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Myopic and generic introduction

- Weak argumentation, lacks substance

- dangling and misplaced modifiers

- number your headings

- ensure that you are answering each part of the asked question

Political Science - I

Subjective Part - (A)

Q#2: Explain the contribution of Aristotle regarding state and governance. Examine its relevancy in the present time.

Introduction:

Aristotle (384-322) was a Greek philosopher and student of Plato. Aristotle made significant contributions to the field of political theory and governance. His major political works include 'Politics' and 'The Nicomachean Ethics'. Aristotle is regarded as the first teacher mainly because of his everlasting ideas, which continue to influence politics, statecraft, and behaviour of people even in present time.

2- Contributions to statecraft and governance:

Following are the contributions Aristotle made to the study of statecraft and governance, which still reverberate to this day, even after more than a millennia of time period.

1.1: Man is a social and political animal:

Aristotle regarded man as a social animal seeking cooperation and collaboration for survival. According to Aristotle this nature of man makes him a political animal. Thus, Aristotle, regarded man to achieve his highest intellectual, social, and moral form in a hierarchy of state and community. Therefore, man is by nature a political animal for excellence.

1.2: A Typology of Governments:

Aristotle collected information about different forms of governments during his travels to Asia minor. His classification of governments is based on certain virtues which make them good or bad. On the more face-values Aristotle's classification includes, monarchy, aristocracy, and polity.

Best Type of Govt.	Best Forms	Worst Form
Monarchy	Rule by one	Tyranny
Aristocracy	Rule by few	Oligarchy
Polity	Rule by many. (Democracy)	Mobocracy.

1.3. A Mixed Constitution is the best constitution:

Aristotle regarded a mixed constitution, such as which would contain all the good elements of monarchy, aristocracy and polity to be the best form of constitution. According to Aristotle, every form of government has some inherent weaknesses and contradictions. In order to remove these contradictions, all the best elements of every form of government need to be put together to form a mixed constitution. Because only that constitution can bring justice and order in society.

1.4: Citizenship is a virtue for a state:

Aristotle's idea of citizenship is that, only those people who contribute or take part in the active politics are liable to citizenship. Furthermore, Aristotle regarded citizenship a virtue for a state, which makes the state virtuous. Because, the people or citizens actively participate in the decision making process to make the rules which govern their behaviours and choices.

1.5: Politics and Golden Mean:

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Aristotle saw a 'inherent and deeply entrenched relationship of ethics with regard to statecraft' for he believed that politics was necessary for justice and social order in a community, and the function or telos of a state is to establish a just and stable political order. This is the practical manifestation of Aristotle's ethical golden mean principle in politics.

2. Legacy and Relevance of Aristotle's Thought to present time.

2.1: Mixed Constitution in Modern Political Systems:

Aristotle's idea of mixed constitutions is relevant and still practical in many political systems of the developed countries.

For example, the ideas of, separation of power, checks and balances, popular sovereignty, and limited form of government are incorporated

into the constitutions of many countries. Another example would be of Switzerland, where

both elements of Presidential and Parliamentary, as well as direct or indirect democracy are

found. This explains that Aristotle's ideas are

still relevant in the contemporary modern system of governance.

2.2. The Idea of Virtuous Citizenship in Modern System of Governance:

Aristotle's idea of a virtuous citizenship is still practiced in the modern system of governance. As citizens develop a civic or political culture to interact with the government and participate in the political system through interest articulation and elections.

2.3. Ethical Governance: A pillar of Modern Politics

As corruption and populist governance are becoming a bane for modern liberal democratic system of governance, Aristotle's idea of ethical governance remains a potent force. Free-media and accountability of office holders work hard to bring ethical governance into modern system of governance.

Conclusion: Aristotle was a great Greek philosopher and student of Plato. Aristotle is regarded as the First Teacher by scholastic school of Western Philosophy. His work not only inspired Al-Farabi and Alexander the Great but are still practiced in the modern system of governance. Moreover, Aristotle's title as the Father of Political Science seems justified given the gravity of his ideas.

Q#5: Do you think that Populism restricts the autonomy of state, generates domestic social conflicts, voices to redefine social-contract. Discuss the interactions between populism and domestic politics.

Introduction

Populism is a hollow political ideology developed following the fall of Soviet Union and Berlin Wall in 1989-92. Populism poses many challenges to the establish political order and is often a reported phenomenon in the news, however, for all the wrong reasons. Because, populism restricts the autonomy of state, generate domestic social and political conflicts, and presses hard to redefine the social-contract and political system in its own favor.

