



PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

for Civil Services Main Examination

OPTIONAL SUBJECT PAPER-II

HIGHLIGHTS

- ▶ Designed for Union and State Civil Services Examinations Main Optional Subject Paper-II
- ▶ Exhaustive Syllabus Coverage
- ▶ Content Presented in Unique Question–Answer Format
- ▶ Questions are Based on Previous Years' Papers



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OPTIONAL SUBJECT PAPER-II



 Pearson

Anupama Puri Mahajan

This book is dedicated to all the men in my life, my father V K Puri who has been a strength and motivator since the beginning; my husband, Sanjeev Mahajan who has been a pillar of support in my projects of writing; and my son-in-law, Siddharth Anand who God has blessed me with and is more than a son to us. My daughters, Pawini and Vansha, have always supported me in my work and encouraged me to push myself for excellence.

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CONTENTS



| | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|-------------|
| <i>Preface</i> | <i>vii</i> | Chapter 13 | Intragovernmental Relations | 4.15 | |
| <i>About the Author</i> | <i>viii</i> | Chapter 14 | Cabinet Secretariat, Prime Minister's Office (PMO) | 4.19 | |
| <i>Question and Topic Analysis</i> | <i>ix</i> | Chapter 15 | Central Secretariat, Ministers and Departments | 4.26 | |
| <i>Previous Years' Analysis</i> | <i>xiii</i> | Chapter 16 | Boards, Commissions, Attached Offices and Field Organizations | 4.37 | |
| UNIT I: EVOLUTION OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION | 1.1 | UNIT V: PLANS AND PRIORITIES | 5.1 | | |
| Chapter 1 | Kautilya's Arthashastra | 1.3 | Chapter 17 | Machinery of Planning – Role, Composition and Functions of the Planning Commission and the National Development Council – Indicative Planning; NITI Aayog | 5.3 |
| Chapter 2 | Mughal Administration | 1.22 | Chapter 18 | Process of Plan Formulation (The Union and State Levels; Decentralized Planning) | 5.32 |
| Chapter 3 | Legacy of British Rule in Politics and Administration | 1.29 | | | |
| UNIT II: THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF GOVERNMENT | 2.1 | | | | |
| Chapter 4 | Salient Features and Value Premises | 2.3 | | | |
| Chapter 5 | Constitutionalism | 2.12 | | | |
| Chapter 6 | Political Culture | 2.21 | | | |
| Chapter 7 | Bureaucracy and Democracy | 2.30 | | | |
| UNIT III: PUBLIC SECTOR UNDERTAKINGS | 3.1 | UNIT VI: STATE GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION | 6.1 | | |
| Chapter 8 | The Public Sector in Modern India | 3.3 | Chapter 19 | Union-State Administrative, Legislative and Financial Relations | 6.3 |
| Chapter 9 | Forms of Public Sector Undertakings in India | 3.14 | Chapter 20 | Role of Finance Commission | 6.19 |
| Chapter 10 | Problems of Autonomy, Accountability and Control in Public Sector Undertakings | 3.25 | Chapter 21 | Governor, Chief Minister, Council of Ministers, Chief Secretary, State Secretariat, Directorates | 6.30 |
| Chapter 11 | Impact of Liberalization and Privatization | 3.33 | | | |
| UNIT IV: UNION GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION | 4.1 | UNIT VII: DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION SINCE INDEPENDENCE | 7.1 | | |
| Chapter 12 | Executive, Parliament and Judiciary—Structure, Functions, Work Processes, Recent Trends | 4.3 | Chapter 22 | Changing Role of the Collector | 7.3 |
| | | | Chapter 23 | Union–State–Local Relations | 7.9 |

