

Secret

फाइल संख्या  
File No. 870/11/P/17/90 - Bf  
खण्ड  
Volume

(Chemist)

23

Rack

भारत सरकार  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय

# PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

Political

अनुभाग/प्रभाग  
SECTION/DIVISION

टिप्पणियां/पत्राचार

NOTES/CORRESPONDENCE

विषय  
SUBJECT

.....को सूचीकृत की गई  
Indexed on

.....  
Initial

प्रभिलेख क/ख  
Record A/B

प्रभिलेख ग.....में नष्ट की जाए  
Record C Destroy in.....

अनुभागीय नोट बुक में नोट किया जाए  
नोट न किया जाए  
To be noted  
Not to be noted in Sectional Note Book

प्रमु० अ०/प्रद्योक्तक के प्राचक्षर  
Initials of S. O./Supdt.  
लिपिक के प्राचक्षर.....  
Initials of Clerck

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose -  
Disappearance re.  
Meaning of ~~Message~~ (Sardar Guha) (MP) letter  
forwarded by President

CONTENTS				
NOTES CORP.	S. Nos		Pages	
	From	To	From	To
	1-3		1-43	

पिछले हवाले  
Previous References

बाद के हवाले  
Later References

Copy of Netaji's letter to P. M.

800	6	C	3	88	Pol
800	6	C	1	89	Pol
800	6	C	1	90	Pol

870/11/P/10/91 - Bf



5364/9



①

INTERNAL

5001-10/c

(I) The President had forwarded to PM a letter from Prof. Samar Guha, MP requesting high level investigations into the secret documents on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, believed to be available in the USSR, UK and Japan.\* Prof. Guha had referred in his letter to the reported remarks by Dr. E.S. Yurlova of the Soviet Institute of Oriental Studies in March 1990 that the Soviet Govt. possesses certain top secret documents on Netaji. PM had acknowledged the President's letter and also sent an acknowledgement to Prof. Samar Guha.

\* FL(A)

1/c

MEA have looked into this and their comments are as follows:-\*

FL(c)  
 SMO 6/c...  
 Root of C...  
 P...  
 SW.../c

The communication from Prof. Samar Guha, including the letter written by him to President Gorbachev in November 1988, was referred to our Embassy in Moscow, who have taken this up with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as with the South Asia directorate of the Soviet Foreign Office. The Soviets have confirmed that communications sent earlier by Prof. Guha were in the possession of the Soviet Govt. and they were making enquiries in the matter. The Soviets have yet to get back to us.

The Govt. of India had appointed an Enquiry Committee in 1956 headed by the late Shah Nawaz Khan, and including Netaji's elder brother Shri S.C. Bose, to go into the circumstances of Netaji's death. The Committee submitted a report in which the majority opinion was that Netaji met his death in an air crash on 18.8.45 in Taipei and that his ashes were subsequently brought to the Renkoji temple in Tokyo. Netaji's brother, S.C. Bose, however, dissented from this view.

In 1970, a one man committee of Justice G.D. Khosla was set up which also concluded that the casket lodged in the Renkoji Temple contained the ashes of Netaji. However, Shri S.C. Bose again wrote to Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi saying that there was no convincing proof that the so called ashes were genuine.

PRL. SECY. TO P.M.  
 y. No. 4419-G/90  
 Date 21/9/90

5364/pm/G/90  
 24/9

9016/SSCR/90  
 2/15

2

In view of this, GOI did not treat the findings of these Committees as conclusive and did not bring back the ashes to India. The ashes have been lying in Japan since 1945. The Govt. of India provides an annual grant for maintenance of the Temple.

**RECOMMENDATION**

It may be worthwhile for GOI to formally take up with the Govt.'s of USSR, Japan and UK the question of access to confidential documents which may be available with them on Netaji. PM may kindly accord approval. Thereafter, we would request MEA to ask our Ambassadors to formally take this up with the respective Govt.'s concerned.

Fl B)  
 (Ami 8/24/90)  
 2/10/90

(II) In another letter to PM, Prof. Samar Guha, MP has asked for a copy of the communication learnt to have been sent to PM by Emilie Schenkl Bose, Netaji's wife, advising against bringing back the ashes from the Renkoji Temple to India. There is no such letter. However, PM has recently received a letter from Shri Ashish Roy, the great grandson of Netaji's eldest brother, Sarat Bose, in which he has referred to the view expressed by Netaji's wife, Emilie Schenkl Bose.

**RECOMMENDATION**

We do not, normally send out copies of letters received by PM. PM may kindly see for orders,

PM is aware of the background.  
 PM has already talked to EAM on this subject, EAM could deal with these.

Shankar  
 (Meera Shankar)  
 Director  
 20.9.90

~~JS(CO)~~

~~PRL. SECY.~~

~~P.M.~~

JS(M)  
 S.O. (P.O.)  
 and P.O.

No. further action is called for at our end  
 Shankar

1/10  
 S.O. (P.O.)

~~JS(CO)~~

3

Status of letters received from the President

15.5.90

Letter from Shri Samar Guha, MP regarding disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

870/11/P/17/90-Pol

Acknowledged. Taken up with MEA. Being followed-up.

Dear (Ms) may kindly see and ensure that necessary follow up action is taken

J  
31/8

JS (H)

~~JS~~

pps pl.  
yshankar  
31/8

So ~~col~~ <sup>jsmi</sup> 3/9/90

our file is placed before. (Reply was received from MEA vide ltr. no 1556/101/90 and was submitted to Shri S. Guha on 9/8/90. No. received back in the file)

S.M. 11/c

~~JS~~

S.M. 11/c  
A.M. 800/16/c/90-1st  
(S.M. 6/c)  
(with P.M.)

The reply received has been placed on another file, currently under submission to P.M. Please connect O.S. and resubmit to yshankar

So ~~col~~ <sup>jsmi</sup> 5/9/90

done by JS (H) P.M. 2/note

Copy to...  
A.M. 800/16/c/90-1st  
3/9/90  
3508  
31/8/90

Correspondence



सत्यमेव जयते

राष्ट्रपति  
भारत गणतंत्र  
PRESIDENT  
REPUBLIC OF INDIA

SMO. 2-3/2-104/10  
1-2/10/2

New Delhi,

May 15, 1990.

My dear Vishwanathji,

I am enclosing a letter from Shri Samar Guha regarding Netaji's disappearance.

You may kindly take appropriate action in consultation with the External Affairs Ministry.

With warmest regards,

Yours sincerely,

R. Venkataraman

R. VENKATARAMAN

Recd  
16-5-90

Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh,  
Prime Minister,  
New Delhi.

11241-10/80  
5/6

2769/PM/G/90  
2/5

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
Ex. संसद् सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032

May 12, 1990

Respected Rastrapatiji,

I hope you will kindly remember that I gave you a copy of my letter written to the Russian leader Mekhail Gorbachev regarding a report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's presence in Russia in 1961.

Later copies of my letter to Mr. Gorbachev were separately forwarded to him by Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy, former President of India and Shri S. Nijalingappa, a former Congress President.

Unfortunately, there is yet no response to my letter from Mr. Gorbachev.

You kindly told me that my representation to you on Netaji will be sent to the Minister of External Affairs of the time, Shri Narshimha Rao for necessary action. I don't know if Shri Rao took any step regarding the matter.

Recently, Dr. E.S. Yurlova of the Soviet Institute of Oriental Studies told press reporters in Calcutta on March 4, 1990 that "the Soviet Government possess certain top secret documents on Subhas Chandra Bose."

I would earnestly request you to send a fresh copy of my letter to Mr. Gorbachev to our present Prime Minister Shri Viswanath Pratap Singh intimating him your desire for taking up the matter with the Soviet Government.

According to available reports top secret classified documents on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the reports of the plane crash allegedly involving him are lying the ### archives of the Government of Russia, U.K., Japan and USA. I would request you to ask the Govt. of India to make special investigations to know from these documents what really happened to Netaji.

