

# राजनीतिक समाजशास्त्र

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY



डॉ० रचना श्रीवास्तव



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डॉ० रचना श्रीवास्तव  
प्राचार्या  
बसन्त कन्या महाविद्यालय  
वाराणसी



विजडम पब्लिकेशन  
वाराणसी



प्रकाशक-

अंजनी कुमार मिश्र

विजडम पब्लिकेशन

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## डॉ० रचना श्रीवास्तव

डॉ० रचना श्रीवास्तव ने वर्ष 1986 में लखनऊ विश्वविद्यालय से राजनीति विज्ञान में स्नातकोत्तर की डिग्री प्राप्त की तथा तत्पश्चात् राजनीति शास्त्र विभाग, महात्मा गाँधी काशी विद्यापीठ से डॉक्टर ऑफ फिलॉस्फी की उपाधि ग्रहण की। विगत तीस वर्षों से वसन्त कन्या महाविद्यालय, कमच्छा, वाराणसी (काशी हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालय से सम्बद्ध) में राजनीति विज्ञान विभाग में अध्यापनरत तथा सम्प्रति प्रोफेसर तथा प्राचार्य के पद पर कार्यरत हैं।



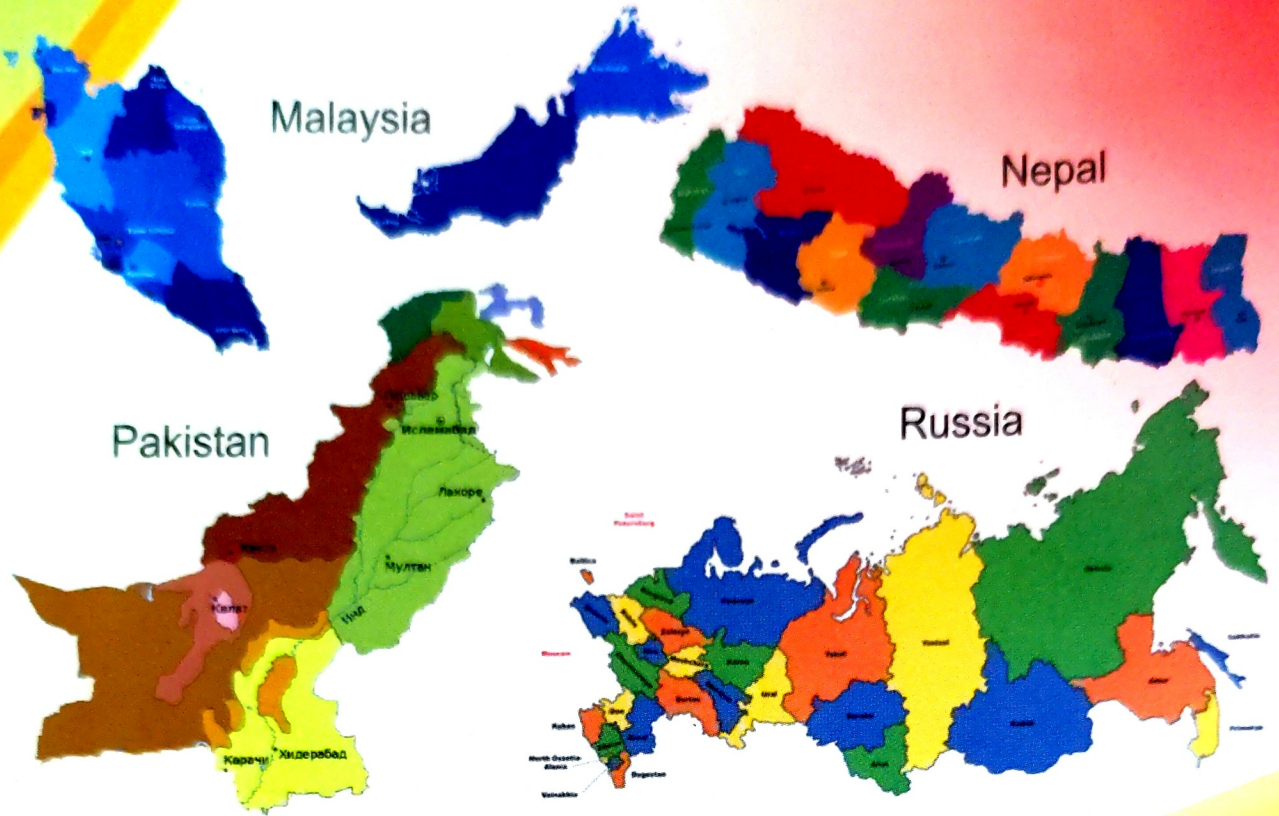
पचास से भी अधिक राष्ट्रीय, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय संगोष्ठियों में सहभागिता, लगभग पच्चीस रेडियो व टी.वी. वार्ताओं का प्रसारण, कई संगोष्ठियों की संयोजिका, डॉ० रचना श्रीवास्तव की एकल लेखक के रूप में तीन पुस्तकें, दो सम्पादित पुस्तकें, मेनस्ट्रीम जैसे जर्नल्स में लेखों का प्रकाशन हो चुका है। आपकी पुस्तक नामीबिया कई विदेशी पुस्तकालयों में भी उपलब्ध है।



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## Constitution and Politics

(Malaysia, Pakistan, Nepal, Russia)



ਡਾ॰ ਰਚਨਾ ਸ਼੍ਰੀਵਾਸਤਵ



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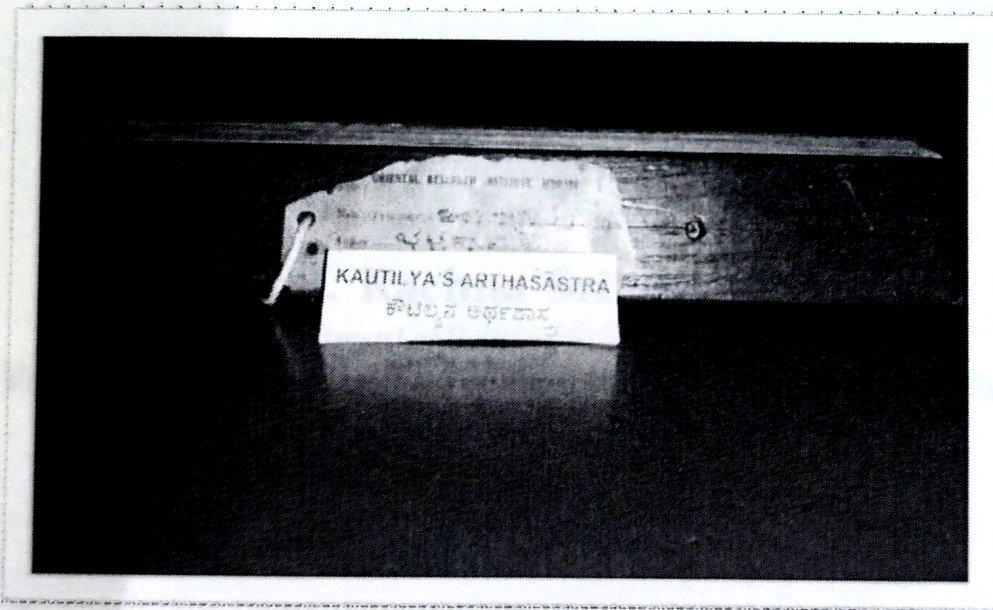
# Understanding kautilya's Statecraft and Mandal Theory

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Prof. Rachna Srivastava



# UNDERSTANDING KAUTILYA'S STATECRAFT AND MANDAL THEORY



PRALEK PRAKASHAN



# **UNDERSTANDING KAUTILYA'S STATECRAFT AND MANDAL THEORY**

**Prof. Rachna Srivastava**

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Vasant Kanya Mahavidyalaya (Affiliated to Banaras Hindu University)  
Kamachcha, Varanasi*



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Professor of Political Science and Principal at Vasant Kanya Mahavidyalaya, a PG college affiliated to BHU. Prof. Shrivastava did her MA in 1986 from Lucknow University and her PhD in 1992 from Mahatma Gandhi Kashi Vidyapith Varanasi. Having 36 Years of teaching

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**STATE-CRAFT, MANDALA THEORY AND SIX-FOLD  
POLICY IN KAUTILYA'S ARTHASHASTRA:  
THE CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE**





**“STATE-CRAFT, MANDALA THEORY  
AND SIX-FOLD POLICY IN KAUTILYA'S  
ARTHASHASTRA: THE  
CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE”**

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Prof. Department of Political Science & Principal,  
Vasant Kanya Mahavidyalaya (Affiliated to Banaras Hindu University)  
Kamachcha, Varanasi



## **Acknowledgement**

Kautilya's Arthashastra is very less researched or under researched scripture of ancient India. During the course of study, this fact was established after going through the literature available on Arthashastra by both Indian and foreign authors or thinkers. Most of them agree that there is much more to be done in this area. The present study is an endeavor to do the same. If we want to understand the working of Indian state so far, can Arthashastra be a guiding manual; this is a query that has been explored in the study. Also there is a need to study and explore & re-explore our ancient scriptures to gain fruitful inspiration from them for our future domestic and foreign policy endeavors.

I am grateful to ICSSR for giving me an opportunity to do the same. During the course of the study both Arthashastra and related literature was read, re-read and reinterpreted in the light of the topic of the project. The method adopted was Hermeneutics which denotes study for understanding and interpretation of ancient text.

The book based on the final report of the project is submitted before the readers with the hope that more work would be done on Kautilya's Arthashastra in future.

I am thankful to Vasant Kanya Mahavidyalaya for providing me necessary infrastructure and assistance. I am indebted to my Research Assistant Anshita Shekhar for her relentless hard work and labour during the course of study.



## Preface

Kautilya's Arthashastra enraptures in many ways, the complexity of our current world. The problems that existed then, persist in a more widespread and magnified manner in contemporary world. Yet our ancient scriptures have been neglected and western principles and teachings have been propounded in our literature. So far Arthashastra is still a very less researched treatise. Efforts have been dedicated more to resurrect the Arthashastra than to find its contemporary relevance. A few articles have been written relating *Mandala* theory to India's foreign policy; howsoever they do not seem to do justice with the subject. They are more like a cursory glance on the subject or statements lacking in explanation, detail and depth. The objective of the book, which is based on ICSSR sponsored research project, is to fill this gap and establish Arthashastra's relevance in today's time.

The nature of the present study is descriptive and theoretical with focus on policy suggestions. The methodology used is deductive and both primary and secondary sources were used. Qualitative research methodology, called Hermeneutics, which is a study for understanding and interpretation of ancient text, was used. The objective of the study was to find the modern relevance of Kautilya's statecraft, *Mandala* and Sixfold policy as given in Arthashastra. This was done on the basis of deduction and analysis. Some possible solutions to actual problems have been discussed in the last chapter with the help of a few case studies. They relate to corruption, naxal problem, insurgency, separatism, India's foreign policy in the light of *Mandala* theory and sixfold policy.

During the course of study a number of books on Arthashastra were examined. Three books were used for textual reference. They are Kautilya Arthashastra by R. Shamasastri, 2 volumes; R.P. Kangle, three parts and T. Ganapati Shastri, three volumes. In the report, most of the verses of Arthashastra are quoted from Kangle's Kautilya Arthashastra part 2 and a few from Shamasastri. Other books have been used as secondary source. L N Rangarajan's 'The Arthashastra' was used to understand Kautilya's concepts, though the liberty taken by the book to reorganize verses of Arthashastra as per topic or issue discussed is a little confusing. It is better to read the verses as they are given. P.K. Gautam's IDSA monograph on Arthashastra was also used as a modern source of understanding Arthashastra. Books on Ancient Indian thought, philosophy, and statecraft were used for first chapter. Special mention may be made of Heinerich Zimmer's 'The philosophies of India'. A study of the relevant books by Altekar, Upinder Singh, K.P. Jayaswal, Radha Kumud Mookerjee and many others helped understand the times and circumstances in which Arthashastra must have been written. Books on governance by modern writers were also referred to, for second chapter. A number of books on Naxalism and insurgency in India's north-east were also consulted for writing the conclusion of the report. Alpa Shah's *The Nightmarch-journey into India's Naxal Heartland*, Nandini Sunder's *The Burning Forest*, Praksh Singh's *The Naxalite Movement in India*, Namrata Goswami's *Indian National Security and Counter-Insurgency*, Sanjoy Hazarika's *Strangers in the Mist and Strangers No More* are some of them. Books on foreign policy were available and have been referred to in writing chapter 3 and 4. Hans J Morganthau's *Politics among Nations* and Quincy Wright's *The Study of International Relations* were consulted, beside Shyam Saran's *How India Sees the World*, Shiv Shankar Menon's *Choices* and Aparna Pande's *From Chanakya to Modi: Evolution of India's Foreign Policy*. Zorawar Daulat Singh and Anant Krishnan's books respectively on *Indian Foreign policy* and *India's China Challenge* were also referred. A number of articles too have been accessed, both online and hardcopies. The books and articles read and consulted have been listed in



Bibliography and duly referenced in the report. Although a lot of literature is available on Arthashastra, yet it is such a vast and detailed treatise that much is still required to research about it. A few books and articles on its modern relevance are available but more intensive research is still required.

In the course of the study it was validated that a stable and strife free internal governance is precondition for a strong foreign policy. Putting one's own house in order is a precondition to any global aspiration. Kautilya's maxim that good governance is equal to economic governance stands firm today too. Kautilya's dictate that rulers must be responsive, accountable, recallable and removable are the basic qualities of modern democratic system. In the course of the study Kautilya's views on statecraft were examined and were found relevant for governance in today's India. The usefulness and applicability of Kautilya's code of conduct to modern executives was examined in view of the corrupt practices which have become almost a norm and some conclusions have been drawn. In the realm of inter-state relations the study found out both similarities and dissimilarities between Kautilya's views on foreign policy and modern Indian foreign policy formulators' actions. It was also found out that Kautilya has significantly shaped the Indian way of statecraft and inter-state relations and that if we want to understand India's 'strategic culture', we should better learn more about Kautilya and his Arthashastra. The study establishes that Kautilya's six- fold policy which comprises – peace, war, neutrality, marching, alliance and double policy are frequently used by Indian policy makers to further India's interests, may be because of *longue duree* and *habitus*. It has also been endeavored to find as to in how many other ways these measures can be adopted to address foreign policy issues. With cold war 2.0 knocking on our doors, we need to rethink our global strategy of alliances and distances. May be Kautilya can help.

The book is divided in five chapters. The first chapter introduces the Arthashastra and its author to the reader, one of the most controversial names in the history of ancient Indian political thought. Kautilya is also known by two other names: Chanakya and Vishnugupta. Regarding meaning of the treatise Heinrich Zimmer in 'Philosophies of India' calls Arthashastra the authoritative handbook of the science of wealth, wherein are to be found all the timeless laws of politics, economy, diplomacy and war. The chapter further explores the legends associated with the life of Kautilya. It is necessary to mention all these legends because they form the context and reference to Arthashastra. Kautilya had seen how Dhanananda had become apathetic towards the people he was ruling. Kautilya could see that the reason for Chandragupta's victory was the dissatisfaction of the people with their King and this is why he was very particular about the duties and functions of the king. Kautilya composed Arthashastra as a manual for not only Chandragupta but for all future Kings, after the establishment of Mauryan Empire. Arthashastra has been embroiled in controversy as to its time and authorship, since it resurfacing in 1905. Kautilya's Arthashastra is said to have been written somewhere between 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. This is considered as the traditional view regarding the authorship of Arthashastra which was endorsed by a number of eminent western scholars. However, there is another view given by the likes of J. Jolly, AB Keith, Winternitz, SR Goyal etc that the Arthashastra does not belong to Kautilya, that it is not authentic, it was not written but it evolved, and that it was not written before third century AD/CE. However, after reading and considering all the views regarding its date, I have found that the traditional view makes more sense and should be taken into account. Also, Arthashastra itself bears a testimony to its time. The other question researched in the chapter is the reason of its disappearance and resurfacing. It seems that Kautilya's Arthashastra was a tough manual to follow. After Asoka we find no other King who could follow the strict norms of Arthashastra. In 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD/CE, Chandragupta Vikramaditya's rule was an



exception to this. After Maurya period, Kings and society both had gradually become more peaceful, complacent and comfort-loving. This must have led to the disappearance of Arthashastra in its actual form, although it lived in later literature, in folklore and in its oral transmission due to '*Guru-Shishya Parampara*.' So, we can say that Arthashastra had not disappeared totally till 700-800 AD/CE. However, after the advent of foreign invaders and new forms of polities, Arthashastra was largely forgotten, except in a few Hindu rules. Also, "the cultural continuity in India and subconscious pre-selection of ideas from a wide range of pre-available possible thoughts, attitudes and actions termed as *longue duree* and *Habitus* respectively"<sup>1</sup> kept Arthashastra alive and it resurfaced in 1905 when *Swaraj* and *Swadeshi* movement had awakened the political consciousness of the people. This discovery was an epoch making event in the history of the study of ancient Indian polity. Because till 20th century most of the western world believed that the empires in ancient India were run based on religious and mythological beliefs. This mindset was challenged after the rediscovery of the Arthashastra. This is one interpretation which seems feasible of the resurfacing of Arthashastra in 1905, the period of intense national awakening. However, the text shocked many people due to its absolute realism, leading them to a state of denial and Arthashastra was not accorded the place that it deserved.

The second chapter is entitled 'Kautilya's State craft, good Governance and Welfare State'. Here we find that the theory of origin of state is generally credited to western scholars. However, we can observe that in ancient India, two theories of origin of state were prevalent simultaneously- divine origin and contract theory of kingship. While one theory was that king was created by God *Brahma* to establish order and the king was bestowed with qualities of various gods, the other states that people were exasperated of the state of anarchy prevailing at the time and so they entrusted the king with their protection in lieu of grain and goods. Kautilya's state originated as a result of this state of anarchy or '*Matsyanyaya*'. Kautilya also speaks of the state of nature of which Hobbes speaks in 17th century. But Arthashastra being lost to the world for a long time, Kautilya's views on origin of state were also not developed. This can now be researched and due credit be given to Indian scholarship. As we read Arthashastra we find that the state was conceived by Kautilya as an organic whole, its different constituent parts being called "*Anga*" or limbs, based on the analogy of a human body. The seven elements (*prakritis*) constituted the wealth of the state. These consist of:-Sovereign-Swami; Ministers – *Amatya*; Territory –*Janapada*; Fortification –*Durg*; Treasury –*Kosha*; Army –*Danda*; Ally-*Mitra*. In Kautilya's state, the king was the central pillar of the state and was interlinked with other six organs of the state. All the elements worked in unison and their organic unity has been emphasized in Arthashastra. The chapter also draws a modern day parlance to Kautilya's *Saptang* theory which is the basis of his statecraft and welfare state (Bk.1-5). In Book 1 Chapter 5, verse 8, Kautilya says that the king who is well educated and disciplined in sciences, devoted to good governance of his subjects, and bent on doing well to all people, will enjoy the earth unopposed. He sounds so contemporary when he proclaims that in the happiness of the people lies king's happiness (Bk.1, Ch 11, verse 10). He has given the unique concept of *Yogakshema* to India which is the tagline of LIC. Further in the chapter it is observed that Kautilya's state if seen in modern context emerges as a totalitarian yet welfare state. Rules regarding conduct of various trades ranging from physician to goldsmith were given. Taxation system was as per the capability of tax payer. The purpose was that nobody may exploit the other. Kautilya's *Yogakshema* has a deeper meaning

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<sup>1</sup>Subrata K Mitra and Michael Leibig in Kautilya's Arthashastra: An Intellectual Portrait: The Classical Roots of Modern Politics in India, Rupa Publications, New Delhi, 2017, p.157



because further in Arthashastra, Kautilya has dealt upon the problem of internal strife and rebellion (Bk.9, Ch. 5). Kautilya had said that if state is misgoverned and the benefits of welfare state do not reach the grass root level, there are bound to be revolts and rebellions. Kautilya advises the King to anticipate discontentment and take steps to prevent them from becoming worse. Kautilya's verse seems so relevant today. It is common sense that if people become impoverished, they become greedy and rebellious. One major threat and problem which is faced by Indian state today is that of Naxalism and if we diagnose this problem we will find that the root cause of Naxalism is very much the same as Kautilya had described in Arthashastra as the root cause of internal rebellion. Not only a separate chapter has been given in Arthashastra regarding internal rebellions and discontentment but Kautilya has also provided "Four Upayas" (*Sama, Dama, Danda, Bheda*) to deal with it. Thus Kautilya's Arthashastra can be used to find some solution to modern India's one major problem i.e., Naxalism and insurgency infesting Chhattisgarh, North-eastern states and Kashmir. The key to solving Naxal problem lies in people centric development sans corruption and respecting the identity and uniqueness of tribal customs, traditions and societies made thereof. Here, special mention should be made of corruption too, of which Kautilya has given 40 ways which are viewed as opportunities for corruption and exploitation of the public. For controlling that, Kautilya prescribes "*Dandaniti*". He maintained that the penalties must be fair and just and proportionate to the offence committed. This was used to create a "deterrent effect".

The third chapter is '*Manadala* Theory and its contemporary relevance for India's Foreign policy formulation'. Kautilya is rightly known as the great theorist of inter-state relations. Books 7, 11 & 12 make a comprehensive and logical analysis of all aspects of relations between states. Kautilya's state has seven internal constituents –the king, his friend, the ministers, the fortified city, the countryside, the treasury and the army. The external power of the state depends on the strength of its internal constituents. The chapter deals with how Kautilya gives us a detailed theoretical analysis of all possible political situations which may arise in inter-state relations with recommendations on ways of meeting them. Kautilyan foreign policy is determined by certain principles. He advocates that a king should augment the resources of the state to increase its power and he should be strong enough to embark upon a campaign if required. However, peace should take precedence over war. This is the normal course of development of foreign policy even today. It is explained in the chapter as to how Kautilya in his Arthashastra has described vividly the arena in which states play their roles. Keeping the Conqueror (*Vijigishu*) in the middle, Kautilya lays out a circle of states which comprise enemy, friend, enemy's friend, neutral and the middle state. His description of this circle of states is termed as *Mandala* theory. A strong foreign policy, with six measures to promote it, has been discussed by Kautilya. Though, while Kautilya's *Mandala* was limited to Indian Subcontinent, today the whole world is an arena for the play of power, interest and foreign policy. In present times *Mandala* theory should be applied globally because geographical placements are less important now and physical boundaries have become immaterial because of prominence of strong communication networks. The theory becomes much more relevant when it is applied over more than 12 states. A new term called '*Maritime Mandala*' has come to vogue to describe strategic transactions in Southeast Asia. India has three maritime *mandalas*: first, the immediate *Mandala* (China and Pakistan); followed by intermediate *mandala* comprising East Africa, the Persian Gulf, Central Asia and Southeast Asia; and the outer *mandala* comprising Japan, Russia and the US.

The fourth chapter is named '*The six fold policy and its relevance today as tool of foreign policy*'. The chapter analyses Kautilya's views on Six-fold policy as the source of peace and industry. The would-



be conqueror shall apply the six methods of foreign policy as appropriate to the various constituent elements of his circle of states. The aim is of progressing from a state of decline to one of stability and from this state to one of progress. The policy that achieves *Yogakshema* is a desirable policy; the one that does not is not desirable and should be abandoned, argues Kautilya. Kautilya's six fold policy includes: *Samdhi*, or making peace; *Vigraha* or war; *Yana* or March; *Asana* or neutrality; *Samsraya* or alliance; *Dvaividhibhav* or dual policy. Beside *Mandala* and Six-fold policy Kautilya prescribes diplomacy as the third pillar of interstate relations. Diplomacy is the means through which six measures and four upayas are put to practice. Negotiation (*Sama*), gift and bribery (*Dana*), causing dissension (*Bheda*) and open attack (*Danda*) are four forms of stratagems. Beside diplomacy, another important tool in Kautilya's armour in the arena of inter-state relations is spy system. The purpose was to gather information through intelligence. Information is a powerful tool; lack of it can diminish the power of a state and give upper hand to the adversary. An examination of the statecraft practiced by the Indian leadership that ultimately led to the creation of Bangladesh in 1971 and integration of Sikkim in the Indian Union in 1975 reveals some influence of Kautilya and a fair play of all measures of *Shadgunya* (an example of *habitus*) and a demonstration that Kautilya was very much alive in the modern consciousness. However Tashkent Declaration and Shimla Agreement challenge this assumption. The chapter deals with all these issues in detail.

The fifth chapter is an endeavor to establish the relevance of Kautilya's ideas in modern times. If we analyze, we can see that modern state has all the problems that Kautilya had presupposed in Arthashastra. Warfare also follows the same pattern. And the state which does not learn from past events of statecraft and military is condemned. India claims to be the land of Buddha not Kautilya. This vehement assertion over times has made India a passive and defensive State. Policy makers have been hesitant to identify themselves with Kautilya. Though, unconsciously they follow him out of habit. Kautilya's influence on the Indian foreign policy is unmistakable. However, the degree of this influence is debated. Analysts like Bangladeshi political scientist Rashed uz Zaman and German international scholars like Michael Liebig, argue that Kautilyan thought is at the root of Indian strategic thinking and one can understand India's policies only by having an understanding of Kautilya. Liebig supports his argument by using Bourdieu's concept of '*habitus*' and its connection with 'strategic culture'. Shiv Shankar Menon former National Security Advisor says that roots of Indian political rationalism can be found lying in Kautilya. Yet there are other scholars who differ and postulate that Indian policy makers may be called the followers of Buddha, not of Kautilya.

The challenges of historical change are not dealt with by breaking with tradition but by actively re-using tradition. It must be recognized that Kautilya is not only the first realist but even the genesis of the theory of origin of state can be seen in his *Saptang* which talks of seven *Prakriti* as seven limbs who make state with king as its head. According to Kautilya state came into existence due to state of nature and *matsyanyaya*. People paid to king in lieu of their *palan*, *rakshan* and *Yogakshema*. For discipline in state, king was portrayed as having gunas of Gods. Kautilya did not explain these theories exclusively, yet they are inherent in the text. We read and teach organic, contract and the divine origin theory of State as part of western discourse. There is need to refocus our vision. Arthashastra may not be a treatise on a total welfare state and it may have some streaks of a police state, yet Arthashastra must be acknowledged as the most comprehensive treatise on statecraft with intention to establish a state where king's primary duty is to ensure *Yogakshema* of people.



China is tapping its Confucian and 'Legalist' legacies and has already established Sun-Tzu's *The Art of War* in the canon of strategic classics. In India Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is of singular importance among endogenous resources. The time when Kautilya was wholly ignored or treated as the 'Indian Machiavelli' in Indian Political science and the strategic community, is surely coming to a close. The growing power-potential of India and the power-shifts of the multi-polar world bring up the question of India's soft-power positioning and the role of endogenous politico-cultural power resources therein. India's self-representation in terms of soft power is essentially confined to expounding its democracy and freedom of expression. That surely distinguishes India from China. However, the self portrayal as the 'the world's largest democracy' has lost attractiveness since most emerging countries in global south have come out as functioning democracies. The 'spirit of Gandhi' - in the sense of strict non-violence and ethical rigor –too has lost much of its earlier appeal, notably so in Asia. India's soft power standing must be derived from its high culture, whose greatest achievements are not spiritualistic, otherworldly and a-political as the familiar stereotype would suggest.

Dr.S. Kalyanaraman, in *Arthashastra, Diplomatic History and the Study of International Relations in India* says: There are three main reasons (why) Kautilya's *Arthashastra* must be studied. First, *Arthashastra* is the earliest known treatise on statecraft and being Indian in origin there is need to celebrate this heritage by providing it a prominent place in the Indian discourse on International Relations. Second, the *Arthashastra* continues to be relevant because of the key insights it provides about the nature of the state and inter-state system. The third and even more important reason for studying the *Arthashastra* is to encourage the discipline of International Relations in India, a discipline that is widely acknowledged as continuing to wallow on to the margins of the global discourse in this field [...]. It is within the broader focus upon the diplomatic history of pre-1947 India that the study of ancient Indian treatises such as the *Arthashastra* as well as many classical texts needs to be located. Studying this history will enrich the Indian discourse in International Relations including by providing a laboratory to test and enrich the concepts and theories postulated both by contemporary scholars as well as by classical Indian thinkers like Kautilya.<sup>2</sup>

Thousands of years later Kautilya's principles are valid even in our transformed current world. The country today needs strong and forward looking institutions to make India into a contemporary version of Chanakya's *Chakravartin*. For the past several years we have been hearing about the prospects of India becoming a super power and we say that by 2030 India would lead the world. However, it is still a distant reality because India is still in the need of a driving vision, a sense of national destiny and a clear idea of its national interests. It also needs the willingness to use force to fulfill its national interests. For this, use of both hard and soft power is required where Kautilya can be the preceptor.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Kalyanaraman, S. "Arthashastra, Diplomatic History and the study of International Relations in India." In *Indigeneous Historical Knowledge- Kautilya and his Vocabulary* (Volume 1), Ed. P K Gautam, Saurabh Mishra, Arvind Gupta, Pentagon Press, New Delhi, 2015, p 1

<sup>3</sup> Bharat Karnad, *Why India is not a great power yet?(Yet)*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015, p.1 as quoted by Aparna Pande, *From Chanakya to Modi-The evolution of India's Foreign Policy*, Noida, Harper Collins India, 2020, p.1

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## Chapter-1

### Introduction

The past century was spent on debating the period when Arthashastra was written and who actually wrote it –Kautilya, Chanakya or Vishnugupta. Are they the same persons? Or three names for two persons? Such was the anxiety about the date and authorship that not much attention was paid to the content of ‘Arthashastra’. However, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, I believe the debate about the time of Arthashastra has been put to rest. It may have been written in third century BC or in third century AD or even somewhere between third century BC and third century AD, a period spanning 500 years.<sup>4</sup>

**Meaning of the term Arthashastra:-**The Sanskrit word Arthashastra has two components: *Artha* and *Sastra*. *Artha* means wealth, material well being, power, politics or statecraft, while *sastra* means 'authoritative text book', 'manual' or 'compendium'. Arthashastra can be translated as 'textbook of politics' or 'manual of political economy,' diplomacy and war'.<sup>5</sup> The term Arthashastra is the representative name for text books on politics, statecraft and economics. There are also *sastras* for other fields - for example Dharmashastras which treat religious-ethical and legal issues. Kautilya's Arthashastra has become *pas pro toto* with respect to ancient Indian politico-strategy thought.

Heinrich Zimmer in ‘Philosophies of India’ calls Arthashastra, “The authoritative handbook (*Shastra*) of the Science of Wealth (*Artha*),”which encompasses all the timeless laws of politics, economy, diplomacy and war. Of the four Indian and Hindu moral aspirations- *Artha*, *Dharma*, *Kama* and *Moksha*, Kautilya gives utmost importance to *Artha* or material aspiration. Kautilya holds that there are four sciences from where what righteousness and wealth is, learnt. These are *Anvikshki* comprising Philosophy of *Sankhya*; *Yoga* and *Lokayata*; *Trayi* or triple Vedas; *Varta* (wealth or non wealth) and finally there is *Dandaniti*.”<sup>6</sup> Kautilya in Book 1, chapters 2-4 establishes the significance of science of *Anvishki*. He also explains the place of these four sciences. Zimmer says that Kautilya extracts a vigorous, resourceful and absolutely realistic philosophy of practical life along with a theory of diplomacy and government from the

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<sup>4</sup>.Age of Nandas and Mauryas – Ed.by KA Nilakanta Shastri, Motilal Banarasidass,Banaras, First ed.1952,pp.192-199 ; also Political Thought in ancient India : Emergence of the state, Evolution of Kingship and interstate relations based on Saptang Theory of State – G.P.singh,Dk Printworld Publication Limited, New Delhi, 1843, pp9-10.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Heinrich Zimmer, Philosophies of India,Princeton Unniversity Press, New Jersey,1969,p.36

four sciences he has described. This comprehensive study of statecraft is totally at par with the statecraft prescribed by Hobbes and Machiavelli. "The Indian Arthasastra bears comparison and shares many features, also with Plato's Republic and Laws and Aristotle's Politics."<sup>7</sup>

**Who is Kautilya:** - R. Shamasastri who brought the book back from oblivion, states in preface to his English translation of Arthasastra, "Little that is reliable is known of the author of Arthasastra. He subscribes himself as Kautilya at the end of the each of hundred and fifty chapters of the work and narrates in a verse at its conclusion the overthrow of the Nanda dynasty as one of his exploits. Another name by which author is known is Vishnugupta and it is used only once by the author himself in the concluding verse of the work. A third name by which he is designated by later writers is Chanakya."<sup>8</sup>

About the identity of Kautilya, AL Basham said that, "Chandragupta Maurya was aided by a Brahmin adviser, called variously Kautilya, Chanakya and Vishnugupta." About Arthashastra, Basham said that, "The minister of Chandragupta is the reputed author of the Arthashastra or the 'Treatise on Polity', a very valuable source of information on state administration."<sup>9</sup> T. Ganapati Sastri a renowned Sanskrit scholar, for the first time established that "Kautilya, not Kautilya must be the correct form" of the name.<sup>10</sup>

S.R. Goyal states that Chanakya who was the Prime Minister of Chandragupta Maurya and Kautilya who composed Arthasastra were not the same. There was a gap of more than five hundred years between them. To the argument that all three are the same person, Goyal reasons that at the end of each chapter in Arthashastra the name which is mentioned as the author of Arthashastra, Vishnugupta may be a different name or the original name of Kautilya. Kautilya was perhaps the *gotra* name of Vishnugupta. Goyal also agrees with Jaina sources which state that Chanakya was different from Kautilya and was a follower of Jaina faith. He mentions views of Jolly and Meyer that the author of Arthasastra belonged to south, (while Chanakya the guru of Chandragupta was the inhabitant of Taxila) based on the following facts:<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> R. Shamasastri, Kautilya Arthashastra – (Vol. I, Book I – Book IV) edited by V. Narain and foreword by J.F. Fleet, Chowkhamba Vidyabhawan Publication, Varanasi, 2010, preface

<sup>9</sup> AL Basham, The Wonder that was India, Longmans Limited Publication, 1963, p.50

<sup>10</sup> Arthasastra of Kautilya – Translated by T.Ganapati Sastri(Vol I-III) with Srimula Commentary, English Translation by NP Unni, New Bhartiya Book Corporation, Delhi, 2018

<sup>11</sup> S.R. Goyal, Kautilya and Megasthenes, Kusumanjali Publications, Jodhpur, First edition-1985,p.121



- The geographical horizons of the author of Arthasastra on the whole points to a southern rather than northern home.
- The only known manuscript of Arthasastra exists only in the south.
- Only Baudhayana and Kautilya have a “*pana* of 16 mashes” and Baudhayana was a southerner. The “*pana*” in the Arthasastra was a silver coin not of copper and according to *Narada parisishtha*; this was the case in the south.
- *Dandin*, also a southerner, knows Arthasastra more than any other Sanskrit scholar.

