rehman thought that it would be better for him to move to another house which was about 5 minutes walk from our house. Mr. Ayer was also staying with Col. Habibur Rehman. The main reason why they moved from Mrs. Sahay's house was that there were children in the house and there was not enough accommodation for everybody. After Col. Habibur Rehman shifted to the new house, he told my brother that there was a wooden package containing some ornaments salvaged from the plane crash. This was then in the custody of the Japanese Military authorities in Tokyo. He requested my brother to go and take possession of this package from them and bring it home. My brother went to the Japanese Military Headquarters and brought the package. He took the package straight to Col. Habibur Rehman's house. It was a slightly

477

heavy package and was brought with the help of a man. It was carried by a labourer. The box was very roughly 18" in height, about 30" in length and 16" in width. It was a wooden box and nailed down. Afterwards, it was opened in the presence of Col. Habibur Rehman, Mr. Ayer, my brother and myself and its contents were weighed. The contents of the box were burnt down ornaments, some molten metal etc. A list was prepared and signed by Col. Habibur Rehman. The grand total came to 11 kilograms. The valuables together with the list were handed over by my brother to the Indian Embassy on 24-9-1951. I have with me a photostat copy of the list made out by Col. Habibur Rehman as attested by the Indian Embassy. The same day Mr. Ayer also handed over to my brother gold weighing 300 grams and Japanese currency worth 20,000 Yens. These were left with my brother for safe custody until such time as a competent Indian authority took possession of it. This gold was handed over to my brother by Col. Habibur Rehman and Mr. Ayer because they were expecting to be attested by the Occupation authorities. This gold was kept from November 1945 to 24th October 1951 by my brother in his house. This gold was handed over to the Indian Embassy on Mr. Ayer's second visit to Japan in 1951. So far as I know, no attempt was made before 1951 by my brother to hand over the gold to any competent authority.

My brother returned to India in 1953 and has not returned since then to Japan.

I met a British Colonel by the name of Figess in Tokyo. He was in charge of Liaison organisation of the British. He came to our home once where he had a long talk with my brother and Col. Habibur Rehman. After this, he visited our home two or three times but I do not



478

remember any details because I met him only casually.  
It is not true that Col. Figess at any time made a  
suggestion to us that we should accept British nationality.

Admitted correct.

*Dagmar*

479

(479)



Nonogaki  
5-31-56

Lt.Col. N. Nonogaki.

485

37

Statement by Ex-Lt. Col. Shiro Nonogaki, at present Manager, Osaka Branch, Tokyo Kogyo Boyeki Shokai Ltd., 2nd Floor, Mistui Bank Senba Branch, 5, 2-Chome, Kitya-Kyuhoji-Machi, Higashi-ku, Osaka (Japan), recorded on 14th May at 10 A.M. and 2-30 P.M. en-the at Tokyo.

During the war, I was a Lt. Col. on the staff of the 2nd Air Division which was later designated as 7th Air Division. This Division had its headquarters in East Java at Malang. Later, due to enemy activity, I was moved to Saigon on 28th July 1945. I met Netaji for the first time on August, the 17th, 1945 at Saigon aerodrome. I met him while he was boarding a plane at Saigon. The plane in which Netaji emplaned at Saigon belonged to the 3rd Air Force Army which was then stationed at Singapore. It was 97 K.V. heavy bomber type. Although it was a bomber, it carried no bombs at that time and was being used as a transport plane. This plane was being utilised by the 3rd Army for flying as a transport between Singapore and Tokyo. I cannot say the exact reason for its being utilised for this particular purpose. It was an old plane. Generally, the newest type of planes were being utilised as bombers. By the 17th of August 1945, the Japanese had surrendered. At that time, I was stationed at Saigon waiting there for a transport to carry me to Tokyo. I had received orders for transfer to the Imperial General Headquarters Air, Tokyo.

I arrived at the aerodrome Saigon at about 4 P.M. The plane was already at the aerodrome. There were some other planes on the aerodrome too. This plane had come from Singapore. When it arrived from Singapore, I cannot say. There were 13 men on board the plane. Their names are as follows:-

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481

1. General Shidei.
2. Lt. Col. Sakai.
3. Lt. Col. Nonogaki.
4. Major Kono.
5. Major Takizawa.
6. Major Takahashi.
7. Captain Arai.
8. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.
9. Adjutant to Netaji (name not known).
10. 4 members of the crew whose names I do not know. These included one pilot, 2 Engineers and one wireless operator.

General Shidei came to the aerodrome after me. Netaji was the last one to arrive at the aerodrome. At the time when Netaji arrived at the aerodrome, some of the Japanese were sitting inside the plane; others were still outside. The plane had to wait for Netaji's arrival for about half an hour. The plane had no seats in it and all the passengers were seated on the floor and the number of passengers that could be carried on this plane depended on the space that was available inside the plane. Besides the crew, this plane was capable of carrying 16 or 17 passengers without their baggage. The carrying capacity of that bomber was one ton and it was capable of carrying an equivalent load either in men or baggage. General Shidei who was on this plane, had been my Instructor at the Staff College, Tokyo, when I was a student there. I was asked by General Shidei to look to the seating arrangements of the passengers in the plane. The best seat on the plane was the one occupied by General Shidei. The next best was occupied by Netaji Bose. The next and the one after that was occupied by his Assistant.

After Netaji entered the plane, he said that besides him and his Adjutant, one other person of his party should also be accommodated. We learnt that some more baggage

N.N.

482

of Netaji was coming. We waited for this baggage. Eventually, the two boxes arrived. These boxes were fairly heavy. We told Netaji that either the additional person could accompany him or the boxes. It was decided that the additional person of his party would be sent later by the next plane and that the boxes would accompany him. These boxes were leather boxes, each about 30" long, 10" wide and about 18" high. The plane was due to take off from Saigon aerodrome at 5 P.M. but as Netaji's baggage had not arrived, we had to wait for about 15 minutes. We saw a car dashing up to the aeroplane and two boxes were taken out of that car. Up till that moment, I did not know Netaji although I had heard of him in Singapore. Staff Officer Tada pointing out to him said that he is Mr. P or Mr. T. - I do not remember which. The gentlemen referred to as Mr. P or Mr. T was a well-built and tall man. I recognised him as Chandra Bose whose pictures I had seen previously. (Witness identifies pictures of Netaji). I cannot remember what dress he was wearing at that time. I had lifted one of the boxes and felt that each of which weighed approximately 20 kilos. These boxes were kept by the side of Netaji in the plane. The plane took off from the aerodrome at 5-20 P.M. The take-off was quite normal but it looked a little heavy. The plane was scheduled to fly to Heito aerodrome in South Formosa but since it had already become very late, the plane instead took off for Tourane. The plane was bound for Dairen-Manchuria via Formosa. It was to go to Tokyo after touching Dairen. The plane arrived at Tourane at about 7 P.M. We spent the night in Tourane. I do not remember the name of the Hotel. It was a Military Hotel and was the best and the biggest hotel in Tourane. I ~~am~~ was formally introduced

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483

to Netaji for the first time by General Shidei in the lobby of the Hotel. All of us stayed in the same hotel. At Tourane, I, Major Kono and Major Takizawa stayed in the same room. Others stayed separately in different rooms. I do not remember the details of it. All of us had dinner together. General Shidei and Netaji were talking to each other in German. I did not know what the talk was about as I myself do not know the language.

Next day, early in the morning at about 5 A.M. while it was still dark, we left the Hotel and went to Tourane aerodrome. At Tourane, we realised that the plane was overloaded. We, therefore, took off all the surplus things from the aeroplane. These included a machine-gun, its ammunition and an anti-air craft gun which were still fixed on the plane. We took off from Tourane just as the sun was rising. The take-off was quite normal. The seating order inside the plane was as before. The route chartered for the plane was a direct one from Tourane to Haito but on the way we learnt that there were enemy planes in the neighbourhood of Swatan in South China. We, therefore, altered our course and went further east and made detour. The plane was flying at a height of approximately 4000 meters and it was quite cold inside the plane. As we came over Haito, we found the weather favourable and in order to cover some more distance, we decided to land instead at Taihoku in the north of Formosa. We did not give any information to Taihoku aerodrome about our landing there. || We arrived at Taihoku aerodrome a little before mid-day. There were two aerodromes at Taihoku, but the one on which we landed, was the bigger one and was always utilised by the planes which were bound for Tokyo. Since we landed at Taihoku without any previous warning, there was no one

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484

on the aerodrome to receive us. The landing was quite normal. After landing, the plane taxied to a place shown on the sketch plan (B). We alighted from the plane and went to a tent that had been pitched nearby. On seeing us coming out of the plane, some soldiers saw us and came towards us. They told us that this tent had been pitched for a Japanese prince who was expected there shortly. We utilised this tent for resting. We were served lunch in the tent. While we were having lunch, the plane was refuelled. We stopped at Taihoku air-field for two hours. ~~Maximum~~ We enquired of Netaji at what height the plane should fly - whether at 4000 meters as before. He said that that would be suitable and to meet the cold, Netaji put on a woollen sweater. The plane was scheduled to carry General Shidei to Manchuria. Netaji agreed to go along with him to Dairen in Manchuria. So there was no change in the schedule of the plane.

We took our seats in the plane in the same order as before. The plane taxied to one end of the runway as shown in my sketch marked C, and started taking a turn. I was seated in the part facing the tail of the plane. I felt that the plane had left the ground and was air-board. Shortly afterwards, I heard an explosion and saw the plane nose diving towards the ground. The plane had attained a height of approximately 20 meters when I heard the explosion. Before the plane started nose diving, I heard three or four loud bangs coming from the engine side. At that time, I did not know what was the cause but later I learnt that the propeller on the left side of the plane had blown off. The maximum height that the plane had attained was about 20 meters. As the plane crashed on the ground, it broke into two - near the

M.N.

485

the part marked in red pencil in the sketch plan A, and I was thrown out. I got up quickly and ran towards the main body of the plane to see that it did not catch fire but found that it had already caught fire. On seeing the plane on fire, I ran away from the plane. I was under the impression that the machine-gun and ammunition which we had taken off at Tourane, were still in the plane. I thought that on catching fire, the ammunition would go off and kill people. I, therefore, took shelter behind a small mount nearby. I had completely forgotten at that moment that the machine-gun and ammunition had been taken off at Tourance. The shelter behind which I took cover was a pile of stones and sand which had been collected there to fill up bomb craters. There were a series of these piles on the edge of the left side of the runway. The plane took off from a point marked X in blue pencil on sketch C and crashed at a point marked X in red pencil in sketch C. After crashing the plane split into two portions; the rear portion was thrown out in the direction indicated in blue dots. The main body of the plane dragged itself and came to a mount after striking it, towards the stone pile marked Y on sketch C. It was at a distance of 20 or 30 meters from the point where the plane had crashed on the ground. All this took place on the concrete runway. The plane came to a halt after hitting the same pile behind which I was taking cover. The relative position of various people as I saw them at that moment, is given in the sketch D. The plane was on fire; it was ablaze. When I first saw Netaji after the plane crash, he was standing somewhere near the left tip of the left wing of the plane. He was standing erect. His clothes were on fire and his Assistant was trying to take off his coat. He took off Netaji's coat quickly but was finding difficulty in taking off

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486

the woollen sweater. Since Netaji was sitting very near the petrol tank, he was splashed all over with petrol. It seemed that all his body was on fire. The other passengers were scattered in groups here and there near the plane. As I crossed over and went to the waiting car I saw Major Kono clearing. I had noticed Netaji and his Assistant very clearly from the first. I did not see General Shidei at that time. Major Kono and I got into the waiting car and went to the Hospital. Before we left the scene of the accident, I saw several other lorries and cars arriving in quick succession on the same spot. Major and I were the first to be taken to the hospital. Just after our car reached the hospital, Netaji arrived in a peculiar vehicle used at the aerodromes for starting the propeller of the plane. Its name in Japanese is "Shidosha". It is marked E on sketch plan. Netaji was stripped of all his clothes on the aerodrome. When he arrived at the hospital, he was absolutely naked. He had nothing on him. He was then brought inside the hospital and taken to a room and put on a bed as shown on the sketch marked F. I was kept in a separate room which was a waiting room. I had a slight burn on my forehead. Otherwise, I was not injured at all. I saw several other injured persons being taken in, but I do not remember who they were. They were all being taken in the same room as Netaji. I was alone in the waiting room. After a short while, I went and telephoned to the headquarters of the local Military Police. I went into the room in which Netaji was lying after about 30 minutes. From the Military Police, Major Takamia came to the hospital and from the Military Headquarters side, Lt. Col. Shibuya. On arrival at the hospital, Major Takamia and Lt. Col. Shibuya were told by me that Mr. T was a very important person and that every

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U187

endeavour must be made to give the best medical aid to him. I accompanied Lt. Col. Shibuya and Major Takamia to the room where Netaji was lying. This was my first visit to that room. On entering the room, I saw Netaji lying on the bed with his head near the wall. In that ward, there were 10 beds. All the beds in that ward were not occupied. I do not remember the names of any of the other occupants. The other occupants of the wards were the same persons who were injured in the plane crash. When we entered the room and went to Netaji's bed, the position of various persons who were present, is indicated on sketch marked F. General Shidei was not on any of those beds. When I first saw Netaji lying on his bed, all his body was bandaged. Only his eyes and mouth were visible. The rest of the face and head were fully bandaged. Netaji's Assistant was lying in the next bed when we entered. When we entered, he sat up in his bed. His hands and half of his head were bandaged. We stayed there in that room from half an hour to one hour. At that time Netaji was alive and he was able to talk. He talked to me through the interpreter. He was also talking to his Assistant. Before talking to Netaji, I asked the Doctor about his condition. The Doctor told me that since he had been badly burnt, it was unlikely that he would survive till the next morning. After talking to the Doctor, I asked Netaji if there was anything that I could do for him. I asked this through the interpreter. Netaji said that he pillow was very heavy. I asked the Doctor to provide a soft pillow for him but the Doctor replied that since the back of Netaji's back was badly burnt, he was feeling a soft pillow to be hard. I asked Netaji whether he had any message to deliver to the Indian people. He did not reply. After this, Netaji said that his greetings be conveyed to F.M. Terauchi. I asked if he had anything more to say. He

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488

replied that the men who had been left behind in Saigon should be brought to Taihoku quickly. He did not say anything further after this. Up till that time, Netaji was fully in his senses and understood what we were talking to him.

I requested Lt. Col. Shibuya to inform Saigon and Tokyo by telegram about the accident. Lt. Col. Shibuya accordingly sent a telegram the same day. I think it was about 4 P.M. I am not quite sure about the time. At about 6 P.M. the same day, those persons who were not badly injured, were taken to the other hospital. Myself, Major Kono, Captain Arai, Lt. Col. Sakai, Major Takahashi and one more Japanese were taken to the other hospital. Netaji and his Assistant remained behind in the same hospital. Before leaving the hospital, I again went to Netaji's room and found him in the same condition as before. I did not talk to him on that occasion. I cannot remember the exact date but the same night I heard that Netaji had expired. I did not see the body of General Shidei. I learnt about his death three days later.

Three or four days after being taken to the other hospital, Major Takahashi and I were flown back to Japan. I arrived in Kyushu and spent about one month in hot springs to recoup my health. When I recovered, I came to Tokyo.

As far as I remember, no official enquiry was held into the causes of this accident by the Government of Japan. The Japanese had surrendered by that time. Therefore no enquiry was held.

After six months of my arrival in Tokyo, I was called to the British Embassy and interrogated there. I do not know the name of the officer who interrogated me. The British officer wished to ascertain whether Netaji was dead

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U89

or alive. I told him all the information which I have told the Committee.

I have heard that Netaji's ashes are being kept in a temple in the Koinji area in the suburbs of Tokyo. I have never been to the temple.

Since then, two Indians came to me together and asked me about this plane accident. I remember one of them to be Mr. Ayer. This was 5 years ago. I recollect a photograph that was taken on that occasion. It is opposite page 273 of Mr. Ayer's Book "UNTO HIM A WITNESS". The persons in the photograph are from left to right front row - myself, Mr. Ayer, Captain Arai and standing in the back row Lt. Col. Tada who has since died.

I remember on one occasion one Japanese who has many Indian friends came to me and asked for full details of this plane crash. I gave him all the details and he made sketches of the same. Some days later, an article based on my discussion with him appeared in a Japanese magazine. It was in Sunday Mainichi.

Interpreted by Mr. Rehman.

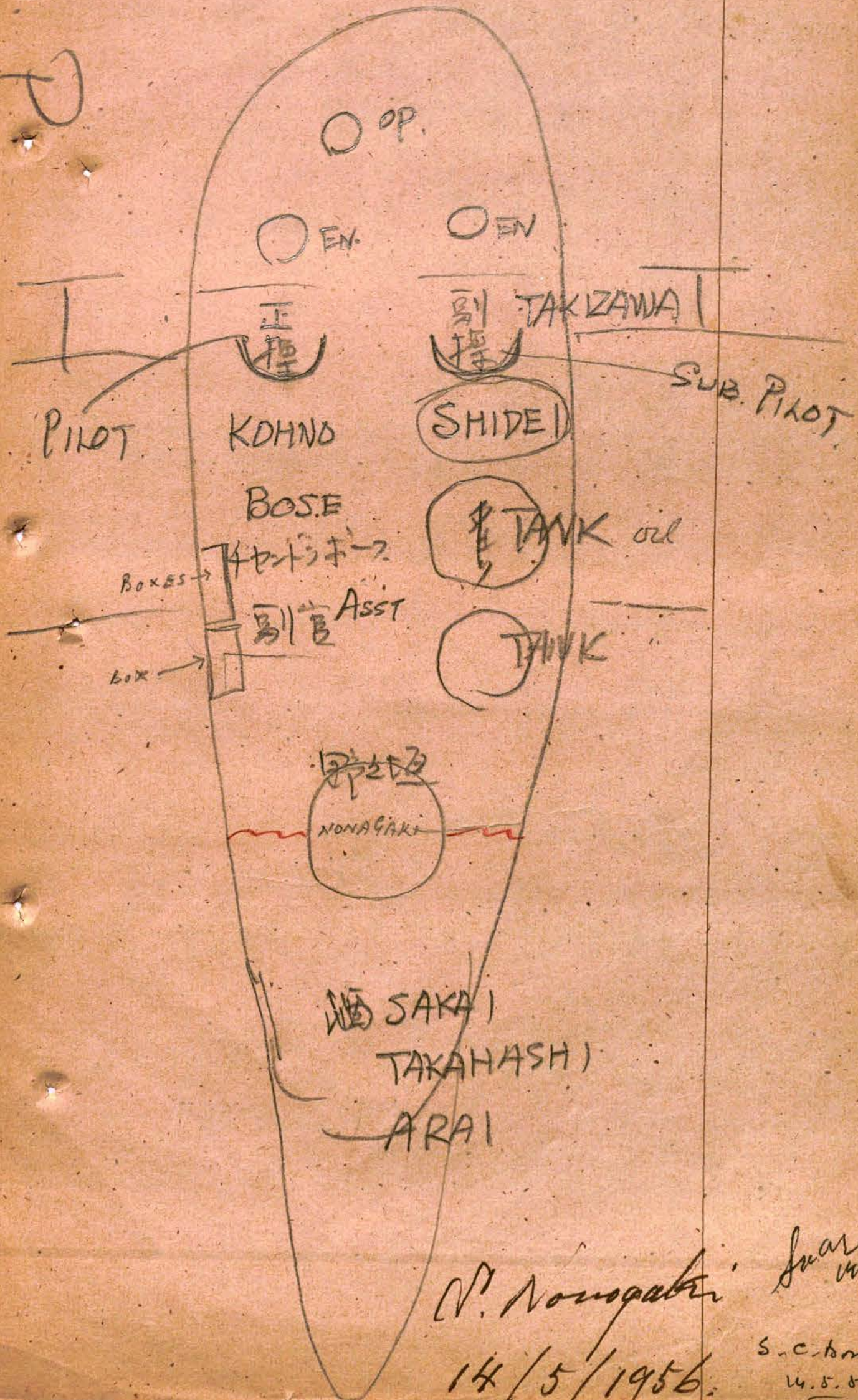
Admitted correct.

*N. Nonogaki*

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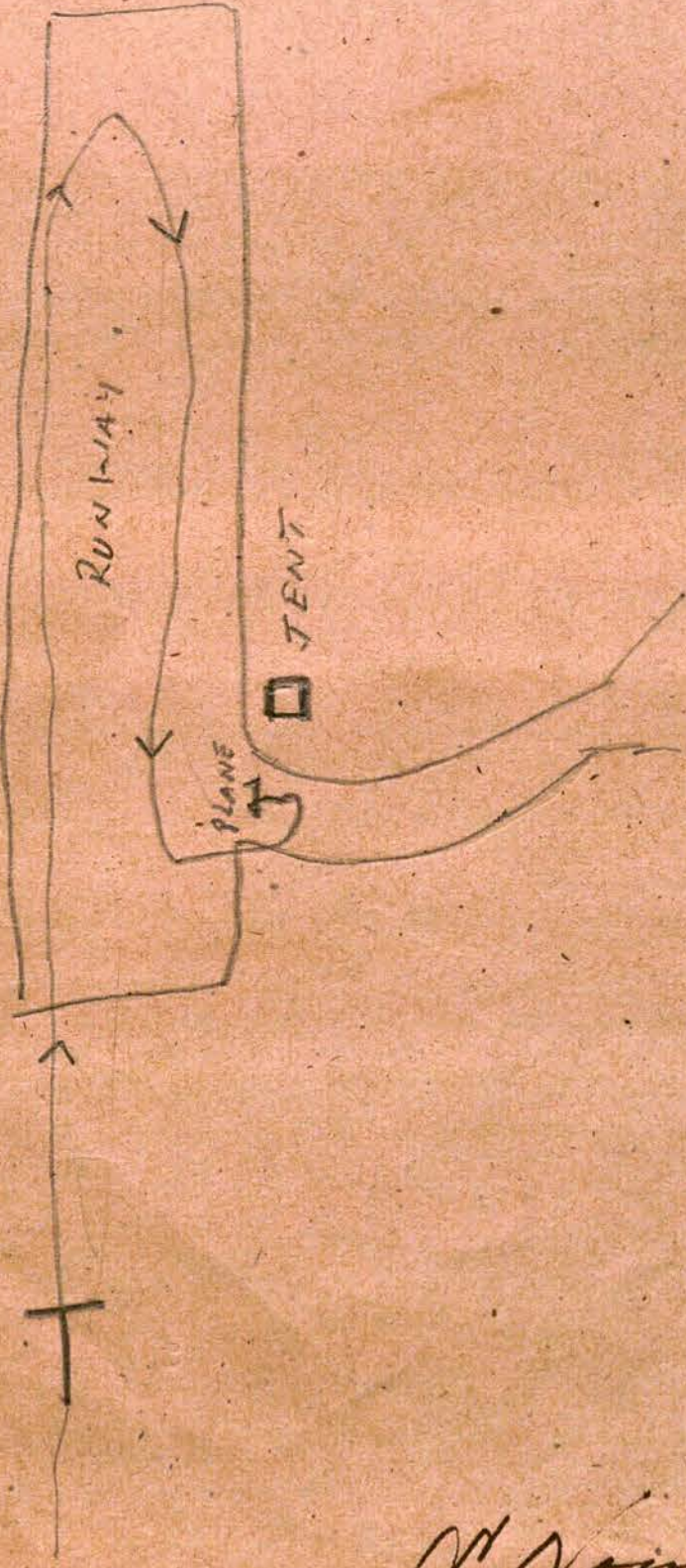
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通 信 係

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492

PLAN SHOWING THE RUNWAY & TENT  
AT TAIHOKOU AERODROME. FORMOSA. 18.8.1945.



M. Nainogata. *[Signature]* 14.8.56  
 14/5/1956  
 S.C. Binn  
 14.8.56

any heavy work  
ATK  
3rd  
in Div / 7th in Div.  
Staff officer  
JAOA

~~Mr. A. J. ...~~

1st Col. ...

MALANG Saigon (26 Jul 1945 - Aug)

493

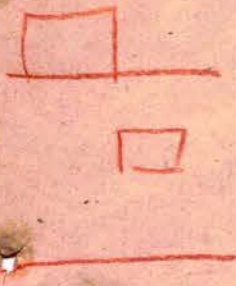
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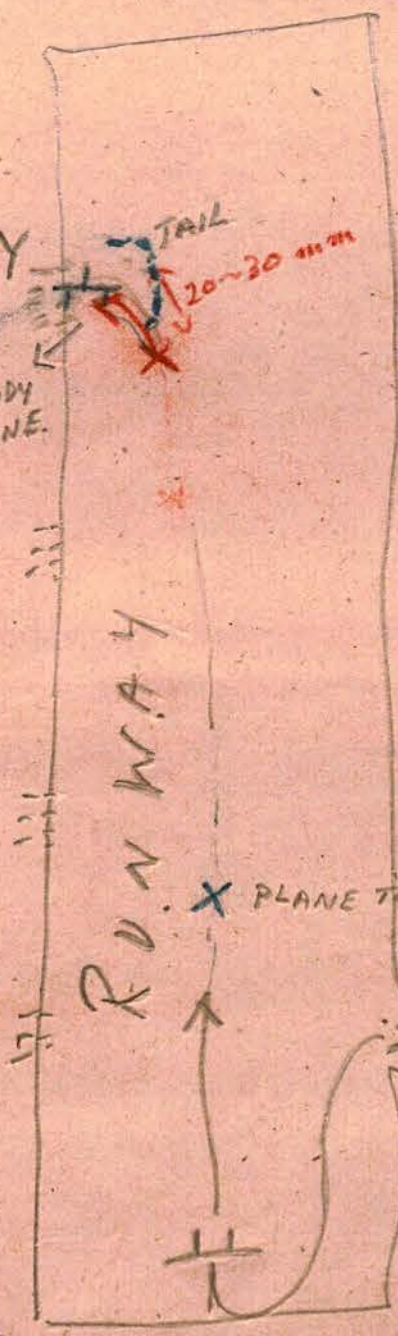


PLAN SHOWING THE RUNWAY

PILE OF STONES & SAND

MAIN BODY OF PLANE

TAIL  
20-30 mm



RUNWAY

PLANE TOOK OFF HERE

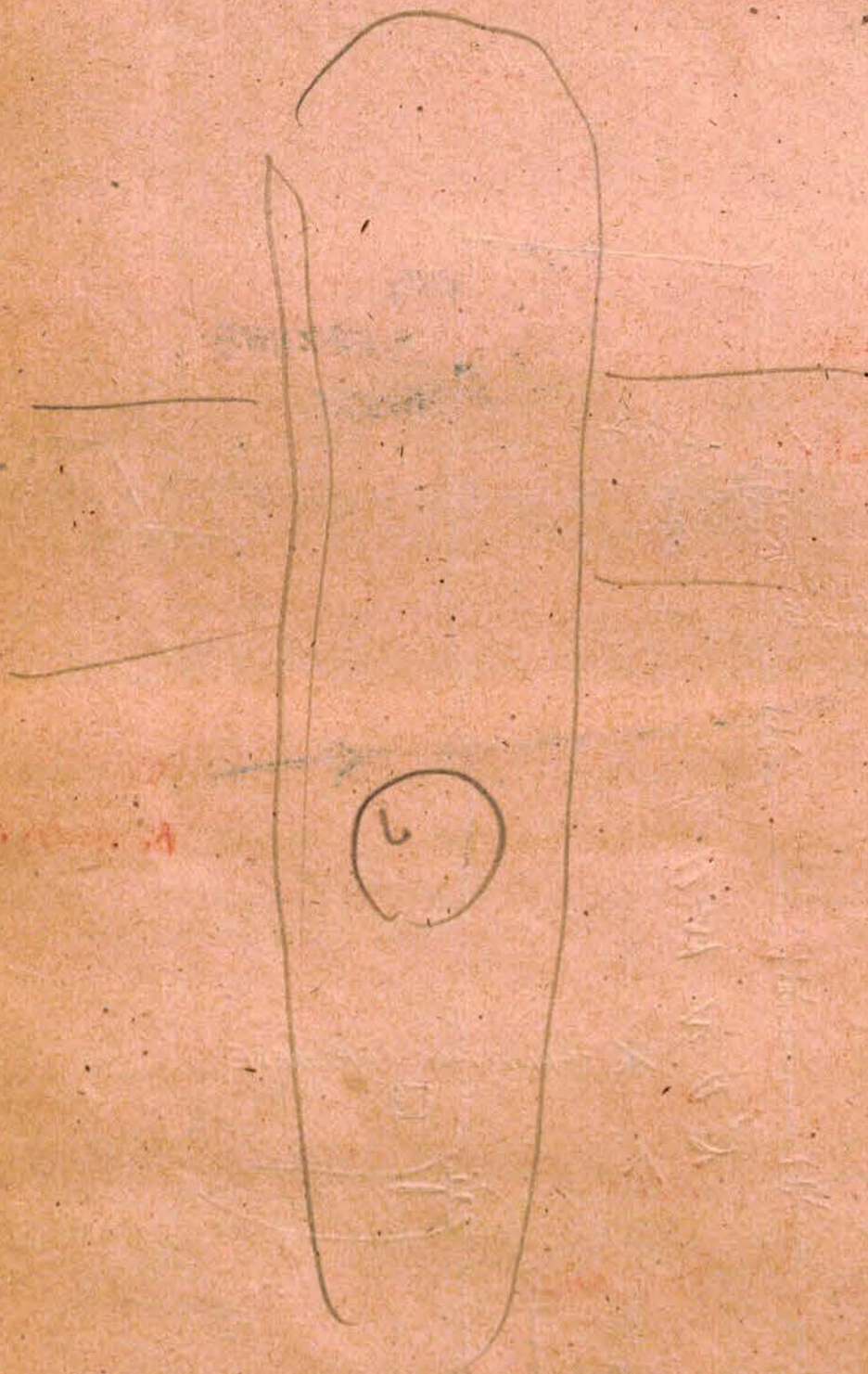
M. Novogati

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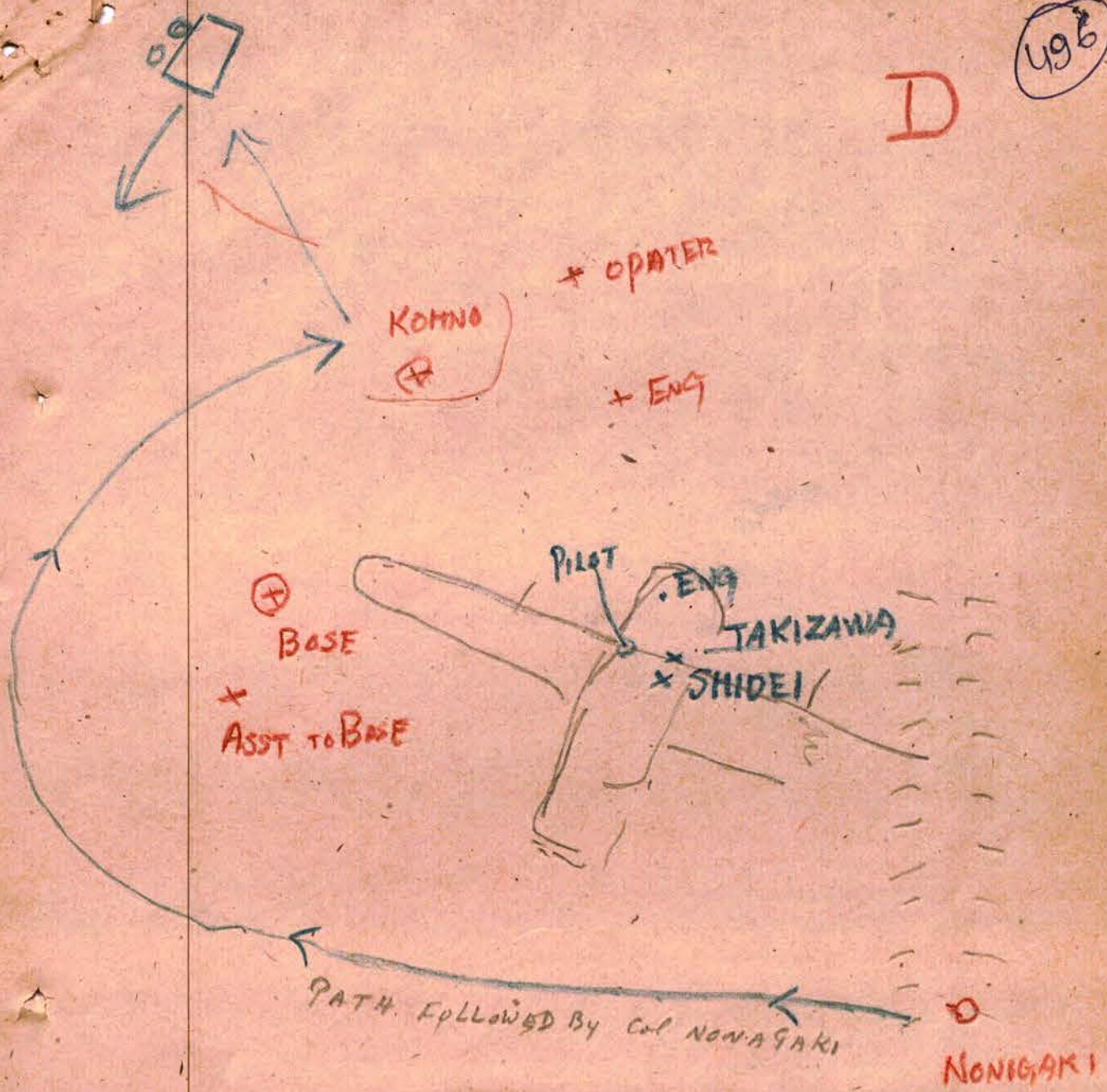
S.C. 10m  
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- } ARAI  
 } SAKAI  
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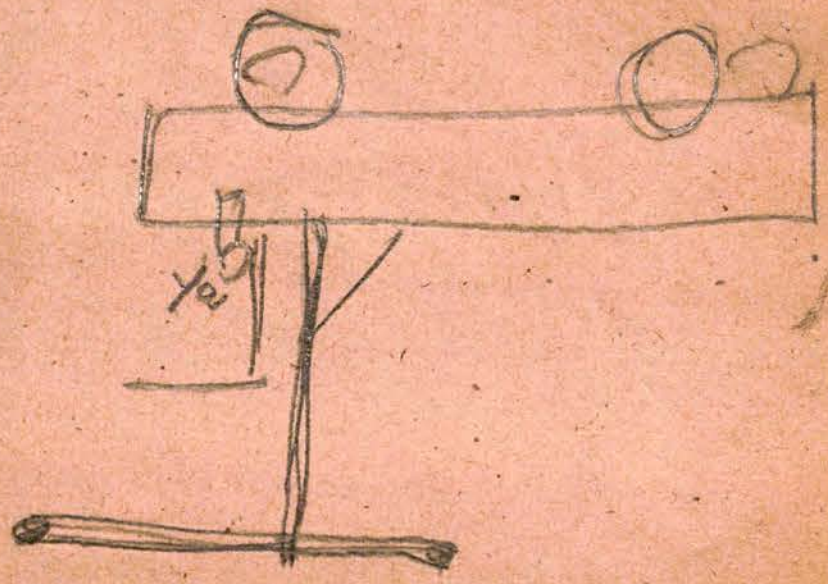
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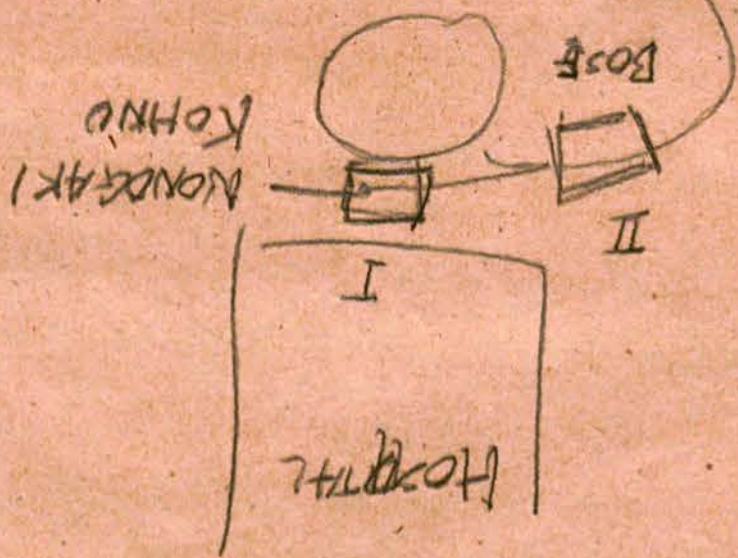
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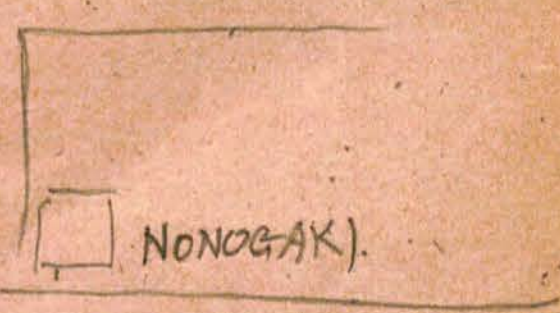
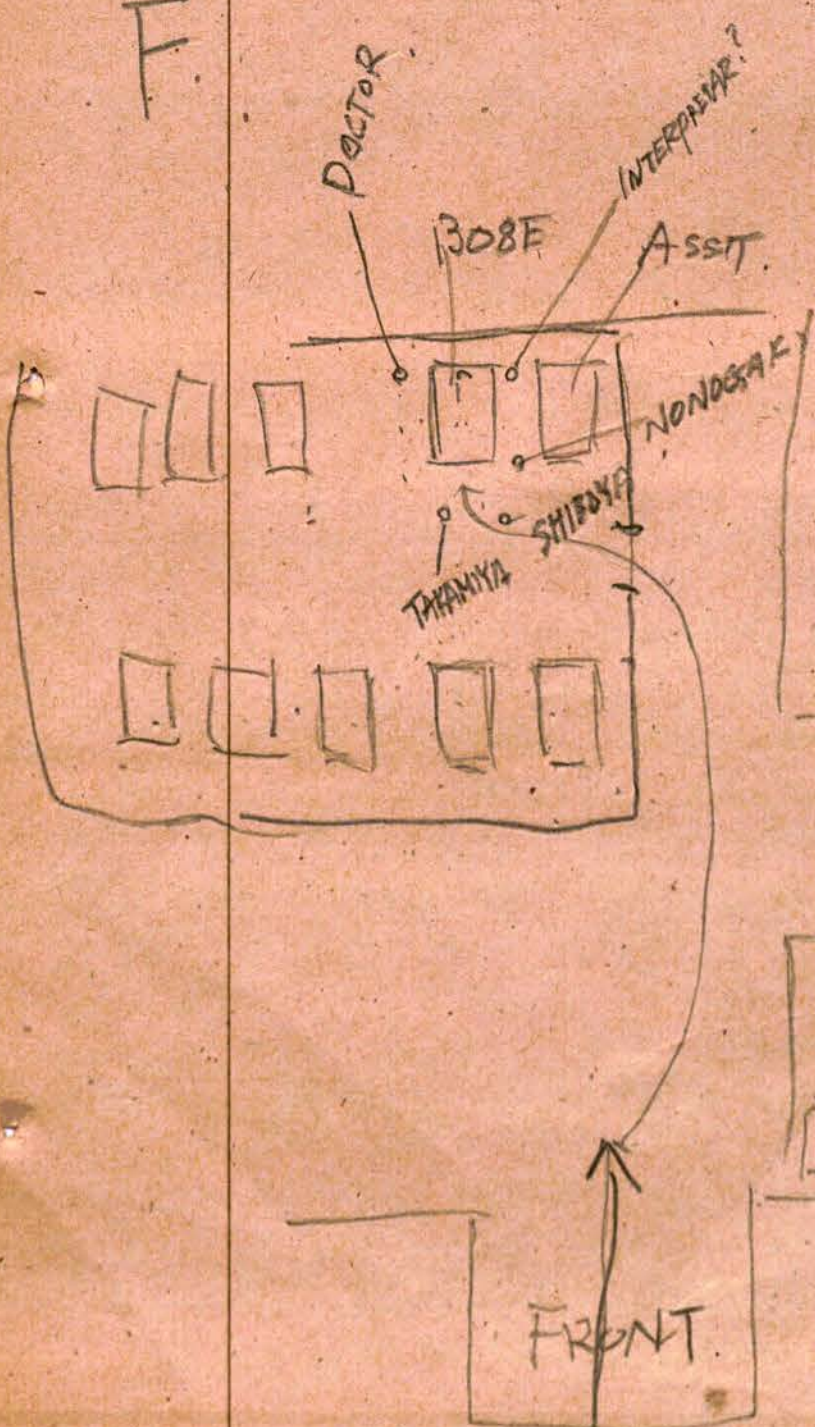


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M. Nanogaki Suar  
 14/5/1956  
 S.C. Bm  
 14.5.56

F



FRONT

Julius 14.8.56

M. Nonogaki  
14/5/1956

S. C. 10 m  
14.5.56

Statement by Mr. Kinji Watanabe, 644, Akai-cho,  
Nara City, Japan, recorded on  
14th May at 4-30 P.M.

