

PART - II SECTION - A

QUESTION # 02

Introduction

Niccolo Machiavelli was born in Florence, Italy. He discussed the concept of power in state. At that time, there were five city states. All were at war with each other. However, King was busy in salvation and redemption. This triggered Machiavelli and he present his concept of power. He gave few suggestions in his work to maintain state.

Machiavelli's Concept of Power

Machiavelli wrote a book, The Prince, in which he discussed that how a state can maintain its existence by using power. He is known as the citizen of all times. This work is very much relevant in contemporary era and even can be witness in international politics. He discussed about; secular state, state as an end, strong military, virtuous ruler and amoral approach.

1- State is not mean to an end

Machiavelli was aware of the condition of his society where church and king was not treating state as end. They believed state is a mean to the end of salvation and redemption. He guided them in his book as the book is full of suggestions. He focused that state is the end and every other action which is adopted must be for just and good of state.

State is not a mean to an end, state is an end in itself.

- Machiavelli

It can be observed in contemporary era, every state is concerned with the wellbeing of the state. As Trump mentioned, 'America First, American product First'. So, he treated the economic good of this state as ^{only} priority.

2- Ammoral Approach

There is nothing good or bad, whatever comes as good for state is good. Machiavelli guided that if generally an action

is considered as bad, but it is for welfare of state and brings prosperity. Then, the action is justified and become amoral from immoral.

Many states now a days are fighting with terrorism, one's terrorist is another's freedom fighter. Murder is a crime but if killing terrorist organization in state to save peace then it will be amoral approach.

3. Secular state

Machiavelli was in favour of secular state. He believed religion is matter of individual and god. State has no link with it. Religion must be of individual not state.

Politics has nothing to do with religion and morality.

Exempli gratia, Indonesia is biggest country with muslim population but they didn't write it in constitution. While, Pakistan adopted 'Islam' in constitution and in name of state. Saudi Arabia follows suni school of thought and Iran follows shia school of thought.

4- Strong National Army

Army is necessary to exercise the power of state. A state can only survive with strong army. Machiavelli advised to build strong army to maintain existence.

It is better to be feared than loved.

In contemporary era, we witnessed a long journey from arm race to nuclear race, from militarization of space to AI integrated army apparatuses. United Kingdom was 'Queen of sea' because of strong army. United States of America became a global power because of strong military after cold war. In May 2025 event, Pakistan preserved itself because of strong army.

5- Intellectual Capability of ruler

Machiavelli also highlighted the cunning, sharp and clear ruler. He will be more capable of exercising power and maintain state.

Ruler must be like a fox (clever) and lion (brave).

The sharp, brave and clever ruler are more efficient in saving their state internally and externally.

6- Virtuous Ruler

The ruler to exercise power, must also maintain a public image. The virtuous ruler more easily win the loyalty of public.

Everyone see what you appear to be only few witness what you really are.

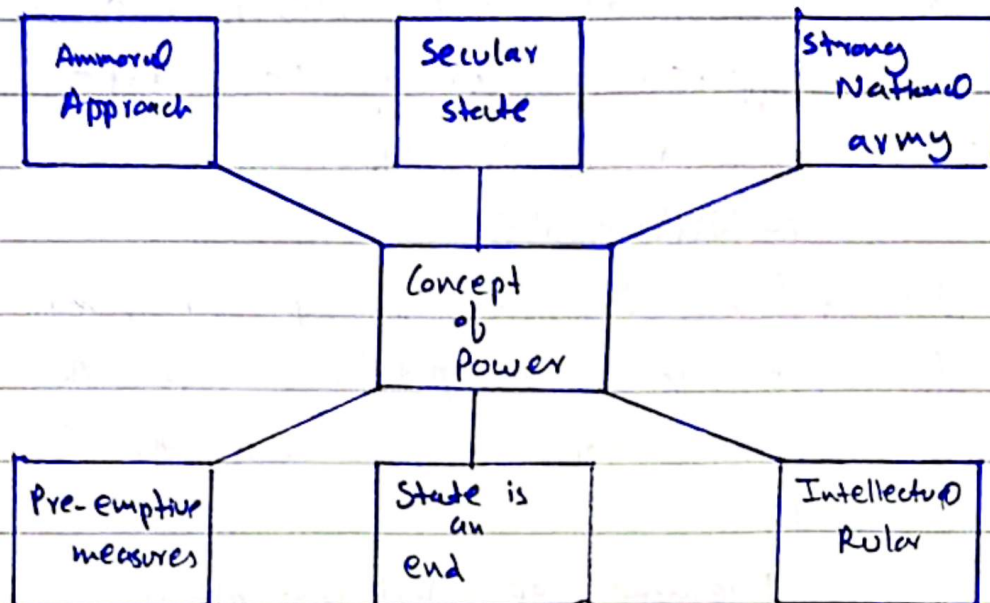
The ruler remain in more contact with public is more appreciated.