It is believed that Kautilya was a Kerala brahamin who got patronage in the court of Nanda king at Patliputra. Some believe him to be a North Indian Brahmin who was born and brought up in Taxila, where he got his education too. He came to Patliputra to get name and fame through philosophic disputations. Kautilya sought patronage in the court of Dhanananda (the nanda of ample wealth). Dhanananda was both base-borne and peremptory. He was also hated by his subjects because of his inordinate desire of gain. Dhanananda insulted Kautilya who was, it is said physically deformed. Insulted Kautilya vowed that he will not tie his forelock knot until he uproots Nanda dynasty. Later, he came upon Chandragupta, playing the role of king with his friends. Impressed by Chandragupta’s leadership skills, Kautilya took him as his disciple and took him to Taxilla. He trained Chandragupta in statecraft and martial arts, an education fit for a future king. Kautilya and Chandragupta defeated Dhanananda and Kautilya installed Chandragupta as king of Patliputra. It is believed that after establishment of Mauryan rule Kautilya retired from the active life but he was concerned about the stability of the empire and safety of the king and so he wrote Arthashastra as a manual and guide to Chandragupta or any other king who would heed, by reflecting on all he had learnt from past teachers and his own experience.

**When was Arthashastra written:-** R.Shamasastri, who resurrected Arthashastra writes, “From Indian epigraphical researches, it is known beyond doubt that Chandragupta was made king in 321 BC and Ashokavardhan ascended the throne in 296 BC. It follows therefore, that Kautilya lived and wrote his famous work, the Arthasastra, somewhere between 321 and 300BC.”<sup>12</sup> Dr. R. P. Kangle in the Kautilya Arthasastra, Part III, chapter four on “author and date” has extensively discussed the traditional view regarding the date and authorship of Arthasastra as

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<sup>12</sup> R. Shamasastri, op.cit.preface

well as the contesting views and almost 60 pages have been devoted to this discussion.<sup>13</sup> He is also of the view that Arthashastra was written somewhere around 3<sup>rd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. The traditional view as given by Shamasastri has been accepted by a number of scholars –J.J. Fleet in his introductory note to Shamasastri's English translation of Arthashastra endorses this.<sup>14</sup> H. Jacobi (articles in SK PAW, 1911 and 1912), J.J. Meyer (introduction to his German translation of the text), B. Breleor (KST, I-II) and others agree with this view. F.W Thomas (Cambridge history of India, Vol. I) though uncertain about its date, assumes that the work falls within or near Mauryan period. Nearer home, Pt. Ganapati Sastri, NN law, Radhakumud Mookerjee, KP Jaiswal, RG Bhandarkar, Jayachandra Vidyalkar, VA Smith, Hillerbrandt, and Romila Thapar follow the traditional view. C. E. M. Joad says that "another record of the (Chandragupta's) period is to be found in Arthashastra, that is, manual of politics, written by Kautilya, also known as Chanakya, who is traditionally reputed to have been Chandragupta's prime minister. The Arthashastra discusses fully and frankly the arts of government and diplomacy, and shows a well developed sense of political realism –that is to say, it shows how men and states may be efficiently governed by those who are not too scrupulous in their dealings with men or too idealistic for their policy for states."<sup>15</sup>

Dr.A.S. Altekar in 'State and Government in Ancient India' talks in great detail about the controversy regarding the date of Arthashastra and whether it was written by Kautilya.<sup>16</sup> The writer says that "the name of Kautilya may not be very complimentary but then it should not make us doubt the historicity of Arthashastra."<sup>17</sup> Scant respect for Buddhism in Arthashastra shows that it was written at a time when Buddhism was not very strong which shows that it was written not much later than the time of Buddha. Altekar compares Arthashastra with Indica of Megasthenes and says that there is no doubt there are some differences in the accounts given in two books but for most part it can be said that Kautilya's description of his time is more accurate and so much more dependable.

There is another view given by J. Jolly, A.B Keith, Winternitz, S.R Goyal, O. Stein, K. Nag etc. that the Arthashastra does not belong to Kautilya; that it was not written but it evolved;

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<sup>13</sup> R.P. Kangle, The Kautilya Arthashastra. Part3, 2nd ed. pub. 1969. New Delhi: Motilal Banarasadass Publications, 2019, pp59-115

<sup>14</sup> R. Shamasastri, op.cit. foreword, p.v

<sup>15</sup> C.E.M. Joad, The Story of Indian Civilization, MacMillan and Co., Limited, London, 1936, pp.6-8

<sup>16</sup> A.S. Altekar, State and Government in Ancient India, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition Motilal Banarasadass, Delhi, 1958, p.7-11

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p.11



the historical authenticity of its author can be doubted; it was not written earlier than the third century AD and that it is not authentic.

AL Basham treats Arthashastra as a compilation which is post Mauryan.<sup>18</sup> S.R. Goyal believes and gives arguments in support of the belief that Vishnugupta Kautilya, who wrote the Arthashastra, was different from Chanakya, the prime minister of Chandragupta Maurya. He compares Arthashastra with post-mauryan works like Kamasutra (written by *Vatasyayana*), *Angavijja*, *Buddhacharita* (written by *Ashvaghosha*) etc. and states that these works along with Arthashastra are products of same cultural milieu. He disagrees with the views of scholars like Shamasatry, Romila Thapar etc by quoting statement of Jolly that, “no long interval can have passed between the composition of Kamasutra and Arthashastra”, and thus states that had there been no tradition of making Kautilya a contemporary of Chandragupta, Jolly’s conclusion would have found widespread support. Eventually, he states that the conventional date of composition of Arthashastra (end of 4th century B.C) was incorrect and it was written somewhere between first to fifth century A.D.<sup>19</sup> All these scholars had sound reasons to support their arguments.

In fact any book on Hindu polity; Mauryan period; ancient Indian political system and books especially on Kautilya or his Arthashastra cannot do away with this controversy regarding the authorship and date of Arthashastra. For this unending debate on the antiquity of the treatise, one can refer to L.N. Rangarajan –Kautilya :The Arthashastra; GP Singh –Political Thought in Ancient India; SR Goyal –Kautilya and Megasthenes or even Roger Boesche –Kautilya the first great political realist, Radha Kumud Mookerjee –Chandragupta Maurya and his times; and so many other books. Col. P.K. Gautam has quite meticulously dealt with this controversy in ‘One hundred years of Kautilya’s Arthashastra.’<sup>20</sup> He has quoted references from Upinder Singh who places Kautilya in 321 BC.

**The originality of Arthashastra:-**Kautilya was not the first to write on the science of governance and administration and this is written by him at the very beginning of his treatise. He writes that his description of statecraft is based on similar treatises composed in the past. Kautilya has used dialogue method in his compendium and he first gives his predecessors’ opinion and then his, many a times negating them. He mentions five different schools of thought which were prevalent at that time –*Manu*, *Brihaspati*, *Prachetasa*, *Parasara*, *Ushanas* and *Ambhi*.

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<sup>18</sup> A.L. Basham, op.cit.p,50

<sup>19</sup> S.R. Goyal, op.cit.p.121

<sup>20</sup> P.K. Gautam, One hundred years of Kautilya’s Arthashastra, IDSA monograph series no.20, July 2013, New Delhi, pp37-43

**Method in Arthashastra:-**Usually, the authors of Arthashastras apply the method of observation, analysis and deduction. Kautilya supplements this by historical, critical and comparative methods of investigation. Kautilya is always guided by reason. At the same time, he does not overlook the importance of past experiences. Thus, Kautilya's method of writing Arthashastra is based on two concepts –reason and past experience. He uses reason to analyse the principles of polity and past experience to draw general conclusions. He states the views of earlier teachers and then gives his own personal opinion. Like Aristotle, his knowledge of theory is connected with the practical aspects of government. So, the supreme importance of his work lies in the fact that it is written not for a particular ruler, but for rulers and diplomats of various times.

**Continuity:-** Whatever may be the debates and controversies, it is beyond doubt that Kautilya was a famous statesman and he founded a school of statecraft and politics. His name and his work, Arthashastra, both have been held in great respect even after him. Bana and Dandin mention that his work was read by the princes. The stories of *Panchatantra*, composed for study by princes and which are read even today, were based on Arthashastra. The Jain tradition acknowledges the Arthashastra as an unconventional book and at par with the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*. King *Durvinita* and *Marashimha* (10th century) of the Ganga Dynasty are recognized as Kautilya's reincarnations, by South Indian epigraphs and are considered as well versed in state craft as Kautilya. The Arthashastra has the same position in the field of *sastras* on politics which *Panini's Ashtadhyayi* has in the field of grammar. Kautilya surpasses all his predecessors whom he has refuted in Arthashastra. In view of the excellence of Panini's work, none of his successors could even think of challenging his mastery. The same apparently was the view of the later scholars in the area of statecraft and political science. Joad considers Arthashastra as an important contribution to literature on politics. According to him, "Kautilya's Arthashastra, belongs to the domain of statecraft. Discovered in 1909, by an Indian scholar called Shamasastri, it is supposed to have been written somewhere between 500 and 400 BC, although some scholars put the date considerably later. The Arthashastra may best be described as dissertation on the art of ruling. It describes administrative practice, gives recommendations in regard to the details of government, and governed. Throughout, it is characterized by freshness and realism which suggest that the author had first-hand experience of the actual problems of the governance which he could so engagingly writes. Only a practicing statesman could, one feels, have brought himself to be quite so devastatingly candid. If, as it seems likely, the work is result



of firsthand experience, we may deduce with considerable assurance that the author was living in a community in which the art of government was highly developed. The various topics which are discussed –agriculture and commerce, the relations of central and municipal governments, problems of external and internal policy, government policy for development of skills, the supervision of forests and mines –are such as would arise in a highly-developed community. So refreshingly frank and outspoken is the Arthashastra, so completely emancipated is its author from scruples, both moral and religious, and so wholeheartedly devoted to the state, whose interest he regards as paramount, that Kautilya has been called the Indian Machiavelli.”<sup>21</sup> Not many books on political science were written in the centuries after Kautilya. There may be many reasons like, religious and moral point of view which considered that if king does anything wrong, he will be punished by God. One other reason may be that in later years, taxation and local government perhaps came under the purview of local government. Another reason may be that changes under Gupta period must have been considered as minor and so not important enough to warrant the composition of fresh books. Foreign invasions and alien rules during 200 BC and 300 AD too may have caused the lack of the political literature in the post-kautilya period. But, there is not much probability in it because the alien rule was limited to Punjab. The most probable cause of this seems to be the sway Kautilya’s Arthasastra had on public mind.

How much, Kautilya's successors were swayed by him or were in fascination of him is well illustrated by *Kamandakiya “Nitisara”*, which was most probably penned in the Gupta age, i.e., c.500 AD. It seems that this book is just a summary of Arthasastra, probably done to enable the students of politics to easily memorize the Arthasastra. *Nitisara* does not describe administrative machinery but focuses on the king and his courtiers. This exemplifies the great importance monarchy had acquired by this time. Kautilya's chapter on republican state stands omitted probably because they were no longer in existence. The description of civil, criminal and personal law is completely left out, probably because the *Smriti* writers of this period had specialized in this branch. *Vishakhadatta's Mudrarakshasa* which was written around 700 –800 AD presents Kautilya as a cunning, unscrupulous and plotting advisor of Chandragupta Maurya, although very loyal and selfless servant of the dynasty that he had helped establish. *Dashkumarcharitam* written by *Dandin* also seems to be greatly inspired by Kautilya’s Arthasastra, who establishes in his play *Dashkumarcharitam* that the neglect of the teaching of

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<sup>21</sup> C.E.M. Zoad, op. cit., pp.88-89

the *shastra* is likely to lead to disaster. The *Shukraniti* whose date is rather uncertain gives a comprehensive picture of the administrative machinery in post-kautilyan period than is given by any other work of the same period. By this time, republics had disappeared and monarchies had taken over. A detailed discussion of duties of the king, functions of his minister, problems of foreign policy, methods of warfare, civil administration and judicial administration is given by *Shukra*. State was envisioned as an organization committed to the welfare of the subjects. The duty of the state was not only to maintain law and order but also to regulate drinking, maintain hospitals, encourage learning and other welfare activities. The state was also required to increase the material resources of the country. The work enables us to have a glimpse into the day to day working of the administration. It describes in great detail the army administration, how weapons were to be manufactured or procured etc. Arthasastra lived in such texts as *Kamandakiya Nitisara*, *Shukraniti*, *Smritis*, *Panchatantra* etc.

Later writings like *Brahaspatya* Arthasastra and *Smritis* also deal with administration but their treatment is very cursory. Historians opine that post 1000 AD, originality disappeared from most of the branches of the Indian learning and science of polity was no exception. Some important works between 1000-1700 AD that touched upon politics or *Rajneeti* are *Yuktikalpatru* of *Bhoja* (1025 AD), *Rajnitikalpatru* of *LakshmiDhara* (1125 AD) *Amuktamalyada* of King *Krishnadeva Raya* of Vijaynagara dynasty (1525 AD) and many more. All these works were written from theological point of view and not from political. These works reflect how theology which was divorced from politics by Kautilya again became married to the state. Works which were written by the rulers themselves like, *Manollasa*, which was written by Chalukya king *Someshwara* (1125-1138 AD) deal more with king's luxuries, amusements and pastime than with state administration. The book preaches how king should be moral and religious. Thus, in post - kautilyan period as we proceed in time, we find kings becoming more used to the luxuries of life, while Kautilya's king lived a tough life.

In Indian tradition, '*Guru - Shishya Parampara*' has been followed and it was the duty of the *Guru* to transmit all his knowledge to the *Shishya*, of course, this was done orally. The *Shishya* was expected to memorize all the *sutras* and *slokas*, replete with knowledge and day-to-day practical customs. It seems that post 500 AD, Arthasastra was transmitted in these two manners: one, by way of books or works inspired by Arthasastra, as discussed above, although

toned down or amended according to the time; and secondly, orally. This ensured that Arthashastra lived.

**Arthasastra-A timeless treatise:** - It is argued that Arthashastra offers nothing new and that it only presents what had previously been said. Nevertheless, Arthasastra may be a compilation of all previous knowledge, but the quality and depth of Arthashastra can not be questioned. It is a great masterpiece. Arthashastra remains a timeless treatise. It has something or the other to offer to the kings/states of all times. While composing Arthashastra, Kautilya has not only depended upon the texts on polity available previously but also on the rich experience he had gathered.<sup>22</sup> His work contains references to a period which is often regarded as that of Alexander's invasion of India. "He seems to have been impressed by the glorious past of India and subsequent misery caused by the Greek invaders."<sup>23</sup> Regarding Arthashastra's significance for statesmen, there are two views. One finds it very useful, while the other, of not much importance.

Heinrich Zimmer writes "...The theories of politics evolved in Indian antiquity may be by no means out of date. They have remained unnoticed, largely because they are overshadowed by the world-wide reputation of India's great meta-physical and religious policies of release – Buddhism, Vedanta and the rest; but this does not mean that they could be of no use or interest to the modern mind. It is only in the past few decades that these hard-headed political doctrines have been brought to our attention. But the systematic Arthasastra of Kautilya was not made available until 1909. I can still remember vividly what a surprising discovery this was for all concerned –the rather restricted circle, that is to say of scholarly specialists in Europe, the United States and in India. The caustic and sententious style, literary facility and intellectual genius displayed do gives high credit to the master of political devices who composed this amazing treatise. Much of the material was quarried from older sources, the work being founded on a rich tradition of earlier political teachings, which it superseded, but which are still reflected through its quotations and aphorisms; and yet the study as a whole conveys the impression of being the production of a single, greatly superior mind."<sup>24</sup>

There are those too who doubt that Kautilya said anything useful at all. DD Kosambi, who was a Marxist historian, did not find Kautilya's Arthasastra very popular.

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<sup>22</sup> R.Shamasastri,op.cit.p.3

<sup>23</sup> Arthasastra of Kautilya – Translated by T.Ganapati Sastri(Vol I-III) with Srimula Commentary, English Translation by NP Unni,op.cit

<sup>24</sup> Heinrich Zimmer, Philosophies of India, op.cit.p.92-93



AB Keith had observed that Arthashastra stands nowhere near Plato's Republic and Politics of This observation is the classic example of the western skepticism regarding ancient Indian scriptures and most of the Indian population is conditioned to thrive on this. Also, Winternitz, Jolly and Keith hold Kautilya's name as a symbol of political strategy and 'treachery. Another in this league is Roger Boesche. When you read his 'Kautilya; the first great political realist', you feel that Kautilya advocates a despotic, all controlling rule, which appears very stifling and you feel grateful that Arthashastra is not followed today. Boesche seems to be mocking Indian writers who have praised Kautilya and Arthashastra. This general tendency of western scholars must have had kept Kautilya and his Arthashastra from attaining its rightful place in a world, where western concepts and theories were generally considered with a positive and open mind.<sup>25</sup>

**Kautilya compared:** - Kautilya in Arthashastra prescribes a state. Plato and Aristotle after him too have prescribed state in Republic and Politics. But while Plato's state was a utopia, Aristotle. Kautilya's state was already in existence. He established the state and then wrote Arthashastra as a manual for the king and other state officials. Plato and Aristotle wrote the books but their states could not be realized. Arthashastra was the child of its time and Republic too. The anarchy and the lawlessness of their times perhaps made them write these two treatises. In 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC Nandas ruled India. Nandas had enough power but they lacked popularity. Dhanananda was "hated by his subjects."<sup>26</sup> His unpopularity was due as much to the original sins of his ancestors as to his tyrannical rule and exactions. Thus his power was tottering to his fall. It was not broad based upon the will of the people. Thus the moral factor helped Chandragupta in his fight against Nanda, more than the military factor.

Arthashastra is the product of experience whereas Republic is the outcome of imagination. So one is a practical manual, while other is an indicator of an ideal state where everything is controlled, which is against human nature. Kautilya's Arthashastra comes under the purview of Political science while Plato's Republic comes under political philosophy. Arthashastra is closer to human nature. It talks of greed, selfishness, deceit and corruption whereas Republic talks of justice, communism of family and property and of education. One thing is common, both banish Doctor. Kautilya neglects public health and public education but lays a lot of emphasis on "danda". In Plato's state all abide by law and so there is no need of lawyer. There is no illness of

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid, pp.91,137

<sup>26</sup> Radha Kumud Mookerjee, Chandragupta Maurya and his times, Rajkamal publications, Second Edition revised New Delhi, 1952, p.35

mind and body in Plato's state. Also, when it comes to Aristotle, comparison between him and Kautilya is inescapable. Both exhibited the same degree of fearlessness of intellect, the same passion for truth and courage to put faith in reason. M.V. Krishna Rao has said, "Like Aristotle's Poetics, the Arthashastra reveals classic clearness of outline and precision of form. There is reflection as well as observation."<sup>27</sup>

Another very popular comparison of Kautilya's Arthashastra is made with Machiavelli and his 'The Prince'. It is wrong to compare Kautilya with Machiavelli. If at all required it should be vice-versa. Arthashastra was written more than 2300 years ago while The Prince only 500 years ago. Machiavelli wrote about the principalities of Italy. To a large extent it describes various kinds of kingships. Some scholars argue that The Prince was intended as a satire and essentially a guide on how not to rule. Machiavelli was a fallen diplomat and his experience was not as vast as that of Kautilya. Kautilya's state was spread over a large territory. Arthashastra gives an exhaustive description of statecraft, bureaucracy and interstate relations. In comparison to that, The Prince stands nowhere. Only thing was that Prince was in a language that was understandable to a majority while Arthashastra was not. One can find the similarities between the two texts which may be because some situations can have common measures to deal them with. One major commonality was that both separated the state and the religion. Before Kautilya there were '*Dharmashastra*' and '*Neetishastra*' as guide to people. Even Arthashastra was there but Kautilya composed Arthashastra as a "*dandaneeti*" with *Danda*, meaning as law. He separated politics and theology, however wherever needed King could use religion to further his interest in which lied the interest of the state. Machiavelli had also witnessed the rise to power of the Pope Alexander and how he amassed power, money and territory and promoted his son as a ruler who ultimately failed due to many reasons, one being the death of his father, the Pope. Like Kautilya, Machiavelli too deliberates upon statecraft, power, war and popular goodwill. We find Kautilya to be more comprehensive in all these matters, while Machiavelli is not. They both emphasize the importance of goodwill in maintaining power. But while Machiavelli's says that a leader has to take tough decisions for his subjects. He should be feared and respected, not necessarily liked or loved. The Prince is there to provide his subjects stability and governance. Kautilya has also proposed the same; however he propounds the social contract theory and advises the king to rule like a father. Jawahar Lal Nehru very rightly stated that "Chanakya has been called the Indian

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<sup>27</sup>M.V. Krishna Rao, Studies in Kautilya, Munshilal Manoharlal Publications, New Delhi, 1979.p.21

Machiavelli, and to some extent this comparison is justified. But he was a much bigger person in every way, greater in intellect and action. He was no mere follower of a King, a humble advisor of an all-powerful emperor.”<sup>28</sup> But I feel that instead of calling Kautilya, the Indian Machiavelli we should call Machiavelli, the Italian Kautilya because we can compare only with known and not with unknown.

Before Kautilya, king was more like a representative of God on earth. Manu describes that how king should have virtues of the God. But Kautilya talks of state of nature where might was right (big fish devouring the smaller fish –*Matsyanyaya*). This anarchic state of nature made people enter into a contract with the king and transfer their sovereignty for their own welfare. In lieu of the king looking after them, people would pay him certain amount of tax. Kautilya propagated a theory of state which was opposed to the divine origin theory. Machiavelli does not seem to be doing this.

As long as Kautilya and his Arthashastra were not known, Machiavelli’s Prince was a shocking experience to the reader because of its brutal truthfulness, realism, practicality and crude advice to the king. After Kautilya’s Arthashastra resurfaced, Machiavelli’s Prince seemed like a saint. Quoting Max Weber, Roger Boesche says that “Kautilya’s Arthashastra was one of the greatest political books of the ancient world.”<sup>29</sup> Weber in his famous lecture ‘Politics as a vocation’ calls “Machiavelli’s The Prince harmless before Arthashastra.”<sup>30</sup>

This very much clarifies that Kautilya, the realist political thinker (kingmaker in the contemporary language) is way ahead of Machiavelli. If at all there is any comparison between the two, Machiavelli can at best be described as a pale image of Kautilya. My advice to a researcher would be to read Arthashastra only after reading Machiavelli’s Prince, which may be a stepping stone, so that one is mentally prepared for the ultimate experience of the statecraft and interstate relations.

Jawahar Lal Nehru has compared Kautilya and Clausewitz too and said, “Long before Clausewitz, he (Kautilya) is reported to have said that war is only a continuance of state policy by other means. But, he adds war must always serve the larger ends of policy and not become an

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<sup>28</sup> J.L. Nehru – The Discovery of India, Penguin Random House, Delhi, 1946, p.124.

<sup>29</sup> Roger Boesche, Kautilya; The first great political realist, Harper Collins Publications, New Delhi, 2017, p.67

<sup>30</sup> Max Weber, Politics as a Vocation in W. Runciman (Ed.) Max Weber: Selections in Translation (E. Mathews trans.), Cambridge University Press, 1919, 1978, p. 31



end in itself; the statesman's objective must always be the betterment of state as a result of war, not the mere defeat and destruction of the enemy.”<sup>31</sup>

Another political theorist, who belongs to the contemporary era and whom we may find standing somewhere near Kautilya is Hans J. Morgenthau. His 'Politics among Nations' propounds realist approach of international politics and relations. The book is committed to interstate relations and whatever its impact may be on intrastate relations or internal affairs of the state. Arthashastra is a treatise detailing both statecraft and interstate relations. Perhaps Morgenthau had read Arthashastra before propounding realism in international relations; nine measures of diplomacy and six measures of attaining balance of power.

**The political and social background of Arthashastra:-** Literature reflects the time in which it is written. Plato wrote Republic as a reaction to his times and it was reflected in his treatise; and Kautilya's Arthashastra reflects its social, economic and religious background. Kautilya lived in a time when people were exasperated with the age old rituals and traditions being followed rigidly. Since the end of the *Brahmanas* and *Upnishads*, Indian mind was used to the theory of *Karma* and rebirth and consequent sorrows. It had been influenced by teachings which emphasized the darker rather than the brighter side of life. The emergence of Mahavira and Buddha influenced religious tendencies as well as social aspirations. The old philosophy of *Upnishads* and *Vedas* had been challenged by the rise of skeptics, atheist and nihilists. In the darkness of ignorance, studies by *Manu*, *Brahmaspati*, *Ushanas (Shukra)*, *Bhardvaja* and *Vishalaksha* and *Buddhist (Jatakas)* and Jain works, were already spreading some light.<sup>32</sup>

Kautilya could see that politically the country was in doldrums. Internally it was suffering from mal-administration and externally, the Greek invader was already at the door. So, his task was two-fold: to liberate the country from foreign invasion and to give it a stable and strong government. He tried to revive the feeling of patriotism and made Chandragupta reorganize the military sources of the country. Kautilya proved to be an able preceptor of Chandragupta, as Aristotle was of Alexander. Though the Nandas had fallen, there were many adherents of theirs in the country. Similarly, the loyalty of the foreigners in Punjab and the adjoining regions was doubtful and a dangerous example of insecurity and perfidy was set by Alexander, one of the world's greatest conquerors. All this left a great impression on the minds

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<sup>31</sup> J.L.Nehru, Discovery of India, op.cit,p.124.

<sup>32</sup> Usha Mehta And Usha Thakkar, Kautilya and his Arthashastra, S.Chand & Company LTD, 1980, New Delhi,p.8

of both Kautilya and Chandragupta. Kautilya's concept of *Vijigishu* and his description of the king seem to be influenced by this factor.

On the fall of Nandas, Kautilya had to bring new blood to the organization of the great empire which needed better understanding and sympathetic treatment. Kautilya felt that only a wise king could control the sturdy system of administration. He had no fancy for oligarchy or democracy. Kautilya took notice of "*Samghas*." He valued their solidarity but wanted the *Vijigishu* to make use of them. If they stand in his way, they should be destroyed. He did not like the weakness of the city states and favoured a state with one directing organ.

Kautilya saw that states of his time were falling prey to petty quarrels, mutual jealousy and internal disorder. Kautilya was also conscious of the foreign invasion. He wanted to use historical examples to serve as a guide and warning to the future. He found out that foreign invasion can be caused not by misfortune but by misrule. So he tried to discover a panacea which could cure all the political ills not only of his times, but of all times.

Kautilya made the concept of "*Samrat*" a reality and saw to it that Chandragupta became a "*Chakravartin*". Together, they established a system which gave peace and order to people. As Ghoshal puts it, "The greatest gift of Mauryas was that, they demonstrated the capacity of the most talented of the race groups forming the composite population of ancient India, to rule one of the largest empires of the ancient world for over a century and a quarter."<sup>33</sup>

Thus, the intellectual, social and economic and political background of Kautilya was peculiar and unique. It demanded a powerful philosophy which could answer all the challenges and Kautilya set out to perform this task. As M V Krishna Rao observes, "Unlike most of the writers on polity, Kautilya is unique in Ancient Indian Political thought, for he was both a thinker and a statesman and he participated in the social and political revolutions of his age and abstracted from his study of conflicts, tensions and emotions of the age, certain general principles capable of universal application, effective at all times and ages."<sup>34</sup>

**Reasons for disappearance of Arthashastra:-**Regarding disappearance of Arthashastra for almost 2000 years, Kangle says Kautilya's Arthashastra was a tough manual to follow. After Maurya period, we find Gupta period when Kings were capable of following Arthashastra. But after that no such mention of strong monarchy is found in ancient India. Kings had gradually

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<sup>33</sup>U.N. Ghoshal, A history of Indian Public Life, vol .II, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1966 p.285

<sup>34</sup>M.V. Krishna Rao, Studies in Kautilya, op.cit., preface, p.i

become more peaceful, complacent and comfort-loving. State and society were also mostly orderly and peaceful. This must have had led to the disappearance of Arthashastra in its actual form, although it lived in later literature as mentioned earlier in the report. It also lived in folklore and its oral transmission due to '*Guru-Shishya Parampara*' continued. So, we can say that Arthashastra had not disappeared totally till 700-800 AD. However, after the advent of foreign invaders and new forms of polities, Arthashastra was largely forgotten, except in a few Hindu rules like that of Shivaji, and other south Indian dynasties like Chalukyas, Cholas, Satavahans, Ikshvakus and Pandyans. Additionally, there were several other reasons responsible for the disappearance of Arthashastra. In Ancient History of India by Atlantic Research Division, several causes for the fall of Mauryan are empire given, one may be that Asoka's belief in equality before law must have had disadvantaged Brahmanas who earlier enjoyed a superior position in society. The fall of Mauryan authority may have been due in large measure to a reaction promoted by the *Brahmans*. Beside, successors of Asoka were comparatively weaker and they were influenced more by Buddhist principles of *Ahimsa* and less by imperial policy of Kautilya, and so they submitted to the foreign rulers and internal dissents. As such, Mauryan Empire and practicality of Kautilyan principles came to an end within a decade of Asoka's death. It may be said that India needed the harsh measures of Kautilya the realist in order to enjoy the luxury of Asoka the idealist. Also, Arthashastra was written in Sanskrit which was the language of learned men at that time and was used in the courts as well. However, the language popular among the masses was *Prakrit*. This might be another reason that language became a barrier in the communication of principles of Arthashastra and hence it led to its gradual disappearance.

However, cultural continuity in India and subconscious pre-selection of ideas from a wide range of pre-available possible thoughts, attitudes and actions termed as *longue duree* and *Habitus* respectively, by Subrata K Mitra and Michael Leibig in Kautilya's Arthashastra: An Intellectual Portrait kept Arthashastra alive as is evident from its resurfacing in 1905.<sup>35</sup>

**Significance of Resurfacing of Arthashastra in 1905:-**British East India Company came to India for trade at almost the end of the 17th century. However, the disunity among the people, led to the establishment of British Raj in India in 1857. The British government and before that East India Company rationalized their stay in India by quoting White man's burden theory. The theory claimed that everything which was Indian was regressive and retrograde and

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<sup>35</sup>Subrata K. Mitra & Michael Liebig, Kautilya's Arthashastra: An Intellectual Portrait, op.cit. pp. 158-164 & 410



all that was western was progressive and modern. For almost a century, Indians were subjugated by the British on the basis of their racial and intellectual superiority. This caused much heartburn to those Indians who believed in the cultural and intellectual heritage of the country. Between 1885 and 1905 Indian National Congress was led by the moderates. Gradually, the Indians, the Indian National Congress, and its leadership realized the true nature of British rule. In the meantime, social and religious awakening movements of the 19th Century had to some extent revived the faith of Indians in their country and culture. Swami Vivekananda, Swami Dayananda, Annie Besant, Ranade all taught Indians to love their country and to be proud of their past. The inferiority complex developed over hundred years was being partially forgotten. The leaders of this awakening who led Indians to the 20th century were Lal, Bal and Pal. These leaders developed the new political philosophy of *Swarajya* as a birthright, which could not be asked for but snatched. They realized that Indian population could recognize this, only if it had faith and confidence in the idea of India and a strong political system as an alternative to British rule. Tilak stated that, “We have lost our Glory, our independence, everything. Religion is the only treasure that we have: If we forsake it, we shall be like the foolish cock in Aesop’s fables that threw away a jewel. In the world of today, anything that we have has to be displayed and shown to the best advantage.”<sup>36</sup> In continuation of reawakening, worship of *Kali* and *Durga* was revived in Bengal to inspire the people, to take up arms against the usurpers of their freedom. Tilak started *Ganpati* and *Shivaji Utsav* (festival) in Maharashtra as an effort to reawaken the Hindus. Eventually, *Swadeshi* movement was started in 1905. The boycott and *Swadeshi* movements soon became very popular in Bengal. People stopped using foreign goods, those who used foreign goods were socially boycotted and foreign clothes were burnt. Soon, the movement spread to the other parts of country.