I believe you will consider it as our sacred national duty to the greatest national hero of our national freedom.

With kind regards and namaskar,

Shri R. Venkat Raman  
President of India  
Rastrapati Bhavan  
New Delhi

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*  
( SAMAR GUHA )

20  
PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
FORMER  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032  
INDIA

#### ABOUT SAMAR GUHA THE WRITER OF THE LETTER

Professor Samar Guha, the writer of this letter, is now 71. He is an old revolutionary and an associate of Subhas Chandra Bose and Jayaprakash Narayan.

Prof. Guha had been in detention and prison for about 11 years during the days of British Rule in India. He had been also in Pakistan prison and many times in prisons in Free India in connection with people's movement.

Prof. Guha is a Chemistry Scholar, author of many books and former teacher of Chemistry of Jadavpur University, Calcutta.

Prof. Guha was 3-times elected to the Indian Parliament from Bengal. He was the leader of the Socialist Party in Parliament and 3-time Chairman of the Privilege Committee of the House of People, - the highest Judicial body of the Indian Parliament.

Prof. Guha was a member of the highest committee of Forward Bloc (S), and Socialist Party and still continues to be in the highest body of the present Janata Party.



PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
FORMER  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032  
INDIA

Comrade Mekhail Gorbachev  
President of U S S R  
General Secretary of the  
CPSU Central Committee  
MOSCOW  
U. S. S. R.

November 5/1988

Dear Comrade Gorbachev,

Kindly accept my hearty greetings for the innovation of the new revolutionary concepts of 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika'. Your bold move will liberate the eclipsed image of the Russian Revolution and create a new hope of moving towards a new horizon of human liberty and progress.

I am a socialist but not a Communist. However, I always shared the views of my leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, the Russian Revolution should be looked upon as the most significant landmark in the history of evolution of human civilisation. Our anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation was immensely influenced by the heritage of 1917 Russian Revolution. But the Stalin-era of absolute rigour and repression in Russia raised many questions in the mind of Indian people about the Soviet System.

Your recent crusade for nuclear-arm-free world peace and your daring precepts of 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika', to remodel the Stalinist polity and economic system of Soviet Russia have created a universal feeling of appreciation and hope all over the world. If your far-sighted move succeeds, it will open a new era of peace, amity and international understanding.

How the Indian people wish that the Nobel peace Prize be presented to you and you be hailed as the Man of Peace and Progress of the world!

While sincerely congratulating you for your policy of 'Openness' I am placing before you an earnest request for opening the mystery about the fate of the greatest revolutionary hero of Indian freedom, Subhas Chandra Bose, whose image is as captivating for the Indian people as that of Mahatma Gandhi.



After fall of Japan on 15th August, 1945, Tokyo Radio reported on 23rd August 1945 that Subhas Chandra Bose, the Head of the State of the Government of Free India, died in a plane crash at Taihoku (Taipei) in Formosa (Taiwan) on 18th August 1945. The report was considered by the British Government and the Indian people as a palpably fake news intended to cover Subhas Chandra Bose's escape to Russia via Manchuria and across the territory of Siberia.

The reasons for the belief that Bose escaped to Russia are following :

1. Subhas Chandra Bose, twice elected President of the Indian National Congress, always considered Soviet Russia as the greatest ally of the struggle for Indian freedom.
2. During the War days Bose tried to establish contact with Stalin through British Communist Party.
3. While escaping from British prison and British India, in January 1941, Bose intended to go to Russia while reaching Kabul but without getting necessary response from Stalin, he had to move to Berlin across the Russian territory in a tactical bid to use Axis Power, the enemy of the British Imperialism, for securing Indian freedom.
4. Although Bose had his collaboration with the Axis Power to wage revolutionary war against British Imperialism for the national liberation of India, he never uttered a word against Russia during the War days nor acted in anyway against Russian interest. When Hitler treacherously attacked Russia, - Bose, who was then in Berlin, did not fear to take immense risk to denouncing it as an 'imperialist war against Russia', in his letter to Nazi Foreign Minister, Ribbentrop. Bose did not allow his revolutionary army, organised in Germany, to fight against the Russians.
5. After German aggression of Russia, Subhas Bose made an unprecedented 3-month submarine dash from Germany to Singapore to join hands with Japan, because Japan was then at war with the British but it had its friendly tie with Soviet Russia.



6. While waging revolutionary war of Indian Liberation against the British across the eastern border of India, Bose always tried to maintain contact with the Russian leaders through Jacob Malik, - the then Russian Ambassador in Tokyo.

7. Major General Isoda and Col. Tada of the Headquarter of Field Marshall Tarauchi at Saigon, who were entrusted by Japan for ensuring safe escape of Subhas Bose from being arrested by the British Army, admitted before the 'Commission of Inquiry about Disappearance of Subhas Chandra Bose' that Japan agreed to Bose's request to airlift him to Manchuria so that he could take political asylum in Russia by crossing into the Siberian territory. Accordingly, Bose was escorted to Manchuria by Gen. Shedie of the Jap Army.

8. Two months after the report of Bose's death in an aircrash in Taipei, the Home Minister of the British Government in India informed the British Prime Minister Mr. Attlee in a secret report (1945) :

"Subhas Bose might, of course in certain circumstances, be welcomed in Russia. The easiest course would be to leave him where he is and not to ask for his release."

9. During the early part of 1946, a secret report sent to the British Viceroy in India by its intelligence stated :

"There is a secret report which says, Nehru received a letter from Bose saying that he was in Russia and wanted to escape to India."

10. In another secret report to the British Government by its intelligence said :

"Ghilazi Malang had been coupling with live Bose in Russia, and in December (1945) a report said the Governor of Afgan Province 'Khost' has been informed by the Russian Ambassador in Kabul that there are many Congress refugees in Moscow and Bose was included in their number. There is little reason for such persons to bring Bose into fabricated stories."

"At the same time views that Russian officers are disclosing or alleging that Bose is in Moscow is supplied in a report received from Teharan. This stated that Maradoff, the Russian Vice-Consul General, disclosed in March (1946) that Bose is in Russia."

11. Another intelligence report received in Delhi on December 26, 1945 said :

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
FORMER  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



-4-

"Subhas Chandra Bose arrived at Dairen (in Manchuria) at 1.30 afternoon on August 23, 1945. Bose got into a jeep and proceeded toward Russian territory. After 3 hours the jeep returned and informed pilot of the plane who flew back to Tokyo." (On this day i.e. after Bose's escape to Russia Tokyo Radio reported Bose's death in an air crash at Taipei).

12. The Inter-Pole, an wellknown world secret service published a report in India that Subhas Bose went to Russia after fall of Japan.

13. Many other reports appeared in the Indian press about Subhas Bose's presence in Russia. These reports said that Bose was first a free man in Russia but later he was sent to a Siberian Concentration Camp.

14. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, who was the second Indian Ambassador in Moscow, confided his close friends Dr. S. Das, then head of Philosophy Deptt. in Calcutta University and Dr. F. C. Majumdar, the most distinguished Indian historian of his time that he came to know that Bose was kept captive in Stalin's Russia.

15. Recently, I have come across of a very important report about Subhas Bose's presence in Russia in 1961, from an Indian engineer, A. Sarkar, of Calcutta. Sarkar was sent to Russia 3 times for training in connection with the Heavy Engineering Corporation for manufacturing heavy machinery, set up in collaboration with Russia. Sarkar learnt Russian well.

Sarkar worked in Machine Building Plant at Gorlovska near the city Doniesk. He came in contact of a German Jew who was the Deputy Chief of the Plant (Machinosttroitelinizavod). His name was B. A. Zerobin, who was earlier an war machine designer in Nazi Germany.

Zerobin told Sarkar that he was captured in Berlin after fall of Germany and was sent to a Re-orientation Camp somewhere in Siberia. He was first taken to Siberia by train and thereafter flown to an undisclosed place and then taken to the Orientation Camp. Zerobin surmised that the Camp was somewhere near Siberian-Mongolian boarder.