7- Involvement in war

Machiavelli guided that if powerful state is attacking on weak one, 'must come in war to save weak'. He told that if not save weak, the powerful will come to you after that.

For instance, Pakistan participated in 'Afghan Jihad' due to the fear of Russia to attack Pakistan after that.

This fear also lead to internal anarchy if not treaded. Machiavelli gave these suggestion to the ruler to save the power and exercise the power.



Machiavelli's concept is relevant and applicable in contemporary statecraft and international politics. The tussle of geo-political approach and geo-economic are also influenced by him.

QUESTION # 05

Introduction

Ibn Khaldun was a great philosopher of Arab. He presented a theory of 'Asabiyyah' and highlighted the importance of solidarity in existence of state. He presented this in his

amous work, 'The Muqaddimah'.

It is first great awakening
for the importance of solidarity
in state.

— K.K. Aziz

⇒ Khaldun's concept of Asabiyyah

Ibn Khaldun mentioned the asabiyyah is
behind the rise and fall of nations.

It contributes to the stability and
even decline of political authority.

He reveals that it is in a cycle
of 120 years. It is consisted of
4-5 generations and 5 steps or
stages.

1 - 'Asabiyyah' - Rise of nation by
strong Asabiyyah

The cycle starts from 'Asabiyyah', which
mean solidarity. A group from moun-
tains come with strong asabiyyah. It
is usually based on two things either
on 'kinship' or 'religion'.

They kicked the last breath taking
civilization and start a new civiliza-
tion with their asabiyyah. Everyone is

equal in first stage. There is no king but leader. The services of bureaucracy and military are free. The rule are applicable to everyone equally.

In subcontinent, muslim ruler came and gave birth to new civilization, 'Muslim Civilization'. They had asabiyyah on basis of kinship and religion of Islam.

2- 'Istila' - consolidation of power

In the second stage, the rulers are emerging from leaders. They focused on consolidating power for their own benefit only, at the cost of state.

They used to kill brothers, fathers and sons so no devolution of power.

At this stage, the services will not be free. In equal society, bureaucracy and military was free.

The great Sultan of Ottoman empire established a custom to kill brothers and sons. The asabiyyah at this stage started eroding, because

solidarity can not prevail in consolidation of power. The ruler will implement tax to collect revenue and pay to bureaucracy and military.

3 - 'Tabbakur' - Peak of Prosperity

The third stage is peak of prosperity.

It is the climax of civilization.

A lot of revenue is generating and it is spending on luxuries. As in Islam, only 2.5% of tax so collectively it generates good revenue for state.

The rulers indulge in making buildings, mosques and palaces.

'Raza Shah Pehlvi' hosted a party costed 635 m\$, he imported food for guests. At ^{that} time people were dying from starvation but he spented on parties.

The time of 'Akbar' was climax of Mughal empire. He focused on buildings and other architectures. His luxuries were at peak and number of monument are still present. This peak of prosperity opened doors for resolution of the 'Pehlvi' and 'Mughal' dynasty.

4. 'Inhilal' - Decline due to luxuries and loss of Asabiya

Inhilal is the decline of the civilization. The huge revenue generation is not enough now. More taxes are implementing. It weakens the societal structure over all. The luxuries of king made him believe that it is permanent. But, with time their luxuries lead to poverty and lack of asabiya.