| | | | |
|---|-------------|--|-------------|
| UNIT VIII: CIVIL SERVICES | 8.1 | UNIT XII: URBAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT | 12.1 |
| Chapter 24 Constitutional Provisions – Structure, Recruitment, Training and Capacity Building | 8.3 | Chapter 38 Municipal Governance – Main Features, Structure, Finance and Problem Areas; 74th Constitutional Amendment | 12.3 |
| Chapter 25 Good Governance Initiatives | 8.12 | Chapter 39 Global Local Debate – New Localism | 12.20 |
| Chapter 26 Code of Conduct and Discipline, Staff Associations, Political Rights and Grievance Redressal Mechanism | 8.24 | Chapter 40 Development Dynamics, Politics and Administration with Special Reference to City Management | 12.24 |
| Chapter 27 Civil Service Neutrality; Civil Service Activism | 8.40 | | |
| UNIT IX: FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT | 9.1 | UNIT XIII: LAW AND ORDER ADMINISTRATION | 13.1 |
| Chapter 28 Budget as a Political Instrument; Parliamentary Control of Public Expenditure | 9.3 | Chapter 41 British Legacy | 13.3 |
| Chapter 29 Role of Finance Ministry in the Monetary and Fiscal Area | 9.11 | Chapter 42 National Police Commission | 13.8 |
| Chapter 30 Accounting Techniques – Role of Controller of Accounts of India | 9.18 | Chapter 43 Investigative Agencies | 13.19 |
| Chapter 31 Audit – Role of Comptroller of Auditor General of India | 9.28 | Chapter 44 Role of Central and State Agencies in Maintenance of Law and Order | 13.26 |
| | | Chapter 45 Criminalization of Politics and Administration | 13.38 |
| UNIT X: ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS SINCE INDEPENDENCE | 10.1 | Chapter 46 Police-Public Relations – Reforms in Police | 13.43 |
| Chapter 32 Major Concerns – Important Committees and Commissions | 10.3 | UNIT XIV: SIGNIFICANT ISSUES IN INDIAN ADMINISTRATION | 14.1 |
| Chapter 33 Reforms in Financial Management and Human Resource Development | 10.20 | Chapter 47 Values in Public Service | 14.3 |
| Chapter 34 Problems of Implementation | 10.37 | Chapter 48 Regulatory Commissions | 14.11 |
| | | Chapter 49 National Human Rights Commission | 14.19 |
| UNIT XI: RURAL DEVELOPMENT | 11.1 | Chapter 50 Problems of Administration in Coalition Regimes | 14.24 |
| Chapter 35 Institutions and Agencies Since Independence | 11.3 | Chapter 51 Citizen-Administration Interface | 14.26 |
| Chapter 36 Rural Development Programmes – Foci and Strategies | 11.14 | Chapter 52 Disaster Management | 14.33 |
| Chapter 37 Decentralization, District Administration and Panchayati Raj – 73rd Constitutional Amendment | 11.21 | Annexure | A.1 |



PREFACE



Public Administration has come a long way since Woodrow Wilson highlighted the discipline through his essay on *The Study on Administration* in 1887. Its journey has been a remarkable one from being a subject under Political Science to it becoming a discipline in its own right. The United Nations has a specific division dedicated to it named *United Nations Public Administration Network (UNPAN)*. The UNPAN helps the United Nations member states to promote an internet-based network that links global, regional and national institutions. It helps in building the capacity of regional and national institutions so that they can access, process and disseminate up-to-date information and communication technologies for the promotion of better public administration.

Public administrators are the heads of all Government Departments and agencies who work not only to govern but also to act as social change agents. Governments keep changing but the administrators remain the same even though they may be transferred. They are the ones who bring in Good Governance.

Scholars in the field of Public Administration have written about the discipline, devised methods, techniques and models to improve productivity, efficiency, effectiveness and economy of governments and administrations. Public Administration theories are best understood both in their historicity and contemporaneity. The length and breadth of the study is massive and so exhaustive that it is indeed a Herculean task to gain familiarity with it. In order to give a successful paper, you would need much more than familiarity—you will need clarity and precision along with a thorough understanding of the subject.

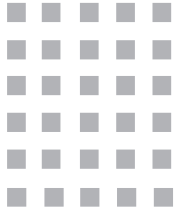
Your most dependable tool in this journey is the voice of the teacher, presented in the unique question–answer format of this title.

This book relates to the syllabus of the Paper II (optional) for the mains UPSC examination and all State Services too. The book can also be used by students of post-graduation in Public Administration. Its uniqueness lies in its question–answer format as it was in Paper I. It will give you a sense of what type of questions will be expected and the way they have to be answered. It includes previous years' questions which gives an idea of how they are to be practiced.

Besides providing complete text on the concepts and institutions in India, it also relates them to the current status in India. The administrative and political culture, need to be understood in their historical as well as the present context. The language used in this book is made easy to comprehend and most of the text is broken down into points and bullet format which makes retaining them easier. There is no doubt that clearing the UPSC examination is not an easy task but this book covers the entire syllabus of Paper II with the latest available data.

I wish you all, best of luck that you succeed in your endeavours to become valuable and effective public administrators.

Anupama Puri Mahajan

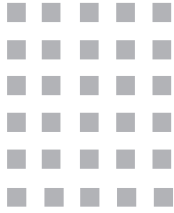


ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Anupama Puri Mahajan, a researcher and writer, served as a Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the Department of Public Administration, Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla (India). She regularly contributes research articles on Public Administration to reputed journals, newspapers and chapters in books.

She has authored and co-authored books on *Women Empowerment and Financial Administration in India*, *Public Administration for Civil Services, Paper I* and *Development Administration*.





