Gandhi and Civil Disobedience

THE MAHATMA IN INDIAN POLITICS

1928–34

JUDITH M. BROWN

Lecturer in History
University of Manchester

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE
LONDON • NEW YORK • MELBOURNE
Contents

Frontispiece: Gandhi in 1931, aged 69

Preface ix

List of abbreviations xi

Introduction xiii

1 The recreation of a political leader, 1922–8 1
   (i) The political context 6
   (ii) The Mahatma takes stock 14
   (iii) The terms of leadership 28

2 The assertion of authority 41
   (i) January–November 1929: waiting for the raj 42
   (ii) November–December 1929: response to the raj 59
   (iii) The dilemmas of confrontation 80

3 Civil disobedience: the test of leadership 99
   (i) Salt satyagraha 100
   (ii) Mass civil disobedience 116

4 A time for peace 153

5 The constraints of peace 192
   (i) The Karachi Congress 193
   (ii) The politics of peace 206
   (iii) Gandhi in England 242

6 The frustrations of conflict 263
   (i) The renewal of civil disobedience 263
   (ii) The pattern of conflict 282
   (iii) Gandhi’s ‘politics’ 311

7 The resolution of the leadership dilemma 350
   (i) Gandhi in search of a role 350
(ii) Congress in search of a programme 360
(iii) The leadership dilemma resolved 374

Conclusion 381

Appendices 391

Glossary 396

Sources and bibliography 398

Index 405

Tables

1 Congress membership during the second half of 1929 52
2 Index of prices, 1924-34 100
3 Average consumption of salt per head per year in the Bombay Presidency 113
4 Civil disobedience—prisoners in jail on 15 November 1930 124
5 Outturn of crops in thousands of tons in Bombay Presidency 133
6 Resignations of village officials in Gujarat, November 1930 134
7 U.P. food prices in seers to the rupee 142
8 Convictions for civil disobedience, 1932-3 284
9 Seizure of Congress funds in Bombay Presidency, January–April 1932 289
10 Convictions for individual civil disobedience, July–October 1933 361