Zerobin claimed that in this re-orientation camp, meant for political classes for only top foreign politicians and engineers, he met Subhas Bose on two occasions.



Zerobin could recognise Bose as he saw him earlier in Berlin during the War days. Bose's Headquarter was then in Berlin. Because of the handsome appearance and rare cut-out of the feature of his distinguished personality Zerobin could immediately recognise Bose.

According to Zerobin, Bose was brought to the Camp in a car accompanied by 2 Mongolians, one as his interpreter. Zerobin believed that both the Mongolians were KGB men but it appeared to him that Bose was well looked after.

Zerobin told Bose, "Sir, I met you in Berlin." Bose replied, 'Quite likely'.

Bose asked Zerobin: "What are you doing here?"

Zerobin : "I don't know what for".

Zerobin again asked Bose, "What is your programme? Are you going back to India?"

Bose : "I expect it to be soon."

While Bose and Zerobin were talking in German, the Mongolian interpreter, intervened saying, 'Not allowed'.

Zerobin never met Bose thereafter in the Camp.

Zerobin while disclosing his meeting with Subhas Bose warned Sarkar that he should not to disclose it while in Russia as it would endanger both.

Sarkar told about the matter to the Second Secretary of the Indian Embassy in Moscow, who also warned him of the dire consequence if he disclosed it to any body.

Sarkar recently told me about Bose's presence in Russia till 1961 in a particular circumstances as he is now out of Government service and believes that Zerobin is now dead.

Comrade Gorbachev! You have taken many bold steps in disclosing many suppressed facts of horror and repression of the Stalin days. You have done great justice to history by rehabilitating Trotsky and Bukharin and restoring honour to the great scientist, Prof. Sakharov. Inspired by your great liberal policy of 'Glasnost', I would make an appeal - an appeal from the depth of my soul to you - on behalf of the patriotic people of India to reveal all facts about the universally adored hero of the Indian people, Subhas Chandra Bose.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
FORMER  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



(9)  
-6-

Stalin might have done injustice to the legendary hero of Indian freedom, but why would you not reveal it now? Bose was a Promethean hero of Indian Revolution who staked everything for the liberation of his motherland and who was always very friendly with Russia. Why should you not let the India people know what happened to their enterprising national hero? We in India believe you to be a man of great vision and human feeling. If you let the Indian people know all about the presence of Subhas Bose in Russia, you will win the hearts of millions of millions of the people of India.

When Comrade Brezhnev visited India in November, 1973, I met him in the President's House as the leader of the Socialist Party in the Indian Parliament and gave him a letter seeking information about Subhas Bose's presence in Russia. The letter was acknowledged but not replied. (A copy of the letter is enclosed).

Considering the poignancy of the issue involved about our greatest national hero, I hope you will excuse me for addressing this long letter to you.

I am eagerly expecting your reply before your visit to India.  
With warmest regards.

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*  
( SAMAR GUHA )

Former leader of the  
Socialist Party in Parliament

Encl: As stated.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



27, SOUTH AVENUE  
NEW DELHI 11  
November 29, 1973

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,

I, on behalf of the Socialist Party in the Parliament, extend our warm greetings to you and your colleagues now in India and, through you, to the great people of Russia. Russian Revolution and its national reconstruction added great incentive to our aspiration to achieve socialist transformation of our country in an Indian way, under Indian condition and on the basis of democratic and cultural values that the people of our country cherished from the days of our ancient civilization. We welcome friendly relation with Russia as also with other countries for establishing fraternal relation of peace, progress, understanding and mutual respect of national independence of all countries.

On the occasion of your visit to our country, I want to make an earnest request to you to help the Indian people to resolve the mystery surrounding the fate of their beloved leader, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. A very large section of Indian people believe that Russia can throw light about what happened to their leader.

I am sure, it is known to you that the Indian people honour Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as the greatest revolutionary of the days of their national liberation struggle.

It may be known to you that, to resolve the mystery about Netaji Bose, the Government of India have set up a second Inquiry Commission under a Justice of a High Court. The Commission, after about 3 years of its investigation works, is in the last stage of finalizing its report. However, the Commission suffered for want of documents from countries like Soviet Russia, U.S.A. and Britain connected with the episode of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose after escaping from India in 1941, wanted to go to Russia to set up his head quarters in the Sovietland for conducting revolutionary struggle against the British imperialism. Although Russia at that time did not accept his plan yet allowed him to pass through Russia, with honour, to Italy.

Netaji Bose joined hands with the Axis power in Europe, as his strategy was to utilize the Britain's enemy's enemy for achieving India's independence. Although he collaborated with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy for achieving his revolutionary objective, he never compromised his ideology of socialism with the totalitarian ideology of the fascist countries. It is on record that he expressed his deep resentment against the treacherous



aggression on your motherland by Hitler. He made it absolutely clear to Hitler before he left for Japan that the Indian revolutionary army, that was formed under his leadership in Germany would not be compelled to fight, under any circumstances, in the eastern front against Soviet Russia but only against the British army in the western front. Many Indians of the Revolutionary Army for their refusal to fight against the Soviet Army, had to face extreme persecution at the hands of Nazi Germany. Even while Netaji Bose was in Germany, he always maintained a friendly attitude towards Russia and did not utter a single word in support of Nazi aggression against your Motherland. Coming to Japan after 90 days of most hazardous submarine journey, which no revolutionary in any time before dared to undertake in fulfilling a sacred mission of liberation of his country, Netaji Bose formed a big Indian National Army and had set up a Provisional Government of free India. This Provisional Government, which was recognized by 11 nations of those days, had declared war against Britain and U.S.A., but it steadfastly maintained a policy of friendship with Russia and China. The Indian National Army, under the leadership of the legendary personality of Netaji Bose, fought the glorious battle of Indian liberation against the British imperialism in the Indian soil along the Indo-Burmese frontier. Netaji has been hailed in India as the greatest Hero of the Indian people and the chapter of the liberation struggle of the Revolutionary Army of Netaji Bose is remembered as the proudest phase of the march of Indian freedom.

After the defeat of Germany in 1944, when it appeared to him that the defeat of Japan was also an inevitability, Netaji Bose tried to contact Russia to cross over to your country and resume India's freedom struggle from there after the fall of Japan. He prepared the plan to cross into Russia through Manchuria. The fact about this plan has been corroborated by the findings of the first Netaji Inquiry Commission from the records of the Provisional Free India Government.

Soon after the fall of Japan in the month of August, 1945, Netaji made an air dash to reach Manchuria in an effort to contact the Russian authority there and thereafter enter into the Soviet territory of Siberia. On 18th August, 1945, Japan made an unconvincing broadcast that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died in a plane crash at Taipei airport in Formosa (Taiwan).

The Indian people, for various unassailable reasons, did not believe in the story of reported death of their beloved leader. Recently, I visited Taipei in Formosa alongwith Netaji Inquiry Commission. After making thorough inquiry about the report





-3-

of death of Netaji at Taipei, I came back to India with positive conviction that the whole story of Netaji Bose's death at Taipei was a part of a master deception plan to enable Netaji Bose to safely reach Manchuria and thereafter to go to Soviet Russia.

Many reports appeared in the Indian press that the great revolutionary leader of the Indian people, Netaji Bose, indeed reached Russia and he was a free man in Russia but sometime after, he was arrested by Stalin and kept in a prison in Siberia. Many years passed but the Indian people did not get any official information about Netaji Bose from the Government of Soviet Russia under Com. Stalin or the new regime set up in Russia after the death of the great Russian leader.

On behalf of the Indian people, I make an earnest appeal to you to send all documents that are in the hands of the Government of Russia about Netaji Bose and also what the Russian Government know about him. I hope and trust that, in the interest of friendship between the two peoples of Russia and India, as also Russia being a land of great revolution, you will kindly take personal interest in giving all informations to the Indian people regarding their great leader Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and send all the documents to the Government of India connected therewith, for placing the same before the Netaji Inquiry Commission. The Indian people will remain ever grateful to you if you kindly consider the matter as very urgent as the second Netaji Inquiry Commission is going to finalise its findings very soon.