499

38

I joined the Hikari Kikan organisation sometime  
In November 1943. I was posted to the Rangoon Branch. I  
met, for the first time, Netaji at Meimyo sometime in June or  
July 1944. Soon afterwards, Netaji returned to Rangoon from  
there. I also returned to Rangoon later on. I was working  
in the Military Department of the Hikari Kikan. I acted as an  
Interpreter in the Hikari Kikan. I remember in Bangkok on  
or about the 16th August 1945 after the surrender of the  
Japanese, <sup>that</sup> the Japanese Government was not in a position to  
assist Netaji any further in the struggle for freedom. They,  
therefore, wanted to know from Netaji if they could do anything  
to help him in the last days. This was a message from the  
Foreign Office, Tokyo, to Minister Hachiya who sent it to  
Netaji through General Isoda. I interpreted the talk with  
Netaji. It was the first time that I heard Netaji making a  
mention of his desire to go to Russia. The plan that was  
discussed was that the Japanese side would assist him to go to  
Manchuria via Saigon, Formosa, Japan and Manchuria.  
Netaji left Bangkok the next day. I did not go to the aerodrome.  
Afterwards, someone told me that Netaji had selected six members.  
They were two Muslims, two Hindus and two Sikhs.  
I do not remember their names. I do not know if  
any Japanese officers accompanied Netaji. I have no idea  
~~whether~~ where Netaji went after he left Bangkok. I do not know  
the exact date nor do I remember the source from which I got  
this information but I learnt that there was an aeroplane  
accident in Taihoku and that as a result of that Netaji had  
suffered terrible burns. He was taken to the hospital where  
he expired a few hours afterwards. That is all the information  
I got regarding Netaji. At that time, I <sup>had already been</sup> ~~was~~ transferred from

K.W.

500

the Hikari Kikan to the Japanese Embassy, Bangkok.  
I did not hear more about Netaji. I never heard anything  
about his ashes being in Tokyo either. What I subsequently  
read in a Japanese Magazine two or three years <sup>ago</sup> afterwards  
was regarding the jewels. I was not very much interested  
in the story but I remember that on Netaji's birthday on  
23rd January 1945, a big meeting was held in a hall in  
Rangoon where lot of ornaments were donated by the Indian  
community to weigh him against gold. At that time what  
impressed me was that Netaji's eyes were full of tears.  
I do not remember what the exact story was in the Magazine.

Admitted correct.

*Kenji Watanabe*

14/5



510

Dr. T. Tsuruta.



39

502

Statement by Dr. T. Tsuruta, Furukawa- 173,  
Tsu City, Mie-Pref., recorded on 15th May,  
1956 at 10 A.M. at Tokyo.

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In August 1945 I was posted at Taihoku as a Medical officer in the Nammon Military Hospital, Taihoku. Nammon Hospital had 200 beds and three Medical Officers. The Chief Medical Officer was Dr. Taneyoshi Yoshimi. He was a Surgeon. There were myself - a Surgeon, and Dr. Goto - a Physician. There were about 12 nurses attached to the Hospital. The Head Hospital and its several branches were evacuating the city to the suburbs in order to avoid air-raids. The Nammon Branch was the only one left in the Taihoku City, where patients were received for first aid treatment before they were sent to the branches evacuated to suburbs. Nammon Hospital was the nearest to the Taihoku aerodrome. It was in August 1944 that I was posted at the Taihoku Army Hospital. After serving at the Tohmon Branch and the Head Hospital, I was posted at the Nammon Branch in July 1945. I qualified a year previous to my joining the hospital in degree in surgery from Kyoto University and I specialised in Orthopaedic surgery. I held the rank of a Sub-Officer.

On 18th August 1945, there was a plane crash at Taihoku and all the casualties were brought to the hospital. I do not know the details of how the accident took place. I was present in the hospital when the casualties were brought in. I do not recollect the exact time when these casualties were brought in but I think it was after 3 O' Clock. I do not remember the exact number of injured persons who were brought into the hospital but I think it was about a dozen. I remember distinctly that among the injured persons were Chandra

T. T. ||

503

Bose and his Adjutant Rehman. All the injured persons were registered on admission to the hospital. I do not know who made the entries in the hospital records. At that time Dr. Yoshimi and I were on duty. The third doctor was for night duty. As Army doctor Goto was in charge of the Internal Department, he did not handle surgical treatment. I saw all the casualties being brought in in one truck. I have clear memory of the matter from the time when they were brought in the operation room. My memory about them taken down from the truck is not quite sure. Of all the injured persons who were brought in, Mr. Bose was the most serious case. When Mr. Bose was brought into the hospital, he was absolutely naked. All the injured persons were first taken to the dressing room where their wounds and burns were attended to. All the injured persons were brought to the dressing rooms on stretchers. The injured persons were attended to while they were still lying on stretchers. After being dressed, they were sent to different rooms. All the Japanese officers were put in the room adjoining the dressing room. Mr. Bose and Col. Rehman were put in the next room. The relative position of their beds was as shown in the sketch marked A. The room in which Mr. Bose and Col. Rehman were kept was a big room and in order to give more privacy, a screen was put round the bed. When Mr. Bose was first brought into the dressing room, Dr. Yoshimi and I attended to him. Mr. Bose was severely burnt all over his body. The nature of the burns was of the severest type, that is, the third degree. His body had taken on a colour darker than the tanned leather. All his hair had got burnt. He had no cut injuries or any other injury. When Netaji was first brought into the dressing room, he asked for a pillow.

T. T.

504

He was in his senses then. He asked for water.

A pillow was provided for him but water was not given to him because <sup>in such cases</sup> water ~~was not~~ is not advisable from medical point of view. When we started dressing Mr. Bose's burns, he wished that other persons should be attended to first and he should be treated last. But since his burns were the most serious, we attended to him first. Netaji was given Ringer Solution injection. The injection was administered to him in the ward where he was taken later. In the dressing room all his burns were bandaged. Before putting on bandages, the whole of his body was smeared with white ointment. Then almost his entire body was bandaged - some portions of chest being left unbandaged. The whole of his head and face were also bandaged; only his mouth and eyes were not bandaged. As far as I remember, no blood transfusion was given to him. The following injections were given to Netaji in the ward:-

Cardiotonica as a heart stimulant, and  
Sulfonamide for anti-septic purposes.

While the injections were being given to him, he was saying in Japanese, "Thank you, thank you". Studying Netaji's condition after giving him the treatment referred to, I was of the opinion that he would not survive. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Nakamura, a civilian interpreter came to the hospital. I do not know from where he came. Netaji and Nakamura were talking to each other in English. Since I could not understand English, I do not know what the talk was about. One Japanese Military ~~off~~ Police soldier was put on as a guard over Netaji. Col. Rehman who was on the next bed to his was not so badly injured. Sometimes he was lying down sometimes he was sitting. Col. Rehman had a cut injury across his fore-head. Both his hands were badly burnt. There were

T.T.

(505)

several other burns over his body and face but these were not of a serious nature. Injuries on his hands were of a serious nature. These were second degree burns. His cut was stitched and his burns were treated with ointment and bandaged. I remember General Ando, Commander of Formosan Garrison came to the hospital. I do not remember at what stage he came. I was present there in Netaji's room the whole time. Dr. Yoshimi was visiting other wards and occasionally paying a visit to Netaji's room. At about 7 P.M. his condition suddenly took a turn for the worse. There was no whole-time nurse on duty in Netaji's room. Nurses were attending to him from time to time. The undermentioned nurses were coming to and going from Netaji's room.

- Chief Nurse - Miss Hisako Nakano.
- Nurse - Miss Hatsuke Nishiomote.
- Nurse - Miss Tomimoto.

The Chief Nurse was a Japanese and the other two were from Okinawa. On the Hospital staff, there were three Formosan nurses. I do not remember their names. When his condition was becoming worse, we gave him heart injections but these did not produce any effect. He expired between 7 and 8 P.M. At the time when he expired, the following persons were present near his bed:-

- Military Police Guard.
- Dr. Yoshimi.
- Myself (Dr. Tsuruta).
- Col. Rehman.
- Mr. Nakamura - Interpreter.

There were two other nurses whose names I do not remember. At the time when Netaji expired, Col. Rehman was weeping bitterly. On the day of his death, the Military authorities

T. T.

506

in Formosa told Dr. Yoshimi that they were thinking of flying his body to Tokyo. In order to preserve the body, we injected Formaline into his body, ~~was~~ three hours after his expiry. His body remained on his bed in the same place for the whole of the night of 18th/19th.

The next day, a coffin to carry his body was prepared and brought to the hospital. His body was put in this coffin and kept in the same room. A raised platform was prepared in one corner of that room. It was covered with a white sheet and the coffin was placed on top of that platform, and flowers were <sup>put</sup> all round it. The sketch showing the relative position of beds and the coffin in the room is marked B. The coffin lay in the same room for the whole of 19th. Several persons came to pay their respects but I do not know who they were. The coffin lay there for two or three days. I do not remember the exact ~~date~~ period. I learnt from Dr. Yoshimi that he had been informed by the Military authorities in Taihoku that it appeared difficult to carry his body to Tokyo and that they were thinking of cremating his body in Taihoku and carrying the ashes to Tokyo. Later either on the 21st or 22nd of August, I heard that a Military truck had come to the hospital and carried away his coffin. I do not know where the coffin was carried to. At the time the Military truck came to the hospital, I was attending to my other duties in the hospital and did not see it carrying away Netaji's body. I did not issue any death certificate myself. These were issued generally by the officer-in-charge. I do not know whether Dr. Yoshimi signed any death certificate or not.

I stayed in that hospital till April 1946. Three or four days after Netaji's death,

T. T.

507

Col. Rehman was sent to Hokuto Hospital in Formosa. One of the injured persons by the name of Seisaku-Ishida died in the Nammon Hospital. All the rest were sent to Hokuto Hospital.

I heard about the death at the aerodrome of General Shidei but his body was not brought to the hospital.

After the surrender, the Hospital functioned for some time but about April 1946 when I came away, all the Japanese staff were being sent away and replaced by the Chinese staff. I am not sure but I think the Hospital records were brought over to the ~~Military~~ Military Headquarters at Tokyo.

Of all the injured persons who were brought into the Hospital, I remember the name of Mr. Juzaburo ~~xxx~~ Aoyagi who died later in the Hokuto Hospital. I do not remember the names of any of the other officers.

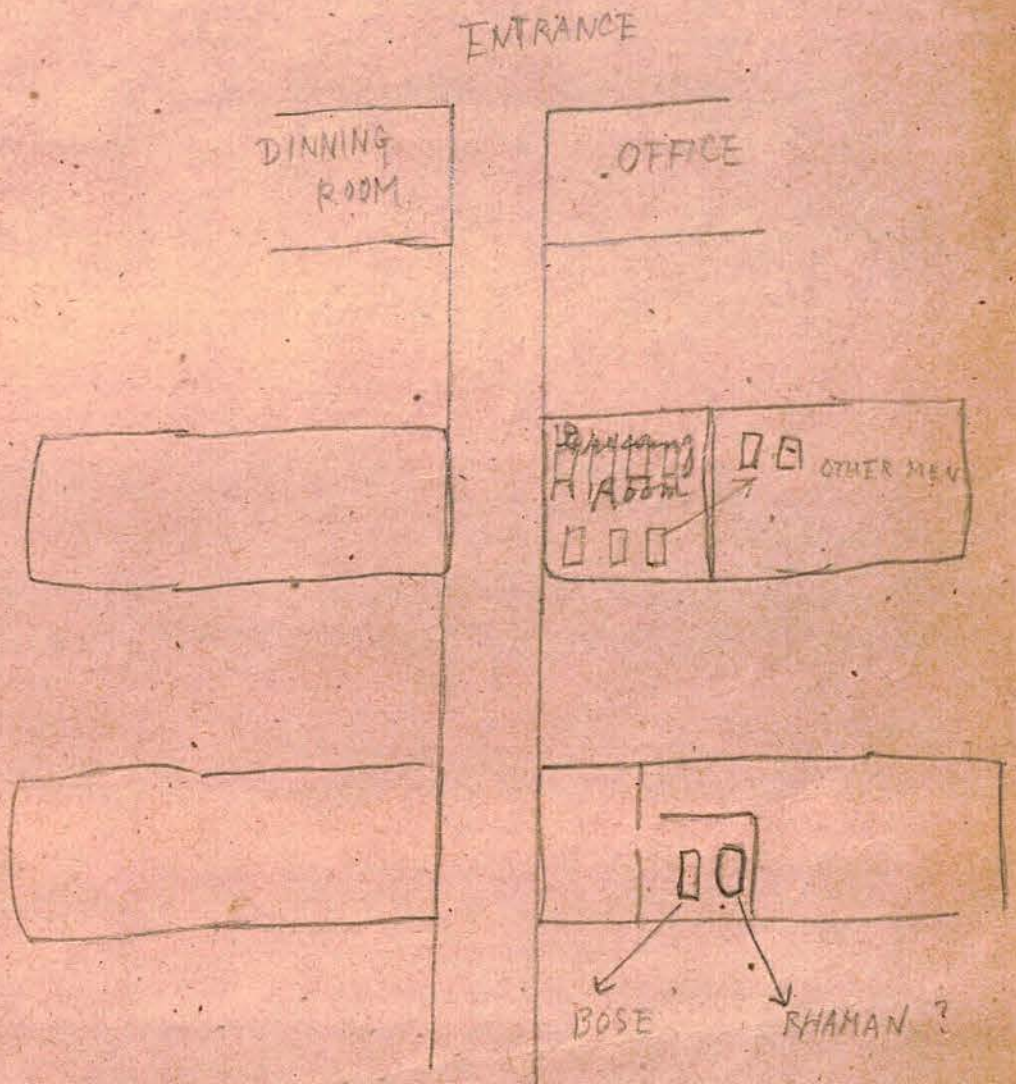
Interpreted by Mr. Rehman.

Admitted correct.

Toyoshi Tsuruta

508

A



Toyoshi Tsuruta

15. 5. 1956

Sub  
15. 5. 56

BURN

1 grade → Erythema  
 2. grade → Blase  
 3. grade →

S. C. Bm  
 15. 5. 56

P

B.

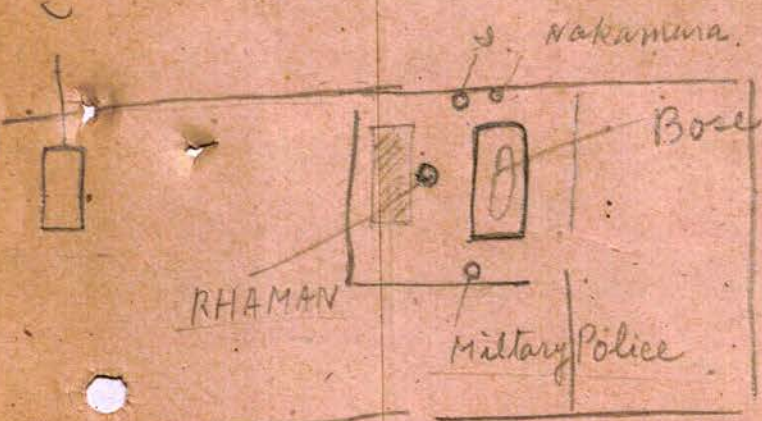
Ringer Solution — Injektion

Sulfonamide

cardiotonica (for heart)

509

COFFIN.



General ANDO

CHIEF NURSE MISS HISAKO NAKANO

MISS HATSUKO NISHIOMOTE

MISS \_\_\_\_\_ TOMIMOTO

FORMALIN

*S. c. Bm*

15.5.56

Togoshi Tsuruta

15.5.1956

S. c. Bm

15.5.56



40  
Statement by Mr. Sato-Kazo, Mynken-Moteyo  
Sokea, Otachimooru, Tsatomai, Goju Kyu Ban,  
No. 59, recorded on 16-5-1956 at 11 A.M. at  
Tokyo. (575)

During the war, I was serving in  
136 Air Unit, Taihoku. I was serving in that Unit  
as a soldier Grade I. My duty was to work as a mechanic  
on bombers. The main duty of my Unit was to look  
after maintenance of aircraft and defence of the  
aerodrome at the time of air-raids by enemy planes.  
Lt. Yamaguchi Fenzyo was the Coy. Commander and a Col.  
was in charge of the battalion. I do not know his  
name. I was posted at Taihoku aerodrome in Sept'1944.  
While I was posted there, there were several plane  
accidents. I heard of Chandra Bose from newspapers, etc.

Two days after the surrender of  
Japan, we were sitting on the aerodrome and drinking  
Saka. At about 7 A.M.<sup>7</sup> in the morning, a plane took off.  
When it had attained a height of approximately 100 meters  
the propeller of the engine on the left side of the  
plane stopped working. The plane dived on its nose and  
it caught fire immediately. The place where we were  
sitting and drinking was approximately 200 meters away  
from the place of plane crash. There were two runways  
on the airport. The plane took off from the left runway  
and after it had attained a height of approximately  
100 meters, it crashed on the runway and then dragged  
itself to some stone and sand piles which were stacked  
on the left side of the runway. On seeing the plane  
ablaze all of us ran towards it and stopped approximately  
10 meters away from it as it was on fire. Then one  
senior Military officer told us that the plane which had  
caught fire was carrying Chandra Bose and he asked us  
to put out the fire. When the plane crashed, its left  
wing was broken and it was tilted on one side. The tail

密坎

佐藤勝男

(511)

was attached to the plane. The main body of the plane was on fire but there was no fire towards the tail side. When we first went near the plane, no Japanese had got out of the plane. I saw one tall well-built man open the door and jumped out. I thought it was the same person as Chandra Bose. The first man who jumped out of the plane was alright and was standing erect. I did not see his clothes were on fire. He was not wearing spectacles. The second person whom we saw struggling in the plane was pulled out by me and my friend whose name was Kitzunai Tezu. He was also a soldier in the same Unit. While the plane was on fire, there were 5 men belonging to the Military Unit who were standing round it, and there were three soldiers belonging to the Naval Unit. There were also about 30 men from my Unit standing there. There was no officer of the Army, Navy or of my Unit present there.

When the plane was on fire all the men were standing in one place. The man present there did not attempt to put out the fire. We did not go near the plane as the petrol was on fire and it was not possible to approach near it and to put out the petrol fire. At this stage, the witness was shown photographs opposite page 196 in Mr. S.A. Ayer's Book "UNTO HIMA WITNESS". The witness said that the person who came out of the plane first, resembled Shri A. Yellappa. He was wearing a uniform resembling that of the Americans and had no dress on. He was also wearing a big round wrist watch. Later, the witness was shown a picture of Netaji opposite page 210 of the same book. The witness stated that the first man who came out of the plane had more resemblance with this picture. The witness was not, however, sure about the resemblance as the second picture showed a side face and the first picture a front face. The man who got

佐藤 隆男

(512)

-3-

out first and the second person whom we pulled out of the plane, who was a Japanese, were talking to each other.

A small military car arrived on the scene after about 5 minutes and both these persons were taken away in it by the military soldiers. I do not know what became of them afterwards. I did not see any other injured persons being taken away. When the fire had gone down and smoke was coming out, I returned to my Unit. I did not see any other vehicles, as I was standing near the plane. I did not see any more military personnel coming to the aerodrome. I do not know when the wreckage of this burnt plane was removed from the runway.

This is the first time that I have been interrogated by anybody regarding this accident.

The Unit to which I belonged had three sections with a total of 360 men. Our barracks were inside the boundary of the aerodrome.

I read about the Netaji Enquiry Commission in the newspaper and I wrote a letter to them of my own accord.

Interpreted by Mr. Rehman.

Admitted correct.

佐藤 勝男

KASHMIR CALLING

1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30

513



514

Major T. Kono.

MAJOR. T. KONO

(515)

41

Statement of Major Taro Kono, No. 552, Asagaya-2,  
Suginamiker, Tokyo, recorded on 16th May at 3 P.M.  
at Tokyo.

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At present, I am engaged in printing business in Tokyo. I was a regular officer of the Japanese Army. I was commissioned in the year 1937. At the outbreak of the war, I was first posted to the 7th Air Force Division at Makassar in Selebes Island. Later I was moved to Malang in Java. I was a staff officer with the rank of a Major. While I was at Malang, we lost all our aeroplanes due to enemy action and the Unit was disbanded. I was ordered to be transferred to Tokyo. I left Malang on 31st July 1945. I was transported to Saigon via Djakarta and Singapore, arriving in Saigon on 3rd or 4th of August. The plane by which I travelled from Malang to Singapore returned to Malang. From Singapore to Saigon I was transported by a plane belonging to the Singapore Air Unit. In Saigon I stayed in the Branch office of the Asai Newspaper. I had a friend in that office. At Saigon I reported to Major Shiakawa who was Air Staff Officer attached to the headquarters of F.M. Terauchi. I stayed in Saigon till the 17th of August. I could not leave earlier due to the difficulty of obtaining a seat in an aeroplane. On the morning of 17th I was informed by Major Shiakawa that a plane was available and that I could leave for Tokyo that day. The plane was due to take off from Saigon at about mid-day but since it was delayed at Saigon, it actually took off at about 3 P.M. I do not know when the plane arrived in Saigon. The reason for the delay was that the baggage of Netaji Chandra Bose had not arrived at the aerodrome. I arrived at the aerodrome at about 11 A.M. I do not remember correctly if the plane was already at the aerodrome when I arrived. I remember that the under-mentioned persons also arrived at the aerodrome and boarded the plane:-

T. K.

(S. 16)

-2-

1. General Shidei.
2. Lt. Col. Sakai.
3. Major Takahashi.
4. Lt. Col. Nonogaki.
5. Captain Arai.
6. Major Takizawa - Chief Pilot.
7. N.C.O. Aoyagi - Pilot.

In addition to those, there were four other Japanese non-commissioned officers. They were part of the crew. Later, Mr. Chandra Bose and his Adjutant, Col. Habibur Rehman also came to the aerodrome. We entered the plane shortly before 3 P.M. Before entering the plane our baggage was sorted out. All our baggage was placed on one side and the baggage of Mr. Chandra Bose and his Adjutant, Col. Rehman, on the other side. At that time, Mr. Bose and his Adjutant, Col. Rahman were present at the aerodrome. The maximum load that the plane could carry was 1500 kilos. It was a twine-engined bomber of the newest type. As I said before this plane could carry a maximum of 1500 kilos. There were 14 persons with an average weight of 70 kilos per person which was 980 kilos. The remaining 520 kilos was for baggage. This plane belonged to No. 3 Air Force Army stationed at Singapore. It was brought from Singapore by N.C.O. Aoyagi. It was a plane of 97-2 type. All our surplus baggage was discarded. The whole of Mr. Bose's baggage was put inside the plane. He had two leather suit cases each about 30" long, about 18" high and 9" wide. Besides these boxes, he had another bundle containing clothes. I cannot say whether the covering was of cloth or leather. It might have been a military type of kit bag. It contained warm

T. K

517

clothings of Mr. Bose, which could be taken out easily whenever desired. Before emplaning, we discussed the route which the plane was to take. The ultimate destination of the plane was Tokyo. The route that was agreed to was as follows:-

Saigon to Tourane to Heito (Formosa) to  
Taipeh (Formosa) to Dairen (Manchuria) to  
Tokyo.

At Dairen, General Shidei, Mr. Bose and Col. Rehman were to get off the plane. After leaving them there, the same plane was to take off to Tokyo. The seating arrangement inside the plane was as before, as far as I remember it. This is indicated in the sketch marked A. There were 14 persons including the members of crew on board. The plane took off at 3 P.M. The runway at Saigon is 2000 meters long. Our plane had to run down the entire length of the runway to take off. This showed that the plane was overloaded. I am an Air Force Officer myself and have been a pilot. I knew that at the time of taking off, the normal rate of revolutions per minute of the propellers of this type of aeroplane were 2600 and the maximum permissible was 2800 RPM (only 3 minutes). But when the plane was taking off I looked at the dial and saw that the indicator showed 2850 RPM. This showed clearly that the plane was overloaded and I thought to myself that the load on the plane must be reduced after we reached the next halt. In the plane I was sitting near Mr. Bose. I had a map which Mr. Bose and I consulted on the way during the course of our talk. We arrived at Tourane at about 7 P.M. During our journey from Saigon to Tourane, the plane was flying at a height of approximately 3000 meters. We were flying at a speed of 230 kilometers

T. K.



(518)

per hour.] At Tourane aerodrome, we were met by an officer of the Military Police. All of us went to a hotel together. It was a very big hotel situated near the sea-shore. Major Takizawa and I stayed behind at the aerodrome, to see how the load on the plane could be lessened.] The same evening we took off 12 anti-air craft machine guns from the plane and all the ammunition. We took off the machine guns and ammunition in spite of the fact that we apprehended meeting enemy planes on the way. We took the risk in order to lessen the load in the interest of safety. We found some luggage in the bomb rack. We took off that too. The total weight that we took off from the aeroplane including the weight of the machine guns, ammunition and other baggage was approximately 600 kilos. We attended to the maintenance of the aeroplane and after satisfying ourselves that everything was correct, we went to our Hotel.] It was about 8-30 P.M. when we reached the Hotel. The first party had dinner together and Major Takizawa and I had dinner separately. After dinner, Mr. Bose retired to his room. His Adjutant came and asked us the time when we were proposing to take off from Tourane the next morning. Col. Nonogaki, Major Takizawa, Lt. N.C.O. Aoyagi and I discussed our plan for the following day. It was decided that we should leave Tourane early in the morning at about 5 A.M. because if we left later, there was danger of encountering enemy planes in the way. We told this to Col. Rehman. The next morning, all of us went to the aerodrome before 5 A.M. We tested the engine of the plane and sat inside it in the same order as before. The plane took off from Tourane at 5 A.M. At the time of taking off from

T.K.

(519)

Tourane, the plane was much lighter than it was on the previous day, and the take off was perfectly normal. From Tourane we flew direct to Heito. The weather was perfect and the engines were working very smoothly. We sighted Heito soon after 11 A.M. While we were flying over Heito, we received information over the Radio that the Russian forces had occupied Port Arthur. General Shidei, Col. Nonogaki, Major Takizawa and I consulted each other. All of us reviewed the position arising out of Russian occupation of Port Arthur. We came to the conclusion that unless we arrived at Dairen very soon it might be occupied by the Russians before we landed there. We, therefore, decided not to land at Heito but to push on to Taihoku and after a short halt there, to Dairen without any delay. Netaji accepted this idea. We arrived at Taihoku aerodrome at about mid-day. [ During the course of our flight from Tourane to Taihoku, the flight was very smooth and engines worked very well. ] On landing at Taihoku aerodrome, we sent for the Officer-in-charge. I do not know his name. He was told that we intended taking off from Taihoku at 2 P.M. He was asked to fill up all the petrol tanks (about 2000 l). The machinery of the plane was attended to by a mechanic who was stationed at Taihoku. On alighting from the plane, we went to a tent which was pitched on the aerodrome and had our lunch inside that tent. At Taihoku Mr. Bose put on a woollen sweater as he had felt cold while coming from Tourane. Mr. Bose was wearing shoes and trousers and was in military uniform. He was wearing cotton uniform. He was not wearing his top boots. There were no chairs in the plane and all the passengers were seated on the floor. A cushion was provided for Mr. Bose to sit on. [ Before 2 O' Clock, the engine of the plane was tested. Mr. Takizawa tested it

T.K.

520

inside and I tested it from outside. I noticed that the engine on the left side of the plane was not functioning properly. I, therefore, went inside the plane and after examining the engine inside, I found it to be working alright. We took off from Taihoku at exactly 2 o' Clock. There was no change in the seating order. An Engineer also accompanies the plane. He was accompanying it on this occasion also. I do not remember his name. He also tested the engine and certified its air-worthiness. The runway of the aerodrome at Taihoku is short. It is only 1600 meters. The plane took off from the aerodrome and reached a height of approximately 30 meters. Then there was a loud explosion and the plane tilted to the right side. I was sitting on the left side and I saw that both the propeller and the engine of that side had fallen off. After tilting to one side, the plane started falling off. I tried to rush forward and switch off the ignition switch to prevent the plane from catching fire, but I could not get there since the plane was descending rapidly and I couldnot maintain my balance and therefore could not walk forward properly. At that time I saw the Chief Pilot (Major Takizawa) and N.C.O. Aoyagi struggling very hard to control the plane. In the meantime, the plane crashed on the ground. In trying to reach the ignition switch I fell 2 or 3 times in the plane. Since the propeller and engine on the left side of the plane had fallen off, the plane fell on its right side and its right wing was completely smashed. At a place marked (a) in red pencil on sketch B I, there was a joint where the plane split into two. There was another joint at a place marked (b) also marked in red pencil. At joint (b), the plane bent inwards as shown in sketch BII. At the time of take-off, the speed was 140 kilometers per hour. Since the plane hit the ground, it caught fire.

T. K.

(52)

The flames were coming from the right side of the plane from the direction of the engine. As the plane was falling to the ground, the petrol tank inside the plane fell down and came in between me and Mr. Bose. I looked backwards but I could not see Mr. Bose because of this tank. I could see General Shidei after the plane crash. He had a cut injury at the back of his head. Major Takizawa was hit in the face and on forehead by the steering which he was operating. N.C.O. Aoyagi was hit in the chest which was bleeding and he was leaning forward. There was another Engineer sitting between me and N.C.O. Aoyagi. I do not know what happened of him. During this time, the fire spread greatly and the heat became unbearable. I broke open the plastic cover on top of the plane and escaped through it. While escaping, the fire was so strong that I had to protect my eyes by covering them with my hands which, as a result, got burnt, and face and legs were also burnt. As I was escaping from the plane, I got splashed by petrol which was coming out from a pipe which connected the petrol tank with the engine which had been brought down. The petrol which was so splashed, caught fire. I ran away about 30 meters and then rolled on the ground and put out the fire; at the same time, I also took off my outer garment which had caught fire. In this way, I managed to put out the fire that was burning on me. At this time, I saw that the plane was enveloped in fire. Only the front portion of the plane was on fire; the tail portion which had broken off, had not caught fire. I was in my senses but lay flat on the ground for about 2 or 3 minutes. At that time, I heard somebody calling Mr. Bose by name. I heard somebody shouting my name too. I do not know who he was. After one or two minutes, I saw Mr. Bose

T.K.

(522)

standing very near the plane shown in red pencil in sketch BII. He was standing facing away from the plane. He was standing erect with his back towards the plane; his legs apart and his arms stretched downwards with clenched fists. At that time, he was completely naked with only his shoes on. I did not see any fire on his body but I remember seeing some light on him. I think I saw blood on his eyes. His face did not show any signs of pain. I was standing about 30 meters away from the plane. Even then, I could feel the heat of the flames. He was standing very near the plane about one or two meters away from it. I am sure that he must have been feeling the heat much more. After that, somebody moved him away from the plane. I think it was Mr. Rehman who helped him in moving away from the plane. After that, Col. Nonogaki came to me and asked me to run away, as far as I could, from the plane. We were under the impression that there might be some ammunition inside the plane which might explode. I was told by ~~N.C.O. Aoyagi~~ Col. Nonogaki that he thought that N.C.O. Aoyagi was still in the plane. Later I heard that somebody - perhaps from the airport staff, had pulled out N.C.O. Aoyagi from the plane. After that, four or five military vehicles came to the scene of the accident. I remember there were some lorries and one propeller starting truck called "Shidosha" in Japanese. There were one or two cars also. I do not remember if there was any other injured person present with me in that lorry. All I remember is that some members of the aerodrome staff lifted me up bodily and put me in the "Shidosha" which took me to the hospital. While I was being carried in the lorry, I remember that the skin from my face had pulled off and I was finding it difficult to blow my nose. I reached the hospital after about 30 minutes. I did not see

T.K.

(523)

Mr. Bose after that. On reaching the hospital, I was laid on a bed. Mr. Bose was kept in a separate room. There were some other injured persons in the same room as myself. There were 4 or 5 other injured persons in the same room as myself but since all of them had their faces bandaged, I could not make out who they were.

From the lorry, I was helped by two men and walked to the ward. I had some difficulty in getting to that room as it seemed very distant. My injuries were attended to by a nurse whose name I do not remember. When I had rolled on the ground to extinguish the fire from my body at the aerodrome lost of sand and dust had got into my skin. The Nurse first cleaned my face and other parts that were injured, then put on some medicine and bandaged all my injuries. After being bandaged while I was lying on my bed, I started thinking about the other passengers wondering who were dead and who were alive. I thought to myself that Major Takizawa, Tominaga (Radio operator) and General Shidei must have died. I was not quite certain what would have happened of N.C.O. Aoyagi and the Engineer who were sitting just behind me. I heard that Mr. Bose was in the next room, though badly burnt yet alive. The nurse whose name I do not recollect, told me this. I wanted to meet Col. Nonogaki but he was not available. At that time, Mr. Nonogaki had gone to the Military Police headquarters. In the meantime, the whole of my face had swollen and my eyes were closed and I could not see anything. The same evening at about 8 P.M. I was taken to another hospital. Some other persons were also taken to the hospital but I do not know who they were. At that time I could neither walk nor see anything. I was taken to a hospital in Peito about 20 kilometers. I stayed in that hospital for about a month and a half. I heard in the

T.K.

524

hospital either on the first day or the second day of my reaching there that Mr. Bose had expired. I asked whether Mr. Bose had said anything before his death. I asked this question from Major Kawano (or Mr. Nishi) belonging to No. 8 Air Force Division. He told me that before his death, Mr. Bose did not make any complaint about his pain. He took everything very calmly. I think it was Major Kawano who told me that before his death, Mr. Bose expressed concern about his army in Singapore and other places. I am not sure whether it was Major Kawano or Major Nishi who, told me these things. They were both Staff Officers of the 8th Army Air Force. Since my eyes were bandaged, I could not see them.

I had temperature for two weeks. During this time, I could not see anything. About two weeks, I could see a little. At that time, my hands as well as my face were bandaged. Later when I could see properly and walk about a little, I saw the undermentioned persons who were travelling by the same plane, in the hospital:-

1. Captain Arai.
2. Col. Rehman.

In the beginning, all three of us were kept in the same room. Later we were allotted separate rooms each. Later I also saw Col. Nonogaki, Col. Sakai and N.C.O. Aoyagi in the hospital. About the middle of September, Col. Rehman, Col. Nonogaji, Captain Arai and Col. Sakai were flown to Tokyo after they had recovered. I stayed in that hospital till November. During this time, N.C.O. Aoyagi passed away in the same hospital. In the beginning of November, I and one N.C.O. were flown together to Fukuoka. Up till that time, my face were still bandaged and my hands could not move. I was, therefore, admitted to the hospital at Fukuoka. I

T.K.

525

was removed from Peito hospital because the Chinese forces had occupied that hospital. I left Fukuoka hospital after three days. From the hospital, I went to my home in Kanazawa City in Ishikawa Pref. I remained under treatment for 1½ years. Since the Japanese Army had surrendered, I could not go to the Military hospitals but continued my treatment under private arrangements.

Since my arrival in Tokyo, I have never been interrogated either by the British, American or the Japanese authorities. Several newspaper reporters came to my house in 1947. In May 1950 I came to Tokyo and starting<sup>ed</sup> my business of printing.

Even after the protracted treatment I had, the skin of my face shows marks of burning although it was otherwise normal. I lost all my teeth and am wearing false teeth. 4 of my fingers of the right hand, that is, excepting the thumb, were damaged and ~~misshapen~~ mis-shapen and I cannot clench my right fist. The left hand was less injured; only the little finger was deformed. This hand also I am unable to clench my fist in full. The skin of both hands still bear marks of the serious burning. Burns of my feet have been wholly healed. The marks of injury were shown to the Committee, both my hands and face, and the photograph was taken of the damaged pair of hands.

Interpreted by Mr. Rehman.

