

MAKING SENSE OF PAKISTAN'S 'PERMANENT STATE OF EMERGENCY' THROUGH CHANAKYA'S REALPOLITIK: INSIGHTS FROM ARTHASHASTRA AND KAUTILYAN SPY STATE DYNAMICS

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Abstract

Pakistan has been in a permanent state of emergency since partition and its citizenship is devalued. This paper aims to explain this condition by exploring the enduring controversy between state morality and private morality from the dynamics of the Kautilyan spy state. To explore the complex relationships and tensions between political or state morality and private morality, first, this paper describes the hypothetical Kautilyan State and highlights its key elements through the Saptanga theory of the state. Then by sketching out the Kautilyan characteristics of a spy state, it relates it to modern statecraft practices, arguably immoral, with a focused analysis of Pakistan. Concluding this investigation, through qualitative content analysis and documentary analysis the paper argues that the inherent nature of the states is intensely determined by realpolitik as outlined in the Kautilyan spy state which generates profound challenges for the pertinency of the modern constitutional protections of the private morality—referred as the fundamental rights of the citizens. It contends in conclusion that this disputation between realpolitik (state morality) and constitutionalism (private morality) explains the permanent state of emergency that Pakistan has been in since partition.

Keywords: Kautilya, Arthashastra, Spy State, Realpolitik, State Immoralism, Constitutionalism, Citizenship, Rūjadharma, Saptanga Theory Of State

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Introduction

'Justice without might is helpless, might without justice is tyrannical, we make what is just strong, or what is strong just.'

Blaise Pascal

Blaise Pascal represents the profound controversy between state morality and private morality as documented by Narasingha Prosad¹ who argues that it is a contention between political morality and political necessity. Ammar² drawing on critical scholarship, proclaimed that Pakistan is in a permanent state of emergency since partition, a postcolonial state that maintained its operations under the framework of colonial authority even after becoming sovereign. He asserts that fundamentally, the social structures that were established in colonial India persisted even after independence from British authority. The way power shifted from interacting with social groups that had been oppressed and marginalized during colonial rule to entrenched elites had an impact on its persistence. Consequently, the newly appointed leaders of the postcolonial state continued the ideological features of colonial rule, such as a deep-seated aversion to popular opinion and a propensity for using brute force to maintain power.

In the early years of the state, these tendencies became increasingly evident. The Communist Party of Pakistan was banned in 1954; provincial governments were overthrown in Sindh and the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP); a military operation was launched in Baluchistan; and language protests in Bengal were violently suppressed. Pakistan's many cultural, political, and economic problems were quickly presented as an 'emergency'—one that threatened the state's very existence. The pretext of 'exceptional circumstances' facing the country—a term that in Pakistan became more intertwined with the idea of 'national security'—was used to justify this dictatorial approach.

In furthering the discussion on the notion of a 'permanent state of emergency,' the paper argues that the mechanisms of the Kautilyan spy state depict a moral framework for state

¹ Narasingha Prosad Sil, "POLITICAL MORALITY vs. POLITICAL NECESSITY: KAUTILYA AND MACHIAVELLI REVISITED," *Journal of Asian History* 19, no. 2 (1985): 101–42.

² Ammar Ali Jan, *Rule by Fear: Eight Theses on Authoritarianism in Pakistan* (Folio Books, 2021).

policy that is firmly ingrained in realpolitik as Ram Ranbir³ proclaims that Kautilya views the state as a welfare organization and moral watchman. Kautilya (Chanakya), a prominent advocate of the idea of Realpolitik from a quite different historical and cultural background—ancient India—arguably provides a unique but stimulating defense of state immoralism. Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, a treatise on statecraft, economics, and military strategy, offers a comprehensive blueprint of a police state and establishes its necessity. In Kautilya's spy state, moralism adheres to the rules of conventional *rūjadharma* (kingly responsibilities); additionally, Kautilya, a Hindu *brāhmin*, aspires to establish political authority based on virtue or *dharma*.

Kautilya's political thought is compared to many philosophers as Pravin⁴ has revealed and the most prevalent comparison is with Machiavelli also Michael Liebig⁵ has a similar view. But recent scholarships are taking departure from the traditional comparison of Kautilya and Machiavelli regarding their resembling ideas of realpolitik. G. Bhagat⁶ argues that Kautilya can only be compared to Aristotle, but the great Greek philosopher, most renowned for having taught young Alexander, had little expertise in politics, directing conflict, or running a state. He appears to be claiming that Kautilya was to Chandragupta Maurya what Aristotle was to Alexander but with refined political pragmatism.