I again extend our warmest greetings to you and through you our best wishes to the people of your Motherland.

With warmest regards,

Yours comradely,  
Sd/- Samar Guha  
Leader of the  
Socialist Party in Parliament

Com. Leonid Brezhnev,  
General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party,  
Care Rashtrapati Bhawan, New Delhi

The letter was duly received by the staff of the Russian leader, but regrettably the expected reply never came. However, to bring some pressure on the Russian authority, the letter was given fair publicity by the Indian press.



PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
May 16, 1990

572.143/c

Respected Rashtrapati ji

I have received your letter, dated May 15, 1990 enclosing a letter from Shri Samar Guha regarding Netaji's disappearance.

Regards  
Yours sincerely,

[Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

o/c

Shri R. Venkataraman  
President of India  
Rashtrapati Bhavan  
New Delhi

Pr. Secy to PM

Shri

(Signature)

phankar  
23/5/

11242 Pol ltr

PRL. SECY. TO P.M.

Dy. No. 668-V

Date 21/5/90

5/6

3  
प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय  
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

14  
नई दिल्ली-110011  
NEW DELHI-110011

Please find enclosed a copy of a letter from Prof. Samar Guha forwarded by President to PM regarding Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. We would be grateful if MEA could examine this urgently and send us their comments.

SM. 2/11/90  
2/10/c  
Shankar  
(Meera Shankar)  
Director

Shri I.P. Khosla, AS (Pol), MEA

PMO, EW. No. 80711/P/11/90 dt. 5/6/90

ISSUED (WCL)  
DATE 5-6-90  
SIGNATURE [Signature]

9/c  
P II  
S.No 11/c

BF 25/5/90 Submitted

Prof. Samar Guha  
Former Member of Parliament

8/2 Central Park  
Calcutta 32  
Phone : 72-1600

(u)

Date... 17/5/90

MS 5064  
1-3/2

Dear Viswanath Pratappi,

I waited for last 4/5 days to see you for a few minutes. But it could not be.

ms  
31/5

I am sending the enclosed memorandum to you.

I have met <sup>our</sup> President, Shri R. Venkatram and Shri Gujral on the issue

MS

involved in this memorandum.

ack  
100

I believe this issue of great patriotic importance will receive your attention.

with regards.

js(r)

Shri V. P. Singh  
Prime Minister

Yours sincerely  
Samar Guha

2998/AM/6190  
29/5

6198/SSCR/90  
30/5

2004/MS/90  
5/6/90

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
Ex. संसद् सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



16  
8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032

May 12/1990  
17

Dear Prime Minister,

I am sure it is known to you that during the days of Janata Govt. Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai made an announcement on the floor of Lok Sabha in August 1978 rejecting the finding of Shah Nawaj Committee and Khosla Commission on "disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose." According to various official documents available a general belief prevails in India that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose escaped to Soviet Russia under the camouflage of a fake air-crash at Taihoku airport of former Formosa after the defeat of Japan.

Sometime back I was convincingly told by an Indian engineer who had been in Russia that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was kept confined in a Re-orientation Camp in Siberia.

On the basis of various reports about Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's presence in Russia I wrote the enclosed letter to the Soviet leader Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev. My letter was later forwarded to Mr. Gorbachev separately by Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy, former President of India, and Shri S. Nijalingappa a former President of the Congress.

I also made a representation to the President of India Shri R. Venkatraman for taking up the matter with the Govt. of Soviet Russia. The President readily agreed to send my letter to Mr. Gorbachev to Shri Narisimha Rao, the then Minister of External Affairs.

My letter has not been replied by Mr. Gorbachev. Whether any positive step has been taken by the Government of India to contact Russian Govt. regarding the issue raised in the enclosed letter has not been informed to me.

I am giving you a fresh copy of my letter addressed to the Soviet leader Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev. I believe that you will consider it to be a sensitive national issue to take up the matter of Netaji's probable presence in Russia after the War with the Moscow authority.

Recently, Dr. E.S. Yurlova of Soviet Institute of Oriental Studies told the press ~~reports~~ on March 4, 1990 at Calcutta that 'the Soviet Govt. possess certain top secret documents on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose which had never been made accessible.'

It is also known that many top secret documents on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the report of the plane crash alleging his death in

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संसद् सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



-2-

it are lying in classified secret files of the Governments of Japan, U.K., U.S.A. and Soviet Russia. After rejection of the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission on 'disappearance of Netaji' a suggestion was made to me by Janata Government that some positive efforts #would be made for high level investigations into the secret documents in the hands of Soviet Russia, U.K., Japan and U.S.A. However, because of sudden collapse of the Janata Government the matter could not be pursued.

I would urge you to take up the matter of Netaji's probable presence in Russia after the War with the Soviet authority and also take positive steps for high level investigations into the documents that are lying with the Governments of U.K., Japan and USA to finally know what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

I hope you will consider it a sacred national duty to make all efforts to finally know what really happened to the greatest national hero of the Indian national freedom, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

With thanks and regards,

Shri Viswanath Pratap Singh  
Prime Minister of India  
New Delhi

Yours sincerely,  
*Samarguha*  
( SAMAR GUHA )

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
Ex. संसद् सदस्य  
(लोक सभा)



18  
B/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032

May 12, 1990

Respected Rastrapatiji,

I hope you will kindly remember that I gave you a copy of my letter written to the Russian leader Mikhail Gorbachev regarding a report of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's presence in Russia in 1961.

Later copies of my letter to Mr. Gorbachev were separately forwarded to him by Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy, former President of India and Shri S. Nijalingappa, a former Congress President.

Unfortunately, there is yet no response to my letter from Mr. Gorbachev.

You kindly told me that my representation to you on Netaji will be sent to the Minister of External Affairs of the time, Shri Narshimha Rao for necessary action. I don't know if Shri Rao took any step regarding the matter.

Recently, Dr. E.S. Yurlova of the Soviet Institute of Oriental Studies told press reporters in Calcutta on March 4, 1990 that 'the Soviet Government possess certain top secret documents on Subhas Chandra Bose.'

I would earnestly request you to send a fresh copy of my letter to Mr. Gorbachev to our present Prime Minister Shri Viswanath Pratap Singh intimating him your desire for taking up the matter with the Soviet Government.

According to available reports top secret classified documents on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and the reports of the plane crash allegedly involving him are lying the archives of the Government of Russia, U.K., Japan and USA. I would request you to ask the Govt. of India to make special investigations to know from these documents what really happened to Netaji.

I believe you will consider it as our sacred national duty to the greatest national hero of our national freedom.

With kind regards and namaskar,

Shri R. Venkat Raman  
President of India  
Rastrapati Bhavan  
New Delhi

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*  
( SAMAR GUHA )

20  
PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
FORMER  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032  
INDIA

#### ABOUT SAMAR GUHA THE WRITER OF THE LETTER

Professor Samar Guha, the writer of this letter, is now 71. He is an old revolutionary and an associate of Subhas Chandra Bose and Jayaprakash Narayan.

Prof. Guha had been in detention and prison for about 11 years during the days of British Rule in India. He had been also in Pakistan prison and many times in prisons in Free India in connection with people's movement.

Prof. Guha is a Chemistry Scholar, author of many books and former teacher of Chemistry of Jadavpur University, Calcutta.

Prof. Guha was 3-times elected to the Indian Parliament from Bengal. He was the leader of the Socialist Party in Parliament and 3-time Chairman of the Privilege Committee of the House of People, - the highest Judicial body of the Indian Parliament.

Prof. Guha was a member of the highest committee of Forward Bloc (S), and Socialist Party and still continues to be in the highest body of the present Janata Party.



PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
FORMER  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032  
INDIA

Comrade Mekhail Gorbachev  
President of U S S R  
General Secretary of the  
CPSU Central Committee  
MOSCOW  
U. S. S. R.

November 5/1988

Dear Comrade Gorbachev,

Kindly accept my hearty greetings for the innovation of the new revolutionary concepts of 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika'. Your bold move will liberate the eclipsed image of the Russian Revolution and create a new hope of moving towards a new horizon of human liberty and progress.

I am a socialist but not a Communist. However, I always shared the views of my leader, Subhas Chandra Bose, the Russian Revolution should be looked upon as the most significant landmark in the history of evolution of human civilisation. Our anti-imperialist struggle for national liberation was immensely influenced by the heritage of 1917 Russian Revolution. But the Stalin-era of absolute rigour and repression in Russia raised many questions in the mind of Indian people about the Soviet System.

Your recent crusade for nuclear-arm-free world peace and your daring precepts of 'Glasnost' and 'Perestroika', to remodel the Stalinist polity and economic system of Soviet Russia have created a universal feeling of appreciation and hope all over the world. If your far-sighted move succeeds, it will open a new era of peace, amity and international understanding.

How the Indian people wish that the Nobel peace Prize be presented to you and you be hailed as the Man of Peace and Progress of the world!

While sincerely congratulating you for your policy of 'Openness' I am placing before you an earnest request for opening the mystery about the fate of the greatest revolutionary hero of Indian freedom, Subhas Chandra Bose, whose image is as captivating for the Indian people as that of Mahatma Gandhi.



After fall of Japan on 15th August, 1945, Tokyo Radio reported on 23rd August 1945 that Subhas Chandra Bose, the Head of the State of the Government of Free India, died in a plane crash at Taihoku (Taipei) in Formosa (Taiwan) on 18th August 1945. The report was considered by the British Government and the Indian people as a palpably fake news intended to cover Subhas Chandra Bose's escape to Russia via Manchuria and across the territory of Siberia.

The reasons for the belief that Bose escaped to Russia are following :

1. Subhas Chandra Bose, twice elected President of the Indian National Congress, always considered Soviet Russia as the greatest ally of the struggle for Indian freedom.
2. During the War days Bose tried to establish contact with Stalin through British Communist Party.
3. While escaping from British prison and British India, in January 1941, Bose intended to go to Russia while reaching Kabul but without getting necessary response from Stalin, he had to move to Berlin across the Russian territory in a tactical bid to use Axis Power, the enemy of the British Imperialism, for securing Indian freedom.
4. Although Bose had his collaboration with the Axis Power to wage revolutionary war against British Imperialism for the national liberation of India, he never uttered a word against Russia during the War days nor acted in anyway against Russian interest. When Hitler treacherously attacked Russia, - Bose, who was then in Berlin, did not fear to take immense risk to denouncing it as an 'Imperialist war against Russia', in his letter to Nazi Foreign Minister, Ribbentrop. Bose did not allow his revolutionary army, organised in Germany, to fight against the Russians.
5. After German aggression of Russia, Subhas Bose made an unprecedented 3-month submarine dash from Germany to Singapore to join hands with Japan, because Japan was then at war with the British but it had its friendly tie with Soviet Russia.



6. While waging revolutionary war of Indian Liberation against the British across the eastern border of India, Bose always tried to maintain contact with the Russian leaders through Jacob Malik, - the then Russian Ambassador in Tokyo.

7. Major General Isoda and Col. Tada of the Headquarter of Field Marshall Tarauchi at Saigon, who were entrusted by Japan for ensuring safe escape of Subhas Bose from being arrested by the British Army, admitted before the 'Commission of Inquiry about Disappearance of Subhas Chandra Bose' that Japan agreed to Bose's request to airlift him to Manchuria so that he could take political asylum in Russia by crossing into the Siberian territory. Accordingly, Bose was escorted to Manchuria by Gen. Shedio of the Jap Army.

8. Two months after the report of Bose's death in an air crash in Taipei, the Home Minister of the British Government in India informed the British Prime Minister Mr. Attlee in a secret report (1945) :

"Subhas Bose might, of course in certain circumstances, be welcomed in Russia. The easiest course would be to leave him where he is and not to ask for his release."

9. During the early part of 1946, a secret report sent to the British Viceroy in India by its intelligence stated :

"There is a secret report which says, Nehru received a letter from Bose saying that he was in Russia and wanted to escape to India."

10. In another secret report to the British Government by its intelligence said :

"Ghilazi Malang had been coupling with live Bose in Russia, and in December (1945) a report said the Governor of Afgan Province 'Khost' has been informed by the Russian Ambassador in Kabul that there are many Congress refugees in Moscow and Bose was included in their number. There is little reason for such persons to bring Bose into fabricated stories."

"At the same time views that Russian officers are disclosing or alleging that Bose is in Moscow is supplied in a report received from Teharan. This stated that Maradoff, the Russian Vice-Consul General, disclosed in March (1946) that Bose is in Russia."

11. Another intelligence report received in Delhi on December 26, 1945 said :



"Subhas Chandra Bose arrived at Dairen (in Manchuria) at 1.30 afternoon on August 23, 1945. Bose got into a jeep and proceeded toward Russian territory. After 3 hours the jeep returned and informed pilot of the plane who flew back to Tokyo." (On this day i.e. after Bose's escape to Russia Tokyo Radio reported Bose's death in an air crash at Taipei).

12. The Inter-Pole, an wellknown world secret service published a report in India that Subhas Bose went to Russia after fall of Japan.

13. Many other reports appeared in the Indian press about Subhas Bose's presence in Russia. These reports said that Bose was first a free man in Russia but later he was sent to a Siberian Concentration Camp.

14. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, who was the second Indian Ambassador in Moscow, confided his close friends Dr. S. Das, then head of Philosophy Deptt. in Calcutta University and Dr. F.C. Majumdar, the most distinguished Indian historian of his time that he came to know that Bose was kept captive in Stalin's Russia.

15. Recently, I have come across of a very important report about Subhas Bose's presence in Russia in 1961, from an Indian engineer, A. Sarkar, of Calcutta. Sarkar was sent to Russia 3 times for training in connection with the Heavy Engineering Corporation for manufacturing heavy machinery, set up in collaboration with Russia. Sarkar learnt Russian well.

Sarkar worked in Machine Building Plant at Gorlovska near the city Doniesk. He came in contact of a German-Jew who was the Deputy Chief of the Plant (Machinosttroitelinizavod). His name was B.A. Zerobin, who was earlier an war machine designer in Nazi Germany.

Zerobin told Sarkar that he was captured in Berlin after fall of Germany and was sent to a Re-orientation Camp somewhere in Siberia. He was first taken to Siberia by train and thereafter flown to an undisclosed place and then taken to the Orientation Camp. Zerobin surmised that the Camp was somewhere near Siberian-Mongolian boarder.

Zerobin claimed that in this re-orientation camp, meant for political classes for only top foreign politicians and engineers, he met Subhas Bose on two occasions.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
FORMER  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



(24)  
-5-

Zerobin could recognise Bose as he saw him earlier in Berlin during the War days. Bose's Headquarter was then in Berlin. Because of the handsome appearance and rare cut-out of the feature of his distinguished personality Zerobin could immediately recognise Bose.

According to Zerobin, Bose was brought to the Camp in a car accompanied by 2 Mongolians, one as his interpreter. Zerobin believed that both the Mongolians were KGB men but it appeared to him that Bose was well looked after.

Zerobin told Bose, "Sir, I met you in Berlin." Bose replied, 'Quite likely'.

Bose asked Zerobin: "What are you doing here?"

Zerobin : "I don't know what for".

Zerobin again asked Bose, "What is your programme? Are you going back to India?"

Bose : "I expect it to be soon."

While Bose and Zerobin were talking in German, the Mongolian interpreter, intervened saying, 'Not allowed'.

Zerobin never met Bose thereafter in the Camp.