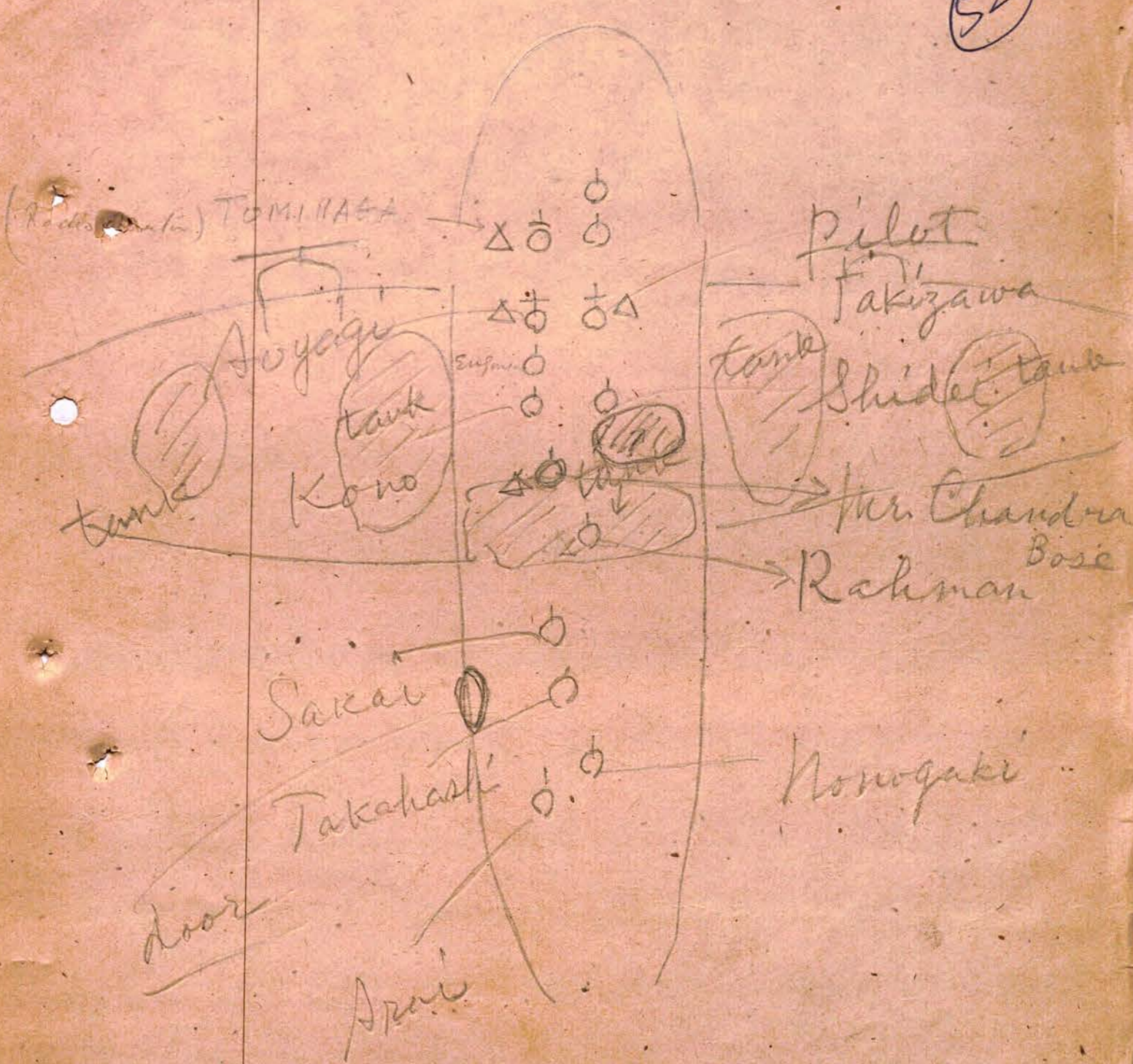
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MAJOR KONO

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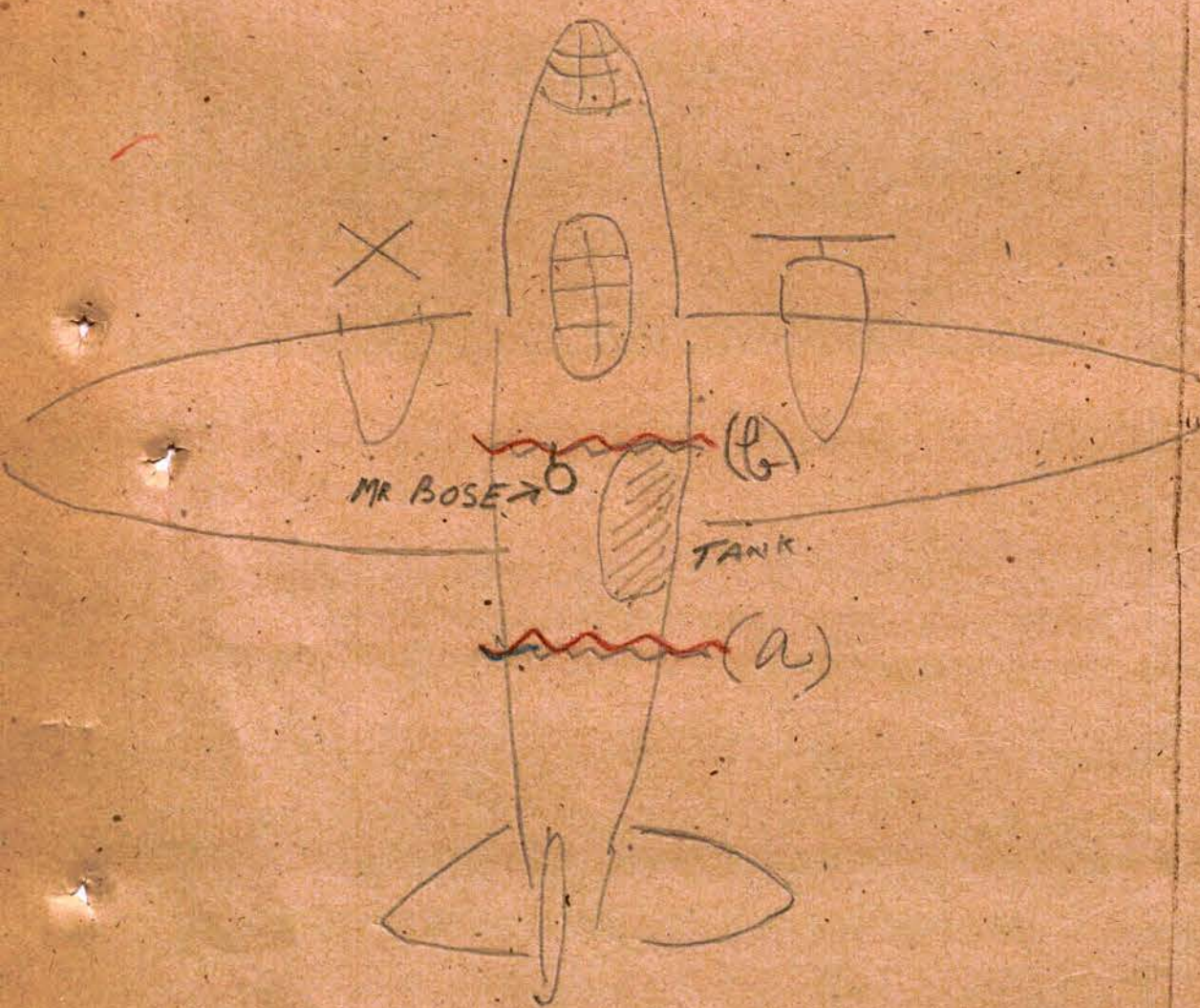
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18. May. 1956.

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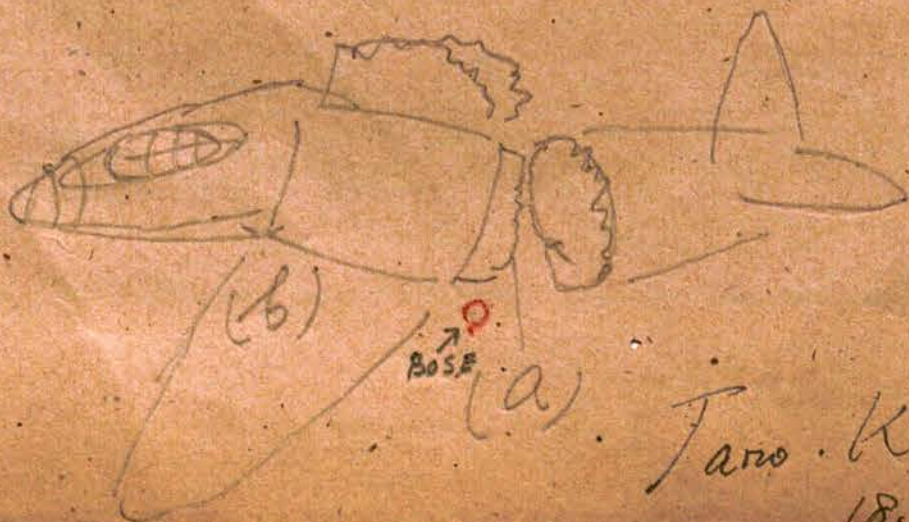
MAJOR KONO

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Taro Kono.  
18. May. 1956.

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42

(529)

Statement by Col. Sugiya Miyata,  
1073 Kawano City,  
Japan, recorded on 17th May '56  
at 10-30 A.M. at Tokyo.

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At the time when the last Great War came to an end, I was at Formosa posted as an Air Staff Officer attached to the headquarters of the Army in Formosa. Our headquarters were situated at Taihoku. I was posted to the headquarters at Taihoku in June 1944. After the air-crash, I went to the hospital either on the 19th or the 20th of August on hearing the news that Mr. Bose had died in the hospital. When I went to the hospital, I offered my condolences to the Indian Adjutant of Mr. Bose. I did not see the dead body of Mr. Bose. I did not try to make any enquiries where the dead body of Mr. Bose was kept. I had only heard about his death and after offering my condolences to his Indian Adjutant, I came away. I also heard that General Shidei was killed in the same crash. I do not remember whether any court of enquiry was held into the causes of the accident. I have a feeling that the enquiry was held by the Military Officers.

Interpreted by Mr. Rehman.

Admitted correct.

*T. Miyata*

# KASHMIR CALLING

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7/26



Major TAKAHASHI  
Survivor

17. 5. 56.

531

MADE IN  
JAPAN

Major I. Takahashi.

(532)

43

Statement by Major Takahashi Ihaho,  
Kanagawa Ken Zushi Shi 607, Japan,  
recorded on 17th May at 3 P.M. at  
Tokyo.

.....

Prior to the war, I was a regular army officer. My rank was that of a Major. During the war, I served in Manchuria, China and Burma. I was a Staff officer in the 15th Japanese Army commanded by General MuDaguchi. I retired from Burma with Mr. Wakizaka, one of the Staff officers, in July 1945 to Chang Mai. We reached Chang Mai in the beginning of August 1945. In the beginning of August, I received orders for transfer to Cheju Island lying South Korea (Quelpart Island). On receipt of these orders, I proceeded by aeroplane to Bangkok reaching there on 13th or 14th of August. On 15th or 16th of August I reached Saigon by plane. On 17th, I visited the Headquarter and then went to the Military Hotel at Saigon. The arrangement for my transport from Saigon onwards was made by Major Shigehara who was a Staff Officer on the staff of the Southern Army. I was informed in the afternoon of the 17th, I think it was about 2 P.M., about the plane that was to take me from Saigon. As far as I can remember, I arrived at the aerodrome between 3 and 3-30 P.M. The plane was standing on the aerodrome at that time. On the aerodrome I saw the undermentioned persons:-

General Shidei.  
Lt. Col. Nonogaki.  
Major Kono.  
Lt. Col. Sakai.

There were 2 or 3 other Japanese whose names I do not remember. Mr. Bose and his Adjutant were also there. There were 4 or 5 members of the crew.

When I arrived at the aerodrome, I met General Shidei who told me that His Excellency Mr. Bose was also travelling by the same plane. At that time,



533

Mr. Bose had not arrived at the aerodrome. General Shidei could not speak English; he could speak German. He told me to sit with him during the journey as he might require my assistance when talking to Mr. Bose. Soon afterwards, we started entering the plane. By that time, Mr. Bose and his Adjutant had arrived. The plane by which we were travelling was 97 type bomber. There were no chairs inside the plane, but a cushion was provided for Mr. Bose. Since I was the youngest of the party I sat in the rear in the most uncomfortable seat. The best seats in the plane were provided for General Shidei, Mr. Bose and his Adjutant. Mr. Bose was carrying two boxes with him. These were leather boxes of ordinary average size. These were each about 30" long, about 10" wide and 20" high. The plane took off in the normal manner. The time when the plane took off was either 5 or 6 P.M.

The ultimate destination of the plane was Tokyo. The normal route for all planes flying to Tokyo was via Dairen. The direct flight from Taihoku to Japan could not be undertaken as Okinawa was occupied by the Americans. I knew that General Shidei had been transferred to Manchuria. I do not know whether the plane was to leave him at Dairen and return to Tokyo or to take him further to Manchuria. My own orders were to get off the plane at Dairen and then proceed by rail via Seoul to Mukan by train and from there by steamer to the Island (Quelpart.) Soon after sun-set probably at about 7 P.M. we arrived in Tourane. All of us stayed in a hotel at Tourane. Mr. Bose was accommodated on the second floor. It was already dark when we arrived at the hotel. We had dinner separately. I did not see Mr. Bose at the hotel. General Shidei told me that Mr. Bose was putting up on the second floor. At about 5-30 in the

D.T.

534

morning, we left the hotel. We arrived at the aerodrome at about 7. From there, we flew to Taihoku. We arrived at Taihoku at about 11 A.M. The weather that day was very fine. Since I was sitting right back towards the tail of the plane I could not see the seating arrangements of other people sitting in front. In the rear, Col. Sakai and one other officer was sitting next to me. At Taihoku, we had our lunch and rested in a tent. The plane took off from Taihoku between 12-30 and 1 P.M. The plane had just become air-board when there was an explosion. It tilted to the left side and crashed to the ground in front of the runway. The runway was standard. The plane took off after it had traversed 3/4th of the runway from point I on sketch A and it crashed to the ground outside the concrete runway. The place where it crashed had gravel and sand spread on it. The place where the crash took place was inside the boundary of the aerodrome. When the plane crashed, it hit the ground on its nose. Then it came to its normal position. When the plane hit the ground, I became senseless. When I recovered consciousness I was lying outside the plane at point II. The plane had caught fire. I had sprained my left ankle and could not walk. Since I could not walk, I crawled on my hands to point III where I saw Lt. Col. Nonogaki. At the point where I met Col. Nonogaki, I learnt that Mr. Bose and General Shidei were still inside the plane. Hearing this, I crawled on my hands to point II, i.e. the place 10 meters from where I was before. On reaching there, I saw Mr. Bose getting out of the plane. Mr. Bose got out from the left front portion of the plane. When I first saw Mr. Bose, his clothes were on fire and he was trying to take off his coat. Mr. Bose was wearing uniform of light

A.T.

(33)

Khakhi colour. I do not remember whether he was wearing woollen uniform or cotton. Mr. Bose was trying to put out the fire when I went up to him, caught hold of his legs and requested him to lie down and roll on the ground. In this way, we managed to put off the fire from his clothes. I saw someone, perhaps I think Mr. Bose's Adjutant, there. Mr. Bose's clothes were still on his body. Only patches of the clothes on the upper part of his body were burnt. The reason for this was that he was sitting next to the petrol tank and his clothes were splashed with gasolene at certain places only. His trousers were burnt slightly. In the meantime, a military truck came and carried away Mr. Bose. I was left behind at the aerodrome. Another lorry came and took me to the hospital. I do not know who was taken to the Hospital first but I was the last to be taken to the hospital from the place of accident. Some persons had come to put out the fire. General Shidei could not get out of the aeroplane. He died inside the plane. Since the plane had crashed on its nose, all the members of the crew were killed. I learnt this later. When I reached the hospital, other injured persons were already there.

Mr. Bose,  
 Lt. Col. Sakai, Lt. Col. Nonogaki.  
 Major Kono, and I think the  
 Adjutant of Mr. Bose.

From the lorry to the dressing room in the hospital I was carried on the shoulders of some person. I was taken to a large room in which there were many beds. All the injured persons were lying on these beds. I was also on one of these beds. There were 7 or 8 persons in that room. Mr. Bose was first in the same room. I do not know where they took him later. My head and foot injuries were

D.J.

530

attended to in this room. Later, I was removed to another room. Lt. Col. Nonogaki was also there with me in that room. From 18th to 23rd I stayed in the same hotel. All the injured persons remained in that hospital from 18th to 23rd when I was flown to Fukuoka in Kyushu along with Col. Nonogaki. My left leg gave me trouble for two years and after two years' treatment, it became alright. As far as I remember, Col. Nonogaki told me at Taihoku that Mr. Bose had expired the same night. In the hospital, Col. Nonogaki told me that he had spoken to Mr. Bose through an interpreter. During the course of the talk, Col. Nonogaki had asked Mr. Bose if he had any message to give and whether he can do anything for him. Mr. Bose had replied that he wished that his followers who had been left behind, should be properly looked after. He had also asked for a softer pillow. I do not remember the exact time of the death of Mr. Bose as told to me by Col. Nonogaki, but it was some time during the night. Later on, I heard that Lt. Col. Sakai had flown to Tokyo with the ashes of Mr. Bose. Since I could not move out of the bed, I did not see the dead body of Mr. Bose. I did not hear anything about Netaji from the doctor or the nurse while I was in the hospital.

I was never interrogated on this accident either by the British, American or the Japanese authorities.

Interpreted by Mr. R. Rahman.

Admitted correct.

J. Takahashi

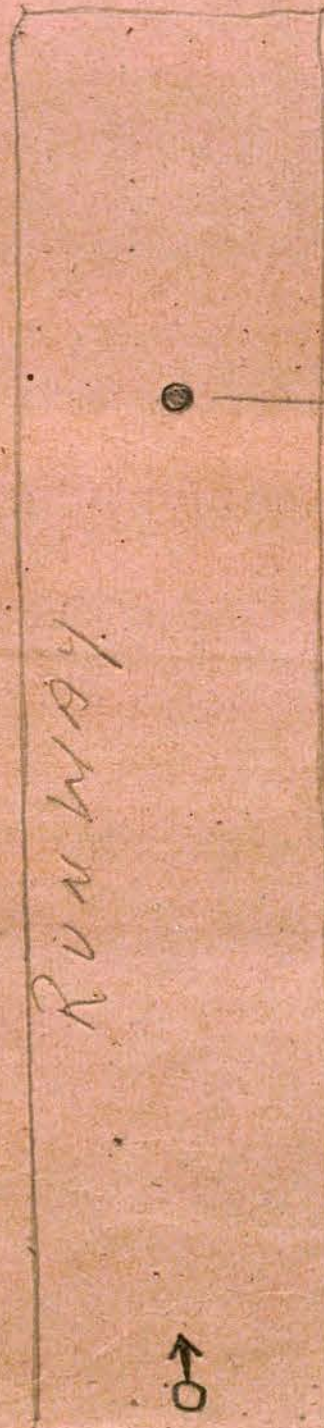
MAJOR TAKAHASHI

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1, 2, 3. are previous positions to which I moved.

AERO DRUMS



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Takahashi



Col. M. Yano.

44

539

Statement by Col. Muraji Yano, Kagoshimaken  
Kokubu Shi Muke, 1751, recorded at Tokyo on  
18th May 1956 at 10-30 A.M. and 3 P.M.

On 1st of May 1945 I was Chief  
of 2nd Section, Southern Army H.Q., Saigon. On 10th June  
1945 I was promoted a full Colonel, and put in charge  
of Air Branch. On 15th of June 1945 the Command post  
of the Southern Army moved to Dalat, the main headquarters  
still remaining at Saigon. I met Mr. Bose for the first  
time in Tokyo in June 1943 while I was posted as a Staff  
Officer at the Imperial General Headquarters. Next time  
I met him at the Imperial Hotel on <sup>or about</sup> 10th June. This was  
during his same visit to Tokyo. On June, the 19th, 1943  
he gave a press interview.

I remember that while I was posted  
as Chief of 2nd Section, Southern Army H.Q., Saigon that  
General Numata, Chief of Staff, Southern Army, told me  
that he had received a telegram from General Isoda stating  
that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose wished to make contact either  
with China or with Russia to continue his struggle for  
India's independence in view of the fact that the Japanese  
were retreating away from India and were not in a position  
to help him very much. This was either towards the end of  
July or in the beginning of August 1945. At that time,  
F.M. Count Terauchi and all the Staff officers were  
stationed at Dalat. On the night of 10th of August, we  
heard a radio broadcast from some foreign station which  
stated that Japan was ready to surrender. In view of  
this information, we sent for the leaders of Indonesia,  
including Dr. Hatta, Mr. Seokarno and Mr. Ramzen, They  
arrived at Dalat on the 12th. They were handed a declara-  
tion for ~~them~~ the independence of Indonesia. The

M. Yano

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declaration was written out and signed by F.M. Count Terauchi.

On 15th August, we heard the Emperor's broadcast about the surrender of Japan. That night F.M. Count Terauchi, General Shidei, General Numata and other staff officers had their dinner together at Dalat. At the dinner table, I received a telegram from Hikari Kikan, Bangkok, informing us that the next day, Mr. Bose would be arriving in Saigon on his way to Japan. General Shidei who had been Chief of the General Staff of the Japanese Army in Burma was under orders of transfer to Manchuria. On the day the Emperor's broadcast regarding surrender came, General Shidei was at our headquarters. The telegram which we had received from the Hikari Kikan, Bangkok, stated that Mr. Bose would be arriving at Saigon while on his way to Tokyo. Mr. Bose was to be accompanied by one Adjutant. When the Emperor's broadcast regarding surrender was heard by us, F.M. Count Terauchi discussed with the rest of his staff and decided that it was better for Mr. Bose to reach Tokyo as soon as possible. I was present at that Conference.

Due to the difficulty in obtaining seats in the plane, the plan was to move Mr. Bose alone to Tokyo. Mr. Bose had desired to go to Russia. F.M. Count Terauchi decided that in the first instance Mr. Bose should visit Tokyo and discuss the matter with the Government of Japan and then proceed onwards. The arrangements for Mr. Bose to be flown to Tokyo were made by our headquarters. Since General Shidei wanted to take advantage of that plane, he flew early in the morning with Staff Officer Tada on 16th August to Saigon. I did not go to Saigon myself but Staff Officer Tada. There was a telephone connection between

M. Yano



541

our headquarters at Dalat and Saigon aerodrome. Our headquarters were informed over the telephone by Staff Officer Tada that the plane carrying Netaji and General Shidei had taken off on the same day, i.e. 16th August 1945. I remember having met General Isoda at Dalat but I cannot remember exactly if it was on this occasion. We were informed that the under-mentioned passengers had taken off by the same plane:-

Mr. Chandra Bose, his Adjutant, General Shidei, and about 5 other Japanese Military officers, whose names I do not remember.

The arrangements for aeroplane were made by the Air Staff Officer attached to the headquarters at Dalat. He had his agent at Saigon. The allotment of seats in planes was arranged between his agent and the Staff Officer at Dalat over the telephone. I do not know where this plane came from. I do not remember accurately the exact time when the plane took off from Saigon but I think it was some time in the morning. These arrangements were looked into by Lt. Col. Kozima, who was also in charge of No. 1 Section. His Agent at Saigon was a Captain whose name I do not recollect. On 17th or 18th we received a telegram from the Chief of the Staff, Formosan Army, Lt. General Ishayama. The telegram ran as follows:-

" From: C of S Taiwan Army.

To: C of S Southern Army.

✓ Message - The plane carrying General Shidei had crashed. General Shidei killed. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and other injured persons admitted to Taipei (Taihoku) Military Hospital."

The accident had taken place over Matsuyama aerodrome, Taihoku. The same telegram was repeated by

M. Yano

5712

the Chief of Staff, Formosan Army, to the Chief of Staff, Imperial General Headquarters, Tokyo, and to the Vice War Minister, Tokyo. I do not remember whether the context of this telegram was communicated to the Hikari Kikan. At that time all of us were very much upset on hearing the message of the Emperor, to surrender. On 18th or 19th when I was at Saigon, I received another telegram from the Chief of Staff, Formosan Army, stating that Mr. Bose who had been seriously injured, could not survive and that he had died. This telegram was received at about 10 P.M. After this, I did not receive any further information about Mr. Bose or about his ashes until I arrived in Tokyo a year and a half later where I learnt about Mr. Bose's ashes and treasure through newspaper reports. It is only last year that I learnt through newspapers that the ashes were kept in Renkoji temple in Tokyo. I have no information about the other officers who were accompanying Mr. Bose.

I was interrogated by CICCD at Singapore.

Major General Prince Kayeen came to Saigon on the 19th of August. He was carrying a message from the Emperor to the Southern Army, (Prince Major General Kanin), China Expeditionary ~~Army~~ Army (Prince Lt. General Asaka), and Kwantung Army in Manchuria (Prince Lt. Col. Takeda) to carry out surrender peacefully.

I am now attached to the Military Section of the Armed Forces Far East who are studying military methods and organisation - American War Department (Pantagon, Washington).

When the first telegram regarding Mr. Bose's intentions of contacting China or Russia were conveyed to us about 15 days before the surrender by General Isoda, Chief of Hikari Kikan, our reaction was one of appreciation since he was a great man and we wanted to assist him.

M. Yano

S 113

Question by Mr. Bose. Was it the intention of the Japanese Government to remove Netaji to a safe place so that he would not fall into the hands of the British or the Americans?

Answer: Yes.

Question by Mr. Bose. Did the request to reach a place of safety come from Mr. Bose or the Government of Japan?

Answer: As far as I know, the Japanese Government were anxious to take him to a place of safety.

The various heads of States who were co-operating with the Japanese Government - Dr. Ba Ma had already arrived in Tokyo, Dr. Laurel had been arrested in Philippines by the Occupation Forces, and Mr. Wan Chin Wei had died. Arrangements had been made for the Emperor of Manchukuo to be brought to Tokyo but while they were making preparations to fly from Hsinking, they were arrested by the Russians. We were very anxious to bring back Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and Mr. Seokarno of Indonesia. I do not know what became of Mr. Seokarno.

Interpreted by Mr. J. Rahman.

Admitted correct.

*Muraji Yano*

45  
Statement of Mr. Masharu Kinoshita, No. 1233  
Kugahara-cho, Otaku, Tokyo, recorded on 21st  
May 1956 at 12 noon.

(SM)

At the time of the Japanese surrender, I was working as a Staff Officer (with the rank of a Major) in the Imperial General Headquarters, Tokyo. On 17th Sept. 1945 at about 11 P.M. I was a Duty Officer at the Imperial General Headquarters, Tokyo. An officer of the rank of a Lt. Colonel brought ~~these~~ two boxes ~~and~~ <sup>them</sup> to the Headquarters and delivered to me. These were wooden boxes, one of which was covered with white cloth, and the other with cloth of some other colour probably ~~green~~. The boxes were cubic in shape and one of them was approximately 10" and the other 8" in size. The head of ~~this~~ <sup>the</sup> officer <sup>who brought these boxes</sup> was bandaged. He told me that the smaller box contained ashes of Mr. Bose and the bigger box contained gold. He also told me that he had brought these boxes from Taiwan. Since these boxes were received late at night, I kept them in my room and went to sleep. The Officer who brought these boxes did not give me any instructions about their disposal. He merely handed them over to me for safe custody. The boxes were nailed out but not sealed and wrapped in cloth. The box said to contain ashes was light and the other box said to contain gold was heavy, but no note was made or given as to the exact weight and neither did I give any receipt for ~~the~~ boxes. The officer after making over the charge of these boxes to me went away. Next day between 9 and 10 A.M. I handed over these two boxes to Major Takakura who was the next Duty Officer. I do not know what happened of them afterwards and how Major Takakura disposed them of.

In August 1947, I was interrogated by the Japanese Military authorities regarding the gold.

Interpreted by <sup>M</sup>r. T. Rahman.

Admitted correct.

M. Kinoshita

(545)

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Statement by Lt.Col. Morio Takakura,  
Ex-Staff Officer, Imperial General  
Headquarters, Tokyo, recorded on  
21st May 1956 at 3 P.M. at Tokyo.

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Present address: Eifuku-cho-255,  
Suginamiku, Tokyo.

.....

During the war and at the time of the Japanese surrender, I was working as a Staff Officer in the Political Branch of the Imperial General Headquarters, Tokyo. On 21st August 1945, when I returned to Tokyo after meeting General McArthur at Manila, I learnt that a plane carrying General Shidei and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, had crashed at Taihoku aerodrome in Formosa on 18th August. On 25th or 26th I learnt at the Headquarters that the plane that had crashed at Taihoku, was bound for Manchuria from where Netaji had intended going to Russia. (The witness was referring to a diary written by himself in 1945). When I returned from Manila on 21st of August, I saw at the Headquarters several telegrams which had been received from the headquarters of the Formosan Army regarding the air-crash at Taihoku. I do not remember the contents of the telegrams separately. These were destroyed after the surrender but I remember that one of the telegrams contained the information that General Shidei and one of the crew were killed during the air crash. Another telegram stated that Netaji and his Adjutant had been badly burnt and that Lt. Col. Sakai and Lt. Col. Nonogaki had been injured. There was information about some others too but the details of that I do not remember. There was another telegram which stated that Netaji had expired in the hospital during the night on the same day that the plane crash took place. I do not remember if

M. J.

516

there were any other telegrams besides these.

The next I heard about Netaji was from Col. Habibur Rehman when I met him in our headquarters in Tokyo. Netaji's ashes had arrived at the headquarters before Col. Rehman who had had his bandage dressed at the residence of Mr. Murti and then come to the headquarters. The ashes were brought from Taiwan by Lt. Col. Sakai. He came via Fukuoka where he picked up three or four soldiers as an escort and reported to the Imperial General Headquarters on the night of 7th September. The ashes were made over by Lt. Col. Sakai to the Duty officer, Major Kinoshita. Major Kinoshita received from Lt. Col. Sakai two boxes - one of them was said to contain ashes. I do not know what the other box contained. The Duty Officer, on receipt of these boxes, took them in his custody and put an armed guard over them. The guard was changed every two hours. I received the boxes from the Duty Officer, Major Kinoshita at 8 A.M. on the 8th of September. There was no written entry regarding the taking of these boxes into custody. About the boxes I do not remember all the details ; so far as I recollect, they were nailed down wooden boxes about a foot square, whitish in colour and covered with cloth. In the morning after I had taken charge of these boxes, I called other officers of the headquarters and we all paid our respects to Netaji's ashes. I then telephoned to Mr. Murti, President of the I.I.L., Tokyo, and asked him to report to the headquarters to take custody of the ashes. I also arranged a car for Mr. Murti. About half an hour after my telephone call, Mr. Murti accompanied by Mr. Ayer and other Tokyo cadets, arrived at the headquarters. We placed the ashes in a waiting car which drove off with

M. J.

547

Mr. Murti and Mr. Ayer. I do not know what became of the ashes later on. On 14th of September after performing the ceremony, we placed the ashes in Renkoji temple. The Americans had already landed in Tokyo by then. I was present at the ceremony which was held at the Renkoji temple while placing Netaji's ashes there. I was representing the Imperial General Headquarters, Tokyo, on the occasion, and I had also taken some offerings with me, in accordance with the Japanese custom. This ceremony was organised by the I.I.L., Tokyo. There was a big gathering at the temple. There were in all about 100 people or so, of whom about 10 were Japanese.

I met Lt. Col. Sakai soon after the ashes were received. He was also posted at the same Imperial General Headquarters in a different section. I did not have any talk with him regarding Netaji at that time.

Question by Chairman: When you handed over Netaji's ashes to Mr. Murti, did you also hand over the other box to him?

Reply: Yes, both the boxes were handed over together to Mr. Murti.

Interpreted by Mr. J. Rahman.

Admitted correct.

M. Takahara

5

昭和20年の日誌より スミス将校のボース氏に関する報告抜萃 高倉威雄

6月17日

盤谷光機園に於て 2400-0300の間 LT7氏と會談し、南方快報に関する参考誌友の意向を伝へた。

8月18日

Bose氏 台北にて飛行機事故にて急逝。愕然。

9月7日

Bose氏の遺骨陸軍省着。其靈柩安葬の要請。

9月20日

Bose氏の遺骨を印支独立連盟に引渡す。

9月14日

ボース氏の葬儀(内記) 中部の薄走寺に於て。陸軍大臣の代理に参列。

Extracts concerning Netaji Bose from the Diary of 1945 of Col. TOKAKURA of Japanese Imperial HQ Tokyo.



519

Extracts concerning Netaji Bose from the  
Diary of 1945 of Col. Morio Takakura of  
Japanese Imperial HQ Tokyo.

June 17

I met Mr. T between 2400 -0300 at the  
office of Hikari Kikan in Bangkok whom I conveyed the  
intention of the Chief of General Staff regarding the  
decisive battle in Southern District.

August 18

Mr. Bose died of an aeroplane accident. Very  
astonished.

September 7.

Mr. Bose's ashes reached the Army Ministry and  
were laid in state at the altar of "war heroes' spirits".

September 8.

Mr. Bose's ashes were handed over to the Indian  
Independence League.


September 14.

A funeral service for Mr. Bose was held (secretly)  
at the Renkoji Temple. I attended it as a proxy for Army  
Minister.

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I, hereby, certify that the above translation into  
English from the original statement by Mr. Morio Takakura  
was made by me to the best of my knowledge.

26th May, 1956.

  
(KIYOSHI KAMIKO)  
Translator,  
Embassy of India in Japan,  
Tokyo.

47

(536)

Statement by Mr. Tatsuo Hayashida, Fukuoka City,  
No. 1, Haru Yoshi, Street, Japan, recorded on  
22nd May 1956 at 11 A.M.

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About the time when the last war came to and end, I was employed as a Second Lt. in the Administrative Section of Formosan Army Headquarters at Taihoku. On 5-9-1945 I received orders from the Headquarters to proceed to the aerodrome and to carry two boxes from Taihoku to Tokyo. This order was issued to me from the Army Headquarters, Formosa. The boxes were to be delivered to me at the aerodrome, Taihoku. I arrived at the aerodrome at about 11 A.M. on 5-9-1945. I found these two boxes lying at the aerodrome with Col. T. Sakai, Col. Habibur Rehman, Adjutant, and Major Nakamiya standing near them. I was told by Col. Sakai that one of these boxes contained the ashes of Netaji Bose. I picked up this box and carried it on a sling attached on my neck. This box was one foot, cubical in shape. The other box was rectangular 3 ft. x 2½ ft. x 2 ft. Col. Sakai told me that this box contained gold and jewellery and he asked me to look after it carefully. The small box which I carried on my neck was made of wood and was covered in a white cloth. The other box was also wooden but it had a leather covering on top of it. I do not remember whether any of these boxes were sealed or not. The boxes were nailed.

The plane took off from Taihoku at about mid-day on the same day. We landed at Guno-su aerodrome at Fukuoka at about 4-30 P.M. Col. Sakai, Col. Habibur Rehman and Major Nakamoya accompanied me in the same plane. Col. Sakai had one of his arms bandaged and slung. He also had burns on his legs which were also bandaged. Col. Rehman also had one of his hands bandaged (I do not

*T. Hayashida*

551

know which hand it was). There were no bandages round their heads. On arrival at the aerodrome at Fukuoka, I rang up the Military Headquarters to send a truck for us. The truck came and we got into it. From the aerodrome the truck went to the Military Headquarters near Fukuoka. Both the boxes were kept under a guard at the Military Headquarters. Col. Sakai, Col. Rehman, Major Nakamiya and I spent the night in a Military Hotel. At 3 P.M. on 6th of September 1945, Col. Sakai, Col. Rehman, Major Nakamiya, Sargeant Watanabe and two soldiers left Fukuoka by train for Tokyo. Sargeant Watanabe and two soldiers were picked up as an escort from Fukuoka. We arrived at Tokyo at 6 P.M. on 7th of September 1945. From the Railway Station we rang up the ~~Military~~ Imperial Headquarters, Tokyo, and asked for transport. A Military truck arrived at the Station after about half an hour. From the Railway Station, the whole party including Col. Sakai, Col. Rehman, Major Nakamiya and the escort went to the Imperial Headquarters, Tokyo. All the rest stayed behind in the truck and Col. Sakai and I went inside. I was carrying the box containing Netaji's ashes and some soldiers carried the other box. We made over the charge of these boxes to the night Duty Officer, Captain Kinoshita. On safely delivering the boxes to the night Duty Officer, I considered that I had done my duty and went away. I stayed in Tokyo for one or two days and later returned to Fukuoka. I do not know what became of those boxes afterwards. On my return to Fukuoka, I reported by telephone to the Army Headquarters there that the boxes had been duly delivered.

Interpreted by Mr. Rahman.

Admitted correct.

T. Hayashida





HYDE-PA  
3000

553

Dr. T. Yoshimi.

48

554

Statement by Dr. Taneyoshi Yoshimi,  
Takajocho Miyasaki-ken, Japan,  
recorded on 22nd May 1956 at 12-15  
P.M. and 2-30 P.M. and on 23rd May  
1956 at 10-30 A.M. at Tokyo.

At about the time when the last  
was ended, I was working as an officer-in-  
charge, Nanmon Military Hospital, Taihoku.  
My rank was that of an army Captain. I  
graduated as a medical student from the  
Taihoku Imperial Medical University in  
March 1938. I specialised in Surgery. I  
was commissioned in May 1940 and was posted  
in the same hospital at Taihoku. In the  
Nanmon hospital, I had two other medical  
officers under me. Their names are  
Dr. Tsuruta and Dr. Goto. There were six  
or seven nurses and about 30 medical  
orderlies. Of the nurses 4 were Japanese  
and 2 Formosan. Their names are as follows:

- 1. Nakano.
- 2. Ohama.
- 3. Tomimoto.
- 4. Nishimoto.

These four were Japanese.

- 5. Scha.
- 6. Ching.

Both these were Formosan.

I have no idea as to their present where-  
abouts.

A sketch map showing the details  
of the wards, etc. in the hospital made by  
me (Dr. Yoshimi) is marked A and attached.  
In the 4 general wards, we could  
accommodate 80 patients and 15 in the  
infectious ward. Both medical and

T. Yoshimi

555

surgical cases used to be treated in this hospital but serious cases used to be sent after giving initial treatment to the bigger hospitals which were located at some distance in the hills. This hospital was situated at a distance of 6 kilometers from the Taihoku aerodrome.

I remember that soon after the surrender of the Japanese, there was a serious air-craft accident at Taihoku, details of which I give below.

I received a phone message from the air-field on the 18th August 1945 at about 2 P.M. that there had been an air accident involving a number of persons. I was asked to be present at the hospital in readiness for receiving them. The names or number of the injured persons were not conveyed to me at that time. On receipt of this information over the telephone, I made preparations for receiving all the patients. About 20 minutes after the telephone call, 3 motor vehicles carrying the injured persons came to the hospital. One of these vehicles was a "Shidosha" which is used for starting the propeller of the plane. Mr. Bose was brought in the "Shidosha". A blanket was spread in that vehicle and Mr. Bose was lying flat on his bed. As far as I can remember, only Mr. Bose was in that vehicle. This car was the first to arrive at the hospital. When

T. Yoshinii

556

Mr. Bose arrived at the hospital, he was absolutely naked. When the car carrying Mr. Bose arrived at the hospital, I was standing at the main entrance shown in the sketch. The nursing orderlies were also waiting with a stretcher at the main entrance with me.

The first injured person to arrive at the hospital was a big-built man. He was not a Japanese. At that time I did not know who he was. From the main entrance to ward No. 2, shown in the sketch, he was carried by 8 nursing orderlies. Just behind the vehicle carrying Mr. Bose arrived, another car in which was seated a Staff Officer from the Military Headquarters, Formosa. This Staff Officer came running to me and told me that one of the injured persons was Mr. Bose, who had sustained very severe burns and that he should be treated first and with great attention. I asked him which one of the persons was Mr. Bose. He told me that the first person to be taken off from the vehicle was Mr. Bose. The Staff Officer told me that Mr. Bose was a very great man whose life must be saved by every possible means. As soon as Mr. Bose was put on the stretcher and taken away from the main entrance and I was told about his

J. Yoshimi



identity, I accompanied him to the dressing room attached to ward No. 2 shown in the sketch. While I was standing at the main entrance I saw 3 vehicles, the first one a "Shidosha" carrying Netaji Bose, the second a car carrying the Staff Officer and the third a lorry carrying about 12 or 13 injured persons. As soon as Mr. Bose was taken off the truck and carried to the dressing room, I followed him there. The other injured persons were brought in later. All the other injured persons were taken to the dressing room attached to ward No. 1. When Mr. Bose was brought in and examined, I found that he was severely burnt all over his body and all of it had taken on a greyish colour like ash. Even his heart had ~~got~~ burnt. His face was swollen. In my opinion, his burns were of the severest type, that is of the third degree. There was no injury on his body from which blood came out. His eyes were also swollen. He could see but had difficulty in opening them. He was in his senses when he was brought in. He was in high fever; his temperature was 39° centigrade. His pulse rate was 120 per minute. The condition of his heart was also weak. Dr. Tsuruta applied white ointment against burns all over his body. I gave him for his heart one

T. Yoshimi

558

after the other 4 injections of Vita-camphor and 2 injections of Digitamine. I also gave him 3 injections of Ringer Solution, 500 c.c. each one after the other. This was given intravenous.

In the dressing room, Mr. Bose was taken off the stretcher and put on a bed.

There Dr. Tsuruta applied white ointment all over his burns and bandaged.