QUESTION AND TOPIC ANALYSIS

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

This book has been designed to give a two-edged advantage of having the whole syllabus on one hand and the text in a question-answer format on the other. The book is divided into fourteen units, as prescribed by the UPSC, which individually cover the topics under its umbrella. It gives an understanding into how and why governance in India is carried out and the ways it can be improved in real time situations. The structure of the book is designed in the following manner:

UNIT I: EVOLUTION OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

The evidence of Indian Administration can be dated back to 325 B.C. from the great work of *Arthashastra* by Kautilya. This unit traces how administration has evolved since Kautilyan times into Mughal and the British periods. It gives us perspective of the traces found in the present Indian administration of the earlier administrative systems. India is still grappling with British obsolete laws that are being repealed now one by one. It is such a huge task that the whole legal system cannot be revamped in one go.

UNIT II: THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF GOVERNMENT

The Constitution of India has been framed by our founding fathers with an underlying philosophy and value premises which cannot be altered even though the laws can be changed. This unit deals with the value premises that have been included in our Constitution and their relevance in today's times. The unit also includes the concepts of Constitutionalism and the political culture in India. Each country has its own political culture and it is pertinent to study what our country holds whether it is constructive or denigrating. Lastly, the concepts of bureaucracy and development have been discussed in detail how they are interlinked and upheld in India.

UNIT III: PUBLIC SECTOR UNDERTAKINGS

Public Sector Undertakings (PSUs) were established in India after independence to kickstart the economy and gradually the number had increased to cover more sectors. The unit includes the forms of PSUs in India and its existence in modern India. A majority of them have not been doing well and have been running into losses despite of reforms and major capital infusions. Since the last decade, the trend of the Government of India has been to disinvest the PSUs going into losses. Government's responsibility must be to facilitate ease-of-doing-business to let the private business enterprises grow. The unit also discusses the problems of autonomy, accountability and control in PSUs and the effects of liberalization and privatization over them.

UNIT IV: UNION GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

It is important to understand what the Union Government and administration is with respect to its three arms, that are, the Parliament, the Executive and the Judiciary. The structure, functions, work processes and recent trends have been dealt with. Intragovernmental relations is another important aspect to study while the Cabinet Secretariat and the Prime Minister's Office has been studied from a perspective how it has been changing since independence and how it has become a centre of power now. The other topics included in this unit are the Central Secretariat, Ministers and Departments; and Boards, Commissions, Attached offices and field offices. They give us an insight into the internal workings of the Government and its different agencies to carry out its activities.

UNIT V: PLANS AND PRIORITIES

The fifth unit covers the plans and priorities of Indian national planning. The Five-Year Plans have been given in a comprehensive manner while the National Development Council and its methodology of indicative planning has been dealt with in detail. Since the Planning commission was closed down in 2015 and replaced by the NITI Aayog, a detailed account of its functions and plans have been given even though it is not given in the syllabus but questions have been coming from it in the last couple of years. The topics, 'process of plan formulation at the Union and State levels' and 'Constitutional Amendments (1992) and decentralized planning for economic development and social justice' are also given in an all-inclusive manner.

UNIT VI: STATE GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

The inter-governmental relations between the Centre and the States are very important and very often conflicts arise regarding financial, administrative and legislative functions. There have been two Commissions that were constituted to recommend norms to reduce the friction between the two levels of the Government, namely, The Sarkaria Commission and The Punchhi Commission. Their recommendations have been given in detail to study and analyze them. The role of Fifteenth Commission has been covered explicitly with its Terms of Reference and what is expected from it. The duties and functions according to the Constitutional provisions of the Governor; Chief Minister; Council of Ministers; Chief Secretary, State Secretariat; Directorates are included in this unit.

UNIT VII: DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION SINCE INDEPENDENCE

The changing role of the Collector at the district level is the most crucial one which defines the policies and programmes on the ground. It has been discussed from different perspectives of what the Constitution demands as well as the reality on the ground. The unit also includes the Union State Local Relations which can promote development or hamper it depending on how smooth or conflicting they are.

UNIT VIII: CIVIL SERVICES

Unit VIII deals with various aspects related to civil services. They are the backbone of the Government and explains the Constitutional Provisions regarding their – Structure, Recruitment, Training and Capacity Building. The civil services is responsible to implement Good Governance initiatives to improve public service delivery, the ultimate client being the citizen. They are given in detail along with the Code of Conduct and Discipline; Staff Associations; Political Rights; Grievance Redressal Mechanism of civil services.

UNIT IX: FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

Financial management is important for citizen satisfaction by improving human development indices. The Indian public financial management system is a strong established one with set procedures of budgeting, accounting and auditing but scholars believe that there is scope of improvement. This unit deals with how the Budget acts as a Political Instrument; the Parliamentary control of public expenditure; the Role of Finance Ministry in the monetary and fiscal area and the Accounting techniques with special reference to the Role of Controller of Accounts of India. Finally, auditing is the last step of the financial system which identifies frauds and errors to correct the malpractices and punish the culprits. The role of the Comptroller of Auditor General of India has been discussed in this unit.

