

BOOK REVIEWS

The Islamic state in the Post-Modern World, the Political Experience of Pakistan by Louis D. Hayes. Publisher Ashgate, England. 2014, ISBN 978-1-4724-1262-1

The study can roughly be divided into three parts. First part may be called introductory and historical.

The first chapter which may be called introductory and historical begins with clarification of few terminologies concerning state and its functions. Chapter 2 continues to describe the state in historical perspective with a comment that Modern state existed only in Western Europe transplanted in North America and in Japan. The modern state further progressed into post-modern states, which are characterized as decentralized i.e., with a trend to of; devolution, deregulation, privatization, democratization and globalization. Author further classifies three development patters as concerning state.

Chapter 3 is on Islamic models of the state. Writer has emphasized four distinctive phases through which Islamic state has evolved. The first phase was the time of Prophet Muhammad, which he calls "primitives' utopia". Second phase was Caliphate in which the issue of legitimate succession to the prophet gave rise to the division between Sunni and

Shia. With a period caliphate lost its spiritual dimension becoming largely a military and imperial institution. Another type of Islamic state that he calls Proto-states and provides Turkey as an example of it. The fourth model of Islamic state he has presented is "modern Islamic" state and an example of this is Iran, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. In this connection he presents a theory of consociational democracy which entails a spirit of accommodation.

Chapter 4, 5 and 6 are historical background to the colonial rule and dismemberment of Muslim empires by the British in India. He identifies three element which in combination created Pakistan i.e. Mughal legacy, the institutional legacy of the British period and the idea of an Islamic state (p62). The writer claims that Muhammad Ali Jinnah's idea of Islamic state had more to do with national or community identity than with theology (p63).

The fifth chapter is about the constitutional dilemmas in Pakistan, its constitutional history and move towards an Islamic state. Writer takes us to a political journey where reference to Islam in creation of Islamic state is continuously there starting from the Constitutions of Pakistan 1956, 1962, 1972, secession of East Pakistan, Bhutto's execution, military dominated semi-theocracy, mosque-military alliance of Zia ul Haq, Long period of Islamization; death of Zia in a

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plane crash; Poorly prepared political parties takeover of Benazir Bhutto, dismissal of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, military takeovers, Benazir Bhutto's assassination, dominance of military bureaucracy and military culture. He claims Pakistan to be a classic example of a praetorian state (chapter 7 devoted to this concept).

The writer has provided long history of four time takeover of military since 1958 Martial law rule. He provides detail account of how military has struggled against the politicians and judiciary. Such description of events are in fact commonly described in many books on the political system of Pakistan.

In answer to an important question why military in Pakistan is strong, author provides an analysis which seems to be too simple that military was much disappointed from the civilian authorities who were unable to take diplomacy path to resolve the issue of Kashmir. This been the legitimacy for military getting involved in the politics of Pakistan may be too superficial and over simplified.

He illustrates instability of the state of Pakistan where political parties are ineffective because of personal agendas of the politicians; this shows why so many politicians and party leaders are wealthy. They are totally dependent on the support of the army and bureaucracy. He goes on to describe the stories of assassinations of political leaders and corruption.

Moreover, legislative and judicial branches are marginalized – constant interference of the executive and unresolved issues of relationship between the secular and Islamic laws and to cope with legal plural realities in the country.

It's the same problems Pakistan has been facing since its creation i.e. Centre-province tensions – plagued by increasing sectarian conflicts among the Muslim sects and major differences over the fundamental principles.

Islam has been used throughout in political process in Pakistan as Islam is the only common unifying ideology. Therefore the ultimate goal of the political system was patterned somehow or the other along Islamic lines it is a political strategy which seems to them to be consistent with tradition and capable of dealing with contemporary realities – dilemma is that there is no agreement on the outline of an Islamic state. He claims "Since its creation was based on an appeal to Islam and an alternative justification for its existence has not been forthcoming, Pakistan is wedded to the idea of an Islamic state" (page 9).

Thus the author states that whether Islam can be the vehicle for providing a cohesive political ideology this remains to be seen.

He asserts that in the post-modern world the sovereign states are slowly being transformed because of globalization, international organization, the new global

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norms, loss of control of the states over the international communication and from below by rising regionalism, ethnicity, criminal organisations and breakdown of state control and authority at local level. As Pakistan have not yet attained the level of a mature modern state therefore have become the easy prey to this situation.

Situations are cloudy, complicated and there is a security crisis in the country.

Third part of his book starts with Chapter 8 about the Pakistan's international relations. Conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan.

In his analysis he tries to find links between Kashmir, terrorism and US drones strikes.

My concluding remarks are it may be a good descriptive-summary of the political events book but causes of the instability of Pakistan are yet to be analyzed in more depth. Chapters are too short and do not justify the issues taken up which need in-depth study. Analysis provided are too short and sometime just in one sentence that gives an impression of been superficial.

By Dr. Rubya Mehdi