While this was being done I gave Mr. Bose some injections. After his dressing was over, the bed on which he was lying down was carried to the attached ward No. 2 and placed at a position shown in the sketch. The bed of his Adjutant was next to his. The relative position of their beds is shown in the sketch.

In case of severe burns of the third degree, the blood gets thicker and there is high pressure of the heart. In order to relieve this pressure, usually blood is let out and new blood given in its place. In the case of Mr. Bose, I let out approximately 200 c.c. of his blood and transfused 400 c.c. of blood into him. This blood was obtained at Nanmon hospital from a Japanese soldier. This blood transfusion was given between 4 and 5 P.M. that day. I do not remember the name of the Japanese soldier but the type of his blood was 'O'. Then Mr. Bose was given Sulfonamide injection to prevent infection.

J. Yoshimi

After administering this injection, all that should have been done, was done, and from then onwards Dr. Tsuruta was attending to him. On this treatment being given to Mr. Bose, his reaction was favourable and he took a turn for the better. During and after the treatment that was being given to him in the hospital, the following persons were present:-

1. An Interpreter by the name of Mr. Nakamura (He came from the headquarters of the Formosa Government)
2. 2 nurses - Chief nurse, Nakano and another one whose name I do not remember. Both the nurses were Japanese.
3. Dr. Tsuruta.
4. Mr. Bose's Adjutant, Mr. Rehman.

After completing the treatment of Mr. Bose, I left the room to attend to other patients but I kept looking in from time to time. I remember that as Mr. Bose was brought in and I was going to attend to him, He told me that his condition was not so serious and that other injured persons should be attended to first. Since the condition of Mr. Bose was the most serious of all, I treated him first. Three or four times, Mr. Bose asked for water in Japanese (Mizu). He was given just a little water to moisten his mouth. My own impression was that Mr. Bose's condition was so serious

J. Yoshimi

560

that he would not survive till the next morning. I, therefore, asked his Adjutant through the Interpreter to ask Mr. Bose if he had any message to give. After that Mr. Bose and his Adjutant were talking to each other in a very low voice. I do not know what the talk was about. I instructed Dr. Tsuruta to continue giving Vita-camphar injections to Mr. Bose at 30 minutes interval. I instructed Dr. Tsuruta also to keep me informed about the condition of Mr. Bose specially if it took a turn for the worse. After leaving Mr. Bose's room, I came to ward No. 1 where I attended to the Japanese injured persons. Of the injured Japanese officers whom I attended, I remember the names of the following:-

Sub-Officer Aoyagi, Assistant Pilot  
Major Kawano, Staff Officer.

Lt. Col. Nonogaki, Staff Officer.

Captain or Major Sakai.

Besides, there were 5 or 6 other persons whose names I do not remember now. I do not think there was any body higher in rank than a Lt. Col. The pilot was also there but I do not remember his name. The condition of the Assistant pilot was also very serious. Both of them died one week later. The pilot and

J. Yoshimi

56

the co-pilot were treated in our hospital for about 3 days after which they were sent to another Air Force hospital where, I heard, they died. This hospital was at a distance of 14 or 15 kilometers from our hospital. The name of the Air Force hospital was Hokuto hospital.

Col. Rehman had burn on his face but I cannot remember on which side of the face it was. Whichever side of the face was burnt, the top of the opposite hand also showed marks of burns. He had a cut on his right temple which was bleeding. Disinfectant was put on the cut and white ointment on the burn. Injured parts were bandaged. As far as I remember, only one hand of Mr. Rehman was burnt. The pilot received severe burns above his neck and both his fore-arms were also burnt. Mr. Aoyagi, the co-pilot, suffered similar burns above his shoulders. His fore-arms were also burnt and the legs below his knees were also burnt. All these burns were caused by the splashing of petrol on the bodies of the injured persons. Netaji Bose's body was similarly splashed with petrol.

T. Yoshimi

562

I heard later that General Shidei was similarly splashed with petrol and died inside the plane. I never saw his body; his body was never brought to the hospital. Major Kawano had third degree burns on his hands and Lt. Col. Nonogaki did not have any burn or injury over his body. Col. Sakai had burns over his hands.

At about 7 or 7-30 P.M. I was informed by Dr. Tsuruta that the condition of Mr. Bose had deteriorated and that his pulse was very weak. I hurried to the room and gave Mr. Bose Vita-camphor and Digitamine injections, but it appeared to me that he was losing consciousness. He did not speak to me. His pulse and heart beats were very slow. I continued to administer these heart injections to him but without any effect and his condition continued to grow worse. At that time, he did not give any reply to the conversations of his Adjutant or the Interpreter. It was shortly after 8 P.M. that Mr. Bose breathed his last. I tried to give artificial respiration to him, but it was of no use. At the time when Netaji Bose breathed his last, the following were present:-

J. Yoshimi

(513)

Myself (Dr. Yoshimi),  
Dr. Tsuruta,  
Those two Japanese nurses,  
Mr. Nakamura (Interpreter)

|| Col. Nonogaki,

One Military policeman who did not have a rifle but had a belt and a sword.  
Col. Rehman, Netaji Bose's Adjutant.

Col. Rehman was extremely grieved at his death and tears were rolling down his eyes. The nurses were also crying loudly. In fact, everybody present in that room was crying.

I telephoned to the headquarters of the Formosan Army and conveyed this sad news to them. The same night, two Staff Officers from the headquarters came. They were followed by several other persons from the headquarters. I did not know any one of them. They were all strangers to me. The same night, one platoon as a military guard, arrived at the hospital. The same night also, the Adjutant to the Commander-in-Chief came to the hospital and instructed me to give Formalene injections to the body to ensure that the body would not decompose. I did not know the reason why he asked me to give Formaline injections to the body but he asked

J. Yoshimi

564

me to keep the body as it was as long as it was possible.

The dead body of Mr. Bose was removed to one corner of the same room, shown in the sketch, and a screen was put in front of his body. Flowers and candles were placed by the side of the body.

T. Yoshimi



565

During the night, vigilance was kept over his body and those who came there were Lt. Col. Staff Officer belonging to the Headquarters, Formosan Army, one Captain with 16 Military guards and two men from the Military Police.

I had my supper at about 11 P.M. that night in the dining room which was situated just behind the Offices. After that, I came to my room in the Offices where I slept for the night. Since the body of Mr. Bose after his death was handed over to the guards, no doctor visited the portion of the room screened off for Mr. Bose's body. After Mr. Bose's death, we were busy attending to the other injured persons who were in great pain. That night, we hardly slept as we were continuously summoned to the injured persons' ward. Dr. Tsuruta and I were continuously paying visits to that ward. At night, I used to sleep in C.M.O's room in the Offices Section and Dr. Tsuruta used to sleep in the dressing room attached to general ward No. 4. On the 19th, I gave treatment to the Japanese injured officers and Col. Rehman. As far as I remember, on the morning of 20th of August, the body was taken away from the hospital by the Captain and the guard that was posted there on the 18th. A Military truck as shown in the sketch came near the room where Mr. Bose's body was kept. The coffin was placed in the truck and carried away. I am not quite sure whether the date was 20th. The coffin in which Mr. Bose's body was placed was a wooden coffin and was covered in white cloth. A coffin of normal size was brought to the hospital on 19th but it was found that it was too small to contain Mr. Bose's body. Accordingly, another coffin of a bigger size was brought 4 or 5 hours later. His body was placed in the coffin on the 19th.

T. Yoshimura

A photograph was taken of the coffin ~~take~~ after it had been nailed down and put on a raised dais. I understand that the photographer had been sent by the Army HQs. So far as I know no photograph of the dead body was taken at any time.

Question by the Chairman: Can you give any reason why no photograph of the dead body was taken?

Reply: According to the Japanese custom, dead bodies are not supposed to be kept exposed and no photographs are taken.

On the 18th of August, I had issued a medical certificate of death in respect of the deceased person writing his name in Japanese (Kata Kana) as "Chandra Bose" and giving the cause of death as "burns of the third degree". I handed over the certificate to the Captain in charge of the guard. There was a diary kept in the hospital in which records of all patients were kept. Such a record was maintained for Mr. Bose and there his death was also recorded. The recording was done either by myself or Dr. Tsuruta giving details of every treatment carried out. I do not know what happened to the hospital records after the war. I left the hospital and came away from Formosa on the 21st of January 1946. On the same day I was arrested by the American Military authorities and sent to prison in Shanghai. I was kept in Shanghai for about 5 months. Later I was taken to Hongkong and put in Stanley Jail. I remained there for 5 years and was then transferred to Sugama prison in Tokyo. I was released from jail in October 1951. The reason why I was kept in prison for so long was that the Allied prisoners of war including General Percival and others were brought to

T. Yoshimi

567

Formosa. They had some Medical Officers amongst them. They demanded medicines which were not in my stock. They thought that I had withheld medicines for them and not given proper medical aid to the Allied prisoners of war.

Questions by Mr. Bose.

Was Mr. Bose alive in the hospital for about 6 hours?

Reply: Yes.

Did the Military Headquarters at Formosa know that Mr. Bose was severely burnt?

Reply: The Military Headquarters at Formosa came to know about the serious condition after 30 minutes of his being brought to the hospital.

Were they also informed that Mr. Bose would not survive till the next morning?

Reply: As soon as the main examination of Mr. Bose was finished, I informed Lt. Col. Nonogaki who was also in that hospital that Mr. Bose would not survive till the next morning. I also gave the same information to the Military HQ by telephone.

Does every body know the Japanese custom that no photograph is taken of dead bodies?

Reply: Everybody in Japan knows that their custom is not to take photographs of dead bodies. Only in exceptional cases namely street and other accidents, the Police only take photos of dead bodies.

Could you give any reason why the Military authorities did not send a photographer to take Mr. Bose's photo when he was alive and before he died?

Reply: In my opinion, as the Japanese had surrendered only three days ago, there was a state of

J. Yoshimi

568

confusion and despondency all over and so they probably omitted to send the photographer.

Do you think that this state of despondency disappeared when they sent the photographer after a day or so?

Reply: The Military authorities sent the photographer on the 19th after the body had been put on the dais.

Questions by Chairman.

When you had given the main treatment after the examination, what did his body look like, particularly his eyes?

Reply: The only portion of his face which was visible after it had been properly bandaged were his eyes, nose and the mouth and no other portion of his face was visible.

After his death, were the bandages taken out?

Reply: After his death, the bandages which had become dirty, were replaced by new ones and a white cloth was put over the body.

Was there any swelling on his face when he died?

Reply: When he died, his face was swollen. The face had not become disfigured but it was swollen.

When Mr. Bose was first brought in, you said that he was absolutely naked.

Reply: Yes.

Did he have anything on his body other than the clothes, for instance, a ring or a watch?

Reply: I do not remember.

After the death of Mr. Bose, did any high-ranking Military officers come to the hospital from

T. Yoshimi

569

the HQ?

Reply: On the morning of the 19th, the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese forces in Formosa, General Ando, and Chief of the General Staff, General Isayama, came to the hospital. They were followed by many other Staff Officers.

Did you know where they took the body?

Reply: I did not go to the crematorium. I heard that they had taken it to the crematorium.

When the truck came on the 20th, did any Military officers come with it?

Reply: Yes, some Staff officers came in two cars. I do not remember their names.

Can you tell us when the Adjutant, Col. Habibur Rehman, left your hospital?

Reply: Col. Rehman left the hospital with Mr. Bose's body that day. He went by car. He did not return to the hospital after that. He was discharged from the hospital on the same day and the same time. Lt. Col. Nonogaki and one other officer was also discharged on the same day. I do not know where they went to after being discharged from the hospital.

Questions by Shri Maitra.

What happened to the other injured persons?

Reply: The three officers left behind were the Pilot, the Co-pilot and the Wireless Operator. All the three were removed to the Air Force Hospital either on the 20th or the 21st. The Pilot and the co-pilot died at the Air Force hospital about a week later. Another of the injured persons died in Nanmon hospital either on the 21st or the 22nd. I do not recollect his name.

J. Goshimi

SP

Do you have any knowledge about the remains of Mr. Bose?

Reply: I only heard that his remains after cremation were sent to Tokyo.

What are you doing now?

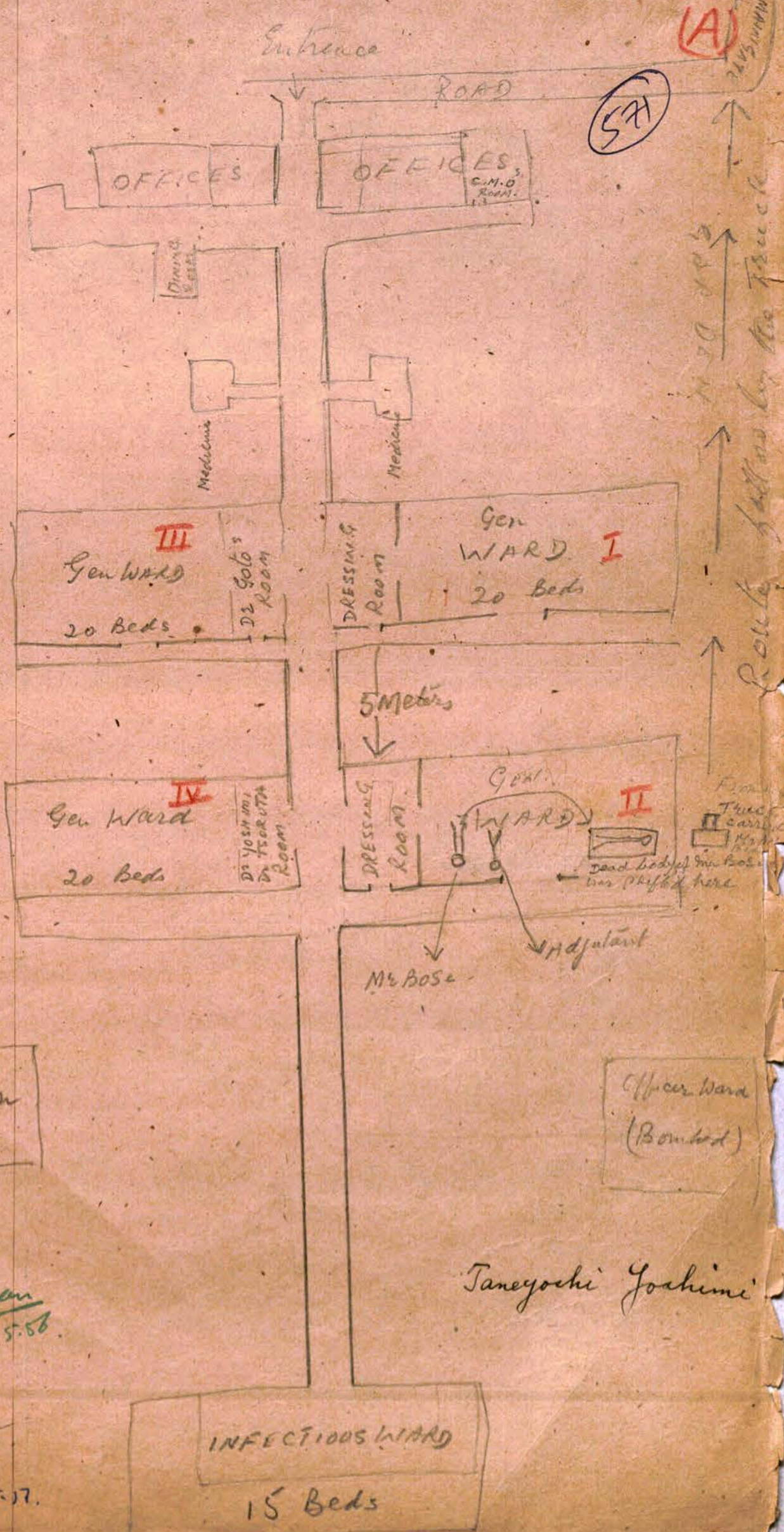
Reply: I am now a private practitioner in Takajocho Miyazaki Pref. in Kyushu. I have a hospital named after me.

Interpreted by Mr. J. Rehman, and  
Mr. K. Kamiko.

Admitted correct.

Taneyoshi Yoshimi

SKETCH PLAN OF THE HOSPITAL NAMMON AT TAIHOKOU By Dr. T. YOSHIMI



Shakunaga Khan 23.5.56

S.C. km 22.5.56

Sum 22.5.57

Taneyochi Yoshimi

4f 572

Statement by Shri Satyendranath Sen,  
No. 1, 1-Chome, Naka-meguro, Meguro-  
Ku, Tokyo, recorded on 23rd May 1956  
at 3 P.M. at Tokyo.

I first came to Japan in May 1935. I remained in Japan through-out the war with the exception of the first year of the war when I was in Bangkok, in connection with the I.I.L. movement. I worked with Shri Rash Behari Bose in the I.I.L. and was engaged in broadcasting work. I met Netaji four or five times in Japan. I was a member of the Territorial Committee of the I.I.L. Japan. Last time I met Netaji was in November 1944 in Tokyo. This was after the battle of Imphal. I had some talks with him at the Imperial Hotel. I talked to him about the progress of his movement in Burma and Malaya and about his future plans. His future plans were that he would continue to fight and wanted all of us to work for the movement with zeal and enthusiasm. I am not quite sure of the date when he left Japan. I remember that Netaji came to Tokyo accompanied by General Chatterjee. It might have been on the last visit or the one before it. Netaji called me to dinner at the Imperial Hotel and told me that he wished to present 10 war-planes to the Japanese - 5 for the navy and 5 for the army. He told me that plenty of funds would be required for purchasing these 10 war-planes and he wanted me to assist in raising funds from amongst the Indians in Tokyo. After the dinner, I had a chat with General Chatterjee and told him that 10 war planes would cost a great deal of money. General Chatterjee told me that it would be alright as they had brought jewels with them and they would be able to pay for those planes by selling those

S. U. Sen



SB

jewels. I do not know the value of the jewellery that General Chatterjee might have brought over with him. I did not see them. I have no direct knowledge apart from what General Chatterjee told me. By jewellery I mean gold, silver and precious stones of all kinds. I do not know whether the jewellery that General Chatterjee might have brought with him, was left with the Japanese Army or not. I surmise that it was so left. At the dinner table that night, there were some Japanese high Army officers and I presume that there was some talk about this. The balance of the cost of the 10 war-planes proposed to be purchased which was to have been raised locally in Tokyo, was not raised to any large extent. I think the value of a war-plane at that time was 1½ lakhs of rupees each.

My surmise is that the jewellery which the Japanese later on handed over to Mr. Murti was the jewellery which <sup>Netaji</sup> General Chatterjee had left with the Japanese at that time and no jewellery was collected from the alleged plane crash in which Netaji is said to have involved at Taihoku in August 1945. I do not disbelieve that there was an air-crash at Taihoku in August 1945 as the Jap. planes were defective. Swami Satyanand Puri of Bangkok had been involved in a similar plane crash some years before that. I do not think that the Japanese would have stage-managed the crash as it resulted in a number of casualties amongst the Japanese officers. I however take that Netaji was never in that plane. I think so because it would not have served Netaji's purpose of continuing the fight for India's liberation by coming to Japan which had already surrendered. So far as I know, his plan was to continue the struggle by what-

S. M. Puri

570

ever means was possible. I however have no direct knowledge of his final plans or of his actual line action.

Subsequently, I have not been able to gather any facts to substantiate this theory as I could not get any opportunity of doing so. I, however, asked one of my friends, Mr. Debnath Das, to collect whatever facts might be available. It also strikes me that if Netaji was coming to Japan as a guest of the Japanese Government, there was no need for him to carry valuable jewellery unless he was planning to go to some other country.

At present, I am working in the office of the Asahi Evening News. I have been living in Japan for 20 years and can speak Japanese very well.

Admitted correct.

J. M. Sen

23-5-56

50 (575)

Statement by Ex-Lt. Col. Shibuya Masanari, Miyangi-ken,  
Tsutagon Sanbunni-cho Machi-Oura No. 43, recorded on  
24th May 1956 at 10-30 A.M. at Tokyo.

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At the time of the Japanese surrender in the last war, I was employed as an Air Force Staff Officer with the headquarters of the Formosan Army at Taihoku. Soon after the announcement of surrender by the Emperor of Japan, there was a serious air accident at Taihoku. In that accident, General Shidei and Major Takizawa were killed outright in the plane. Mr. Bose, Col. Rehman, Major Kono, Lt. Col. Nonogaki and Lt. Col. Sakai were injured. There were some others besides these who were also injured but I do not remember their names. I do not remember the accurate date on which this accident took place. I think it was about 10 days after the surrender of the Japanese in August 1945. I remember that in the afternoon of the same day, the accident took place. I received information over the telephone about this accident. The information was to the effect that the plane by which Mr. Bose was travelling had met with an accident. The telephone message also said that the injured persons were being sent to the hospital. I at once informed General Ando who was the Commander-in-Chief of the Formosan Army. The same afternoon shortly after receiving the telephone call, Major Nagatomo, Adjutant to the Commander-in-Chief, was sent to the hospital to attend to the comforts of the injured persons. The hospital to which all the injured persons were taken was Taihoku Military Hospital. At about noon time the next day, I received a telephone message from the hospital that Mr. Bose had expired. The telephone message from the hospital was given by hospital staff and was received by Major Nagatomo at the Military HQ. He conveyed the message to me.

M. 9

576

Question by Mr. Bose. Was this the first time that the Military HQ got information about Mr. Bose's death?

Answer: This was the first telephone message that our HQ received about Mr. Bose's death. I do not remember other details of the message.

After receiving this message, I went to the hospital accompanied by Adjutant, Major Nagatoma. I do not remember the correct time at which we arrived at the hospital. When we arrived at the hospital, we saw the dead body of Mr. Bose. It was lying on a bed with the rest of the body covered with a blanket but the face about the shoulders was not covered. His face was burnt and the whole of it was bandaged. The whole of the head was also bandaged. I could not see any portion of his face as the whole of it was bandaged. I was told by Dr. Captain Yoshimi that the body lying there was that of Mr. Bose. I never saw Mr. Bose while he was alive. His body was kept in one of the wards in the hospital. There was no other bed in that ward. I left Major Nagatoma at the hospital to keep vigil over the body and I returned to the HQ. There were no Japanese soldiers guarding the body at that time. About half an hour after Major Nagatoma and I reached the hospital, the Chief Adjutant of Taiwan Army also came to the hospital. His rank was that of a full Colonel. I do not remember his name. I was in the hospital for about half an hour. After visiting the body in the hospital, I returned to my HQ. The looking after of the body and cremation etc. was the responsibility of the Chief Adjutant of the Army HQ who did all these things. I have no personal knowledge of what happened after I left the hospital. I do not know the exact time when the

M. S.

(57)

body was cremated, but I know that the Military Officers including the Chief Adjutant who went from the HQ took part in the cremation of the body and later removed the ashes on the same day and placed them in Shingashi (East) Hongaju temple, Taihoku. The Chief Adjutant told me this on the same day after his return from the cremation ceremony and after depositing the ashes in the above-mentioned temple. I did not hear anything more about Mr. Bose afterwards. I visited the hospital once more about a week later and saw the injured officers which included Col. Rehman, Major Kono, Lt. Col. Nonogaki and Lt. Col. Sakai. After about 20 days I received a telephone message from Major Kono who was a friend of mine and who was one of the injured persons, informing me that Col. Rehman wished to be taken to Singapore. I told him that it was difficult to make arrangements for sending him to Singapore but that it would be possible to send him to Tokyo. I had seen Col. Rehman on my first visit to the hospital when I went to see Netaji's dead body. He was in the same room. I did not talk to him as he was injured. His hands were bandaged. I do not remember whether one of his hands was bandaged or both but I know that his injury was not serious. As far as I remember his head was not bandaged. A week later, a plane was available for taking these officers to Tokyo and I accordingly made arrangements for them. The following officers went by the plane:-

Col. Rehman,  
Major Kono,  
Lt. Col. Nonogaki, and  
Lt. Col. Sakai.

These officers carried with them Mr. Bose's ashes and another box, which was a 18 Litre gasolene tin can. I.

M. S.

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528

I do not know the full details of the contents of this can but I learnt that it contained certain belongings of Mr. Bose which consisted of articles like rings, necklaces, etc. made of gold; also Netaji's spurs. These were collected from the crashed plane and put in the can. Mr. Bose's ashes were contained in a small cubical wooden box 8" wide. This was of the standard size for keeping the ashes in Japan. The tin can was delivered to the Chief of the Staff by the Aerodrome staff. It was kept in his office. I do not remember the exact date when this was handed over to him but I think it was on the same day that the accident took place. The lid of this can was closed and a paper seal was put over the lid. A thin piece of paper was put round the lid of the can and sealed. The aerodrome officer who brought this can had put his own seal marks on it. I do not know for certain who took this can from the Military HQ to the aerodrome but I think it was one of the men serving under Capt. Shimada who was an officer serving under me in the HQ. Captain Shimada was also an Air Force officer. I think it was in the month of September that these officers flew to Tokyo.

Questions by the Chairman. Is not a fact that when any serious air accident takes place, an enquiry into the causes of the accident is always held?

Answer: The enquiry is held by the Air Division and not by the Army.

Question: Was any enquiry ever held into the causes of this accident?

Answer: I do not know definitely whether any enquiry was held by the Air Division or not but I think they must have held an enquiry. It was not the function of the Army HQ at Formosa to hold an enquiry into the causes of accident

M.S.

579

in respect of a plane which belonged to some other Air Division. The enquiry is generally held by that Air Division to which the crashed plane belongs.

The area of operation of the Formosa Army extended along the 20 degree latitude beginning from 120 degree longitude inclusive Okinawa, ~~west-wards~~ inclusive Formosa to 120 degree longitude, including the east coast of China. The Air Division headquarters at Formosa covered the same area. The plane which crashed in Formosa at Taihoku belonged to either Air Division, Burma or Singapore. In case of an air accident taking place at Taihoku to an air-craft belonging to a Division headquartered in Burma or Singapore, the Air Division at Taihoku would request the Air Division at Burma or Singapore, as the case may be, to send their officers for conducting the enquiry. We had no prior intimation of the arrival of this plane at Taihoku. It came without notice.

On the day that Lt. Col. Nonogaki, Lt. Col. Sakai and others left Taihoku, I did not go to the aerodrome to see them off. I learnt from our men who had been to the aerodrome to deliver the can that the plane had taken off.

In July 1946 I returned to Japan. In August 1946 I was interrogated at the British Embassy in Tokyo by some officers who were not Military men.

The name of the Officer-in-Charge of the aerodrome at Taihoku was Major Sakai. The name of the Officer commanding Air Division at Taihoku was General Yamamoto. The name of the Chief of the General Staff, Air Division, was Col. Kisimoto.

At present, I am doing business in charcoal.  
Interpreted by Mr. J. Rahman.

Admitted correct.

M. S.  
M. Shibuya

57

(58)

Statement by Ex-Captain Makato Nakamura  
(now Makato Yamamoto), Fukuoka Ken-Omta,  
25 -Yamano Owey Cho, Japan, recorded on  
25th May 1956 at Tokyo at 10-30 A.M.

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During the last war, I was a regular officer of the Army Air Force. I received my commission in 1939. Before that, I was serving in the ranks. At the time when the war came to an end, I was stationed at Taihoku aerodrome in Formosa. At that time, I was the Officer-in-Charge of the Aerodrome and was also in charge of the maintenance unit. I am a ground Engineer. Round about that time, there was a serious air accident at Taihoku aerodrome. In that accident, General Shidei and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and others were involved. As far as I remember, the date on which this accident took place was either the 17th or the 18th of August 1945. It was not 18th of August because on that day about 30 American planes had landed at Taihoku. I looked after these aeroplanes. These included fighters as well as C 46 type transport planes. These American planes had arrived from Philippines to take away American prisoners of war who were in Formosa. After taking away those prisoners of war, these planes left the same day in the afternoon after a stay of about 5 hours. I am 90% sure about the 18th because many American and Japanese planes came and left from Taihoku that day. Up till the 25th of August 1945 the Japanese planes continued to fly unhampered. After the 25th August, their flights became restricted and they could only fly with the permission of the Americans and when carrying red cloth at the tail. \* The fact that the American planes came to Taihoku is definite but the date on which they came is not definite. I am

\* Reply to  
Chairman's question  
as to the date.

Makato



581

not sure about the date. From the 20th to the 25th, the American planes came three times. I think it was two days after Mr. Bose's plane had come to the Taihoku aerodrome that the American planes came.

On recollection now, I remember definitely that the American planes did not come on 18th but they came after the 20th of August. I remember this because after the 20th, one single American 338 fighter plane came over the airport and gave us a warning that Americans transport planes would be coming the following day. (Major Sakai was the Aerodrome Officer).

Question by the Chairman. Do you know the exact date on which the plane carrying General Shidei and Mr. Bose crashed at the aerodrome?

Answer: I can say definitely that it was either on the 17th, 18th or 19th of August 1945. Col. Nonogaki who was involved in this accident would be able to tell the date definitely.

On the day that the plane crash took place, I returned to the aerodrome from the city at 11-50 A.M. and found the aeroplane standing in front of the building shown at position A in Sketch I. I learnt from my men working at the aerodrome that the plane belonged to the Southern Area Army and that it carried an Officer of General's rank. I then went to the tent (marked B in sketch I) where this officer rested and saluted him. He introduced himself to me as General Shidei. General Shidei was not a tall man. He was wearing his military uniform with General's badges. The other persons who were in that tent were:-

Maizoto

582

Sub-Officer Aoki - pilot.

Major Takizawa - Engineer.

General Shidei.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose.

Col. Habibur Rehman, Mr. Bose's Adjutant.

Lt. Col. Sakai.

Lt. Col. Nonogaki.

Sergeant Okita.

I remember these names because it was my duty to register the names of all incoming and outgoing passengers. The head of the group in every flight had to give me particulars of all the men going on a particular plane. I remember having met Mr. Bose clearly in that tent. He was eating a banana at that time. Mr. Bose was a tall and robust looking man. He was dressed in the uniform of Indian National Army. He was wearing top boots and, if I remember rightly, he was wearing breeches. I do not remember whether it was cotton or woollen.

Question by the Chairman. Was Mr. Bose wearing a ring?

Answer: I did not notice at that time whether he was wearing a ring or not, but later my men told me that he was wearing a gold ring. He was wearing a wrist watch but I do not remember whether it was round or rectangular. Most probably, he was wearing what looked like sun-glasses.

General Shidei told me that he was accompanied by Mr. Chandra Bose and that he would like to fly immediately to Japan. It was after this talk that I learnt that that gentleman was Chandra Bose. General Shidei and others rested in the tent for about an hour and 20 minutes. [ At about 1-20 P.M. Major Takizawa and Pilot Aoki got into the plane and tested it. I was standing just in front of the plane. When they started the engines,

Makoto

583

I found that one of them was defective. I raised my hand to indicate to him (Major Takizawa) that the engine on the left side was defective. On my signal indicating that the engine was defective, Major Takizawa leaned out of the plane to listen to me. I told him that the left engine was defective and should be put right. Major Takizawa slowed down the engine and told me that it was a brand new engine which had been replaced at Saigon. After slowing down the engine, he adjusted it for about 5 minutes. The engine was adjusted twice by Major Takizawa. After being adjusted, I satisfied myself that the condition of the engine was all right. Major Takizawa also agreed with me that there was then nothing wrong with the engine. Both the engines were further slowed down to enable all the passengers to get on board. From the order in which the passengers entered the plane, I could make out that the most comfortable seats were to be occupied by General Shidei, Mr. Bose and his Adjutant. I did not look inside the plane. } After every body had taken seat in the plane, the plane taxied to one end of the runway marked C in sketch I. Having reached point C, the engines of the plane were speeded up to the maximum speed and then slowed down. This was the normal procedure which all Japanese planes followed to test the fitness of engines. Having satisfied myself that the engines were correct, the plane was speeded up and allowed to run down the runway. The length of the runway was 890 meters. In the case of heavy bombers, normally the tail gets lifted half the way down the runway marked D in the sketch I, but in this case, the tail was not lifted off the ground until it had run approximately 3/4th down the runway to

Makzobo

584

point E marked in the sketch I. At that time I was standing at a point marked F on the sketch I. This was about 30 meters away from the air strip. About 50 meters before the end of the runway, the plane took off and made a steep ascent. Immediately on taking off, the plane tilted to its left side and I saw something falling down from the plane, which I later found, was the propeller. Later when I went on the spot, I found that a whole propeller had fallen down from the plane. At the place where I was standing, I considered that the maximum height that the plane had attained was between 30 to 40 meters but I think in actual fact it must have been slightly higher. The plane crashed on its left side at the point marked G in sketch I, and it caught fire. The fire started from the front portion of the plane, and enveloped almost the entire plane. On seeing this, I immediately jumped on to a Shidosha ( a lorry for starting the propeller) which was standing near me and drove straight across the aerodrome to the place where the plane had crashed. The Shidosha was driven by a driver whose name I do not remember. The Shidosha carrying me stopped about 30 meters away from the crashed plane. The distance between the end of the runway and the place of crash was a little more than 100 meters. The place where the crash took place was just inside the boundary of the aerodrome. About 30 of my men who were standing at point marked H in sketch I on the left side of the runway on seeing the crash, rushed to the spot. These 30 men had helped to fill petrol in the plane and also guided it for taking off. I could not go near the plane because ammunition that was in the plane was going off. My men seeing me near the plane came towards me. I encouraged them to go near the plane and rescue the people inside. At first, they were scared of the ammunition going off but in spite of that I

Makoto

585

encouraged them to go near the plane and rescue the people. The ammunition that was going off was ammunition of the machine-gun. The plane was intact and the body was not broken. I am sure that the whole plane was intact but the tail-end was free from fire. On my encouragement, my men following me rushed to the plane to rescue the people inside. Since the front portion of the plane was on fire, we rescued the passengers through a normal door shown as A in sketch II. All my men were concentrated in front of this door. I do not remember the order in which the passengers came out. Some persons rushed out by themselves by that door. Col. Habibur Rehman was the last but one to come out of the plane and Mr. Bose was the last person to come out of the plane. Mr. Bose walked out of the plane and when he was a few yards away from the plane, Col. Rehman came running and pointing to him said "Bose Kakka, Bose Kakka" (Excellency). Col. Rehman's one side of the face above the cheek bone and fore-head were burnt. I did not see Col. Rehman bleeding. When Col. Rehman pointed out Mr. Bose to us, he was standing within the reach of flames. We rushed to him through the flames and pulled him out of the flames. He fell on his back. Mr. Bose's clothes had been splashed with petrol and it caught fire. I and my three men took off his coat. Mr. Bose was lying on his back on the ground when we took off his coat. We stripped him of all his clothings. Mr. Bose while lying on the ground was talking something but I do not know what it was about. We found Mr. Bose lying on his back and moving his hands at point B enveloped in flames. We removed him to point C approximately 50 meters away from point B. It was at point C that we stripped him of all his clothings. I ordered one of my men to bring a blanket from a spot marked H in sketch I. At this place,

Makzab

586

blankets had been kept under the charge of a sentry. A blanket was accordingly ~~not~~ brought. All the other passengers, with the exception of General Shidei, Major, Takizawa and Sub-officer Aoki had been rescued. Some of my men while rushing to the plane from point H had taken a truck there. Others had run on foot. From the site of the accident all the injured persons including Mr. Bose and Col. Rehman, were taken to the hospital in one small Army truck which was manufactured by Toyota Automobile Co. Since Mr. Bose was very severely burnt, we did not lay him on the floor of the truck but Mr. Bose's body was rested on the thighs of three men who were squatting in the lorry. Mr. Bose had severe burns all over his body specially the front portion of his abdomen and chest; in fact the whole of his body above his knees was badly burnt. There was no blood coming out from his body anywhere. The whole of his face was badly burnt. On some places, which were very severely burnt, skin was falling out. In some portions, the skin had blisters. The colour of skin was reddish. Before Mr. Bose was put into the truck and before a blanket was brought by one of my men, he was lying on an overall which had been spread on the ground for him. After the blanket arrived, we wrapped this blanket round Mr. Bose's body and put him in the truck with this blanket wrapped round him. His face was not covered in the blanket. I was not one of the 3 persons who carried him on their thighs to the hospital, in the truck. I remember Mr. Bose saying Mizo Mizo in the truck. I was on the same truck although I was not one of the persons on whose thighs he was resting. As far as I remember he still had hair on his head and the hair was not burnt as he had his cap on. I do not know what happened to the Shidosha. It must have been driven

Makoto

587

away by one of my men to the depot which was at point H. The Shidosha did not go to the hospital. The hospital where we took Mr. Bose was about 5 kilometers from the aerodrome. The name of the hospital was Taihoku Military Hospital. I did not know who was the officer-in-charge of this hospital but when we went there, I saw Lt. Yoshimi there. As we were engaged in rescue work at the aerodrome, I did not inform any body by telephone from the aerodrome about the accident. All the injured persons were carried from the aerodrome to the hospital in the same truck. Their names are:-

- Lt. Col. Nonogaki.
- Lt. Col. Sakai.
- Sergeant Okita.
- Mr. Bose,
- Col. Habibur Rehman.

There was no other injured person in the truck besides them. When we took these 5 injured persons to the hospital, the wreckage of the plane was still on fire. There were 3 persons including General Shidei, Pilot Aoki and Major Takizawa who could not get out of the plane. Before leaving the hospital, Lt. Col. Nonogaki told me that Mr. Bose's articles had dropped out of the plane. I accordingly came to the wrecked plane where I found three bodies with all the flesh burnt but only the portion round the navel existing all along with their bones. The charred bones of these three dead bodies were put in three separate wooden boxes. We dug the ground and buried the entrails. After putting the bones in small wooden boxes, we placed them in the Hongaju temple. This was about 1½ hours after we had left the place of accident for the hospital with the injured persons. Lt. Col. Nonogaki told me that Mr. Bose had brought gold and necklaces etc. with him and he asked me to collect the same

Makoto

588

from the site of the crashed plane. When I returned to the burnt out wreckage of the crashed aeroplane, I saw Major Sakai's men already engaged in collecting from the wreckage, charred ornaments which belonged to Mr. Bose. (Major Sakai was the Battalion Commander of the Aerodrome).

Question by Mr. Bose. What became of the left engine?

Reply: The left engine did not fall down.

Question: When the plane was burnt, did Col. Rehman take off Mr. Bose's dress.

Reply: Since Col. Rehman was himself injured, he did not take off Mr. Bose's clothes or touch his body. All the belongings of Mr. Bose collected from the wreckage of the plane were put in a 18 litre gasoline tin can. It was an ordinary tin can. Among the belongings of Mr. Bose were many articles looking like necklaces, medals and rings. All these were charred and blackened. There were also spurs of his boots. There were no gold bars among these articles. I did not see any precious stones. When I returned to the wreckage of the plane from the hospital, I saw Major Sakai's men collecting the articles under the supervision of Lt. Yamashida. Of the men who were collecting Mr. Bose's belongings 15 belonged to Major Sakai's unit and 5 men belonged to my unit. I was present throughout the collection of these articles. The can was nearly full up to the lid and about 10 strips of paper running down vertically were put on the lid and the tin sealed with Major Sakai's seals. These seals were put by Major Sakai himself who had arrived in the meantime just when we were about to finish putting the ornaments in the can. I do not know exactly at what time Major Sakai arrived at the scene of the collection. I only noticed him after Lt. Yamashida's men had finished collection and we were about to close the lid. After all

Makoto



589

the articles had been put in the tin can, Major Sakai sealed them in the manner described before with his own seal. The oil tin can was sealed by Major Sakai at point H and then removed to the underground air shelters. The air shelters situated at point H were spacious underground shelters where we could carry on our normal duties even when a raid was on. The can was put in this shelter for 4 or 5 days. A day and night guard of 8 persons was put over this can. The guards did not have rifles but had bayonets. The shelter in which this can was kept, was prohibited for entry to any other person. The guard was standing at the entrance of the shelter. His duty was to look after the can as well as to look out for enemy planes. 4 or 5 days later, Major Nagatomo telephoned to me from the HQ and ordered me to bring the can to the HQ. I took it to the HQ on the Shidosha. I went and reported to Major Nagatomo who ordered me to go and deliver the can to Lt. Col. Shibuya, Staff Officer. With the delivery of the can to Lt. Col. Shibuya, my job as far as this accident was concerned, was over.