As Prasad⁷ has argued, for political theorists, the age-old topic of how politics and ethics relate to one another has been central to their work. The pursuit of a value-free and value-neutral Political Science by behavioralists and positivists, as well as the emphasis on ethical relativism by some trans-empiricists, have added layers of complexity to these difficult issues. Despite this departure of reducing Kautilya's political thought to immorality, the paper argues that he was a prominent realpolitik proponent from early political history who stands in opposition to the emergence of private morality that comes with modern

³ Ram Ranbir Singh, "Kautilya's Conception of State," *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 2004, 41–54.

⁴ Pravin Chandrasekaran, "Kautilya: Politics, Ethics and Statecraft," 2006, <https://mpira.ub.uni-muenchen.de/id/eprint/9962>.

⁵ Michael Liebig, "Kautilya and Machiavelli in a Comparative Perspective," *The Arthashastra in a Transcultural Perspective*, n.d., 113.

⁶ G. Bhagat, "Kautilya Revisited and Re-Visioned," *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 2 (1990): 186–212.

⁷ D. M. Prasad, "Politics and Ethics in Kautilya's Arthashastra," *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 39, no. 2 (1978): 240–49.

constitutionalism, which guarantees the protection of fundamental rights. Although others argue that drawing comparisons between contemporary and ancient political ideas is meaningless, the paper's thesis is that the fundamental nature of the state system which is based on realpolitik has not changed. As so, the comparison holds relevance and this tension needs to be explained where some states have successfully synchronized with the protection of private morality while others haven't. For many states with intact constitutional systems, like Pakistan, the realpolitik tenets expounded by Kautilya pose a significant challenge. This obstacle is the noteworthy difficulty of moving from authoritarian positions to one that actually prioritizes the defense of private/individual morality for the good of the citizens. Hence, the clash between state morality and private morality perfectly explains why Pakistan has been in a 'permanent state of emergency'

Research Methodology

With a primary focus on the examination of previously published works, this study uses a qualitative research methodology to investigate the dynamics of the Kautilyan spy state and its implications for contemporary statecraft in Pakistan. The qualitative content analysis, documentary analysis, and the selection and evaluation of extant literature form the framework of the methodological approach. A broad range of resources were explored in the literature for this study, including academic works on constitutional law and human rights, modern assessments of statecraft and espionage, and classical work on Kautilyan philosophy. Translations and interpretations of Kautilya's "Arthashastra," which offered firsthand knowledge of the tenets of the Kautilyan polity, were among the notable sources. Modern political philosophy and legal studies also played a significant role in placing these old-fashioned ideas in the light of constitutionalism and modern statecraft.

