**TOPIC- 4**

**THE SEVEN LIMBS OF THE STATE OR (KAUTILYA’S Saptang Theory of State )**

**Introduction:**

* The Mauryan era of ancient India gave the world a significant piece; the **Arthashastra of Kautilya**.
* It offers deep insights into political statecraft.
* Kautilya is known as the Indian Machiavelli because of his ruthless and shrewd tactics and policies reflecting an approach to statecraft including warfare.

**Kautilya Saptang Theory of Sate**

* The state of ‘nature’ is imagined to be one of total anarchy, in which ‘might was right’.
* When people were oppressed by Matyanyaya, the law of the fish, according to which the bigger fish swallows the smaller ones they selected Manu– son of Vivasvat the king. It was settled that the king should receive one-sixth of the grain and one-tenth of merchandise and gold, as his due. It was the revenue which made it possible for the king to ensure the security and prosperity of his subjects. People agreed to pay taxes and he ruled by one person in order that they might be able to enjoy well-being and security.
* In Kautilya’s Arthashastra, there is no explicit theory of social contract as laid down by  
  the contractualist. Neither does Kautilya use the contract to make the king all powerful.

**Elements of State**

Kautilya enumerated seven **Prakritis** or essential organs of the state. They are as follow  
(i) Swami (TheRuler)  
(ii) Amatya (TheMinister)  
(iii) Janapada (ThePopulation)  
(iv) Durga (TheFortifiedCapital)  
(v) Kosha (TheTreasury)  
(vi) Danda (TheArmy)  
(vii) Mitra (Ally and Friend)

1. **Swami(The Ruler)**
2. It is the first and the most important element.
3. Swami means the monarch.
4. He should be a native of the soil and born in a noble family.
5. He should be brave and well learned.
6. He makes all the important appointments and supervises the government.
7. He has to be virtuous and should treat his subjects like his own children.

Kautilya has given extensive powers to the monarch but those powers are meant for the welfare of the subjects. In the welfare and happiness of his subjects, lies his own happiness.

**2. Amatya (The Minister)**

* It refers to the council of ministers as well as the supporting officials and subordinate staffs.
* They are meant for assisting the monarch in day to day affairs of the state.
* Amatya gives suggestions to king, collects taxes, develops new villages and cities, ensures defense of the state and all other tasks as assigned by the king.

**3. Janpada (The Population)**

* It refers to territory and people of the state.
* The territory of the state should be fertile and should have abundance of forest, rivers, mountains, minerals, wild life etc.
* It should have good climate. People should be loyal to their king, hard working, disciplined, religious, ready to fight for their motherland, should pay taxes regularly and happily.

**4. Durga (The Fortified Capital)**

* It refers to forts.
* The state should have sufficient number of forts across its territory at strategic locations for ensuring defense against foreign invasions.
* Forts should be built near hills/mountains, deserts, dense forests and big water bodies.
* They garrison soldiers, store food grains for emergency and also serve as a hideout for the king when his life in danger.

**5. Kosha(The Treasury)**

* This means treasury of the state.
* Finance is life blood of any state without which it is almost impossible to run it.
* Money is needed for paying salaries, building new infrastructure, etc.
* The treasury should be full of money and valuable metals and gems.
* It can be increased through taxation and plundering enemy states in war.

**6. Danda(The Army)**

* It refers to military.
* The state should have a regular, large, disciplined and well trained military.
* It is crucial for the security of the state.
* The soldiers should be recruited from those families which are traditionally associated with military.
* The soldiers should pay well and their families should be taken care of in most suitable way.
* Proper training and equipment should be made available.
* Well fed and well trained soldiers can win any battle.
* The king should take care of the soldiers and the soldiers will be ready to sacrifice even their life for him.

1. **Mitra (Ally and Friend)**

* It refers to friends of the king.
* The monarch should maintain friendly relationship with traditional friends of his forefathers.
* He should also make new friendships.
* He should send gifts and other pleasantries for his friends.
* They should be helped in times of emergency.
* They should be loyal.
* Friends add to the power of the state.
* They are also important from foreign trade view.