UNIT X: ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Various committees and commissions have been constituted in India from time to time to recommend changes in particular aspects of public administration or to inquire into any misappropriations. This unit deals with major Concerns of important Committees and Commissions. The next topic in this unit studies the major reforms in Financial management and Human Resource Development. Once all the policies, plans and programmes have been executed but the problems of implementation hinder development of the vulnerable sections of the society. The last topic in this unit covers the problems of implementation.

UNIT XI: RURAL DEVELOPMENT

India needs an all-inclusive strategy to cope up with the regional disparity and rural backwardness. Agriculture is the primary sector of rural economy and rural employment and it needs agriculturalists to move towards more non-farming activities to boost the economy. This unit deals with how various institutions and agencies since independence have been working towards rural development and the programmes that have been initiated under its ambit. The foci and strategies to improve the economic and social opportunities for the rural people are discussed in the second topic of this unit. Lastly, decentralization is the core of Good Governance through the district administration. The 73rd Constitutional Amendment has brought in many reforms in this sector to transform the rural areas. This unit covers the Amendment and its effects in the rural sector.

UNIT XII: URBAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The urban areas have been bursting and bulgeoning at the seams due to migration of rural people to the urban areas and an increase in the industrial sector. This unit discusses the 74th Constitutional Amendment which relates to the Municipal Governance and its main features, structures, finance and problem areas. The unit moves to the global local debate, New Localism, that promotes the collaboration of the private sector, the Local Government and the civil society to bring in humungous positive results in the social infrastructure – health, education, water and hygiene, etc. Lastly, this unit includes the dynamics of Development Administration. Development Dynamics is the scientific study of development forces or processes (dynamics) that produce movement/change inside a group or system. The Development Dynamics aims at scientific measurement of the levels of development in the country. Until today, there were no reliable indicators to measure it but the SDG Index, 2018 has developed indicators and parameters to measure the levels of development in India. This unit also deals with the conflicting dichotomy between the politics and administration with special reference to City Management.

UNIT XIII: LAW AND ORDER ADMINISTRATION

Rule of Law is one of the Worldwide Governance Indicators of Good Governance laid down by the United Nations. It has been one of the oldest pillars of societies, whichever type of governance it follows whether it is a monarchy, a communist regime or a socialist democracy. Law and order is an essentiality for a society to develop and grow. This unit begins with what India inherited from the Britishers in the name of law and order and goes on to discuss the National Police Commission. The investigative agencies and paramilitary forces have been discussed in detail with their history, duties and functions. The imperatives of Development Management have been studied along with the problem of criminalization of politics and administration. Lastly, how the police-public relations can be improved by reforming the police have been given.

UNIT XIV: SIGNIFICANT ISSUES IN INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

This unit is an amalgamation of significant issues in Indian Administration beginning with the values in public service, role and importance of Regulatory Commissions, National Human Rights Commission and problems of administration in coalition regimes which have come to stay in India. Good Governance is reinforced by improving the citizen-administration interface and lastly, the unit covers the topic of disaster management.

PREVIOUS YEARS' ANALYSIS

There may not be a repetition of the same question in the UPSC exams but the previous years' questions give a fair idea what you are going to be dealing with. If one is lucky, same topic is also asked in a rephrased manner. Problem-solving is an art and understanding the question is very important. You must attempt the question only after there is full comprehension of what has been asked. The benefit of question analysis is to give you a fair idea of which topics are picked by the UPSC paper-setters so that more emphasis can be laid on them while preparing for the examination.

| S.No. | Units | Years | | | | | Total |
|-------|--|-------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| | | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | |
| I. | Evolution of Indian Administration | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| II | The Philosophical and Constitutional Framework of Government | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 12 |
| III | Public Sector Undertakings | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| IV | Union Government and Administration | 2 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 10 |
| V | Plans and Priorities | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 4 |
| VI | State Government and Administration | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 12 |
| VII | District Administration since Independence | 0 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 9 |
| VIII | Civil Services | 2 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 4 | 19 |
| IX | Financial Management | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 12 |
| X | Administrative Reforms since Independence | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 7 |
| XI | Rural Development | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| XII | Urban Local Government | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| XIII | Law and Order Administration | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 12 |
| XIV | Significant Issues in Indian Administration | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 11 |

The above table of question analysis shows clearly the number of questions that came in the UPSC examination in the years 2014 to 2018, the last five years. The maximum number of questions have come from the unit on 'civil services' with a count of 19 questions which is huge. This implies that this unit holds a lot of importance for the paper-setters. The second place goes to 4th units with an equal count of 12 questions, which are, The Philosophical and Constitutional Framework of Government, State Government and Administration, Financial Management and Law and Order Administration. The unit on 'Significant issues in Indian Administration' has taken the next place with 11 questions while 'The District Administration since Independence' has been asked 9 times. The rest have been addressed 6 or 4 times.

