

# POLITICAL SCIENCE (paper 1)

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(Q2) Explain the contribution of Aristotle regarding state and governance. Examine its relevancy in present time.

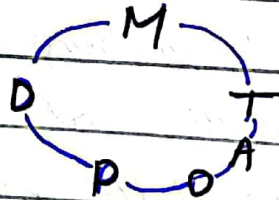
## ① Introduction

Aristotle's theory of an ideal state tells us that the state is necessary for human beings to survive. It is the highest and most natural institution. City-state fulfills the desires and needs of human beings. Aristotle treats monarchy, aristocracy, and polity as an ideal constitution run by morally and practically virtuous people. The ideal state is the state in which the best, who are inevitably few in number, exercise power in the interests of all. Aristotle establishes the concept of a moderate territory with a moderate population having

a supremacy of law, and a state controlled education system. Consequently, in today's democratic societies, Aristotle's ideas on political participation, deliberation and role of citizens remain relevant.

## ② Classification of Government by Aristotle

No of rulers	Good form	Bad form
1	monarchy	tyranny
few rulers	aristocracy	oligarchy
many rulers	polity	democracy



## ③ Six forms of Government

Aristotle provides a simple yet insightful schema as part of his investigation of the best regime. He argues that there are six regimes overall but only three are correct. According to Aristotle, a regime is correct only if it serves the interests of society overall, and not just the ruling elite. Monarchy, polity and aristocracy, according to Aristotle

are the correct regime. Whereas, tyranny, oligarchy and democracy are the deviant regimes.

#### ④ Relevance of the six forms of Government in contemporary world

Like other ideas from antiquity, Aristotle's classification of government is also relevant today. Aristotle's classification of government teaches that the purpose of government is the common good and forms of political organization are, ideally, means to that end. Although democracy has a more positive connotation today, Aristotle viewed it as deviant, unjust to the wealthy.

#### ⑤ Criticism of Aristotle's theory of government

(i) Democracy is not in its worst form today

According to Aristotle, democracy is the worst form of government because it is based on majority rule, and he believed that it would lead to mob rule. However, modern philosophers argue that it is not the case today and nowadays many countries are practicing

democracy and they are progressing.

(ii) Method of classification is not valid today

Aristotle's theory of governance has been nullified by many modern philosophers as it considers democracy as the worst form, while it is widely being practiced today.

(iii) Aristotle did not differentiate between constitution and government

Aristotle's classification focuses on different forms of government but does not clearly distinguish between the constitution (system of rules and laws) and government (the individuals or administration that administers those rules).

(iv) No distinction between state, constitution and government

Aristotle considers state, constitution, and government - all the same. However, critics argue that it's not the same as constitution is present within the state and government performs its functions for the state.

## ⑧ Characteristics of Aristotle's Ideal State

### (i) Population

Aristotle suggests a moderate population for an ideal state around 15k to 100k. It should not be too large as it would become difficult to enforce law. Similarly, if it is too small, it will not have the virtue of self-sufficiency.

### (ii) Territory

It should have a moderate territory. It should neither be too large, nor too small. It should be large enough to allow citizens to extract a livelihood and perform civic duties but should be no larger than that.

### (iii) Geography

Aristotle argued that an ideal state should not be landlocked; it should have sea routes but also should not be too close to the sea. It should be strategically situated for defense.

#### (iv) Division of Society

Aristotle divided society into two classes: (i) citizens (ii) slaves

He emphasized specialized profession for both the classes. Agriculture, art and craft for the slaves (lower social class) and defence, ruling, and religion for the citizens.

#### (v) Education

Aristotle was against the idea of private education. He believed that the education must be controlled by state. He believed that the education system must take into account different aspects of life like action and leisure, and these must be distinguished.

#### (vi) Property

Unlike Plato, Aristotle allowed individuals to own property. He believed in private property but also the common use of property. Each owner would hold two plots of land: one near city and one in the frontier area.

#### (vii) Rule of Law

Aristotle believed that there should be stability and consistency in governance.

It should be governed and regulated by a rule of law.

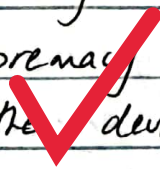
### ① Conclusion

Although, there is some criticism of Aristotle's theory of governance and its application in contemporary times, it still remains a very valuable contribution to political philosophy. It provides some valuable insight into the dynamic of political power. Aristotle's emphasis on the cultivation of virtues, critical thinking, and supremacy of law is still very relevant today and serves as a reminder of the responsibilities and privileges that come with a democratic regime.