The partition of Bengal and the resultant boycott and *Swadeshi* movement brought about certain beneficial results in the long run. While passive resistance against the government and national education were certainly its offshoots, its greatest benefit was that it awakened the political consciousness of people. The resurfacing of Arthashastra in 1905 coincides with the *Swadeshi* Movement. The British had long been asserting that Indians were not capable of ruling over themselves. History of the past 200 years was proving the British right. There were more

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<sup>36</sup> Tilak quoted on Vivekananda in, Lokmanya Tilak – A Biography by AK Bhagwat and GP Pradhan, 2015, Juvenile Fiction, pg.153

than 500 princely states in India and infighting among them was common. Moderates in Indian National Congress also firmly believed that British rule was in the interest of Indians because while Britain had a long tradition of monarchical democracy, India was nowhere near it. Any self respecting Indian who possessed a scientific treatise of statecraft and interstate relations, like modern state constitution, was bound to come forward and bring the same to the light. This is one interpretation which seems feasible of the resurfacing of Arthashastra in 1905, the period of intense national awakening. The former National Security Adviser Sri Shiv Shankar Menon says that, “National movement needed the Arthashastra in order to find the reassurance of Indian statecraft to establish that we had an independent realist tradition of our own.”<sup>37</sup>

Under these circumstances in 1905, a Pandit of Tanjore district brought the manuscript of Arthashastra to the librarian of Mysore government Oriental library, R. Shamasastri. It was written across 168 folios in Sanskrit. The script used was Grantha, recognized as a South Indian script, and was used to write Sanskrit. It was in use around the 6th century CE. It had a commentary by Bhattaswamin. The manuscript seemed to be no older than a century or two. But Shamasastri realized that the text was older and represented a sophisticated and authoritative ancient work on statecraft. Here I would like to bring this to the notice that Chandragupta at the age of forty-two took voluntary retirement after twenty-five years of reign. It is believed that Chandragupta adopted Jainism and became an ascetic under the Jain saint *Bhadrabahu*. He ended his days at *Sravana Belgola* (in present day Karnataka) by *Sallekhana* (death by fasting). And Arthashastra resurfaced in South India. Whereas Kautilya and his Arthashastra had their origins in the north and even Magadha Empire did not extend up to Tanjore, it doesn't seem to be a coincidence that Arthashastra resurfaced in Tanjore. It resurfaced there because either it was orally communicated by Chandragupta or his associates or the manuscript itself was taken by Chandragupta and which was then written and rewritten over time. Perhaps this is why the manuscript did not seem very old to Shamasastri. However, the text was ancient. Another fact that supports the travel of Arthashastra from Magadha in the north to south beyond Chandragupta's empire is the governance of *Cholas*, *Pandys* and *Pallavas* in the south which history shows was very much in the line of the administration as given in Arthashastra. The Sanskrit text was published in 1909. It was translated in English and published in 1915. Till now Arthashastra was known through references to it in the works of Dandin, Bana, Vishnusharma,

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<sup>37</sup><https://idsa.in/keyspeeches/ShivshankarMenonKautilya> accessed on 03 September, 2019.

Vatsyayan, Mallinathasuri, Megasthenes etc. Now the original text established its authority in the realm of literature on Indian polity. Discovery of Arthashastra brought a change in the perception of scholars towards Indian thinking and administrative capabilities. So far it was believed that Indians were in no way capable of administering themselves and that ancient Indian empires were ruled on the basis of religious and mythological precepts. The rediscovery of the Arthashastra forced these scholars to rethink about their perception of ancient India.

The book was translated into many languages. Outside India, Shamashastry's discovery was much appreciated by Indologists and Orientalists alike, such as Sten Konow, Julius Jolly, Heinerich Zimmer, Moriz Winternitz, F.W. Thomas, Paul Pelliot, A B Keith, and others. J.J.Fleet in his preface to Kautilya Arthashastra of Shamashastry writes, "We are, and shall always remain, under a great obligation to him for a most important addition to our means of studying the general history of ancient India." <sup>38</sup>

Maybe it was a sheer coincidence that Arthashastra was found at such time when India was desperate to tell the world that they have been the champion of polity and administration since ancient times. Resurfacing of Arthashastra in 1905 proved to be a matter of glory for India, which not only fueled the minds of nationalists but also made the common masses realize that they should divert their obsessions from western political systems to the one of a welfare state as given in the Arthashastra. However the extreme realist flavor of the text shocked many people leading them to a state of denial, as so far India was known as a land of Buddha and Asoka.

**The Scope of Arthashastra:-**Arthashastra is written as a compendium where administration is based on *Anvikshiki*, triple Vedas, *Varta* and *Dandaniti* which form four sciences that are the source of all that concerns righteousness and wealth.<sup>39</sup> *Artha* which acquires a wide meaning in Arthashastra follows *Dharma* and it is not only wealth and the material well-being of individuals. A nation's wealth is made up of both the territory and its population. It is the duty of the state to augment the material well being as well as the security of the people because livelihood, without protection of life is meaningless. Kautilya establishes a wide spectrum of administration in villages, towns and cities. To ensure the efficiency of administration he

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<sup>38</sup> R.Shamashastry,op.cit,p.vii

<sup>39</sup> ibid. p.12



establishes *Dandaniti*.<sup>40</sup> The state is responsible for ensuring the observance of civil laws pertaining to different aspects of daily life like, relation between husbands and wives, the rights of women, inheritance rights, laws regarding servants and slaves, contract and other civil matters. For enforcement of laws Kautilya provides elaborate and lengthy set of fines and punishment. *Danda* is the scepter righteously used by the rulers. *Danda* symbolizes the use of force. Kautilya's king is to ensure that all his subjects follow their duties because that will ensure the happiness of both, the state and the individual, just like Plato's justice. King's happiness, Kautilya says is vested in the happiness of its people. There are three basic duties a king has towards the people: *Rakshana*; *Palana* and *Yogakshema*, which are largely part of the statecraft described by Kautilya. The other significant component of Arthashastra is inter- state relations. At a time when there were many small states trying to increase their power, it was necessary that king would know how to recognize friend or foe and act accordingly. What measures should be used by the state to augment its power; what were various peaceful or warlike methods; a detailed enumeration of these composes the section in Arthashastra on inter-state relations. Marching for war is the most important method of acquiring new territory, as such preparing for war and waging it, is also an integral part of the science of governance.

The Arthashastra has fifteen "*Adhikaranas*" or books. The first chapter of Book 1 bears a detailed table of contents. It contains a verse declaring that the text has 150 chapters, 180 *prakaranas* and six thousand verses in all. A *prakarana* denotes a section devoted to a particular topic. Each section has different number of chapters. And one topic may be discussed over several chapters. There is Book 6 which has only 2 chapters while Book 2 has as many as 36 chapters.

Book 1: is entitled Concerning the Discipline. It deals with the life of a king, his duties & training, council of ministers, spies, envoys, protection of prince and the safety of the king.

Book 2: Describes the duties of Superintendents and state officers, formation of villages, regulation of toll duties, business of keeping accounts etc.

Book 3: is entitled Concerning Law. It describes administration of law and justice, duty of marriage and wife, inheritance, rights of women in marriage, property etc. house building, debt and deposits, rules regarding slaves, labourers and other rules of day to day life.

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<sup>40</sup> L.N. Rangarajan, Kautilya : The Arthashastra, op.cit., p.13

Book 4: Deals with the removal of thorns, meaning suppression of crimes. It deals with provisions that deal with giving protection to people

Book 5: is about the conduct of courtiers.

Book 6: Is very composite and contains only two chapters. The first chapter describes the elements of sovereignty and the second chapter deals with the theory of inter-state relation.

Book 7: is perhaps the most discussed one. It deals with six fold policy- nature of alliances and kings, the six methods of foreign policy which may be employed to further king's interests.

Book 8: Deals with troubles and calamities, which have the potential to adversely impact the normal functioning of government.

Book 9: Is about the work of an invader. It discusses external and internal dangers and remedies to them, time of recruiting army, loss of men and material well being.

Book 10: It is on Relating to war, encampment, array of troops, battlefields, army staff etc.

Book 11: Has only one chapter containing guidelines for the handling of corporations and oligarchies which were governed not by a king but by a group of chiefs.

Book 12: describes as to how a weak king can handle a strong king who threatens him.

Book 13: Deals with the strategic means to capture a fortress, the way the conquered territories should be ruled and how peace can be restored there.

Book 14: Deals with secret and occult practices.

Book 15: Deals with the plan of a treatise, its paragraphical division.

## Chapter 2

### Kautilya's State craft, Good Governance and Welfare State

The origin of State or kingship forms an important part of the subject of study of polity in ancient India. *Mahabharata* itself elaborates the divine origin theory of kingship and the theory of social contract with which we are familiar. The theory of divine origin of state can be traced to *Brahmana* period. In *Manu-Samhita*, it is stated that the god created king for the protection of people. He took eternal particles of *Indra*, *Varun*, *Yama*, *Sun*, *Fire*, *Wind*, *Moon* and *Kubera* to make the king. King is termed as a deity in human form.

The theory of divine origin was generally recognized, however there prevailed social contract theory too in ancient India. The genesis of social contract theory may be traced to the *Sutra* period for, according to Baudhyana, the king was to protect his subjects, receiving as his pay a sixth part of their grains.<sup>41</sup> The theory is more elaborately given in *Mahabharata* and was also known to Kautilya who says that state came into existence because there prevailed a state of anarchy and people wanted to be emancipated from it. And so they chose Manu to be their King and allotted one-sixth of the grains grown and one-tenth of the merchandise as fees for his protection. In return, King protected the subjects. The general rule found in the *Sutras*, *Smritis* and *Arthasastra* was that if King cannot recover stolen property, he must compensate the owner. This corroborates the Social Contract Theory. The king was bound by the contract and was the servant of the people, is explicit in this remark by the Buddhist monk Aryadeva towards a haughty king, "What is thy pride worth, O king, who art a (mere) servant of the *gana* (multitude, i.e., body politic) and receiveth the sixth part as wages."<sup>42</sup>

AL Basham states in 'The Wonder that was India' that though Kautilya recognizes the human nature of king, yet he also understood the propaganda value of legends about origin of Kingship. And so, Kautilya suggests that agents of the king should spread the story that Manu was made the king to protect people from the state of anarchy (suggesting a contractual theory); and on the other hand, people should be told that the King fulfills the functions of Gods - *Indra* (the king of Gods) and *Yama* (the God of Death) to instill fear and awe among them for the King.

According to both, divine origin and social contract theories, the state and kingship evolved out of necessity caused by the evils of anarchy and wickedness inherent in human

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<sup>41</sup> R.C. Majumdar & A.D. Pusalker, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Vol.2, Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., 1990, Mumbai, p.305

<sup>42</sup> *ibid*, p.305



behavior. One major function of state, thus is exercising '*Danda*', the power of punishment. It was considered instrument of governance and protection. *Danda* was equivalent of law. According to Kautilya, 'On *Danda* depends the progress of the arts and sciences, and the well-being of mankind.' Hence, he terms science of government as '*Dandaniti*'. All political writers agree that to protect the weak, king should use punishment on those whose actions entail it. So, to protect and regulate the State '*Danda*' or power must be used by the State/King which is the sole exerciser of this authority.

A study of political theory reveals that the western political thought is credited with a number of concepts that were already expounded by ancient Indian political thinkers. Theory of the origin of states is one of them. Even the study of evolution of the state ignores the well established and efficiently governed, unified and large empires of Before Christ period in India. India's history does not begin with the Islamic rule, it goes back to the Nanda dynasty and so on when divine origin theory had given way to social contract theory of the states and state administration was run according to a manual, the equivalent to a modern day constitution. But when we talk of historical development of states, we talk of vast empires of Sumeria, Assyria, Persia, Egypt and China, all centering around cities. These empires had high degree of stability and unity. But they were loosely knit together geographically and their authority rested on fear and despotism. For the most part, they were tax-collecting and recruit raising agencies. Then we see the evolution of Greek City States and we know on the basis of the account given in Indica of Megasthenes that in India too at the same time, city states had evolved. Many accounts of history of ancient India establish that Alexander and Megasthenes were contemporaries of Chandragupta Maurya and Kautilya. Literature, history and inscriptions bear a witness that Maurya Empire extended from today's Afghanistan to the seas in the South.<sup>43</sup> The only problem is that there is no record of the government and administration of that time. While China, Greece, Rome all have very assiduously recorded their administrations, ancient Indian kings had not, and while to trace the historical and political evolution of China, Rome and Greece, scholars can depend upon their records, India does not have much such records. We have to a large extent; depend on later years' inscriptions (from Asoka's period onwards) and whatever literature is available from Before Christ period. This deprives ancient Indian political system from the authenticity it should be having.

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<sup>43</sup>Irfan Habib & Faiz Habib, Atlas of Ancient Indian History, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2012, Map 6.

We owe the birth of social contract theory and legitimacy of power and authority to Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau and this is what we teach our students. Why do we not give credit for the propounding of divine origin and social contract theory to Manu and Kautilya? The concepts of political power, legitimacy, evolution and welfare state should rightly be credited to Kautilya and Manu. It seems that Kautilya has to pass through a rigorous test of contempt and doubt because he is a harsh realist. People are more shocked by him than awed.

What Kautilya had said in 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, Hobbes (1588-1679) says in 17<sup>th</sup> century AD. Hobbes negates Aristotle's theory given in Politics about humans, being naturally agreeable to life in a polis (city state). Instead he establishes that people are by nature aggressive and they are not suited to political life.<sup>44</sup> They have a fear of one another and they think very high of themselves. Hobbes says that man forever seeks power and is in a constant state of conflict which leads to anarchy. To end anarchy and to establish political order, men must transfer their sovereignty to someone else in return for physical safety and well being. Although no such formal contract is assumed by Hobbes, he claims that it is the best to understand state, assuming such agreement.<sup>45</sup> Hobbes is echoing Kautilya's concept of *Matsyanyaya* so far and the contract entered thereupon when citizens promise to pay one-sixth of grain and one-eighth of merchandise in return for their safety by the king. But the similarity ends when Hobbes makes his sovereign absolute. He decides every aspect of life in state and has even authority over church. While Kautilya abhors king to be the servant of the people because in the well being of the people lies his well being; Hobbes is of the view that people have no right to oppose the sovereign even for his wrong decisions and that they should not oppose him until and unless the sovereign utterly fails. It seems natural that Hobbes was the first translator in English, of Thucydides' 'History of Peloponnesian war'. In 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC itself, Kautilya had propounded that state and kingship evolved out of necessity caused by the evils of anarchy and wickedness inherent in human character. But while the necessity of a strong king is stressed by all (Kautilya and Manu) none is prepared to vest in him the absolute authority of doing whatever he desires, unlike the kings who claimed to exercise power over their subjects at their pleasure, being accountable to none but God. Manu and Kautilya declared that while a just king prospers, one who is unjust, partial and imperious will be annihilated. The right of the people to rebel against a

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<sup>44</sup> Eddy Asirvatham, Political Theory, Upper India Publishing House, Lucknow, 1948, p.72

<sup>45</sup> <https://www.britanica.com/biography/Thomas-Hobbes-Politicalphilosophy/Britanica.com> (Accessed on 29.5.19 at 8 am)

wicked or tyrannical king is not only recognized but held up as a dire consequence to a wicked king. Although there were no direct checks on the king but he was expected to follow the *Dharma* or the eternal principles of law laid down by sages. However Kautilya prescribes that if there is any conflict between king's laws and edicts, the former should be followed. On the hindsight we can say that "The social contract theory propounded by ancient Indian thinkers was also advocated by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau."<sup>46</sup>

**Forms of Government:-**Kautilya advocates a strong monarchy. Kautilya and the author of *Shanti Parva* in the *Mahabharata* represent two distinct schools of political thought. The former was in favor of strong monarchy and regarded the republican states as the chief centres of opposition to his policy. Hence he recommended their destruction by all means, fair or foul, of which a lurid account is given in the *Arthashastra*. The other school was in favor of the democratic forms of government and was anxious to protect them from the dangers, to which they were naturally exposed, chief being disunion, dissension and lack of secrecy. The democratic states existed in India for almost a thousand years. (600 BC- AD 400)

**Kautilya's Statecraft:-**The *Arthashastra* deals with different aspects of statecraft. The Kautilya's 'Arthashastra' can be divided into three parts and these parts are spread over the entire text. The first part consists of political theory which included his discussion on four sciences and three goals of life, education of the king, seven constituent elements/*prakriti* of the state, 'vyasanas' of the constituents and theory of power. Kautilya didn't want to maintain 'status quo' as his theory of power suggested. He was of the view that every state had three stages of development - growth, equilibrium and decline. It was the duty of the king to convert decline into equilibrium and equilibrium into growth. He could do this with the help of three types of power - power flowing from the leadership, power flowing from deliberations and power flowing from material resources.<sup>47</sup> The second part consists of the problems of administration which included duties of heads of departments; judicial administration, functions of civil and criminal courts, duties of ministers, administration of espionage and management of finances of the state. The third part deals with interstate relations or *Mandala* theory - policies of war and peace to be pursued by 'Vijigishu' King. It includes three types of power, four expedients or *upayas*, six

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<sup>46</sup> GP Singh, *Political Thought In Ancient India*, DK Printword, New Delhi, 2005, pg.3

<sup>47</sup> Ashok S. Chousalkar, 'Methodology of Kautilya's Arthashastra,' *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol.65, No.1 (Jan – March, 2004), pp. 55-76, published by IPSA, accessed on 16.5.19, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41855797?seq=1>

principles of foreign policy and administration of army. Kautilya held that the goal of these three parts was acquisition and preservation of wealth in order to ensure ‘*Yogakshema*’ of the people.

**Elements of state or *Saptang* Theory:-**The state was conceived by Manu and Kautilya as an organic whole, its different constituent parts being called “*Anga*” or limbs, evidently on the analogy of a human body. Kautilya has modeled the machinery of the state administration with reference to seven constituent elements of state (*prakriti*). All the seven elements constituted the wealth of the state.<sup>48</sup> These consist of:

1. Sovereign –*Swami*; 2. Ministers –*Amatya*; 3. Territory –*Janapada*; 4. Fortification –*Durg*;
5. Treasury –*Kosha*; 6. Army –*Danda*; 7. Ally –*Mitra*

**Sovereign –*Swami*:-**Unlike western concept of state, where there are four components which characterize the state, Kautilya’s state has seven elements and he describes that the king was not only the source of origin of the state but also the chief among all its organs. The king and the state form the *Prakirti* (the seven limbs). The king was the symbol of state and the rise and fall of the *prakritis* depended on the king. He was the wielder of the scepter (*danda-dhara*), and performed the function of *palan* and *rakshan* by maintaining order in society by way of restricting the behavior of the wrong-doers and thus ensured the peace necessary for law abiding men to carry on their functions and duties without hindrance leading to *Yogakshema*.

Kautilya gives a long list of values that a king should possess and this description is given not only in one place but in many places in *Arthashastra*.<sup>49</sup> Modern scholars, like Peter Drucker have also laid great stress on the leader having high exemplary values. Drucker says, “Leaders should lead not only through knowledge, competence and skill but through vision, courage, responsibility and integrity”.<sup>50</sup> Another important quality of a righteous leader is management by example. According to Kautilya, “When the king is active the servants become active following his example. If he is remiss, they too become remiss along with him”<sup>51</sup> In another place Kautilya points out the king’s virtues to be “abundance of enthusiasm and freedom from procrastination”<sup>52</sup>. And again the king who is a fatalist, devoid of energy or of initiative

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<sup>48</sup> R.P.Kangle Part II, op.cit.p314( 6.1.1)

<sup>49</sup> R.Shamasastry, op.cit., Book 1, chapter 6 & 7; Book 2, Chapter 57

<sup>50</sup> Drucker, P. F.: 1955, *The Principles of Management*, Harper and Row, New York, quoted in *Leadership* by G P. Pilania, RBSA Publishers, Jaipur, as quoted by N. Siva Kumar and U. S. Rao in *Guidelines for Value Based Management in Kautilya's Arthashastra* in *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Apr., 1996), pp. 415-423, Springer Publication, Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25072765>, Accessed: 22-09-2019 17:21

<sup>51</sup> Kangle, part II, op.cit.pp.45;317;886 (1.19.1&2, 6.1.16, 8.1.17).

<sup>52</sup> Shamasastry, op.cit.p.74(1.19.12)



will come to grief. Like modern scholars on leadership, Kautilya says that righteous behavior is not only in the interest of the people but is also in the interest of the king. Kautilya says “A king who adheres to his special duties finds joy in this life”.<sup>53</sup> He also says “the king who protects the subjects according to law earns spiritual merit.”<sup>54</sup> A righteous leader/king “gains the loyalty and love of dependent members”<sup>55</sup>. The same thing is said by Machiavelli who says that just king who is loved by his subjects does not need a fort because fort is not needed against foreign invasions but as protection against internal strife. Kautilya advises an aspirant, following ministership that he should strive to serve with a righteous king.

Kautilya also addresses ‘passive’ character defects of the king: laziness, lack of motivation, vanity and wasting of time with useless persons, things and activities. Clarifying ruler’s sexuality: Kautilya says he must not stay celibate, but he should act out his sexuality in ways as not to cause political problems. The proper balance needs to be found between action for material and political benefits (*artha*), norm conformity (*dharma*) and pleasure (*kama*). However, right thereafter, Kautilya makes the categorical statement that in the triad of *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kama*, it is *Artha* that has priority “Material well-being (*artha*) alone is supreme. For spiritual good and sensual pleasures depend on material well-being.”<sup>56</sup> The king cannot expect the people to abide by the law, behave in accordance with morality and remain content with a quiet private life if he is not able to create conditions in which the material needs of his subjects are satisfied. Material misery provokes political discontent, and rebellion. His affirmation of the priority of *Artha* reveals yet another aspect of Kautilya’s ‘realist’ political anthropology. He knew that only by fulfilling the basic material needs of the people can order be preserved in a polity.

The ruler cannot govern alone. The monarch depends on advisers and political-administrative officials –and he must heed their advice. The Kautilyan ruler is not an omnipotent autocrat and the Kautilyan state is not ‘Asiatic despotism.’ Instead, Kautilyan monarchy means a patrimonial state in which the ruler’s decision-making is based on collective deliberation with his advisers and government officials. Kautilya’s unequivocal message is: ‘lonely decisions’ are bad for the state and ruler himself. The throne looked for support to the sacerdotal power and generally got it; this becomes clear from the relation in which Kautilya stands to Chandragupta.

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<sup>53</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit, p.9 (1.3.16)

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, p.195, (3.1.41)

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, p.334;335;362(7.5.10, 7.5.27, 7.13.12.)

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, p.14(1.7.6&7)

The comprehensive statement in the Arthasastra clinches this view saying: “Royal power (*Kshatra*) triumphs even without arms and ever remains invincible when it is held up by the *Brahmana*, is sanctified by the counsels of ministers, and follows the precepts of the *Sastras*”<sup>57</sup> In chapter 2, Book 8 of Arthasastra Kautilya has described it “राजा राज्यमिति प्रकृतिसंक्षेपः।”<sup>58</sup> Kautilya has clearly stated that the king can appoint Ministers, different officials and departmental heads. The king can dispel the cloud of misfortune befalling the *prakritis* which are *Amatyas*, *Janapada*, *Durga*, *Kosha*, *Danda*, *Mitra*. In chapter 1 of Book 8 of Arthasastra, Kautilya has described “मन्त्रिपुरोहितादिभृत्यवर्गमध्यक्षप्रचारं पुरुषद्रव्यप्रकृतिव्यसनप्रतीकारमेधनं च राजैव करोति। व्यसनिषु वामात्येषु अन्यानव्यसनिनः करोति। पूज्यपूजने दूष्यावग्रहे च नित्युक्तस्तिष्ठति।”<sup>59</sup> The king should not work in an arbitrary manner because it would lead to the downfall of the state.

Ancient India did not experience the divine rights, as they were enjoyed in Europe in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, which witnessed the interference of religion in politics. The religion interfered in ancient Indian politics too, for a substantial period of time. This is another debate on the relation between politics and religion as portrayed by Kautilya in Arthasastra. It is said that Kautilya’s proposed kingdom was much less advantageous in its laws to Brahmins than were more traditional forms of rule.<sup>60</sup> Boesche quotes Ghoshal that Kautilya was one of the first philosopher to have thought of “emancipating politics from the tutelage of theology and raising it to the dignity of independent science.”<sup>61</sup> Kautilya ensured in his treatise that priestly power remained subordinate to royal power. Kautilya prescribes that King’s edicts must have more authority than religious practices.<sup>62</sup> Several examples of Kautilya’s intention of making religion secondary to state power can be found in Arthasastra and a detailed discussion on this has been done by Boesche.<sup>63</sup>

About the fruits of observance of duty by a king, well endowed with all requisite qualities Kautilya says “For, the king, trained in the science, intent on the discipline of the subjects, enjoys the *Artha* (alone) without sharing it with any (other) ruler, being devoted to the welfare of all

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, p.18(1.9.11)

<sup>58</sup> R. Shamashastry, op.cit. p.633(8.2.1)

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, p.628(8.1.6)

<sup>60</sup> Saleore, Bhaskar Anand. 1963. Ancient Indian Political Thought and Institutions. London: Asia Publishing House, p.53 as quoted by Roger Boesche in Kautilya The First Great Political Realist, op.cit, p.55.

<sup>61</sup> Ghoshal, U. 1923. A History of Hindu Political Theories. London: Oxford University Press, p.114-15 as quoted by Roger Boesche in Kautilya The First Great Political Realist, op.cit, p.55.

<sup>62</sup> Kangle op.cit. p.194-195(3.1.38-45).

<sup>63</sup> Roger Boesche in Kautilya The First Great Political Realist, op.cit, p.54-58.

beings.”<sup>64</sup> He also says, “(the observance of) one’s own special duty leads to heaven and to endless bliss. In case of its transgression, people would be exterminated through (the) mixture (of duties and castes). Therefore the king should not allow the special duties of the (different) beings to be transgressed; for, ensuring adherence to (each one’s) special duty, he finds joy after death as well as in this life”<sup>65</sup>

While describing the duties of the King, Kautilya by citing examples says that one must remember what had caused the state downfall in the past and what had helped it prosper and learn from it.<sup>66</sup> Arthashastra challenges the king to work continuously, “For the king the sacrificial vow is activity, sacrifice the administration of affairs; the sacrificial fee, however is impartiality of behavior, and sacrificial initiation for him is the coronation. In the happiness of the subjects, lies the happiness of the King; and what is beneficial to the subjects his own benefit. What is dear to himself is not beneficial to the king, but what is dear to the subjects is beneficial to him.”<sup>67</sup> This exertion is emphasized as “the root of material well being is activity”, अर्थस्य मूलम् उत्थगम्”<sup>68</sup>

King is the source of *Danda*, he wields ‘*danda*.’ It is his duty to protect and conserve the people and the territory. When it comes to laws, in case of controversy between custom, edicts and smritis, it is the king’s edicts which were to prevail. Kautilya’s king is very much like modern day political system. In 20<sup>th</sup> century, behaviouralists opined that the first characteristic of political system is that it has authority to use force. David Easton speaks of authoritarian allocation of values; Dahl of power, rule and authority. Max Weber, who calls Machiavelli’s The Prince harmless in comparison to Kautilya’s Arthashastra; says that a distinct feature of political system is the legitimate use of force. While state or government is a facilitator, it has authority too to impose taxes and laws upon people and punishment in case of violation of the same. Almond’s definition of political system in ‘The Politics of developing Areas’ bears unmistakable similarity to what Manu and Kautilya had said about the state/kingship. Almond writes, “Political system is that system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which perform the functions of integrations and adaptation (both internally and vis-à-vis other societies)

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<sup>64</sup> Kangle, op.cit, p11(1.5.17, 11)

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, p..8-9, (1.3.14-16, 8-9).

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, p. 12, (1.6)

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, p. 47, (1.19.33&34)

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, p.47(1.19.36)

by means of the employment or threat of employment or more or less legitimate physical compulsion.”<sup>69</sup>

Kautilya is often criticized because he has written about classes and castes in Arthashastra i.e. *Varna*. Manu before him had elaborately described the *Varna Vyavastha* and had written that except *Brahmins*, king rules over all. He further says that it is best for king to fight the enemy, protect the subjects and engage in obedience to priests. Western thinkers have very vocally criticized the *Varna* system described in ancient Indian scriptures, like Henrich Zimmer who says that the fear of pollution by being touched by a low caste person led to elaborate rules governing all aspects of life, like eating, conversing, marriage etc. Severe penalties were affixed for accidental as well as intentional violation of these regulations. Western thinkers say that Indian thinkers tend to justify the *Varna* system described by Kautilya in an effort to glorify him and exonerate him of such allegations. Roger Boesche in ‘Kautilya: the first great political realist’ says that “according to the early Hinduism reflected in Arthashastra, the kingdom will prosper materially and morally if each does the special duty outlined by *Varna* (class) and *Jaati* (caste and sub caste).”<sup>70</sup> Kautilya makes it the duty of the king to ensure that all adhere to their special duties. However, Kautilya’s reference to *Varna* system can be compared to the concept of justice enumerated by Plato in Republic. The resident of Plato’s ideal state had to do work according to the capability he had, only then he would be doing justice to both himself and to the state. Kautilya upheld the class structure when it came to the established system of property distribution<sup>71</sup>. Yet he defended the rights of *Shudras* to join the army. He further says that, no *Arya*, including *Shudras* may be subjected to slavery. Kautilya told the king that it was in his own interest to be just and considerate towards the people of lower classes. Kautilya wanted the King and the state to combat oppression in the name of caste. Kautilya also asked the king to preserve the *Ashrama* System i.e. the four stages of life –*Brhmcharya*, *Grihastha*, *Vanprastha* and *Sanyasa*. Indians believed that by following these four stages of life, they could achieve *Moksha*. Kautilya found this politically useful and he urged the king to defend the *Varnas* and the four stages of life. Shamasastri too has explained the rise of stratification of society in ancient India and also the birth of caste system. For further details one can refer to the introduction given in Kautilya’s Arthashastra as translated by R Shamasastri.

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<sup>69</sup> G.A. Almond & James S Coleman “The Politics of Developing Areas,” Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1960

<sup>70</sup> Roger Boesche in Kautilya The First Great Political Realist, op.cit, p.27

<sup>71</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit.pp.211;(3.5.28,29)



The Indian tradition never claimed that state is king's property and Kautilya too does not suggest this. The king had an interest in the land in as much he was entitled to, a sixth of its produce, the price of the protection he accorded to the people and their possessions. By virtue of the eminent domain, the monarch controlled and regulated the use of land and in the chapter on the superintendent of agriculture (*Sitadhyaksha*), Kautilya is seen stretching this right of regulation to its utmost limits. The rules in this chapter, if enforced in totality, would have made agriculture a vast state-regulated enterprise. The scheme of warehouses maintained by the state and controlled by the superintendent, "*koshtagaradhyaksha*" shows that this plan of regulation included inclusive market operations on the part of the government. Thus, without actually asserting the king's ownership of the soil, Kautilya advocated and doubtlessly introduced into the administration, a detailed scheme of supervision and control of agriculture, thereby rendering agriculture as a state enterprise.

**Amatya-Ministers:-**The second crucial element of Kautilya's state was the *Amatyas* or the ministers. Kautilya says that the state affairs cannot be conducted by the King without the assistance of competent counselors in the same manner as the carriage with one wheel cannot move. Kautilya describes in great detail the qualities, method of appointment and test of the counsellors whom he advises the king to engage and seek counsel on state affairs.<sup>72</sup> The king was assisted by a "*purohita*" too who had a separate and highly respected category by himself. The ministers were to be men of experience, ability and character. There was no hard and fast rule regarding their numbers at any time and they often met in council for transacting public business, and in cases of differences in views, decisions were taken by the majority of votes. Ministers who were absent in the court were sometimes consulted by letters. The king considered himself free to consult a single minister, or a number of them or the whole council according to the requirements of the subjects in hand.

According to Kautilya a king should have three or four ministers; one chief minister would do as he pleased and two ministers could unite against the king and hence three or four ministers<sup>73</sup>. Kautilya lays great emphasis on maintaining secrecy and advises that the king should not consult more than three or four ministers at a time<sup>74</sup> It was the duty of the king as well as his ministers to maintain secrecy about the planning, program and contemplated actions, war and

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid, p.17(1.9.1-11)

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, p.34, (1.15.33-38)

<sup>74</sup> Ibid

peace etc which were decided by them through mutual consultations. The advice was like armor for the king, it was the essence of the statecraft.

Kautilya has divided the *Mantrins* into three categories according to their qualities. A person of indigenous origin, of noble family, having qualities of firm determination, tolerance, retentive memory, oratorship, wisdom, enthusiasm, charm, gentleness and firmness, capability, robust health, steadfastness and above all loyalty to the King, could be considered fit to be appointed as the prime ministers. Those who possessed even one-fourth or half of these qualities could be appointed as ministers of middle or lower rank. The talents i.e. loyalty, integrity and credibility of both the ministers and the *Amatyas* were tested but methods employed were different. The king used to test the former by himself as well as through his colleagues and neighbors. Whereas on the other hand the king employed various secret means with the help of his *Mantrins* and *Purohits* to test the conduct of the latter.

“After appointing ministers.... (The king) should test their integrity by means of secret tests. ...the test of piety... the test of material gains... the test of lust... and the test of fear.”<sup>75</sup> Kautilya has described it in detail as to how the ministers can be tested. An example of this we can find in later literature like *Mudrarakshasa*, in book 1 and 4 this description is given. Kautilya has very elaborately described the spy system in *Arthashastra*. He does not stop at spying at the ministers; he goes beyond and says that “when he has set spies on the high officials, he should set spies on the citizens and the country people.”<sup>76</sup> Kautilya describes the various ways in which officials of the state can indulge in embezzlement and also how they can be stopped by continuous vigil. Roger Bosche writes that Kautilya regarded ministers as susceptible to treachery, and so he insisted that a continuous watch should be kept on them and the test of their loyalty be taken latently.<sup>77</sup> This description by Roger Boesche makes one feel that Kautilya’s kingdom was a police state and anyone who aroused suspicion was watched and arrested if needed. However, it can be explained that Kautilya’s use of spies was in fact a method of gaining information. It was a way of gathering and reporting public opinion to the king just as modern public opinion pollsters do. Indian authors like RK Mookerji and Bhargava are of this view which has been refuted by Boesche, who has focused more on how Kautilya was establishing a police state. This is another debate that whether Kautilya was immoral or amoral. Roger Boesche

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid, pp.18-19(1.10.1-12)

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, p.28(1.13.1)

<sup>77</sup> Roger Boesche in Kautilya The First Great Political Realist, op.cit, p.45

has described it in great detail in his book spanning from page 51 to 54. For further details one can refer to Boesche.

While talking of test of Ministers, Kautilya describes in Arthashastra that those who passed the test in *Dharma* or law were appointed to look after *Dharmasthaniya* (civil court) and *kantakasodhan* (criminal court). *Samaharta* (Tax collector) and *Sannidhata* (treasurer) were appointed those persons who passed the test in economics. Those who were tested in the affairs of *Kama* (Sex matter) were placed at *Viharas* (place for enjoyment) and at Harem. Those who were found fearless were appointed as bodyguards. The one who cleared all the tests were appointed as ministers and those who failed in all the tests were held in charge of all the mines, forests, elephants, forts etc.<sup>78</sup> Kautilya further provides list of 18 different officials who were in charges of different departments.