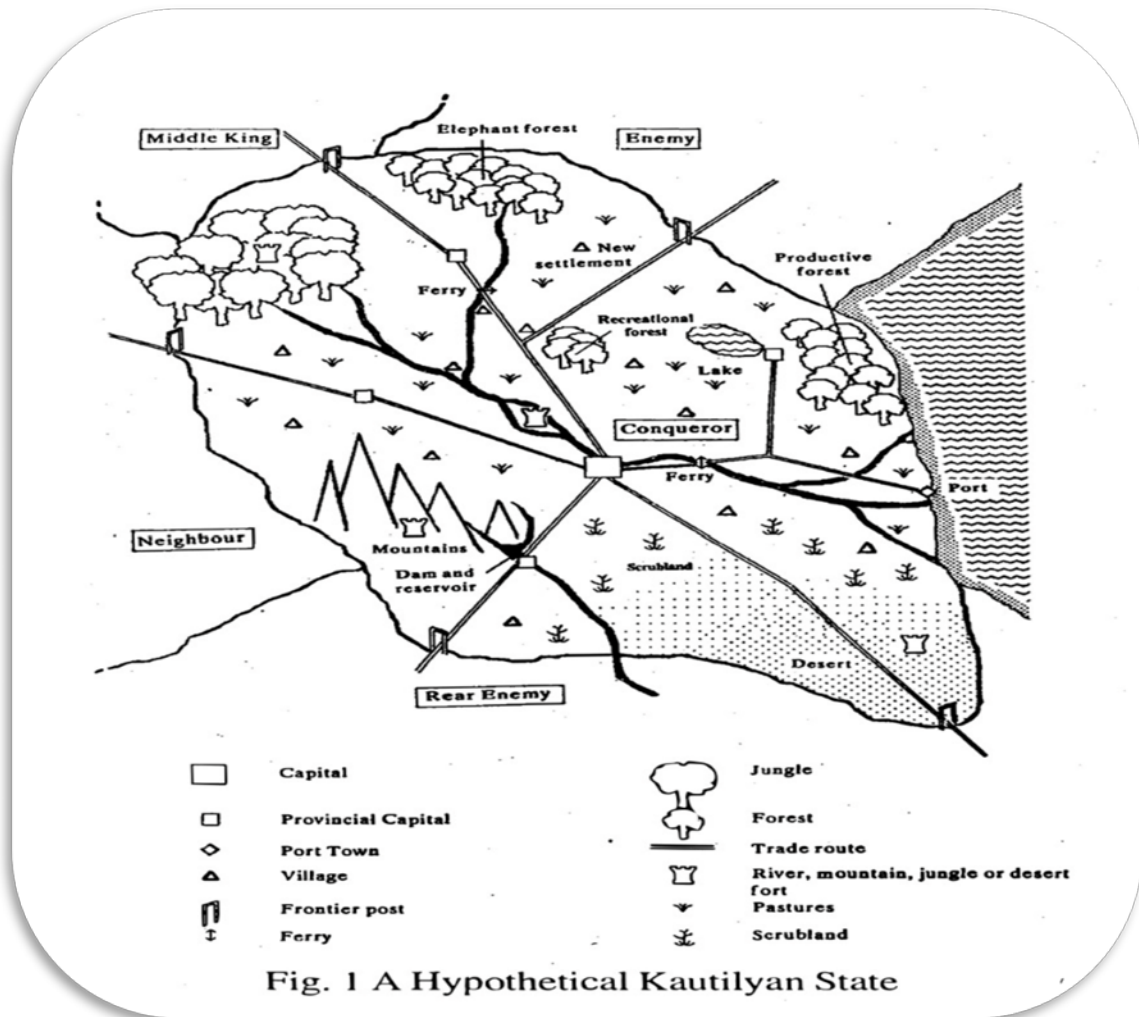
Through a methodical examination of pertinent literature and materials, the study investigated the intricate relationship between state and private morality within the framework of Kautilyan statecraft and contemporary governance in Pakistan. This methodological approach provided important insights into the practical consequences of the Kautilyan spy state for modern state operations, in addition to facilitating a thorough comprehension of the theoretical underpinnings of the state. By means of this meticulous examination, the research adds to the wider conversation on political theory and statecraft.

Contextualizing Kautilya's Hypothetical State

Although the matter of the exact date is disputed, however, the popular historical accounts ascribe that Arthashastra was written by the Kautilya⁸ during the 4th century BCE to the 2nd Century BCE in ancient India. There were only two noteworthy empires at the time which also existed for some later periods: the Nanda and the Mauryan. One notable early conqueror who brought the Gangetic Plain and the Indus Valley together to form a great empire was Chandragupta Maurya. There were only six major kingdoms in the Gangetic plain that dominated the subcontinent's political landscape before these empires rose to prominence and after they fell. Several republics flourished in the mainly hilly regions to the west and north, along with other smaller kingdoms whose level of independence probably varied according to the power of their larger neighbors. It is evident that the paranoia of a permanent state of emergency is not new; in the past, states have justified it by citing the threat of dangerous neighbors. This widespread fear is deeply ingrained in the structure of the Pakistani state.

⁸ L. N. Rangarajan, *The Arthashastra* (Penguin Books India, 1992)

Figure 1: A Hypothetical Kautilyan State



Source: Rangarajan, L. N. (1992). *The Arthashastra*. Penguin Books India.