"But we must remember that good laws, if they are not obeyed, do not constitute good governance." ~ Aristotle

Q3) Is the Judicial review in Pakistan clearly at the expense of parliamentary sovereignty and supremacy? Argue in favour or against.

### ① Introduction

The judicial review is a deterrent tool conferred by the constitution of Pakistan 1973 under Article 184(3) upon the Supreme Court and High Court of the provinces under article 199 to analyze and rectify any law that suffers from legal lacuna or mistake. Judicial review does not entirely challenge the sovereignty and supremacy of the parliament. Despite the  developments of the independence of judiciary and judicial review, parliamentary privilege remains a potent defence against it for matters relating to parliament. However, it is vitally important in a democracy that individual judges and the judiciary as a whole are impartial and not subjected



# weak and myopic

to improper influences.

## ② Principles of Judicial review

### (i) Impartiality of Judiciary

Judiciary must decide matters before them impartially on the basis of facts and in accordance with the law, without any restrictions, improper influences, pressures or threats.

### (ii) Exclusive authority of judiciary

The judiciary shall have exclusive authority and complete jurisdiction over all issues of judicial review.

### (iii) No unwarranted interference with the judicial process

There should be no unwarranted interference with the judicial process. Judicial decisions should not be subject to ~~re~~ revision.

### (iv) Judicial proceedings to be conducted fairly

The principle of the independence of judiciary and its ~~ability~~ power to carry out judicial review requires the judiciary to ensure that all legal proceedings are conducted fairly, and the rights of all parties involved are respected.

(v) Follows the doctrine of separation of powers

Montesquieu's doctrine of separation of powers divides the powers of the state among the three organs in such a way that one organ keeps a check on and is accountable to, the other organ.

Judiciary	legislation	executive
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(vi) Maintain a system of checks and balances

The power of judicial review ensures the process of an effective system of checks and balances. The judiciary keeps a check over the executive and legislative branches, making sure no corrupt practices are hindering the governance process.

(vii) Judiciary and the rule of law

Institutionalizing the rule of law by the judiciary establishes legal boundaries for the political system. With the help of judicial review, the judiciary mediates between political actors and limits arbitrary use of government power.

### ③ Interplay between parliament and judiciary

The interaction between the parliament and the judiciary has drawn constant interest and scrutiny in Pakistan's dynamic democracy. This interaction between the two pillars of the state, sometimes viewed as a complex dance of power, is crucial in determining how the country is governed.

The following are the potential implications of this complex relationship to understand if judicial review in Pakistan detours parliamentary sovereignty.

#### (i) Supreme Court accused of judicial activism

Pakistan's Supreme Court has been accused of judicial activism, especially during the tenure of Chief Justice Iftikhar Chaudhry (2005-2013). The Court aggressively checked governmental power and ensured that the parliament and executive function within constitutional limits.

#### (ii) ~~Role of Supreme Court in 18th~~

## (ii) Role of Supreme court in 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment

In 2010, the Parliament approved the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment to give provinces greater authority, weaken the president's position, and change how judges are appointed. The Supreme Court, however, raised concerns on the latter's constitutionality. The court's interpretation of the statute demonstrates the intricate balance between legislative and judicial authorities, which supported the amendment while preserving a role in judicial selections.

## (iii) The Supreme court practice and procedures act, 2023

The Supreme court practice and procedures act has been passed by the national assembly to regulate certain practices and procedures of the Supreme court of Pakistan. This new law has cut down the Chief justice's power to constitute panels, hear appeals or assign cases to judges in his team. These tasks will now be done by a three-member committee

headed by the chief justice with his two most senior judges as members.

(iv) The Supreme Court (Review of Judgements and orders) bill, 2023

~~The~~ The Supreme Court (Review of judgements and orders) bill, 2023

aims to empower and strengthen the Supreme Court of Pakistan in exercising its power to review judgements and orders. The Act enlarges the scope of review for judgements passed under Article 184 of the constitution.

It also establishes that review petitions will be heard by a larger bench than the one that issued the original judgement. could have structured it better

### ④ Conclusion

Hence, the interaction between parliament and the judiciary is complex in Pakistan.

Judicial review keeps a check over parliamentary decisions and limits its power to an extent but at the same time, parliament is also able to keep a check over the judiciary.

(Q6) How far 18th Amendment has altered the structure of existing federation in Pakistan. Critically evaluate.