Hence, this analysis will help in preparing for examinations so that more emphasis can be laid on the units that have come the most in the paper though there is no fixed rule that this will be so. The UPSC question paper can be a twister anytime, any year.

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UNIT



EVOLUTION OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

Chapter 1 Kautilya's *Arthashastra*

Chapter 2 Mughal Administration

Chapter 3 Legacy of British Rule in Politics and Administration



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1

Kautilya's Arthashastra

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

In this chapter, you will learn about:

- Who was Arthashastra and Kautilya? Principles of Arthashastra and Kautilya
- All About State Structure, Authority and Police
- What were the Four Basic Methods of Politics—Saam, Daam, Dand, Bhed?
- The Origin of Foreign Policy and International Relations
- Influence of Kautilya on Nehru
- Similarities in the Works of Kautilya and Weber
- Why Ethics has been the Central Concern of Kautilya's Arthashastra?

India has a rich statecraft that offers good advice on how a state can go about protecting and promoting its interests. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* or the 'Science of Government' of the fourth century BCE, written in Sanskrit, draws on the rich scriptures and treatises as he mentions them in his work. He said, 'The conqueror shall think of the circle of states as a wheel—himself as the hub and his allies, drawn to him by the spokes though separated by intervening territory, as its rim'.^[1]

Kautilya's '*Arthashastra*' is one of the world's oldest and most comprehensive treatise on the science of statecraft. It is amazing how approximately 2400 years earlier, Kautilya, also popularly known as Chanakya, laid down the principles of running a state from organizing, military, personnel administration and citizen welfare. However, most of all, it emphasizes on foreign policy and how to maintain good relations with other countries. This ancient text has retained its relevance throughout the Indian history and can be found in the modern cultural, economic and political systems in India. Leaders in India have been found to follow Chanakya *Niti* in maintaining international relations.

Q1 Give a brief description of the work, '*Arthashastra*' and its author.

Ans. Kautilya has been known to be born in a Brahmin family in the third century BCE. His father's name was Rishi Chanak, who was a teacher. So, his name can be put together as Kautilya Chanakya Vishnugupt, which he uses as Kautilya, Chanakya or Vishnugupt at various places. The authorship of *Arthashastra* is contested by Indologists like R. Shamashastry, K. P. Jayaswal and R. P. Kangle who hold the view that the work might have been written by more scholars than one. Kautilya, himself, mentioned his name as Vishnugupt in the last lines of the work and wrote, 'Visnugupt, the author of this work—played a leading role

in the overthrow of the Nanda dynasty', which reinforces Kautilya's authorship. The Mauryan Empire was larger than the later British India which expanded from the Indian ocean to Himalayas and up to Iran in the West.^[2] This makes a strong case for the authorship of *Arthashastra* being Kautilya himself.

The book, '*Arthashastra*' was rediscovered in 1904 by R. Shamasastri in Mysore, South India, on two palm leaves in the *grantha* (script) and a part of an old commentary by Bhattasvamin while another part of the manuscript was recovered in North India in the twelfth century.^[3] However, *Arthashastra* was never lost as it was passed on from one generation to the other orally.

Kautilya's work has been translated from Sanskrit to Hindi, English, Russian and German. Max Weber mentioned in his famous lecture, '*Politics as a Vocation*' that *Arthashastra* was truly radical 'Machiavellianism' while calling Machiavelli's 'Prince' harmless. This statement was probably made as *Arthashastra* talks about the importance of spies in maintaining a kingdom whereas 'Prince' does not. The book is a guide for all the kings to come as the work does not consist of any historical incidents and events.

Arthashastra is divided into fifteen books according to R. P. Kangle^[4], which are given in Box 1.1:

Box 1.1: The Fifteen Books of Arthashastra

Book 1 (Vinayadhikarika): The king's training, the appointment of ministers and other offices of the state, security details of the king and his day-to-day affairs.

Book 2 (Adhyaksha-vichara): The duties of the executive officers of the state and the state's activities.

Book 3 (Dharamsthiya): Law and administration of justice with a complete code of law.

Book 4 (Kantaka-Sodhana): Suppression of crime—detection of crime, control over merchants and artisans, torture and capital punishment.

Book 5 (Yoga-vritta): Miscellaneous topics like salary of personnel, etc.

Book 6 (Mandala-yoni): Contains only two chapters. Chapter 1: Theory of Constituent Elements of a State and Chapter 2: The Theory of Foreign Policy.