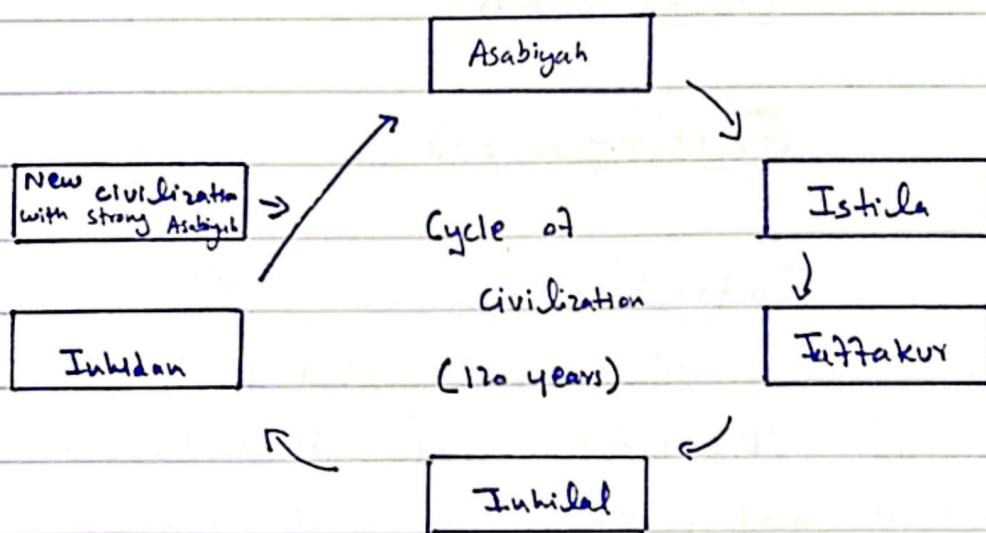
The muslims of Mughal Empire turned into unorganized crowd from unified nation. Bahadur Shah Zafar is example of this. When no revenue, no pays to military and they will not protect ruler in return. The 'White Revolution', appeared because of luxuries and no solidarity.

5. 'Inhidam' - Fall and Rise of new civilization

At last stage, the civilization will end and some new civilization will replace it. The fragmented solidarity, wars of succession, incompetent successors result in scattered empires and loss

of asabiyyah. Ultimately they will face their decline.

Khaldun mentioned that either they will be so weak that ended by themselves like 'Gandahara Civilization'. Secondly, a new group with strong asabiyyah came and hit the last nail in the coffin of previous empire. The way East India Company did to mughals after 'Nadir shah' and 'Ahmad Shah'. In case of continent the new group came from the sea not from mountains.



Criticism

Many critics argue that there is no significant proof of this cycle. Also, Ibn Khaldun forget to involve other

Factors like foreign invasion or wars.
However, its significance can not be
challenged.

↳ Lessons of 'Asabiya'

It has conspicuous value for any society.

It highlights that solidarity is very
important and unite the society.

As the solidarity plays role in rise,
stability and political decline. So,
we must focus on strengthening our
solidarity.

SECTION - B

QUESTION #07

Introduction

Hegel was teacher of Marx. Hegel
discussed 'Dialectics' and Marx discussed
'Dialectical materialism'. They discussed
similar ideas but different dimensions.

One focus on ideology. other focus on
material perspective. Their views regard-
ing power, class and the role of state
in society also varies.

A- Works of Hegel and Marx

Hegel presented his idea in 'Phenomenology of Spirit' and Marx discussed his idea in 'Das Kapital'. Marx did not blindly follow his teacher and gave different ideas. Their approach to analyze social apparatuses are different.

B- Ideology versus Materialism

Hegel believed that ideologies govern the societies and power. He believed that whatever is happening in world is because of ideology. The Nuclear war, Hegel says, it is war of capitalism and socialism and appeared at physical groups. In reality it is clash of ideas.

However, Marx believed the state and society is struggling for materialism. The events like war are the clash of power and economic class for the materialistic gain. He analyzed that these events build ideology, events are primary and ideology is secondary.

C- Hegel - Contradictions are good

Hegel was influenced by the work of

Immanuel Kant, 'Contradictions on pure reason.' Hegel endorsed that contradictions are not bad. The contradictions lead to the new ideas so they are not bad.

Thesis → Antithesis

↙
Synthesis

D - Marx - Contradiction are Deception

Marx viewed these contradictions as depiction of ideologies established by ruling class. These ideas are not real rather influenced by strategic communication and narrative building by upper class.