**[ PLEASE ADD THIS CONTENT IN THE TOPIC CONTRACT THEORY ]**

**Contract Theory in the Western Political Tradition**

* In Western political tradition three philosophers **Hobbes**, **Locke** and **Rousseau** who are jointly known as contractualists formulated the social contract theory regarding the origin of the state.
* All of them claimed that the state is not a natural institution but is created by a contract which suggests that the political authority is the result of mutual consent among individuals.
* But the three contractualist philosophers differ in their description of contract and various issues related to it.
* Contractualist philosophers start their description with the depiction of human nature. Based on this human nature they make a description of the state of nature which is a stage prior to the creation of the state.

**THOMAS Hobbes**

* According to Hobbes human nature is basically selfish. Self interest is the mainspring of human actions.
* Individuals are creatures of desire, seeking pleasure and avoiding pain.
* Therefore, Hobbes contended that human life was nothing but a perpetual and relentless desire and pursuit of power.
* Due to this selfish human nature the state of nature is a state of continuous conflict based on the principle of “might is right”.
* In the state of nature every individual is free to do everything which means no one is free to do anything in actual practice.
* There was complete absence of order and peace in such a state.
* In Hobbes’s classic phrase, life was “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short”.
* Hobbes further formulates that individuals have a general tendency of self preservation. But in the state of nature survival or self-preservation is threatened.
* Therefore, individuals enter into a contract through which they surrender their right to do everything to the Leviathan or the state. They only retain with them the right to self-preservation (or right to life).
* The state power has no limitation except the limitation to protect the individual’s right to self- preservation.

**John Locke**

* Locke explained human nature in terms of essential social virtues.
* Human beings are by nature peace loving and rational. Therefore, in the state of nature peace and goodwill prevailed.
* In the state of nature life of the individual was governed by ‘natural law’ which suggested that **“don’t do to others what you don’t want others to do to you”**.
* In the state of nature individuals possessed three ‘natural rights’:

a. Right to life

b. Right to liberty

c. Right to property.

* But eventually individuals experienced some inconveniences in the state of nature.
* Firstly, there was no clear definition of natural law.
* Secondly, there was no sufficient authority to enforce them.
* Thirdly, there was no common arbiter having authority to decide disputes in agreement with the law of nature.
* Due to these inconveniences individuals entered into a contract to establish the state.
* By this contract each individual surrendered his or her right of interpreting and enforcing the law of nature. They did not surrender their other natural rights.
* By a second act, the majority having the whole power of the community in them, decided to set up a government to carry out the provisions of the first contract.
* Sovereignty (power) belonged to the community and government was only a trustee.
* The community and the people had right to dismiss the government if it proved false to the trust reposed in it.
* Lockean contract is different from Hobbessian contract in many ways.
* In Hobbessian contract, individuals surrender all rights except the right to self- preservation whereas in Lockean contract individuals retain their natural rights. They only surrender their right to interpret and enforce natural law.
* Similarly, in Lockean contract this right was given to the community as a whole and not to a particular body like Leviathan as it was in the Hobbessian contract.

**Rousseau**

* Rousseau depicted the individual as noble savage in the state of nature.
* According to Rousseau human nature is basically good, sympathetic and simple.
* The state of nature was a state of perfect equality and liberty— a stage of idyllic happiness.
* It was a type of “golden age”. But the growth of population and consequent economic development created tension in the state of nature.
* The growing economic advancement gave rise to the system of property.
* The notion of property made individuals think in terms of mine and thine.
* This marked the dawn of reason. Human nature which was previously simple now became increasingly complex.
* Hostility and conflict appeared in the state of nature.
* The need of self preservation impelled individuals to form a civil society by contract.
* By contract, each individual put his person and all his powers in common under the supreme direction of the ‘General Will’.

A general overview of the three contractualist philosophers suggests that they reached different conclusions on the basis of their social contract theories.

* Hobbes became a supporter of absolutism.
* Locke justified constitutional government.
* Rousseau supported popular sovereignty and direct democracy.
* Locke emphasised on the natural rights of the individuals. Individuals are born with certain rights which are inalienable from the individual. If the government is unable to protect these rights, individuals have the right to revolt against the government.
* On the other hand Hobbes accepts only one right of the individual that is the right to self-preservation.
* Individuals do not have anything called natural rights.
* Rousseau also does not accept natural rights of the individual.
* According to Rousseau the General Will is always right. Therefore, the individual must abide by the commands of the General Will.