**Janapada-Territory:-**The third important *Prakriti* or constituent of the state is the *Janapada* or *Rashtra*. The *janapada* falls in order as the third important organ of the state. The territory or the population being the prerequisite condition for the creation of a *rashtra* or state was always kept in view by ancient Indian kings. Kautilya has categorically stated that a king either by inviting the people from other countries or by increasing the population of his own country should revive old *janapada* or create a new one. Each *janapada* should consist of villages with minimum hundred and maximum five hundred houses and must be inhabited mostly by the *shudras* and farmers. The distance of one village from the other should not be more than one or two *Kosa* (two or four miles) so that they may help each other in necessity. The boundary of a well settled village should be fixed by planting trees, or rivers, mountains, forests etc. It seems that Kautilya provided urban planning for people other than *Shudras*. Kautilya has further pointed out that it was the duty of *Samaharta* to divide the whole *Janapada* in four parts, to put it into three categories i.e. higher, middle and lower and to record their number, positions, geographical situations etc into his register. He had also to record the details about the villages which were put into three categories i.e. villages not paying any tax, villages from where armed forces were regularly recruited and villages which paid taxes or tributes in the form of corns, animals, gold, silver, menial labor etc. In administrative units consisting of five to ten villages each was managed by officer designated as *Gopas*. They had to work under the supervision of *Samharta*. They had to maintain the record of population structure of each village. The register also

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<sup>78</sup>Kangle, Part II, op.cit, p20 (1.10.13-16).

contained the number of *Brahmans*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaishyas*, *Shudras*, farmers, traders, artisans, slaves, tax payers etc living in villages. In each of the four *Janapada* or *Rashtra*, an officer designated as *Sthanika* was appointed who had also to do the same work. The *Gopas* and *Sthanikas* were assisted by *Pradesta* in running the administration of *Rashtra*.<sup>79</sup> We find that the system was practiced not only by Chandragupta Maurya but also by his grandson Ashoka. According to Kautilya, forts were erected at the frontiers of *Janapadas* to provide security to *Rashtra* and the duty of guarding the frontiers was given to forest tribes.<sup>80</sup> The defense of the *Rashtra* was a subject of great importance for the king, not only for his own survival but also for the well being of his subjects.

**Durg-Fort:-**Kautilya describes four kinds of forts: *Audaka durg* (surrounded by water on all four sides, looking like delta); *Parvata durg* (made on the mountains or made of rocks); *Dhanvanadurg* (on the plain, surrounded by desert); *Vana durg* (near thick forests).<sup>81</sup>

Kautilya has provided an elaborate discussion of *Nagaras*. According to him, the sight for building *Nagars* should be selected in accordance with the advice of an expert on architectural engineering. *Nagars* should be built on the banks of ponds, rivers etc. There should be land and river routes, commercial towns, *Sthaniya Nagar* (800 villages) etc. It should have big houses with stairs, houses with separate apartments for women, separate places for armed forces, tunnels, and wall with holes for taking aim at enemies, strong door and well planned roads running in all directions. It should have separate houses for various government officers. He has pin pointed that the king should not allow those people to settle in *Nagaras* who may be instrumental in bringing the moral, religious and national standards of *Nagaras* and *Rashtra* down. Such people should be made to settle on the frontiers and state tax should be collected from them.<sup>82</sup>

**Kosha-Treasury:-**The next important *prakriti* is *Kosha* or treasury. Kautilya considers both *Kosha* and Army equally important. But comparatively the former is more important than the latter because army protects only *Kosha* but the latter protects both army and durg.<sup>83</sup> The king could accumulate wealth by applying *Sama*, *Dama* and *Bheda*. He was entitled to one sixth of the income or the produce as tax. The tax could be increased in case of emergency or economic

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<sup>79</sup> Shamashastry, op.cit, p282(2.35.1-7)

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, p.88(2.1.4)

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, p97(2.3.1)

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, pp.103-104(2.4.6-10)

<sup>83</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit, pp.386-388(8.1.5, 8.1.47,48).



crisis but people had to be given notice beforehand about the type of calamity requiring extra tax. Taxes were to be collected according to the capacity of the people<sup>84</sup>, <sup>85</sup>“From big, medium and small *Janapada* one third or one fourth of the total produce was collected as tax. But *Janapadas* that were situated in the frontier or with little produce or were useful for commercial purposes were not expected to pay tax.”<sup>86</sup> One fourth of the agricultural and one sixth of the wild produce and goods were also taken as taxes.<sup>87</sup> Further Kautilya provides for tax collection from dealers. “Dealers in gold, silver, diamond, pearls etc shall pay a tax of fifty. Dealers of cotton clothes, metal, herbs etc, shall pay a tax of forty, dealers in grains, like wheat and oil, ghee, iron etc would pay a tax of thirty; traders in glass and major artisans shall pay a tax of twenty and so on. Tax was collected only once and not twice.”<sup>88</sup> Kautilya makes mention of *Sannidhata* (*Koshadhyaksha*) whose duty was to set up a treasury house.<sup>89</sup> In order to increase the resources, the king was supposed to augment wealth of the whole *rashtra*, to encourage all kinds of production, to promote trade and commerce, to collect taxes in time etc. The *Koshadhyaksha* was not supposed to violate the rules regarding the collection of state taxes. There were harsh punishments prescribed by Kautilya for financial embezzlement.<sup>90</sup>

**Danda-Army:-**As regards army, Kautilya while referring to the qualities of soldiers has observed that they should be valiant warriors, well versed in the art of war and loyal to the king. He prescribes that in an army maximum number of soldiers should be *Kshatriyas*, especially those who are born in family which has been serving the army for generations.<sup>91</sup> However, we see that Chandragupta Maurya attacked Dhanananda with the help of an army consisting of mostly tribals. While describing army in Arthasastra Kautilya says that soldiers should be recruited on hereditary ground and on permanent basis. In the event of war, they may be well equipped with all necessary things and they should fight bravely and crush the enemies.<sup>92</sup> Kautilya does not suggest that in comparison to *Vaishyas* and *Shudras*, the *Brahmins* and *Kshatriya* soldiers are more efficient. He considers that whoever is brave can be in army. He holds that the hostile forces by submitting before the *Brahmins* or prostrating at their feet or bowing down before

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid,p.299 (5.2.35)

<sup>85</sup> Ibid,p.295(5.2.1)

<sup>86</sup> Ibid,p.295(5.2.2)

<sup>87</sup> Ibid,p.297(5.2.14)

<sup>88</sup> Ibid,p.298(5.2.17-23)

<sup>89</sup> Ibid,p.72(2.5.1).

<sup>90</sup> Ibid,pp.85-88(2.8.1-32)

<sup>91</sup> Ibid,p.412(9.2.24).

<sup>92</sup> Ibid,p.316(6.1.11)

them, easily win them over.<sup>93</sup> Kautilya points out that on the strength of a well organized army, not only a friend of the king continues to be friend but even an enemy is converted into a friend. The army and friends have been considered very helpful bodies for the king.

**Mitra-Ally:-**The seventh *prakriti* or element of state is ally. This element is treated as an integral part of state power. Kautilya has described six types of friends in connection with *Saptanga* theory: traditional; permanent; one who could exercise restraint upon himself; one who is not of hostile attitude; one who is full of courage and ability to offer sound advice and one who could help in need. Kautilya delineates six qualities of a friend, one who is constant, under control, quickly mobilizing, hereditary, not given to double dealing and greed.<sup>94</sup> A friend who is equipped with these qualities was a real friend. The allies had to play an important role in the spheres of mutual relation of kings by strictly adhering to the principles of check and balance. In this connection various other types of friends and enemies have been described. "The three noted friends were *Sahaja mitra* (obtained through near relatives), *Kritrima* (acquired by virtue of obliging other king or being obliged by the latter) and *Prakrta* (living adjacent to the frontiers of neighboring kings). Likewise, the three kinds of enemy were named *Sahaja Shatru* (found among own relatives), *Kritrima Shatru* (always hostile to others) and *Prakrat Shatru* (neighboring kings). Kautilya describes a *Mandala* of states consisting of twelve kings who are either allies or friends."<sup>95</sup> The *Mandala* theory has been discussed in detail in the next chapter.

The king is described as the central pillar of the state. He is the heart and soul and the brain of the bodypolitik. He had not only to protect himself from all dangers but all other six organs of the state which were all interlinked. Actually, the state was only the means through which the king had to achieve the end of life, which was the attainment of *Dharma*, material well being and pleasure. Kautilya and his predecessors assessed the relative position of each element vis-à-vis another and concluded that no element excelled the other. All the elements worked unitedly and their organic unity has been emphasized in not only Arthashastra but in all ancient Indian epics.

Kautilya approves a country of warriors, agriculturalists and craftsmen protected by forts or hills, or a river or by forest. For a flourishing country he mentions some essentials –Fort,

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid,p.412(9.2.23)

<sup>94</sup> Ibid,p.351(7.9.38).

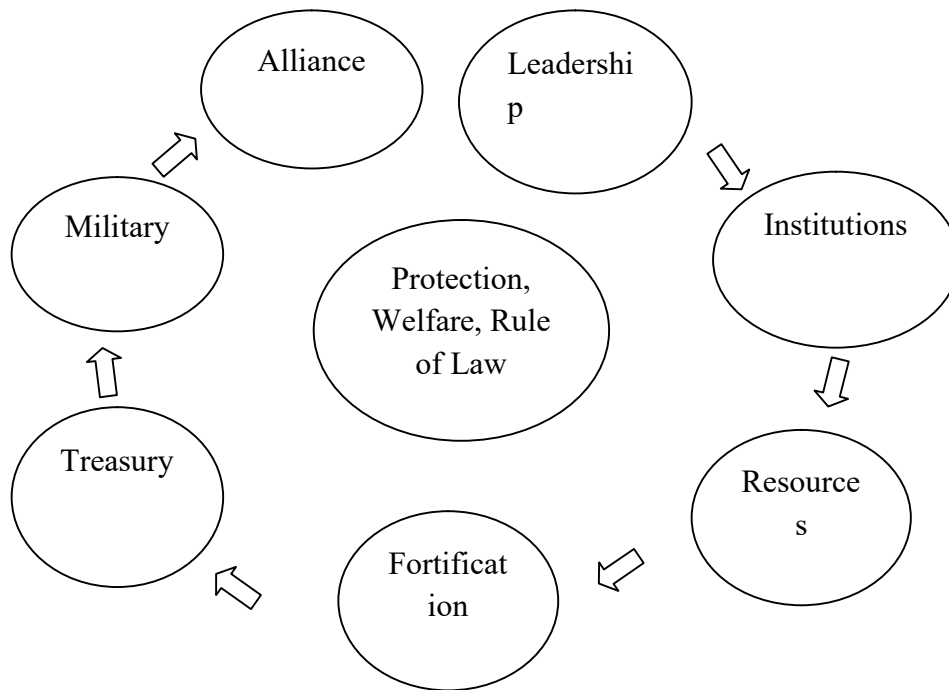
<sup>95</sup> Ibid,p318. ( 6.2.13-23)

Agriculture, Roads, Mines, Timber, Forests, Elephants and pastures for cattle<sup>96</sup> Kautilya mentions the virtues that a state should have. It should be fortified; able to support not only indigenous population but immigrants too. Natural means of defense like mountains, rivers, forests, are necessary. It should be economically self-contained (like today's US). It should have a loyal people who would resent foreign invasion. It should have abundance of agriculture lands. It should be independent of rainfall in its own supply of waters from its rivers. It should have road and water traffic, manufacturing capacity. It should have a vast population of lower castes or aboriginal tribes who may aid in the development of arts and crafts. Lastly, as per Arthashastra the prosperity and future of the country ultimately depends upon the quality and loyalty of its population. One cannot give a better picture of Indian state than the one given by Kautilya. As far as treasury is concerned, Kautilya prescribes a justifiable system of taxation, which is necessary for a modern state too. While Kautilya prescribes an army which works on the basis of the principle of hereditary and is largely made of *Kshatriyas*; in modern army though generation after generation may serve, it does not recognize caste based recruitment. Kautilya believed that even if a king had small territory but he had all the other elements of sovereignty, he will make himself invincible. King should have control over two elements –money and army, the two main elements needed even today to have more control over state. Kautilya says that administration establishment charges should not exceed a fourth of total provincial revenue. He gives a detailed account of the grades of various officers of administration. Pension to the family of those deceased is an example of welfare state. Arthashastra is a practical manual of state administration and there is not a single aspect of administration which is not touched in it.

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid,p.315,( 6.1.8)

## Modern interpretation of Kautilya's *Prakriti* or Elements of State



**Figure 1:** Pictorial representation of *prakritis* circling around king's duties.<sup>97</sup>

**Functions of State:-**The primary duty of state is protection. It protects the *Dharma* and *Artha*. In its functions, it is all encompassing as it embraces all life but it is not totalitarian. It does not suggest regimentation of society. Kautilya in *Arthashastra* provides for each and every aspect of man's life in great detail and specification. It includes practically everything. He even levies fine on those who renounce the world without providing for their family. He prescribes modalities of divorce, use of even witchcraft, faithfulness in relations, gambling, prostitution, relations of lovers, etc. The state is enshrined to provide support to the weaker section of society-the poor, pregnant women, new born, orphans, aged, the infirm and all those who are helpless.

The three-fold motive of *rakshan*, *palan* and *Yogakshema* or regulating life, detecting thieves and spies and securing revenue for the state underlies Kautilya's excise policy. Although state was to establish liquor shops, but it was so that state could regulate consumption of liquor.

<sup>97</sup>Sachin More, *Arthashastra: Lessons for the Contemporary Security Environment with South Asia as a Case Study*, Published by IDSA, New Delhi, 2014, Figure 3, p.22



Prostitution was legal and elaborate arrangement for the same along with rates of tax was made in Arthashastra; these places were also used as places of spying and gathering intelligence.

Arthashastra provides for the regulation of all professions and occupations by the state. Rules regarding conduct of various professions ranging from physician to goldsmith were given. The purpose was that nobody may exploit the other. All profit margins and taxes were fixed by the state. State was to provide relief from natural calamities too. Wealthy were to be taxed more. Taxation system was as per the capability of tax payer. Kautilya even provides for highways. Kautilya's state was both, welfare and a police state. But it was the need of the time.

### **State Administration or Kautilya's welfare state:-Bureaucracy**

Kautilya in the "*Adhyakshaprachara*" (Book II) deals with state administration in great detail. However, Mauryan administration was a growing system and was undergoing a lot of change due to stressful situations; and the Arthashastra, though to a large extent was based on contemporary practice, was still a *Sastra*, a normative plan. The very detailed structure of administration which was prescribed by Kautilya in Arthashastra and which was actually practiced in ancient India exemplifies a very efficient system of administration. The state was divided into viceroyalties and provinces comprising:

Governor (*Rashtra-mukhya* or *Rashtra-Pala*)

|

*Mantriparishad* (Council of Ministers)

|

Civil service (represented by a hierarchy of officers)

|

Self governing village communities

Kautilya provides for a *Shunya Pala* too, who looks after the wastelands in the enemy's territory. He says that a *Sunyapala*, that is a regent, should be appointed as in charge of the kingdom during the king's absence. However, the text does not say who should be appointed as *Shunya Pala*; some member of the royal family or a trusted minister may be thought of as likely.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>Kangle, Part II, op. cit. p.414(9.3.10)

**Central Offices:-*Samaharta*** (Collector-general) had the duty to collect revenue from the whole kingdom.<sup>99</sup> He was responsible to look after the forts, provinces, mines, forests, herds of cattle and trade routes etc. In the provinces, the sources of income were land and agriculture. The chief sources of revenue from towns were fees for assaying weights and measures, police, passports, liquor agriculture, trade, tolls, fines, ferries, traffic in rivers and roads, pastures; slaughter-houses, manufacturers of yarn, oil, ghee and sugar, goldsmiths, warehouses, prostitutes, gambling, buildings, guilds of carpenters and artisans, temples entrance fees; fees collected from the troupes etc. The *Samaharta* controlled expenditure also; the chief items of expenditure were: religious worship, gifts, maintenance of royal family and kitchen, embassies, warehouses, armories, factories, infantry, cavalry and various corps of the armoury, cattle-farms and menageries and storage of fodder and fire wood. The “**Sannidhata**” was supposed to do the work of both chamberlain and treasurer.<sup>100</sup> He looked after the construction of treasuries and warehouses, royal trading houses, armory, jails, courts of justice and offices of ministers and secretaries (*mahamatriya*). He was the custodian of the revenue collected. Kautilya provides that all these buildings should be equipped with wells, privies, bathrooms, fire-fighting appliances and other accessories. The same thoroughness can be seen with the accounts branch of the government which ran from ‘*Ashadha*’ to ‘*Ashadha*’ (August-July), a system which we find being followed even today. A working year was defined as consisting of three hundred and fifty four days and nights. The central accounts office was simultaneously the general record keeping office (*Akshapatala*).<sup>101</sup> Expenditure was of two types- daily and profitable expenditure. There was a provision to check accounts registers to prevent and detect embezzlement.<sup>102</sup> Even provision for transfer of concerned personnel was made to prevent them from misusing state revenue.

The Arthashastra mentions the duties of superintendents (*adhyakshas*) also. They were to be appointed as per their capacity. There is mention of thirty-six Superintendents on a regular basis besides a few others who may have been appointed as and when required. These superintendents were similar to today’s head of departments, who function under a minister incharge of the department. Their duty was to manage royal property, constantly hold inspection

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<sup>99</sup> Shamashastry, op.cit, p.109(2.6.1-3)

<sup>100</sup> Ibid, p.105(2.5.1)

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, p.115-116(2.7.1-5)

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, p.121(2.8)

of the work of the men working in their department and regulate and control the economic and social life of the community.<sup>103</sup> The *Arthashastra* mentions a number of Departments, which are:- Treasury; Mines and factories; Magazine; Trade; Forest; Armoury; Metals; Gold; Storehouses; Custom; Weights and Measures; Measure of space and time; Tolls; Yarn; Agriculture; Liquor; Slaughter houses; Courtseans; Shipping; Cattle; Horses & Elephants; Chariots; Foot Soldier; Passports; Pasture; Spies; City Superintendent. The functions to be performed by superintendents are described in great detail by Kautilya in Book 2 and we find that some of them were assisted by boards in the pursuit of their duties.<sup>104</sup> The administrative detail given in the *Arthashastra* was to such an extent as can not be imagined. The government undertook, on regular basis medical inspection or regulation of the rates charged by courtesans. State decided the punishment for those householders, who turned ascetics without fulfilling duty towards their dependents. It also controlled the visits to villages, of peripatetic parties of musicians, dancers and acrobats so that they do not disturb the productive activity of the villagers. In other respects like the care of the sick, destitute, widows and orphans, the *Arthashastra* makes elaborate arrangement.

**District and Town Administration:-**The district administration was managed by *Sthanikas* and *Gopas*, with their own staff of officials. The *Gopa* was the incharge of about five to ten villages. He had the duty of the upkeep of boundaries, registered gifts, sales and mortgages, census of the people and their wealth. The *Sthanikas* held the same responsibilities in the district under their charge. *Gopas* functioned under *Sthanikas*. The *Sthanikas* were responsible to the *Samaharta* who commanded the services of *Pradeshtris*<sup>105</sup>. Urban administration was also organized similarly. *Nagraka* or city magistrate was the incharge of the city and *Sthanikas* and *Gopas* assisted him. In the city the *Gopa* was to have the charge of a fixed number of families instead of a number of villages, as was the case in the rural areas.

**Villages:-**The villages were of semi-autonomous nature. They had freedom of managing their local affairs comprising land and water ownership, farming and revenues through the *Gramani*, who was an official of the central government. The village elders (*Gram-Vridhhas*) are given their due in *Arthashastra* and they had a large share in guiding the people generally and also mediated in solving small disputes arising in the village. Right to till the land was given to

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<sup>103</sup> Kangle, op.cit, p.89(2.9.1)

<sup>104</sup> Such boards are expressly mentioned by Kautilya for the main division of army.

<sup>105</sup> Kangle, op.cit, p.56(2.1.4)

people who carried on agricultural activities on those lands but the ownership of land remained with king. Forest lands were held in common. *Pradeshtris* carried on inspection and audit of the administrative set up. Also spies were appointed to secretly observe and report the administrator. The constant use of secret means in administration, diplomacy and war has been provided for in Arthashastra. We see the same practice being followed even today.

**Finance:** - The main heads of revenue were: a share of the agricultural produce, which was supposed to be a sixth-part of the produce but usually it was higher than that. There were other dues and cess charged on land. It even included a water-rate which was charged according to the cultivability of the land and crop. There was tax collected on houses in towns. Revenue was generated from crown lands, forests, mines and manufacturers. Production of salt was undertaken by government only. Custom duties lay down at frontiers on foreign goods, octroi, toll and ferry dues in the interior were other sources of revenue. State also profited from coinage and trade operations. Fee for the licenses of various kinds was charged from the artisans, craftsmen, professionals and traders. Law courts laid fines which also generated revenue. There were some miscellaneous sources of state revenue too. The rich were taxed more than the poor, especially in times of emergency. State officials were shown some favour and they were exempted from payment of revenue, wholly or partly.

The various heads of expenditure were also mentioned in Arthashastra. The salaries form a major part of it and are defined in the Arthashastra but the unit of currency or the period to which the figures relate is not clearly stated making it a little ambiguous.<sup>106</sup> The other heads of expenditure were public works including cost of building construction, roads and irrigation works, forts and arsenals and their proper equipment, maintenance of army, grants to religious institutions, maintenance of the families of soldiers and civil officials who laid their life for the state, care of the unemployed and weak. State recognized the importance of skilled artisans and took care of them. Herdsmen and hunters were given allowances to encourage them to keep the land clear of wild beasts and secure the safety of the roads. A study of state administration makes clear how intricately Kautilya establishes it.

**Trade:-** Ancient Indians had developed an extensive system of inland trade which was carried on along well known trade routes. These routes served as link between the most distant parts of the country. Among them we may mention specifically the following routes:-

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid, pp.302-304(5.3.1-34)

**East to West**—This route ran along the great rivers. From *Champa* boats plied up to *Benaras* which was a crucial town along Ganges, known for its industries and trading capacity. From *Benaras* the route went upto *Sahajati* and from there up the *Jamna* river, to *Kausambi*. To the west the land-tracts ran to *Sindhu* which was famous for its breed of horses, and *Sauvira*.

**North to South West**—This route ran along the river Godavari. It extended from the famous capital of Kosala, Sravasti to “*Pratisthana*”. The important stations lying on the reverse direction were Ujjayini, Vidisa and Kausambi.

**North to South East**— This route extended from *Sravasti* to *Rajgriha*. Kapilvastu, Vaisali, Patliputra and Nalanda were stationed on this route.

**North West route**— It stretched along the land of the five rivers to the great highways of central and western Asia.

Mention of merchants voyaging from the great western seaport Bharukachcha to the same destination obviously via a Ceylonese port is also found during this time. Ceylon (*Tambapanni*) at that time was another Bourne of overseas commerce. State gave active encouragement to trade. This is evident by the fact that the state was to provide for the construction and security of the trade routes and the foundations of market towns in the country part. The most renowned of the imperial roads of these times was the royal road connecting the north-west frontier with Patliputra.

**State Industrial and Commercial Policy:**—The active encouragement of industry and commerce was contemplated as the duty of the state. It is explained in the measures included in Kautilya’s scheme of state administration of rural areas: they include the working of mines and forests, the construction and security of the trade routes and the foundation of market towns. The king is enjoined to secure trade routes from obstruction by his *Vallabhas*, *Karmikas* and frontier guards or *Anta Palas*. The routes were secured from thieves and animal herds. The industrial and commercial classes were closely associated with the royal court and capital. It is proved by the immediately following rules relating to the planned settlement of the fortified capital (*Durg*). According to this description the dealers of the scent, garland, paddy etc and the chief artisans should live along with the *Kshatriyas* to the east of the royal palace. The dealers of cooked food, liquors and flesh should live along with the *Vaishyas* in the South. The manufacturers of the woolen and cotton goods, the armor maker etc should live along with the *Shudras* in the west.



The manufacturers of base metals and precious stones should live along with the *Brahmana* in the North.

State also undertook manufacturing and trading on its own account. What is more, the rules of Arthasastra repeatedly show that how thoroughly the agricultural, mineral and other resources of the state were understood to be the sources of its strength. Thus among the qualities of a good country are included the possession of agricultural lands, mines, forest of various kinds, land and water ways and the like. Very characteristic again, is the general rule of foreign policy stating that the king should follow that one of the six fold forms by which he can exploit his own mines and forests and obstruct those of his enemies. The nice balancing of advantages of tracts rich in mines and food grains, working mines producing precious but small output and those producing inferior but large outputs, of working trade routes by land and water and so forth, formed the subject of keen discussion in Arthsastra.

***Kantaka Sodhanam***:- We have in Arthsastra a whole section (Book-4) significantly called “Removal of Thorns”(***Kantaka Sodhanam***), which describes measures to be taken by the king for securing people against any kind of internal trouble. It included protection from cheating by the artisans and the merchants, protection against natural calamities, against persons living by clandestine means and so forth. Kautilya characterizes merchants, artisans and some other specified classes as thieves, though not in name. Class of artisans included weavers, washerman, goldsmiths, workers in coppers and other metals, physicians, actors, minstrels and beggars. State regulations for protection of the public against these classes, appears quite discriminatory. It is proved by a number of examples. Different scales of wages were fixed for weaving different kinds of clothes. Fines and other penalties prescribed for reduction in weights and measures were also varying. Wages at varying rates are laid down for dyeing different qualities of clothes. A scale of penalties is laid down for physicians for failing in or neglecting the treatment of the diseases. There is a similar scale of fines for exceeding the profit limit of five percent permitted on home grown merchandise and of ten percent allowed on foreign merchandise. Sale or mortgage of old wares was not to be carried out without informing market superintendent. For theft of small articles, Kautilya prescribes compensation. Sudden death too was investigated. Book four makes an interesting reading. It is like a modern day criminal law book where protection against violence is provided to people by way of laying down a framework of fines and punishments. All cases that involved death, mutilation and other physical harm were

reported in *Kantakshodhan* courts. In Book two Kautilya even devotes a chapter on how royal decrees are made.

**Justice:** - There were two types of courts, *Dharmasthiya* and *kantakshodhan*, for the administration of justice, besides the village tribunals that dealt with the petty cases under the guidance of headman and elders. The King was at the top of the system of justice. But with the growth of empire, king could not make himself personally responsible for the entire administration of justice and so the impartment of justice had to be decentralized. However, the king was expected to be ever ready to hear matters on appeal and dispose them of without undue delay. The *Dharmasthiya* courts were presided over by three *Dharmasthiyas* learned in sacred law. There were courts in all important cities and other convenient centers. Rules were laid about circumstances which rendered agreements void and about procedures in court - plea, counterplea and rejoinder. The main heads of civil law enumerated in Book 3, dealt with – Marriage, property of a woman, compensation for remarriage, duty of wife, dowry including divorce (*moksha*), division of inheritance, distinction between sons, house-building, house sites and disputes regarding boundaries, water rights and trespass, recovery of debt, deposits, rules regarding slaves and labourers, contracts, sale of goods, robbery, defamation, assault, gambling and miscellaneous offences.

We find that Kautilya lays down the rules that modify the ones laid down by the ancient texts. He makes laws more rational and progressive than those given in earlier texts, especially with regards to women and slaves. This has been discussed further in the report. Punishments like fines, imprisonment, whipping and death with or without torture were carefully graded and executed by the royal authority.

Three *pradeshtris* or three *amatyas* presided over the *Kantak Shodhan* or removal of thorns or obstructions courts. The Arthashastra does not throw light on the basis of the distinction between *dharma* court and *kantakshodhan*. However, we can see that while the *dharma* courts dealt with disputes brought before them by the aggrieved parties and were very much like our civil courts, in the *kantakshodhana* court the executive initiated action.<sup>107</sup> The difference between the two may be brought to the fore by an example, while assault and hurt were generally dealt with by the *dharma* courts; assault ending in manslaughter was reserved for

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<sup>107</sup> पी. वी. काणे. *धर्मशास्त्र का इतिहास (III)*. ए.सी. कश्यप द्वारा अनुवादित. लखनऊ: सूचनाविभाग, उत्तरप्रदेश सरकार, 1964, P.257

trial by the *kantakshodhan* courts.<sup>108</sup> These courts were special tribunals. Their function was quasi judicial and they worked more like modern police force. They were supposed to protect state and people from harmful actions of anti-social elements or the thorns (*kantaka*) of society. They resorted to the use of spies for the detection of such activities and torture for extortion of confessions. Infact these courts were an innovation on the part of Kautilya. Kautilya had studied foreign models of administration popular at that time. Through these courts Kautilya provided a strong tool to the king to control his administrative setup and nip any conspiracy against him in the bud. They were to make the society safe for the subjects by exercising *danda*. The *Kantakshodhan* courts were given the task of regulating government officials too. Later on *kantakshodhana* courts became a norm, as law and order became an important function of the government. In later years Ashoka maintained the framework of polity as he found it though he created some new offices for the spread of *dharma* and sought to impart by example and precept a certain moral tone to the entire system of administration. This seems quite logical that Ashoka after about 40 years of Kautilya's statecraft, added moral tones to it. It is quite rightly said that due to Chandragupta's strict rule, Ashoka could have a moral state.

The description of *Saptang*, the administration, functions of all organs and officers was aimed at bringing *Yogakshema*, welfare of the people. Because a king could be happy if his subjects are happy and if people are happy there will be stability in the state. Let us see what kind of a state emerges from Arthashastra.

**Welfare State of Kautilya:-** Kautilya espoused *Yogakshema* as the primary duty of the king. *Yogakshema*, the tag line of LIC today, means all round development of both individuals and society and for that there should be limits and restraints on government just as today we have checks and balances.

While Book 1 describes the first two limbs of *Saptang*, the Book 2 of the Arthashastra describes the establishment of a welfare state. Administration is the foundation of a welfare state. The character of people comprising it determines its nature. As such only honest, learned and committed and well trained people should be appointed in administration. The seven constituents of the state also need to be well-administered because all of them are related with each other and any harm to one results in the depletion of another. The state thus administered will become symbol of *Yogakshema*. King, according to Kautilya is the custodian of the well-being of the

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<sup>108</sup> KA.III 20. *vipattau kantakshodhanaya niyeta* – Ganapati Sastri's reading.

people. He is entrusted to promote *Dharma*, law and order, material well being, human dignity and justice. *Sarva Kalyankari Karma*, *Sarva Loka Sangraha* and *Sarva Hitey Ratah* are the three principles on the basis of which king should work. Good governance demands that political power and economic interests should be kept apart. In Arthashastra, we find that financial integrity of the officials is closely monitored by the State. Kautilya finds that corruption is an obstruction to the well being of both State and public and so he has suggested several punishments and penalties for the corrupt officials. And the king leading by example shows the right path to the administration.

Kautilya provides for the highest qualities of leadership for the king. He should lead the life of a sage like king, *Rajarishi*, by casting out the group of six enemies and acquiring control over senses. He should intent to promote the *Yogakshema* of the people and endear himself to his people by enriching them and doing well to them'.<sup>109</sup> A king should obey his own *Rajadharma* and also ensure that his subjects too do so. For Kautilya an ignorant king is better than a king who despite being learned ignores his duties.<sup>110</sup> The King's own *Dharma* is to be just, impartial and lenient in protection of his people.<sup>111</sup> Kautilya advises the king to rule justly the newly acquired territories.<sup>112</sup> His advice to the king is to treat his subjects as his children, especially when a calamity strikes them.<sup>113</sup> Kautilya by his own experience knew that people harassed by poverty and misgovernance can rebel; they may kill their King out of resentment or even go over to the enemy and so he advises the king to be thoughtful towards his subjects. He advises king to impose tax after much deliberation because, he writes "He (king) should take from the kingdom fruits as they ripen, as from a garden; he should avoid unripe (fruit) that causes an uprising, for fear of his own destruction"<sup>114</sup> A weak king, to gain strength should strive to win the support of people by promoting their welfare.

We can say that "...the Kautilyan state was a welfare state par excellence in which the king was a model of personal purity and sobriety and is called upon to work for the happiness of

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<sup>109</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit, p.13(1.7.1-8)

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, p.392(8.2.12)

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, pp.47&195((1.19.33, 34; 3.1.41)

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, p.491(13.5.4;6;11)

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, p.56((2.1.18).

<sup>114</sup> Ibid, p.301(5.2.70)

the people.”<sup>115</sup> And that “the king was a constitutionalist who promotes people’s welfare at all times, in all places and at all costs.”<sup>116</sup> Aim of administration is *Yogakshema* and this needs to be remembered by the government even in modern times. If this is remembered and government works with this goal, all other relevant parts of Arthasastra become contemporary and fall in place.

Thus Kautilya’s king is both a realist and an idealist who should be ruthless and righteous both. It is not his happiness for which he should rule, but for the happiness of the people. If the king rules with people’s welfare in mind, people would be contented and freely pursue their duties. Accountability and responsiveness on the part of authority, efficient and result oriented bureaucracy would ensure the well being of the people. Kautilya’s Arthasastra makes his king responsive who should always be ready to hear the pleas of the people, king has no time for him, he must always heed to the feedback provided by his agents. These are the very features which are necessary for a welfare state even today. Study of Kautilya’s Arthasastra from managerial point of view shows that the approach he had adopted towards establishment and management of state and bureaucracy in Arthasastra, bears an uncanny similarity to the managerial ethical behavior prescribed by several modern scholars like Strong & Meyer.<sup>117</sup> Kautilya summarises all these components in one term - *Yogakshema* (social welfare). Kautilya provides a behavioural guideline for king and administrators. We can see that Kautilya’s king led not an easy life. He had to provide an ideal for the people. He had to be always in the public eye. There are many verses dedicated to king’s duties only, in Arthasastra. We have already discussed them earlier in the report. Some more examples are verses given in 1.19.1; 1.7.6; 7.9.17; 1.3.13; 8.3.65; 9.4.4 & 22; 9.4.25; 7.11.25; 13.4.5; 1.3.14 in Kangle’s Kautilya Arthasastra Part II.