Zerobin while disclosing his meeting with Subhas Bose warned Sarkar that he should not to disclose it while in Russia as it would endanger both.

Sarkar told about the matter to the Second Secretary of the Indian Embassy in Moscow, who also warned him of the dire consequence if he disclosed it to anybody.

Sarkar recently told me about Bose's presence in Russia till 1961 in a particular circumstances as he is now out of Government service and believes that Zerobin is now dead.

Comrade Gorbachev! You have taken many bold steps in disclosing many suppressed facts of horror and repression of the Stalin days. You have done great justice to history by rehabilitating Trotsky and Bhukhari<sup>n</sup> and restoring honour to the great scientist, Prof. Sakharov. Inspired by your great liberal policy of 'Glasnost', I would make an appeal - an appeal from the depth of my soul to you - on behalf of the patriotic people of India to reveal all facts about the universally adored hero of the Indian people, Subhas Chandra Bose.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
FORMER  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



(25)  
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Stalin might have done injustice to the legendary hero of Indian freedom, but why would you not reveal it now? Bose was a Promethean hero of Indian Revolution who staked everything for the liberation of his motherland and who was always very friendly with Russia. Why should you not let the India people know what happened to their enterpid national hero? We in India believe you to be a man of great vision and human feeling. If you let the Indian people know all about the presence of Subhas Bose in Russia, you will win the hearts of millions of millions of the people of India.

When Comrade Brezhnev visited India in November, 1973, I met him in the President's House as the leader of the Socialist Party in the Indian Parliament and gave him a letter seeking informations about Subhas Bose's presence in Russia. The letter was acknowledged but not replied. (A copy of the letter is enclosed).

Considering the poignancy of the issue involved about our greatest national hero, I hope you will excuse me for addressing this long letter to you.

I am eagerly expecting your reply before your visit to India.  
With warmest regards.

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*

( SAMAR GUHA )

Former leader of the  
Socialist Party in Parliament

Encl: As stated.

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



27, SOUTH AVENUE  
NEW DELHI 11  
November 29, 1973

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,

I, on behalf of the Socialist Party in the Parliament, extend our warm greetings to you and your colleagues now in India and, through you, to the great people of Russia. Russian Revolution and its national reconstruction added great incentive to our aspiration to achieve socialist transformation of our country in an Indian way, under Indian condition and on the basis of democratic and cultural values that the people of our country cherished from the days of our ancient civilization. We welcome friendly relation with Russia as also with other countries for establishing fraternal relation of peace, progress, understanding and mutual respect of national independence of all countries.

On the occasion of your visit to our country, I want to make an earnest request to you to help the Indian people to resolve the mystery surrounding the fate of their beloved leader, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. A very large section of Indian people believe that Russia can throw light about what happened to their leader.

I am sure, it is known to you that the Indian people honour Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose as the greatest revolutionary of the days of their national liberation struggle.

It may be known to you that, to resolve the mystery about Netaji Bose, the Government of India have set up a second Inquiry Commission under a Justice of a High Court. The Commission, after about 3 years of its investigation works, is in the last stage of finalizing its report. However, the Commission suffered for want of documents from countries like Soviet Russia, U.S.A. and Britain connected with the episode of disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose after escaping from India in 1941, wanted to go to Russia to set up his head quarters in the Sovietland for conducting revolutionary struggle against the British imperialism. Although Russia at that time did not accept his plan yet allowed him to pass through Russia, with honour, to Italy.

Netaji Bose joined hands with the Axis power in Europe, as his strategy was to utilize the Britain's enemy's enemy for achieving India's independence. Although he collaborated with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy for achieving his revolutionary objective, he never compromised his ideology of socialism with the totalitarian ideology of the fascist countries. It is on record that he expressed his deep resentment against the treacherous



aggression on your motherland by Hitler. He made it absolutely clear to Hitler before he left for Japan that the Indian revolutionary army, that was formed under his leadership in Germany would not be compelled to fight, under any circumstances, in the eastern front against Soviet Russia but only against the British army in the western front. Many Indians of the Revolutionary Army for their refusal to fight against the Soviet Army, had to face extreme persecution at the hands of Nazi Germany. Even while Netaji Bose was in Germany, he always maintained a friendly attitude towards Russia and did not utter a single word in support of Nazi aggression against your Motherland. Coming to Japan after 90 days of most hazardous submarine journey, which no revolutionary in any time before dared to undertake in fulfilling a sacred mission of liberation of his country, Netaji Bose formed a big Indian National Army and had set up a Provisional Government of free India. This Provisional Government, which was recognized by 11 nations of those days, had declared war against Britain and U.S.A., but it steadfastly maintained a policy of friendship with Russia and China. The Indian National Army, under the leadership of the legendary personality of Netaji Bose, fought the glorious battle of Indian liberation against the British imperialism in the Indian soil along the Indo-Burmese frontier. Netaji has been hailed in India as the greatest Hero of the Indian people and the chapter of the liberation struggle of the Revolutionary Army of Netaji Bose is remembered as the proudest phase of the march of Indian freedom.

After the defeat of Germany in 1944, when it appeared to him that the defeat of Japan was also an inevitability, Netaji Bose tried to contact Russia to cross over to your country and resume India's freedom struggle from there after the fall of Japan. He prepared the plan to cross into Russia through Manchuria. The fact about this plan has been corroborated by the findings of the first Netaji Inquiry Commission from the records of the Provisional Free India Government.

Soon after the fall of Japan in the month of August, 1945, Netaji made an air dash to reach Manchuria in an effort to contact the Russian authority there and thereafter enter into the Soviet territory of Siberia. On 18th August, 1945, Japan made an unconvincing broadcast that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died in a plane crash at Taipei airport in Formosa (Taiwan).

The Indian people, for various unassailable reasons, did not believe in the story of reported death of their beloved leader. Recently, I visited Taipei in Formosa alongwith Netaji Inquiry Commission. After making thorough inquiry about the report





28

-3-

of death of Netaji at Taipei, I came back to India with positive conviction that the whole story of Netaji Bose's death at Taipei was a part of a master deception plan to enable Netaji Bose to safely reach Manchuria and thereafter to go to Soviet Russia.

Many reports appeared in the Indian press that the great revolutionary leader of the Indian people, Netaji Bose, indeed reached Russia and he was a free man in Russia but sometime after, he was arrested by Stalin and kept in a prison in Siberia. Many years passed but the Indian people did not get any official information about Netaji Bose from the Government of Soviet Russia under Com. Stalin or the new regime set up in Russia after the death of the great Russian leader.

On behalf of the Indian people, I make an earnest appeal to you to send all documents that are in the hands of the Government of Russia about Netaji Bose and also what the Russian Government know about him. I hope and trust that, in the interest of friendship between the two peoples of Russia and India, as also Russia being a land of great revolution, you will kindly take personal interest in giving all informations to the Indian people regarding their great leader Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and send all the documents to the Government of India connected therewith, for placing the same before the Netaji Inquiry Commission. The Indian people will remain ever grateful to you if you kindly consider the matter as very urgent as the second Netaji Inquiry Commission is going to finalise its findings very soon.

I again extend our warmest greetings to you and through you our best wishes to the people of your Motherland.

With warmest regards,

Yours comradely,  
Sd/- Samar Guha  
Leader of the  
Socialist Party in Parliament

Com. Leonid Brezhnev,  
General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party,  
Care Rashtrapati Bhawan, *New Delhi*

The letter was duly received by the staff of the Russian leader, but regrettably the expected reply never came. However, to bring some pressure on the Russian authority, the letter was given fair publicity by the Indian press.



PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
June 7, 1990

500.4464/15/c  
12/6

Dear Prof. Guha,

I have received your letter of May 17, 1990 regarding high level investigations into secret documents on the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, believed to be available in the USSR, UK, Japan and the USA.