E - Purpose of Soul

Hegel believed that purpose of soul is to materialise itself and meet god. But its ultimate goal is to achieve peace and peace can be achieved by the creation of state only.

Marx on other hand, soul of elite is governed by profit making and exploi-

tation of labor. Whereas, soul of parr
vanguards are only concerned about ide-
lizing elite (bourgeoisie). This is due
to making of their ideologies. These
ideologies are governing their actions.

F - Fukuyama's comparison of Hegel and Marx

Fukuyama wrote, 'The End of History
and the Last Man', he presented
contrast of Marx and Hegel. Hegel
and Marx both talked about end of
history. Marx idealize socialism as
end and source to achieve permanent
peace in state. Hegel favoured lib-
eral democracy, he argued that history
is a cycle and can't stop. If it
ever stop it will stop on liberal
democracy. Fukuyama resulted that look
today's world, it witnesses that if history
ended it will end on liberal democracy.
So, Hegel knew history well.

G- Power and role of state in society - Hegel

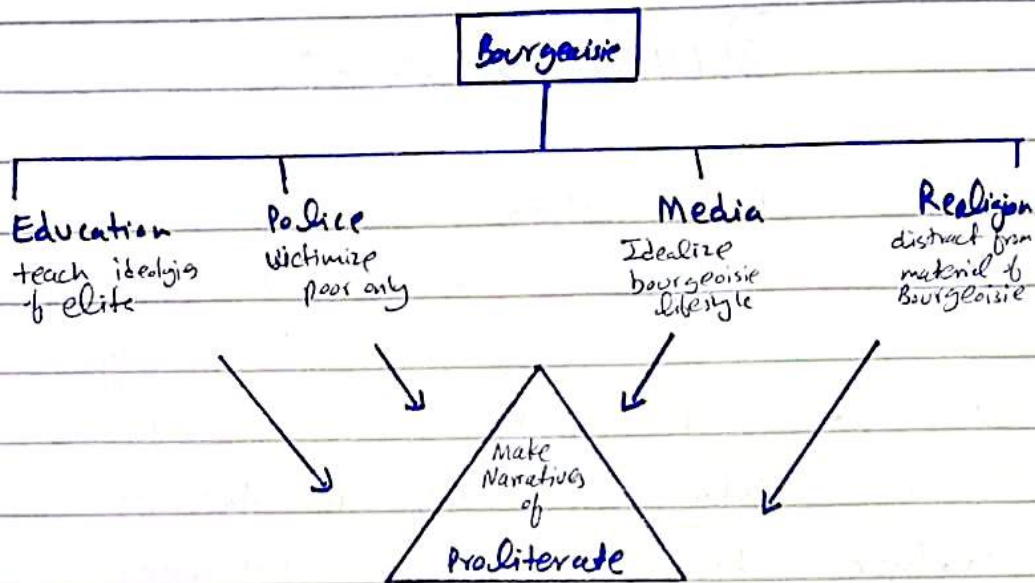
Hegel considered every idea is evolving.

The states are developed by clash of ideas. The one powerful idea counter with other and results in new idea.

The idea of monarchy in society was countered by French revolution and synthesis of democracy. The thesis of democracy and capitalism was challenged by antithesis of socialism. The synthesis of liberal democracy. The powerful idea played role in society.

H- Class, Power and role in society - Marx

Marx the powerful class established the ideas. They influence ideologies by material gain. They own forces of production, means / modes of production and govern super structures. He guided vanguards, by revolution you will lose nothing but your chains. He viewed power and class distinction as exploitative of society. They are enforcing their ideologies to smoothen their materialistic gain and weaken cognition of poor classes.



Conclusion

Hegel's idealist concept and Marx's materialistic theory discussed power, class and their role in society and state. Hegel believes ideas are real and in contrast Marx believes material gain is real and develop ideas. Hegel flourishes counter narrative for productive life. While viewed them as tool to exploit proletariat because they are influenced by the society which is spreading bourgeoisie's narrative. They used different approaches to strengthen their points.

QUESTION # 08

Introduction

The evolution of sovereignty is a long struggle of power in society.