1. Explicating Populism as a Political Ideology:

Populism is a hollow political ideology that lies neither on left or right of the political spectrum, thus, it like Mussolini's fascism doesn't have any organized or well-defined ideology. Instead, populism as the word indicates is derived from 'people' and 'popula'.

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That these leaders who are popular among people, without any well-defined political ideology. Given the new wave of global populism, there are some common characteristics in it, which includes the following.

2.1- Characteristics of Populism:

- (a) Opposition to plural values and adjacency of homogeneity.
- (b) Using emotional rhetoric instead of giving a concrete socio, political and economic plans.
- (c) Polarisation of society into "us vs them" binary.
- (d) Use of social-media and fake-news to structure post-truth narratives.
- (e) Personalisation of political power and demonisation of opponents.
- (f) Opposition to political elites and established political order, values.
- (g) Appeal to masses to challenge institutions and governance.
- (h) Peddling of conspiracy theories against state to achieve political ends.

2. How ^{does} populism disturb the established political, social and constitutional structures?

2.1: Opposition to pluralistic ethos:

Populists generally rely more on

homogeneous nationalism and alienate or exclude the rest for example, in the United States, the White Americans are considered the real Americans, whereas African Americans and immigrants are considered a threat. This bigoted nationalism of populists generates more social and economic conflicts in society.

2.2: Polarisation of Society into binaries cause Institutional meltdown:

Populists consider politics as a fight between the good and evil. In order to achieve their political ends, populists polarise society as a single entity into different binaries of "good vs evil" and "us vs them". This polarisation affects governance mechanism more than anything except that the social fabric of society becomes a victim. When populists sow the seeds of division in society, this division gets manifested in the form of institutional meltdown.

2.3: Personalisation of Political power by Changing the social contract:

Populists ride upon the wave of emotions, they are aware of the fact that

human behaviour is unpredictable. Therefore, in order to personalise their power they peddle ideas like changing social contract. However, this idea or demand is often hollow as the real task is establish personal rule.

2.4: Use of Fake-News and Conspiracy Theories against Political Elites and Institutions.

Populists structure a post-truth environment by posing themselves as messiahs and opponents as demons. For this purpose, social media is used to peddle fake-news and conspiracy theories against the political elites and institutions of a state. For example, during the 2020 US Presidential elections, former US President Donald J. Trump (a populist) lost to Joe Biden. However, Trump with the support of his bidders in media floated a conspiracy theory that the elections were rigged against him. Resultantly, there was chaos in US, and resulted in the rioting and attack at Capitol Hill of Congress.

2.5: Populism leads a nation towards Implosion:

Populists trample upon the established political and social norms governing a state. In order to achieve their ends populists use 'macroeconomic'

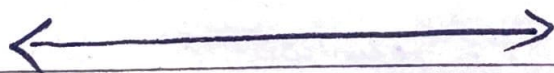
populism." Macroeconomic populism is a method used by populists, to appeal to the masses by taking certain misguided and wrong economic decisions. On the face value, it seems a relief for the poor and marginalised, however, behind the facade of this economic model lies, cronyism and corruption, which are painted as moral acts. Thus, macroeconomic populism drastically impacts the economy of a state, false growth projections, artificial injecting of foreign currency, overprinting of local currency, tariff imposition, and unsustainable economic or fiscal policies are used to build a positive image. However, it leads a nation towards economic default and near implosion, ^{e.g.} Modi's Helveticism.

2.6: Populism sets institutions on a collision course:

After polarising society, the populists find new enemies in the form of institutions. Because institutions are the recurring political and social values, being the last bastion of order, they become a threat. For example, after losing elections ⁽²⁰²²⁾ the former Brazilian premier Jair Bolsonaro along with his supporters voted to force the military to take over and install him as president,

Conclusion :

Populism is a hollow political ideology that remained on the fringes of political systems during the Cold War bipolar-moment. Following the fall of Berlin Wall (1989) and Soviet Union (1992), the identity politics got traction throughout the world. Resultantly, populism that lies neither on the left or right of the political spectrum became a force to be reckoned with. The current global wave of populism is leaving behind the legacy of polarisation, institutional meltdown, cult-following, fake news, disinformation, conspiracy theories, and economic implosion as well as destruction of social fabrics and plural make-up of societies. Furthermore, the most concerning phenomenon of populism is that the 4th waves of democracy is being derailed throughout the world.

(Section-B)

Q#8: How far 18th amendment has altered the structure of existing federation in Pakistan? Critically evaluate.