I have asked the Ministry of External Affairs to look into this.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,

[Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

Prof. Samar Guha  
B/2, Central Park  
Calcutta - 700 032

Dr  
Din/me

Yshankar  
12/6/

11988-R/S  
13/6

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*Most Immediate*

(20)

प्रधान मन्त्री कार्यालय  
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

नई दिल्ली-110011  
NEW DELHI-110011

*ms. 454  
12/6  
49/6  
10/6*

Please find enclosed, a copy of the letter which PM has received from Prof. Guha, regarding some documents on the disappearance of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, believed to be available in the U.S.S.R., USA, UK and Japan. Also enclosed is a copy of PM's reply to Prof. Guha.

We would be grateful for MEA's comments for submission to the Prime Minister.

*Meera Shankar*  
(Meera Shankar)  
Director

**FOREIGN SECRETARY.**

*PMO, UO, NO. 8) 5711/P/17/90 - Pot dt. 14/6/90*

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ISSUED ..... *w.e*  
DATE ..... *14/6*  
SIGNATURE ..... *[Signature]*

*B.F. 2576 Submitted  
(ms) 3/c into the to be ready  
on 25/6  
ms 9/c*

*2004/Dec/ms)*

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
Ex. MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032

June 15/1990

Dear Prime Minister,

Whole nation will congratulate you for asking the Ministry of External to take steps to investigate into the secret documents on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose lying with the Governments of USSR, U.K. Japan and U.S.A.

If this investigations are done by a team of experts firmly, effectively and with diplomatic persuasiveness, I believe the mystery of disappearance of the legendary hero of our national freedom will be finally resolved.

I shall be able to be of some help to advise the investigating team if it likes it. It was the idea of Shri Morarji Desai, in 1978.

I am leaving for USA with my wife to see our only child there. We shall stay in USA care

Dr. Tirthankar Ghosh, Ph.D.  
27, Cavendish Drive  
Ambler, P.A-19002, USA  
Ph: 001/215/628/2353

With <sup>best</sup> regards and namaskar,

Shri Viswanath Pratap Singh  
Prime Minister of India  
5 Race Course, ND 110011

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*  
( SAMAR GUHA )

✓ 13165-21/80  
29/6

3468 10/1/90  
27/6



राष्ट्रपति  
भारत गणतंत्र  
PRESIDENT  
REPUBLIC OF INDIA

New Delhi,  
June 4, 1990

Dear Prof. Guha,

Thank you for your letter of May 25, 1990.  
I have passed on the memorandum on Netaji to our  
Prime Minister who has already acknowledged it.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,

*R. Venkataraman*

R. VENKATARAMAN

Prof. Samar Guha,  
8/2, Central Park,  
CALCUTTA 700032.



PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
June 27, 1990

Sub: Letter dated 15th June, 1990 regarding investigation into the documents of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

Dear Prof. Guha,

Your letter on the above subject has been received. I shall have the matter looked into.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,

[Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

Prof. Samar Guha  
8/2, Central Park  
Calcutta

No.870/11/P/17/90-POL

July 2, 1990

Copy along with copy of the letter under reference forwarded for appropriate action to the Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs.

(A.K. Tewary)  
Deputy Secretary

28/6  
SC(T)  
MEAF  
8/2/11/17/90-PA

13145-10/90  
28/6

ISSUED  
DATE 5-7-90  
SIGNATURE

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PIT

REMINDER

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g/c  
b/c  
SMA. 1-6/c  
415/c  
2-1-2/11/90

Reference this office u.o. of even number dated the 5th and 14th June, 1990 regarding Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

It is requested that comments of MEA may kindly be sent to this office urgently for submission to the Prime Minister.

*Shankar*

(Meera Shankar)  
Director

MEA (Shri I.P.Khosla, AS (POL))  
PMO u.o.No. 870/11/P/17/90-Pol Dated 19.7.1990

23

*at 183-10-90*  
*23.7.90*

*BF-10-8-90*  
*recd. 10/8/90*  
*P-II*

Poll. Sec

(1/2)

Ref. S.M. 346/c <sup>& 8/c</sup> in the file below (No. 870/11/P/17/90/Pol)

regd. disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose

Comments asked for from M.E.A. have not been received in the Sec.

Dr (MS) may M. sec.

Hyman  
29/6/70

Dr (MS) M.E.A. will need to consult our Missions/ the Govts. of the countries concerned. <sup>2/27/70</sup>  
Reminder after 2 weeks.

Yphankar  
2/7/70

S.O. (Pol), BF 15/7

P.H.

2/3/70

NOTED  
Dr. V. Subramanian M.

Dr. V. Subramanian



16

36

Most Immediate

Ministry of External Affairs  
AS(POL)'s Office

SAN 9/c  
XHC  
1-6/c  
1-4/MS

Reference PMO U.O. No. 870/11/P/17/90-Pol.  
dated 23 July 1990 regarding Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

2. Papers were marked to JS(EA), Shri Vijay Nambiar as the subject pertains to that Division and further enquiries may kindly be made on them.

(I.P. Khosla)  
Addl. Secretary(POL)

Director (PMO) (Smt. Meera Shankar)  
MEA I.D. NO. 5262-AS(POL)/90 dated 30 July 1990

eps pl  
ys  
7/8/

~~SO (Pol)~~  
8/8/

our file on the subject is placed  
below for  
disposal  
8/8/90  
Dir (M)

has since been received.

A reply from JS(EA)  
yshankar  
11/8/

15397-B/L/1  
8/8

~~SO (Pol)~~  
P2  
10/8

(at SM's  
in FNO 800/6/c/90 Pol - GAO  
with PIII)

Dy. No. 2978 / Dir (MS)  
Date 7/8/90

11

37

SECRET

MSH-35(40)/90  
Ministry of External Affairs  
(East Asia Division)

3/c  
no. 870/11/17/90-Pol  
1-689-1076  
2/27/1990

Reference PMO UO Numbers dated 5th and 14th June as well as subsequent reminder dated 19th July, 1990 on the matter of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose.

2. The communication from Prof. Samar Guha including a letter written by him to Mr. Gorbachev in November 1988 was referred to our Embassy in Moscow who have made a demarche with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as the South Asia Directorate of the Soviet Foreign Office in the matter. The Soviets have confirmed that the documents sent earlier by Shri Samar Guha were in the possession of the Soviet Government and they were making enquiries in the matter.

3. In the circumstances, it would be apparent that no further developments in the matter have taken place.

4. The comments of the East Asia Division already sent in our earlier communications on the question of the ashes of Netaji Subash Chandra Bose, are perhaps already with PMO. A copy of a background brief in this regard is placed below.\*

\*  
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& placed  
on part

b/sambhar  
(V.K. Nambiar)  
Joint Secretary(EA)  
8/8/1990

~~DIRECTOR(MS), PMO~~

rps pl.  
yshankar  
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PH

Mobile no. 870/11/17/90-Pol on the subject  
has already been submitted to Dir(MS) after  
LS. no. 1539/Pol/90 on 8/8/90. L.A. to Dir(MS) may  
re. link and put up to Dir(MS).  
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MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
EAST ASIA DIVISION

QUESTION OF THE RETURN OF NETAJI'S ASHES FROM JAPAN

Netaji died in a hospital at Taipei (Taiwan) on 18.08.1945. Two days later, his body was cremated and the ashes carried to Tokyo sometime end-August or beginning September 1945. It appears the ashes were kept at the residence of Shri A M Sahai (ex-Minister of the Netaji Cabinet) in Tokyo where ceremonies were held for 11 days after which the ashes were taken to the Renkoji Buddhist Temple in the Nakano area of Tokyo where they are maintained to this day.

2. The Government of India had appointed an Enquiry Committee in 1956 headed by the late Shah Nawaz Khan and including Netaji's elder brother Shri S C Bose. The Committee submitted a report in which the majority opinion was that Netaji met his death in an air crash on 18.08.1945 and that the ashes in the Renkoji Temple were those of Netaji. Shri S.C. Bose dissented from this view. In 1970, a one-man Committee of Justice G.D. Khosla was set up which also concluded that the casket lodged in the Renkoji Temple contained the ashes of Netaji. In January 1982, however, Shri S.C. Bose wrote to the Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi saying that there was no convincing proof that the so-called ashes were genuine.