It has its roots back in undocumented history and different theories analyze how it could be. Whereas, in written history, it can be traced back to Athens. It is a journey from family to the nation states.

The power evolved at different stages.

⇒ Evolution of Sovereignty and origin of state

It is mainly discussed by the Theory of Force, which posits that one force challenged the weak force and made itself new sovereign.

The strong state/force always vanishes the weak force/state to prove its 'force'.

In undocumented history, it is believed that the concept of sovereignty and origin of state started from 'family'.

1- Family is the first step

It is believed that history started from family. In small family the concept of sovereign also existed.

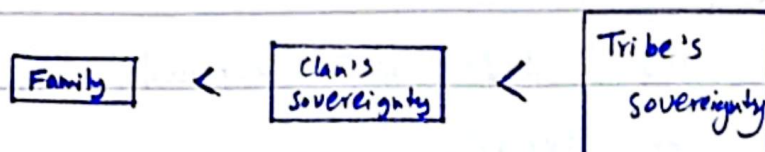
Either matriarchal or patriarchal but they had sovereigns and boundaries.

2- Clan - More powerful

The force of clan overridden power of family. The sovereign of family surrendered in front of sovereign of clan. The clans have no fixed boundaries.

3- Tribe - Third stage

The power of clan was challenged by the more powerful tribe. Tribe is a collection of clan and clan is a collection of families. Every weak power and its sovereign is challenged by more powerful. These tribes also had sovereignty and others surrender their sovereignty in front of it.



4. City States - Athens

In recorded history, the city states in Athens in 1000 B.C are the first element and concept of state. There were number of city states and have separate sovereigns. The citizens bow down their liberty and sovereignty in front of sovereignty of city states.

5. States and Empires

The small states later formed empires collectively. The most famous Roman Empire. The biggest sovereignty and most forceful in authority were empires. The boundaries of empires were ever expanding. They always suppress and snatch the sovereignty of weak force. The small states which were independent but weak in front of big empires. They were invaded.

The state must expand
or expire.

— Machiavelli

The everexpanding empires one day collapsed, the last empire was collapsed after WWII.

For the first time, no powerful sovereign snatched the power of weak.

Rather, the big empires were divided into small state. The big empires like, Ottoman Empire.

6- Nation State

The nation state is last step. It emerged by breakdown of big empires. The nation states have more mature and

strong sovereignty. Their boundaries are rigid and can not be expanded

unilaterally. This the most powerful but peaceful time. The violation of sovereignty

results in punishment. Now, the

sovereignty of international system like

International Law is protecting sovereignty

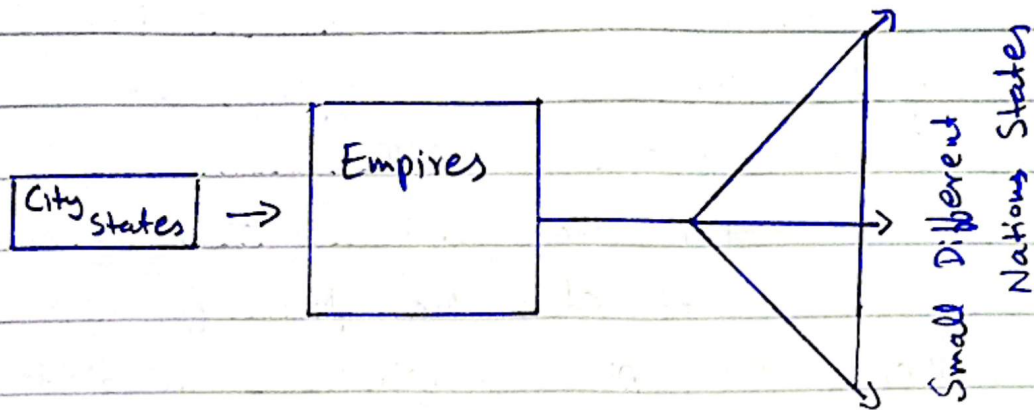
and existence of nation states. Jean

Bodin gave the concept of sovereignty.

However, the concept of sovereignty can vary

Hobbes gave sovereignty to law and

Locke gave sovereignty to individuals.



Hence, the evolution of sovereignty is a critical concept and it changed through out the history. The sovereignty started from the origin of state and it always existed in different forms.