Kautilya’s Arthasastra is a treatise with an aim for the establishment of welfare state with a system of spies to get information and to keep a finger on the pulse of the state, just like today’s stakeholder tilted policies and procurement of feedback on performance for effective administration. Kautilya describes how the king should facilitate the establishment of villages,

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<sup>115</sup> Chunder, P. C: 1970, Kautilya on Love and Morals (Jayanthi, Calcutta, India), p.22 as quoted by N. Siva Kumar and U. S. Rao in Guidelines for Value Based Management in Kautilya's Arthashastra in Journal of Business Ethics, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Apr., 1996), pp. 415-423, Springer Publication, Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25072765>, Accessed: 22-09-2019 18:28.

<sup>116</sup> Dikshitar, R. V R.: 1953, The Mauryan Polity (University of Madras, Madras, India), p.100 as quoted by N. Siva Kumar and U. S. Rao, op.cit, Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25072765>, Accessed: 22-09-2019 19:05.

<sup>117</sup> Strong, K. C. and G. D. Meyer: 1992, 'An Integrative Descriptive Model of Ethical Decision Making', Journal of Business Ethics 11(2), February, 89-95 as quoted by N. Siva Kumar and U. S. Rao, op. cit, Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25072765>, Accessed: 25-09-2019 19:10.



cultivation of land, building of irrigation facilities, usage of mines and factories, cultivation of forest and trade routes, maintenance of old infrastructure and building of new ones, provision of social security to helpless, prevention of asceticism in those who have not fulfilled their worldly duties etc. He should maintain those in distress.<sup>118</sup> King should also make arrangements for disaster management. He provides for prevention of calamities; he also provides for insurance against loss. Exactly like a modern state, Kautilya provides for employees' welfare in the form of compensation in case of death on duty.<sup>119</sup> He makes provision for consumer welfare<sup>120</sup> Arthashastra even provides for environmental and ecological welfare as given in Kangle's Kautilya Arthashastra 2.2.4&5, 2.26.1, 2.36.26-27. Arthashastra asks the King to institute righteous customs and to continue ones initiated by others.

It is in the welfare of the King that he should keep taking feedbacks on the policies of the government i.e. whether those policies have been implemented and what impact have they had on people. For this, the king should always be accessible to people. He should inspect the works of various departments and ascertain whether all policies have been implemented properly. Protection of life and livelihood was a primary duty of Kautilyan state. In contrast to his predecessors who considered livelihood more precious than life; Kautilya says that life was more important than livelihood.<sup>121</sup> How true it is because of what use livelihood would be, if life is not secure.

Kautilya provided for both, laws and regulations and punishment for their violation, to ensure compliance. He was so modern when he writes verses dealing with fire preventions, where every one was required to keep pitchers full of water in the front of their houses and it was their duty to help extinguish fire which may break out even in neighbourhood. If someone intentionally causes fire to some body's house Kautilya writes that the person shall be thrown in that very fire. He writes how house should be built and how neighbour's privacy will be maintained. He writes extensively on cleanliness and hygiene. There was public responsibility for cleanliness in case of private party. However, rules were not applied indiscriminately. Excretion in public place was prohibited but a person was not punished if he does so due to fear, illness or medication.

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<sup>118</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit,p.57(2.1.20-26).

<sup>119</sup> Ibid,p.304 (5.3.28)

<sup>120</sup> Ibid,p.144(2.21.31).

<sup>121</sup> Ibid,p.394(8.3.35)

People of a village contributed to organization of stage shows.<sup>122</sup> Foreign entertainers had to pay a fee on their musical instruments.<sup>123</sup> Lest people get diverted from work, no parks or halls were allowed to be built in villages<sup>124</sup>. Probably for the same reason, actors were not allowed to move in rainy season and receive costly gifts<sup>125</sup>. Gambling, drinking and womanizing and unmindful hunting was treated as a bad habit.<sup>126</sup> Kautilya considered all gamblers as cheats by nature, and so he makes strict rules for cheating. To keep a control on gambling, it was allowed only in state gambling halls. The penalty for gambling in places other than state owned, was fine of 12 panas<sup>127</sup>. There was provision of severe punishment for one who cheats in gambling. The superintendent of gambling was to be punished with twice the amount of the fine levied on the deceitful gambler. The master too could be punished for cheating and causing loss of revenue to state. 5% of the winning went to government coffers.<sup>128</sup> Thus Kautilya taxes even human vices and indulgences.

Kautilya in Arthasastra also provides for consumer rights, for example if washer men wore their customers' clothes, they were punished<sup>129</sup>. Today we are concerned about the harmful effects of smoking on health of individuals. Kautilya too was concerned about the two vices of smoking and drinking. He recommended the consumption of alcohol only in designated drinking house and ordained against the storage of liquor in large quantities or it being taken out of a village.<sup>130</sup> Purchase of large amount of liquor was not permitted. Liquor could be consumed only in the premises<sup>131</sup>. Prostitution was state controlled, prostitutes had to pay taxes. They were also used for spying against any conspiracy against state.<sup>132</sup> Besides these, there are several provisions in Arthasastra which provide for almost every sphere of life, from fire fighting to cleanliness, all is covered by it. However, a modern reader would find so many regulations stifling and an infringement of privacy. Today that government is the best which governs the least. But Kautilya's administration was everywhere. Chapter 3 of Book 4 describes eight great calamities of divine origin from which king should protect the country. People who did things for

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid, p.225(3.10.37)

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, p.161(2.27.26)

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, p.58(2.1.33&34)

<sup>125</sup> Ibid, p.258(4.1.58)

<sup>126</sup> Ibid, p.394(8.3.38)

<sup>127</sup> Ibid, p.250(3.20.7;1;2)

<sup>128</sup> Ibid, p.250(3.20.5;9;10)

<sup>129</sup> Ibid, p.255(4.1.15)

<sup>130</sup> LN Rangarajan, op.cit., p.349

<sup>131</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit.p.153(2.25.5)

<sup>132</sup> Ibid, p.162(2.27.30)

the benefit of the public like building embankments, beautifying and securing villages etc were awarded with favours as incentive.<sup>133</sup> Thus public private partnership existed even then.

**Welfare of weaker sections:** -State came into being for the very reason of the protection of the weaker section. Kautilya also provides for them. King was to give them priority and listen to their grievances first and also redress them. The state was to pay for their maintenance. They were allowed free travel on ferries. Judges had to give special care to matters concerning them.<sup>134</sup> The list of weaker section usually includes: *Brhamins*, ascetics, the minors, the aged, the sick, the handicapped, the helpless and the women, especially pregnant women. Women, specially those pregnant; minors, aged, sick, old persons, those in drunken state, mentally deranged, overcome by hunger, thirst or travel, those who had overeaten, those whose offence is trifling, were not to be tortured<sup>135</sup> State provided protection to children specifically in the context of slavery and bonded labor<sup>136</sup>

Any kind of harassment is to be prevented, whether in the hands of royal family or officers of government. Corruption is natural and man is prone to it, with this in mind Kautilya describes forty ways of embezzlement and punishment for them, a necessity of our time too. Kautilya expects people to follow the *Dharma* as depicted by their *Varna* and *Ashrama*. State, as already discussed wielded *Danda*, through a comprehensive system of fines and punishments, including amputations and death sentences as prescribed in Book 4. The degree or intensity of punishment depended upon the severity of the offense. Order was strictly maintained through control on public movement and other activities like hunting, drinking and gambling. State had to provide protection to the public. Government servants were also well protected, though they were under the vigil of the state. The officials who served state honestly should be given award, promotion and permanent position, recommends Kautilya like a modern administrator. "The family of the government servant who died in state service was provided for by the state"<sup>137</sup> The welfare of the prisoners was also ensured. There was provision of separate prison for men and women. Basic amenities were to be available in prison. Prison wardens were not allowed to unnecessarily harass or torture prisoners. Severe punishments for rape of women prisoners were prescribed.

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid,p.226(3.10.46)

<sup>134</sup> Ibid,p.47;57;168;258(1.19.29;2.1.26;2.28.18;3.20.22)

<sup>135</sup> Ibid,pp.275-276(4.8.14,17,18)

<sup>136</sup> Ibid,p.236-237(3.13.13,14,15)

<sup>137</sup> Ibid,pp.91;89, 304(2.9.36;9)(5.3.28-30)

An animal sanctuary, where all animals were welcomed as guests was to be established<sup>138</sup> Village headmen were responsible for ensuring that no cruelty to animals is done. There were no animal fights. Animal were not to be killed in newly conquered territories for four days around full moon day.

Kautilya's state is very much like a modern welfare state where law and order is maintained, protection to livelihood is given, weak are given protection, consumer protection is ensured and even welfare of slaves, prisoners and animals is ascertained. However Kautilya's concept of welfare state was different from the modern welfare state. Education and health, which get foremost place in the modern state's manifesto, have no place in Arthashastra. Kautilya describes the duties and responsibilities of 36 different heads of department but posts of Chief Superintendents of Education and Health have not been mentioned. Provision for the education and training of king, princes and ministers was made but we find no provision for the education of common people. Perhaps education then was the privilege of those born in high family. Health was ensured through focus on cleanliness, restrictions on smoking and drinking and ensuring good services from doctors. The status of women too needs to be examined in Kautilyan state. While on the one hand their position in terms of marriage, inheritance, divorce or right to property was better than earlier, but on the other, when it comes to subservience and dependence, nothing much had changed.

**Women in Arthashastra:-**The role of women as defined by Kautilya is procreation. Women had limited right of property. Marriage and conjugal rights were defined in Book 3 Chapter 2 and Book 4 chapter 12. Inheritance of property was male exclusive, except when there were only daughters.<sup>139</sup> The Arthashastra covers every aspect of sexual morality. At the time of marriage if a girl was not virgin, she was punished with a fine of 54 *panas*. Incest was prohibited. The male sexual activity was taken up to beget child. Adultery was a serious crime, entailing severe punishment.<sup>140</sup> Different degrees of punishments are prescribed for the crime of rape, depending on the age, status and sexual status of the victim.<sup>141</sup>

Pregnant women had some rights, especially to protect their unborn child and the future resident of state. If someone's action led to abortion, it was considered a grave crime and

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid,p.59 (2.2.4)

<sup>139</sup> Ibid,pp.196-200 (3.2; 4.12)

<sup>140</sup> Ibid,p.287(4.12.33)

<sup>141</sup> Ibid,pp.252;291;285(3.20.16) (4.13.38)(4.12.1-7)

there were various degrees of punishment prescribed.<sup>142</sup> If the woman was a respectable person, death was the punishment. Pregnant women and new mothers were not to be tortured. Pregnant women were given concession of free usage of ferries.<sup>143</sup>

A few trades were reserved for women who were helpless or had no other means of earning. They comprised widows, physically disabled women, maidens, women who have left their homes, women paying off their fines through personal labour, mothers of courtseans, old female slaves of the king and of the temples<sup>144</sup>. However these women too were not spared if they indulged in cheating.<sup>145</sup> Women and children were also employed in finding ingredient for alcohol preparation.<sup>146</sup> Women were employed by the state for prostitution.

Women who were employed as bonded labour and slave were protected by law. A female slave was not to be served corporal punishment or made to do odd jobs or forced upon.<sup>147</sup> However the rights protected of women, they were always dependent on a male member whether her father, her husband or her son.<sup>148</sup> There was a strict regimen regarding divorce and only in four of the eight forms of marriage it was allowed. Before Kautilya, even this was not allowed by *Dharmashastras*. It seems that women had more rights in Arthashastra than they were given in subsequent shastras specially *Manusmriti*.

**The Kautilyan Economy:-**The Arthashastra is a treatise on the economic administration of a state. There are three main economic activities—agriculture, trade and cattle rearing. These activities are pursued to generate resources in the form of grains, cattle, gold, forest produce and labor. King replenishes his treasury with these and builds an army, which is used to control people.<sup>149</sup> Kautilya very well realized the importance of mining and so he wrote that mines are the source of treasury. Wealth creates more wealth. His emphasis on *Kantakshodhan* or removal of obstructions from the society, building of roads and trade routes and their maintenance, and tax incentives were aimed to invite and promote private investment, like the modern governments who provide all these incentives to start-ups. Kautilya had inherited a troubled state where people were not happy with the king, may be because of his arrogance and high-

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid,p.282 (4.11.6)

<sup>143</sup> Ibid,p.163 (2.28.18)

<sup>144</sup> Ibid,p.147 (2.23.2)

<sup>145</sup> Ibid,p.148(2.23.15)

<sup>146</sup> Ibid,p.156(2.25.38)

<sup>147</sup> Ibid,p.236;237 (3.13.9-12), (3.13.20,23,24).

<sup>148</sup> Ibid, pp.203; 202; 205(3.3.20-24)( 3.3.8, 3.4.1).

<sup>149</sup> Ibid,p.10 (1.4.1,2)



handedness. As such he tried to establish a secure state with an iron fist. According to him, if the king and the bureaucrats were righteous and did their job, there would be just administration. Kautilya prescribes a just system of taxation where taxes may vary as per capacity. He provides for measures to prevent famine just as a modern welfare state works with the goal to avoid the occurrence of famine which Amartya Sen termed as occurring not due to the lack of food grain but due to lack of access to food grain. It has already been mentioned that Kautilya provided for strict punishment for those who in any way cheated upon people, it may be seen as consumer protection of modern times. He has discussed this in Book 2 & 4 of Arthashastra. He prescribes strict action against people who resorted to food- adulteration, fraudulent activities, falsehood in merchandising, displaying some item and selling another (so apt for today's online shopping) cheating in making new objects from gold or other precious metals etc. According to Kautilya, these and other such practices were unethical and entailed punishment from the state to ensure general well being of the people. Lack of strict punishment for above mentioned offenses in modern times has led to the rise of adulteration in not only food articles but even in medicines and has also led to sale of expired goods etc. If the offender is given strict punishment, such activities can be prevented.

We find Kautilya advocating private property rights. He enunciates principle of fair trading at many places in Arthashastra. He proposes that welfare of the people must be the focus point in selling and there should be no foul play in pricing. He prescribes strict punishment for violation of this.<sup>150</sup> "If there is a glut of commodities...should sell all goods in one place. So long these are unsold, others shall not sell."<sup>151</sup> No artificial scarcity was to be created in case of royal goods and even a big profit should be avoided, which may be injurious to people.<sup>152</sup> Royal commodities produced in own country should be sold in one place while those produced in foreign lands, should in many places.<sup>153</sup> The margin of profit for indigeneous commodities was fixed at 5% and in case of foreign goods it could not be more than 10%. Making profit beyond that was punishable with heavy fine.<sup>154</sup>

**Kautilya on Corruption:-** Good governance and stability complement each other. If there is responsiveness and accountability, on the part of the rulers; and people have the right to recall

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid, p.127(2.16.5)

<sup>151</sup> Ibid, p.262(4.2.33-35)

<sup>152</sup> Ibid, p.127(2.16.6-7)

<sup>153</sup> Ibid, (2.16.4)

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, p.262(4.2.28-29)

administrators, there will be stability. Kautilya identifies the ways in which financial misappropriation by government servants can be indulged in. This leads to reduction in revenue and discomfort to people. Kautilya describes in great detail the nature and types of corrupt practices and the punishment for each type of the practice.<sup>155</sup> Kautilya in one verse describes forty ways of corruption. He shows how an official can cheat by wrong entry of time, income and expenditure. These corrupt practices always caused harm to people and in many cases caused depletion of state treasury.<sup>156</sup> He provides for strict punishment for these acts of corruption. There was a system of informers too. Civil servants too were encouraged to confess when caught. They were given protection against false accusations. The affected party was also protected by way of providing compensation against loss borne by him.

**Investigation and compensation:-**Kautilya prescribes, that all those who are involved in corrupt practice should be interrogated individually. The one, who lies, shall be punished equally as the main offender.<sup>157</sup> A proclamation shall be issued asking those who were wronged by the dishonest officer to communicate to the investigating officer. All those who communicate in response shall be compensated according to the injury suffered.<sup>158</sup> An official shall be held liable for all cases of fraud brought against him, if he denies all of them and is found guilty even in one. The person will be tried for each charge separately, if he admits to some of the allegations levelled against him. An accused official will be considered liable for whole amount defrauded by him if the charge is proved, even for a small part of it.<sup>159</sup>

Regarding informer Kautilya says that if he is given state protection, then even if he has participated in a crime proven, he will be rewarded with money. The same applies to a state servant who turns informer. This very much sounds like the idea of whistleblower in modern context and also of approver in a case. The reward shall always be proportionate to that part of the amount for which fraud is proved.<sup>160</sup> Kautilya further says that “in case an accusation is not proved he (informer) will receive corporal and monetary punishment and no favour will be extended to him.”<sup>161</sup> And if during the course of trial, the informer at the behest of the accused

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid, p.86-87(2.8.4-21)

<sup>156</sup> Rangarajan, op.cit, p.294

<sup>157</sup> Kangle, op.cit, p.88 (2.8.22-23)

<sup>158</sup> Ibid, p.88(2.8.24-25)

<sup>159</sup> Ibid, (2.8.26-28).

<sup>160</sup> Ibid(2.8.29-30)

<sup>161</sup> Ibid(2.8.31)

withdraws charges or makes him self scarce, he shall be condemned to death.<sup>162</sup> There is provision for punishment in case of administrative lapse too given in Book 4.

Kautilya believed in end result which was *Yogakshema* and hence was not too particular about the means deployed. He is considered immoral on these grounds, though he upheld moral and ethical standards in his personal life. However, he straightforwardly recommended fair and foul means for achieving goals. While talking about good governance also, he has touched upon misappropriation of the state funds. He has given dubious methods employed for embezzlement of funds and other similar malpractices. He explained working of checks and balances back then only which is followed in the political setup of most democratic nations today. Judging by the countless government scandals that are uncovered nearly every day in India, a reading of Arthashastra and imbibing its principles ought to be the topmost priority of its leaders, both political and corporate.

Kautilya establishes a welfare state with some streaks of a police state too, in the sense that it stretched to all aspects of life. Yet he warns the King to be able to anticipate internal and external disturbance. He makes an elaborate arrangement of a network of spies who are eyes and ears of the King. In modern times too threats and challenges to state authority are readily there. We can draw some lessons from Arthashastra's elaboration on internal and external dangers, rebellions and revolts and the four *upayas* to manage them.

**Internal and External Dangers and the Four *Upayas*:-** Kautilya perhaps believed that the internal stability, cohesiveness and harmony of the state made it strong. An internally cohesive and harmonious state only can have a strong foreign policy. And as such we find domestic policy warranting ruler's absolute commitment and determined attention. That is why we find that his book is mostly devoted to dealing with statecraft. Machiavelli also says in *The Prince* that a King should have a contented populace because a king who has internal enemies needs the fortresses. "Your best fortress is not to be hated by the people" says Machiavelli and "A leader can also win acclaim by giving impressive demonstrations of character in his handling of domestic affairs"<sup>163</sup> Kautilya has described a vast bureaucratic administration of the state so that internal strife and rebellion do not arise, "Because a revolt in the interior is a greater evil than a rising in the outer regions."<sup>164</sup> Since external enemies could enter into alliances with internal dissenters, the ruler

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid (2.8.31-32)

<sup>163</sup> The Prince, op.cit. pp.85,86

<sup>164</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit, p.414(9.3.11)

had to be vigilant and ready to take even ruthless steps to crush any internal dissent. Kautilya in Arthashastra talks about the potential rebels- the people who live in countryside, a commander of the border región, tribal chiefs and vassal kings. They may act on their own or collaborate with each other and rebel collectively. They can even fall prey to the instigation by the enemy neighbour state. How intrigues can be handled has been dealt with in Book 9 of Arthashastra.

**Causes of Rebellion:-**People can revolt against state, if there is discontentment and unhappiness among them. Kautilya wants the king to foresee the unhappiness among people and prevent it from becoming a rebellion.<sup>165</sup> Kautilya realises that “subjects, when impoverished, become greedy; when greedy they become disaffected; when disaffected, they either go over to the enemy or themselves kill the master.”<sup>166</sup> Poverty leads to many crimes. As a result Kautilya in Arthashastra focusses on *Yogakshema*; and removal of poverty and other calamities is designated as the main function of the state. He gives abundant thought to the policies which can cause poverty and discontentment.<sup>167</sup> The King must note them and be alert lest they happen. Impoverishment, greed and disaffection may arise if the “king disregards the noble and favours the mean; starts unrighteous injuries by discontinuing righteous customary practises; indulges impiety and suppresses piety (*dharma*); does the unwarranted and not what is his duty; ruins rightful acts; fails to provide for the people and instead snatches from them; punishes those who are innocent and praises the guilty; seizes the innocents but fails to impound the guilty; does harmful things and destroys beneficial things; fails to provide security from thieves, instead himself robs them; ruins human exertions by spoiling the excellence of works done; spoils the excellence of work done; does harm to principle men and dishonours those worthy of honour; opposes the elders by partiality and falsehood; does not requit what is done and does not honor his word in the deal.”<sup>168</sup> Through these causes decline, greed, and disaffection are produced among subjects, says Kautilya. “Therefore, he should not allow these causes of decline, greed and disaffection among the subjects to arise or, if arisen, should immediately counter-act them”<sup>169</sup>

**Types of revolt:-**A revolt can happen in the heart of the state or in outer parts of the state. In chapter 5 of Book 9 Kautilya describes four types of external and internal dangers- external

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<sup>165</sup> Rangarajan, op.cit.p.157

<sup>166</sup> Kangle, op.cit.p.335(7.5.27)

<sup>167</sup> Ibid, p.335(7.5.19-28)

<sup>168</sup> Rangarajan, op.cit.p.159

<sup>169</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit.p.335-336(7.5.19-26 & 27-37)

origin and internal instigation; internal origin and external instigation; both originator and instigator are external; originator is external and instigator is internal.<sup>170</sup> The most serious danger is from intrigue where both external and internal factors are involved. Instigators of a rebellion gain more than the originators. When local persons are abetting with foreigners, they can be suppressed by using *saam* or conciliation and *dama* or gifts. When foreigners are the abettors, means employed should be *Bheda* or dissension and *danda* or coercion. When foreigners are both abettor and originator or local men carry on an intrigue with local men, consequences will be serious. In the first case *Bheda* or dissension and *danda* or coercion should be employed. Whereas in the case where locals are involved, all four means may be adopted. An internal rebellion in the heartland of state is more dangerous than the one in the outer regions.<sup>171</sup> Kautilya advises the king to identify the cause of rebellion and remove them.<sup>172</sup>

**Anticipating and avoiding discontent:-**“The disaffected rise in revolt when there is an enemy attack on the King... Disaffection can be overcome by suppression of the leaders. For subjects without leaders, become easy to rule, not susceptible to instigations by others, become, however, incapable of putting up with troubles. But those divided into many groups by the favouring of the leaders, become protected and able to put up with troubles.”<sup>173</sup> The role of network of spies is significant in finding out the ones who are discontented. On the other hand King should award those who are contented and co-operative. In order to make the discontented happy, Kautilya prescribes four *upayas*. First being *Saam* or conciliation. If conciliation does not work and the discontented continue to be unhappy, then employing *Bheda*, king shall employ them to collect taxes and fines. This may make them subject of wrath and disfavour of the public. When they become unpopular they can be easily eliminated. If this does not work, the *upaya* of *danda* may be used by sending them to work in mines and holding their families with state, so they do not fall to enemy. Care should be taken that different discontented people do not come together and join hands with neighbouring princes, jungle chiefs, kinsmen who desire the throne. If there is a fear of this, King may employ *Bheda* to avert this situation from becoming serious.<sup>174</sup> At the end of the Chapter 3 of Book 9 Kautilya writes that “the wise King should guard others from others,

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<sup>170</sup> Ibid,p.420(9.5.1)

<sup>171</sup> Ibid,P.414;390;422(9.3.11,8.2.3, 9.5.31)

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid,p.336(7.5.36-37)

<sup>174</sup> Ibid,p.29(1.13.17 –21).

his own people from his own people, his own people from others and others from his own people, and always guard himself from his own people and from others.”<sup>175</sup>

The ruler needs to know what the mood among his people is. To explore popular opinion, Kautilya recommends that secret agents be placed at marketplaces or pilgrimage sites where they should start a political quarrel. One man should sharply criticize the ruler, while the other should praise him and his governance. The bystanders should be drawn into this staged political quarrel. From what people say, a sense of the popular mood can be gained. Moreover, if the positive agents do their job well, popular opinion can be influenced to the advantage of the ruler. If there is grievance among the people, the ruler must determine its causes and address legitimate grievances in order to appease the people. Kautilya tells the ruler to refrain from a knee-jerk reaction against the people finding fault with him. If individuals or groups protest against injustices, the ruler should listen to their complaints and treat them with kindness and generosity. If the ruler has remedied the grievances but the popular discontent does not diminish, the ruler must prevent disgruntled persons and groups from bonding. Instead, he must find ways, including the use of the secret service, to breed discord among them. If figures of higher political and social status stick to the unruly attitude, they should be assigned to carry functions that make them unpopular—for example, collecting taxes and fees. Alternatively, the ruler himself or the secret service can put pressure on their families. And force them into good behavior. Kautilya’s main concern is to prevent conspiracies and/or domestic opposition. If opposition leaders remain recalcitrant and an insurrection looms ahead, they must be quietly liquidated as internal enemies of the state. Summarily we can say that Kautilya very wisely recommends that in making policy decisions which might have repercussions on the internal security and situation; the ruler must take a flexible view of the situation. In each specific situation, Kautilya recommends that the ruler must already recognize the best way to deal with potential opposition. Earlier in the chapter we see that he offers four policy alternatives: accommodation or conciliation (*saam*), granting material benefits (*daam*), dividing and isolating, dissension (*bheda*), or, lastly, use of force, coercion (*danda*). This is a reference to the four basic forms of political actions—the *Upayas*. With respect to domestic security, Kautilya demands that an ‘early warning system’ has to be in place. If potential or acute threats to domestic security are observed, he advocates that first a ‘remedial approach’ be adopted before a ‘suppressive approach’ is pursued. The king should

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid, p.417(9.3.42) & R. Shamashastry, op.cit. p.676



favour those who are content, with wealth and honor; pacify the discontented by employing conciliation, gifts, dissensions or *danda*. In this way, the wise king should guard against the serious instigations of enemies targeting those likely to be seduced and those unlikely to be seduced in his own territory, whether prominent persons or common people.<sup>176</sup> For Kautilya, internal dissent arises against the King whenever there is an absence or weakness of governance. Kautilya regarded the internal strength of a country as the true basis for its external power (Book 7, Chapter 5, 19-26). Kautilya also placed a lot of stress on the process of implementation of good governance. However, good governance written on paper is of little significance, if the state lacks the effective mechanisms to implement it on the ground. Only a just, effective and efficient administration –that made subjects the ruler –would ensure long lasting stability. Kautilya was mindful of the fact that a state that is internally weak can be easily subjugated externally, even if the external dimensions of its capabilities are strong; this is because internal disorder leads to weakness that can be exploited. Fundamentally and principally, governance played the most significant role in Arthashastra. A state that is able to establish excellent government mechanisms will succeed in forwarding its foreign policy goals. Thereby, for Kautilya, internal disturbances threaten and weaken the state and obstruct it from pursuing its domestic and foreign policies in an effective manner. Thus, the judicious use of force to counter such threats is in order. Kautilya's conception of the state is symbiotic, as one in which the subjects owe their loyalty to the ruler in exchange for their *rakshan*, *palan* and self respect.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit, p29(1.13.24-26).

<sup>177</sup> Namrata Goswami, , Indian National Security and Counter-insurgency: The use of force vs. non-violent response, Routledge, New York, 2015, p. 7

## Chapter-3

### ***Mandala* theory- its contemporary relevance for India's Foreign Policy formulation**

Kautilya, Sun Tzu, Machiavelli all strategic thinkers through the ages have tried to find out as to how a state can be victorious without fighting a war. It's a major concern for modern nations too as to how they should deal with a stronger power. Foreign policy is a difficult terrain, offering many alternatives. It is difficult to see which course of action will be right even after thirty years. Sitting today it is very convenient to criticize choices made in the past.

Kautilya wrote Arthashastra 2200 years ago on the basis of his experience and this gives it its authenticity and relevance. Kautilya's world was led by the competition where either you won or lost. And in such time of survival of the strongest, there was no chance of hoping for peace and preparing for war, and so he reckons the king to prepare to conquer. His king is the *Vijigishu*, would be conqueror.<sup>178</sup> Diplomacy for him was an extension of war, the *kutayudha*.

Kautilya espoused power. He advises that a state should be ready to employ its strengths against weaknesses of its enemy and competitor. However when enemy is stronger, he advises lying low till the state is strong. Perhaps India's policy of non alignment has its roots here. Kautilya's Arthashastra also propounded the ancient Indian strategy of *Saam*, *Daam*, *Danda* and *Bheda* to overcome an enemy or opponent. We have already discussed these four *upayas* in context with internal strife management. *Saam* denotes conciliatory attitude; *Daam* means winning over through gifts; *Bheda* requires sowing of dissension; and *Danda* is actual use of force. A closer examination of these tenets reveals its great similarity with the modern day use of diplomacy, deterrence, coercion and punishment. Thus, Kautilya postulates the calibrated application of Comprehensive National Power (CNP). A robust foreign policy and building military capability were the imperatives for building up power and Kautilya suggests multiple courses of action for this. The Arthashastra goes into the detail of the various means to outwit the

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<sup>178</sup>“Kautilya assumed that he lived in a world of foreign relations in which one either conquered or suffered conquest. He did not say to himself, ‘Prepare for war, but hope for peace,’ but instead, ‘Prepare for war, and plan to conquer.’ Roger Boesche, “Kautilya's Arthashastra on War and Diplomacy in Ancient India,” The Journal of Military History, 67(1), January 2003, p.19

enemy through what is known in current statecraft as synergy between all tools of statecraft. They are the tenets of realpolitik; psychological warfare, perception management, soft power, coercive diplomacy and the use of force as a last resort even when there is overwhelming strength, and they resonate even in contemporary statecraft. Lest one believes that Kautilya restricted himself only to strategic issues, an overview of his campaign planning reveals a sharp operational and tactical focus too. He delineates the relative importance of power, place and time, which he considers of equal importance and as supplementing each other; the seasons for starting a march; how to employ troops; management of revolts and rebellion; the calculation of losses and expenses incurred in strifes and wars. Finally, Kautilya unequivocally states that conflict between states is a norm.

Kautilya is generally considered the great propounder of inter-state relations theory, because of his distinctive and unparalleled contribution, although only a part of Arthashastra is devoted to this subject<sup>179</sup> Books 7, 9, 10 & 12 enumerate upon various aspects of inter state relations. It is usually believed that Kautilya advocated that immediate neighbour is always an enemy and an enemy's enemy is friend. It will be not just to Kautilya if we limit him to these two observations only on foreign policy. Kautilya's *Mandala* theory is much more than this. It involves not only three states but twelve. And a state is not an intractable entity. It consists of five internal constituents along with the king- ministers, fort, treasury, army and friend. There are four primary circles of states making twelve kings in the *Mandala* of a *Vijigishu*, each having six elements; it makes the *Mandala* consisting of seventy two state elements. The closer to the ideal the internal constituents are, the more the power of the state will be in comparison to its competitors. Kautilya focuses on the interest of the king in his treatise which in modern parlance is national interest. According to Kautilya, power comes from strength and the objective of wielding power is happiness. The state which has power is destined to be happy. The possession of more power leads to more happiness and gives the king an upper hand in comparison to other kings. The degree of power and happiness decides the relative positions of kings, just as we can see in today's world. Thereby, the king should always endeavour to increase his power and promote his happiness. Power is of three types- Physical power; Intellectual power; Valor power. A strong and well trained army and robust treasury are the roots of physical

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<sup>179</sup>Rangarajan, Kautilya: The Arthashastra, op cit., p.542.

power. Howsoever strong physically, a king should always seek good counsel from wise men; this equips him with intellectual power. Strong army, healthy treasury and wise counsel provide king with bravery and fearlessness which form the basis of valor power. The success that entails from each is physical, intellectual and psychological.<sup>180</sup> Keeping this in mind king should try to increase his power and thus promote happiness of his people and cause the decline of his adversaries.

There may be time when the king may allow even his enemy to increase his power, if that is in the interest of the conqueror. If the king perceives that his enemy possessed of power will injure his subjects, verbally, physically and materially; or with success and the resulting indulgences from it, he will become negligent of his duties towards his subjects and they will become dissatisfied with him. In all such situations, it would be easy to attack and defeat him. Or even in a situation when a powerful third king attacks the king, his enemy may help him thinking that next he may fall prey to the stronger king. In that case too king should allow his enemy to become powerful.<sup>181</sup> Allied powers' policy of appeasement towards Germany after First World War reflects this, where Germany was allowed to regain power to balance the newly formed communist state of USSR.