A King or, in certain cases, an oligarchic council of ministers oversaw a small, centralized government in a hypothetical Kautilyan state. While not all the natural landscapes found in real scenarios—such as mountains, valleys, plains, deserts, jungles, lakes, and rivers—are included in Kautilya's conceptualization. Tribes living in frontier areas, which were either hilly or jungle-like, enjoyed some degree of independence from the central government. Especially along important trade routes to neighboring countries, fortifications were essential to maintaining the frontier's security. Notably, allusions to seafaring and marine commerce emphasize that certain countries in this fictitious setting

had coastlines. N. C. Basu⁹ argues that Kautilya does not offer a conclusive theory about the origins of the political community. Nonetheless, brief comments strewn throughout his writings point to a conviction that Matsyanyaya, also called the law of the jungle, where the strong preyed on the weak, was the dominant law in the pre-political state. People could only exercise their rights in such a setting by using their power. There was anarchy because of this passionate and self-serving atmosphere. In this analysis, the paper argues that modern statecraft purports to protect private morality via constitutional mechanisms. But a closer look at Ray's¹⁰ observations and how a surveillance-oriented state manifests itself in Kautilya's doctrine explicitly rejects this protection and promotes a state morality that proponents of private morality may find objectionable. This paper further argues that this divisive moral position is one of the main causes of Pakistan's ongoing permanent state of emergency.

Furthermore, he highlights that surprisingly, Kautilya predicts the political resolution that Hobbes would eventually propose for this kind of situation. Even though Kautilya wrote several centuries ago, he supports a strong King with the only power to use force to guarantee that the four castes and the four orders of religious life follow their paths and carry out their assigned responsibilities. It is essential to place Kautilya's viewpoints in the unique social environment of his day, which was characterized by cunning, distrust, deceit, brutality, and a tumultuous power struggle. Kautilya helped Chandragupta traverse the difficult route to political ascent in this environment. Moreover, Kiranjit¹¹ had a similar view that the Arthashastra by Kautilya does not serve as a theoretical political science discourse, nor does it directly address the question of how the state came to be. Its comprehensive teachings only focus on the king and only address the monarch. The researcher contends that the constitutional protections of private morality are seriously threatened by the state morality that Kautilya outlined. Even with the asymmetrical development of statecraft—some states are in line with contemporary constitutionalism,

⁹ N. C. Basu Ray, "Kautilya from the Modern Angle," *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 8, no. 3 (1947): 729–35.

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ Kiranjit Kaur, "Kautilya: Saptanga Theory of State," *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 2010, 59–68.

while others firmly believe that state morality comes before private morality—the tension is still a significant problem.

Saptanga Theory of State

Mahendra Prasad¹² noted that the early forms of many tribes or lineage-based societies were quite like the pre-Kautilyan conception of the state in ancient India. In these settings, maintaining the varnashrama laws—society laws formed from conventions and traditions—was seen as the state's primary role, moreover, D. Mackenzie Brown¹³ also has similar findings regarding the premises of Indian political thought. This idea is comparable to the early laissez-faire economies that were seen in European mercantile economies in the early stages of the industrial and commercial revolutions. In these cases, the government was largely in the background, supporting trade and contracts without actively influencing the economy. Mahendra Prasad¹⁴ further proclaims that this practice was significantly broken by Kautilya's Arthashastra. It established the notion that the state might make laws of its own. Kautilya's teaching maintained that the state's dharmanaya was supreme in situations when it conflicted with the laws set down in the dharmashastras. Faithful to the Arthashastra tradition, it does not go into detail about social customs and rules, preferring to focus more on secular economic activity and the state and government's organizational structure. The Arthashastra, which has its roots in the saptang (seven-organ) theory of the state, views the state as a corporate entity made up of the following: (1) Swami (king), (2) Amatya (ministers and other high officials); (3) Janpada/rashtra (territory and the population inhabiting these), (4) Durga (fortified town and cities), (5) Kosa (treasury), (6) Danda (forces), and (7) Mitra (allies). The way Kautilya asserts the seven parts of the state is a mirror image of the order in which the Arthashastra gives them. Considering the scope of the paper regarding contesting moralities I'm only concerned about the most significant feature of Kautilya's conceptualization of a political entity and that is Kautilya's spy state.

¹² Mahendra Prasad Singh, "Kautilya: Theory of State," *Indian Political Thought*, 2017, 1.

¹³ D. Mackenzie Brown, "The Premises of Indian Political Thought," *The Western Political Quarterly* 6, no. 2 (1953): 243–49, <https://doi.org/10.2307/442160>.

¹⁴ Singh, "Kautilya."