Book 7 (Shad-gunya): Use and application of foreign policy in different situations.

Book 8 (Vyasana-adhikarika): Ways to deal with *vyasanas* or calamities.

Book 9 (Abhiyasyakarma): Preparations for war and prospective mobilization of troops.

Book 10 (Sangagramika): The ways of fighting, types and modes of battle camps and battle fights.

Book 11 (Sanghavritta): How to deal with oligarchies ruled by a group of chiefs instead of one king.

Book 12 (Abaliyasa): Ways to overcome a stronger king by a weak king.

Book 13 (Durga-lambhopaya): Methods to conquer or subterfuge an enemy's fort and ways to rule the conquered kingdom.

Book 14 (Aupanishadika): Secret and occult practices.

Book 15 (Tantra-yukti): The methodology and techniques used in the work.

Hence, the work is divided into 15 books covering the science of statecraft written by Kautilya.

Q2 Examine Kautilya's Arthashastra regarding the importance of structure of the state, its authority and the role of police in it?

Ans. '*Artha*' means the income-yielding activity or occupation (*vritti*) of man. It also means land (*bhoomi*) associated with people. The subject (*shastra*) that studies the ways and means (*upaya*) of nurturing (palana)

the profit (*labha*) from the earth (*prithvi*) is called *Arthashastra*.^[5] It is important to understand Kautilya's basic 'Saptanga Theory of State' to comprehend the importance of the structure of the state as he visualized it.

THE SAPTANGA (CLUSTER) THEORY

Kautilya's state conceptualized seven key structural elements called *Prakriti*. They are:

1. **The King, the Ruler—the *Swamin*:** The ruler and its government are a cognitive and immaterial element of the *saptanga* which deal with the policy-making and administration. The *swamin* is the most important on the hierarchical order of importance as there is no government without him. Kautilya visualizes a patriarchal state in which the ruler is an independent variable with the subsequent six state factors dependent on him. He says, 'An ideal king is one who has the highest qualities of leadership, intellect, energy and personal attributes'.

Qualities of a Ruler: The below-mentioned four qualities, that a king must have, are depicted in Figure 1.1.

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Leadership | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Noble birth • Riches • Intellect and mastery capacity • Truthful, confident, firm, enthusiast and disciplined • Stronger than the rulers in neighbouring kingdoms |
| Intellect | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eagerness to learn • Be attentive to what the others are saying • Being able to sift through information; and • Accepting true information while rejecting the false one |
| Energy | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A lazy and complacent king cannot accomplish anything • Unafraid and undaunted • Resolute • Quick • Sharp and skilful |
| Personal Attributes | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eloquent, sharp, strong memory, desire to learn and accept guidance; • expert in all arts; capable of leading army; restraint organs his senses; judiciousness in rewards and punishments • Good decision-maker; having the art of governance; be dignified • take the advice of others; stays calm |

Figure 1.1: Qualities of a Ruler

The *swamin* is not just a monarch but as Kautilya enlisted, must have at least sixty qualities to be an able and an absolutely non-despotic ruler. For Kautilya, advancing the state factors in quantitative and qualitative terms is the first and foremost task for a king. His statesmanship can transform even a small state into a larger and a more powerful one. The stagnation, decline or a rise of a state depends on the leadership qualities of a king. The Indian belief, from the great scriptures as well as *Arthashastra*, has been that a ruler has the duty to provide for his subjects all material benefits from which a mental peace and satisfaction would eventually prevail on them. If he fails to deliver the state can turn into despotism or can lose his legit right to his position. This is quite opposite to what the West thinks of the Asian rulers. However, Kautilya's king becomes an abstraction in his work with a perfect personality and the state assumes a larger capacity. He, is the servant to the state and its people, who has the responsibility to promote the state.

2. **The Minister, the Government/State Bureaucracy—the *Amatya*:** The *amatyas* (ministers) form the administration wing of the ruler, the king. They establish the institutional framework in which the population lives. The Council or the Minister needs to be born in the same land and must have the qualities depicted in Figure 1.2.

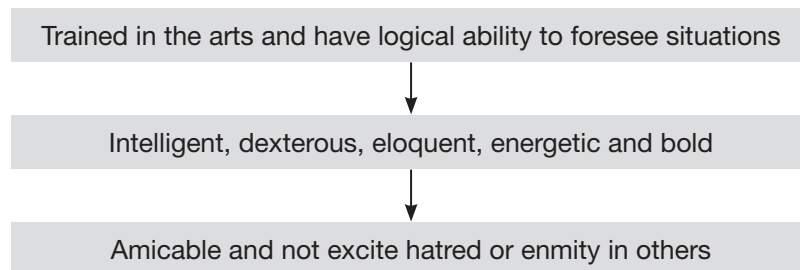


Figure 1.2: The Amatya

The Kautilya state is a typical patriarchal state with a patriarch as its head. The state bureaucracy has been listed by Kautilya in a hierarchical order along with their salary range. The king must select his classmates as his Council of Ministers, not because they would be loyal to him but because he would be in knowledge of their secrets which would prevent them to betray him. The purity and integrity of the ministers was tested by a ring of spies by the king. He categorized the top politico-administrative offices into three hierarchy, given below:

