DEMOCRACY AND AUTHORITARIANISM IN SOUTH ASIA

A COMPARATIVE

AND HISTORICAL

PERSPECTIVE

Ayesha Ialal Constitute Consequences

Decree-very and authoritariants at South Asia

Democracy and authoritarianism in South Asia

A comparative and historical puriposition

Assiste Said

Control Capacital

15218



PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

PIERSITY PRESS

Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK The Edinburgh Bulland, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA 40 West 20th Street, New Port Melbourne, VIC. 40 West 20th Street, New Port Melbourne, vic 3207, Australia 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, vic 3207, Australia Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 20014 Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa http://www.cambridge.org

© Cambridge University Press 1995

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception This book is in copyright and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, and to the provision of any part may take place without and to the production of any part may take place without no reproduction of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1995 Reprinted 1997, 1998, 2002

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data Jalal, Ayesha.

Jalal, Ayesha.

Democracy and authoritarianism in South Asia: a comparative and historical particular and historical parti spective / Ayesha Jalal.

p. cm. - (Cambridge South Asian studies.)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0 521 47271 7 (HC). - ISBN 0 521 47862 6 (PB)

I. South Asia - Politics and government. I. Title. II. Series.

D\$341.J34 1995

320.954-dc20 94-17045 CIP

ISBN 0 521 47271 7 hardback ISBN 0 521 47862 6 paperback

Transferred to digital printing 2004

Contents

List of maps	page ix
Preface	xi
Introduction	i i
I The colonial legacy in India and Pakistan	9
The historical context of partition	12
The administrative legacy	16
The economics of partition and separate defence	22
The ideological dimension	25
2 State formation and political processes in India and Pakis	stan,
1947 to c.1971	29
Contrasting inheritances and outcomes, 1947-1951	31
Party politics and structural authoritarianism in India, 1947-1967	38
Party politics and military dominance in Pakistan, 1947-1971	48
Conclusion	63
3 The 'populist' era and its aftermath in India, Pakistan a	nd
Bangladesh, 1971 to c.1993	66
Indira Gandhi and Indian 'populism'	70
Bhuttoism or populism? The case of Pakistan	75 77
The populist interlude in Bangladesh	85
Populism reconsidered	89
Reclaiming democratic ground in India, 1977-1993	91
Resurgent authoritarianism and the democratic compulsion in Pak	istan
and Bangladesh	100
Conclusion	120
4 The state and political economy, 1947 to c.1993	122
India's political economy of development	12:
The political economy of defence in Pakistan and Bangladesh	140
Conclusion	150

Contents

List of maps	page ix xi
Preface	
Introduction	1
	9
I The colonial legacy in India and Pakistan	12
The historical context of partition	16
The administrative legacy The economics of partition and separate defence	22
The ideological dimension	25
The lateredistriction	
2 State formation and political processes in India and Pakista	an,
1947 to c.1971	29
Contrasting inheritances and outcomes, 1947–1951	31
Party politics and structural authoritarianism in India, 1947-1967	38
Party politics and military dominance in Pakistan, 1947-1971	48
Conclusion	63
3 The 'populist' era and its aftermath in India, Pakistan an	d
3 The populist era and its attermation in analysis	66
Bangladesh, 1971 to c.1993	70
Indira Gandhi and Indian 'populism'	77
Bhuttoism or populism? The case of Pakistan	85
The populist interlude in Bangladesh	89
Populism reconsidered	91
Reclaiming democratic ground in India, 1977–1993	
Reclaiming defloctatic ground in Pakis Resurgent authoritarianism and the democratic compulsion in Pakis	100
and Bangladesh	120
Conclusion	
4 The state and political economy, 1947 to c.1993	122
4 The state and political economy, 1947 to 512993	123
India's political economy of development	140
The political economy of defence in Pakistan and Bangladesh	156
Conclusion	

vii	Contents	
VII	and regional dissidence	
5	Central power and regional dissidence Central power and regional dissidence	157
,	Central power and rederalism? India's democratic federalism? Dissidence and rebellion under military authoritarianism	161
	Dissidence and reco	183
	O dueson	199
	Societies, cultures and ideologies: hybrids in contrived monoliths	20
6	Societies, cultures and leggisl mosaics	501
U	· - ··· bcontilicina.	
	Language as culture and ideology Language as culture and societal dissonance	223
	Language as culture and ideology Monolithic ideologies and societal dissonance	233
	Conclusion	245
_	Conclusion	247
1	Concressor	
n	:11: applical ossay	25
	ibliographical essay	2*
In	ndex .	