Kautilya's Spy State & Its Relevance to Pakistan

Spying on the masses referring to state immoralism is firmly disapproved by the proponents of private morality but it is a vital part of modern statecraft as acknowledged by leading writers and academics like George Orwell, Michel Foucault, Noam Chomsky, Edward Snowden and so on. This phenomenon is nothing new as Roger Boesche¹⁵ noted that Kautilya outlined a world of constant watchfulness, spanning from the king's senior ministers to each citizen.

Surveillance and State Control in the Kautilyan Model

Kautilya envisaged a King needing a complex and wide-ranging bureaucracy and spy network. At this point, it is important to recognize Kautilya's perspective on the crucial function spies perform in a kingdom's administration. In Kautilya's spy state surveillance agents performed a variety of roles, from assessing the reliability of ministers to the covert removal of dishonest senior officials, foiling plots of subversion by competing monarchs, capturing bandits and forest robbers, and identifying people acting in an antisocial manner., but this paper is concerned with the one relating to the spying on the normal citizens. It is evident from the Arthashastra that 'Once spies are placed on high officials, they should also be positioned among the citizens and rural inhabitants,' says Kautilya, highlighting the need for a more comprehensive monitoring plan. Moreover, Kautilya wanted undercover personnel to monitor friends and enemies alike. He even went so far as to 'take charge of their sons and wives' to guarantee the allegiance of these double agents. Remarkably, he was not above using women and children as spies or, even more startlingly, as assassins. Because of this heavy dependence on espionage, Kautilya's domain became a virtual police state, with anyone acting in any way strangely being closely monitored and frequently faced arrest. For example, the king did not only build alehouses to control and keep an eye on the alcohol-consuming populace; these establishments also served as espionage hotspots. Although Kautilya's vision of spy craft is still considered essential for modern nation-state securitization, its application raises serious moral concerns when it turns a constitutionally led state into a police state. As a consequence, this article argues that

¹⁵ Roger Boesche, *The First Great Political Realist: Kautilya and His Arthashastra* (Lexington Books, 2003)

Pakistan's ongoing permanent state of emergency serves as a symbol of the domination of state morality over individual morality where constitutional protections of fundamental rights take a back seat.

This analysis sheds light on the fundamental question of the paper by exposing the pervasive tension between private and state morality. National security regulations and the employment of cutting-edge surveillance technologies are two instances from today's world that show how the state controls its people, frequently at the price of their basic liberties¹⁶. The continuous influence of realpolitik is evident in the surveillance of political dissidents, the restriction of digital rights¹⁷, and the imposition of strict anti-terrorism laws. This dynamic has a significant impact on Pakistan's moral and constitutional framework and poses important considerations about how to strike a balance between security and liberty. Thus, the analysis highlights the historical relevance and contemporary adaptation of Kautilyan techniques, underscoring its important ramifications for modern statecraft and the defense of individual liberties in Pakistan.

Proponents of Kautilya's use of spies compare these informants to competent people, like contemporary opinion pollsters. They see these spies as professionals who gather and report the opinions of the people to the king. This secret network allows a King to remain aware of public sentiment and quickly resolve any issues that may come up. Moreover, if we consider Narasingha Prosad's¹⁸ opinion that Kautilya's moralism follows the precepts of traditional rājadharmā (kingly duties), the aspect of spying on the masses can easily be justified. Alternatively, Roger Boesche¹⁹ has argued that academics who limit their analysis that spies only reported public opinion are essentially apologetic towards Kautilya's spy craft and police state. Moreover, Roger Boesche has observed that since Kautilya's Arthashastra contains no terminology that addresses an individual's rights, he easily approves of arrests made on suspicion. This practice is deeply controversial in modern statecraft where the individual's fundamental rights are constitutionally protected,

¹⁶ Editorial, "Surveillance State," DAWN.COM, 07:29:09+05:00, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1757818>.

¹⁷ "The State Bytes Back: Internet Surveillance in Pakistan - Herald," accessed July 7, 2024, <https://herald.dawn.com/news/1153312>.

¹⁸ Sil, "POLITICAL MORALITY vs. POLITICAL NECESSITY."

¹⁹ Roger Boesche, *The First Great Political Realist: Kautilya and His Arthashastra* (Lexington Books, 2003)

courts can issue different writs like the writ of Habeas Corpus ‘It safeguards a person's right to privacy by prohibiting wrongful or unjustified incarceration or detention.’ It enables someone to contest the legitimacy of their incarceration. But having the judicial and constitutional protections on the field Pakistan has been the key violator of these protections as claimed by the human rights’ supervisory bodies reporting on state-led enforced disappearances²⁰.

