

## The Book Review

Pakistan: Failure in National Integration by Rounaq Jahan; Oxford University Press, 1972 New York and London \$45.00

Book review by: Abbas Ali Bughio

Rounaq Jahan is a distinguished fellow, centre for policy dialogue, Dhaka, Bangladesh and adjunct, professor, international affairs at the school of international and public affairs, Columbia University, New York, USA. She obtained a Ph.D. in political science from Harvard University, USA. She was a professor of political science at Dhaka University, Bangladesh (1970-1982); coordinator of the women in development program at UN Asia-Pacific Development Centre, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia (1982-84); and head of the program on rural women at the International Labor Office, Geneva, Switzerland (1985-89). Professor Jahan is the author of several books and numerous articles. Her publications include: Bangladesh Politics, Dhaka: University Press Ltd., 2005; Bangladesh: Promise and Performance (editor), London Zed Books, 2000; The Elusive Agenda: Mainstreaming Women in Development, London, Zed Books, 1995; Bangladesh Politics: Problems and Issues, Dhaka: University Press Ltd., 1980; Women and Development: Perspectives from South and South East Asia (co-editor), Dhaka, Bangladesh Institute of Law and International Affairs, 1979; and Pakistan: Failure in National Integration, New York: Columbia University Press, 1972.

It was the traumatic event in 1971 that disintegration of Pakistan, which was divided and emerged of new state as Bangladesh. Writer has mainly focused on the Ayub era (1958-69) the history of Pakistan. She observed and differentiated the period that why Pakistan did not frame the systematic way to bring both wings on same page to continue amalgamation. She describes policies and evaluation on this it breaks out the disintegration of Pakistan. And she also edited in her book the period of (1969-71) to improve her final thesis. This book is thesis of her Ph.D.

She has written a statement on her introduction to provide the primary material and conducted interviews in Pakistan during summer and winter of 1968, which are not mentioned after edition of the book.

It is my opinion about book that writer provides a narrative way the series of events and not the landmarks of work on which we have to understand the circumstances.

Pakistan: failure in national integration, book is subdivided into eight chapters. First chapter, describes the problems of national integration, after the birth of Pakistan, it emerged ethnic, religious, linguistic, tribal, class, sectarian problems were immediately arose in East Pakistan to work on consensus that power would be shared with Bengalis to strengthen national institutions and political power which brings end misconceptions between East and West Pakistan. Second chapter; it describes the imbalance of the East-West, 1947-1958. It makes differentiate on the basis of geography, population, societal, more homogenous, religious, interregional differences between the historical traditional of East and West Pakistan. It described also state building and nation building on which asymmetric conflicts leads to both wings on political elites, administration and political centralization "vice regal" (Bengali demanded as autonomous state), cultural policy. It was considered as problems within country. But it was not rescind to rise of eastern elites in the perceptions were origin of the vernacular elites, foundation of the Awami league (1949), language movements (1952), the election of 1954 on national politics, the formation of united front. Muslim league was one of the major causes to be demanded for the full regional autonomy for East Pakistan and national elites needed the vernacular elite's support in case of east wing a semblance of legitimacy. It was gate way to locals and vernaculars to join Awami league because they realized the important of their language and ethnicity, which was under dominancy of West wing. Third chapter describes the decade of Ayub (1958-69); Ayub abrogated the constitution and called military coup a "revolution". He ruled over country through support of military-civil bureaucracy and made close alliance each other. He banned parties and EBD was introduced to disqualify prominent leaders and arrested them. He gave basic democracy to rule easily on the country. He took over government on the reason of a political instability and economic reasons so, he introduced the