I. The Top Hierarchy

- (i) **Mantrin:** The *mantrin* is the Prime Minister of the state and heads a unit of secret service.
- (ii) **The Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces:** He has a dual duty of commandeering the armed forces as well maintaining foreign policy. He has the Chief of Fortresses, the Chief of Logistics, etc., under him to help in keeping the state safe.
- (iii) **The Crown Prince:** The crown prince is given political as well as military responsibilities.

II. The Second Level Hierarchy

The second level of hierarchy is covered by the Heads of the Departments with their specific area of expertise, for example, the Tax Department, the Finance Department, Public Administration, Public Sector Undertakings, the Chief of Police, military logistics, etc.

III. The Third Level Hierarchy

The king's priests, court offices, chief of bodyguards, kitchen, gardens, etc., fall in the third category of hierarchy.

Activities Carried Out by the State Bureaucracy

The state bureaucracy's activities were divided into four main areas by Kautilya:

1. Taxes, economic and finance
2. Legal system and enforcement of laws
3. External affairs—Foreign and military
4. Internal and external intelligence activities

Kautilya laid down a detailed structure and organizational charts for how an agency or a department has to be staffed and the pay packages disbursed to the department of taxes, census, land registry, property, enforcement of laws and rules, animal and nature protection, labour, trade, etc.

3. **The Country, the People of the Land—the *Janapada*:** The people living in the territory of the state form the population who mostly live in the countryside and are affected by the decisions of the ruler and the administration. The economic activities, with respect to the fortified cities, water-works and trade in the lower grades are covered in this. The state and its executive officers have the responsibility of keeping the fort safe by sustaining the land inside and outside the fort to prevent attacks from invaders. There must be a robust productive economy for sustenance of the *janapada*.

There is another view of *janapada* that it 'means the whole area of kingdom minus the capital'.^[6] The major population belonged to the rural areas involved in agricultural work and craftsmanship. The state levied the agricultural tax on one-sixth of the produce which became one of the biggest sources of revenue for the state. Kautilya described the social structure also of the *janapada* which had the large landowners who employed *shudras* to work on the land. There was a clear caution of not overtaxing the peasants and they would be taxed only when they are able to pay. Forests and mines were to be protected by the state to keep it rich and strong.

4. **The Fortified City, Fortress (the capital city)—the *Durga*:** The first three state factors put together are the essential requirements for a fortress, a *durga*. The fort is the capital city where the *swamin* sits along with his government to carry out its activities. One of their main activities is tax collection from the rural population. Kautilya laid down detailed and specific instructions about how and where the fort needs to be located. It must be near to a river and a map was also drawn as how it must be constructed.

Megasthenes, the great historian, gave an account of the fortified capital city of Pataliputra, which was supported by archaeological excavations. Pataliputra was the only big city of the times which was even bigger than European capitals and was double the area of Alexandria. Pataliputra was the largest city of the whole ancient world.^[7]

5. **The Treasury, the State Treasury—the *Kosa*:** The collected taxes and revenues are deposited in the state treasury. The state's wealth must be acquired lawfully by his own endeavours or by inheritance. In Kautilya's words:

Acquired lawfully by his ancestors or the ruler himself, consisting mostly of gold and silver, containing various kinds of big jewels and cash, thus enabling (the ruler) to withstand a calamity even of long duration in which there is no income—these are the excellence of the treasury.

The state treasury was located in a fortified city which supported the royal court, the armies, etc. Kautilya made an elaborate system of tax collection which was to be deposited at the treasury. The government spending must always be less than the revenue to keep building up the treasury stock. The state's fiscal policy was that the maximum of tax revenue, special levies, custom duties and profits from state enterprises were accrued at the treasury.^[8]

The state's Financial Administration is divided into two units:

- One responsible for the tax collection
- The second to manage the treasury.

The Tax Structure: The main tax in Kautilya's administration was one-sixth of the agricultural production output. After fulfilling its needs, the state would sell the surplus to wholesale merchants. The economy worked with silver and gold coins which were made at state mints only. The other sectors had to pay the same one-sixth tax of their incomes in monetary terms. Some special levies also existed like the alcohol consumption, gambling, commercial sexual services, entertainment, jewellery, toll roads, ports, irrigation, etc.

