

SUMMARY

VOICES OF THE WIND: CONVERGENCE OF DIVERSITY IN THE TRANSNATIONAL DOMAIN OF PURSE, HEADS AND IDEAS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE INDIAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE

2013

PALLAVI KAMLAKAR BHATTE, PhD

KYOTO UNIVERSITY

Directed by Professor Akio Kawashima

This dissertation elucidates the activities of Indian revolutionaries in the transnational domain in the early twentieth century drawing upon a variety of published and unpublished sources from archives, newspapers, periodicals, diaries, revolutionary literature, journals, memoirs and biographies. India's struggle primarily projected as a pacifist one under the leadership of the *Indian National Congress* party that paved the path to independence cannot be the sole contributor. While undoubtedly the INC was an umbrella party of the struggle for freedom under Mahatma Gandhi, very little is spoken about the panorama of efforts outside of India. The primary aim of this dissertation is to delve past the myth that the Indian independence struggle was a pacifist struggle fought within the borders of British India and that the revolutionaries who chose radical revolution strategies that, at times, meant choosing the route of an armed struggle were viewed as "seditionists, terrorists, jihadists." What is problematic about the treatment of the revolutionary struggle for Indian Independence abroad is that it is viewed from a national perspective, which has a limited scope. I propose to view the efforts of revolutionaries as a collective single movement under a transnational framework. Here the global nature of the movement has been central to the study. Another key assumption is that however different the actors, ideologies, strategies, means, methods, locations as well as time phases may have been the common goal to achieve independence from colonial rule was the prime motivation and adhesion factor. Central to this study are some well-known and other forgotten revolutionaries who held close to their hearts the vision of free India. The bulk of the dissertation analyses approaches, attitudes, motivations, actions and reactions of revolutionaries to the colonial hegemony. This dissertation tries to show how concepts of race, identity, politics and empire were historically constructed. Scholars have been grappling with questions of conceptualizing and theorizing the struggle for India's independence within a broad framework. Chapter 1 sets out the historiography of the

study of the Indian independence movement and history of the struggle put forward by revolutionaries. The historiographic study of the Indian national movement is categorized into four main categories namely the Cambridge School, the Nationalist School, the Marxist School, the Subaltern School. We shall also discuss “who” is fit to be considered a revolutionary. How the role of revolutionaries has been marginalized and justification for answering the necessity to incorporate them in the study of the Indian independence movement. As for methodology, this study follows an integrated approach that allows the incorporation of materials in a more interactive nature revealing socio-economic facets like communication, financial and legal aspects, techniques, time, space, environment, actors, both active and passive and contexts. Chapter 2 opens with “Indian revolutionaries and the rising Sun” on the eve of the WWII and analyze the nature of revolutionary activities in Japan as the hub for activities in East Asia. This chapter will discuss revolutionaries such as Rash Behari Bose, Subhas Chandra Bose, and A.M. Nair among others; “the Genesis of Indian revolutionaries in Japan prior to the arrival of *Netaji*, “Subhas Chandra Bose” and, gradually develop into how and what kind of an alliance *Netaji* forged with Japan. This chapter will also see how revolutionary Indians viewed the Japanese advocacy of *Pan-Asianism*. Analysis of the inception, formation, and establishment of *INA* serves as a raw material for this chapter. In order to understand the development of the mindset of revolutionaries, Chapter 3 analyzes the Age of Indian Renaissance and the birth, development and effects of Socio-Religio groups such as the Arya Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj. This chapter also addresses the rediscovery of India’s indigenous history by several European as well as Indian scholars also fed into the rise of nationalism among Indians. Chapter 4 will see revolutionary activities in the heart of the Empire, and in Europe. This chapter analyses how national borders within the European continent alters the environment and the nature of activities by the Indian radicals. With London, Paris, Berlin as the prime locations this chapter analyses the role of students and exiles alike. For instance, how Chatto left London as a mere student and plunged into underground activities with a different set of ideology in Germany. How Shyamji Krishnavarma set up an *India House*, which eventually served as a model for many more to come, in the transnational space. Chapter 5 will show us how Indian revolutionaries were not alone in their fight in the rest of the world and in this endeavor, how they found friends and sympathizers. I will examine some aspects of the Indian revolutionaries’ multifaceted involvement with Irish, Egyptian nationalists that led to a tempting vision of an earlier possibility of achieving independence. Chapter 6 will bring to light the Ghadr movement in the United States and Indian Ghadr and the Komagata Maru incident that was a catalyst. How the revolutionary Ghadrites were unable to fulfill their dream until Annie Larsen case. The Hindu-German conspiracy Trial and the German plot will be addressed. How the activities of revolutionaries had died out and emerged on the eve of Daitōa. In and as a conclusion Chapter 7 shows how viewing the Indian independence struggle as a pacifist struggle alone completely fought within the borders of British India completely distorts the narrative. The analysis of the role, contribution and sacrifice of revolutionaries or “unrecognized patriots,” both at home and overseas, became a driving force which provided the necessary stimulation and metamorphosed their tone from a sophisticated debating society to that of a powerful struggle. In addition, the reality of the independence struggle extended beyond the geographical presence of India. The philosophies of the revolutionaries were based

on the teachings of their gurus like Dayanand Saraswati of the Arya Samaj, Aurobindo of the Theosophical society, Swami Vivekananda of the Vedanta Society, which legitimized their activities and gave new dimensions to the Indian National movement. Moreover, the revolutionaries combined these teachings with the political ideologies of Giuseppe Mazzini, Herbert Spencer, Karl Marx, Joseph Stalin, Vladimir Lenin, and Okakura Tenshin, which intensified their fight against the *Raj*. From sojourners to settlers, the Indians in the diaspora went through the process of migration and creation of societies. They formed excellent networks, which not only facilitated in easing the hardships faced as new settlers but also contributed to their original homelands in a profound way. Although the Ghadr failed in its mission on a larger platform it was able to create a considerable impact on the British, the Arousing patriotic fervor, Educating the host societies as well as members in the diaspora. The *India Houses*, Gurdwara formed by them were not only operational bases for their activities, but served as religious and cultural centers where the members of the diaspora India Houses created a 'home away from home'. Through patriotic songs, literature, and lectures they kept alive the spirit of revolution and enjoyed a sense of 'long distance nationalism.' During the First World War, the Indian revolutionaries sought to take the advantage of German help in the form of schemes, strategies, and war materials to free their homeland through an armed revolt. But the attempt was not a success. During the second World War Subhas Chandra Bose with the partnership of Rash Behari Bose followed the same route and created the INA. In spite of acquiring a fraction of the British India through brilliant planning, the violent campaigns of Subhas Chandra Bose failed. They managed to enroll the support of other parallel revolutionary movements and also assisted them in their activities. The Battle for India's freedom were also being fought against the British, through indirectly, by Japan in Asia and Hitler in Europe. None of these scored a direct success, but a few would deny that it was the cumulative effort of Gandhi, The revolutionaries in the transnational space as well the external support of other countries that led to achieving freedom for India.

In conclusion, this study demonstrates how the colonial encounter in the Empire; exchanges in the transnational domain impacted the colonized natives in the homeland as well as adopted homes and the colonizers themselves. This brings forward a new area of research in the areas of, history of the struggle for India's freedom, transnational studies from an anthropological aspect, and immigration studies.