3. In recent months, two persons, Shri L Joychandra Singh and Shri Sheel Phadra Yaji who have been associated with Netaji have been mounting a campaign to bring back the ashes of Netaji from Japan. Shri Joychandra Singh says he has been in touch with various organisations associated with Netaji including the Netaji Academy in Tokyo. He also says that Shri S.C. Bose, the brother of Netaji who had, so far objected to the return of the ashes is no more, having expired some four years ago. His son, Shri Arvind Bose has entrusted responsibility for this issue to his cousin Dr. Sisir Bose. This gentleman had written on 26 September 1985 to the Prime Minister stating that he agreed with the resolution adopted by the All India Freedom Fighters Organisation implying that he had no objection to the return of the remains of Netaji to India and the erection of a befitting national memorial in his honour in Delhi.

4. The only vocal objection in recent months has been the Netaji Subhash Research Foundation of Jaipur which contests the veracity of the ashes in Japan and is opposed to their return. This Foundation wants a fresh inquiry into Netaji's disappearance and has approached the Rajasthan High Court to direct the Government of India to do so.

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5. The ashes have been lying in Japan since 1945. Government provides an annual grant for the maintenance of the Temple. Return of the ashes are being demanded for the following reasons:

a. Moral obligation of the nation to honour one of the heroes of the national movement.

b. The chief priest of the Renkoji Temple to whom the ashes were handed over died in 1979. There is no guarantee that his son the new priest will maintain the same reverence

c. Leading members of the Netaji Subhash Academy have also either expired or aged. When they pass from the scene there may not be anyone to care for the ashes

6. Our present view is that notwithstanding the considerations adduced above which are considered valid, a consensus has not developed in favour of bringing the ashes back to India. We had considered mooted the suggestion perhaps by the early part of 1990. So far, however, this has not been done.

7. Just prior to the visit of Prime Minister Kaifu, the Japanese Embassy had raised this question informally with me in order to ascertain our reaction. I had indicated to them that there was need for us to build up a certain amount of public opinion in view of the fact that there are strong feelings among a section of the public about the facts surrounding the death of Netaji.

8. I was informed this evening by the Minister in the Japanese Embassy that the Vice Minister for Cabinet Affairs in the Japanese Government who will be accompanying Prime Minister Kaifu had taken up the matter with the Embassy again and wished to raise the matter with an appropriate person (preferably a public figure - MOS(EA) who could explain the political implications of the return of the ashes.) The Japanese have apparently been facing a certain amount of pressure of their own. Some former Minister (Mr. Fujio) who was connected with the Renkoji Temple had been insisting with Vice Minister Oshima that he should discuss this matter outside the formal talks conducted by the Prime Minister.

9. I have responded in the interim with the suggestion that it may be possible for the Vice Minister to discuss this with the Foreign Secretary. I indicated that MOS (EA) may not be available during the visit of the Japanese PM.

*V. K. Nambiar*  
VK Nambiar  
JS (EA) 26/4

PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
Ex. MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



8/2 CENTRAL PARK  
CALCUTTA 700032

September 11/1990

Shri Viswanath Pratap Singh  
Prime Minister of India  
New Delhi

Dear Prime Minister,

You have very patriotically responded to the representation for making an all-out effort to find out what really happened to Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the legendary hero of Indian Freedom.

You very kindly wrote to me on June 7, 1990 :

'I have received your letter of May 17, 1990 regarding high level investigations into secret documents on the disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, believed to be available in the USSR, UK, Japan and the USA.

I have asked the Ministry of External Affairs to look into this.'

I have also been informed that a similar assurance has been given to Shri Chitta Basu, M.P and his Forward Bloc friends when they met you recently to submit a memorandum on 'disappearance of Netaji'.

I hope that you have already asked the Minister of External Affairs, Shri I.K.Gujral, for making an Investigative Inquiry into the documents believed to be available with the Governments of the USSR, UK, Japan and the USA relating to disappearance of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

I had been recently to USA and London. After contacting our Ambassador Dr. Abid Hussian at Washington and our High Commissioner Shri Kuldip Nayar at London, I came to know that the initial process for such Investigative Inquiry has not been started.

The process of such Investigative Inquiry to find out secret documents from these four Governments about Netaji may not be any easy task. UK and USA have lingering inhibitions about Netaji and USSR and Japan are very secretive by tradition.

The whole matter for Investigative Inquiry will need careful planning by an expert team to make the inquiry effective.

To make a beginning of the inquiry, requests for cooperation with the Indian Investigative Inquiry by the Government of the USSR, UK, Japan and USA have to be made by the Prime Minister of India. Only then these Governments will take up the matter with necessary seriousness.

It is not perhaps unknown to you that for the last three decades I am fighting for an effective probe to find out the facts about Netaji's

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PROF. SAMAR GUHA  
Ex. MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT  
(LOK SABHA)



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destiny. I have presented my documentary book - 'Netaji - Dead of Alive' to you. It was on the basis of the documents produced in this book that Shri Morarji Desai, as Janata Prime Minister, officially rejected the findings of Shah Nawaz Committee and Khosla Commission as unacceptable.

I hope to meet you soon in Delhi to place my plan for Investigative Netaji Inquiry.

India must know finally where did Netaji go after the fall of Japan and what happened to him thereafter.

Dear Prime Minister ! India owes an irrepayable debt to our greatest national hero but for whose total sacrifice and absolute revolutionary plunge, India would not have achieved freedom so soon after the Allied Victory in the last Great War. Indian people believe, you will do your best to find out the ultimate destiny of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

With regards and namaskar,

Yours sincerely,

*Samar Guha*  
( SAMAR GUHA )



सत्यमेव जयते

PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
September 25, 1990

SPD-2419/L

Sub: Letter dated 11th September, 1990 regarding investigation into the 'disappearance' of Netaji.

Dear Prof. Guha,

Your letter on the above subject has been received.

Regards,

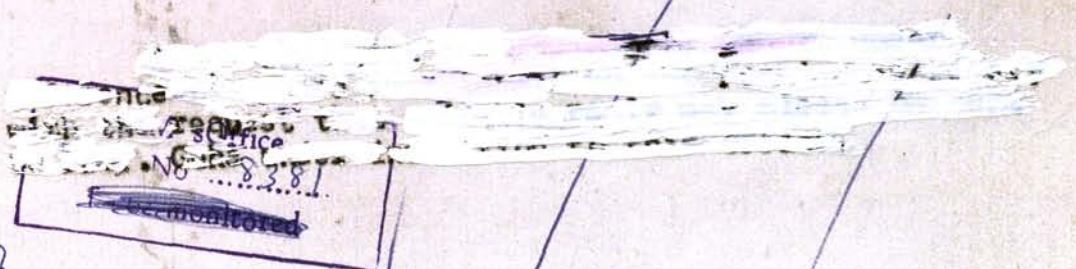
Yours sincerely,

[Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

Prof. Samar Guha  
8/2 Central Park  
Calcutta - 700 032

No.870/11/P/17/90-POL

October , 1990



Office  
No. 8381  
monitored

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PRIME MINISTER

New Delhi  
September 25, 1990

500.12 B/c

Sub: Letter dated 11th September, 1990 regarding investigation into the 'disappearance' of Netaji.

Dear Prof. Guha,

Your letter on the above subject has been received.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,

[Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

Prof. Samar Guha  
8/2 Central Park  
Calcutta - 700 032

No.870/11/P/17/90-PCL

October 4, 1990

Copy along with copy of the letter under reference forwarded for information to the Ministry of External Affairs.

*Shankar*  
(Meera Shankar)  
Director

UPDATED

ISSUED *lwe*  
DATE *6.10.90*  
SIGNATURE *[Signature]*

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