Drawing comparisons between Kautilyan espionage and contemporary state operations offers a deep comprehension of contemporary governance concerns. Similar to Kautilya's strategies, intelligence and surveillance services are used in Pakistan to keep an eye on and suppress opposition. Examples from the modern era include the repression of political opponents and the abuse of national security legislation to support arbitrary detentions. For example, the tracking of activists' and journalists' movements through the use of digital surveillance and data monitoring techniques raises serious concerns regarding privacy and freedom of speech²¹.

In addition, the ongoing conflict between individual rights and state morality is reflected in the rationalization of such actions under the pretense of national security. This tendency is glaringly seen in Pakistan's persistent human rights problems, as extrajudicial detentions and enforced disappearances continue in spite of constitutional guarantees. The continued use of these tactics highlights the challenge of striking a balance between individual freedom protection and state security, underscoring the lasting applicability of Kautilyan concepts in modern administration. In order to make sure that the state's duty to protect does not supersede its role to preserve fundamental rights, this research highlights the necessity of strong legal frameworks and attentive oversight.

²⁰ Amnesty International. 2022/23. *The State of the World's Human Rights*. Amnesty International Ltd. <https://doi.org/978-0-86210-502-0>.

²¹ Ikram Junaidi, “Female Journalists Face Gendered Forms of Surveillance, Study Finds,” DAWN.COM, 07:04:09+05:00, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1305891>.

Constitutionalism versus Realpolitik in Pakistan

Furthermore, Roger Boesche²² has argued that Kautilya appeared to be an attempt to create legal protections for people. With a focus on the magistrates' need to maintain their 'neutrality between the king and the subjects,' Kautilya envisioned judges who might be 'impartial to all beings, worthy of trust, and beloved of the people.' Still, it is difficult to imagine judges being unbiased in the face of the enormous authority possessed by the state and the king. Based on fact finding reports²³, the researcher contends that Pakistan's current quality of constitutionalism and judicial practices go in contrast with the realpolitik practices of the state and hence the outcome is a permanent state of emergency which is described earlier. Achieving a balance that aligns with Kautilya's concept of a spy state, where state morality supersedes private morality, seems unattainable in this part of the world even after centuries have passed, states only theoretically ensured constitutional protections.

This analysis establishes a clear connection between Pakistan's current struggles to achieve true constitutionalism and judicial impartiality and Kautilya's antiquated beliefs. Kautilya's ideal of impartial and reliable judges is still idealistic, but there is a big difference between what happens in Pakistan and what is really the case. The state's enormous power frequently erodes the judiciary's independence, resulting in a weakened legal system where politics takes precedence over the rule of law²⁴. Pakistani examples from the present day bring these problems to light sharply. For example, the authority and impartiality of the civilian judiciary are compromised by the frequent employment of military courts for civilian trials, especially when those cases involve national security. These tribunals frequently lack the procedural protections and openness of civilian courts, which raises questions about justice and due process. Further undermining confidence in the legal system are claims of court pressure and manipulation by state entities. In Pakistan, where

²² Roger Boesche, *The First Great Political Realist: Kautilya and His Arthashastra* (Lexington Books, 2003)

²³ EEAS. 2023. *EU Annual Report on Human Rights and Democracy in the World Countries Update 2022*. European External Action Service (EEAS), 233–235. Accessed December 10, 2023. https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eeas/2022-human-rights-and-democracy-world-country-reports_en.

²⁴ Dawn.com, "Surveillance in Pakistan Exceeds Legal Capacity: Report," DAWN.COM, 16:42:06+05:00, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1195668>.

there is still a state of emergency, the challenge of striking a balance between individual rights and state security is apparent. The constitutional guarantees of rights and freedoms are sometimes eclipsed by the demands of state governance. Human rights organizations²⁵ have compiled a long list of incidents of arbitrary detentions, enforced disappearances, and other abuses of power, illuminating the disconnect between the rhetorical safeguards afforded by the Constitution and its actual application in daily life.