Question by the Chairman. Did you hear anything more about Mr. Bose, what happened to this can and also whether you went to the hospital again and what happened to those patients?

Reply: The day after the plane crash I went to the hospital to deliver certain articles belonging to Lt. Col. Sakai, Lt. Col. Nonogaki and Sergeant Okita. I first went to the Taihoku Military Hospital where I had left the injured persons the previous day but not finding them there, I went to Hokuto Branch where I delivered the articles to them. Hokuto Branch was about 25 kilometers from the Taihoku Military Hospital. I never saw that can containing Mr. Bose's belongings again. The next day when I went to the

Makoto

596

hospital I learnt that Mr. Bose had expired. I did not see the dead body of Mr. Bose as I was not allowed to go near.

Question: Will you tell us what type of plane it was that had crashed at Taihoku?

Reply: It was twine-engined 97 type heavy bomber.

Question: Have you seen many bombers of this type?

Reply: Every day I was seeing this type of bombers.

Question: In this type of bomber, normally at which place is the entrance for getting inside the plane?

Reply: In this type of bomber, there are no entrances for passengers. The pilots generally enter the plane below the wings from points marked D and E on sketch II. There are openings on both sides of the plane marked A and F in sketch II, through which bombs are taken inside the plane and put on the rack.

Question by Mr. Bose. Why was there no entrance for passengers in these bombers?

Reply: As no passengers are allowed in these bombers, no entrances for passengers are made.

Question by the Chairman. Since this bomber carried 10 or 12 passengers, through which entrance did they enter the bomber?

Reply: At Taihoku aerodrome, all the passengers entered the plane from the left side.

Question: Was any ladder put, i.e., how they got into the plane?

Reply: There was a two step stool placed on the side of the plane with the help of which the passengers climbed in.

Question: I put it to you that Mr. Bose climbed out of opening at F and not through A. Is not so?

Reply: No, I am sure Mr. Bose came out of the opening at A and not at F in sketch II.

Makoto

591

Question by Mr. Bose. Did you say earlier that Mr. Bose gave his gold wrist watch and gold wrist band to some body at the hospital?

Reply: Yes, I said that. About that matter, please ask Dr. Yoshimi. I heard this from somebody whose name I do not recollect.

Question: Do you remember that the wrist watch was a round one or of any other shape?

Reply: When I rescued Mr. Bose, I saw that it was a gold round wrist watch of big size and which he was wearing.

Question: When Mr. Bose was carried from the truck to the hospital, was he carried by men on a stretcher and whether he was wrapped up in a blanket.

Reply: He was wrapped up in a blanket and held in the arms of my men about 4 or 5 in number since he was heavy, and not carried on a stretcher. The whole time he was asking for water.

Question by the Chairman. Where did they take him on their arms?

Reply: Mr. Bose was taken to the treatment bed and my men brought back the blanket.

Question: When you took out the blanket, was Mr. Bose absolutely naked?

Reply: After we took away the blanket, Mr. Bose was left on the treatment bed absolutely naked.

Interpreted by Mr. Rahman.

Admitted correct.

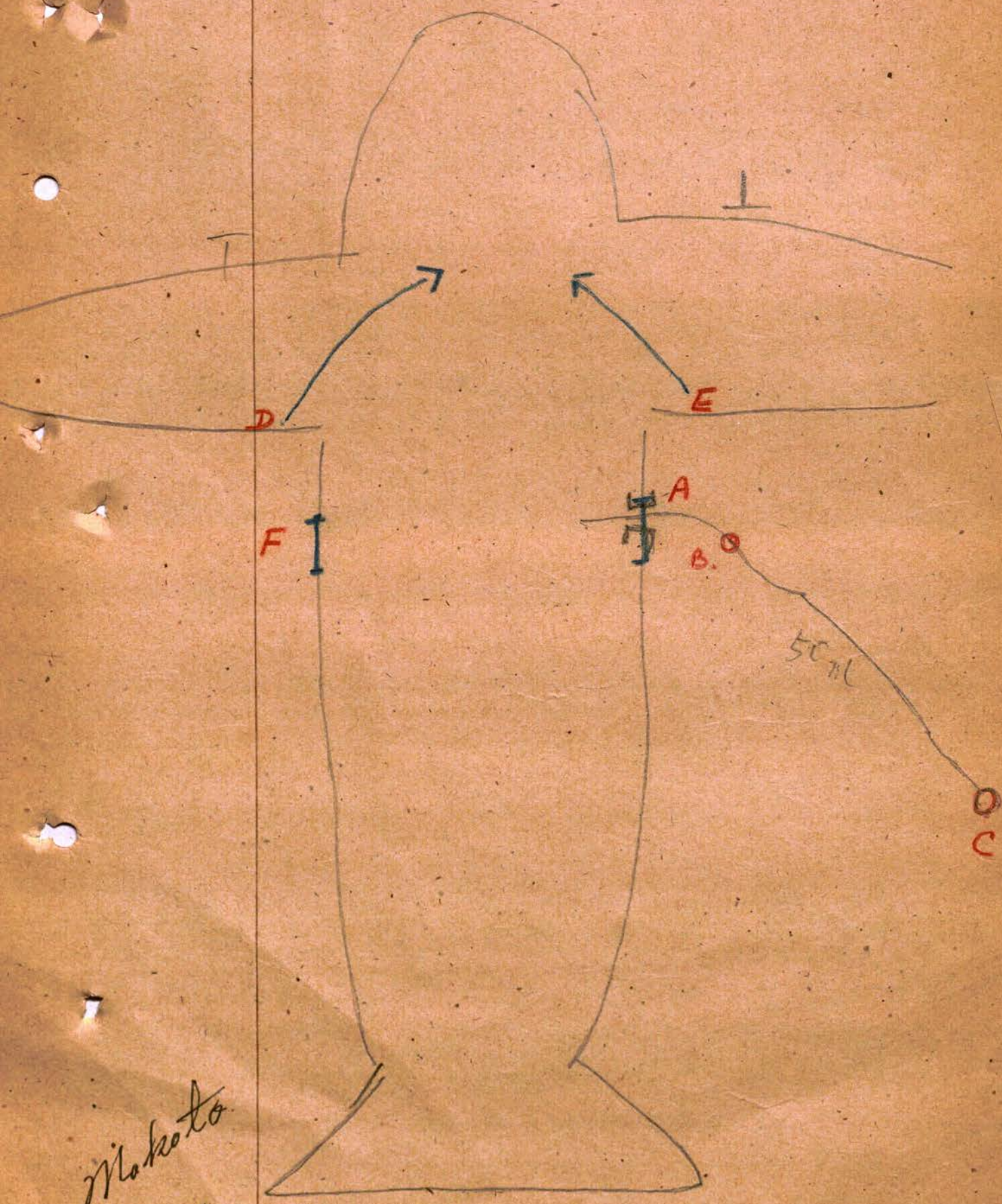
福岡縣大牟田市此上町 25番地

山本 誠

Makoto

Sketch Map by Capt. Makoto  
(NAKAMURA)

592

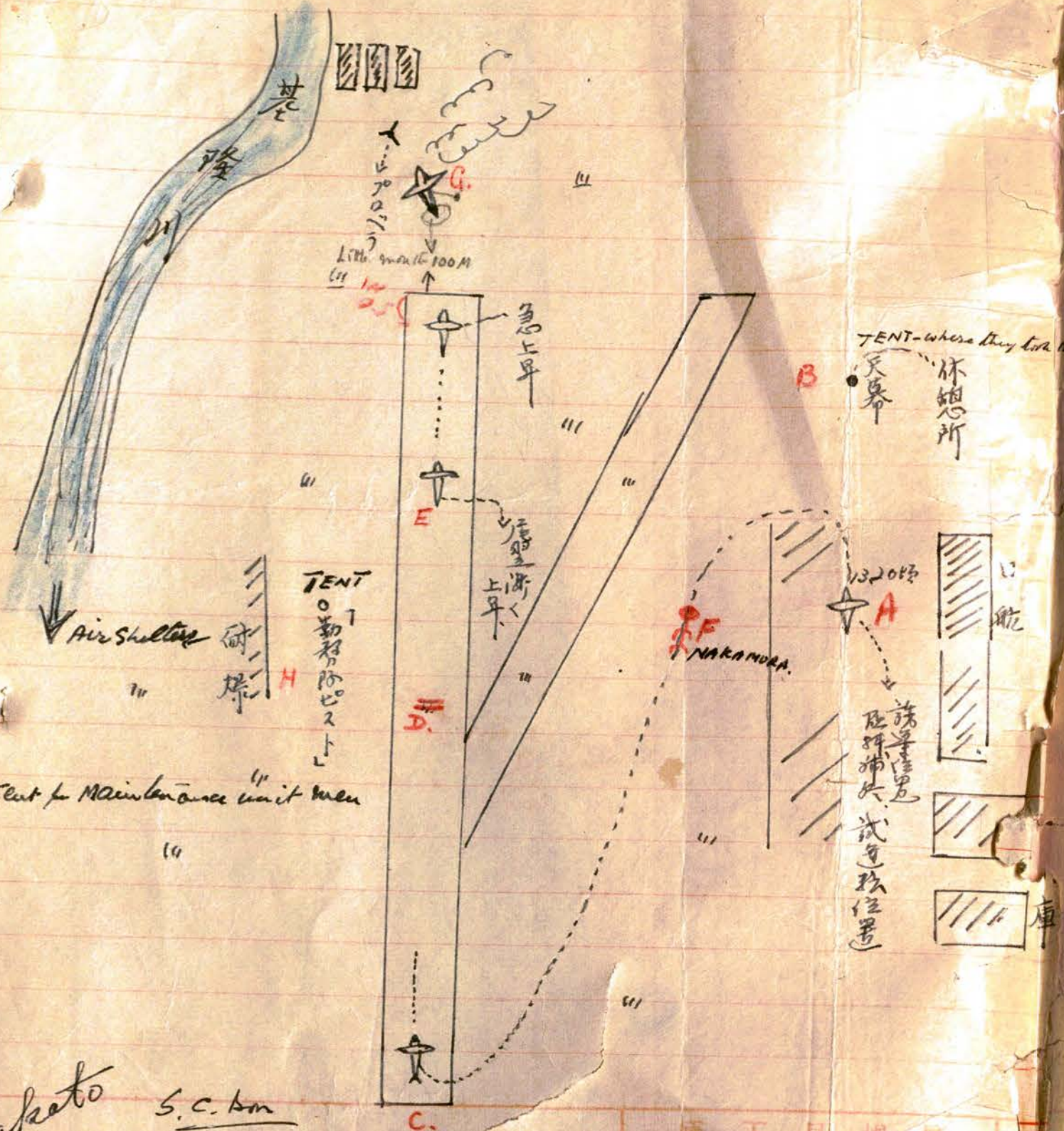
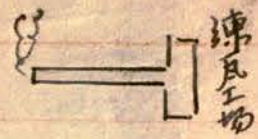


Makoto  
S.C. Bm

SKETCH

SUBMITTED BY Capt. M. YAMAMOTO  
(NAKAMURA)

593



Waiting - Tent for Maintenance unit men

Makoto S.C. Km

山下目録

52 (594)

Statement by Mrs. Makato Yamamoto,  
Fukuoka Ken-Omta, 25-Yamano Owey Cho,  
Japan, recorded on 25th May 1956 at  
Tokyo at 5 P.M.

During the war, I was working in a clerical capacity in the Communication Bureau at Taihoku airport. One of my duties was to serve tea to V.I.Ps. When Mr. Chandra Bose passed through Taihoku aerodrome during the Greater Asia Conference, I had served tea to him. I did not serve tea this time when Mr. Chandra Bose came with General Shidea. I know of the plane crash which I saw from a long distance. I did not go near the plane, nor did I go to the hospital.

Interpreted by Mr. Rahman.

Admitted correct.

福岡縣大牟田市山止町25番地  
山本 弥生

53 (95)

Statement by Ex-Major Kenichi Sakai, 4 Aza-Miho, Furukawa, Aomori City, Japan, recorded on 28th of May 1956 at 10-30 A.M. at Tokyo.

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At the time of the Japanese surrender during the last world war, I was posted as a Battalion Commander in charge Aerodrome defence, Taihoku. On 18-8-1945 at about noon time when I went to the aerodrome I was told by Captain Nakamura that a plane had crashed on the aerodrome. I went to the site of the accident and found that the plane had been completely burnt and only the wreckage of it was still smouldering. The barracks of my battalion were located at a distance of approximately 6 kilometers from the aerodrome. I came from my barracks to the aerodrome. I used to visit the aerodrome every day. My soldiers were posted on duty at the aerodrome and it was part of my duty to visit the aerodrome. When I went to the site of the accident, I found that the left engine had been buried in the ground. The left wing of the plane had been broken and was lying away from the plane. The right wing of the plane was intact. The portion marked 1 in red pencil on sketch A had been completely burnt. So far as I remember, the tail of the plane had broken away from the plane. The plane had broken into two from the place marked 2 on the sketch. The tail portion had become separate from the main body but it was lying very near the main body. There was no fire in the tail portion of the plane. I arrived from the barracks at the scene of the accident two hours after the accident had taken place. The wreckage of the plane was lying about 20 or 30 meters from the end of the runway. When I first arrived at the scene of the accident I found the following persons there:-

K.S.

596

1. Captain Nakamura (He was the Officer-in-Charge, Air Maintenance Unit, Taihoku).
2. 3 Military policemen.
3. 30 men belonging to Capt. Nakamura's unit.

There was no man from my unit at that time. I met Captain Nakamura near the wreckage of the plane for the first time. Captain Nakamura told me that prior to the plane taking off, they had tested its engines, but since it had crashed immediately after taking off, there must have been some defect in the engines. He also told me that Mr. Bose was on board this plane, and that as he had received burn injuries, he had been sent to the hospital. Later he told me that General Shidei was also in the same plane and had been killed. The pilot of the plane had also been killed. General Shidei's body or any body else's body or remains were not in the plane at that time. I think they must have been sent to the hospital with the other injured persons. When I first arrived at the scene of the accident, I found several articles lying about all over the place. Some men were engaged in collecting them. Capt. Nakamura told me that he had received instructions from the headquarters to the effect that the plane had contained certain valuables belonging to Mr. Bose and that Mr. Nakamura's men were engaged in collecting those valuables. Since I considered that the strength of the men who were collecting the valuables was not enough, I called some of my men. When the plane had crashed, parts of plane, glasses and these articles were mixed together. We looked for these and tried to separate the valuable articles belonging to Mr. Bose. These included articles like rings, neck-laces, medals and bangles. All those articles had been charred and it was difficult to say the metal of which they were made but I think they were all made of gold.

K.S.



S97

There were also some precious stones, some in their setting and others detached. I had called 30 men from my own unit; all the men present there were engaged in collecting these articles. There was no other immediate officer commanding my 30 men; I was myself commanding them. Amongst Capt. Nakamura's men, there was only one officer and that was Capt. Nakamura himself and among my men, I was myself the officer. After collecting all these articles, we put them in two tin cans. These were ordinary 18 litre gasoline cans. All these articles were lying within a diameter of 10 meters. The articles that were scattered were lying inside the circle marked in red dots marked 1 in sketch B. We formed a cordon round the plane and sent only a few men to collect the valuables inside. The cordon is marked in blue dots and numbered 2. We continued the search for these articles till (about 7-30 P.M.) when it became dark. On recollection now, I remember clearly that there was only one can. We put all the articles in the can and sealed it. I cannot remember the exact weight but I think it was about 16 kilos. The can was almost full to the top. The can was sealed by strips of paper across the side of the lid. These strips of paper were sealed with mine and Capt. Nakamura's seals. Each of us put on our own individual seals. The seals were put on at the place of wreckage. After sealing the can, it was brought and kept in the Guard Room marked 3 on sketch B. Since it was already very late that day we left the can in the Guard room that night. The next day early in the morning, we took the can in a truck and delivered it at the Army HQ to Lt. Col. Shibuya, Staff Officer. I did not go to the hospital but I heard that General Shidei and the pilot were killed instantaneously.

K.S.

598

2 or 3 others were seriously injured. These included Mr. Bose. I heard that his Adjutant had been slightly injured. I do not know the names of any other officers who were on board that plane. I did not see any of those officers after that. I do not know what happened to the tin can after I had handed over to the Staff Officer, Lt. Col. Shibuya. I do not know whether any court of enquiry was held to determine the cause of this plane accident, nor was I ever summoned before any such Enquiry Committee. I was interrogated regarding this accident by the Japanese Repatriation Bureau in August 1947 and since then I have not been asked about this accident by any body.

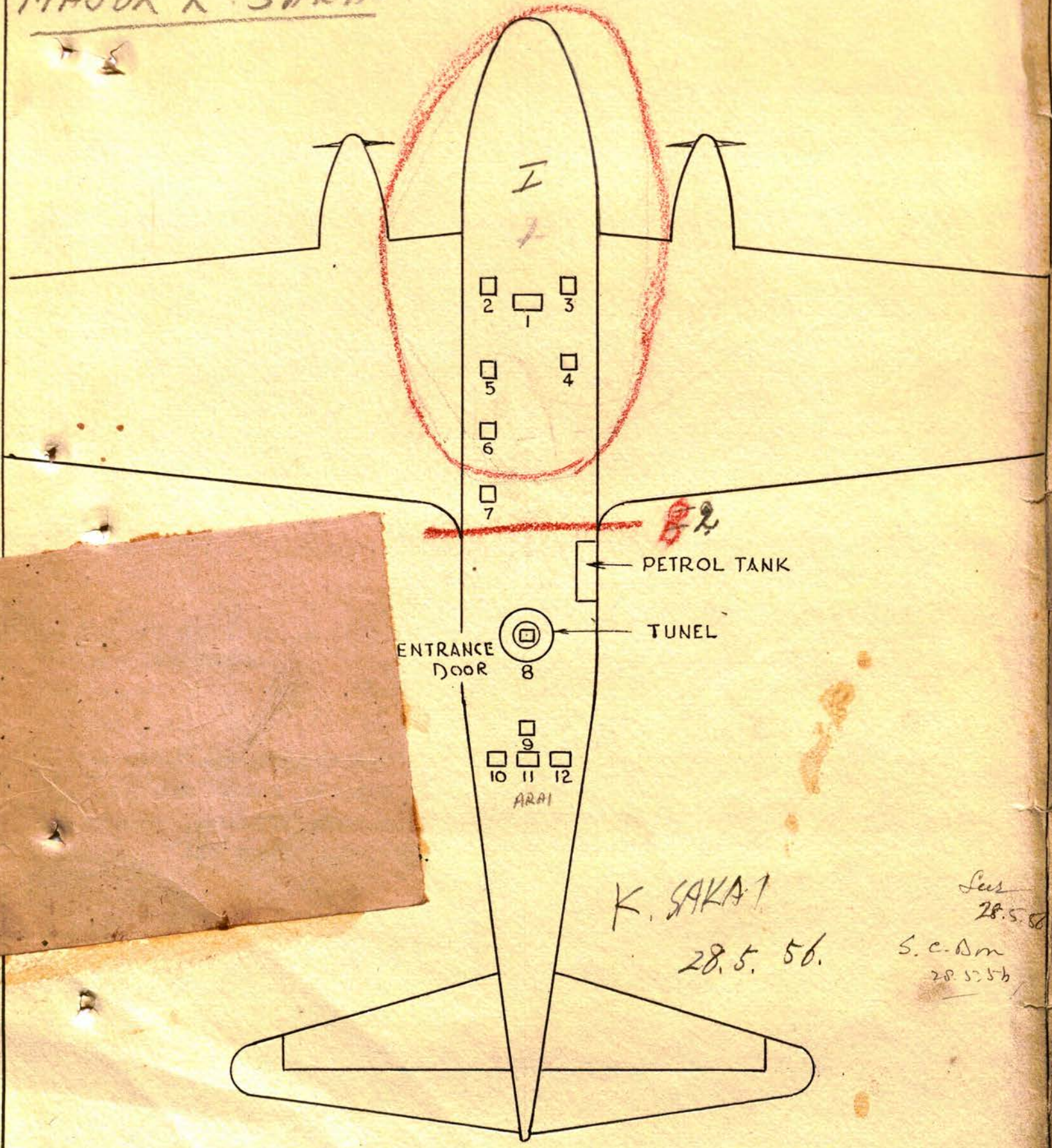
At present, I am doing business in hardware.

Interpreted by Mr. Rahman. and *Kiyoshi Kamiko*  
 Admitted correct. 28.5.56

*Kenichi Sakaj*  
 28.5.56.

SKETCH OF JAPANESE BOMBER <sup>A</sup>  
 IN WHICH NETAJI TRAVELLED <sup>(599)</sup>  
 FROM SAIGON TO TOIHOBU (FORMOSA)

MAJOR K. SAKAI



K. SAKAI  
 28.5.56.

Ses  
 28.5.56  
 S. C. Dm  
 28.5.56

Compared + found  
 14.6.56

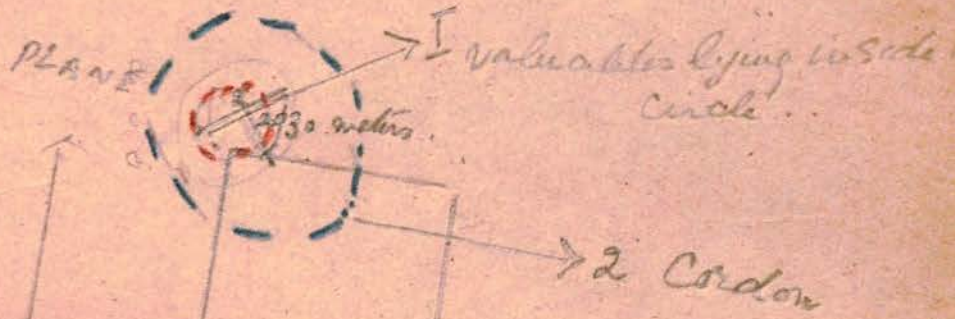
MAJOR I. SAKAI Sketch

5  
6

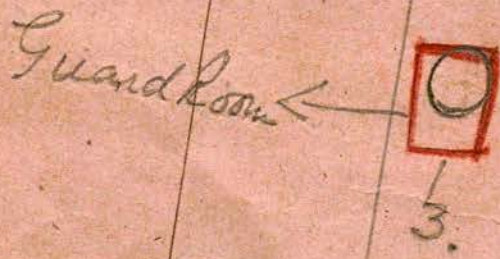
11

11

11



1100m



K. SAKAI  
28.5.56

Sus  
S.C. Bm  
28.5.57  
28.5.58

witness No 54

Statement by Mr. Kazuo ~~Mitsuo~~ Mitsuo, Fukuoka  
Wakamatsu-shi, 15 Nishi Hata-machi, Japan,  
recorded on 29th of May 1945 at 11 A.M.

Before the war, I was employed in the Formosa Police Force. After the outbreak of the war, I joined Military service in 1944 and was posted as a medical orderly in the Taihoku Rikugun Byoyin Nanmon (Military) Hospital, Taihoku. On 18th August 1945, there was a serious air accident at Taihoku. I did not actually see the accident taking place myself because I was in the hospital. The injured persons were brought to the hospital. All the injured persons were brought to the hospital in a military truck and in one car called "Joyosha" in Japanese. I do not remember the exact time but I think it was at about 2 P.M. that these vehicles arrived at the hospital carrying the injured persons. At that time, soldiers were required to take them off from the vehicles to carry them to wards. I had to ring the alarm bell in order to collect the hospital staff for this purpose. All the hospital staff consisting of about 20 medical orderlies collected near the vehicles, and carried off all the injured persons on stretches inside the hospital. In addition to the hospital staff, Dr. Yoshimi, and Dr. Tsuruta, who were medical officers in that hospital, were also present on the spot. Both the vehicles had arrived together at the hospital. The injured persons were carried to the ward. We had 4 or 5 stretchers and the injured persons were carried to the ward in turns as stretchers were available. The first person to be taken to the ward was Major Kono Taro, a Japanese officer, whom I carried on my back, because he was not so seriously injured. I left Major Kono on the corridor of the hospital at his request and ran back to the vehicles to help the other injured persons. When I returned to the vehicles after leaving

K.M.

62

Major Kono, I saw that a great big man was lying on a stretcher near the vehicle. That man was wearing full uniform resembling that of an Air Force Officer. The colour of the uniform was light brown. From his uniform I could make out that he was not a Japanese officer. He had a big face but it was burnt. I do not remember whether he was wearing any glasses. He was clean shaven. The front portion of his chest and abdomen were also burnt. He had the uniform on, but the buttons of his tunic were open. The front portion of his thighs and calves was burnt in various places. Since the trouser could not be taken off, the front of the trousers was cut as if with a scissor and the legs were exposed from the front. Now I remember distinctly that his face was burnt. His legs were also burnt in places. I do not remember correctly about his chest and abdomen. From near the vehicle, he was carried on a stretcher by 4 men to the ward where he was placed on a bed. His clothes were taken off and he was dressed in hospital uniform. In the ward, Capt. Yoshimi applied white ointment to his face and to various other places on the chest and legs where he was burnt. After putting on the ointment, he bandaged the burns.

Dr. Yoshimi told all the medical orderlies present that the person whom he was treating was a very great man. I came to know from other nursing soldiers that the person whom we had carried in the hospital and about whom Dr. Yoshimi had spoken was Mr. Chandra Bose. As far as I remember six other injured persons including Mr. Chandra Bose, were brought to the same ward. These persons were -

K.M.

603

An Indian Col. Staff Officer,  
Habibur Rehman,

Lt. Col. Sakai, a Japanese.

Major Kono Taro, a Japanese.

Sub-officer Aoyagi.

Sergeant Okita.

These were the only persons who were kept in the ward to which I was posted. I do not know if there were any other injured persons in other wards. All the six injured persons named above, were taken straight to their beds and treated there. I was posted for day and night duty over this ward, a sketch of which is attached and marked I. The other injured persons were groaning and shouting with pain. Mr. Bose was lying quiet. The back of left hand of Col. Rehman was burnt. There was an injury over his fore-head. The injury on Col. Rehman's forehead was in the centre of his fore-head. His hand and forehead were bandaged. His face was scorched and there were no blisters on it. He had no other injuries on his body. Mr. Bose had no injury except burns. After Mr. Bose's face and head were bandaged, the only portions that were visible, were the eyes and the mouth and ears. The front portion of his chest and abdomen were covered with ointment and a white thin cloth was put over him. His legs were bandaged properly. The actual dressing of Mr. Bose's body was done by the doctor. I only helped to bring medicines etc. Both his arms including his hands were fully bandaged. There were no hair on Mr. Bose's head and when we first brought him on the

K.M.

(60)

stretcher, I saw that the skin on his head was burnt. Major Kono had an injury in the middle of his head which was bleeding. His face was burnt. About his other injuries I do not remember. There was no other orderly or nurse besides me in this room, after the injured persons had been bandaged by the doctor. An hour later an interpreter by the name of Mr. Hisaiti-Nakamura came to the ward.

(Asked as to how he remembered the name of Mr. Nakamura, the witness replied that he had received a letter from Mr. Nakamura on 23rd of April 1956 in reply to a letter which the witness had written to him on 10th April 1956. He explained that a few days earlier, he saw a news item in Japanese in one of the local papers that a commission was coming to Tokyo to enquire into the alleged plane crash at Taihoku in which Mr. Bose was involved. On seeing this news item he wrote to Mr. Nakamura from whom he received the reply referred to above).

As soon as Mr. Nakamura arrived inside the ward, Dr. Yoshimi also came. I do not know from where Mr. Nakamura had come or what he was doing. Mr. Nakamura was called to the hospital to speak to Mr. Bose in English because Mr. Bose couldnot speak Japanese. Mr. Nakamura talked to Mr. Bose. The first thing that Mr. Bose said was that his pillow was too low and he wanted a higher pillow. An additional pillow was placed under his head. After a short while, he asked for water and I gave him water by means of a bottle which was fitted with a glass and rubber tube. The quantity of water supplied to him was very little. He said "thank you" after I had given

K.M.



605

water to him. While Mr. Nakamura was talking to Mr. Bose I was sitting by his side on a small chair. Mr. Rehman was lying on his bed, which was about two meters away. His bed was deliberately kept near Mr. Bose's bed so that he could speak to him from his bed, if necessary. Dr. Yoshimi used to pay frequent visits to the ward approximately every half hour. Dr. Tsuruta came to the ward with Dr. Yoshimi. I did not see him again. A Japanese nurse by the name of Otake who was from Okinawa used to visit the ward very frequently. I do not know her present address. Nurse Otake when not attending to the patients in the ward used to rest in the office marked 4 on the sketch I. When Mr. Bose was dressed in the first instance, there were 2 or 3 nurses present, one of them being from Taiwan. I do not remember her name. There was a Formosan nurse whom we had given a Japanese name of Yanagawa. I do not remember her Formosan name. I do not remember the name of any other nurse. After a short while, he asked for water again. This happened three or four times and every time I gave him a little water. Dr. Yoshimi used to come and attend to him frequently. Mr. Bose did not speak very much. He used to speak to Col. Rehman occasionally. At about 4 P.M. Mr. Bose enquired from Mr. Nakamura as to what has happened to his valuables. Mr. Nakamura told me this in Japanese. He also told Tomaki Shibata that Netaji was enquiring about his valuables and that he was worried about them. Shibata was a N.C.O. in charge of medical orderlies in our Unit. Shibata told Mr. Nakamura that he would go and make enquiries from the aerodrome. He went and talked to the Military police N.C.O. who was sitting at the entrance of the ward.

K.M.

I do not know what happened about those valuables

(606)

afterwards. I was only an orderly soldier. Since Mr. Bose's burns were of a very serious nature, the doctor was paying particular attention to him. He had given a number of injections and also felt his pulse a number of times. At about 9 P.M., the doctor noticed that his pulse was becoming very weak. Mr. Bose expired at about 9-30 P.M. The following were present when Mr. Bose breathed his last:-

1. Dr. Yoshimi
2. Nurse Otake
3. Myself
4. Mr. Nakamura

Mr. Rehman was also by his bed side at that time.

Sd/-

Ⓞ K. Mithui

SKETCH PLAN OF THE CAMP

WHERE THE INCURSED DEATHS WERE MOST

I  
607

2022-11-15

1/100



H. REHMAN ←



河酒  
井  
少  
佐  
佐



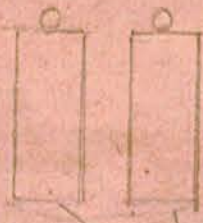
Japanese  
Staff Officer

Mr BOSE ←



ボーズ  
NAGAYAMA

Mr MITSU ←



下士官  
Japanese NCO's

KAZUO. MITU I

S.c. Son  
29. 8. 56

光井 數雄



Mr Nakamura, the interpreter with the  
Committee.

Examined on 30.5.56.

2.6.56.

INVOICE IN MEDICAL  
BOMPTZAWA

609

Mr. J. Nakamura.

Statement by Mr. Juichi Nakamura,  
No. 27, Nichome Sakura Machi,  
Fukuoka City, recorded on 30-5-1956 at  
12-45 P.M. at Tokyo.

-----

I first went to Formosa with my family about 20 years ago. I stayed there till April 1946 when all the Japanese were evacuated from Formosa. I used to work in a commercial firm but as I knew English my services were requisitioned from time to time by the Government when any distinguished visitor or tourist came to Taiwan. I was employed in the Foreign Office in Taiwan for about one year before the end of the war.

I knew Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose well. In all, I met him about 4 times. During that time, all the planes bound for Tokyo used to touch at Taihoku. The last time when I met Netaji (i.e. the time before this accident took place) was, I think, in the same year, i.e. 1945. On that visit he stopped at Taihoku while on his way to Tokyo for one or two days. After his visit to Tokyo he again stopped at Taihoku for two or three days. We had dinner together on that occasion, at the Railway Hotel where he used to stay every time he passed through Taipeh. In my diary which I used to maintain at that time, I made entries about the date and time of his arrival but unfortunately all these

J.N.K.

(61)

records were lost when I was being evacuated from Formosa.

I remember clearly that on 18th August 1945, the accident took place in which Netaji was involved. At about 5-30 P.M. on 18th August 1945, a Military Officer came to my house in a car and asked me to accompany him to the hospital. I left for the hospital. On arrival there, I was taken inside by a military soldier. When I entered the room, I saw Captain Yoshimi, the Chief Medical Officer of the Hospital and he told me that the person who was lying on the bed was His Excellency Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. The name of the hospital was Nammon Rikugun Byoin (Nammon means South gate). The room in which Netaji was lying on the bed was a large room approximately 60 F.T long - 60th ft. wide. The portion in which Netaji was lying was screened off. In the same room at some distance (45 ft.) from him were lying three Japanese officers who had been injured in the same accident. At that time, I thought that they were members of the crew of the crashed plane. When I first saw Netaji, the whole of his face and head were bandaged. The only portions of his face that were visible were his eyes, mouth and nose. Since the whole of his body from neck downwards was covered by a thin cloth, I could not see if it was bandaged. I could see both his hands which were bandaged. In the same room

J.M.V.



(612)

I saw Col. Rehman. His bed was about 3 ft. away from Netaji's bed. I came and stood by Netaji's bed. Netaji was saying something in a low tone. I requested Col. Rehman to come nearer and listen to what he was saying. I remember the first words that Netaji uttered were:-

" A few more of my men are coming after me. Please take care of them when they come to Formosa."

About half an hour or one hour after this, he asked Col. Rehman "Where is General Shidei?" I did not know where General Shidei was. The Japanese Medical Officer present there said that General Shidei was being taken care of in another hospital. I had no acquaintance with General Shidei before.

The 3rd statement which Netaji made was that he had a feeling that blood was rushing to his head from his waist. He made this statement about 30 or 40 minutes afterwards.

Every time that I saw Netaji's mouth commencing to move, I used to request Col. Rehman to come near and to listen carefully to what he was saying. I cannot remember what the doctor did when Netaji said that blood was coming to his head but I think he gave some treatment. I cannot remember accurately. Soon after 9 or 9-30 P.M. the last words that Netaji spoke were:-

J.A.N.

63

"I want to sleep". During all this time, not a word of complaint either of pain or suffering came from his lips. The Japanese officers at the other end of the room were groaning with pain and crying out that they may be killed rather than continue to endure their suffering. This composure of Netaji surprised all of us. After this, he started snoring. This went on for about 10 minutes or may be longer, I cannot remember correctly. Then his head fell forward towards the chest and that was the last. The doctor told us that he was dead. At the time when Netaji breathed his last, the following were present:-

Dr. Yoshimi

Col. Rehman.

6 or 7 soldiers. (These included some medical orderlies.)

and myself.

There was no nurse or anybody else in that room at that time.

After Netaji died, all the Japanese stand in one line and saluted Netaji's body. Col. Rehman came and knelt by Netaji's bed and prayed for about 5 or 6 minutes. After 5 or 6 minutes, he opened the window of that room and Col. Rehman prayed again for about 10 minutes looking towards the sky and then he came to his own bed and laid down.

J.H.N.

Sd/-  
J.H. Nakamura  
31.5.56

614

10 or 20 minutes after we had finished praying to Netaji's body, I left for my home. The next day I came to the hospital in the afternoon. It might have been 1 or 2 P.M. when I returned to the hospital, I found that Netaji's body had been put in a wooden coffin. The relative position of Netaji's bed and Col. Rehman's bed, the coffin and the beds of Japanese officers is shown in the attached sketch plan of the room which is marked exhibit A. When I returned to the hospital, I found Netaji's body had been put in the coffin and moved about 10 ft. away from his bed. The screen which had been originally put to isolate Netaji and Col. Rehman was also removed. When I went to the hospital on the second day, I found one Japanese sentry standing at the entrance to the room where Netaji's coffin was kept. The sentry did not have a rifle. I saw two Japanese Officers standing inside the room. I saw Col. Rehman on his bed. On the second day, i.e. on the 19th of August in the afternoon when I returned to the hospital, Col. Rehman told me that he had had discussions with senior Japanese officers and they had decided to cremate his body. On the third day, i.e. on the 20th August, the body was taken to the crematorium. We arrived at the crematorium from the hospital at about noon time. It took us about 20 minutes by car to reach

J.N.V.

615

the crematorium. From the hospital we went to the crematorium in two or three cars. The coffin was carried in an ambulance car. We deliberately did not encourage a large number of persons to go to the crematorium as news about Netaji's death was kept a secret and was known only to the high ranking Military officers and no body else. I do not remember the names of other persons who went in those two or three cars to the crematorium. I only remember the name of Major Nagatomo and Col. Rehman who went to the crematorium. I do not remember the other persons with me in the car, but I think I was not alone, may be I was in the same car with Col. Rehman. At that time since all of us were in a confused state of mind, I cannot remember things clearly. I cannot say exactly the number of officers who went to the crematorium in those 2 or 3 cars. In all there were 5 or 6 civilians and Military officers in those 2 or 3 cars. From the hospital, we went to the crematorium direct without going to any other place. At the crematorium we found that about 15 soldiers were already there. On arrival at the crematorium, the soldiers took off the coffin and carried it to the furnace. The crematorium was a large sized hall with furnace in the middle.

J.N.R.

(616)

The hall, as far as I remember, was approximately 16 ft. by 16 ft. as shown in sketch B and the furnace marked I therein. From the entrance of the hall, the soldiers carried the coffin on their shoulders inside and placed it in the sliding tray in the furnace and after closing the door of the furnace, they came out and told us that they had placed the coffin in position in the furnace. The soldiers went out and we, who were waiting outside went inside the hall. Col. Rehman was in the front. I was next to him. The other gentlemen totalling about 5 followed us. We went and stood in front of the furnace marked 2. All of us stayed there and saluted. After paying our respects, we went to the back side of the furnace where we found the priest standing with burning incense sticks (aggarbattis) in his hand. He wanted to hand over a stick to Col. Rehman but as he could not hold it, I took the stick and placed it in Col. Rehman's hands. Col. Rehman held it between the edge of his palms since he could not hold in his fingers and placed it in the hole which was located at the rear of the furnace. I took the next incense stick and put it down the same hole and everybody else followed likewise. After finishing this ceremony, Col. Rehman



(67)

Rehman came out of the hall. I followed and so did the others. I went home in a separate car and I think Col. Rehman went back to the hospital. As we came out of the entrance of the crematorium, the caretaker told us to come there the following day, at about noon time. The next day, i.e. on the 21st August at about noon time, I arrived at the crematorium. Col. Rehman was there already. At the crematorium besides Col. Rehman, I saw about 15 soldiers and some officers. In all, there were about 20 persons present. One of the employees of the crematorium asked us to come in. Col. Rehman led; I was next to him; 2 or 3 high-ranking Japanese officers followed. As on the previous day, we went and stood in front of the door of the furnace and saluted. The employee opened the furnace door, pulled out the sliding tray. The bones though completely burnt, retained their shape and form. Then some body brought a 10" cubical box, made of cedar wood and of light cream colour. A special kind of chop-sticks about 10" long is used for picking up burnt bones and ashes in crematoriums. This chop-stick was brought by a priest attached to a temple nearby the crematorium. As Col. Rehman's hands were bandaged and he could not hold the stick properly, I

*J.N.S.*

618

helped him to pick the burnt bones and ashes of Netaji by holding the lower part of the chop-stick and picked up the burnt bones and ashes while Col. Rehman's hands touched the upper parts of the same stick. Col Rehman did the same-way 2 times. In this way, I picked up the burnt bones and ashes first from the throat bone and later from the lower jaw bone. After that I picked up more burnt bones and ashes. A Japanese Military officer also picked up some burnt bones and ashes. These burnt bones and ashes were collected from different parts of the body and placed in the wooden urn which was thus filled up. In the process of picking up the ashes, the bones which had so far retained their shape had lost it. After the box was full, the employee of the crematorium carried it outside to the hall. We followed him. Just outside the entrance of the crematorium, the box was placed on a table. Then the soldiers installed it and covered it in a white cloth as is generally done when collecting ashes of Japanese. We wanted Col. Rehman to carry the urn from a cloth slung round his neck but since the back of his neck was burnt and bandaged, he could not do so and requested me to put the slung round my neck and carry the ashes. I did so.