A reading of Arthashastra makes it clear that Kautilya was aware of the consequences of the actions taken by the king. And so he advises the king to estimate the benefit accruing out of an action before embarking upon it. He was not an expansionist and a war mongrel as he is made out to be because he does not suggest war indiscriminately. He advises the king to embark on a campaign only when the expected profit (*Labha*) from war is more than the sure loss of men and material it would cause. Kautilya says that the king should seek that action which brings with it a steady flow of profit (just like a productive seed) and not action which brings with it short term gain. He needs the king to abstain from strong desires, lust, rage, pity, diffidence, leniency, strict adherence to virtuous life, deception, want of faith, fear and faith in the auspiciousness of lunar days and stars. This shows the very practical and materialistic approach adopted by Kautilya. Deterioration, stagnation and progress are the three aspects of the position of the state. The factors that determine the course of action are providential and human (*Daiva* and *Manusha*); the providential element can be fortunate or unfortunate (*Aya* and *Anaya*); while the human element

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<sup>180</sup> *ibid*, p. 396; R.Shamashastry, *op.cit*, pp.518-519(6.2.17-20)

<sup>181</sup> Kangle, Part II, *op.cit*, p.320(6.2.38)

is either equitable or inequitable (*Naya* or *Apanaya*). Circumstances of action must be weighed in the balance of *Kshaya*, *Sthana* and *Vridhhi* before a course of action is undertaken. "Kautilya is confident that the king in the *Mandala* of states who adopts the six-fold policy will be able to take the state first from decline to staticity and later even to progress."<sup>182</sup>

Kautilyan foreign policy is determined by certain principles. Kautilya advocates that a king should augment the resources of the state to increase its power. He should be strong enough to embark upon a campaign if required. Enemy should always be eliminated. However, peace should take precedence over war. A king should recognize those who are helpful as they are friends. In both victory and defeat, king should adopt righteous behaviour.<sup>183</sup> This is the normal course of development of foreign policy even today. Every State aspires to increase, expand, preserve and exhibit its power and adopts methods for the purpose. National interest is at the core of a State's foreign policy and the primary interest of every state is security. The choice of its secondary interests depends upon its national power. The strength and robustness of the seven elements of the state, determines the Comprehensive National Power given by Kautilya. As such, the king should relentlessly strive to optimize each of its elements or *prakriti* so as to secure their distinctiveness.<sup>184</sup>

Kautilya describes three *shaktis-mantrashakti* which has its modern parlance in soft power; *prabhava shakti* is like hard power; and *utsaha shakti*, which is the driving force to make the two work together. Kautilya's concept of *shakti*, which was given somewhere around third century BC, still holds in twenty first century. The new league of leadership in India, China and Japan may be construed to represent Kautilyan *swamins*, and we can see the manifestation of their *utsahashakti* in their rise as new powers.<sup>185</sup>

**Mandala Theory:-**The literal meaning of *Mandala* is a circle with a centre or core; in the *Dharamashastra* context, it means an organic power system. Kautilya's concept of *Mandala* can,

<sup>182</sup> Usha Mehta, Usha Thakkar, Kautilya and his Arthashastra, op.cit, p.62.

<sup>183</sup> Rangarajan, op. cit., p. 546.

<sup>184</sup> G. Adityakiran, 'Kautilya's Pioneering Exposition of Comprehensive National Power in the Arthashastra', IDSA, 29 October 2012, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KGV1FiCfyK4>, accessed on 20 January 2020; Sachin More, Arthashastra: Lessons for the Contemporary Security Environment with South Asia as a Case Study, IDSA Monograph Series No. 31, New Delhi: IDSA; January 2014, p. 23 as quoted in Kautilya's Arthashastra: Restoring its Rightful Place in the field of International Relations, Lt. Col. Malay Mishra, Journal of Defence Studies, Vol. 10, No.2, April – June 2016, pp.77-109.

<sup>185</sup> Rajeev Deshpande, 'Rise of "Asian Quartet" Creates Global Buzz', The Times of India, 8 October 2014, available at <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Rise-of-Asian-quartet-creates-global-buzz/articleshow/44647477.cms?>, accessed 22 January 2020; D. Suba Chandran, 'Narendra Modi and Xi Jinping: Strong Leaders, Hard Issues', Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, 20 September 2014, available at <http://www.ipcs.org/article/%20china/narendra-modi-and-xi-jinping-strong-leaders-hard-issues-4668.html>, accessed 22 January, 2020

with some reservations, be kept at parallel with modern theory of balance of power, where states continuously try to increase their power to tilt the balance in their favour. According to Shyam Saran in “the concept of *Mandala* occupies a prominent place both in Hindu and in Buddhist writings, but in relation to international politics, it has been fully developed in the Arthashastra. There is no doubt that as a method of managing a multipolar, multistate scenario the Arthashastra has much to teach us. It could be described succinctly, in modern terms, as the model of a loose bi-centric international system.”<sup>186</sup>

Kautilya in his Arthashastra has described vividly the arena in which states play their roles. Keeping the Conqueror (*Vijigishu*) in the middle, Kautilya lays out a circle of states which comprise enemy, friend, enemy’s friend, neutral and the middle state. His description of this circle of states is termed as *Mandala* theory. While Kautilya’s *mandala* was limited to Indian subcontinent, today the whole world is an arena for the play of power, interest and foreign policy. Let us first examine the *mandala* theory as described by Kautilya in Arthashastra.

Keeping the Conqueror at the centre, Kautilya gives a list of kings, defining them on the basis of their relationship to the Conqueror. Immediate neighbour is usually an antagonist or *ari*; the state next to enemy is enemy’s enemy and conqueror’s friend or *mitra*; then there is enemy’s friend or *ari mitra*, who is conqueror’s enemy because of his friendship with *ari*; then there is state four times removed from conqueror *mitra- mitra* or ally’s friend; then there is enemy’s friend’s ally or *ari-mitra-mitra*; as in the front there is circle of friends and enemies in the rear in the form of the immediate neighbour in the rear known as *parshinigraha* or enemy in the rear; *akranda* or ally in the rear; rear enemy’s friend known as *parshinigrahasara*; rear friend’s ally or *akranda- asaara*; *udasina*-neutral and *madhyama*-middle king, two states which were powerful but not directly taking part in the *mandala*.

Each of the 12 *Rajaprakritis* in a *mandala* is a state with *Saptanga* or 7 limbs. Of these, limbs two- *swamin*/king (or state) and *mitra* (or friends) have to be omitted from the diplomacy of *mandala* formation, probably because they cannot be changed for diplomatic purpose or by diplomatic methods. This is so because no state would like to have any diplomatic alterations at the cost of its statehood, nor can a genuine friend (or *mitra*) be used in diplomatic maneuvering. In today’s time it becomes significant as to who is in power in a state in circle of states. For

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<sup>186</sup> Shyam Saran, How India Sees the World: Kautilya to the 21st century, Juggernaut Books, New Delhi, 2017,p.12



example, India's relations, with its neighbours are defined by the party or person in power there. Relations with Bangladesh improve when Sheikh Hasina is in power; relations with Nepal are friendly when Nepali Congress forms government; the same is observed in the case of Srilanka, and Maldives. And so it becomes imperative for India to interfere in the process of government making in its neighbourhood. If we listen to Kautilya, there should be no moral discomfort here as these steps are necessary strengthen India's *mandala*.

Every king has his own circle of friends and enemies. The *Vijigishu* or conqueror, his foe, the neutral and the middle king are all independent actors. And as such there actually emerge four circles. Kautilya's circle of kings is not to be defined by geographical placement, if seen with a wider view. The relationship among states in a *mandala* keeps changing because power does not remain static. States strive to increase their power to change power equations in their favour. A state which is in an advantageous position today may be exposed to danger tomorrow. This can be very well understood by the example of Russia, which was a super power when it was USSR, but now has lost its position. The success or failure of a king's foreign policy depends upon its power and resulting capability. Kautilya cautions the king to make an honest estimation of his power and only then embark upon an expedition. Power can not be measured only in terms of army. The other two aspects of power as per Kautilya are intellectual and moral power, and they too should be taken into consideration before embarking upon an expedition, along with military power. Misconceptions about one's capabilities can lead to policy choices prone to failure and also misconceived strategic goals. A king can further increase his power by employing the six measures of inter-state relations with a clear view of the strength of its *prakritis* and the knowledge of when to use which measure. This very much depends on right intelligence input and sound council. There is dynamic relationship between power and progress, both complement and supplement each other, and when right policy choices are made, states prosper.

A welfare state results when the *mandala* is established through the application of the three powers (or *Trishakti*, i.e., knowledge, wealth and prowess) operating through the four *Upayas* (or peace policies) and *Gunas* (i.e., war-tactics) so as to gain the maximum advantage for one's own state which is at the same time in consonance with the dictates of *Nyaya* or justice.

## Definition of States involved in *Mandala*

***Vijigishu* or the Conqueror:** - The state which is desirous of promoting the prosperity and happiness of its people by winning diplomatic and martial battle is called the *Vijigishu* and is represented by a king. "The king, endowed with personal excellences and those of his material constituents, the seat of good policy, is the would-be conqueror"<sup>187</sup> In modern times, the word conquest can be used to mean promotion of national interest.

A neighbouring state is usually an enemy because of clash of interests over a territory or a border line or water body or other resources. In modern parlance *Vijigishu* or conqueror aspires to protect his interest and may not necessarily be keen on winning the neighbouring state. In areas other than that of conflict, the conqueror may even have cooperative relation with enemy with the view of promoting its interests. Indo-China relation till recently has been an example of this. However if there are more than one state desirous of conquest, clashes may occur. Today's India's physical boundaries coincide with all its small neighbouring states, while these states are separated from each other by their colossal neighbour. This naturally makes them have clash of interest with India and cordial relations with each other. India with its historical and earlier geographical integrity, considers itself a natural *Vijigishu* here. But the question is if India has the capability to back its claim?

The *Vijigisu* is to plan his conquests in different ways according to the circumstances prevailing at the time. (1) When there is the regular *mandala*, he should first conquer the *Ari*; with his strength augmented thereby, he should overcome the *Madhyama*; when he succeeds in doing that, he should subdue the *Udasina*. Thus his suzerainty (may be interpreted as supremacy) would be established over the whole *mandala*. (2) When there is neither a *Madhyama* nor an *Udasina*, but only enemies and allies, he should embark upon the mission to vanquish the enemies first and then secure the adherence of his friends. (3) In case there are only two other states and one of them is hostile while the other is friendly to him, the conqueror should try to squeeze and crush one of them between him and the other. It is immaterial as to which state is crushed in the process and when that state is crushed, the other state should be tackled. When

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<sup>187</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit. p.318(6.2.13)

there are many neighbouring kings and all are deemed to be hostile, he should tackle with them one after the other. In the process he should increase his strength.<sup>188</sup>

Modern-day *Vijigishu* prefers subservient behavior from other states or allegiance in the matters of global importance, to physical annexation. Physical annexation is neither possible nor profitable. Even those states which had physical control over foreign territories, gradually relinquished their rule there. Economy now controls polity. Kautilya confined his *Vijigishu* to what we now know as Indian subcontinent. His conqueror was not an imperialist. Chandragupta Maurya did not have any designs to expand his empire beyond what was then his *chakravartikshetra*. It has rightly been observed that “if seen with a critical eye, Kautilya’s concept of *Mandala* was more of uniting the subcontinent than expanding, and was ‘regional’ in approach.”<sup>189</sup> *Mandala* thus, in one way “is ‘regional’ in approach, where the ‘regions’ bear some kind of pre-existing uniting sentiment within. China in South China sea and in South Asia, where its plans clash with India’s interests; Japan and China in East China Sea; and Iran, Turkey and Saudi Arabia in the Middle East are examples of regional *vijigishus*. Conquerors are continuously engaged in the process of winning new friends, courting *ari-mitra* and *ari-ari* simultaneously. New alliances get forged. The aim is to increase power and promote its vision and plan for itself. To this end States adopt measures to further their interests.

**The Antagonists:-**“Encircling him on all sides, with territory immediately next to his is the constituent called the enemy”<sup>190</sup> Enemies are of different types depending on their power and strength. “A neighbouring prince possessed of the excellences of an enemy is the foe (China may be seen as such a state if India is the Conqueror). One in calamity is vulnerable adversary; one without support or with a weak support is fit to be exterminated; in the reverse case fit to be harassed or weakened” (Pakistan. In this case)<sup>191</sup> “One with immediately proximate territory is the natural enemy; one of equal birth is the enemy by birth; one who is opposed to the conqueror is the enemy made.”<sup>192</sup> Kautilya is of the opinion that it is better to attack an enemy whose constituents are weak, has a mean *mantriparishad* and has personal weaknesses. An enemy who is base born, is ruthless and greedy; is whimsical, lacks vitality and vivacity, has trust in

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<sup>188</sup> Ibid, p.490 (13.4.54-61)

<sup>189</sup> Kangle, The Kautiliya Arthashastra, Part III, op.cit, p. 64 as quoted in Kautilya’s Arthashastra: Restoring its Rightful Place in the field of International Relations, Lt. Col. Malay Mishra, op.cit, pp.77-109

<sup>190</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit.p.318 (6.2.14)

<sup>191</sup> Ibid, p.318 (6.2.16,17)

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.,p.318 (6.2.19)

providence, is unjust, always doing harm to others, who has unhappy, powerless or helpless subjects must be defeated.

In Book 7, chapter 18 Kautilya writes that “after augmenting himself, conqueror should weaken the constituent, enemy and support the constituent, ally.”<sup>193</sup> In subsequent verses he describes the types of neighbours- inimical, friendly, vassal neighbours and ways of dealing with them. If a friend turns into foe or becomes obstinate and unsubmissive or accessible to *vijigishu's* enemy, the conqueror is advised to put down that friend before putting down the enemy. This advice holds ground even today, with friendly neighbours turning against India under the tutelage of an aspiring to be *Vijigishu*, China.

**Mitra or the Group of friends:** - An ally is the king whose territory does not have a common boundary with the conqueror, though there are some other kinds of allies too. It is important because commonality of border is the usual cause of dispute between states. Instead ally may have common boundary with the conqueror's enemy and so is his antagonist.<sup>194</sup> In case of India it may be Iran and Russia. Kautilya describes different types of allies. Kautilya has advised the king on ways to deal with friends too.<sup>195</sup> Kautilya identifies natural ally and ally acquired. One who is related through mother or father is an ally by birth; one who has sought shelter for wealth or life is the ally made.<sup>196</sup> Natural ally ground is not valid in modern times because most of the States today have democratic governments in place of monarchy. However, the modern parlance of this may be found in the camaraderie States share due to the similarity of political system. For a long time USSR and China stuck together because both had Communist system. While USA and Western Europe allied together because of the common shared capitalist and liberal democratic system. However, here India's case was an exception. After independence, India adopted democracy and non-alignment but instead of turning towards USA and UK, India found a natural ally in USSR. Both had some common interests. Both were against imperialism, colonialism and racialism and India needed Russian support on these matters in the UN and USSR needed allies in the UN then dominated by western powers. One other reason was the common interest of both to balance the dominance of western states. A very important Kautilya factor working here was non commonality of border. The fact that the two countries did not share

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid,p.362(7.18.28)

<sup>194</sup> Since contiguity is a source of enmity, two states having common borders with an intervening state, but no common border between them, are natural allies. Ibid, p.318(6.2.15).

<sup>195</sup> Ibid,p.382-383(7.18.30-40)

<sup>196</sup> Ibid,p. 318(6.2.20)

a common border resulted in no consequent dispute and instead friendliness on common grounds. This can be deduced from the fact that although India was friend with Russia, a communist country, it was not so with China which was again a communist country but had common border with India. There were some natural disputes between the two resulting in war in 1962 for which India was not prepared as it had put blind faith in China's goodwill and its own superiority, ignoring the basic dictums of inter-state relations. Common culture and history can make two states both, friend or enemy. Similarly common interests can be cause of both, co-operation and conflict. It is not possible to further one's interests without allies. This is why Kautilya makes ally or *mitra* an element of state, a part of its seven *prakritis*.

The other two elements of *mandala* are the Middle king and the Neutral king. They are not directly involved between conqueror, ally and foe. But if required they can regulate the balance of power between the states of the *mandala*, between the *mandala* of the conqueror and that of his enemy.

**The Middle King:** - "One with territory immediately proximate to those of the enemy and the conqueror, capable of helping them when they are united or disunited and of suppressing them when they are disunited, is the middle king."<sup>197</sup>

**The Neutral king:** - "A state outside the sphere of the enemy, the conqueror and the middle king, stronger than their constituents, capable of helping the enemy, the conqueror and the middle king when they are united or disunited and of suppressing them when they are disunited, is the neutral king."<sup>198</sup>

In conclusion Kautilya emphasizing the understanding of *mandala* and six measures of foreign policy writes "He, who is well versed in the science of politics, should employ all the means, viz, advancement, decline and stable condition as well as weakening and extermination. He who sees the six measures of policy as being interdependent in this manner, plays, as he pleases."<sup>199</sup>

An interesting fact which comes out from this description is that in all these cases, the US can be placed in to fit the description of neutral or *udasina* king and China concedes itself to be the middle kingdom aspiring to fit in the role of neutral by displacing America.

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<sup>197</sup> Ibid, p.318 (6.2.21)

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.p.319 (6.2.22)

<sup>199</sup> Ibid.p.384(7.18.43-44)

Kautilya is attributed with coining the phrase that all immediate neighbours are enemies and enemy's enemy is a friend. However if we examine this saying, we find it is not always correct. Kautilya in Book7, chapter 18, verse 29 writes that every neighbour is not an enemy; likewise it is not necessary that enemy's enemy shall always be a friend. Also an ally may not always be having friendly relations. Due to common and shared interests neighbours can become friends. We have discussed this earlier too. Kautilya professes that enemy or friend is determined not only by his geographical placement but also by its *bhavin* and *prakritis*. There are three types of neighbouring states; some may have *ari-bhavin*, others may be of *mitra-bhavin* and a few may even court *bhrytya-bhavin*. *Bhavin* stands for the attitude with which state interacts with other state. A weak state may have *bhrytya bhavin* towards stronger state as its recourse lies in this attitude. Similarly, *ari* and *mitra bhavin* mean hostile attitude and friendly attitude or nature. The *bhavin* is state specific, the more powerful the state, more subservient states it would have. If we take Kautilya's phrase at face value, all of India's neighbours would have been her enemies or rivals and all South East Asian states, her friends. It should be understood that what Kautilya wanted to say as regards *mandala* theory is not what is generally understood about it.

**The circle of kings:** -There are two slightly different views about the members of *mandala*. According to one, the *mandala* consists of twelve States, *Vijigishu*, his natural ally and the ally of the ally; enemy, enemys' ally; ally of the enemy's ally; enemy in the rear; ally in the rear; ally of the enemy in the rear; the ally of the ally in the rear; middle king; neutral king. Each consists of six elements beside king. The other states of the *mandala*, enemy, middle king and neutral king have their own *mandalas*. According to another view, there are four major players in the *mandala* of states—*vijigishu*, enemy, middle king and neutral king. Each of the four has its own circle of states, making it twelve kings. Each king possesses six elements, taking the total to seventy two elements. All these elements are open to change, stagnation and decline. And so the position of *mandalas* keeps changing.<sup>200</sup> There are three types of enemies in the rear which can cause harassment to the conqueror, the group of his neighbours in his rear and the two groups

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<sup>200</sup> Kangle, Vol.III, p.248, also Vol. II, note under (6.2.24) considers that there are two variants of the theory of the circle of the states. There is no need to postulate two different theories because (6.2.13-22) are just definitions. See (6.2.23)



on either side of him<sup>201</sup>. “The small state lying between the leader and the antagonist is called a buffer; he is a hindrance to the strong, if possessed of a fort or a forest as a place of retreat.”<sup>202</sup>

**Use of the *Mandala* by the Conqueror:-**Kautilya prescribes the formation of a *mandala* both in the front and in the rear. It shall consist of states which are strong enough to help conqueror promote his security and other interests. The circle of states is like a wheel where “the leader should stretch him out as the hub in the circle of constituents.”<sup>203</sup> The enemy, situated between ally and conqueror becomes easy to exterminate.<sup>204</sup> The king will make use of spies and envoys to keep an eye on his circle of states. They would keep themselves concealed. They shall befriend those acting against the interest of the conqueror and destroy repeatedly such inimical persons. If there is an attack on the conqueror from front and rear enemy and enemy to be marched against, simultaneously, then the king shall use his front and rear *mandala* to protect him by making them engage the enemy in a chequered way.<sup>205</sup> The purpose should be to alienate the enemy from his circle. This is how circle of states is used to further its interests by the conqueror. Here China’s behavior is like a *Vijigishu* with it tacitly encouraging its dependent states to cause discomfort for its competitor in the region, India.

Kautilya advises a weak king in case attacked by a strong king to find shelter with a king superior to him. Kautilya says that aggression may be righteous in nature; or voracious; or monstorous. The first only wants submission, second material possessions and the third grabs both material possessions and families.<sup>206</sup> If attacked by any of these, Kautilya advises firstly to make a counter move through peace or diplomatic or concealed warfare. The conqueror can also use conciliation and dissension and force (*bheda* and *danda*) as recourse. Secret agents can be deployed to harm the enemy or get him attacked from other quarters. If the enemy continues his march, he should sue for peace with offerings. He should be ready to part with all his wealth if situation so demands because as Kautilya says, “he should preserve his body, not wealth; for, what regret can there be for wealth that is impermanent.”<sup>207</sup>

Kautilya advises the king to use diplomacy as a tool to protect and further his interest. For him diplomacy was a subtle act of war and he calls it *mantra yudh* or war by counsel.

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<sup>201</sup> Ibid., p.364(7.13.24)

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., (7.13.25)

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., p.320(6.2.39)

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., (6.2.40)

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., p.365-366(7.13.37-41)

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., p.460 (12.1.10-16)

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., p.460-462(12.1.17-31)

Conquest by war is described in Book 10 and 13. In Book 12 chapter 4 and 5 he meticulously describes secret use of weapons in the form of agents and spies to destroy the enemy. So rightly he advises the conqueror that strong states are potential foes and can not be attacked directly and so covert war can be waged against them to weaken it; states suffering from natural calamities; or which have down-sliding economies, are easy to destroy; weak states have no popular support and they should be done away; a tyrannical king has no inside support and so he can be attacked. All these situations fit the situations present currently. First situation reflects Indo-Pak relation where Pakistan being weaker state resorts to covert war against its stronger adversary, India. The example of second situation may be found in China's behavior towards India during the Covid-19 period where one state's calamity created by the aggressor itself, is being used by it as an opportunity. China's behaviour towards Nepal resembles the third situation, where it seems, China is manouvering Nepal in its foreign policy decisions. The totalitarian China can presumably be put in the last category.

Kautilya writes that there are three kinds of warfare which are waged constantly: *Prakasayuddha* or Overt War; *Kutayuddha* or Covert War; *Gudayuddha* or Clandestine. The first one is open warfare; it is waged by a strong king. Stakes must be high to wage this war (China's war against India in 1962). The second one is concealed war. It is psychological warfare in which instigation of treachery in the enemy camp may be employed (Pakistan's overt war against India since 1980s by instigating separatism in Kashmir and causing distress to stronger adversary with whom overt war can not be fought). The third one is a clandestine war, in which covert methods are used to achieve the goal and assassination of enemies is resorted to. For this purpose king can use even allies, tribal chiefs and other friends. The Chinese strategist Sun Tzu too had opined that "the expert General approaches his object indirectly."<sup>208</sup>

Kautilya, was focused on achieving the goal ie, strenghtehening the state. He had no time to waste on the question of morality and immorality of the strategies he advised. His advice was for the would-be conqueror who could not be a mild willed person. He advised the king to unscrupously put to use all three forms of warfare as and when required, for the promotion of the state. Kautilya realized that after a time a state uses all its resources and it needs new territories to replenish them. They can be acquired through alliances, direct war or pseudo alliances. This is

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<sup>208</sup> Sawyer, R. D. (1994), *The Art of War*, Westview Press, Boulder, Co. as quoted by Breena Coates (CSUSB) and Col. Jeffrey Caton in *The Ultimate Pragmatist: Kautilya's Philosophy on SMART Power in National Security*, International Society for Military Ethics, 2010, p.107

why wars happen. This was the reason behind imperialism and neo imperialism; and a new name may be added to such efforts- BRI (Border and Road Initiative).

In present times *Mandala* theory should be applied globally because geographical placements are less important now and nations have transcended physical boundaries because of prominence of strong communication networks. The theory becomes much more relevant when applied over more than 12 states. If we suppose, India which is the largest state in South Asia as the *Vijigishu* here, then the rest of the states form India's *mandala*. India calls it the Indian subcontinent and assumes not only a geographical sphere of influence but civilizational too.<sup>209</sup> However, none of the ancient Indian civilizations thought of invading states out of Indian subcontinent, and that has continued till now. The security and stability of Indian subcontinent has been India's major concern. India's immediate neighbours have been an integral part of its civilizational history and form its first circle of states. In the words of former diplomat S.D. Muni, India's centrality in the region is because 'there is a bit of India in every other country of South Asia.' During British rule India opened up to a neighbourhood beyond Indian subcontinent from the Gulf to South-East Asia. This region forms the second circle of states for India. The security and stability of both the circles is a primary concern for India, and it fuels India's desire to keep outside influences away from this region.

At independence, India inherited borders or imperial fault lines that have impacted ties with all its neighbours. In area and population India is the leader in South Asia. It has a large economy and one of the biggest armed forces. India is the only country in the region that shares land or sea borders with other member states of SAARC, with the exception of Afghanistan. This threatens some neighbours and overwhelms others. However despite concerns of neighbours, India has not pursued a hegemonic or expansionist policy under any government or leader. Some leaders have sought unequivocal peace with neighbours (e.g. the Gujral Doctrine) while others have sought amity based on reciprocity or quid pro quo (e.g. the Indira doctrine). None, however, have sought to take over neighbour's territory. But it has not deterred India's neighbours from viewing India as hegemonic or imperialist. Over time, such views have become blurred among most of India's neighbours with the exception of Pakistan, which continues to suspect India of

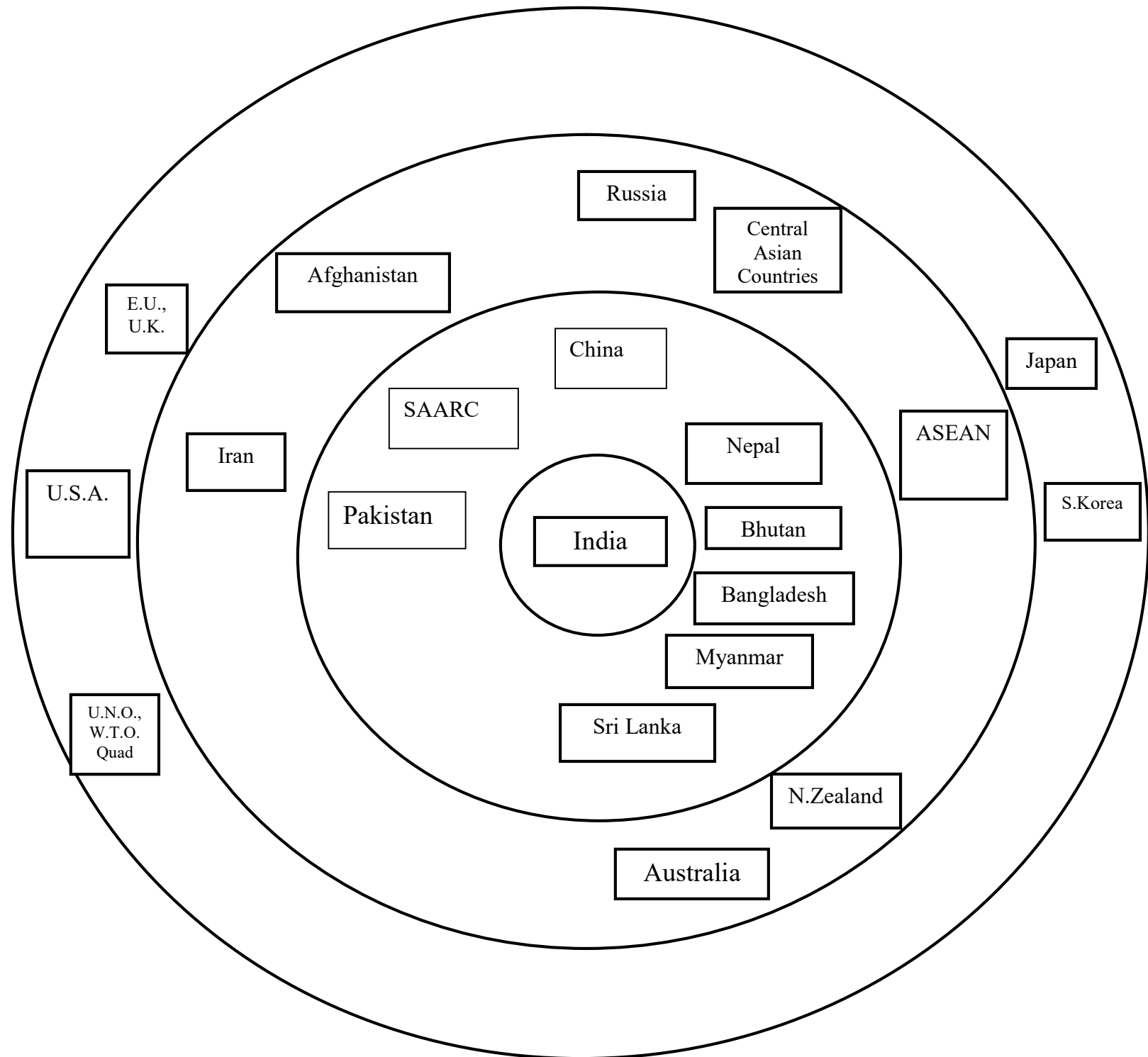
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<sup>209</sup> Concept of civilization sphere of influence attributed to Ambassador Husain Haqqanias quoted by Aparna Pande, in From Chanakya to Modi-The Evolution of India's Foreign Policy, op.cit, p.06

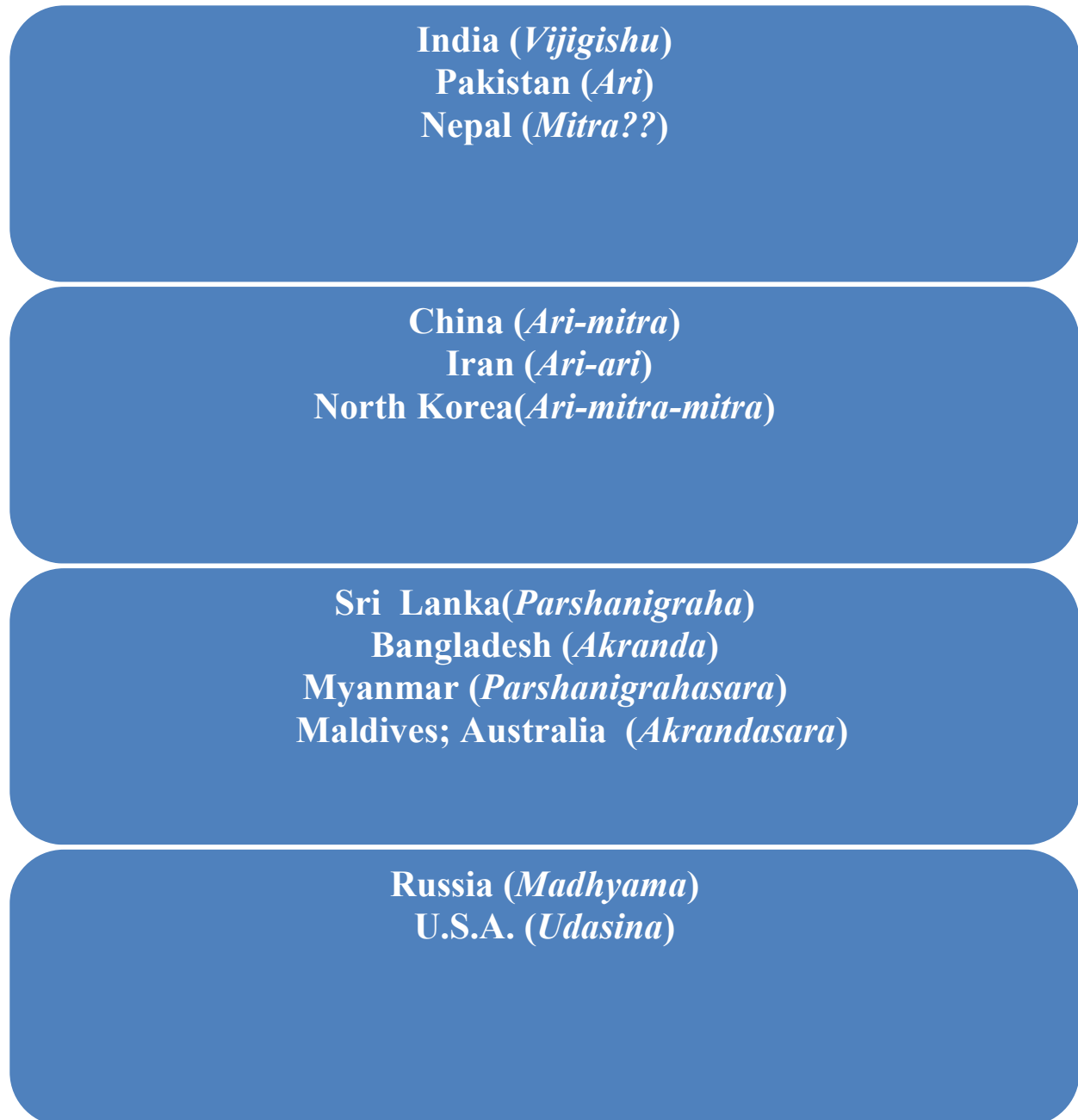
wanting to dominate South Asia. Islamist ideologues in Pakistan go so far as to allege that India's real ambition is to recreate a Brahmin empire across the subcontinent.

Lately geopolitics has again attained significance and a new concept of 'maritime *mandala*' has come up to describe strategic relations among states. It began with China's pearl necklace strategy around India and now has its counter in India's diamond necklace strategy. Whether it has been South China Sea or Indian Ocean, all have become arena of power testing. Three maritime *mandalas* of India are identified: first, the immediate *mandala*, Northern Indian ocean *mandala* consisting of China, Iran and Pakistan; the next is intermediate *mandala* formed by East Africa, the Persian Gulf, Central Asia and Southeast Asia; and finally, the outer *mandala* which holds the interests of Japan, Russia and the US. Beside individual actors, today alliances too are part of a state's *mandala*. India has organizations like, SAARC, ASEAN, Quad (Australia, Japan, USA and India) in its inner or immediate *mandala*, intermediate circle and outer circle respectively. This can be explained through a figurative representation.