"Green revolution" through Ayub land reforms, which emerged as new shape of economic development for making country stronger under authoritarian rule. So he stimulated new nation building policies through centralization and one unit but it was not a new rational way to rule country on the basis of integration. Fourth chapter describes the national building through economic development. It was prime national goal of Ayub on the development of economy. He introduced economic program on disparity between East and west wings, five year plan 1960-65, Pakistan industrial development corporation (PIDC), twenty year perspective plan 1965-1985, National investments were setup to provoke the integration of both wings but Bengali's economic demands were changed into political autonomy due the lack of physical and social infrastructure. Fifth chapter describes bureaucracy and nation building; there were only bureaucracy's policies, they were implementing policies for the making of national integration in Pakistan through society in creating sense of national hood. Bureaucrats were emphasizing on centralization to maintain the power relation between centre and province. It was tool to make close relations between people to people and government. The civil servants were making decisions on the regional considerations in which Bengalis would entered for making decisions and bureaucrats were no vernaculars due to this conditions Eastern Pakistanis did not take any participations in center and it was no more true centralization in post 1962 to bring the real administration between province and center. Bureaucrats had tool of economy to make both wings on centralization in true integration institution and lastly west wing was agreed to give representation to east on the purpose of center integration. Chapter six describes basic democracies and political parties; it was blamed on politician that political system is making disintegration of the country so Ayub changed the political system and introduced basic democracies for himself to get support from rural and land elites so that mobilization of masses. Ayub had a tool of basic democracy to make national and regional differences on socio-economic way. Basic democrats were elected directly by rural people to get legitimacy or de jure rule on the people. Ayub banned political parties and conceptualized party less polity so introduced EBD to political leaders and parties further leaders could not participant any political activity. Later he recognized Pakistan Muslim league for the need of presidential election 1964. After joining of Ayub in party so that immediately uprising of The council of Muslim league, National Awami party, Awami league, Pakistan people's party, Nizam-i-Islam. Each party had shown national and provincial rupture to miss integration or integration of the country. Seventh chapter describes; the 1962 constitution and East Pakistan political movement; ayub gave constitution of 1962 which favored the center and presidency. He increased the president powers and as autocratic behavior and veto power was allotted to delay the bill on his pleasure. Bengalis were demanding parliamentary form of government in center and Eastern leaders were taken into imprisonment and suppressed through EBD. There were majority of leaders belonged from Bengal. The report from East Pakistan was that almost 56% people were demanded the parliamentary form of government but basic democracy was ensured the Ayub's regime. He also imposed emergency after 1965 war till 1969 through presidential ordinances. During Ayub's period from east movements were taken into new shape and movements were demanding the constitutional structure and national system and language movement, six points movement, Pakistan democratic movement (PDM) these movements were against Ayub to restore constitutional system. And it arises to Bengali leaders for autonomous state because there were no any national institutions to be shaped for consensus. Eighth chapter describes; dilemmas of political development in Pakistan; both wings were different from each other on political structure, which leded the disintegration of the country. East Pakistan's grievances expressed were the insufficient policy. One of the major problems of the East-west integration in Pakistan was politically but the regime was focused on the development of the country. it was no any connection to make on one plate form so east was demanding autonomy in east Pakistan and growth population was also reason for the distribution of resources and increase the social services, more, school, teachers doctors and transports and Islam was a little value to united both east and west Pakistan. Last chapter; the disintegration of Pakistan; the disintegration was unexpected phenomenon in the history of Pakistan. When

general Yahya took control of West Pakistan, who runs the country smoothly? He dismissed the constitution of 1962, one unit and ensured constituent assembly for making new constitution. Awami league got absolute majority in center 160 seats out of 300 and PPP was defeated. West Pakistan was not giving position in center to Mujeeb Rahman so due to this Bengali demanded separate autonomous state. Finally military launched the operations against East Pakistan after the crisis took place disintegration of Pakistan.

This book is not worthy for syllabus because it leads to many circumstances between east and west Pakistan due to this it is not remarkable and useful for universities but book can be used in research and personal knowledge .

To sum up, she has not edited interviews, which were taken from west politician and scholars and she did not research well on case study of disintegration and Bengalis were supported by India it is favored by writer and personally I am not agree with writer's this point and she has not written her book neutrally. It disappoints me but she has high opinions of level.