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Introduction:

The 18th amendment to the (1973) Constitution of Pakistan is a landmark legislation that aimed to alter the existing federation in a radical way. The long spells of authoritarian rule had reactively altered the make-up of federation and constitution. The 18th amendment is regarded as a step in the right direction as it can enhance national integration, by empowering provinces, giving equitable mechanism for division of resources, empowering governance at local tiers, and strengthening democracy.

1. Positive Impacts of the 18th amendment legislation:

Following are some positive impacts of the 18th amendment legislation to the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan:

1.1. Devolution of Power to Provinces by removing the Concurrent Legislative list.

The 18th amendment has removed the Concurrent legislative list, which empowered the federal government to intervene in the provincial domain of matters. So, the 18th

amendment empowered the provincial entities through the devolution of political and legislative powers.

1-2: Strengthened Provincial Autonomy and Limited Federal Government's Domains:

Prior to 2010, there existed three legislative lists namely the federal legislative list, the concurrent legislative list, and the provincial legislative list. The federal legislative list contained federal subjects, like communication, defense, economy, and foreign policy. The concurrent list included both subjects on which federal and provincial governments could legislate and vice versa. However, the removal of concurrent legislative list aimed to address the historical grievances of provinces that they were being politically remote controlled from Islamabad.

1-3: Establishment of the Council of Common Interests (CCI).

After the removal of concurrent legislative lists the 18th amendment provided a policy framework for the establishment of the Council of Common Interests (CCI). The CCI gives representation to the federating

units and federal government to deliberate on issues concerning the Federation.

2.4: Financial Autonomy and Increased Share of Provinces in the NFC.

The 18th amendment legislation aimed to address the economic grievances of the federating units. The legislation provided policy guidelines regarding increase in the share of provinces in the 7th NFC Award (National Finance Commission).

Resultantly, the provincial share in the federal divisible pool too increased for future.

2.5: "Aghaz-i-Haqoq-i-Baluchistan", special economic focus on Baluchistan.

The Aghazi-Haqoq-i-Baluchistan aimed to address the grievances of Baluchistan province. As a result, 61 reforms proposal package aimed to address development related and infrastructure projects. This package was not a part of the 18th amendment but was a sub-section of 7th NFC award.

2.6: Strengthening of Constitutionalism in Pakistan

The 18th amendment legislation

restored the parliamentary spirit of government, which was diluted under the long spells of presidential and authoritarian rule. The president under the notorious 58-2B clause could sack the existing government and dissolve Parliament. However, the 18th amendment removed this notorious clause and restored constitutionalism and parliamentary character of the constitution.

2.7. Subversion of Constitution Declared High Treason.

The 18th amendment legislation declared subversion, suspension or tampering with the constitution by any individual or a group of individuals declared a criminal offence of high treason. The article 6 deals with such cases.

2-Negative Impacts of the 18th amendment legislation:

2.1: Quick devolution strained administrative abilities of provinces:

The quick devolution process without any prior mechanism strained the administrative capacity and resources of the provincial governments. Furthermore, the provinces had to

Start from scratch to adapt themselves to the new reality.

2.2. Devolution Remain stuck due to the absence of third tier of governance.

One of the major criticisms mounted on the 18th amendment legislation is that it restricted the devolution to the Provincial governments only. The absence of third-tier of governance in the form of local self government makes the question of devolution a farce.

2.3. Financial Autonomy remains a persistent issue due to lack of effective utilization of ~~provincial~~ shares by provinces:

There is no denying the fact that the 18th amendment legislation provided a semblance of financial autonomy to the provinces. However, the hasty mechanism without required institutional reforms resulted in corruption and the dream of financial autonomy remains yet to be materialised.

2.4. The decision-making powers of the CCI remains controversial.

The Council of Common Interests (CCI) provided a mechanism for joint (federal + Provincial)

decision-making on matters of importance.

However, the role of ECJ is seen as controversial in the working of federation.

As the decision-making process is not transparent in it.

Conclusion:

The 18th amendment legislation is a landmark development in the constitutional and political history of Pakistan. As the legislation aims to strengthen the current ethnic, provincial and marginalised (communities) make-up of the federation. The legislation provides a comprehensive policy framework for future course of action to achieve national integration. However, there are some lingering issues within the legislation, which need urgent addressing. Therefore, the 18th amendment legislation has a legacy of mixed bag of positives and negatives but the positives still outclass the negatives.

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Q#8. How far is it true to say that the state has the legitimate right to have a share from our income in the form of taxes and legitimate right

to use force? Discuss scientifically, critically the reasons of the phenomenon regarding the origin of state.