Therefore, it is clear from Pakistan's state practices that Kautilyan ideals continue to impact modern statecraft. It is nevertheless difficult to shift away from a system in which the morality of the state always takes precedence over that of the individual and toward one in which judicial and constitutional rights are solidly maintained rather than merely theoretical. To ensure that the values of justice and individual rights are truly prioritized, this calls for both legal reforms and a fundamental change in the way the state interacts with its people²⁶.

Moreover, Kautilya proposed imposing a substantial fine 'if punishment is meted out to those who do not deserve it.' Even within the confines of contemporary constitutional norms, achieving these expectations is nevertheless difficult, as evidenced by the ongoing judicial conduct. Furthermore, the Arthashastra rejected the idea of a private right; in fact, Kautilya favored state control over even the tiniest and most personal behaviors. Remarkably, despite individual rights being protected by the constitution, there remains an informal continuation of this regulatory tendency in Pakistan reflecting the inherent controversy between state and private morality. Moreover, Kautilya sought to severely curtail what is today understood to be the right to free expression. For violence, he said, 'the lowest fine is deserved when one reviles their own country and village, the middle fine for reviling their own caste or corporation, and the highest for reviling gods and sanctuaries.' Speaking critically of the king was absolutely prohibited. 'Anyone who reviles the king divulges secret counsel, or spreads malicious news about the king,' warned him, 'shall face severe consequences, including having their tongue rooted out. This paper argues that the rise of modern universalist values like freedom of thought, conscience,

²⁵ (Amnesty-International, 2022/23)

²⁶ Editorial, "Orwellian State," DAWN.COM, 06:19:20+05:00, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1843525>.

religion, freedom of the press, ensuring civil liberties, and so on and later their constitutional protections couldn't change the fundamental nature of the state (im)morality and Kautilyan tactics of controlling masses continue.

Roger Boesche²⁷ has stated that torture was normal in the ancient world. Not that torture doesn't exist; what's remarkable is that Kautilya is one of the few political scholars who openly discusses and defends its usage, albeit within narrowly defined parameters but this article has argued that even the modern constitutionality is unable to change this moral apparatus of the state which always existed. Kautilyan spy state was clear about its conduct regarding torture and assassination and considered its moral for the business of the state. If a suspect was unable to produce proof of their innocence, Kautilya was in favor of torturing them. 'If others can vouch for their innocence, they'll be cleared of guilt; otherwise, torture is applied,' he said. 'Torture is justified when guilt seems likely, according to Kautilya, except Brahmins and pregnant women. While various sorts of beatings were the normal torture tactics, Kautilya described a lengthy eighteen-fold torture for significant criminals that included 'two scorpion-bindings' and other excruciating treatments. Academic opinions regarding Kautilya's position on torture vary. Underlining Dikshitar's viewpoint, Roger Boesche²⁸ claims that Kautilya's Arthashastra has 'no mention of torture to elicit a confession of a crime.' But he agrees with Choudhary that, 'spies also applied judicial torture to arrive at the truth.' Fact-finding reports from Human Rights Watch²⁹ show extrajudicial killings, state agencies torturing innocent civilians, and other extralegal crimes where state entities are allegedly directly involved. These incidents highlight the serious tension that exists between state and private morality. As such, I argue that this underlying detachment is a major cause behind the permanent state of emergency.

Additionally, Kautilya was a fervent supporter of assassination, calling it a 'silent punishment' or, on occasion, comparing it to the 'weeding out of thorns,' though it might

²⁷ Roger Boesche, *The First Great Political Realist: Kautilya and His Arthashastra* (Lexington Books, 2003)

²⁸ *ibid.*

²⁹ Human Rights Watch (HRW). 2023. *Human Rights World Report*. New York: Human Rights Watch.

Accessed November 19, 2023.

also include an arrest and subsequent punishment. This is an issue that is addressed prominently early in Book 1 as noted by scholars, not some obscure corner covered in a five-hundred-page tome. 'He should use the money to appease people and use silent punishment to honor those with justifiable complaints and those without.' also, those who oppose the king. His defense is tacit: protecting the king occasionally calls for using force to stave off possible attackers. Protecting the kingdom and the four varnas' social order was Kautilya's main goal, even if it meant using assassination occasionally. After talking about how sometimes it is necessary to carry out assassinations, Kautilya ends by saying, 'Therefore, the kingdom survives through generations, unaffected by threats from individuals.' Without hesitation, the King should impose 'quiet punishment' on either the enemy or his own party, showing tolerance for the present as well as the future.