*J. N. V.*

(69)

From there, I carried the ashes in this manner straight to the temple. From the crematorium to the hospital, Col. Rehman and I went in the same car. It took about 25 minutes to reach there. The temple was located near the hospital. The name of the temple was Nishi (West) Honganji temple. It is the biggest temple in Formosa. Only Col. Rehman and I went to the temple. We handed over the urn containing the ashes to the head priest of the temple. When we entered the temple, I saw another white urn near the shrine. On asking the priest I learnt that that urn contained the ashes of General Shidei. The priest asked me whose ashes we had brought. I told him that I could not tell him the name as I did not have the permission to tell him but I told him that those were very valuable ashes of a person of a higher status than General Shidei. I requested the priest to keep those ashes at a higher level than General Shidei's and to put new flowers every morning. After handing over the ashes to the priest, Col. Rehman and I left the temple I went to my house and Col. Rehman to the hospital. The hospital to which Col. Rehman returned was the same hospital in which I had seen him first.

J.N.K.



(25)

I returned to the temple two or three hours later to satisfy myself whether the priest had carried out my request. When I went there, I found that he had made arrangements exactly in accordance with my request. I then returned to the hospital and reported to Col. Rehman that Netaji's ashes had been installed properly. Then Col. Rehman and I went together to the temple to see the urn. Col. Rehman knelt before the ashes and prayed. After that, I returned with him to the hospital gate. Col. Rehman seemed satisfied with the arrangements that had been made for the safe custody of Netaji's ashes.

Sometime later in September I met Col. Rehman in Hokuto Hot Spring Town Branch of Nammon Hospital. Hokuto Branch of the hospital is nearly 40 minutes drive by car from Nammon Hospital. At the time when I met Col. Rehman on this occasion, he was very much better and in good health. We had tea and cakes together. That is the last time I met Col. Rehman.

Since that day I have not been interrogated by any body regarding Netaji. I did not give anything

*J. N. N.*

(2)

about him in the papers either.

Question by Shri Maitra. Do you know what happened to the ashes?

Reply: I understand that the ashes were brought over by Col. Rehman to Japan.

Question: What was the object of keeping the ashes in the Honganji temple?

Reply: The idea was that it was a suitable place for keeping the ashes till such time as Col. Rehman took them to Japan.

Question: What are you doing now?

Reply: I now lead a retired life; occasionally I teach English to school boys.

Question by the Chairman: When you came before this Committee, were you asked by any body to appear?

Reply: On 27th of May I received a long telegram from the Foreign Office asking me to come to Tokyo to give evidence before the Cttee. I replied to them the same day and also sent a telegram to my daughter telling her that I was coming to Tokyo.

Interpreted by Mr. Rahman.

Admitted Correct.

*J. Nakamura,*

(22)

Mr. Nakamura,  
Interpreter.

Note: This witness could not be traced by the Japanese Foreign Office and it was by chance that his daughter, now Mrs. Kojima, one day rang up office and told us that her father was very keen to meet the Committee but that since he was too old, he might not be able to come to Tokyo. The Committee, thereupon requested the Foreign Office to find out from Mr. Nakamura if it would be possible for him to come to Tokyo failing which the Committee would go to his home town in Kyushu to meet him. Mr. Nakamura is 71 years old and he decided to come and appear before the Committee himself.

*John H. ...*

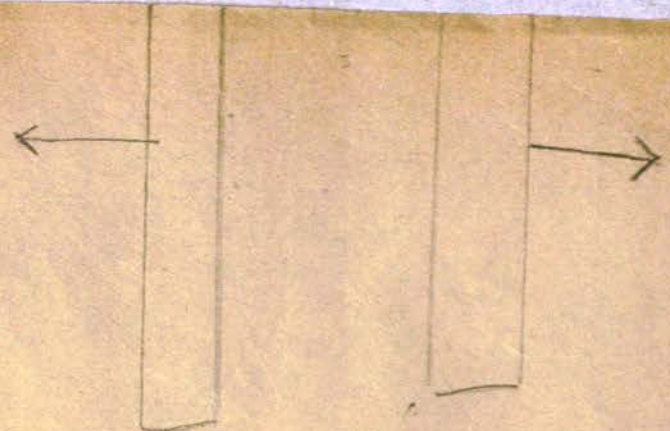
2.6.58

Exhibit 'A'

69

Rehman's Bed.

Nataji's Bed



10 FT

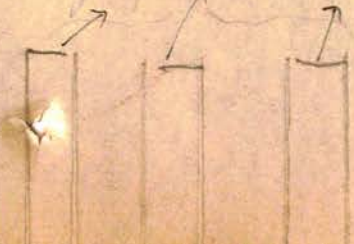
Screen



Nataji's Coffin

ENTRANCE

Japanese officers Beds.



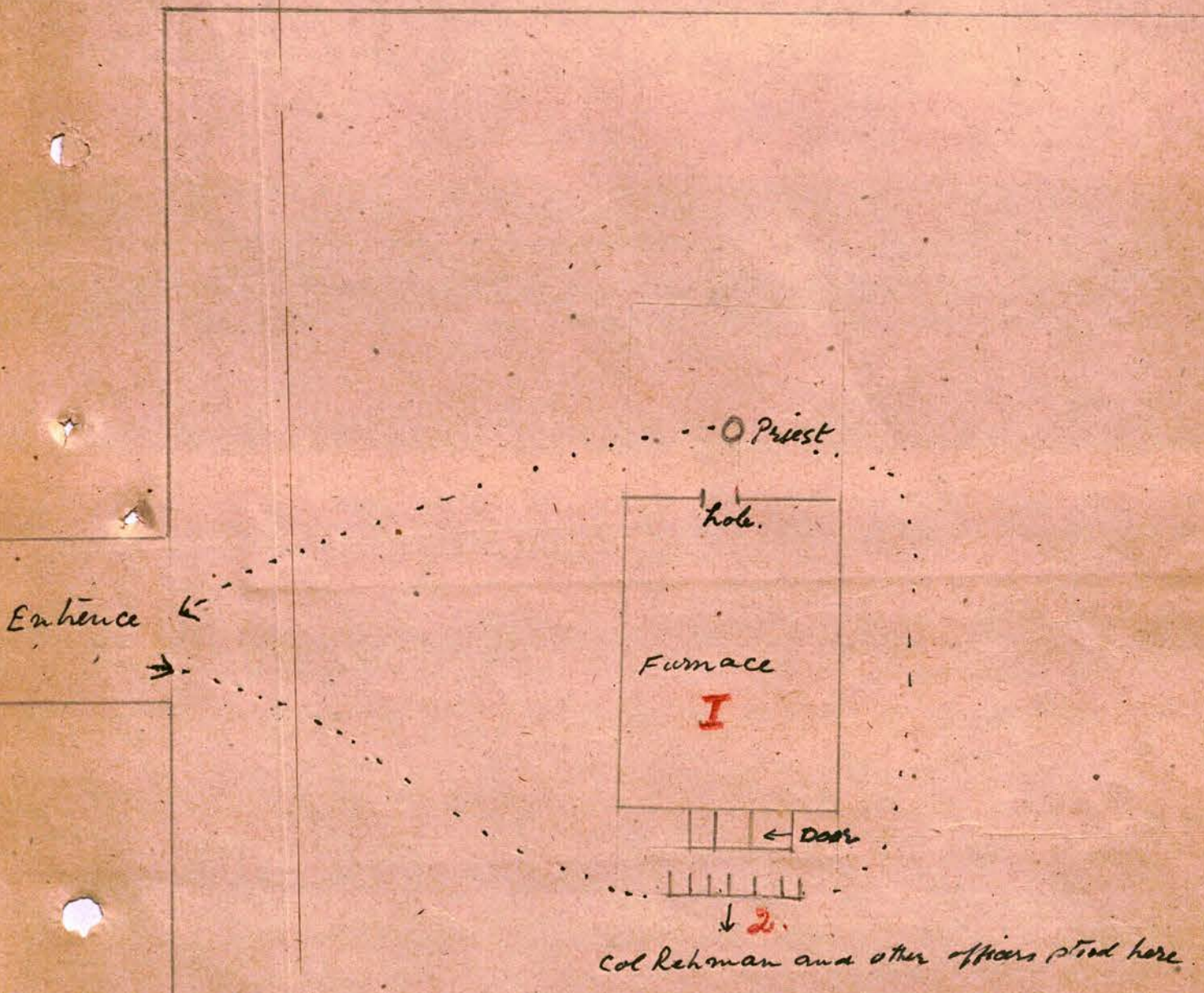
July 31.5.56.

S.C. Bose 31.5.56

J.H. Naksamur 31.5.56.

B  
124

Sketch plan of the Crematorium at TAIHOKOU



Sus  
31.5.56.

J. H. Nakamura  
31.5.56.

S. C. Bm  
31.5.56

Route followed by Col Rehman & others inside the crematorium

(625)



Rev. Mochizuki.

Statement by Rev. Kyohei Mochizuki, Head Priest of Renkoji Temple (Netaji Shrine), 130, 2-chome Koenji Suginami-ku, Tokyo, recorded on 30th May 1956 at 3 P.M. at Tokyo.

I have been the priest of the Renkoji temple for the last 33 years.

After the surrender of the Japanese and the landing of the American forces in Japan, the priests of other temples in Tokyo were afraid of the Americans and were somewhat reluctant to keep the ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in their temples.

At about 8 A.M. on 15th of September 1945, Mr. Murti came to my temple and told me that Netaji's ashes had arrived in Tokyo and that other temples were refusing to accept those ashes. He requested me to keep those ashes in my temple. I agreed to do so. Mr. Murti was accompanied by another priest of another temple who had refused to keep Netaji's ashes in his temple. The name of that priest was Rev. Kaki Kawa of Myohiji temple. The priest also requested me to agree to keep Netaji's ashes in my temple. At 8 A.M. on 18th of September 1945, Mr. Murti accompanied by Mrs. Sahay, 30 or 32 Netaji's cadets came to the temple. There was also another Indian with Mr. Murti. I think he was probably Mr. Ayer. There was also one Japanese Staff Officer in civilian clothes. He had come in a military car and his driver told me that he was a Staff Officer who had come from some Military HQ. Netaji's ashes were brought to the temple by a cadet who was sitting in a hand-pulled ricksaw. The cadets came in two trucks. I think Mr. Murti came by cycle; I am not quite sure. I do not know how Mrs. Sahay and the other person came as at that time I was inside the temple making arrangements for the ceremony. On that occasion some Japanese Military soldiers as well as some other Indians came to the temple. In all, I think there were about 100 persons inside the room where we held the ceremony.

K.M

(27)

The temple of which I am the priest is the Buddhist temple. When the ashes were brought we placed them on a wooden stand. The ashes were contained in a small wooden box about 8" cube. It was wrapped in a white cloth on which was written:-

"NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE."

I can read printed English a little.

At the ceremony I called six other priests. I stood in the front. We burnt incense (aggarbattis). Mr. Murti gave 30 Yens wrapped in a piece of paper. I distributed this sum amongst all the priests. On the completion of the ceremony, I was under the impression that the ashes would be taken back as according to the custom in Japan, only the ashes of the people living in the vicinity of the temple or of the ashes of persons who are members of that temple, are kept in the temple. Since Mr. Bose did not fall within any of these categories, I was under the impression that they had brought the ashes to the temple only for performing the ceremony. But when the ceremony was over, Mr. Murti, Mrs. Sahay and the Japanese Staff officer came and told me that those ashes were the ashes of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose who was a great man and that I should keep those ashes carefully and look after them in a befitting manner. When I heard this, I agreed to keep the ashes there with the conviction that some day I would be able to deliver them to the Indian nation when the same is demanded from me. There were some Indians present at the ceremony who wanted to take away the ashes but I refused to give the ashes to them because I did not know what they would do with those ashes. The ceremony lasted for one hour, after which people went away and I stayed behind in the temple by the side of the ashes to make sure that no body came and took them away.

After Japan had secured its independence, Mr. Chettur

K.M



(13)

the Indian Ambassador, visited the temple on the 21st of May 1950. He was accompanied by Mr. Yukihiisa Tamura of the Japanese Protocol Section. Mr. Chettur thanked me for having kept the ashes in my temple and for having looked them after. He requested me to continue looking after them. On the 28th of June 1950, Mr. Trivedi, the first Secretary of the Indian Embassy, invited me to lunch at his residence. Mr. Tamura was also present. I was very happy. After this, Mr. Chettur visited the temple twice again. In the beginning of June 1950, Mr. Ayer visited the temple and made enquiries about Netaji's ashes. After Mr. Chettur went away from Japan, his place was taken by Mr. Rauf. Mr. Rauf also visited the temple three times. He also thanked me and told me to look after the ashes carefully and not to give them to any body even if I were offered money for the same. On November, the 23rd, 1953 (copy attached) I wrote a letter to the Prime Minister of India. On 12th January 1954, a member of the Indian Embassy in Tokyo came to me with a letter which had been sent in reply to mine to him. The gentlemen who brought the letter, spread the letter in front of me and showed me that this letter was addressed to me. I read my name on it. He also told me that it was from Mr. Nehru. I saw Mr. Nehru's name also written on the letter. He explained to me that in the letter, the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, had thanked me very much for the safe custody of Netaji's ashes and that he had requested me to look after them very carefully for some time. The person who had taken this letter to the temple, brought it back after showing it to me. Before he left the temple, I told him that a better receptacle should be provided for keeping the ashes as I was not in a position to provide one

K.M

(29)

for myself. He promised to convey this to the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru. Since then I have not heard anything more.

On the 18th of August 1955, Mr. Dar of the Indian Embassy, came to the temple. He took a wreath which was placed in the temple on behalf of Mr. Sen. Mr. Dar was accompanied by 2 other Indians, whose names I do not know. On that occasion, we observed the death anniversary of Netaji. In fact on the 18th of August every year I have been praying and observing his death anniversary all by myself. Last year was the first occasion when other people took part. The same day at 3 P.M. the undermentioned Japanese gentlemen also came to the temple:-

General Nakamura,  
" Kawabe,  
Mrs. Tojo,  
General Mutaguchi,  
" Katakura,  
Col. Fujiwara.

Mr. Dar came 15 minutes after these gentlemen.

Before the death anniversary in 1955, no other ceremony was held previously except what was done by myself.

People- both Japanese and Indian, came to the temple now and then. They usually light incense ~~before~~ before the ashes. Their names are noted in my register.

Question: What happened between 1945 when the ashes were handed over and 1950 when Mr. Chettur visited the temple?

Reply: That was the occupation period and nobody came to the temple not even an Indian. I offered my prayers on the anniversary day.

Mr. Bose's question: Did Mr. Murti come to the temple?

Reply: He used to come to the temple on each death anniversary as long as he was here and before he left for India.

Interpreted by Mr. Rahmen.

Admitted correct.

*Kyocci Mochizuki*

Statement by Ex-General Haruki Isayama,  
5624 Sajo Machi, Seta Gaya-Ku, Tokyō,  
recorded on 31st May at 2-30 P.M. at Tokyo.

At about the time when the last war ended, I was Chief of the General Staff, Formosan Army. I know that soon after the end of the last war, there was a serious air accident in Taihoku. I know that in that plane crash, General Shidei and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose were involved. I know General Shidei because he had been my class-mate. This accident took place either on the 18th or 19th of August 1945. I learnt about this accident when I went to my office the next morning from a Staff Officer who reported about this accident to me. I do not remember the name of the Staff Officer who gave me this report. From the report delivered to me, I learnt that General Shidei couldnot get out of the plane and that he was burnt to death inside the plane. About Mr. Bose, I learnt that he had been very badly burnt and admitted to the hospital and that he had expired in the hospital during the night. I also learnt from another report that General Shidei, on arrival at Taihoku, had made enquiries about me. He was told that I was at the time working as a Chief of the General Staff in Formosan Army Headquarters. The officer asked General Shidei if he should send for him but General Shidei told him that since he was in a hurry to leave, he need not do so. General Shidei sent his regards to me through that officer. I made out from the reports of staff officers submitted to me that the engine of the plane was worn out and that the plane must have taken off without adequate repairs being carried out to it. This was because they were in such a hurry to leave. And since the plane had been completely burnt out, we could not investigate into the condition of the engines. So far as

H. I.

(3)

I could ascertain, the engine of the plane did not develop sufficient speed to enable the plane to acquire the necessary height at which it could take the turn. As a consequence, it crashed so soon after taking off. The causes of the accident, ~~as far as I could determine,~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ could be any of the following:-

- 1. Defect in the engine,
- 2. Defect in the body,
- or 3. Over-loading. As there was a shortage of planes at that time, it is likely that more load had been put in that was desirable.

More details of the accident could be available from Lt. Col. Shibuya, who was the Air Staff Officer.

As far as I know, no official enquiry to determine the causes of this accident was held till the time I left Formosa in April 1946 as otherwise, I, as the head of the Army, would have known about it. As the plane did not belong to the Taiwan Army, normally it was not our responsibility to hold any enquiry into the crash but we would have held such an enquiry if ordered by the Imperial General HQ, Tokyo. So far as I know, no such order was received, but it is possible that such an order might have been received directly by Lt. Col. Shibuya (who was the Air Staff Officer) and he might have forwarded his report to the Imperial General HQ. I do not know anything about it.

Question by the Chairman. Since the plane did not belong to your Army and it was not your responsibility to carry out investigations into the causes of <sup>the</sup> accident, may I know whose duty it was to make investigations into this particular case?

Reply: As far as I am aware, no hard and fast rules exist

H. J.

122

on the subject but from the point of view of commonsense, it is obvious that the Commander within the area of whose jurisdiction, the accident takes place, is responsible for holding any enquiries and reporting the results thereof to the higher HQ. In this particular case, a report on this accident was sent to the Imperial General Headquarters, Tokyo and it would appear that they were satisfied with the report as also the causes of the accident as mentioned in that report; they did not follow<sup>up</sup> the matter any further and considered the case closed. This report to the Imperial General HQ was sent through me because it is the normal practice that all correspondence from various Army HQ addressed to the Imperial General Headquarters, Tokyo, is sent<sup>by the Chief of the General Staff</sup> in the name of the Deputy Defence Minister and the Deputy Chief of the General Staff. I do not think that any enquiry was held by the Air Division into this plane crash. The report regarding this accident was submitted to me by Lt. Col. Shibuya. It is possible that the Air Division might have associated themselves <sup>with</sup> in the matter and one of their Staff Officers might have been present in any enquiry that might have been held, but I have no knowledge about it. Since this matter did not concern the Air Division, Taiwan, there is little possibility that they associated themselves in this enquiry. No official report regarding the cremation of the body of Mr. Bose was made to me but I think Mr. Bose must have been cremated because he was involved in the same plane crash as General Shidei. I remember one week after the plane crash, Dr. Ba Maw, ex-Prime Minister of Burma and General Tanaka, the Chief of the General Staff of the Japanese Army in Burma, arrived at Taihoku on their way to Tokyo. I went and ~~met~~ met them at the aerodrome. I had known General Tanaka and Dr. Ba Maw

H. J.

(124)

previously when I had marched into Burma in January 1941 as the Chief of the General Staff of the invading Japanese Army from Thailand. I left Burma in December 1941. General Tanaka carried the ashes of General Shidei to Tokyo. Since General Shidei was cremated, so must Mr. Bose, but I <sup>had</sup> have no official intimation. As Chief of the General Staff, it was my duty to report about this accident to the higher Headquarters and I think I did so. The only HQ to whom I referred this matter were the Imperial General HQ, Tokyo. I do not know whether they ever issued any instructions for holding any enquiry into this accident. The information regarding this accident was sent to the Imperial General Headquarters by wireless. In such cases, such messages are generally repeated for information to all concerned. In this particular case, I do not know whether it was repeated to any other Command or not.

I do not know whether any funeral ceremony was held in Taihoku for Netaji. I and the Army Commander did not take part in the funeral ceremony of Mr. Bose or go to pay our respects to the dead body in the hospital, because at that time Japan had been defeated and we did not want it to be made public that an important person like Mr. Bose who had taken such a prominent part against the British for the liberation of India, was fleeing to Tokyo. The Army Commander shut himself up in his house from the day of the surrender of Japan and did not come out. This is the reason why we did not participate in Mr. Bose's funeral ceremony. Although I had known fully well about the greatness of Mr. Bose and both I and the Army Commander were shocked to hear about his death, we did not take any part in the public ceremonies to keep the matter a secret. Regarding the disposal of Mr. Bose's ashes,

H. J.

634

so far as I remember, one of my staff officers gave facilities for the disposal of Mr. Bose's ashes at the request of Col. Rehman, his Adjutant. I left the matter of disposal of Mr. Bose's ashes to my staff officers and since I did not receive any report from them, I presume that everything must have worked out smoothly.

After I left Formosa, I was kept in Sugama prison. Only last September I was released on parole. After the war, I was tried for the murder of American airmen and imprisoned for life. In 1953 my imprisonment was reduced to a term of 29 years. After serving for 9 years and 4 months, I was released on parole.

At present, I am employed in a small factory.

Interpreted by Mr. Rahman.

Admitted correct.

*H. Isayama.*

(3)

Statement of Rev. Hotta Hidemaru, Priest of Higashi Honganji Temple, No. 3113, Shobata, Saori-cho, Amagun, Aichi-Ken, recorded on 31st May 1956 at Tokyo at 5. P.M.

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On 11th of July 1945 I went to Taiwan from Shanghai, I was attached as a priest to the Royal Navy and was working as a priest in Higashi Honganji Temple, Formosa but was living at Hokuto where my mother was residing. This Temple is located in Taihoku city.

On the 22nd or the 23rd of August, the chief priest of the Honganji Temple by the name of late Rev. Kasudi-Kakusi Told me that on the 26th or 27th August they were going to hold a ceremony for a big personality from India. He did not tell me the name of the person in whose honour the ceremony was going to be held. We held a big ceremony solemnly on 26th or 27th, but we could not hold as big a ceremony as we would have liked to hold due to the confusion prevailed immediately after the last war.

H. H.

There were two Buddhist Temples both near the Nammon Military Hospital, 1, the Nishi Honganji Temple and 2. the Higashi Honganji Temple. The distance between the two was about 600 meters. Nishi (West) Honganji Temple was nearer the Nammon Military Hospital. The box was kept in the Nishi Honganji Temple. Nishi Honganji Temple was the biggest temple in Formosa.

In the end of August 1945, a ceremony was held in the Nishi temple. I did not attend the ceremony as I belonged to the other temple. The Japanese army in Taiwan looked after the ashes carefully and then brought the ashes with them to Tokyo. I do not know what happened to Mr. Bose's ashes in Tokyo.

The white box kept in the Nishi temple contained the ashes of Mr. Bose. I learnt this from the persons who actually picked up the bones and ashes of Mr. Bose from the crematorium that those ashes were Mr. Bose's ashes. I do not remember their names.

There were about 12 priests in the Nishi (west) Honganji Temple, Taihoku, and about 8 priests in the



636

Higashi (East) Honganji Temple, to which I was attached as a priest.

Interpreted by Mr. Rahman.

Admitted correct.

*Hidemaru Gotta*

*1. 6. 56.*

Statement by Mr. M. Miyoshi, 36, Satsuki Cho, Fukushima Shi, Fukushima Ken, Japan, recorded on 1st June 1956 at 10-30 A.M. at Tokyo.

When the last war came to an end, I was working as a medical orderly in the Rikugun Byoin, Taihoku, (Taihoku Military Hospital). I do not remember the exact date but I think it was approximately one month after the end of the last war that I was called to lift a coffin from a room in the Rikugun Byoin Hospital. When I went inside that room which was of the same size as the room in which we are now sitting, approximately 25 ft. x 15 ft, I saw two other men lying all bandaged up in the same room. I do not know whether they were Indians or Japanese. When I entered the room, I found that the coffin was lying in the middle of the room. It was placed on a stool.

Question by the Chairman. Was there one stool or were there 2 stools?

Reply: I do not remember correctly.

We were called in to carry the coffin. We were four soldiers. The coffin was a big-sized coffin approximately 8 ft long, 3 ft. wide and 2½ ft. high. It was covered in flowers. I think the coffin was nailed. At that time, I did not know whose body that coffin contained but I knew that it was not the coffin of a Japanese because the size of the coffin was too big to be that of a Japanese. We carried the coffin through the corridor of the hospital and placed it in a vehicle. It was a vehicle which is normally ~~used~~ used for carrying dead bodies from the hospital to the crematorium and is kept in the hospital. We placed the coffin inside that vehicle. After keeping the coffin in the vehicle, I returned to my ward and the vehicle left for the crematorium. I do not know anything more than this. Up till the time the vehicle left the hospital, I did not know whose body was contained therein.

(23)

10 minutes after the vehicle had left for the crematorium, I enquired from my other friends in the hospital as to whose body it could have been that was carried in that coffin. They told me that it was the body of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. They told me that he was involved in a plane accident and had died as a result of it.

Question by the Chairman: Did you see any other car or vehicle there?

Reply: I saw only one vehicle which was the vehicle in which we placed the coffin. I did not see any other vehicle inside the hospital.

Question: Did any body accompany the coffin.

Reply: I do not remember.

I read about this Committee in papers and wrote a letter to the Chairman. A few days after, I was asked to appear before the Committee by means of a letter from the Japanese Foreign Office.

I have never been interrogated about this accident by any body before nor have I mentioned it to any body.

At present, I am employed in a Drug Store.

Interpreted by Mr. Rahman. ,

Admitted correct.

*Mr. Miyoshi.*



Major S. Nagatomo.

Witness no 60

610

Statement by ex-Major S. Nagatomo, Miyazaki-shi, 2828, Nakamura Machi, Japan, recorded on 1st June, 1956 at 3 P.M. at Tokyo.

During the course of my military service, I served in various places in China. When the last war broke out, I was posted as a Staff Officer in the Taiwan Army Headquarters. During the course of the war, I went for liaison work to Saigon, Sorabaya, Celebes, Philippines, & Makasar and then returned to Taiwan. The Headquarters of our Army continued to remain at Taiwan. When the last war came to an end, I was working as Second Adjutant in the Army Headquarters at Taiwan. My rank at that time was that of a Major. Soon after the surrender of the Japanese, I heard that a plane had crashed at Taihoku in which Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was involved. I learnt this at the headquarters of the Army in Taiwan. The aeroplane had arrived at the Taihoku aerodrome at about mid-day. On the same plane, some Japanese officers were also travelling. The senior-most officer amongst the Japanese was General Shidei. I do not know the names of others. I was not present at the aerodrome, but there was a telephone connection between the aerodrome and the Headquarters. The passengers on board that plane had rested at Taihoku for about 5 1/2 hours. Then the plane took off. A telephone message came from the aerodrome to the Headquarters stating that the plane had taken off. I received this message myself and informed the Staff Officer about it. The staff Officer to whom I reported, might have been either Major Haradi or Major Ando. Immediately after the first message, the second telephone message was received from the aerodrome stating that the plane had crashed to the ground and caught fire. I conveyed the second message to the Staff Officer as well. The third telephone message from the aerodrome

S.N.

(611)

came informing us that they had sent Netaji to the hospital. We received another telephone message from the hospital stating that Netaji had arrived at the hospital. After that, there were continuous messages pouring in from the hospital. The telephone messages were about Mr. Bose. Immediately afterwards, General Ando, Army Commander, Formosa, went to the hospital at about 3 or 4 P.M. He must have been accompanied by some other officer but I do not remember who he was. I went to the hospital at about 5 P.M. When I went to the hospital, I saw an Indian Colonel. His head and half of his face were bandaged. I do not remember his name but his rank was that of a Colonel. When I arrived at the hospital at about 5 P.M. Mr. Bose had expired already. I learnt from the hospital that he had expired soon after he reached the hospital. When I entered the room, there were more than 6 or 7 persons there. Three or four of them were Medical officers. I personally saw the body of Mr. Bose in the same room. It was a very big room about the size of the room we are sitting in but I do not remember the exact dimensions. The size of the room in which we are sitting is 25 ft. x 15 ft. Mr. Bose's body was lying on a bed. It was very large body. I saw that the whole of his body was bandaged. I do not remember correctly but I think the whole of his body including his face, was covered with a white sheet. His feet and hands were visible. The burn of his head above the fore-head was also visible, but all these visible portions were bandaged. So I presume that the rest of the body was similarly bandaged. I do not remember the name of any of the doctors. I did not meet General Ando in the hospital as he had already left when I reached the hospital. I did not talk to the doctor about Mr. Bose's condition. I had received a telephone

S.N

612

message about Mr. Bose's death before I left the Headquarters for the hospital. General Ando also left for the hospital after receiving the same information. As far as I remember, some Staff Officer did visit the hospital while he was alive but I do not know who it was. It was dark when I left the hospital. Before I left the hospital I posted a guard of 12 soldiers over the body of Mr. Bose, to make sure that no body went near it. These soldiers belonged to the Army HQ. They were under the command of a Sergeant whose name I do not remember.

The next day, we received a telegram from the Imperial General Headquarters, Tokyo, asking us to send the body of Mr. Bose to Tokyo by a plane. On receipt of this telegram, we ordered the Hospital authorities by telephone to apply medicines on Mr. Bose's body to preserve it. We also ordered a coffin to be made. After the coffin was prepared, the body was put inside the coffin. Later in the same day, we received another <sup>telegram</sup> ~~message~~ from the Imperial General Headquarters, Tokyo, asking us not to send the body to Tokyo and to cremate it at Taihoku. There was no reason given in the telegram for changing the previous instructions. When the second telegram was received regarding his body being cremated at Taihoku, I was put in charge of the arrangements to cremate him. On the same day, on receipt of the second telegram, I went to the hospital. When I reached there, I found that Mr. Bose's body had been put in the coffin. I lifted the lid and paid my respects. I do not remember the time and date when I went to the hospital. When I lifted the lid of the coffin, I saw that the whole of his body from the feet to the head was fully bandaged. There was no sheet on it. Some medicines had been put on the bandages to preserve the body. I saw Mr. Bose's face. It was a big

S.N

(643)  
(643)

round face. I do not remember whether his face and head were bandaged but I remember distinctly that white ointment had been applied all over the face. After this, I closed the lid of the coffin and nailed it. On the same day, we placed the coffin in ~~the~~ a military truck that had been called from the Military Headquarters. This was soon after mid-day. The coffin was very heavy and it took six soldiers to put it in the truck. At the time, when we put the coffin in the truck, the Indian Adjutant and one Japanese Interpreter were also present. The age of the Interpreter was about 30 years but I do not remember this correctly. He was a short man. We placed the coffin in the middle of the truck and placed 12 soldiers all around the coffin. The Indian Adjutant, the Interpreter and I sat in a car in front of the truck and went to the crematorium. There were only these two vehicles. We went direct from the hospital to the crematorium which was about 3 kilometers from the hospital. We had given previous intimation over the telephone to the crematorium staff. They were prepared to receive the coffin. There were three separate furnaces which were partitioned by a small wall up to the top of the furnace and which was not carried to the ceiling. The height of this partition wall was about 2 meters and that of the room about 4 meters. The body of Netaji was cremated in furnace No. 1 which was in the centre, and is shown on the sketch which is marked A. The furnace door was opened and Netaji's body was put on a sliding plate which was provided with rollers. The plate was then slid into the furnace. The whole of the coffin was put on the sliding plate. It is customary in Japan to cremate the body in the coffin. After placing the body in the furnace, we went to the back side of the furnace and I set fire. After

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19th

S.N



644

setting fire, I came to the front of the furnace and locked the door. All of us went away. There is a watchman in charge of this crematorium to look after it. I locked the door and took the key with me. All of us returned by the same car by which we had come. I took the Indian Adjutant to the hospital and I returned to the Headquarters. The Interpreter also came to the Headquarters. The next morning at about 8 A.M. I went to the hospital to take the Indian Adjutant with me. I went to the hospital in a car and as far as I remember, the Interpreter was also with us on the next day. On arrival at the crematorium, I opened the lock of furnace No. 1 with the key that was with me and pulled out the sliding plate. From the Headquarters I had taken with me a small wooden box about 8" cube. When we pulled out the plate on which the coffin had been put, we found that the whole skeleton had still retained its shape but it was completely burnt. According to the Buddhist custom, I first picked a bone from the throat with two chop-sticks and placed it in the box. Then I picked a bone from every portion of his body and placed it in the box. The Indian Adjutant did the same after me. I do not remember about the Interpreter whether he too picked up the bone or not. In this way, the whole of the box was filled up. The lid of the box containing the bones was nailed but I am not quite sure whether it was nailed here or in the temple. After closing the box, it was wrapped up in a white cloth. After wrapping the box in a white cloth, it was put round the neck of the Indian Adjutant and we went by car to the Nishi (West) Honganji temple. That day a special ceremony was held at the temple. We arrived at the temple at about 10 A.M. The ceremony was held in the afternoon. I do not remember

S.N

645

whether that was held on the same day or the day after. I think it was on the same day. The following persons attended the ceremony at the temple:-

1. General Ando, Commander of Army.
2. Many officers, N.C.Os and men of the Headquarters.

I do not remember the exact number of persons who were present at the ceremony but I think they were not less than 100. I and the Indian Adjutant were present at the ceremony. After the ceremony, the box containing the bones was left in the temple. After a few days, I made arrangements for the box containing the bones to be collected from the temple and delivered at the aerodrome. I did not go to collect the box myself but I made the arrangements for the same. I did not go to the aerodrome myself. The box was sent to the aerodrome to be <sup>by plane?</sup> transported by plane to Tokyo. The Chief of the General Staff at Taihoku (General Isayama) made arrangements for the plane. As this was after surrender, I am not sure whether the plane in question was a Japanese plane or an American plane. I do not know who accompanied the ashes. That would be known to General Isayama who was the Chief of the General Staff. After the ashes were despatched, the Chinese and American troops came to Taiwan and I was interrogated concerning Netaji and put to difficulties both by the Chinese and the American Military authorities. They interrogated me to find out whether Netaji was alive or dead and if he were alive, his whereabouts. I told them the same story as I have told the Committee.

After the war, I was sentenced to a term of imprisonment for my war time activities.

I am now a private contractor.

S.N

646

Question by Shri Maitra. Do you know anything about General Shidei?

Reply: I do not know what happened of General Shidei, as I was made in charge only of the matter concerning Netaji.

Interpreted by Mr. Rahman.

Admitted correct.

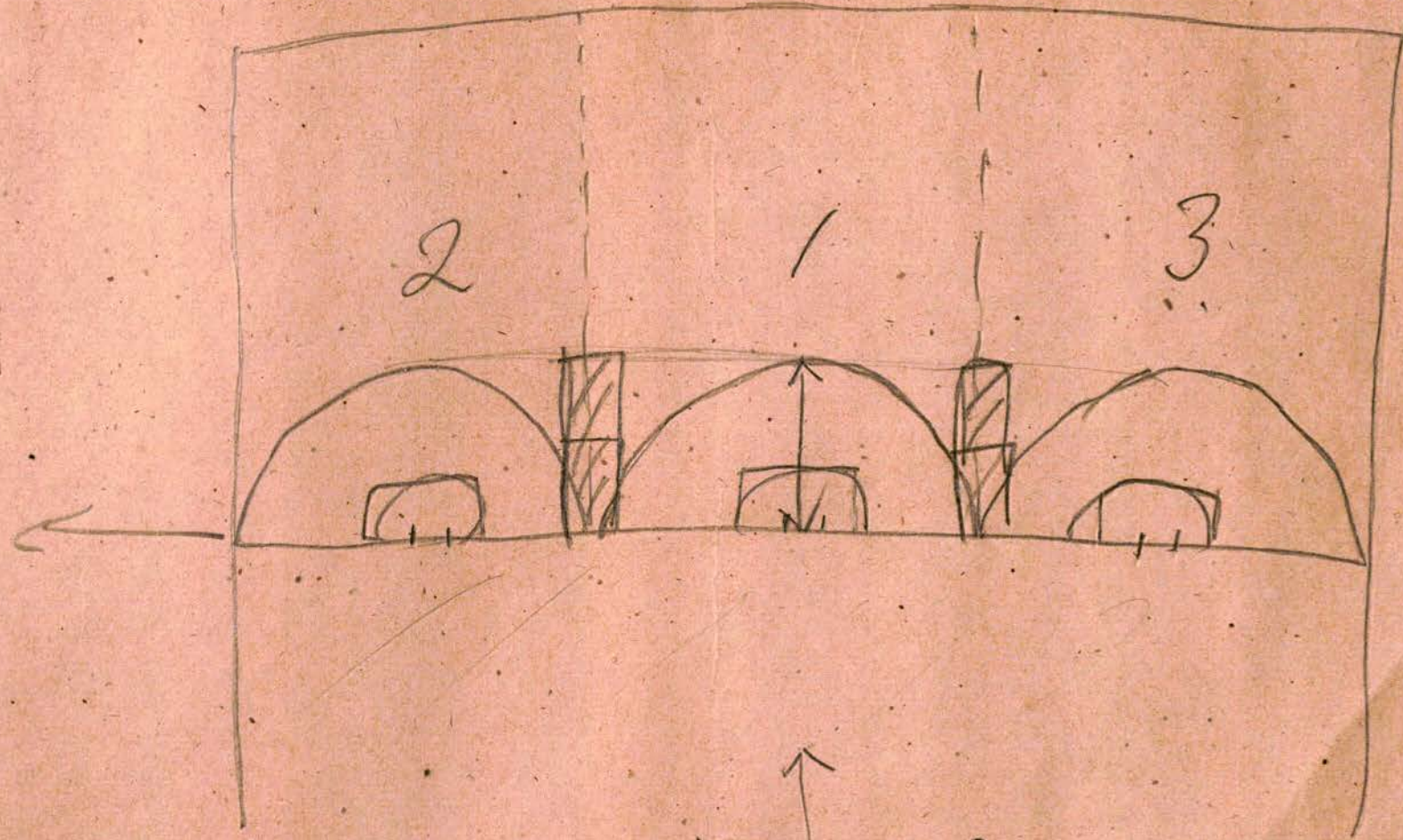
*S. Nagatomo*

(219)

Sketch A  
Main Nagatomo

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Furnaces



Gate

S.C. Bon  
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Statement by Mr. Naokichi Kitazawa, Member of House of Representatives, Tokyo, recorded on 2nd June at 10-30 A.M. at Tokyo.

During the last war, I was attached to the Japanese Embassy. I was Deputy of Mr. Ishii, who was the Ambassador. When the British forces began to advance, the Japanese forces started evacuating from Rangoon on 23rd of April 1945. Netaji and his party also evacuated from Rangoon one or two days later. It took us about a week to reach Moulmein from Rangoon.