Introduction:

The question of the legitimate right of state to collect taxes, employ legitimate use of force is centuries old. This question traces its origins back to Enlightenment and Renaissance, whose philosophers like Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and Niccolò Machiavelli, as well as Max Weber and John Austin deliberated upon this question. Their views on the origin of state as a rational actor with legitimate right to taxation and violence continue to influence the modern political theory.

1-The Social Contract Theory and Origin of the States.

La/Hobbes: The English philosopher Thomas Hobbes traces the origins of state back to the state of nature, when there was no organised authority. Life in state of nature was "nasty, brutish and short" as everyone was at "war with

everyone else?" According to Hobbes, in order to protect life and property the people formed a contract among themselves and gave up certain rights to a selected sovereign called Leviathan, (literally a sea-monster). Thus, according to Thomas Hobbes life's scarcity was the primary driver behind the origin of state.

(b) John Locke

John Locke is the father of modern liberalism and empiricism. Locke's political ideas are long standing and still relevant. According to Locke, man in state of nature was free and endowed with certain natural rights, like ~~of~~ right to life, liberty and property. But with the emergence of private property formation of state became a necessity. According to Locke, people formed a social contract with each other to appoint a sovereign body upon themselves with a view to regulate and protect the natural rights of citizens especially the right to property and liberty. The famous lines of Locke "no taxation without representation" inspired the American Revolution later on. Thus, according to Locke private property is the primary driver behind origin

of state.

(C) Jean Jacques Rousseau :

Rousseau romanticizes the state of nature in his social contract theory. State of nature, according to Rousseau was the only time period when humankind was at the peak of liberty and freedom. Man was free to walk under the sun anywhere. The establishment of state became necessary due to marriage and property, thus, state was evil as it curtailed the freedom of man. Rousseau wrote in his, 'The Social Contract,' "man was born free but everywhere he is in chains." Rousseau's social contract theory holds that man is free, when it is governed by its own laws. This feat is accomplished through the general will, which is akin to the collective will of people for common good. The opposite of general will is the particular will (will of a select few elected representative) as it is the norm in the modern representative democracy.

2. Rule by consent from the Divine Rights of Kings:

The notion of divine right of kings

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implies that Royalty is Divine sanctioned to rule the masses. The king or emperor is the God's shadow on earth (opposite to Poper notion being the God's vicar on earth). The English King James VI was one of the proponents of this notion, this notion helped King James VI to bypass his Privy council/Parliament. However, later the English Civil War and subsequent triumph of Parliament's forces under Oliver Cromwell reestablished the notion of rule by consent. The modern political system is governed by this notion.

3- Legitimate Monopoly on Violence by Government/State:

The social contract theory especially of Thomas Hobbes stresses upon the notion that only sovereign (Leviathan) has the right to use force to bring order. However, a modern German theorist, namely Max Weber gives traction to the idea that only state has the legitimate authority to exercise force within its borders. This monopoly, according to Weber is essential for maintaining social order and protecting citizens from external threats. According to English Jurist John Austin, "in every society, there exists a supreme power or

authority, called sovereign, whose commands or orders, the members of society habitually obey." This is called the Positivist Theory of Law and sovereignty. Because where there is no sovereign, there is no independent society. Thus, state possesses a legitimate right to violence to maintain public order.

4- Role of state in the Collection of Taxes:

Taxes are a source of revenue generation, and a mechanism for resource collection, mobilisation for public good and services. The state derives its legitimacy to collect taxes through responsible service delivery, protection, and to promote common good and welfare in society. However, when a state starts ^{imposing} ~~promoting~~ despotic tax measures, then John Locke and Thomas Hobbes give the idea of revolution (Locke) and right to limited revolution (Hobbes).

4.1: Legitimacy of State to Collect Taxes:

Machiavelli stresses pragmatism over morality in governance approach, that means using whatever method required to stay in power. On the matters of taxation, Machiavelli favours prudent financial and taxation mechanism. To Machiavelli, a state gets legitimacy

to collect taxes through implied force. For, fear according to Machiavelli, is more reliable motivator for obedience.

Conclusion :

The question of the legitimate right of state to collect taxes and use force is central to modern political theory. From the social contract theorists to present every political thinker is of the view that only state has the ultimate authority to collect ~~taxation~~ taxes and use force. Because if not then there will be chaos and disorder in society, as there will be supra-constitutional authorities and illegitimate forces such as non-state actors, militants, gangs and war-lords. This question is better understandable by looking at the failed states like Afghanistan, where different armed groups challenge the writ of the state and become de-facto rulers but this rule remains illegitimate. Therefore, a de-jure sovereign authority in a state is sine-qua-non for a just, peaceful and stable, political and social order.