Conclusion

This essay addressed a crucial puzzle: Pakistan's permanent state of emergency and the ensuing devaluation of its citizenship. The theoretical foundation of Chanakya's (Kautilya's) realpolitik and the workings of the Kautilyan spy state served as the foundation for this investigation. The goal of the study was to clarify the complex interrelationships and continuous conflicts between individual morality and political or state morality, as well as how these dynamics add to Pakistan's protracted problem. Using the Saptanga theory of state as its foundation, the study started by describing the hypothetical Kautilyan State. The Saptanga theory, an ancient framework that lists the seven fundamental components of a state, offered a methodical framework for comprehending Kautilya's description of the traits of a spy state. By examining these components, the study brought to light the fundamental traits of the Kautilyan state, in particular its focus on realpolitik and the calculated use of spying to preserve stability and authority within the state.

Examining the Kautilyan spy state in further detail, the paper highlighted its dependence on realpolitik, espionage, and surveillance while identifying and discussing the characteristics that make up such a state. These characteristics and contemporary state behaviors were compared, and the results showed some startling parallels, especially in the way that modern states, like Pakistan, frequently put state security and interests ahead of individual rights and morality. In order to connect historical statecraft theories to

contemporary statecraft concerns, a comparative analysis was essential. The study then moved to an examination of the Kautilyan spy state and its applicability to contemporary statecraft, building on this theoretical framework. It drew comparisons between modern state operations that frequently veer into the immoral and the antiquated methods of spying and monitoring that Kautilya promoted.

Pakistan was used as a case study to show how these Kautilyan ideas are used in contemporary society. The investigation showed how realpolitik has had a significant impact on Pakistan's statecraft, frequently at the expense of individual morality and constitutional rights. The study used documentary analysis and qualitative content analysis to support its claims. The results showed that the Kautilyan spy state's conception of the intrinsic essence of the state presents serious obstacles to the implementation of contemporary constitutional guarantees. The analysis proved that maintaining a permanent state of emergency and undermining fundamental rights result from prioritizing state morality above individual morality. A strong theoretical and empirical foundation for the study was provided by writings by academics like Boesche on Kautilya's political realism, Bhagat on Kautilya's political theory, and contemporary evaluations of Pakistan's statecraft. A thorough grasp of the theoretical foundations and real-world applications of the Kautilyan spy state in the contemporary setting was made possible by the integration of these disparate sources. Pakistan's statecraft has adopted ideals, leading to a governance paradigm that places state security and control over the rights and freedoms of the individual. This relationship has resulted in the erosion of fundamental rights and the devaluation of citizenship, maintaining the crisis that has existed since partition.

The main thrust of the argument is that Roger³⁰ has contended that we consider the results of political activities more highly than the intentions. The end can indeed justify the means occasionally, but not always. Political actors now have a difficult situation to deal with as they face this unpleasant reality. If the states decide that the only way to bring about a long period of monetary and spiritual prosperity is to sacrifice an innocent person or private morality, then it would be immoral to abstain from such an extreme measure. Further, he has argued from Kautilya's defense of realpolitik that it is not always possible to

³⁰ Roger Boesche, *The First Great Political Realist: Kautilya and His Arthashastra* (Lexington Books, 2003)

immediately apply private morality to political issues. K. M. Agrawal pointed out that Kautilya was a pioneer in 'drawing a line between ethics and political science.' Replying to this, Drekeimer³¹ draws attention to Kautilya's contention that 'moral principles must take a back seat to the interests of the state, given that the moral order relies on the continued existence of the state.' Moreover, Kautilya asserts that the political sphere is a morally muddy swamp where it may be necessary to take measures that are generally seen as "evil" to attain favorable results. Kautilya highlights that he is only giving his readers an accurate picture of politics and does not cause this issue or make it more complicated. In this complex political environment, a ruler who abstains from behaviors that are typically considered 'evil' runs the risk of self-destruction and imperiling the welfare of the populace. The characteristics of the Kautilyan spy state with updated tactics are used to justify the ongoing and long-lasting permanent state of emergency in Pakistan, and Kautilyan reasoning is still closely related to contemporary statecraft. In this case, state morality supersedes private morality, even surpassing constitutionalism. In the end, by fusing old political philosophy ideas with modern political realities, this study adds to the larger conversation on political theory and statecraft.

³¹ibid