**Figure 2:** Modern interpretation of *Mandala* Theory with reference to India.



**Figure 3:** A depicted hierarchy of Kautilya's *Mandala*, with India as the *Vijigishu* along with other 11 states.





## Chapter-4

### The Six-fold policy and its relevance today as a tool of foreign policy

**The six measures of foreign policy:** - Arthashastra's Book seven is devoted to the enumeration of six-fold policy. The circle of states is the basis of six-fold policy. This policy is used by the state to promote power, peace and industry. The would-be conqueror with these six measures of inter state policy "seeks to progress from decline to stable condition and from stable condition to advancement in his own undertakings."<sup>210</sup>

All states that form *mandala* or circle of states including ally, enemy, neutral and middle kings, are a part of the act of diplomacy and war. All states put to use these six measures according to the strength of their elements. *Mandala* is dynamic, it keeps changing. Friends and foes are not permanent. They keep interchanging roles with time. The king should employ these measures keeping in view his own strength, his situation, his relation with other king and the profit and loss emanating from the adoption of the method. Different measures may be applied to different states; friendship with one and dual policy with another may be applied. Over time relations with states change requiring change in the application of method. Kautilya declares that a king "who sees the six measures of policy as being interdependent in this manner, plays as he pleases, with the rival kings tied by the chains of his intellect."<sup>211</sup>

The Sixfold policy or *Shadgunyaas* defined by Kautilya is: entering into a treaty is peace or *samdhi*; war or *vigraha* is causing injury to enemy; staying quiet or remaining indifferent is *asana*; *yana* or marching means preparing for war; *samshraya* or submitting to another is seeking shelter; *dvaividhibhava* or dual policy requires to have peace with one state and harbor hostility with another. Kautilya further explains as to when to use which one of these measures- king should make peace when he is less powerful than the adversary; when he is prospering, he should use war to further his interest; when king realizes that both he and the adversary are of equal power, he should stay quiet or take *asana*; when he has a preponderance of excellent qualities, he should march or resort to *yana*; he should seek shelter when his power is depleted;

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<sup>210</sup>Kangle, Part II, op.cit.p.324(7.1.38)

<sup>211</sup> Ibid, p.384(7.18.42)

and when his enemy can be harmed with the help of an associate, he should use dual policy or *dvaidhibhav*.<sup>212</sup>

Kautilya says between war and peace, if advantages from both are equal, peace should be preferred. The same applies to neutrality and war. Between double policy and alliance, the former should be preferred. Alliance with a king, stronger than neighbour's enemy is preferred. If such a state is not there, he should ingratiate himself with neighbouring enemy. A buffer state should seek shelter of the stronger of the two kings.

**'Samdhi'** or making peace means entering an agreement or signing a treaty, with specific conditions. The purpose of peace is to enable the king to enjoy what he has acquired through industry. He can play the role of the neutral king if he is secure in his position. He may strengthen his circle of friends by ensuring peace. He may even buy peace by sending a hostage to enemy state and thus buy time to strengthen himself in the meantime. Kautilya gives us a wide range of treaties and alliances and classifies them from different angles, one classification being:<sup>213</sup> i) **Dandopanata**– offering the army ii) **Koshopanata** - offering treasure, iii) **Deshopanata** - offering territory and iv) **Suvarna** - amicable peace. Under each of these, we find more varieties of agreements and peace. Treaties take different forms according to space, time and work. Most of the treaties are concluded to end hostilities, but there are also some which may take place in time of peace, such as agreement for acquisition of land or colonization. Kautilya is sure that a king well versed in the science of polity, by means of these treaties, acquires friends, wealth and territory, over-reaches other kings in combination with him.<sup>214</sup> Kautilya very practically advises that the king can enter into peace even with his enemy; if enemy and the king acquire same standard of prosperity and development in same period of time; in decline too over a particular period of time they are at par; they do not expect any change in their respective situations during the same period of time; they are both in a static position and both are estimated to gain same amount of wealth and power over the same period of time<sup>215</sup> Every peace pact is a temporary measure and can be broken when one has grown in strength, Kautilya sees no immorality in this.<sup>216</sup> In talking about peace Kautilya presents many hypothetical situations when peace can be made. The purpose here seems to make the king aware

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<sup>212</sup> Ibid, p.322(7.1.19)

<sup>213</sup> Bk.VII. Ch.3 as quoted by Usha Thakkar & Usha Mehta, op.cit., p.65

<sup>214</sup> ibid, p.65, Bk. VII, Ch. 11

<sup>215</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit, p.322(7.1.23, 27, 30, 31)

<sup>216</sup> Kangle, Part III, op.cit, p.252

as to what kind of ally, land or undertaking he should prefer when there is such a situation and there are choices available. But Kautilya insists that peace should always be given preference when it outweighs war making because war always entails with it loss of wealth and men.

The policy of *vigraha* or hostilities is another of six fold policy. War can be both defensive and offensive. If a state thinks that it is strong enough and an attack by the enemy can be dispelled, it should use *vigraha*. Similarly if a state feels that it can destroy the enemy because enemy is busy in another war or calamity; or it itself is in a secure position, it should adopt *vigraha*. War should be waged after due consideration of its own and the enemy's strength and weaknesses. It should be used as an instrument of progress. War as discussed earlier is classified into three kinds- overt, covert and clandestine. There is '*mantra yuddha*' too or diplomatic war. Kautilya considered diplomacy as an extension of war. Kautilya also describes the right time and conditions of mobilization of troops.

Although, it is advised to attack the weak king and have peace with equally strong or stronger king. But there are certain exceptions to it. If a stronger king rejects peace offer, the leader should either surrender to his wishes or use *vigraha*. If an equally strong king rejects peace offer, the leader or conqueror should cause him loss through harassment. Because "metal that is not heated does not become joined with metal" meaning there can be no union without making heat through friction<sup>217</sup> Also it is not necessary that weak king should always be attacked. With a submissive weak king, peace can be made. Otherwise, harassment can make him resentful and he may fight bravely and other kings too may support him. If he finds that the constituents of enemy state despite being greedy and impoverished are not ready to ally with him, he should make peace despite being the stronger one. If both the conqueror and enemy are in calamity, the one who is in greater calamity and would take more time to recover will stop the war.<sup>218</sup> Kautilya describes other hypothetical situations too, the purpose being to acquaint the king with all possible situations. His views on war make him not a war mongrel as he is usually perceived to be, but otherwise. He describes three kinds of conquerors- *dharmavijayin*; *lobhviyayin*; *asurvijayin*. First makes conquest for the sake of glory; the second, out of greed; and third, makes conquest like a demon. Kautilya expects conqueror to treat the vassal king with dignity so as not to let him harbor any hostility.

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<sup>217</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit, p.327(7.3.9)

<sup>218</sup> Ibid,p.328(7.3.17-18)

‘*Asana*’, is the policy of keeping quiet and wait & watch. This watch can be for two purposes- enemy may weaken itself or get involved in another war or find itself in other difficulties. The second is that in the meantime, the king himself can grow strong<sup>219</sup> and adopt ‘*Yana*’.

*Yana* means preparing for war and it can be used in situation of both peace and war, in peace to ensure preparedness to meet any situation arising in future and during hostile time to ensure success. However, *Yana* should be used only when one is sure of its better relative position vis a vis its enemy. Kautilya writes about marching together too in return for *daam* or share in gains<sup>220</sup> (example of allied and Axis powers during Second World War). But there is always a possibility of cheating here.

*Samshrya* or seeking shelter is the policy adopted by a weak king who fears an attack. Shelter should be sought from one who is supposedly stronger than the enemy, because Kautilya also says that even a weak king should project as if it is strong (Pakistan seeking China’s help to counter India). He warns that union with one who is superior can endanger the one seeking shelter except when he is at war with an enemy (China’s OBOR policy and resulting indebtedness and dependence of beneficiary countries is an example).<sup>221</sup>

The sixth measure of foreign policy prescribed is *Dvaidhibhav* or dual policy. It is following both *samdhi* and *vigraha* simultaneously. This is better than *samshraya*, says Kautilya, because in *samshraya* the king has to surrender totally to the stronger king’s interests. Whereas, in dual policy king can pursue his own interest too.<sup>222</sup> This measure enables the king to make peace with superior king and seek its troops and money to wage hostilities with the enemy.

The purpose of six fold policy is to increase one’s power and cause the decline of enemy’s power. Game theory to the study of international relation says the same, causing loss to the other and making gain for oneself. The increase in power is intended to pave the way for the conquest of the world. However, these measures should be adopted after due consideration of one’s power in relation to the enemy’s power. Otherwise consequences can be fatal.

The sixfold policy is supplemented by four *upayas*- *saam* (conciliation), *dama* or *dana* (gift, financial incentive), *bheda* (dissension or divide and rule), *danda* (punishment-physical or

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<sup>219</sup> Ibid,p.324(7.1.34)

<sup>220</sup> Ibid,p.333(7.4.19)

<sup>221</sup> Ibid,p.325(7.2.6-8)

<sup>222</sup> Ibid,p.325(7.2.4-5)

financial). These *upayas* are used to overcome opposition. Kautilya suggests that the first two measures should be used to subjugate the weak king. He should be persuaded to subserve through conciliation and gifts. The strong kings should be overcome by the use of *bheda* and *danda* or dissension and force. The king can use one of these *upayas* or may make combined use of them.<sup>223</sup> These four measures should preferably be applied to an issue in the order they are given. Where conciliation can work, force should be avoided. However, it depends on the situation as to which measure should be used first. For example, to make *saam* work in violence infested region, use of dissension and force to bring in order may be necessitated at the initial stage. These four *upayas* are applicable to both internal and external strife situations. These *upayas* are perhaps the products of tradition. There seems to be some overlapping between them and sixfold policy. However, while sixfold policy is more appropriate for external relations or foreign policy, four *upayas* are more useful to handle internal troubles where army can not be usually used.

Beside *Mandala* and Six fold policy Kautilya prescribes diplomacy as the third pillar of interstate relations. Diplomacy is the means through which six measures and four *upayas* are put to practice. Kautilya says that whoever has succeeded as a councillor can be an envoy. *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Manu*, *Agni Purana* and *Kamandaka* give specific qualities of an ambassador and so does Kautilya. These qualifications are more or less the same as those prescribed for an ambassador in modern times. Ambassador is the representative of his government and is the eyes and ears of the government it represents. Kautilya considers diplomacy as an extension of war. Beside diplomacy, another important tool in Kautilya's armour in the arena of inter-state relations is spy system. The purpose was to gather information through intelligence. Information is a powerful tool; lack of it can diminish the power of a state and give upper hand to the adversary.

**Planning and conducting operations against foreign states:-** Strategic planning requires, first, that the ruler has firm control over the situation in his own country, secondly, that sufficient and good intelligence about the situation in the adversary state is available, and thirdly that there is substantial deliberation of the ruler and all his advisers on the situation and the policy decisions to be derived from it. All (foreign policy) undertakings should be preceded by consultation<sup>224</sup>.

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid, p.373(7.16.3)

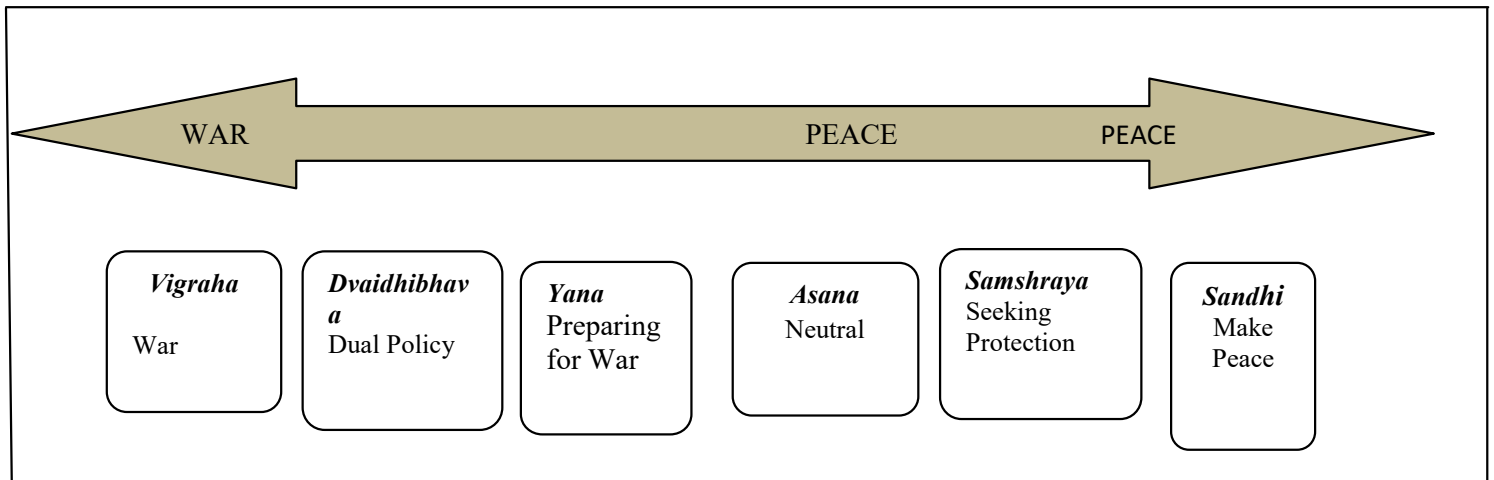
<sup>224</sup> Ibid, p.32(1.15.2)

Planning meetings for foreign policy operations must be held in strict secrecy and the decision taken must remain secret. Kautilya warns that through carelessness –while drinking alcohol or during sexual encounters –state secrets might be divulged. Even the body language of the ruler or his ministers might indicate secret intentions and plans. Compromising state secrets can be an existential threat to the state and must be prevented at all costs. Kautilya also deals with the question of who should be involved in strategic planning. He refers to antecedent authors who recommend that 1) the ruler should decide alone; 2) because of the many imponderables, the ruler should deliberate with a large group; 3) the ruler should consult with several advisers without, however, disclosing his actual intentions; 4) the ruler should disclose his intentions and consult with those who possess the expertise needed for carrying out the planned operations. Against these opinions, Kautilya asserts that strategic planning should involve not more than four advisers in order to assure secrecy. But, never content with fixed formulas, Kautilya adds: If the circumstances demand an instant decision, consulting with one or two advisors or the ruler deciding alone is better than delaying the decision. Kautilya mentions five main points that need to be deliberated upon when planning foreign policy (or military) actions: - the cause, trigger or pretext to start the operations; the quality and quantity of available resources, both human and material including military and economic capability of one's own and that of the adversary's; the geographic and temporal scope of operations; alternative options if things go wrong ('Plan B'); the objectives for the successful completion of the operation.

If these questions are answered satisfactorily, then the operation is to be launched without further delay. A 'Steering Committee' should be established for directing the operation. Numerical size of such a committee is rejected by Kautilya; he argues that the size of the staff depends solely on the tasks it has to fulfill: staying on top of things; correcting omissions and mistakes; improving the conduct of ongoing actions; determining whether the targeted objectives have been reached.

## Relevance today of sixfold policy as tool of foreign policy

War and Peace are the direct outcomes of the application of the six fold policy as represented in the figure below:



**Figure 4:** Choices of *Shadgunya* policy depicted on their relative utility.<sup>225</sup>

If we look at sixfold policy from modern perspective, we find them working even today with same connotations. *Samdhi*, as prescribed by Kautilya denotes cooperation and accommodation with other world powers so as to strengthen one. India's policy of non-alignment which was adopted during the cold war period becomes more understandable if seen in this light. India adopted this policy of not aligning with any of the two blocs, in order to seek financial and technological assistance from both, the US and the USSR so as to strengthen it. But, we must realize that peace is always a temporary phenomenon as states continuously strive to increase their power and change global power equations. The case of Bangladesh and Nepal is before us. They have peace treaties with India with the understanding that India would provide assistance in their development. But in recent years, there has been a change in their policies.

*Samdhi* may be of five types and we can see them working even today. *Mitrasamdhi* or friendship treaty has similarity with friendship treaty signed between India and the USSR. We observe *Karmasamdhi*, the bondage of common interest, in alliances like NATO and the Warsaw Pact. *Bhoomisamdhi* or land exchange treaty which is usually troublesome, example is partition of India. In terms of *Anavasitsamdhi*, we can place economic alliances and even colonization.

<sup>225</sup>Sachin More, op.cit.p.29



*Vigraha* or war is policy of hostility towards another country, especially neighbour with which there is clash of common interests. China attacked India in 1962, as it was confident of its own superiority and of India's unpreparedness. It even adopted *asana* and *dvaiddhibhav* too towards India till before the aggression. *Hindi-Chini bhai bhai* is an example.

*Yana* or March denotes the policy of direct attack on the adversary. If the state is weak, is rich in resources or has a strategic location, aggression maybe considered against it. The colonization of Asia and Africa could take place because of their not being strong, internal disunity, greed and deceit of natives. They were colonized because of their rich natural resources, one of them being, Uranium.

*Asana* is policy of indifference toward certain nations. It should not be confused with non alignment and neutrality. *Asana* is waiting to gain power and then march. China's Yuan diplomacy since 1970 seems to fit in here if we observe its behavior after 2010.

*Samshtaya* is a policy of giving protection to a weaker state. A weak state, aware of its lack of strength may seek the patronage of a stronger state in an effort to balance its adversary. China's OBOR policy and the states seeking it is an example of *samshtaya* or seeking shelter. Through OBOR/ BRI and CPEC China has trapped a number of states into seeking its shelter. Through this policy China aims to gain an ally and a staging platform for future conflict with another state.

*Dvaiddhibhav* or dual policy may be seen as the policy of non-attachment with stronger state. Usually it is interpreted as pursuing policy of cooperation with one state so as to be able to pursue hostility against another. A very right example of this is Pakistan's friendship, first with USA and now with China. The aim is to be able to counter India, both by itself, by instigating separatism and terrorism in Kashmir; and by instigating its master state against India. There is another interpretation too of this word. *Dvaiddhibhava* is made of two Sanskrit words, *dvaiddhi* and *bhava*. *Dvaiddhi* means two and *bhava* means intention. It can be interpreted as having dual intention when pursuing foreign policy towards one single nation, one of friendship and another of animosity kept concealed under the garb of friendship. Indo-China relations in 1950s with *Panchsheel* and '*hindi chini bhai bhai*' slogan may be cited as succinct example of this meaning of *Dvaiddhibhav*. If we look at this policy in a positive light, it can be interpreted as collaborating despite differences. India's policy towards China after 1990 has been based on this. Both have

border dispute, yet it was considered to be in the interest of both that they collaborate in other areas, especially trade. Both countries have engaged in confidence building measures over the period of time, indulging each other. Multi-track talks have been introduced between the two states. However, this policy has benefitted China more than India as can be gauged by the trade relations between the two. Also, China has not been hesitant in breaking treaties and promises, if it serves its interest. Here, China seems more Kautilya like, who realizes that states can break treaties if required and does not consider it immoral.

A state to further its interests uses four *upayas* too, both to manage internal strife and to promote its national interests. The age old strategies of *Sama*, *dama*, *bheda* and *danda* are used by all states frequently. The usage of it has been discussed in chapter 5 with reference to naxal and insurgency and separatist movement in India. As Kautilya advises and which still holds true when there is internal trouble it is better to use *sama* or conciliation and *dama* or gifts in order to quell the revolt and pacify the people; in some cases the sequence of *upayas* to be used may be *dama* or gift and *bheda* or dissension. Use of *danda* against local people is not a preferred option.

When there is trouble from neighboring states the means of *bheda* or sowing seeds of dissension and *danda* or coercion are used. India can use this strategy in case of Pakistan which is in a state of perpetual hostility. Instigating separatist movement in Balochistan vigorously to keep Pakistan busy at home, should seriously be employed by India. The need of the time is an aggressive and interventionist foreign policy on the part of India towards Pakistan. *Asan* and *Yana* with *bheda* and *danda* should be India's policy towards Pakistan.

India should not take its small neighbours' friendship for granted. Nepal, for the past thirty years has been playing hostility card. It has realized its strategic significance for India and is pressing this particular nerve. Kautilya advised use of *Sama* and *dama* for winning the weak and inferior king, Gujral doctrine did just that. But now that these friends are not exactly submissive, India should change its policy of concessions towards them. Kautilya had advised that if a weak friend stops being submissive and gyrates towards enemy, it should be destroyed. This option is ofcourse out of question now, yet a more practical and equitable policy would not harm. Nepal with China watching its back has actually been calling for an at par nation status.

India with all preparedness should answer this call and with *sama* and *dama* so far used, should now use *bheda* and *danda* too. *Dvaidhibhav* disguised as *samshraya* should be employed.

Bhutan is still a friendly state and is sheltered by India. It is more apprehensive of a communist China, its neighbour in the north with expansionist design than the democratic neighbour in the south. Our policy towards Bhutan should be of *samshraya* packed with *sama* and *dama*. But in foreign relations there are no guarantees and as such, relations with Bhutan too should not be taken for granted. Alacrity is the key- word in foreign policy.

India played a crucial role in the birth of Bangladesh. During initial years, relations between the two were cordial. India used *sama* and *dama* and Bangladesh sought shelter from India. However, situation has changed with time. Bangladesh has its own interests and demands from its neighbours. India should adopt a realistic approach and try not to antagonize Bangladesh, learning lesson from Kautilya. The method of conciliation and gifts can be used by the conqueror to ensure the loyalty of conquered king and subdue weak and inferior kings and discontented people. Kautilya shows how to use *Bheda* in a right and successful way. In an enemy state, groups of provoked ambitious and alarmed people should be won over through the spies. Effort to win over friends of enemy should be made by using persuasion and rewards. China's string of pearl strategy aims at this only. As counter strategy India has adopted diamond necklace strategy of encircling China by expanding naval bases in Singapore, Indonesia, Iran, Oman and Seychelles. It has nurtured its relations with Mongolia, Japan, Vietnam, Australia and Afghanistan. It needs to change its one China policy and promote its relation with Taiwan. With China's growing aggression in what it calls the South China Sea; in Indian ocean and in Central Asia, India needs to become proactive than reactive. As part of increasing tension for enemy, India should covertly promote dissension and discontentment in people and countries rising against China.

China is increasing its presence in Northern Indian Ocean by reaching out to Africa and by forging friendship with Iran, a traditional friend India is losing because of faulty policies of America. Moral stand is good in words but in practice real politik should be used, Kautilya advises. India should nurture its friendship with the successor of its old ally, Russia. The emerging axis of China Russia Pakistan should be taken seriously and by wooing the strong and sowing seeds of dissension against the weak, India can penetrate this blooming axis.

India has Srilanka and Myanmar as its neighbours in the rear. Despite a few problems, the relations remain stable.

Kautilya mentions methods of *Maya* and *Indrajala*, although they sound regressive and indicate deterioration in the concept of international morality; they are still being used by states with the intention of becoming conqueror or super power. Kautilya, in the last chapter of Arthasastra mentions methods of causing terror to the enemy by showing wonderful and delusive performances. He also shows the use of powers causing death or diseases. He advises the king that," Practices accompanied by *mantras* and medicines and those that are caused by illusion-with them he should destroy the enemies and protect his own people."<sup>226</sup>

Kautilya's *Mandala* theory, Six-fold policy, illustration of ambassadors, envoys and spies and the means to be used by them to promote and safeguard the interest of their state is a witness to his genius. He anticipates and provides best possible choice for almost all situations a state may have to face in its relations with its neighbouring states. In foreign policy, Arthasastra is a comprehensive commentary on the high-level of diplomacy which prevailed in his time. Kautilya has been severely criticized for advocating that aim is more important than the means; and that means can be immoral and unethical. How relevant Kautilya is today, can be gauged by a study of foreign policies of modern day international actors. There is a continuous use of *Mandala* by would be conquerors by way of creating a sphere of influence; trying to tilt balance of power in their favour by creating a balance of terror through judicious and intelligent application of methods advocated by Kautilya in sixfold policy and under four *upayas*. The relevance of the four *upayas* is validated by Morgenthau in his model of balance of power. Four *upayas* are not exclusively given by Kautilya, as he himself says that they were present before him too. However, how and when they should be applied and in what combination or sequence, has been meticulously explained by Kautilya. And if we can say so, his modern time successor, Morgenthau in 'Politics among Nations' uses them as means to establish a balance of power which would ensure peace. However, Kautilya describes their usage to tilt balance in one's favour, which in modern parlance means preparing for war. Morgenthau too prescribes, persuasion and making alliances (*sama*); financial incentive (*dama*); threat of use of force and

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<sup>226</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit,p.509(14.3.88) & Usha Thakkar & Usha Mehta, op.cit., p.78

divide and rule (*bheda*) and actual use of force (*danda*).<sup>227</sup> There are many contemporary examples where these four *upayas* have been used. North Korea is one example where *sama*, *dama*, *bheda* and *danda*, all four have been employed by the world actors. Iran is another example where economic sanctions have been used as deterrence against it going nuclear.

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<sup>227</sup> P.K. Gautam, 'Understanding Kautilya's Four Upayas', IDSA Comment, New Delhi, 20 June 2013, available at <https://idsa.in/idsacomments/%20UnderstandingKautilyasFourUpayaspkgautam200613>, accessed on 6 January 2020; Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 3rd Indian edition, Calcutta: Scientific Book Agency; 1966, pp. 178–203.

## Chapter-5

### Conclusion

We see that Kautilya in his Arthashastra has explained in great detail the theory of statecraft, causes of internal strife and rebellion, their types, use of four *upayas* in dealing with intrigues. He recommends that the king should so rule, that a state where *Yogakshema* or the happiness of the people is ensured, is established. Kautilya had realized that if the people are happy, the empire will also be stable. This is why Kautilya has given the concept of *Yogakshema*. Kautilya had not given this idea in vain. It had a deeper meaning. Kautilya had said that if state is misgoverned and the benefits of welfare state do not reach the grass root level, there are bound to be revolts and rebellions. He had so prophetically said that the people of the countryside might rebel if misgoverned. Kautilya advises the King to use spy system and anticipate trouble beforehand. With forewarning, he can take necessary steps to quell it. Kautilya's words seem so relevant in modern context. The ruler must realize that if people are impecunious and indigent, they become voracious and can revolt. The Indian state, like any other modern state keeps getting challenges from both internal and external spheres. These challenges become serious when they pose threat to its geographical integrity as well as internal and external security. Naxalism and Insurgency, Terrorism, Separatism in the form of demand for separate state of Kashmir and Khalistan; and corrupt system of governance are some of these ailments which sap out India's energy and strength. Let us examine some of these ailments with Kautilyan eye, keeping in perspective what we have discussed so far about statecraft and internal and external strife in Arthashastra.

#### I

**1:- Naxalism as a challenge to India's Internal Security:-**The first question is – What is Naxalism? How did it evolve? Does it have any external abettors? We see the beginning of the Naxalite Movement in India in 1967. It began in Naxalbari where the borders of India, Nepal and what is today known as Bangladesh converge. From there it spread to other parts of Bengal and the country. If we look closely, we find it erupting at places where there was abject poverty. Also it was chaperoned in the beginning by intellectuals who expected state to work on socialist ideas and when it did not happen after independence, they considered it as a failure of government and rebelled against state. They felt that the solution to miseries of poor farmers and labours was not

coming from state through peaceful protests and political process and an armed struggle was the only way out. They organized themselves as comrades bound by the suffering caused by the failure of state and dissatisfaction against the state. However, in later years, the discord among various factions and strong counter insurgency steps taken by the government, led to a gradual disintegration of the movement. In 1980s the movement again gained momentum, and this time in Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa. In Bihar, an administrative paralysis, economic bankruptcy and exacerbating social disparities built up a tense and frightening scenario, and in that spectra of disorder the Naxalite violence rose steeply, particularly in the south-central districts of the state where mining was the main industry. Several caste based armies were formed which took to themselves to impart what they thought is justice.

Let us look at the demographic structure of Naxalbari. According to the Census report of 1961, the scheduled caste and tribes who lived in Naxalbari were 57.7% of the total population; in Kharibari, 72.2% of the total population and in Phansidewa, 64.5 per cent of the total population. Most of them were either cultivator or agricultural labour. A few worked in the tea gardens, forests and mines.<sup>228</sup> In 1953, the government passed the Estates Acquisition Act, fixing ceiling on land holding. It was followed by the Land Reforms Act in 1955. The land holders thereafter started mala fide transfers of land. They sold land which actually belonged to the government. At some places rightful owners of land were evicted too. It was against this background that Kisan Sabha of the Communist Party of India started a peasant movement in 1959 in the Naxalbari area where, in Gunnar Myrdal's words, extreme tensions had built up.

Currently, the Naxalites operate mainly in the states of Orissa, Jharkhand, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and West Bengal. Chhattisgarh is the current epicenter of the conflict. Many people have lost their lives in this mindless Maoist violence over the last few decades, including a large number of personnel of the security forces and even civilians. Civilians were either murdered by the Naxals, after being condemned as police informers, or were caught in the crossfire between police and naxals and became victims.<sup>229</sup> In 2008, Government of India appointed a sixteen-member expert group which in its report suggested that Maoist movement be recognized as a political force. They argued that in its

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<sup>228</sup> 'Naxalbari: evidence and Inference,' NOW, 7 July 1967 as quoted by Prakash Singh in The Naxalite Movement in India, Rupa Publication, NewDelhi, 2019, p.3

<sup>229</sup> <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/naxal-violence-claims-12000-lives-in-20-years/articleshow/59521195.cms>  
<http://socialjustice.nic.in/UserView/index?mid=76672>



general expression the movement should be perceived as an endeavour for social justice, security and development.<sup>230</sup> It further advised that naxal problem be seen as a developmental issue and not as problem of law and order. Because first would entail governance approach and the second, police and military approach. The report recommends that existing protective legislation for *Dalits* and *Adivasis* should be honestly implemented; land problems should be resolved; bonded labour should be put to an end; rehabilitation and resettlement should be sped up; development measures suited to local needs be introduced; education and healthcare should be universalized; local democratic structures such as *Gram Sabhas* and *Panchayats* be empowered. Human rights of tribals have been a matter of concern for civil society. The abuse of human rights by counter insurgency agencies in Chattisgarh is the focal point of Nandini Sundar's *The Burning Forest*.<sup>231</sup>

More than fifty academic or political books, a number of novels and essays have been penned on Naxalism, since the beginning of this century. However, there have been a very few writings which can be termed as primary source on Naxalism. There are many views given in these books depending upon who wrote it, a writer or an activist or a scholar or a journalist or an administrator. Everyone has his or her own prism to look at the problem. While some see the Naxalites from within the perspective of the Indian state and, as such, as a law and order problem to be addressed, but they are critical of India's military response to the insurgents. There is another group consisting of scholars of political science and activists who try to explain the spread of the violence in the form of Maoist movement in India. The journalists and activists, who have written about naxalism usually, romanticize the movement, many of these journalists have been sponsored by Naxals and they write about naxals as travelogues. Then, there are sociologists and Anthropologists, who base their work on sustainable empirical research and advocate that this should be seen as a fight for equitable and just society and so should be tackled as such. There are also novels which seem to have been inspired by the Naxalites. I have based my analysis of naxalism on various secondary sources available as books and articles or internet data.

Naxalism when it took form may have been based on ideology but not any more. By mid seventies for some it became a means to settle scores with adversary. Today when we talk of

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<sup>230</sup> Government of India (2008) Development Challenges in Extremist Affected areas: Report of an Expert Group to Planning Commission. New Delhi: Government of India as quoted by Alpa Shah *Nightmarch-A Journey into India's Naxal Heartlands*, Harper Collins, 2018. Noida, p.271-279

<sup>231</sup> Nandini Sundar, *The Burning Forest: India's War in Bastar*. New Delhi: Juggernaut, 2016

naxalism or terrorism or separatism, two views emerge. There is one group of people who see the role of grievance and there is another group which sees the role of greed and selfishness as the incentive to join the movement. They reasoned that the tribals joined rebels because of discontentment arising out of poverty, exploitation, injustice, illiteracy resulting in deprivation, corruption on the part of facilitators, police atrocities, physical violation of women, brutal atrocities against men and women on flimsy grounds or even no grounds at all, land grabbing, denial of traditional rights to collect wood and kendu leaves from the forests, to which tribals have had rights since ages, in the name of rules. The list is long but it makes evident that people felt marginalized and were unhappy and disgruntled when they turned to revolt. The Maoists provided them with the required means and training. It was like giving fuel to fire. However, in the nineties, the naxal movement lost its sight and it became a means of extortion and exploitation of both the tribals and the state representatives.

It seems that we need to understand and address the dynamics of the relationship between democracy, Indian state and the Naxalite revolutionary violence, if the naxal problem is to be resolved. We find that revolutionary violence becomes legitimate under certain circumstances. Naxalites claim to seek to make people's life less unequal through armed struggle against a system which is not listening to their plight or is violating them. World over it has been observed that revolutionary violence erupts to occupy the space left open by the inability or inefficiency of legitimate governments to address genuine issues of people. But the problem is that such revolutionary movements are prone to spreading political violence if there is lack of proper political mobilization, endangering the lives of tribals. Also in the past seven or eight years state has become more reachable with the advent of live social media platforms. It has become more responsive too. Now people can have their voices heard. However, a lot is still left to be done. The problem is that naxal affected areas are the ones which are rich in minerals and other resources. As such market interests too get involved in the politics of these areas. The interests of the corporate take dominance over local people's interests, which may be environmental, traditional, cultural, sociological and political. As their interests suffer people are bound to move away from the system and land in the lap of the erstwhile naxals, who have now turned into the perpetrators of violence and exploitation.<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Manoranjan Mohanty (2015) *Red and Green: Five Decades of the Indian Maoist Movement*. Kolkata: Setu Prakashan as quoted by Alpa Shah in *Nightmarch*, op.cit., p.271-279

To sum up mention can be made of *Nightmarch: A journey into India's Naxal Heartlands*, book by Alpa Shah, an Anthropologist who came to India for her research work and stayed in Chhattisgarh for about two years. The book gives a very succinct picture of Naxal movement. During her time in India she lived with the Naxals in Lalgaoon and for seven nights she marched with them. She narrates her first hand experience in this book. This book is important because it makes a very impartial study of the problem. She very interestingly gives "Sandwich theory"—where tribals are portrayed as sandwiched between the state and the Maoists.<sup>233</sup> She talks about the role of greed and role of grievance. In India, some analysts have stressed the role of monetary gain and other practical advantages in joining the rebels. Earlier the young and poor tribals were drawn to the Naxalites who posed as robinhood and messiah to them. Later on, many joined the movement only to gain money and power.