### ① Introduction

The federal nature of Pakistan suggests a division of powers between the federal and ~~provincial~~ provincial governments. The 18th amendment to the constitution of Pakistan 1973 was adopted by the Senate and National Assembly in April 2010. It was widely hailed as an important step towards restoring the constitution's credibility. This constitutional amendment has expanded the province's legislative authority by removing the concurrent legislature. It greatly devolves power from the federal government, and adds <sup>considerable</sup> additional powers to the provinces. Hence, the 18th Amendment has altered the structure of existing federation in Pakistan to a great extent.

## ② Characteristics of 18th Amendment

(i) A larger part for parliament to play

It is significant that Pakistan's original legislative system was restored by the 18th Amendment. It granted the prime minister and parliament extensive presidential powers such as the right to designate governors for the provinces, declare a national emergency, and dissolve legislatures.

(ii) Renames former NWFP

The amendment renames the former NWFP as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, thereby, putting an end to the long-running debate about the identification of its majority population.

(iii) Responsibility of education handed over fully to the provinces

Despite increased educational requirements and programs that facilitate the exchange of students from other countries, the responsibility for education has been handed over fully to the provinces with the 18th amendment.

(iv) Provinces being responsible of all programs relating to population growth

~~As~~ As a result of the 18th amendment, the ministry in charge of population welfare had to move to one of the provinces, making the provinces entirely responsible for administering any and all programs related to population growth.

(v) Jurisdiction over more major issues

The 18th amendment gives the provinces jurisdiction over the following concerns, in addition to those that the provinces were previously responsible for handling: human resources and labour.

These include:

Industrial and labour issues

obligations of employers.

trade unions

provident funds

labour regulations

health insurance for elderly

health insurance for workers

pensions



## (vi) Relationship to democracy

The universal affection for democratic rule and the abhorrence of authoritarian totalitarianism is the most significant achievement brought about by the 18th amendment. The amendment works to thwart any and all previous efforts to weaken the democratic system of Pakistan. In order to protect the constitutional order from being compromised in any way, the following actions have been included on the list of high treason offences: suspending or putting the constitution in abeyance, abrogating it, or subverting it in any other way.

## (vii) Compensation for the provinces

The 18th amendment compensates for the disadvantaged and oppressed classes and regions of Pakistan. Legal and practical safeguards were developed in order to avoid policies being interpreted as discrimination against any other group.

## (viii) Consultations with provincial government

Because of the addition of a new

phrase to subsection (1) of section 157, the federal government is now obliged to consult with the appropriate provincial government before making a decision about the construction of a hydroelectric power plant in any province.

### (ix) Provinces' claim to a portion of the oil duty's net revenue

The incorporation of Article 160 (1) acknowledges the provinces' claim to a portion of the oil duty's net revenue.

After having been collected by the federal government, the tax revenue will now be redistributed to the provinces.

### (x) Greater political autonomy of the provinces

The provinces currently have a greater degree of political autonomy than they had in the past. Any province's governor must be a resident and a registered voter of that province and cannot come from another province.

### (xi) Acknowledgment for ethnic communities

Along with renaming the northern North West Frontier province to Khyber

Pakhtunkhwa, Baluchistan and Sindh's spellings were also rectified as part of an effort to appease the local political factions in the provinces by recognizing their ethnic identity.

(xii) Number of senate seats have been increased

The number of senate seats have been increased by four, including the reserved seats for non-Muslims, in order to provide representation for non-Muslims in the senate. For the first time in Pakistan, one senator from each province will represent non-Muslims.

### ③ Revival of Pakistan as a federal state with 18th Amendment

With the 18th Amendment, the provinces gained more autonomy than ever. Too many measures were adopted in the 18th amendment that gave the provinces opportunity to prosper and keep their rights protected.

Given that federalism connotes either the devolution of power or the equal distribution of power, Zia ul-Haq's and Musharraf's 8th and 17th amendments

were diametrically opposed to democratic principles and the framework of the federal government. The 18th Amendment, on the other hand, encourages the sovereignty of individual provinces. It does so while simultaneously restoring Pakistan's parliamentary democracy and bolstering the federal framework and constitutional institutions.

(4)

### Conclusion

It can be concluded that the 18th amendment has altered the structure of the existing federation to a great extent, providing more opportunities and powers to the provinces.

Q7) Recent Fascism generally flourishes in countries with strong nationalism and democracies. Discuss the enabling conditions for fascism with reference to Asia and Europe.