Dr. Ba Maw, the Prime Minister with the following:-

1. Mr. U Nu,
2. Mr. Thakin Mia.
3. Mr. U Tung Aung, the Minister of the Department of Co-operation between the Japanese Army and the Burmese Government.
4. Mr. U La Pe,

wanted to be removed from Rangoon to a place of safety. Accordingly, the Japanese Government instructed me to help them in doing so. Ambassador Ishii, myself and other officials of the Embassy accompanied the party of those 6 or 7 Burmese Ministers, including their families. We left Rangoon on the 23rd of April 1945 and reached Moulmein on the 3rd or 4th of May 1945. About a week before the surrender of Japan and before the Japanese Government accepted the Potsdam terms, the Japanese Government had decided to give protection to the heads of all the States that had helped Japan in the prosecution of the war and that the Japanese Government would inform all of them whether they were agreeable to accept the terms of the Japanese Government and to take refuge in Japan. This order of the Government was communicated to the heads of all the States,

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649

namely, Burma, the Provisional Government of India (Azad Hind), the Philippines, China, Manchuko, Indonesia and Thailand. In accordance with the proposal of the Japanese Government, Dr. Laurel, the President of the Philippines along with 17 of his Ministers came to Japan and took refuge there. Mr. Chenkun Pao (the successor of Wan Ching Wei), the head of the Chinese Government with 2 or 3 other people of his came to Japan for the purpose of taking refuge there. Dr. Seokarno of Indonesia could not come, as the Dutch Forces occupied Indonesia soon after the surrender and he was unable to come to Japan, and Dr. Seokarno negotiated with the Dutch for the independence of their country. The Prime Minister of Thailand and the successor to Mr. Pibul Songram did not want to leave the country for reasons best known to him. The Emperor of Manchuko wanted to come to Japan and he flew from his headquarters Chengchung for Japan, but his plane was intercepted by Russian war planes and he was compelled to return to Chengchung.

Dr. Ba Maw and his party including his Cabinet Ministers numbering 6 or 7 with their families ~~he~~ left Rangoon on the 23rd of April 1945 accompanied by Ambassador <sup>I</sup>Nishi, myself and other Japanese members of our Embassy. We arrived in Moulmein on the 3rd of May and all of us stayed in Mudon, about one mile from Moulmein, in which there were many Chinese. Dr. Ba Maw moved the seat of his Government from Rangoon to Mudon and stayed there till the date of the surrender of Japan, namely on 15-8-1945. Dr. Ba Maw left Mudon and arrived in Saigon on 20th of August. Other Burmese Ministers, who remained in <sup>MUDON</sup> ~~Saigon~~, gave themselves up to the British forces. Only Dr. Ba Maw wanted to come to Japan from Mudon and all the other Burmese Ministers decided to stay behind

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(15)

voluntarily.

Soon after reaching Mudon, Dr. Ba Maw's family along with Bandoro<sup>a</sup> U Sein, the Burmese Minister for Information and Propaganda, was removed for safety purposes to Kam Pon Chand near Panonpong<sup>e</sup>, the capital of Cambodia. Ambassador ~~Nishi~~<sup>I</sup> remained with Dr. Ba Maw's party at Mudon till the time of the surrender of the Japanese. On or about the 15th of May 1945, I and six others left Mudon by truck and through difficult jungle terrain, we reached Bangkok after a week. I got an order from the Japanese Government to come back to Tokyo. So I left Bangkok on the 5th of August and arrived at Saigon the same day. Dr. Ba Maw came to Saigon on the 20th of August and he told me that he wished to have asylum in Japan. I stayed in Saigon for about 20 days. I stayed at the official residence of the Japanese Ambassador in Saigon. I saw Dr. Ba Maw after his arrival there. I told the Japanese Ministry<sup>a</sup> HQ in Saigon, i.e. F.M. Count Terauchi's HQ, who arranged one bomber plane. Dr. Ba Maw, Lt. General Tanaka (Chief of the Staff of the Japanese Army in Burma) and Mr. Hayashi, (the Supreme Adviser to the Japanese Forces in Indonesia) and I left Saigon on the 23rd of August and reached Taipei (Formosa) on the same day and spent the night there, and arrived in Tokyo on the 24th August. When we arrived in Taipeh, we were told that Netaji's plane had crashed. On the 16th or 17th of August I went to the Saigon aerodrome to see off Netaji from that airport.

With regard to the Provisional Government of India, Mr. Hachiya, the Japanese Minister to the Provisional Government informed Netaji that if Netaji wished to come to Japan, the Japanese Government would

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give protection to him, and I think Netaji decided to accept the proposal. Netaji and his party had left Rangoon on the 24th of April 1945. He came to Bangkok via Moulmein.

I was informed at Taipeh for the first time that Netaji's plane had crashed at Taipeh and I was asked by a member of the Japanese Army HQ in Formosa to take one box to the War Department at Tokyo. I was told that in that box, there were ashes of Lt. General Shidei, who accompanied Netaji. I took the box on board the plane and transmitted that box to the War Department at Tokyo after my arrival there. That Army Officer told me that Netaji's plane had crashed and all members who were on board that plane had died. Later I was told that in that box the ashes of other people were included, but I am not quite sure whether this was so or not. I was told that Netaji had died but I was not asked to bring his ashes. I was not informed at Saigon about Netaji's plane crash or about his injuries or death. During my stay in Saigon, I was informed that Netaji wanted to go to Soviet Russia via Manchuko, but he was persuaded by the Japanese Government to go to Japan instead of to Manchuko. I was told this by the Army Officer in Saigon.

Admitted correct.

*Naoki Kitagawa*



Witness No. 62.

(62)

Statement by Mr. Koji Asada, 2826-2 Chome, Hom Machi Koku Bunji, Tokyo, recorded on 2nd June 1956 at 3 P.M. at Tokyo.

In 1945 I was appointed as a Diplomatic Attache to the Government of Burma. I left Tokyo on April the 20th for Rangoon but was held up at Taihoku in Formosa where I stayed till September. On 26th September 1945 I left Taihoku for Japan via Saishu Island (Off Korea). Our plane halted at Saishu for about 1½ hours. We arrived Ashya airport in Kyushu the same day. We flew in a twine=engined Japanese Bomber. As the flying of Japanese planes had been banned by the Occupation authorities, there was a danger of our being shot if we were found out. We were, therefore, flying very secretly. There are 2 air-fields in Taihoku; one is inside the town and the other is ~~inside~~ <sup>outside</sup> the town. We took off from the air-field inside the city. Mr. Kazo Yoshikawa of the Japanese Foreign Office was also in the same plane. ~~When~~ When we arrived at the airport Taihoku on 26th of September, I found three other persons waiting on the aerodrome to go by the same plane. They were officers of the Japanese Army. I do not remember their names. I do not remember details about them. I only remember that one of them was a Major and one Captain. All those officers were introduced to me. The Captain was a very tall man. All the three officers were bandaged round their heads and as far as I remember on their hands as well. I asked the reason why they were bandaged in that way. They told me that they had been involved in an air crash with Mr. Chandra Bose. The crash had taken place, they told me, about 40 or 50 days earlier and that the object of their visit to Japan was to carry the ashes of Mr. Bose. I made enquiries as

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13

to how the crash took place and the death of Mr. Bose. They told me that on a certain day in August Mr. Bose and others suddenly decided to leave Taihoku for Japan. As their plane took off, one of the properllers fell away and the plane crashed. All the passengers escaped out the plane but they were sprinkled with petrol and had received burn injuries. Since Mr. Bose was clad heavily, he could not take off the clothes. They told me that Mr. Bose's clothes had caught fire and that Mr. Bose while standing asked them to pour water on him. The Captain told me that after Mr. Bose was taken to the hospital, all his clothes were taken off and only small portions of his skin were normal. Others were very badly burnt and that on the following day he died. They told me that the cause of the plane crash was that since they were in great hurry to leave Taihoku they did not have enough time to test the engine properly. The plane that carried us from Taihoku on 26th of September was exactly of the same type as the plane that had crashed with Mr. Bose on board.

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We arrived Ashya airport near Fukuoka at about 4 P.M. on the same day. The officers stayed in a separate inn. From the aerodrome we went to Fukuoka city by car. There were 5 persons in that car. I parted company with them at Fukuoka. I did not see them again.

I worked in the Japanese Foreign Office for about 8 years and left it about 8 years ago. I am now an English teacher. I wrote an article about this in a Japanese language paper "Tokyo Times" on May, the 18th. At that time I did not know that your Committee had come to Japan for this purpose. Mr. Miglani sent me a wire to come and give evidence to the Committee. Later on I received a telegram from Mr. Hattori of the Foreign Office

654

asking me to come and appear before the Committee  
which I did.

Admitted correct.

Koji Asada

Statement by Col. J.G. Figgess, Military Attache, British Embassy in Tokyo, recorded at Tokyo on 5th June 1956 at 12 noon.

(M)  
*At the end of the Pacific war.* I was posted as Staff Officer to Lt. General Gairdner, then Personal Representative of the Prime Minister of the U.K. to General MacArthur. The U.K. Liaison Mission moved to Japan with General MacArthur's Headquarters in September 1945.

(M)  
One of my duties was to maintain liaison with HQ SIFE at Admiral Mountbatten's HQ near Kandy, and in that connection to deal with the G 2 Section of GHQ SCAP. I was also incidentally in contact with the Indian community in Japan who <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ then of course British subjects. I had dealings with Mr. Rama Murti who appeared to be at that time the leader of the Indian community in Tokyo. I met Mr. Rama Murti when I called on him at his house in company with an American CIC officer, sometime to the best of my belief in October/November 1945. At that meeting, Mr. Ramamurti introduced me to Col. Habibur Rehman who, he said, was staying as a guest in his house while he recovered from injuries received in a plane crash. I spoke to Col. Rehman who at that time told me in general terms that he was accompanying Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to Tokyo in a Japanese Military aircraft which crashed at Taipeh. He told me that Mr. Bose had died as a result of ~~an~~ the accident. I asked Col. Rehman how he had escaped. In reply he said that he could get away from the wrecked plane while Mr. Bose being a rather stout gentleman, could not get out so easily, and when they succeeded in getting him out, he was badly burnt and died in the hospital. My recollection about what Col. Rehman told me is however, not very clear at this late date. I think I met Col. Rehman once more.

At about this time, a telegram was received by the U.K. Liaison Mission either from D.M.I. India or

(656)

from Admiral Mountbatten's HQ in Kandy requesting ~~for~~<sup>an</sup> a report from the Japanese authorities on the circumstances surrounding the alleged death of Mr. Bose. As the SCAP was the only authority empowered to deal with the Japanese, I passed on the request to GHQ. A thorough enquiry was carried out <sup>the U.S. Army</sup> by CIC and in due course I received the report through G 2 Section of GHQ SCAP. As I remember it, it consisted of a number of interrogation reports, notably detailed interrogation of Col. Rehman, as far as I remember again at this late date, interrogation of the pilot of the aircraft and again as far as I remember, of a Japanese Army Doctor at Taipeh. I remember that the sum of these reports produced in my mind the conviction that Mr. Bose died of burns in Taipeh as a result of the air crash. I forwarded the report with a covering letter to the authority which had requested it, (it might have been either in Delhi or in Kandy). Although I do not remember, I think that it is likely that in my forwarding letter, I drew the conclusion mentioned above. As far as I am concerned, that was the end of the matter, although I continued to have dealings regularly with the Indian community in Tokyo and in Osaka and Kobe until the arrival of Mr. Jain who came to Japan as a representative of the Government of India, I think, some time in 1947.

Subsequent to my sending the report mentioned above, <sup>SCAP</sup> (it might have been in December 1945) and up to the arrival of Mr. Jain, the question of the fate of Mr. Bose did not come to my attention again.

I have no knowledge of any investigations that might have been carried out by Mr. Davies and Col. Finney. So far as I remember, Taipeh was not under the direct control of SCAP.

John F. Higgins  
Col. 5.6.56

Witness No. 64

SND (64)

Evidence of Dr. S.N.Dutt,  
P.43A, Block 'C', New Alipore,  
Calcutta 27.

Relationship - Maternal Uncle of Netaji.

The mysterious disappearance of Netaji on or about the 18th August, 1945, can give rise to only three hypotheses.

I. That he died as the result of a plane crash at Taiheku, as broadcast by the Japanese Government, four days after the supposed crash and confirmed by Colonel Rahman in his statements to various persons and in his evidence before the Enquiry Commission.

II. That he died subsequently somewhere in the East as the result of some other accident or illness.

III. That he is still alive but for reasons of his own still chooses to remain incognito.

A good portion of the evidence tendered before the Enquiry Commission by the different eye-witnesses have appeared in the papers and is therefore public knowledge. I have also had a personal discussion with Col. Rahman on this mysterious affair. In the light of the knowledge thus gained, I propose to analyse the above hypotheses and arrive at a logical conclusion.

The First Hypothesis - The Plane Crash:

If it be true that Netaji died as the result of a plane crash, then we have to find a reasonable answer to each of the following questions:

(1) Why are there so many different eye-witness accounts of one and the same crash? For instance, when I met Col. Rahman after his return to India at the residence of my late nephew, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose at 1, Woodburn Park, he distinctly told me that the plane crashed from a height of about 300 to 400 feet and

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(64)

burst into flames at a distance of about 2 miles from the air-port. Another eye-witness whose evidence appeared in the newspapers testifies that the accident occurred in the runway of the air-port as the result of a crash with a boulder, when the plane attempted to take off. Why this material contradiction in the description of the same crash by two eye-witnesses? Mind you, not hearsay witnesses, both were eye-witnesses of the same incident of the plane crash.

(2) At the same interview at Woodburn Park, Col. Rahman showed me a few white circumscribed patches on the dorsal aspect of his hand and said that they were caused as the result of a burn when he attempted to put out the flames on Netaji.

Sri Bose: Please explain in ordinary language what you mean by 'dorsal aspect'.

Ans: Dorsal aspect means back of the hand. My knowledge of medical jurisprudence and ordinary common-sense tells me that if the so-called burns had been caused in putting out the flames on Netaji, then the whole of his hand, and specially the palm, from the tip of his fingers right up to the wrist or even higher up ~~xxxxxx~~ would have been burnt. If his account were true, then the palmer aspect of his hand and not the dorsal would have been burnt. The circumscribed white patches on the back of his hand therefore could only have been self-inflicted so as to simulate a burn, by the application of a strong acid, probably Carbollic, which is handy at any dispensary or even at the air-port First Aid Centre.

(3) If it be a fact that Col. Rahman attempted to put out the flame with his hand, then the portion of Netaji's clothes which had caught fire must have been very small,

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for no sane man would ever attempt to put out a flame with his hands, when the whole of the victim's clothes had caught fire, as that would be obviously impossible. Netaji therefore must have suffered from very slight burns, if at all, and a healthy man does not die of such burns within 3 or 4 hours. Medically it is impossible.

(4) Soon after the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan agreed to an unconditional surrender over the radio. A police officer was despatched at once by the then Government of India to track down Netaji. This officer is reported to have seen the plane in question under repairs at the air-port. Does it tally with Col. Rahman's account of the crash? Who would ever attempt to repair a burnt-out plane? On the other hand, does it not corroborate the statement of the other eye-witness who ascribes the accident to a boulder and which in all probability was stage-managed?

(5) Evidence shows that Col. Rahman was seated about a foot or so behind Netaji in the plane. Diagrams appeared in the papers. How is it that Netaji alone was heavily splashed with petrol and burnt, while the Colonel escaped scot-free?

(6) The Colonel states that the plane crashed from a height of about 300 to 400 feet. It must therefore have attained a speed of at least 200 miles per hour. In such a crash one would expect the majority of the passengers to die. But no - only three other obliging men besides Netaji died, viz. the Pilot, the Navigator and Lt.-Gen. Shidei, who was presumably deputed to escort Netaji out of the country. Is it not significant that only the key-men required to take Netaji out of the country have perished mysteriously in the flames along with Netaji and the rest escaped? For aught I know they may still



665

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be alive and kicking somewhere in China or Manchuria.

(7) Had Netaji really died in the plane crash on the 18th August, the news would have been broadcast the same day and not four days later. This time lag was necessary for the purpose of manufacturing some evidence in support of the alleged death from the plane crash, and for the receipt of the news of his safe arrival at his destination.

Sri Bose: Which destination do you think?

Ans: How can I know? Nobody can know. We have to guess - somewhere in China or Manchuria. God alone knows where.

(8) The Japanese are a civilized, military nation. If Netaji had really died as the result of the plane crash or otherwise while still within their jurisdiction, they would have surely handed over his body to the I.N.A. for funeral, there being <sup>military</sup> no impediment to such a course, as the actual surrender to General Mac Arthur took place several days later, on the 1st September, 1945.

Sadly

Mr. Chairman: Are you aware of the fact that the Japanese Government and all the Japanese forces surrendered on the 15th August?

Ans: I know that. Even they surrendered earlier; may be, one or two days earlier. — <sup>but the actual surrender took place on 1st Sept.</sup>

Sadly

Although the witnesses have not been properly cross-examined by an expert, still I am sure the Commission will find many other material contradictions in the evidence recorded by them.

Sherlock Holmes would probably sum up the situation as follows:

"At Taihoku, a minor plane accident was stage-managed by a deliberate collision with a boulder. This would support the police officer's statement of having seen the

S.W. (66)

plane under repairs at the air-port. Netaji's face was then heavily bandaged up to avoid identification and Col. Rahman's hand was touched with Carbohc Acid. They were then rushed off to a hospital. During the night, the Pilot, the Navigator, Gen. Shidei and Netaji, the four "dead" victims of the crash, left for their destination. In the morning it was given out locally that Netaji had died at night and a covered dead body was placed in a room in the hospital. Four days later, after the completion of further evidence in support of the plane crash and the news of his safe arrival at his destination, the death of Netaji was announced in a broadcast."

S.W. or an empty coffin -

II. The Second Hypothesis: His subsequent death:

We have seen that a logical analysis of the evidence of Col. Rahman does not support the death of Netaji from the alleged plane crash. But could he have died subsequently as the result of some other accident or illness?

The answer is even that is impossible, for in that case his body would have been handed over to the Government of India by the authorities concerned, as nobody would have any further interest in his dead body.

III. The Third Hypothesis: That he is still alive.

The discussion of the first two hypotheses has led us to the conclusion that he is not yet dead. He must therefore be still alive. But then two more questions arise:

1. If he were alive at that time, why did the Japanese Government broadcast his death? And
2. If he be alive today, why does he choose to remain incognito still?

The answer to the first question is that the Japanese

Government wanted to curry favour with Gen. Mac Arthur after the actual surrender. It would have been an act of extreme meanness and downright treachery on the part of the Japanese Government to have handed over Netaji, their erstwhile friend and collaborator to the Anglo-Americans - and of this they were incapable as a self-respecting and a cultured nation. The only other alternative therefore was to broadcast his death after he had left, and continue to support it with what manufactured and tutored evidence they could place before the Enquiry Commission. They could not very well say that Netaji had escaped from their territory to an unknown destination, as they would have been accused of aiding and abetting the flight of a man who, in the eyes of the Anglo-Americans, was a war criminal.

As to the second question, why he still chooses to remain incognito, we can only guess. He is a seasoned politician and has disagreed with the Congress. He repeatedly cautioned the Congress in his broadcast not to fall into Jinnah's trap of dividing the country. But the Congress took no heed of his warnings, and accepted what was then called the "lesser evil", with disastrous consequences. There is therefore no place on the political stage of India for two such personalities as Nehru and Netaji at the same time. And it may be that he thinks that his appearance in India during the life-time of Mr. Nehru would divide the country into two factions and give rise to tremendous riots all over India and even to a Civil War - and this he wants to avoid at all costs. There may, of course, be other reasons of his own.

In conclusion, if the Enquiry Commission chooses to accept without any proper cross-examination, the

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663

manifestly tutored and faked evidence of the Japanese Government, to suit its own purpose, it is free to do so. The public however will have very little to do with it.

I think I have been able to give you a reasoned statement.

Mr. Chairman: You have been very lucid.

You said that it would have been against the honour of the Japanese nation to have handed over an erstwhile friend and collaborator to its enemies. May I ask you if you know that Dr. Ba Maw, who was the President of the Republic of Burma and who was a great friend of the Japanese nation and had also fully collaborated with them, as also President Jose Laurel of the Phillipines, similarly head of the State, had been surrendered to the Anglo-Americans after being taken into custody by the Japanese - are you aware of this fact?

Ans: Yes, I am aware, but are you also aware that they/first of all to do away with Dr. Ba Maw and having failed in that they had no other alternative but to surrender <sup>attempted</sup> him.

Mr. Chairman: In the case of Netaji they could manage; does not that suggest that in this case also they could do it?

Ans: They had first declared that Dr. Ba Maw and Dr. Laurel were dead.

Mr. Chairman: What do you mean by "do away with"?

Ans: They wanted to send them away outside the country declaring them to be dead. Besides, Netaji's position and Ba Maw's position were different in the international field. Netaji was an international figure ranking almost with Roosevelt and Churchill. At first they gave out a story that Ba Maw is dead and the Phillipine President is dead, but somehow they could not

664

manage to take them out of the country.

Sri Bose: Regarding Netaji's disappearance would you please give us something about it, when he was at Cuttack and when you were also present there and took an active part in it?

Ans: From his earliest days, or rather from his school-boy's days, he was of this temperament. Once when he was at school he went away to serve some cholera patients. I had to run after him and bring him back. My sister was then not in Cuttack and the boys <sup>were</sup> in charge of the elder brother and he felt very nervous. So I and another friend of mine went out in search of him and after two days found him and brought him back. In the same way he fled hunting after a Guru and went to Hardwar, Rishikesh, Lachman Jhola, and Banaras, when he was in the second year in the college. The third time he showed the thumb to the British Intelligence and just simply walked out of Calcutta in January 1941, and this is the fourth time when he disappeared from the Far East.

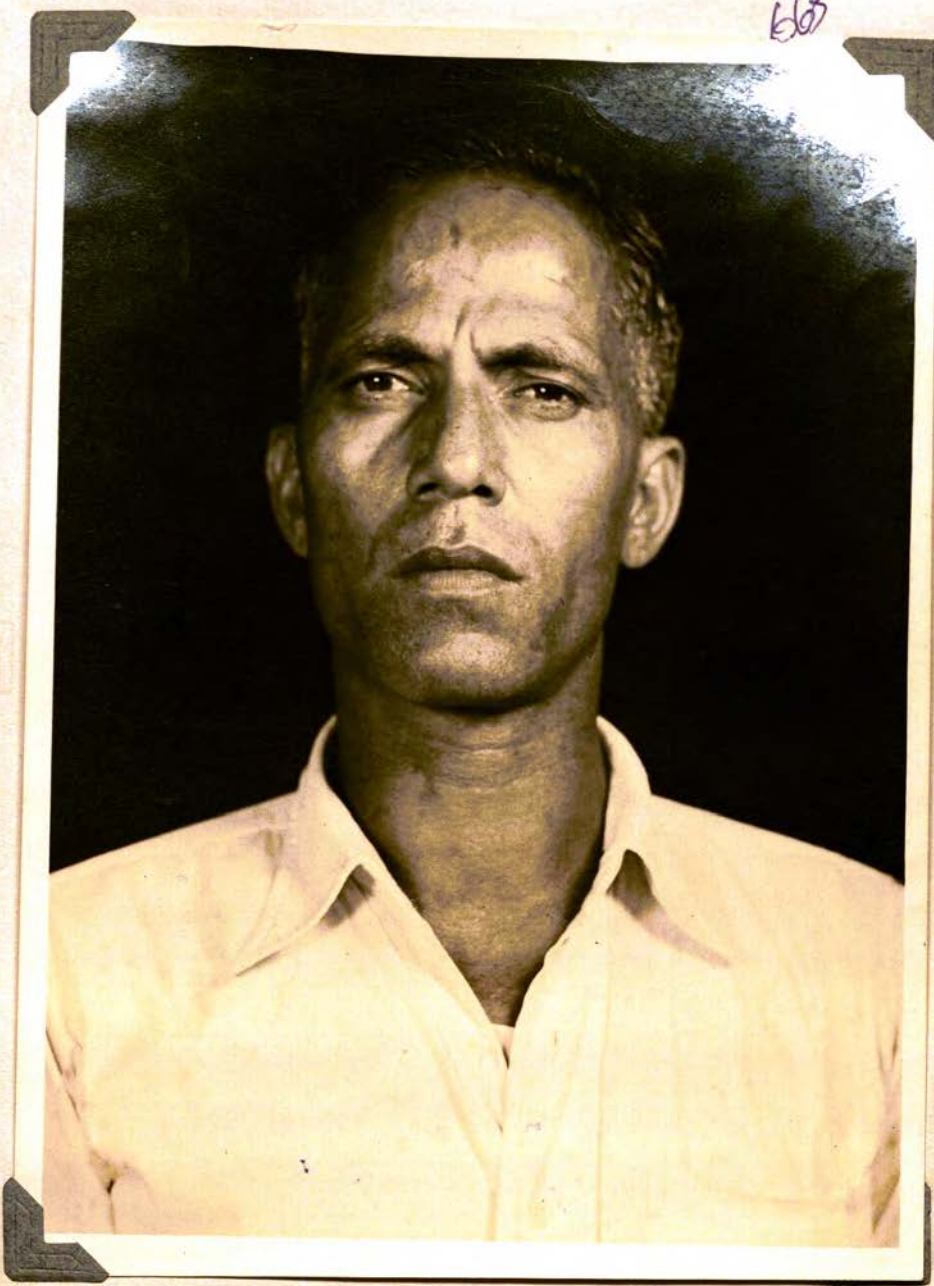
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I would request you, gentlemen, before you draw up your final report <sup>to</sup> give my statement a second reading and try to disprove what I have said.

(The Committee concluded its sitting in Calcutta.)

S. Subramanian

66/7



Mr. Kundan Singh.

Witness No 65.

Statement by Shri Kundan Singh recorded on 19/6/56  
(INA Sub-Officer)  
ex-Serviceman  
Village Jamanwala  
P.O. Gahri, Thana and Dist. Bijnor (U.P)

I went with my battalio, 2/18 Royal Garhwal Rifles in Malaya in 1939. I joined the first INA which was formed under the leadership of Rash Behari Bose and General Mohan Singh. I was in Singapore when Netaji arrived there. I joined Netaji on the day he arrived in Singapore from Tokyo to take over charge of the INA from Shri Rash Behari Bose. I was deputed to work for him as his personal valet. My main duty was to wait upon Netaji for almost 24 hours. I used to usher in persons who came to meet Netaji. I used to test the food, spices, cigarettes etc., which ~~he~~ Netaji used to eat. I also used to attend to his bed-room and clothing and manage his servants of the household. I accompanied Netaji to Burma when he moved his headquarters from Singapore to Burma and stayed with him throughout. I was with Netaji during the last retreat from Rangoon. On the way at a ferry crossing, Netaji's car and a lorry containing certain belongings of ~~the~~ Netaji were bombed and had to be abandoned. ~~At that time~~ At that time Netaji walked on foot throughout, he was wearing top boots. As a result of marching he had developed blisters on his ~~feet~~ feet. After the crossing the ferry Netaji took rest in a small hut while Col. Raturi, Maj. Rawat, Capt. Damu and I and members of Netaji's bodyguard and some other men went and surveyed the car and the lorry, and the four boxes containing jewellery, ornaments, watches etc. These boxes were made of steel. Two boxes were of a smaller size approximately 12" long, 6" wide and 6" high. The larger boxes were about 20" long, 13" wide and 16" high. When we salvaged these boxes from the lorry these were intact and had locks on them, the keys of the locks were with Netaji. Throughout this retreat I was with Netaji and reached Bangkok with Netaji. At Bangkok, Netaji stayed in the house which belonged to a Sindhi merchant.

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(52)

It was outside Bangkok town and opposite Indian Independence League's office. After staying there for two days, Netaji left for Singapore. I accompanied him to Singapore. Major Abid Hasan Safrani also accompanied Netaji to Singapore. There were some Japanese officers who also went with him. After staying in Singapore for two days, I returned to Bangkok with some clothings belonging to Netaji. I returned to Singapore from Bangkok by <sup>plane</sup> ~~train~~. Netaji returned to Bangkok four days after my arrival in Bangkok. Major Hasan and Gen. Bhonsale arrived at the house with Netaji from the aerodrome at Bangkok. At Bangkok, the four boxes containing treasure ~~xxx~~ kept in the ~~xxx~~ bed-room of Netaji. The place was guarded by the INA military police. Netaji returned from Singapore to Bangkok reaching his residence at about 11 a.m., by that time the Japanese had surrendered. Certain discussions were held at Netaji's residence, as a result of which it was decided that Netaji should try and leave Bangkok. On the same night that Netaji arrived in Bangkok he personally checked the contents of each box. Major Hasan and I were present at the time of checking. The boxes contained articles of jewellery which are commonly worn by Indian women, such as chains of ladies watches, necklace, bangles, bracelets, rings, ear rings etc. They were of gold and precious stone. There were also some gold watches, they were mostly of ladies. There were also pounds and guineas. There were some chains which had guinea pieces attached to them. There were small gold wires but there were ~~no~~ gold bars. The contents of the boxes were rearranged and sealed, in the same four boxes. Besides these four boxes containing the treasure, Netaji's personal effects and certain other valuable articles which he had brought from Singapore were kept in a small leather attache case. These contained a gold cigarette case which was also in the leather case and which was presented to Netaji by Hitler. The other

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leather box contained Netaji's clothings. N

Next morning when Netaji was about to leave Bangkok, I asked him about myself. He gave me two letters addressed to Mahatmaji and Panditji and asked me to meet them on my return to India and be of service to them and that he would have taken me along with him if I was not ill. On the day that Netaji left Bangkok, I was present at the aerodrome. <sup>I was</sup> Since in a very depressed mood and also had temperature, I do not remember very many details but I do remember that Major Hasan accompanied Netaji. Just before Netaji entered the plane he embraced each one of us in turn, there were tears in his eyes and he said that if we were still alive we would meet after a short time. At the time when Netaji took off from Bangkok, he was in his usual khaki drill military uniform with top boots.

Netaji had two watches, one wrist watch which was round and made of either nickle or silver. The other one was a pocket watch, it was round in shape and it had a lid which had to be opened to see the time. This watch also was made of either silver or nickle, it was not made of gold. Netaji used to keep this pocket watch on his bed side table along with a copy of gita and rosaries (kanth malas) which he used when praying. This pocket watch, the malas and gita and Chandi used to go with Netaji wherever he went. These were always kept in Netaji's attache case when he went on tour. And as usual when he was proceeding on his last journey from Bangkok, these articles were in his attache case. Netaji had only one wrist watch which was the wrist watch which I have described i.e., round silver or nickle wrist watch. He was wearing the same wrist watch on his last journey. After Netaji's plane took off I returned to the place where I was living in Bangkok. We were arrested by the

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British after about one week from the date that Netaji left Bangkok. We were kept in Bangkok for some time and later brought to India by ship.

Questions by the Chairman.

Q. If the articles which were packed in your presents in the boxes containing the treasure and in Netaji's attache case were placed before you would you be able to recognize them.

A. Yes.

Q. I show you a photograph of a watch which is said to have been brought to India by Col. Habib ul Rahman and handed over to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and subsequently by Pandit Nehru to Shri Sarat Chandra Bose. Will you please tell us if Netaji ever wore a watch like this.

A. Netaji was not wearing this watch. He never wore a watch like this, but the watch similar to the one shown in the photograph was kept in one of the treasure boxes which accompanied Netaji. Netaji always wore a round watch. The watch shown in the photograph is a longish one not a round. There were a number of such watches in the boxes. These were presented to him while he was in Tokyo. These watches had leather straps, others had rolled gold chain straps. In Rangoon Netaji presented a gold rectangular wrist watch to Swami and his fountain pen to Col. Raju. The round watch Netaji wore ~~was~~ always had a leather strap.

*Handwritten initials or mark.*

*Kan Das Singh Mevi*

(670)

Inspection note on treasure deposited  
with National Archives, 19-6-1956.

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Packet No. 11. Charred rings. Kundan Singh says he recognises them, but they are charred.

Bundle No. 2. Charred gold mixed with melted metal.

Kundan Singh recognises -

(i) a gold cigarette case encrusted with precious stones as the one gifted by Hitler to Netaji.

(ii) a star shaped pendant.

(iii) a paper knife.

(iv) medal of Rani Jhansi regiment.

(v) Part of cigarette lighter used by Netaji.

(vi) belt buckle used by Netaji with civilian clothes.

Bundle No. 3. Kundan Singh recognises a small knife used by Netaji for manicure.

Packet No. 12. Charred rings and chains. Kundan Singh recognises them but says they are charred.

Packet No. 13. Button studs etc. Kundan Singh recognises them but says they are charred.

Packet No. 10. Charred ear-rings with stones and rings. Kundan Singh recognises them but says they are charred.

Packet No. 9. Charred bangles, brooches and nose rings. Kundan Singh recognises them but says they are charred. Recognises a gold rope as part of a garland presented to Netaji by Mr. Habib of Rangoon.

Packet No. 8. Charred rings and nose rings. Kundan Singh recognises them but says they are charred.

Packet No. 5. Charred ear-rings, nose rings set with stones. Kundan Singh recognises but says they are charred.

Packet No. 4. Charred necklace pieces, medals and rings. Kundan Singh recognises metal beads of necklaces.

Packet No. 2. Charred and broken bangles, pins, buckles etc. Kundan Singh recognises -

(i) metal charkha emblem presented to Netaji with his name engraved.

(ii) a metal tricolour ribbon holder presented to Netaji.

(iii) half of small oval gold case used by Netaji for carrying Supari.

*Kundan Singh meci*

67

Packet No. 6. Charred and broken anklets and bangles. Kundan Singh recognises them but says they are charred.

Packet No. 7. Charred and broken rings, nose rings and pendants. Kundan Singh recognises but says they are charred. Identifies -

(1) one long ear-ring of gold as belonging to wife of one Mr. Banerjee of Singapore who used to look after Netaji's household.

Packet No. 3. Charred and broken bangles, pendants, snuff box, medals, coins and rings. Kundan Singh recognises them but says they are charred. Identifies

(1) other half of oval gold supari box of Netaji.

Packet No. 1. Charred rings and pendants. Kundan Singh recognises 3 heavy rings.

The weight of the four boxes in which jewellery and other valuables were kept would be approximately 2 to 2½ maunds including the weight of boxes. The weight of the charred valuables shown to me today would probably not be more than 10 seers.

Kundan Singh M.G.

672



Mr. M. Rama Murti.

Statement by Shri Ramamurti, care of  
Coronet Arts & Crafts, 1/155, Mount Road,  
Madras, recorded on 21st June, 1956 at 10 A.M.

I first went to Japan in 1935. At that time, I was a student in the Imperial University. I graduated from that University with Economics as my subject in 1939. I was President of the Indian Students' Association in Tokyo from 1936 to 1940. During the years preceding the war, I was closely connected with the Indian Students' movement in Tokyo as President of the Indian Students' Association. At that time, there were about 50 Indian students. When the war broke out, Mr. Rash Behari Bose formed a Committee in Japan of the I.I.L. and he asked me to take part in the movement that he was about to initiate. He gave me the choice whether to accompany him to Singapore or to remain in Tokyo to conduct the movement in Japan. I chose to remain in Tokyo. I was the Chairman of the I.I.L. from December, 1941, to June, 1943, when it was reorganised. Sometime in the middle of May, 1943, Netaji arrived in Tokyo and remained incognito because while he was there for a week and interviewing with ~~the~~ Premier Tojo, neither papers nor individuals were apprised of it. That is, Netaji's presence was not announced to the Press or to anyone. Around June, 1943, Netaji's arrival in Tokyo was publicly announced but before the announcement, Netaji invited all the Indian nationals in Japan, and Tokyo in particular, to meet him, and that was my first meeting with Netaji. On this occasion Netaji must have stayed about two or three weeks. Netaji asked me orally at the meeting of Indians convened by him that I should take charge of the recruiting of Indians who ~~are~~ were willing to join the INA and contact the Japanese General Staff for their transport to Singapore. This was the work that he charged me with and that was the only programme he laid out for me at that time, but the promised to come

SRM

(67)

back shortly to reorganise the movement after he had taken charge of the headquarters in Singapore.

Netaji returned to Japan for the second time early in November, 1943, to attend the Greater East Asia Conference and it was on this occasion that the I.L.L. was reorganised and I was appointed as its President for the Japan territory on 16th November 1943. The Greater East Asia Conference was held on 5th November, 1943. Netaji stayed in Tokyo till the 16th of November 1943.

I next met Netaji when he visited Japan for the third time in the last week of November 1944. On this occasion he stayed in Tokyo for about 5 days or so. The third visit of Netaji was the last one to Japan and I did not meet him again.

After Netaji left Japan in November 1944, I continued my duties as the President of the I.L.L. in Japan paying particular attention to the welfare of Tokyo boys and opening of a broadcasting Station in Tokyo and throughout this period, I was in touch with Netaji by letters despatched either through the Japanese Foreign Office or through the Japanese General Staff.

On the 22nd of January, 1945, a message from Benito Mussolini, addressed to H.E. Subhas Chandra Bose was conveyed to me through the Charge d'Affaires, Italian Embassy in Tokyo and I communicated the same through the Japanese General Staff to Netaji. The message thanked H.E. Subhas Chandra Bose for sending the New Year's greetings to Mussolini and the Italian people and reciprocating the good wishes expressed by H.E. Subhas Chandra Bose in his message.

On 19th of May 1945, the German Embassy in Tokyo held a commemoration service to mourn the death of Mr. Adolf Hitler. The German Ambassador in Japan at that time was a gentleman by the name of <sup>Mr.</sup> Stamar who was a personal friend of Netaji. On Hitler's death, I was instructed ~~to~~ by Netaji to offer on his behalf a message of condolence to Mr. Stamar and to personally attend the commemoration ceremony on the

24

24

675

9th of May, 1945, which I did.

Before this, a very important event was the conference of the Foreign Ministers of East Asian countries which were called by the then Foreign Minister, Togo, in April 1945, when Germany was weakening. Provisional Govt. of Azad Hind was invited <sup>-al</sup> to attend as "observer" and not as a direct participant as ~~we~~ we were not members of the East Asia group of nations. Netaji had personally sent instructions to me through the Japanese Foreign Office this time to attend that Conference as an observer on behalf of the Provisional Government, which I did. Subsequent to May, 1945, the bombing of Tokyo was intensified. So communications were very much disrupted. The messages that came from Netaji through Japanese General Staff were not so frequent. All we did was to keep up the commitments we had already undertaken and to follow the instructions already received and no fresh instructions were received from Netaji after May 1945. All the activities were continued as usual and we were sending our routine reports as usual.