There was a provision for audit of accounts once a year and any malfeasance found was to be punished severely to the responsible officers. Corruption was treated with utmost strictness, also resulting in death penalty.

6. **The Army, the Coercive Power of the State (armed forces, secret service, police)—the *Danda*:** The *Danda* cannot be built and survive without funds. The army must have loyal *kshatriyas* with a lineage of warriors. They must have ingrained qualities of obedience, willing to take long expeditions, capacities of endurance and expert in handling weapons. A rich treasury can fund and sustain armies, secret service and police to maintain the safety and protection of the state. Kautilya said, 'The army, indeed, is rooted in the treasury. In the absence of a treasury, the army goes over to the enemy or kills the king'.

Structure of the Military: The military organization of a Kautilyan state had a dual structure:

- **The Command:** The command is led by the Commander-in-Chief, the *senapati*, who was responsible for strategic planning and the operational management of the army operations.
- **The Administrative Organization:** A separate administrative wing managed the military who took care of the military logistics and Personnel Administration.

Features of Kautilyan Armed Forces: Kautilya wrote down a detailed description of the state's armed forces and held it as the most important arm of a state. Its features are enumerated here very briefly:

- **Defence Industry:** The state-run enterprises manufacture defence equipment and weapons like chariots, siege engines, tents, stables for the cavalry, etc.
- **Standing Army:** The officer corps was recruited from the caste of *kshatriyas*, the hereditary warriors. However, Kautilya appreciated soldiers from the *shudra* caste for their valour and combat effectiveness. He did not favour soldiers from the *vaishyas* or the *brahmin* caste.
- **Mercenary Troops:** The army must be supported by mercenary troops who are trained by experienced warriors. Tribesmen were used as scouts and guerrilla type operations. The allies also supplement the army in case of a war and requirement.
- **Division of Army:** The army is divided into four major services:
 - (i) Infantry
 - (ii) Cavalry
 - (iii) War elephants
 - (iv) Chariots

All these services fall into a separate department and in addition to these four services, there is the medical corps and combat engineering. There was a battalion of 4000 men which were called brigades with the smallest unit of ten infantrymen headed by a sergeant. Kautilya arranged a

grand war strategy instead of just specific military strategies. He gave three main forms of armed conflict:

- *Prakash-Yudh*: It is a regular war adhering to 'chivalrous' rules.
- *Kuta-Yudh*: It involves attacking the enemy from a concealed position.
- *Tusnim-Yudh*: Covert operations by spies like sabotage and assassinations.

Kautilya recommended winning over the enemy through force via any of the three above-mentioned ways but he was against the unnecessary force and destruction. War must be the last option after trying all other alternatives of statecraft instead of indulging in 'blood and iron'.

7. **The Ally, in Foreign Policy—the *Mitra***: The six above-mentioned state factors are essential to evaluate and act upon the foreign policy that a state must have for a specific ally. An ally must have the following qualities:

- A friend of the family since a long time
- Acquiescent to control
- Powerful so that it can provide support
- Mobilizing its armies in the least time possible
- Honest in its approach.

Foreign policy was one of the major constituents of Kautilya's statecraft by developing external power resources by making alliances with other states. In the meantime, the state can make its internal forces powerful. It implies strengthening and optimizing the state factors of the ally to its own advantage. Breaking an alliance is recommended in cases of it disturbing the internal balance or the internal state factors have become so strong that the need for an alliance no longer exists. Kautilya gives the scenario of the ally becoming a vassal, which means that it becomes an incorporated under the state and *de facto* an internal state factor instead of being just a *mitra*.

Horizontality and Verticality of State Factors: The *saptanga* theory has both, horizontal as well as vertical, character. There is a logical verticality as well as a horizontality of these seven state factors. They all need to be working well to have a strong state.

Thus, the structure of the state, its authority and the role of police are all interconnected in the *saptanga* theory. However, the theory has to be studied in a logical sequence as Kautilya presented it because the first step leads to the next and the next. When all of them are put together, an effective statecraft theory emerges. The aggregate of the seven factors of the state constitute the comprehensive and substantiated state power.

Q3 'A single assassin can achieve, with weapons, fire or poison, more than a fully mobilized army'. Comment on the covert operations as laid down by Kautilya.

Ans. Kautilya believed in the system of spies to achieve what cannot be done otherwise. In his work, roles and their network. The secret agents were called *guda* which meant 'concealed'. He categorized them into two groups:

- ***Samsha***: The *samsha* were the established spies who stayed at one place. Their functions involved gathering, collating and transmitting the information in a code. There was the Intelligence Officer who operated under the cover of a monk, a householder or a trader and acted as a head of the Intelligence Station. Some took the cover of hermit of *brahminical* or non-*brahminical* sect. They were to be rewarded or punished directly by the king depending on their information being true or false. If any information