### ① Introduction

Fascism is a far-right authoritarian political ideology characterized by dictatorial power, extreme nationalism, suppression of dissent, and a focus on the supremacy of the nation and its leader. Historically, fascism has found fertile ground in countries with specific enabling conditions, including strong nationalism and weak democracies. Fascist regime in Europe is of Hitler and Mussolini's. Hitler in Germany and Mussolini in Italy - both led the world to the second world war. Similarly, in Asia "the Kuomintang," a Chinese nationalist political party had an alleged history of fascism under Chiang Kai-shek's leadership. Similarly, fascist ideology also manifests

in the political system of Japan.

## ② Definition of Fascism

Consolidation of political and economic power or superiority of a single race under single political party, and political leader is called Fascism.
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## ③ Characteristics of Fascist regime

### (i) Rule of the elite

There is no equality in a fascist regime and all power belongs to the elite only. It is a government of the elite by the elite. The knowledge of right and wrong, of the moral law, is the prerogative of the few superiors in the nation and of one supreme leader at its best.

### (ii) It repudiates democracy, liberty, equality and majority rule

Fascism does not believe in democracy, and rejects the democratic processes, such as the choice of the rulers by the ruled, elections, or government by the majority rule. It also rejects popular

Sovereignty and equality.

### (iii) Racial and ethnic superiority

Fascists believe in the supremacy of one race over all others. It implements a racist dictatorship with a hierarchy of ethnicity and classes.

Fascists typically strengthen and unify the dominant group in a nation while stifling dissent and persecuting minority groups.

### (iv) Militarism and Imperialism

Fascists believe that great nations show their greatness by conquering and ruling weak nations. They believe that a state can survive only if it successfully proves its military superiority in war.

### (v) Extreme Nationalism

The fascist state uses national glory and the fear of outside threats to build a new society. Fascist ideology believes in action and violence, and looking at national myths for guidance rather than relying on the "barren intellectualism" of science and reason.

## (vi) Corporatism

Fascists believe in taming capitalism by controlling labour and factory owners. Unions, strikes, and other labour actions are illegal. Although private property remains, the state controls the economy.

## (vii) Rule by a dictator

A single dictator runs the fascist state and makes all the important decisions. This leader often uses charisma, a magnetic personality, to gain support of the people.

## (viii) Propaganda as a means of communication

Fascists use propaganda as a means of communication to persuade the supporters to further agenda. They selectively present facts to encourage a particular synthesis or perception.

## ④ Conditions of Fascism manifested in Europe and Asia

### (i) Strong Nationalism

#### > In Germany

Following the world war I, Germany experienced deep humiliation due to



the harsh terms imposed by the Treaty of Versailles, which included territorial losses and substantial reparations. Many Germans felt a strong desire to restore their country's glory and national pride.

Adolf Hitler and the Nazi party capitalized on his sentiment, promoting an extreme form of German nationalism that aimed to unite the German national people and reclaim what they perceived as lost territories.

### > In Italy

After World War I, Italy faced economic hardships and territorial frustrations. Benito Mussolini and the Fascist party tapped into the Italian people's longing for greatness and national resurgence. He promoted the vision of Italy as a modern Roman Empire.

### > In Japan

Similar to European nations like Italy and Germany, nationalism and aggressive expansionism began to rise to prominence in Japan after world war

I. The treaty of Versailles did not recognize the Empire of Japan's territorial claims, which angered the Japanese and led to a surge in nationalism. International criticism of Japan following the Manchurian invasion led to Japan withdrawing from League of Nations — which led to redoubling of ultra-nationalist and expansionist tendencies.

### (ii) Weak democracies

#### > In Germany

The Weimar republic, established after World War I, faced numerous challenges, including economic instability, political polarization, and social unrest. These factors created an atmosphere of political chaos among the German population, making them more susceptible to extremist ideologies like fascism.

#### > In Italy

Italy's political system was fragmented and ineffective with economic problems, widespread social discontent, and the rise of radical leftist movements.

Mussolini capitalized on this discontent and used violent paramilitary squads

known as the "Blackshirts" to intimidate opponents and create an environment conducive to the rise of fascism.

### > In Japan

The statist movement dominated Japanese politics. It was the belief that state should control either economic or social policy or both, sometimes taking the form of totalitarianism.

### ⑤ Conclusion

In a nutshell, strong nationalism, weak democracies, and a situation of economic crisis and social discontent promotes the rise of fascist regime as this has been the case in the past with Italy, Germany, and Japan.

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"Fascism is a religion. The twentieth century will be known in history as the century of fascism."

~ Benito Mussolini