On August 15, 1945, Japan surrendered to the Allies. On the 19th of August, we had a conference of local Indians as to what attitude Indians should take in Japan in the new situation after the American occupation commenced and discussion took place as to the fate of Indians who had actively participated in the movement and so on. That was on the night of August 19th, 1945. This meeting took place at the house of Mr. Amar Lahiri in Tokyo. This was a private meeting in Mr. Lahiri's house to which I was invited. I attended that meeting. The reason why such a meeting was held in Mr. Lahiri's house was that Mr. Lahiri was outside the movement all the time and a neutral ground was sought by many Indians on this occasion and I was invited to give my views on the matter. Due to a typhoon which was blowing that night all communications were disrupted. So on my way back to my

2/3/45



676

house, the trains were stopped and I had to spend the night at one of the stations. When I returned to my house early next morning, that is, on Monday, the 20th of August, 1945, a telephone message had been received at my house from Mr. S.A. Iyer that he had arrived and was staying at Daiichi Hotel, and that he wanted me to go and see him. I forthwith went to meet Mr. Iyer at about 10 o'clock on Monday, the 20th. This was my first meeting with Mr. Iyer. After introducing ourselves to each other, Mr. Iyer broke the news to me solemnly but with reservations of his own doubt as to its veracity that he had just heard from the Military Officer who accompanied him that the plane carrying Netaji had crashed in Taiwan and that Netaji had died as a result of the accident, but that Col. Habibur Rahman who was accompanying him had survived with some burns and was hospitalised. This was the information I heard from Mr. Iyer direct., as conveyed to him by the Military Officer. This was the first time that I heard about the accident. This accident was supposed to have taken place on Saturday, the 18th of August. Mr. Iyer wanted to obtain further information. We were both shocked and proceeded on the same day to the Japanese General Staff office for further clarification. They did not have much to add to this information other than saying that this accident had taken place and that General Shidei was among the victims of this air accident. They also stated that Col. Rahman would be able to reach Tokyo in a few days. We could not elicit ~~any~~ any further information on this at that time. So we returned to the Hotel and later I made arrangements for Mr. Iyer to stay with Mrs. Sahay as she had accommodation for guests in her house. Mr. Iyer moved into Mrs. Sahay's house on the evening of 20th August, most probably on the same day.

8372

67A

Question by Mr. Bose. You said that Mr. Iyer was doubtful as to the veracity of the news about Netaji's death.

Answer. I would like to clarify this point. On the morning of Tuesday, the 21st August, the Nippon Times carried the news of Netaji's death as announced by the Japanese Foreign Office. I am not quite sure whether ~~it~~ it was the Japanese Foreign Office or the Japanese General Staff but it was an official communique from the Japanese Government that appeared in the papers. This news appeared in the Nippon Times a day after I heard the news. Regarding the reason why Mr. Iyer felt that he could not altogether believe this news to be absolutely correct, was because of the survival of Mr. Rehman who was also alleged to have been involved in the same accident. He was not prepared to accept this disastrous accident as a fact unless he could hear the first-hand story from Col. Rahman.

I felt differently from Mr. Iyer in this matter. I felt that the disaster had taken place and that from my knowledge of Japanese General Staff announcement I could not doubt their statements. Besides I could speak to them in Japanese and get first hand impressions from them whereas Mr. Iyer had to depend upon my translation. The Japanese are a people whose feelings one can understand better in their own language and it is difficult to misunderstand them if you converse with them directly in their language. It is possible that you can misunderstand them through translators but if you know their language and sincerely seek their views, they are incapable of hiding themselves behind words. I was convinced from my experience of the Japanese race and people that I had no reason to doubt their official statement because they hold such statements as solemn and seriously binding on their honour and integrity. I am aware that the Japanese bureaucracy runs on certain ethical principles <sup>making of</sup> which will bring discredit to Japanese prestige and honour. ~ 280

280

(678)

They are very anxious that their words should not be discredited at a later date which will bring discredit to Japanese prestige and honour. This is the moral and ethical standard on which the Japanese Government is based. Therefore my approach to the Japanese official pronouncement was to give full weight to it. I ~~am~~ <sup>could</sup> not readily take refuge in any suspicion about this announcement.

Question by Mr. Bose. If, however, the Japanese Government for diplomatic or other reasons, made a statement which was not true, what do you think they would do in such circumstances?

Answer: The Japanese Government feels that it could not deliberately tell a lie to its people and go to contradict it later without seriously jeopardising public opinion and no Japanese Government would ever resort to false statements officially pronounced.

Question by the Chairman: Are you aware of the fact that the Japanese Government made announcements over the radio that Dr. Ba Ma, President of Burma, had also been killed somewhere else under different circumstances, but later he was found alive in Tokyo?

Answer. I do not believe that that announcement was made by the Japanese Government. He was not in the Japanese Government charge when this report appeared. Radio reports are read out as they begin to come in from newspaper agencies without taking responsibility for the veracity of such statements. In the case of the accident involving Netaji, the plane flying him was a Japanese Army plane and the Japanese Army was in signal contact with Taihoku and it was their primary responsibility to announce it to the world and to concerned Indians as soon as possible after the accident and I believe they discharged their duty fully in bringing it to our knowledge

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679

at the first possible moment. I would also add, to my own knowledge, even during the war, the Japanese strictly avoided any false announcements. They preferred not to announce rather than to perjure themselves.

Question by the Chairman:

Did you, as the Chairman of the I.I.L. hold any commemoration service?

Answer: The presence of Mr. Iyer at such a critical moment of events was a great ~~relief~~ relief to me and I sought his guidance and advice in all the procedure that we had to follow in relation to the aftermath of surrender. Mr. Iyer and I came to the conclusion that the funeral ceremony, if it had to be held, should wait until we had got further clarification from Col. Rahman. We spent many anxious moments together on this subject.

About the 7th September, I received a telephone from the Japanese General Staff at my house to the effect that the ashes of Netaji had arrived at the Japanese General Staff and that I should go and receive them. I immediately conveyed this message to Mr. Iyer and together with him I proceeded to the Japanese General Staff office. There Major Takakura (later Lt-Col.) was present and there were two or three other officers. I do not recollect whether General Arisui was there. General Arisui was in the Imperial General Hqrs. Maj. Takakura told us that Gen. Arisui had asked him to convey his personal condolences to us and to deliver the ashes to us. The urn was wrapped in white cloth and was taken out from a safety locker. It had straps of long cloth with which to sling around the neck of the bearer. It was a cubical box of about 1' dimension. Several other Military personnel who were present, solemnly bowed to the urn. It was received by Mr. Iyer. He was visibly moved by an overwhelming emotion. An Army Sedan car was arranged for our conveyance. Mr. Iyer and myself took the urn direct

24/7

(18)

to my house. We made an altar and placed the urn on it and offered incense and flowers and paid our homage. We also informed Mrs. Sahay and the Indian cadets all of whom came to our house to pay their respects. Tokyo boys were demobilised from the training centre and we had taken a house for them in Suginami. These boys came in turn to keep vigil at night in the room where Netaji's ashes were kept. This vigil was continued until we held a proper service at a Buddhist temple, and deposited the ashes there.

On the evening of the same day, I believe it was 7th September, at about 8 p.m. Col. Rahman arrived in a truck sitting by the side of the driver. He came quietly and without prior announcement, I believe. The announcement came to me just an hour<sup>2</sup> ahead of his arrival. The truck stopped on the main road and Mr. Iyer and myself went to receive him. Col. Rahman got out of the truck and proceeded with us to our house. We saw him dressed in INA clothes with large burn marks on his fore-head and face and hands and he had a limp in his leg and there must have been burns on his legs also. He came direct to our house. We received him with great emotion as it was a critical moment because we were meeting the man who had survived the disastrous crash. Mr. Iyer lost no time in confronting him with a barrage of questions to all of which Col. Rahman very calmly, seriously and solemnly gave adequate replies. This conversation definitely cleared all doubts which Mr. Iyer had and now Mr. Iyer was resolved that the crash was an indisputable reality and Netaji was a victim of it. Col. Rahman himself was surprised that Mr. Iyer should doubt his story. He showed us his own hands and face as visible proof of what had happened. With a serious and solemn face and eyes burning with sincerity Col. Rahman allayed all doubts of any one who came in contact with him and we all accepted this as truth without a shadow of doubt in

262

24/12

(68)

our minds. He has told the full story many a time in my presence and there is no contradiction in his statement. A brief resume of the accident as told to us by Col. Rahman was as follows :

The plane carrying Netaji and Col. Rahman together with other Japanese Army personnel and civilians had arrived at Taihoku on its way to Japan and took off from Taihoku airport roundabout 1.30 p.m. on August 18, 1945. As soon as the plane had gained a height of ~~about~~ 100' or so, one of the propellers broke bringing down the plane with nose facing downwards. The aeroplane came down with a crash but it was not the crash that did the damage. It was the petrol tank that burst from which fire broke out. As Netaji and Gen. Shidei were sitting in the front part of the plane, they received petrol all over their clothes and body and the plane was aflame. Col. Rahman was sitting in the back seat. All the passengers were able to get out of the plane. Netaji was able to get out of the plane but all his clothes were already aflame and as soon as Col. Rahman saw Netaji in this condition he rushed to him to put out the flames with his own hands and in the process of doing so, he got some burns. After the flames were somehow put out, Netaji was carried to the nearby hospital but by that time the entire surface of the body had been subjected to burns and the skin was swollen. This required bandaging the entire surface of the body. The hospital to which Netaji and Col. Rahman and others were taken was near the aerodrome. At the hospital, the bandaging was accordingly done. Col. Rahman was given a bed next to Netaji's. Netaji was bandaged all over. Col. Rahman was also bandaged on his hands and head. Col. Rahman's face was also bandaged. This accident took place at ~~about~~ about 2 p.m. As most of the surface of the body was burnt, Netaji's chances of survival were almost nil. He suffered extreme pain all over the body. With all that Netaji did not utter a groan of pain nor express words of

246m

(68)

dispair nor bemoan the fate that had befallen him. He asked for water occasionally but kept for<sup>82</sup>bearance throughout those hours of acute pain. As the end<sup>82</sup> approached towards 9 p.m. he gave a message to Col. Rahman. The contents of the message was this:

" Tell my countrymen to carry on the fight a little longer. India will be free."

This was the message that Netaji wished Col. Rahman to carry to his country. With this message, Netaji breathed his last. This was at about 9 p.m. This is what Col. Rahman told us soon after his arrival in Tokyo. As Col. Rahman apprehended arrest any day and <sup>expected</sup>very high penalties at ~~British~~<sup>2/13</sup> British hands, he felt he may not have a chance to relate the story relating to the last moments of Netaji's life and of the accident that he decided to put in black and white in his own hand and handed to me that statement relative to the last moments of Netaji, which document was preserved by me at my home in Tokyo and a copy of it was presented to the N.E.C. by my brother.

When Col. Rahman came, we took him to Mrs. Sahay's house at first and he was accommodated there. After several days, Col. Rahman and Mr. Iyer moved to a vacant house which was available near to my house and they remained there till their departure to India on November 19, 1945. He stayed in the rented house from 10th September to 19th November, 1945.

Our primary responsibility was to arrange a proper commemorative service for Netaji's ashes. The general opinion at that time was that we could not do it in an elaborate manner. The reason was that the American occupation of Japan had already begun and that our observing the funeral ceremony on a large scale would be considered a hostile demonstration against the occupation. So we decided to hold such a ceremony in a modest way. Usually ceremonies of this kind are held in large temples such as

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the Nishi Hongangi. Since we had decided to observe the ceremony on a modest scale, we looked for a smaller temple near Suginamija. We decided on Renokji temple. The priest of the temple was also prepared to keep the ashes and look after them. The name of the priest was Reverend Mochizuki. I think the date on which the funeral service was held was 12th or 13th September 1945. On that day we sent informal invitations to Indian residents in Tokyo, the Japanese General Staff and Japanese Foreign Office. I sent out invitations in my name as incharge of the funeral arrangements. In the meantime, a day before the actual funeral ceremony was held in the temple, Netaji's ashes were moved from my house to Mrs. Sahay's house. She was keen that her house should also have the honour of receiving Netaji's ashes for a day. On the day of the service, the ashes were taken in a procession from Mrs. Sahay's house to the Renokaji temple. Mr. Iyer, myself, all the Indian Cadets in Tokyo, Indian Broadcasting personnel, Mrs. Sahay and her family, my brother and our family and several local Indians formed the procession. The Japanese did not join the procession, they came direct to the temple. We started the procession from Mrs. Sahay's house at about 5 or 6 p.m. The ashes were carried by one of the Cadets. I do not remember his name. We all walked to the temple, the Cadet carrying the ashes was also walking with us. Since such a long time has elapsed, I cannot remember all the details accurately in connection with the procession. The temple was situated at a distance of approximately 30 minutes walk from Mrs. Sahay's house. The ceremony was scheduled to be held at about 7 or 8 p.m. The ceremony continued till about 9 p.m. The Japanese General Staff was represented by Major Takakura and some other officers of the Japanese Imperial General Hqrs. The Japanese Foreign office was represented by the officials incharge of Indian Section. The official representation of the Japanese Imperial General Hqrs. and from the Foreign Office was about 10 persons. In view of the

23/9



(85)

peculiar conditions prevailing at that time, the participation of the Japanese was only on a token scale. We kept the proceedings of this ceremony almost secret because we did not wish it to be given publicity in the Press. All the invitations to various sections were issued over the telephone. I am not sure whether Col. Habibur Rahaman was present at that ceremony. At that time Col. Rahman was not anxious to be seen in public as he apprehended that he would be arrested if he was detected. After the ceremony was over, all the invitees dispersed. Mr. Iyer and I felt that we could not risk keeping the whole of the urn in the temple for fear of confiscation by the occupation authorities in Japan. We, therefore, decided to open the urn containing the ashes and divide the ashes in two portions. One portion we kept at the temple and the other portion I took into my personal custody for safe keeping in case of the ashes at the temple being stolen or confiscated. The name of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose was written on the white cloth covering the urn by Shri Iyer, either in my house or at the temple in my presence. The cloth covering the urn still bears those original writings by Mr. Iyer. We left the main portion of the ashes at the temple and the other portion in a separate urn we took back and placed in an altar in my house. This urn containing the ashes is still in my house at Tokyo. While I was in Tokyo I used to pay homage daily with incense and flowers to the ashes. I hope my brother in Tokyo is also doing the same. Regarding the ashes left at the temple. Mr. Iyer, Col. Rahman and I decided that we should hold a commemoration service on the 18th of every month and an important ~~xx~~ annual service on the 18th of August every year. This was to be continued until a proper authority were deputed by India to take over the custody of the ashes for transfer to India. The first monthly service was held on the 18th

2402

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of September 1945 and at this ceremony Mr. Iyer, Col. Rahman and myself were present.

Two or three days after his arrival in Tokyo, Col. Rahman mentioned first to Mr. Iyer and together in consultation with Mr. Iyer they mentioned to me that he had brought with him a box containing some salvaged jewellery which was picked up from the air crash at Taihokon. This box together with the urn containing the ashes were brought by Col. Rahman with him <sup>in</sup> ~~to~~ <sub>my</sub> the plane when he came from Taihokon to Tokyo and on arrival at Tokyo were left in the custody of the Japanese General Staff. Col. Rahman asked me to go to the General Headquarters, and bring that box. I went to the Japanese Imperial General Hqrs, all by myself and met Major Takakora<sup>ura</sup>. At the Hqrs. I had to wait for sometime before the box was taken out of the locker. The valuables were the property of Netaji and I asked Major Takakora<sup>ura</sup> to hand them over to me on behalf of Col. Rahman. Col. Rahman at that time was not very fit and in any case all such errands were being done by me on his behalf. Col. Rahman had mentioned that the box containing salvaged articles without giving the particulars of such articles or their value, So I asked Major Takakora<sup>ura</sup> to hand over to me the box of salvaged articles left by Col. Rahman. After sometime Major Takakora traced out the box and handed it over to me. No receipt was taken for the box nor was it weighed. The box containing salvaged articles was <sup>a</sup> wooden box which was nailed down. The box was 15" x 15" x 20". The box bore no seals but I remember that it was well nailed. The box was fairly heavy and I needed the assistance of a man to carry it home. I got hold of a porter who carried this box with me from the Japanese Imperial General Hqrs. to the electric train at Yotsuya station. We travelled by electric train. From Koenji station where we got off, I and the porter walked to the house where Mr. Iyer and Col. Rahman were staying. In their presence we opened the box. Col. Rahman asked the

282

283

284

285

box to be opened in the presence of myself and Mr. Iyer as he apprehended arrest and possible trial in the near future and he was anxious that the contents should be verified and kept with some responsible person or persons for safe custody. On the box being opened Col. Rahman was satisfied that the contents were the same as they had been packed before him at Taihoku. At the ~~xx~~ time when we opened the box in the house of Col. Rahman, the following persons were present:

Mr. Iyer, Col. Rahman, my brother, Shri Jaya Murti and myself.

Mr. Iyer knew that I had gone to fetch the box and was waiting in the same room with Col. Rahman when I entered it. The contents were found to be ornaments of gold and precious stone, all charred mixed and fused with base metals and small bits from the wreckage of the airplane. We sifted and separated the contents into two or three lots according to whether they had more of gold and less of base metal. Then we weighed them. The total weight of the contents was approximately 11 kilograms. A rough list was made lot by lot and the weight noted by Col. Rahman, who signed it. I did not sign the paper. Mr. Iyer might have countersigned it. Afterwards, the lots were put back in the same box and nailed. The box with the contents was left in my custody together with the list. I kept this box in a godown. I did not give any receipt. The instructions I received from Col. Rahman and Mr. Iyer was that I was to keep the valuables till such time as a proper authority arose in India in succession to the Netaji movement.

Question by Mr. Maltra. Why was the valuables box not placed in the bank?

Answer: Col. Rahman's instructions were that the valuables were not to get into the Allied hands at ~~any~~ <sup>any</sup> cost. At that time no Japanese bank would accept any sealed box for safe keeping without making an inventory of its contents which in their turn were liable to be inspected and dealt with

68

as they saw fit by the occupation authorities. I, therefore, kept the box in my personal custody till 1951. Between 1946 and 1951, I was in constant correspondence with Mr. Iyer and sought his advice several times as to the disposal of the valuables. Mr. Iyer repeatedly advised me not to take any action because the matter of valuables was connected with the decision regarding the ashes of Netaji which was still pending.

Question by Mr. Maitra. Do you know who financed Mr. Iyer's trip to Japan?

Answer: It was financed partly by myself and partly by Mr. Iyer himself. I was anxious that Mr. Iyer should come to Japan and clear up the matter of the ashes and the valuables as there was a lot of talk in the Press about the valuables. Mr. Iyer, before he visited Japan in 1951, saw the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and he was advised that the valuables could be transferred to the Government of India through the diplomatic channel. In May, 1951, Mr. Iyer interviewed the Indian Ambassador in Tokyo, Mr. Chettur, about taking over the valuables. Mr. Chettur said he had no instructions from the Government of India about them. The instructions from the Government of India were received in September 1951 and in the same ~~year~~ month the valuables were handed over by me to Mr. Trivedi, First Secretary, Indian Embassy, Tokyo, for which a formal receipt was obtained, submitted as exhibit by my brother in Tokyo.

Question by Mr. Maitra. When was the Indian Embassy in Tokyo established, in 1949 or 1950? Did you attempt to contact the Indian Embassy for the valuables?

Answer: No. I did not attempt to get in touch with the Indian Embassy as I was working on the advice of Mr. Iyer who was in India itself.

Question: Mr. Murti, I shall now confront you with a statement made by Mr. Iyer and Col. Rahman about the reception of the box.

The portions from Col. Rahman's statement are read out to Mr. Murti, as under :-

2/2

(68)

"Two or three mornings later, I walked upstairs and found Col. Habir-ur-Rahman with the help of Mr. Murti and his brother cleaning up and sorting different & tiny little collections of charred looking matter on the floor. They asked me to sit down and they continued with the work of cleaning up and sorting up what then I found were ornaments including plane bangles, rings, ear rings, some of them charred and other ornaments with stones in them. They were of the type worn by Indian ladies largely in South India. Nearby was an empty kerosine tin which I presume must have been the container."

Objection by Mr. Bose. Mr. Bose raised an objection to these questions being put in the form because the statements made by Mr. Ramamurti regarding these points are quite clear, definite and unambiguous. These questions are being put intentionally in my opinion to clear up the discrepant statement made by these three witnesses and I consider these to be highly improper.

Decision by the Chairman: I do not see any objection to Mr. Murti being confronted with the statements made by Col. Rahman and Mr. Iyer. If Mr. Murti is quite certain of the statements that he has made he is at perfect liberty to stick to the original statements. This, however, does not debar <sup>any</sup> member from seeking any clarification.

Mr. Bose. The reasons for over-ruling my objections do not appear to have been made clear. Will the Chairman please do so?

Chairman: It has been done already.

Answer by Mr. Murti. I stick to every particular of what I have stated. It appears that the two witnesses quoted above were attempting to reduce their own responsibility and increase mine correspondingly, or their memory was not clear in this respect.

Question: May I know a little about your early days in Japan, how you came to be there?

Answer: I was travelling round the world as Secretary to Raja Jaya Prithvi Bahadur Singh of Bajang (Nepal) and assisting him in a movement of humanism and had been in Japan once before and having got promises of help in Japan, I decided to take up a course in a Japanese University in 1935, I was then 25 years

24/3

(139)

of age. After graduation I took up export and import business of one Mr. Gandhi.

Question: What are you doing now?

Answer: I left Japan in 1953 and am doing my business in Madras.

New Delhi  
June 25, 1956.

2/3/56  
(Mr. Rama Murthy)

67

(698)

Statement by Shri A.M.N. Sastri, Air-craft Inspector,  
Accidents Investigation Branch, Civil Aviation Department,  
New Delhi, recorded on 27th June 1956 in Delhi at 11 A.M.

I have been in this line for more than 15 years.  
I started my career in January 1941 in the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd.,  
Bangalore. I joined the Civil Aviation Department of the Government of  
India in December 1947 as an Air-craft Inspector.

Every year, the Organisation to which I belong,  
deals with approximately 25 major accidents and about 60 minor accidents  
to air-craft. Mr. Malhotra is the Chief of the Branch and I am his  
Assistant. During the course of my appointment with the Civil Aviation  
Department, I have investigated on the spot approximately one dozen  
major accidents. I was a member of the Committee who investigated the  
recent air-craft accident that took place at Khatmandu on 15th of May  
1956.

I have studied the statements of witnesses, sketches  
and photographs that were sent to our Department with D.O. No. PS/56/NEC, dt  
the 22nd of June 1956. The original papers sent to us, I am returning to  
the Committee. These papers and sketches are marked serially from 1 to 17  
and initialled by me. The three photographs marked S.No. 1,2 and 3 are also  
initialled by me.

From the statements of witnesses, sketches and  
photographs, it appears that the air-craft crashed just after the take-  
within the boundary of the aerodrome. The maximum height attained by  
the plane might have been anything up to 150 ft. The initial cause  
of the plane falling into the ground, according to the statements of  
witnesses, is the breaking away of the propeller and then the engine on  
the left hand side. It is not possible to establish the exact cause as to  
how the propeller came off from the engine from the details available.  
In the absence of the details of construction of the engine and the various  
control systems and the maintenance records and without examining the  
wreckage, it is not possible to trace the exact defect causing the crash.  
As observed by Major Kono, one of the witnesses, the engine seems to  
been defective and over-speeding at the time of take-off from Saigo.  
This appears to have something to do with the crash.

A.M.N. Sastri

Question by the Chairman: Could over-loading be the cause of the accident?

Reply: Details regarding the maximum take-off weight, safe centre gravity limits etc. are not known, as also the exact weight of the air-craft at the time of take-off. So we cannot say whether the air-craft was overloaded or not. It is considered that propeller could not have come off on account of over-loading, if any.

Taking into consideration the starting point of the fire to be from the star-board front, as stated by Major Kono, and the location of the fuel tanks and also the probable inadequacy of emergency provisions, it may be stated that -

1. those who were in the front could be the worse sufferers;
2. those who were sitting in the centre left could be seriously injured; and
3. those who were in the rear could have chances of survival.

I am making these observations on the basis that the papers, photographs, sketches, etc. are authentic and true.

Shri Bose: From the statements, sketches and photographs, which have been placed before you, would you say that the photographs Nos. 1,2 and 3 could be the photographs of the same plane of which the description has been given to you from the statements of various witnesses?

Ans: The parts of the wreckage do not give any identification of the air-craft type and number, the design and construction of which is not known to us. Hence it is difficult to identify the photographs as those of Sally 97 or K 2 type bomber.

Shri Maitra: Quite apart from identifying the photographs, could this be the wreckage of the two-engined medium-sized bomber?

Ans: The details given in the photographs are not sufficient but looking at the relative distance of the tail from the wing and engine as seen in one of the photographs, it would appear that it is a twin-engined aircraft.

Shri Bose: Would you please say that this was a bomber or not?

Ans: Since the fuselage is completely burnt, it is not possible to say whether it was a bomber or not.

Shri Bose: May I know whether you had occasion to inspect



692

Ans: No.

Shri Bose: In the sketch S. No. 13, it is shown that the plane crashed on the run-way at the point marked in cross in red pencil and the plane took off at the point marked in blue pencil; the total length of the run-way is about 890 meters according to one witness and 1600 meters according to another witness. Could you please give us an idea as to the maximum height the plane could have attained after taking off and before crashing at a point shown in sketch 13?

Ans: Sketch 13 does not seem to be proportionate; no dimensions are marked on that. The length itself is mentioned as 890 by some and 1600 meters by others. The points marked as take-off does not seem to be correct with reference to the total length of the runway.

Shri Bose: Accepting that the plane took off from the runway and crashed on the runway, what is the maximum height in your opinion, the plane could have attained?

Ans: In the absence of data regarding the required length of runway for this type of aircraft, and the maximum weight of the aircraft at the time of take-off, it is not possible to establish or to estimate how long or how far it would run on ground before being air-borne. It again depends upon the altitude of the runway. Therefore, in view of the absence of data, it is not possible to estimate how high the air-craft would have gone before it crashed.

Shri Bose: With regard to the details in the question put above, could the plane have attained a height of about 300 ft?

Ans: I repeat my previous ~~reply~~ reply.

Shri Bose: Could it have attained 1000 ft. height?

Ans: If the length of the runway was standard for this type of air-craft to operate, it could not have attained 1000 ft.

Shri Bose: Could it have attained a height of 500 ft.

Ans: I cannot say without the necessary data.

Shri Bose: Please read the statement of witness, Mr. Nakamura (Yamamoto) beginning with " after everybody had taken seat....." and ending with " enveloped almost the entire plane. " and peruse the copy of the sketch drawn by him and give your opinion as to what maximum height the plane could have attained before it began to come down?

693

Ans: The length of the runway given by the witness appears to be short for a medium-sized bomber. Considering that the air-craft left the ground at 50 meters before the end of the runway and started climbing, the figure of 30 to 40 meters given by the witness as the probable height reached by the air-craft appears to be reasonable.

Shri Bose: As the left propeller fell out and the right engine was the only effective one, would the plane turn to the left? <sup>Ans:</sup> When the air-craft becomes out of control, it is likely that it would have come with left wing low and nose slightly-down attitude. In such a case, the left wing first and then the nose would strike the ground.

Shri Bose: Under such circumstances, what would be the nature of the accident?

Ans: Under such circumstances, one may expect a "major" accident and in the event of fire breaking out, the damage to the air-craft and injury to the passengers may be severe. In case of air accidents, the survival of passengers or the members of the crew is purely a matter of chance of luck. I have come across accidents where in major crashes, the occupants survived whereas in similar accidents, the occupants died. It is, therefore, very difficult to predict anything accurately as far as the survival of passengers in air-craft accidents is concerned.

Shri Bose: In the case of air-craft catching fire in accidents of this nature, what would be the effect on the air-craft itself?

Ans: The complete air-craft might be burnt. The metal and the air-craft generally melts in such cases.

Shri Bose: What would be the effect on the occupants of the air-craft?

Ans: The effect would be suffocation by smoke and petrol fumes; dark dense smoke would make impossible even to see just a short distance and locate their positions, and of course the impact might give them heavy shock.

Shri Bose: Will you please read the statement of Mr. Takahashi beginning with "the plane had just caught fire" and ending with ..... "the plane had caught fire." and peruse the copy of the sketch S.No. 16 drawn by him and give opinion on the same.

Ans: The facts mentioned in the statement are similar to those made by Mr. Nakamura and

694

Shri Bose: What time it would take for a plane to fall down from a height of 150 ft.?

Ans: It takes about 3 seconds to fall down from a height of 150 ft. and about 8 seconds from a height of 1000 ft. by gravity.

Shri Bose: If the propeller and the engine on the left side of the plane had fallen off and if the plane as at a height of approximately 30 meters, is it likely for the plane to fall on the ground on its right side?

Ans: The resultant effect after the severance of the left propeller and the engine would be to lift the right wing up and turn the air craft slightly to the left and during the fall of 30 meters, to the ground, the same attitude, namely, the left wing down with a tendency for the nose to come down, would continue.

Shri Bose: Is there any chance of the right side of the plane to touch the ground first?

Ans: I do not think so.

Shri Bose: What would be the crew for a light bomber?

Ans: I do not know. It depends on the equipment that they have.

Shri Bose: Would a light bomber in 1945 run without a crew?

Ans: I would not think so.

Shri Bose: What would be the minimum military personnel including the crew for a light bomber?

Ans: I do not know the minimum crew. It depends on the military equipment.

Shri Bose: Have you any idea of the number of military personnel in light bombers as are used in this country?

Ans: I have no experience of light bombers as used in this country. I have not worked in the Indian Air Force. So I do not know if they have any light bombers.

Shri Bose: May I take it that not being in the IAF you have little idea of bombers in use in this country?

Ans: I know that many of the liberators were serviced and supplied by the Hindustan Air craft to the Air Force. So far as personnel on this type

oper...

195

gunner.

Shri Bose: Can overloading be a cause for a plane crash?

Ans: Yes, overloading might result in an air crash.

Shri Bose: In what way would overloading bring about a crash?

Ans: By overloading, the take off would be difficult and the structural loads imposed would be heavier and might result in structural failure.

Chairman: May I know whether you are familiar with a twine-engined air-craft of any type?

Ans: Yes.

Chairman: Can you give us a rough idea of the total number of air-craft which come within the purview of your Department, which you or your Department to which you belong, have to deal with?

Ans: There are 548 aircraft of all types having current registration in India. Their registration, airworthiness, flying and accidents etc. are controlled by our Department.

Chairman: In the event of there being discrepancies between the statements of some witnesses, could you say from the statements and other evidence placed before you, which statement or statements you consider the most reasonable from your point of view as an Air Expert?

Ans: Taking a general view of the entire picture, except for the later portion of the statement of Major Kono, relating to the way in which the air-craft fell down to the ground, I consider Major Kono's and Capt. Nakamura alias Yamamoto's statements to be reasonable.

Admitted correct.

*Am N Sashy*  
4/7/56

595



Lt. Col. T. Sakai

Written statements of Lt. Col.  
T. Sakai

697

Regarding Mr. Bose

It was on August 17 1945 that I first met Mr. Chandra Bose. I was Chief of the Operation Staff of the 15th Army (my rank was Lt.-Col.) stationed in Burma. After the 15th Army moved to Kokutai Area, I received a telegraphic order for transfer to a post on the staff of the 12th Army (Tokyo) in the middle of July. But the condition of transportation at that time was so unfavourable that it was August 12 or 13 that I could reach Saigon, if I remember rightly. Maj. Takahashi, Chief of staff of the rear service of the 15th Army who received transfer order <sup>to</sup> a post on the staff of the Army in Cheju Island arrived at the Supply Base Billet in Saigon about one day after I reached there. Although leaders of the General Headquarters of the South Area Army had already moved to Darlat at that time, we requested the staff remaining in Saigon to give necessary assistance to us two so that we might reach our new posts speedily. I heard the Imperial Proclamation for the Termination of war at Saigon Radio Broadcasting Station.

Upon receiving approval from the General Headquarters on the 17th of August allowing us to get on a plane, we hurried to the Airfield in a car with our personal belongings. Although the War was terminated, order and peace were not yet restored to normalcy in the city. I suppose, that the prospect of there occurring unfavourable events might have been one of the reasons for our transfer. On

(698)

arriving at the Airfield, about noon, I noticed that the plane was 97 Heavy Bomber belonging to the 5th(?) Air Force in Singapore leaving for Japan. And I saw that the officer in flight uniform giving instructions on the spot was Lt.-Col. Nonogaki, a staff officer who was one year junior in the school than I. I also learned that Lt.-General Shidei who was being transferred to Manchuria (Kwantong Army) and Mr. Bose's party would also get on the plane. The arrival of the Lt.-General and Mr. Bose's party was much delayed. After prolonged negotiation on limitation of the number of Mr. Bose's suite allowed to ride in the plane, it was decided that Mr. Bose's and his aide Colonel Brahman (spelling may be incorrect but is used hereafter for convenience's sake) would get on the plane. At about 4 or 5 p.m., the plane took off and arrived at Tourane Airfield at about 5 or 6 p.m. and stayed overnight at the Supply Base Billet there. I heard from Lt.-General Shidei that Mr. Bose wanted to proceed to Manchuria accompanying him (Lt.-Gen.) and therefore the plane would go to Dairen via Taihoku (Formosa) and then fly to Japan.

On the early morning of the 18th, the plane left the Tourane Air field and arrived at Matsuyama Airfield in Taihoku about noon. In preparation for flight for Dairen, we hurriedly replenished fuel in the plane. The sky was clear over Taihoku on that day and it was very hot. While fuel was being supplied, we took lunch. We got on the plane about 1 p.m. Our seats were as arranged by Lt.-Colonel Nonogaki at our departure from Saigon and there was no change about them. Since I became accustomed to the flight in that plane, I was

699

quite unconcerned about the plane's take-off at Taihoku. But shortly after taking off the plane inclined to right. Thinking that this was not normal, I looked out through the machine-gun cage. At that time, the plane had corrected its banking. But it went down lower and lower rapidly from the height of about 50 meters. From my position I could see only the directions of the sides and rear; when the plane came over the end of the Airfield which was waste land, I saw the rear wheel flew off backward in the left side drawing an arc in the air. The moment I noticed it, I fell unconscious. It was because of the heat of fire burning around me that I came to myself. Then, I ran toward the direction where fire was less and when I could get rid of the fire I relaxed and fell.

A rescue group from the Airfield carried us in a truck ( I remember it was a truck) to the Army Hospital (later I realized that it was the Army Hospital) near Nammon in Taihoku and we were medically treated at once. I sustained bruises on my head and some other parts and burn on the portion above my face and on my hands. The injuries were rather slight. It was, however, after I had received treatment in the hospital that I was brought to myself (although senses were very dim yet.). However, I could hear sounds from time to time. It was after I was bandaged that I could catch sight of things clearly. Mr. Bose was lying in the bed in the opposite side of mine in the same room. And, I heard that he sustained serious burns, but I observed him speaking with a man who looked an interpreter comparatively



(70)

clearly and in quiet tone. Those who sustained slight injuries and burns were sent on the evening of the same day to a branch hospital attached to Air Force. At that time, Mr. Bose was alive, but I learned that he died afterward when I was in the branch hospital. Col. Brahman had been unknown to me. But later when he was able to walk, I had chances to talk with him. During the course of our conversation, he requested me to take him with me when I should go to Tokyo, because we had common friends as I was formerly a member of the General Staff Office. Then, I told him that I would do my best to comply with his request. Lt.-Col. Nonogaki and Maj. Takahashi, whose burns and injuries were slightest, flew for Japan soon, and I wanted to fly there too, but to my regret I had difficulty to walk during the month of August. In September, I went to the Army Headquarters in Formosa and requested staff officer Shibuya to allow me to get on a plane for Japan. Consenting to my proposal, he requested me to take with me Col. Brahman, together with Mr. Bose's ashes and his articles saved from fire. Upon receiving information that a plane would take off at the Minami Airfield on the 5th of September, Col. Brahman and I went to the Airfield before noon on the day. In a dilapidated hut in the airfield, we met with Maj. A (whose name I have forgotten) and Sublieutenant Hayashida. Maj. A had known Col. Brahman (but as for Col. Brahman, he looked as if he met the Maj. All of a sudden.) Since I could not hold the baggages with my hands and face bandaged, I requested the two officers to accompany us.

701

They consented. (They did not clearly mention whether they had been so instructed or not). Meanwhile, feeling anxious about Mr. Bose's ashes and articles which had not reached there, Col. Brahman had some one negotiate over the telephone and after some time could receive the ashes and one package as big as an oil-can (Sekiyu-kan). They were placed in 97 Heavy Bomber marked with green cross. The plane took off the Airfield and landed on the Gannosu Airfield when it was getting dark. As most of soldiers of the Airfield Unit were not there, we were embarrassed, but managed to go to Fukuoka in a truck and stayed overnight at the Ippotei. During that short time, since we felt uneasy about the situation following the termination of the War, I discussed with Maj. A on our future actions. Then, it was decided that in order to avoid possible danger Col. Brahman would go to Tokyo by air with Maj. A and Sublieutenant Hayashida and I would carry Mr. Bose's ashes and articles with us. Our party stayed there overnight keeping the ashes and articles at our bedside.

The following day, that was, the 6th, we went to the Western District Army Headquarters and got three soldiers for guards, for I explained to them that Mr. Bose had been the head of an allied state of Japan. In the afternoon of the same day, if I remember correctly, Hayashida and I took our seats in the 2nd class coach keeping the ashes and articles close to us with the guards patrolling from time to time from the other section of the train.

In the meantime, Col. Brahman and Maj. A must have flown to

702

Kagamigahara in the same plane as they got on the previous day which took off the airfield on the morning of the 6th. It was the evening of the 6th that we reached Tokyo Station. Then, we sent for a truck by phoning to the Eastern District Army Headquarters. Our party got on the truck and reached the front entrance of the former War Ministry. Since it was after office hours, we met the day officer and laid the ashes and the articles in state in the day officer's room, asking him to take care of them. And, we stayed overnight at the Headquarters. I felt easy since I had known that day officer when I had been assigned to the General Staff Office.

On the morning of the next day, that was, the 8th, I went to the War Ministry. I was told that the ashes and articles were handed to Lt.-Col. Takakura, Chief of Military Affairs Section. ( - I think part of the General Staff Office and the War Ministry had been united at that time. - ) Then, I went to see him. Fortunately we had been acquainted with each other and I confirmed that Mr. Bose's ashes and articles were received by him in the previous night. Then, I chattered with Lt.-Col. Takeshita who was my class-mate. And, after saluting to various persons, I left the place. I was told that there was no communication from Col. Brahman yet, (if I remember correctly) but I had to rely on Maj. A, whom I could not contact.

In short, at first Col. Brahman and I were co-passengers in a plane carrying Mr. Bose; after the accident, Col. Brahman and I

73

became fellow sufferers who pitied each other. In these circumstances, I became the care-taker in delivering Mr. Bose's ashes and articles and also sending Col. Brahman to the General Staff Office safely.

The facts stated above concerns nothing but myself, and I have a clear conscience in writing above. However, there are many points I have forgotten including names of persons involved.

Clamors were raised after the War about whether Mr. Bose died or not and the contents of his articles left behind. To confirm his death is beyond my power. As to the contents of the articles, I have never seen them. When I went to the Army Headquarters in Formosa requesting my accommodation in another plane, staff officer Shibuya told me that the crushed plane had long been burning, that the articles crumbled in decay were found in the ruins and that those articles of gold were collected and itemized as articles left by Mr. Bose, since they were presumed to be his. So, I had a preconception that the articles of Mr. Bose were the debris until a problem was posed afterward regarding them. My sword found in the ruin, was later delivered to me, but it was only the iron portion of the sheath and blade that was left. Therefore, I accepted the explanation by the Army Headquarters in Formosa as quite natural, raising no doubt about it.

I carried the box containing Mr. Bose's articles with utmost care, but I never held it in my hand because of my injuries. I should like to add that although Japan was defeated in the war I handled Mr. Bose's ashes with my deepest respect and the feeling of great

704

sorrow, for his death took place when memory of operations in Burma was still fresh in my memory and also because he was the head of Japan's ally who cooperated with us.

3rd May 1956.

(TADAO SAKAI)

Examined and authenticated by  
the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



Yasuteru Asahina  
Secretary.  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
(Archives Section)

JUN. 4. 1956