There is another aspect too of the effect that Naxalites had on tribals. As they come from the same background usually, they treat the *Adivasis* with respect and dignity and look upon them as equal human-beings. This oneness and show of human dignity attracted tribals to naxalites and their cause. The naxalites paid attention to how one was spoken to, the tone of the voice that was used and the terms of respect with which they addressed the people. They paid attention to the way a house was entered, whether they left their footwear outside the door or not, whether they sat on the floor or chair above everyone else. They made it a point to share food, drink and even eat from the same plate. They joked and teased the villagers with an ease that enabled the guerrillas to win local people's hearts and minds. The writer (Alpa Shah) tells us that development, which the government took upon in this area, was not enough and also that it didn't involve people. Corruption was also rampant. Elite who were using the natural resources in this area emerged as the dominant class. Shah also establishes that the Naxal thinking and ideology too has somehow got corrupted and there are always few important leaders in the guerrilla army who are connected with the movement just for the sake of personal benefit. They secretly divert resources away from the common needs of the struggle and amass the wealth for their private use. The local people who had replaced elites in the transaction of various deals, like in mining, in sale of '*tendu*'leaves etc got corrupted and they also started behaving very much like the very elites whom they had replaced. So, corruption was once again there and Maoists started moving away from the very people they were representing. Shah talks about

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<sup>233</sup> Ibid,p.141

patriarchy too and found that Maoists were hitting at it, whereas among the Adivasis there was no patriarchy. In fact, tribal society was very much egalitarian. She gives various examples to prove this - how on the day of the 'Haat', women would go to the market and they would enjoy with their male and female friends and have drinks while men were expected to be at home and cook food. Then, there was the system of 'Ghotul' also, where youth would go to a designated 'hut' in the village called *Ghotul* and they would make plans for future festivals, would play and could also have sexual relations. Maoists were very much against it and they did not like the idea of *Ghotul*, which the author says was very much the foundation of the *Adivasi* society. She also finds it odd that young *Adivasis* who got recruited into Naxalism in the Maoist cadres would order their seniors or the people whom they should have otherwise been calling *Chachi* or *Kaka*. Author finds it odd and says that it is again an example of power being misused by these 19-20 year old men and women who would otherwise not be able to do this. She talks about the corruption among the Maoists and how they would take various goods from the villagers and how they would act very much like the security forces who they were opposing. Shah says that there are endless debates within Marxism about the extent to which a transition to capitalism was necessary to bring about a communist future. But the Naxalites saw themselves as a revolutionary group that prioritized learning from the masses: 'from the masses to the masses,' they called it, and they were working with relatively egalitarian societies into which capitalism had not yet penetrated. So, it was ironic that this movement for a communist future inadvertently brought the state closer to *Adivasi* lives, accelerated the spread of the values of capitalism and caste hierarchies amongst them, and thereby undermined its own visions for a communist society. The naxalite aim was to create a classless and casteless society, but it was also accelerating class differentiation and at the same time nurturing some of the hierarchical values of castes amongst *Adivasis*. Despite of the promise of equality from the leaders, there is an unsaid hierarchy in the movement. Also, the ideology was, in some way or the other, being forcedly spoon-fed to the villagers. Shah quotes a villager who complained about the Naxalite leadership saying that the "Naxalites were like a teacher forcing the students to learn the entire alphabet in one-day"<sup>234</sup>

On the basis of observation, available literature, reports and data, we can see some causes of naxal movement. They may be classified as sociological factors, economic factors, legal

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<sup>234</sup> Alpa Shah *Nightmarch: A journey into India's Naxal Heartlands* op.cit, p.188

factors and psychological factors. Poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, displacement, political marginalization, misgovernance, delay in justice, limited forest rights, acts like AFSPA, prevalence of untouchability, land issues, lack of infrastructure, corruption and instigation are some of the causes of internal disturbances in India, whether Naxal or insurgency. They are discussed in detail in Annexure 1.

Let us now correlate Naxal problem of today's India with Kautilya's views in Arthashastra on internal strife and how to handle them. It can be seen that naxalism in India has its roots to a large extent in social injustice, economic inequality, and the failure of the system to redress the grievances of large sections of people who have to suffer due to this inaction. Earlier in the report in chapter 2, we have discussed the reasons of discontentment among people as given by Kautilya. The same as mentioned above were cited by Kautilya too as causes of discontentment. To prevent the rise of discontentment Kautilya advised the king to promote the principles of welfare state. Kautilya has given four types of strifes. He considers revolt originated and abetted by local men as the most serious type of trouble. And he advises to use all four *upayas* to address this strife. The same applies to Naxalism, which may have some sympathizers in our hostile neighbours and may have named itself after an illusive leader, it remains very much a problem abetted and instigated by internal forces. There are some vested external and internal interests who have been exploiting and fuelling the discontentment among people to turn it into revolt against state. They keep giving fuel to the movement from time to time. Kautilya advises that while a state should be accommodative, it should not hesitate to use force when necessary, ie, use of *saam*, *daam* along with *danda*, *bheda*. For Kautilya, it is significant that while conducting the internal operations, one took into consideration the type of military engagements and the terrain. He also laid great stress on institutions especially with regard to internal stability.<sup>235</sup> This is valid even today.

We must examine, particularly with reference to Naxal and insurgency problem in North-East of India if Kautilya's *upayas* to address these strifes are relevant today and can they give some solution set and also whether they have been employed by Indian statesmen out of *habitus* and due to *longue duree* (meaning explained earlier).

Presently, the Naxal movement has metamorphosed into a Maoist movement. It was officially described as 'the greatest threat to the internal security of the country' by the then

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<sup>235</sup> Namrata Goswamy, op.cit. p.5

Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh and as such the UPA Government adopted a two-pronged strategy to deal with it: undertaking massive counter-insurgency operations (*bheda* and *danda*) and launching massive development schemes (*saam* and *daam*). The strategy has been effective but much remains to be done, especially to improve governance in remote areas and redress the grievances of the tribals.

***Saam-*** The primary basis of violent movements of naxals lies in identity narratives. These narratives provide the naxal outfits with emotional and social quotients. Naxals attract recruits to their cause by the promise of empowerment. A grasp of the inside working on which the rebel groups mobilize support, offers insights on its ability to draw members for a violent cause. It is worth noting that the Naxalites are able to carry forth their propaganda and violent movement because of light policing and a weak state in the areas of India where they operate. State mechanisms in these areas are unresponsive to local fears and are, at most, highly politicized and incapable of maintaining a fair system of rule of law. Hence, these institutions are viewed by local people as distant, corrupt, and unjust, thus creating the ideal political state for the Naxalite movement. Significantly, this absence of government is what Kautilya has identified as disastrous to the state. Kautilya stated that a king who is weak and is seen as unjust will arouse the embers of internal dissent. In Arthashastra, Kautilya argued for a state that is effective in governance and just in law enforcement. Such a state has the capacity to keep the common people happy and supportive of the ruler. This strategic advice does not seem to have worked in the rural areas of India, especially those areas where there is Naxal violence. In these areas, there is a total breakdown of the state and absence of a common vision in terms of administration. Moreover, power struggle affects the different agencies of the state and due to this, the representatives of the state are engaged in day-to-day struggle for power, whereas, ideally their time should be spent in the service of the people. In these areas, instead of state police, people find that armed rebels are the only means of administering some level of order and physical security. Hence, the anti-state message of Naxalism has a popular following and draws recruits.<sup>236</sup>

***Daam-*** Development or *daam* is the answer to naxal problem. Bring welfare schemes and growth oriented plans to redress the grievances of those who are sandwiched between the naxals and the state. As part of its development strategy, the government has initiated many developmental projects aimed at bringing progress in these areas. Special Economic Zones have been created in

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<sup>236</sup> Daniel little, India's Naxalites-Understanding Society, 12.12.2010 as quoted by Ibid., p. 123

a bid to create employment and also to bring necessary infrastructural framework here. It is believed these steps will initiate the integration of these yet remote areas with the rest of the country. Although these efforts of government have met with resistance from the Naxalites who describe SEZs as “de facto foreign enclaves” which would enable foreign and local multinational companies to operate by grabbing prime agricultural lands.<sup>237</sup> Most of the naxal infested areas are in the interior and are still not developed and any developmental effort is met with resistance. The conflict-prone environment has obstructed the transaction of government schemes in this area, requiring the use of coercion before the use of *dama*.

**Bheda-** Exposing the true face of naxal leaders is the required strategy on the part of the state. Maoists have been creating anti-state narratives as part of their propaganda against state. They know they can hide their inabilities behind government bashing and that they are not expected to fulfil the tall promises they have made to their clientel in near future. The movement has also degenerated into violence, that too indiscriminate, endangering the lives of the very people for whom it was initiated. Naxal movement is a movement which may have been started with a just cause and ideology but has now lost its ideological base and cause. It is more a way of extortion and intimidation. While on the one hand, it does not allow state to start industries here, on the other hand it runs its own parallel government and business in connivance with forest and mining mafia. This face of the naxals must be brought before people. Government PR must vigorously work on this aspect and convince people that the naxals have no intention to cause their development. Because once it happens they will lose their position and will be rendered useless. If Kautilyan advice is heeded, then a little lie mixed with some facts can work as the potion to kill the snake lurking in the heartland.

**Danda-** The counter-strategy should aim to contain the spread of Naxalism. One of the former Director Generals of Police of Chattisgarh, Vishwaranjan stated that, “The development initiatives of the government will have no results unless the Maoists are wiped out completely. They will continue to hamper these initiatives by destroying roads and infrastructure.”<sup>238</sup> The data for 2012 reveals that 137 people were killed in Naxal violence, with the states of Jharkhand

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<sup>237</sup>Report of Ministry of Commerce and Industry as quoted by Ibid. p.126

<sup>238</sup>Indian Express, New Delhi, 30.05.2013, accessed on 22.06.2021 at 9.20pm



(68) and Chattisgarh (22) showing the highest casualty figures, followed by Maharashtra (20), Orissa (16), Bihar (10) and Andhra Pradesh (01) till 15 April.<sup>239</sup>

Could this strategy articulated by Mr. Vishwaranjan be located within Kautilya's ideas and recommendations to the state on its dealing with internal dissent? Kautilya stated that the king should be able to utilize cooperation, coercion, covert operations in order to deal with violent dissent. From his practical perspective, the king should promote the idea of welfare state in order to further his own interests. Institutionalizing *Samdhi* (accommodation and coordination) is vital as a temporary policy to bring a dissenting order to your side. However, if that fails, force should be seen as a necessary mechanism. Kautilya, however, did not support the idea of an "entire wipe out" especially with regard to internal dissent. He was always open to a flexible approach, with room for accommodation. Good governance was viewed as a vital framework through which internal conflicts should be handled. Kautilya stressed *Yogakshema*, or the welfare of people, as it is from the midst of welfare that the king can draw his credence and legitimacy. *Dandaniti* was seen as a punishment that was based on the rule of law. Therefore, punishment must be seen as fair and just and never excessive. It must leave room for compromise. Morality is an important guiding principle and for optimum internal stability, the ruler must be seen as just. Kautilya advocates the importance of humane treatment to those who violently dissent and is in favor of being soft on those who are conquered or defeated.<sup>240</sup> For Kautilya, internal dissent arose against the King whenever there was an absence or weakness of governance. This lack of order was identified as one of the greatest internal threats to a state's ability. Kautilya discusses at length the significant co-relation between power and governance and a large part of his treatise on administration is focused on this aspect. Fundamentally and principally, governance played the most significant role in Arthashastra. A state that is able to impose excellence in government mechanisms will enjoy immense credibility in forwarding its own policy goals. Thereby, for Kautilya, internal disturbances (secessionist movements) threaten and weaken the ability of the state to pursue its internal and external policies in an effective manner. He advocates the judicious use of force to counter such internal threats.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> The Economic Times, 24 April, 2012 available at [economictimes.com](http://economictimes.com) accessed on 22.06.2021 at 9.23 pm

<sup>240</sup> Pravin Chandrasekharan, "Kautilya: Politics, Ethics and statecraft", Harvard University/Harvard Kennedy School, January, 2006, p. 8-10, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/24116687>

<sup>241</sup> Namrata Goswami, op.cit.p.171

However, despite this stress on governance or rule of law, Kautilya does not really discuss or provide his views on the issues of empathy. His recommendations for dealing with internal dissents are based on a cumulative framework of the four *upayas*: *Saam* (political reconciliation), *Daam* (Monetary inducement), *Danda* (Force) and *Bheda* (Split), in order to quell the rebellion. The use of four *upayas* means that conciliation, gifts or bribes, rupture, or dividing the rebellion, and force should be used simultaneously to deter these attacks of internal dissent. It is in the interests of the King to ensure that internal stability is maintained. It can be inferred from Kautilya's writing that he placed immense importance on keeping the population of the empire happy, which meant ensuring that they had physical security and economic wealth. If these two aspects were taken well care of, based on an effective and well-governing mechanism, internal rebellions, to him, would be few and far in between. Hence, in a wide-ranging and broad based interpretation, it can be argued that Kautilya knew the urgency and necessity of anticipating conflicts arising out of greed and despair and addressing the root causes that may lead to violence. That said, coercion was an important component of the state's response in maintaining order. But to Kautilya, coercion could not be indiscriminate and had to be legitimate and backed by the rule of law. In contrast to Kautilya, the maker of modern India, Gandhi advocated a state's response to armed violence on three significant pillars: the first response of the state to violent armed conflict is through a forceful non-violent preventive force. This is connected to the second pillar, which is to address the issues that led to the violence. The third pillar is that the state should always maintain the higher moral ground vis-à-vis the armed groups. Gandhi ji believed that setting up channels of communication with the other side may be one of the most viable ways of resolving the conflicts.<sup>242</sup>

A review of the response to the Naxal issues by successive Governments reflects that Kautilya's perspective on the use of coercion, so as to enable the state to maintain its internal stability is the influencing framework here. The development model is utilized not because of any empathy with naxals, but because it is viewed as in the interest of the state to promote the well-being of its citizens, especially those deprived sections of society that has taken to Naxal violence. While the use of force is within the rule of law (*dandaniti*), it is also seen as an effective and efficient mechanism to deal with violence of this nature. The Gandhian perspective

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<sup>242</sup>Ibid, pp.8-9;130

of empathizing with the other's point of view, of understanding the political and social differences that led to the conflict, is of limited influence, if not missing altogether in this case. Gandhi stressed on empathy on the part of both the parties for each other and dialogue as a way to imagine a resolution framework that is acceptable to both sides. However the state and the Naxals have not reached that stage yet.<sup>243</sup> To navigate them reach there, Kautilya is more effective.

**2:- The Mizo conflict:-**The North-East of India has seen many disturbances- Assam problem, demand for bodoland, Mizo demand for a separate state, Naga conflict to name the major ones. The seven sisters is the land of indigeneous people who are insecure about losing their indiginity. They also fear that the demographical structure of their society may so change that they would be rendered a minority in their own land. For a long time Indian government continued with the British policy towards these states and they remained cut off from mainland. Infact these states were closer to South East Asian countries, like Myanmar and Thailand. 1962 war with China awakened Indian Government to its border security in the North East and interst in their development was shown. By this time Mizoram, under the influence of foreign interests (East Pakistan) and its own desire for an independent State status for itself had started a movement. The same was the case with Nagaland. The problems here were alienation, identity crisis, negligence on the part of the government, no governance in remote areas, to name a few. While Manipur was busy with internal strife between two tribes Meitis and Kukis; Phizo in Nagaland and Laldenga in Mizoram were fighting for a separate state for their tribes. Seventies and eighties were fraught with revolts and rebellions in most of these states.

In April 1946 Mizo union (MU) was formed. The newly elected Indian Government continued with the old British policy of excluded areas and inner line permit policy was also adopted. In 1959 a massive famine, Mautam occurred in Mizoram. Mizoram then was part of Assam. Both, Assam government and union government were unable to deliver famine relief. Consequently, in 1959, Pu Laldenga, who was once Indian army soldier, founded the Mizo National Famine Front (MNFF) and in 1961, Mizo National Front. As Kautilya mentioned, if *vyasana*/calamities are not taken care of, people might turn rebellious.

The policy of treating Mizo inhabited areas as excluded areas; lack of infrastructure, economic backwardness, political marginalization (1 seat in Rajya Sabha), and neglect of their

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<sup>243</sup> Ibid, p.131

culture and imposition of Assamese as language, all of these factors alienated Mizos from the mainland India. People were unhappy as funds were not reaching them. The dissatisfaction with the government intensified. It was not very difficult to unite the unhappy people here, as unlike other NE states, Mizoram had mainly Mizo tribe as its inhabitants. They rose under Mizo National Front and revolted against government. In the mean time people had begun to turn to church for relief, education, health services etc.

In late eighties, there was a change in centre's perspective towards these states. It was realized that it was necessary to identify and address the root causes of the mizo conflict so as to find a final resolution framework for the state, as Mizoram had all the symptoms of bad governance. The Indian government had to act before Mizoram could fall in the hands of the adverse neighbour.

Mizoram stands today as almost a peaceful state because of the timely use of the four *upayas* as advocated by Kautilya in case of internal strife instigated and abetted by local people. The Indian counter-insurgency in Mizoram utilized all the *upayas*, coercion or *danda*, development or *daam*, *bheda* or dissension and *saam* or peace negotiations to bring about an end to violence. Throughout the 20 years of insurgency, the Indian state was informed by the Kautilyan method of using violence in order to isolate the Mizo National Front (MNF) by grouping people into special villages so that the contact between the insurgents and the population was controlled, whilst keeping open channels of communication with the insurgent leader, Pu Laldenga. The isolation of the Mizo rebel leadership played a key role in incentivizing the group to attend the peace process. On the other hand, the Gandhian idea that unless the root causes of the conflict are resolved it will continue to erupt, was also taken into consideration. Gandhi believed in dialogue, peaceful communication and talking frankly about the issues that create contradictions. A kind of resolution framework where both Kautilya and Gandhi were balanced was utilized in the Mizo peace process.

**The use of four *upayas* in Mizo counter-insurgency-** Kautilya in Book 7, chapter 5 writes that subjects when impoverished, become voracious, when voracious, they become disaffected; when disaffected, they either go over to the the enemy or themselves kill the master.<sup>244</sup> Kautilya writes that the most difficult to remedy is the loss of material prosperity which is destructive of everything. Greed can be removed to some extent as it is usually confined to the principle men.

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<sup>244</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit, p.335(7.5.28)

To overcome disaffection suppression of leaders should be resorted to. Because subjects who are not susceptible to instigation by people other than their leaders, become easy to rule when they are without leaders. Without leader, they become incapable of putting up with trouble. But, Kautilya warns and state should heed this warning, those “divided into many groups by the favouring of the leaders of the subjects, become protected and able to put up with troubles.”<sup>245</sup>

The Indian state while resolving Mizo conflict, adopted Kautilya’s advice due to *habitas* or perhaps this is a practical counter insurgency measure. The four *upayas* advised by Kautilya were used in an order which was deemed appropriate in tackling the situation in volatile Mizoram, *bheda* and *danda* first which prepared the ground for the use of *Sama* and *dama*.

***Bheda***—The army resorted to regrouping and relocation of people as counter insurgency measure under Manekshaw Plan. Population groups were taken away from their traditionally inhabited villages to new government controlled areas in the name of giving protection to them from insurgents. However the collateral damage was that in the process the traditional dwellings of people were destroyed, much to the anguish of the inhabitants. The purpose of this exercise was to alienate insurgents from local population and also to burn off the sources of information and food supply of the insurgents. This proved to be a good tactic and security forces succeeded in the purpose they had set out to. The MNF disintegrated into small units under such pressure mounted upon them by the state. The strategy of dissension worked and many Mizo leaders like Laldenga and Zoramthanga had to go underground or seek help elsewhere. The movement grew weak without a united leadership. However, this exercise left a negative impact on people whose homes and fields were destroyed as a consequence and in them some alienation from state too was caused.

***Danda***—In 1960s after fighting two wars, India was very sensitive about its borders with Pakistan and China. As such, counter insurgency measures were deployed after Mizo rebels resorted to rampant violence. They captured many posts of Assam Rifles except the post at Aizawl. Air force launched operation Jericho, named after airstrike operation by Allied forces on Amiens prison in German occupied France in 1944, on 1st March, 1966. Indian forces, after a month long battle regained the towns and Assam Rifles posts which MNF rebels had taken control of. MNF had to move to the hills taking shelter and help from villagers there. It was being provided help by East Pakistan too where Laldenga had taken shelter. He even reached Tianamen Square

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<sup>245</sup> Ibid, p.336(7.5.33-37)

seeking support for his independent Mizo state but did not succeed in his efforts. With the fall of East Pakistan and creation of a friendly neighbour in Bangladesh, Laldenga had to accept failure of his movement and had to give up his demand for independent state.

**Dama**—After strong action by State, MNF rebels had to surrender. Pu Laldenga too wanted to come out. The state was entrusted with the organization of the surrender of moderate MNF activists. 1966-1972 saw the surrender of around 60 MNF insurgents. In 1973, MNF vice-president Pu Lianzuala and the chairman of the NEC both surrendered. This process resulted in the giving up of arms by a large section of Mizo rebels and integration of them in the democratic system. The surrender policy included monetary incentives following Kautilyan advice of *Daam* (gift). Development strategy has also been adopted by the subsequent governments.<sup>246</sup> Building of infrastructure was taken up. Airport in Aizawl in the midst of treacherous hills and the task of building roads in this tough terrain was given speed. The development work was taken up with due respect towards Mizo traditions and its unique culture. Banking, schooling and other welfare activities brought peace to this small, beautiful and pollution-free state. Welfare activities, especially education have been taken up by Christian missionaries too here. With close proximity to India's South East Asian neighbours, infact closer than the rest of the Indian state, care needs to be taken to keep the mostly simple people of the state, happy and contented, so as to prevent any kind of future abetment to dissension and strife by external and internal forces, as Kautilya would have had advised for the people of hinterland. However the terrain of the state makes it difficult to implement developmental projects here. For example, complete electrification of the state is not possible because of difficult terrain and sparsely populated areas. The process will not be cost effective and also difficult to maintain. The cost of a project which may be rs.25/family in UP, will rise to rs.250/family in Mizoram. Difficult terrain constricts industrialization too. However agriculture and horticulture can be promoted here as the state is the producer of some exotic fruits.

**Sama**—With time MNF units started having differences and by 1972 violence level went down. Leaders realized the futility of their demand for a separate state and they also realized that it was more fruitful to be part of mainstream politics. Indian Government engaged in dialogue with

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<sup>246</sup> L. T. Pudaite, "Of Peace and development in Mizoram," 6 September 2006, at [http://dipr.mizoram.gov.in/index.php?option=cpm\\_content&task=view&id=766&Itemid=103](http://dipr.mizoram.gov.in/index.php?option=cpm_content&task=view&id=766&Itemid=103) as quoted by Namrata Goswami, op.cit. p.107

Mizo seaparartist leaders with a goal to integrate them with the system. After several rounds of talks, mediation and reconciliatory measures on the part of the both, an agreement could be reached. In the meantime police action to counter insurgency, still practiced by few small groups continued. Developmental schemes were also launched to resolve the genuine problems of people. Many MNF insurgent leaders joined the then Congress (I) party. In Mizoram, all three parties, the indigenous groups, politicians and surrendered insurgents joined the peace process and this integrative and inclusive approach succeeded in reaping positive results from negotiations. Mizo accord was signed in 1986. Mizoram was accorded the status of union territory in January 1972 and status of a state with Aizawl as capital in 1987. Laldenga formed government, though it lasted only for 18 months. The centre laid out a plan for the establishment of both judiciary and a state university in Aizawl, the state capital. The pact was respectful to the cultural autonomy of the mizo people, a sensitive issue. Thus Mizos' demand for more political representation was acceded to by the union government. This demand had its genesis in the desire for total independence which later translated into autonomy and finally after the usage of four *upayas* by government, it could be well accommodated within the legitimate system of the state. It could become possible because of the mutual show of empathy by the two parties. The Mizo peace negotiations exemplify that "integrative approaches to negotiations are capable of meeting the underlying interests and needs, if not the desired political goals, of the insurgent actors."<sup>247</sup> A settlement which satisfies all can douse the fire of discontent and begin the process of development. Mizoram today is a mostly peaceful state, with people taking part in political process. However this peace can not be taken for granted as people there fear for loss of their demographic framework and as locals informed in informal conversation that they are now being encouraged by church to have more children so that their tribe does not become a minority in their own state.

In regard to peace settlement in Mizoram the role of the then PM Rajiv Gandhi in bringing all parties to the table for negotiation is appreciable. After talks, peace agreements could be signed with not only Mizo National Front in 1986, but with Assam Gana Parishad too in

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<sup>247</sup> Johan Galtung, "These are alternatives! Four roads to peace and security, London(Nottingham University Press,1984); John Burton, "Resolving Deep Rooted Conflicts: A Handbook (Lanham: University Press of America, 1987) as quoted by Namrata Goswami, op.cit.p.107



1985, thus putting an end to the long carried on protest movement and insurgency in these states. Peace through talks aided by *dama*, *bheda* and restricted use of *danda* could be brought in Nagaland too. These cases are example of success of dialogue complemented by the use of other *upayas*.

**3:- The Kashmir Issue-** I had a chance to visit the state of Jammu & Kashmir in Dec., 2008. It was my maiden visit. By the time, I reached happy valley (Kashmir valley) it was evening. A very few people, that too only men, could be seen on the roads. Shops were closed. There were no lights outside these shops. Lal Chowk with its broad roads wore a deserted look. I believe that I was the only woman on the road. The city of Srinagar, famous for its beauty and hospitality looked very depressing. On enquiry, I was informed that the city wore the same look, every Friday. On Fridays, the city was under an unofficial curfew. As after last namaz of the day, many a time demonstrations used to take place. People would gather at Lal Chowk, fiery speeches were made and marches were held, which could well turn into a violent one with confrontation with administration. On Saturday I was once again shocked to see hundreds of people milling on the road. I asked myself as to where was the city holding all these people just a day ago. There were men, women on the road, thronging shops, making purchases as the festival of Eid was after two days. The state was also going through elections for State Assembly and election rallies were being held in which men as well as women could be seen. Interactions with people revealed that electricity was a grave problem in Kashmir. During winters, not many vegetables were available. Sewage system too was not very efficient. Drinking water was scarce, although road system had improved. Agitation and terrorism generated fear, has taken away all the tourists. Houseboats worth crores lay empty. Granades & guns are the most common sight. Military is deployed on highways and remote areas. But it is more to give cover to military convoys than to civilians. Corruption is an inevitable ill here too.

The state of Jammu & Kashmir till recently held a special position under the constitution of India. As defined in Article 1 of the constitution, the state of J&K was a part of the 'territory of India'. In the First Schedule of the constitution it was the fifteenth state. However, the state was given a special status under Article 370, due to the unusual circumstances in which it had come to being, and as such all the provisions of the constitution of India relating to the states in the First Schedule were not applicable to J & K till 5<sup>th</sup> August, 2019. The government of India declared that the people of the state through their constituent assembly can determine the

constitution of the state and the jurisdiction of the Union of India. As such, the applicability of the provisions of the constitution regarding J & K was directed to be of only interim nature. People with vested interests misinterpreted and misrepresented this liberality of the government of India. The instrument of accession, signed by the king of Jammu & Kashmir, at the time of the accession, was no different from the ones signed by other princely states that too had acceded to India. Yet, J & K got bestowed upon with a special status tag, alienating it from the rest of India through its exclusivity.

In early 1954, the constituent assembly of J & K ratified the Accession to India act. Consequent to this, the President, in consultation with the state government, made the constitution (Application of J & K) order, 1954 which was enforced on 14<sup>th</sup> May, 1954. The order extended the jurisdiction of the Union subjects under the constitution of India. The constitution of J & K (as amended upto 1984) makes J & K an integral part of the Union of India. It also declared that Jammu and Kashmir comprises Pakistan occupied area of J & K as well. Thus legally and constitutionally the state of J & K, now union territory, is an integral part of India. On 5<sup>th</sup> August, 2019 Article 370 and Article 35A were revoked removing the special status tag from Kashmir. On 31 October, 2019 two union territories of Jammu and Kashmir and Laddakh were created.

For the past several years, Kashmir's position as an Indian state has been challenged by certain vested interests. The internal upheavals in Kashmir, imposition of President's rule, abysmal poverty and communal frenzy whipped up by local leaders have all made Kashmir a problem state, ridden with conflict. Kashmir has had many voices. One, calls for separation from India & integration with Pakistan, another calls for '*Azadi*'; and another, called for trifurcation of Jammu & Kashmir into Jammu, Kashmir & Laddakh (the issue stands settled now). Kashmir is a classic case of conflict abetted and instigated by a foreign state where locals are willful partners. This has made this into a mammoth problem. Terrorism propagated by our neighbouring state has played havoc with State's economy and polity. The state, whose per capita income once exceeded the national per capita income, started declining after the setting in of foreign instigated violence.<sup>248</sup> Liberalization, which was the drive behind the boost in national economy, pushed J & K's economy further down. Prerogatives which were otherwise given for equitable growth of the state were lost as a result of raging violence. The few industries that Kashmir once

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<sup>248</sup>In 1980-81 J&K's per capita income was Rs. 1776/- while national was Rs. 1630/-. From mid 80s it started sliding down.

had mostly stand closed today. Effects of globalization even after 30 years of it coming to India are yet to reach Kashmir.

**Use of Four Upayas:-**Kautilya has warned in Arthashastra that the intrigue where local and foreign elements work together is of the most serious nature.<sup>249</sup> He very clearly states that in such cases where there is association between the local and the foreigners, the one who responds to the instigation is more mean and full of guile than the instigator. Kashmir is facing this kind of conflict, a kind of gurreilla war being waged by locals and sponsored by our hostile neighbour. Kautilya in Chapter 3 of Book 9 writes that the foreigner instigates local people with the intention that “if after killing the king, he will make me accepted as king, I shall make a double gain, death of the enemy and acquisition of land; or the enemy will kill him”<sup>250</sup> He further says, other persons who are equally guilty....will perturb my enemy’s peace...

How relevant Kautilya is when we put Pakistan in place of a foreigner of obstinate temper. Kautilya has discussed how to deal with different kinds of enemies. About this case he suggests-“when local persons are abetting with foreigners, the means to be employed to suppress them are conciliation and gift”<sup>251</sup> When foreigners are abetting, the king should employ the policy of dissension and coercion”<sup>252</sup> In the case of Kashmir, we see that the four *upayas* to be adopted are – *saam* & *daam*, and *bheda* and *danda* to some extent for the locals and *bheda* and *danda* for the foreign abetter.

**Saam-** Government intends to solve Kashmir problem not with bullets and stones but by embracing people. Confidence-building measures are urgently required here. Talks with all parties have been held continuously, even separatist leaders too have been invited to the table in the past but no solution could be reached. Government formed group of interlocutors in 2010, this being the third such group appointed since 2000. In 2017 after wide spread violence, another interlocutor for holding dialogue with all legitimate stakeholders was appointed. But the reports of these groups could not see the light of the day. While the groups gave ideal solutions, realpolitik had other demands. And so a solution has eluded Kashmir. If we remember Kautilya the correct approach would be to first take people of Kashmir into confidence, ensure good governance, and improve relations between union and local government. Psychological barriers,

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<sup>249</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit, p.420(9.5.4-7)

<sup>250</sup> Ibid, p.416(9.3.38)

<sup>251</sup> Shamashastry, op.cit, p.682 (9.5.4)

<sup>252</sup> Ibid, p.682 (9.5.5)

keeping Kashmiris away from mainstream politics, have to be gently handled. Cultural and religious interactions and dialogues have to be initiated. Teams of academicians, scientists, technocrats, artists can be formed and sent to Kashmir to interact with people and identify area specific problems. Political and military initiatives have so far, not been able to resolve the conflict in the state and so why not try people to people interaction. For once political parties must rise above their petty interests and act collectively in the interest of the nation state, i.e., India.

**Daam:-** Give education & employment to youth and more and more of them would be drawn away from extremism. After all money is a major cause of our actions. Kashmir has tourism as its foremost industry which has been much harmed by terrorist activities there. So, other industries can be started here. Poplar wood which is used by match industry is widely available here. There was a match factory in Baramullah, but it is nonfunctional now, as it is occupied by BSF. Poplar and willow wood is used to make cricket bats, which are quite popular among sports lovers. Walnut wood is used for carvings. Baramullah used to make rifle-butts of walnut wood. There were plywood, hardboard & chipboard manufacturing factories at Pampore (Kashmir) & Bari Brahmana (Jammu). However, terrorism and the resultant government response have almost put a lid on the industries. They need to be revived. Handicraft can be a major cottage industry in Kashmir. With corruption free and people-oriented governance and planned economic development these industries can be revived. Kashmir is the largest producer of saffron and also of fruits like, apple, peach, cherry, pear and walnuts. Incentive for the production of these can be given. For development infrastructure is important. Valley should be linked to Jammu through upgraded highway. The present government has taken several steps in this regard. Participation of people is the requirement now. Atmosphere of suspicion and fear has to go before this can happen. The state is repository of herbal & medicinal plants. Herbs are a great resource for biotech industry. Horticulture & agro-based industries are another area which could be developed.

**Bheda:-** Exposing the foreign abetter is the best way to create dissension in this case. Divide and rule may be employed. Pakistan's own treatment of its people and violation of human rights in Balochistan can be and is being rightly used to expose its hypocrisy. It should be clear to people of Kashmir that Pakistan has its own selfish interests when it promotes demand for independent Kashmir. Its desire to avenge India's role in the making of Bangladesh guides it in its Kashmir policy. There are some local abettors too in the form of political families who promote their

vested interests through Pakistan. The common man is the one sandwiched between the so called local and foreign messiahs and security forces. Winning people's confidence and vigorously sowing dissent among perpetrators of violence, may have been advocated by Kautilya.

**Danda:-** Coercion against its own people is not much advised by Kautilya. But India can use *danda* covertly against Pakistan in this case. Diplomacy and *kutyudha* are also advised by Kautilya, as means of furthering interest by the *Vijigishu*. India has used security forces to quell violence in Kashmir. However this is directed more against internal factors. Now is the time to use *kutyudha* and *mantrashakti* against Pakistan. Open war in modern times is not an option as it causes more loss than it brings profit.

Naxal problem is mostly internal and has its genesis in people's expectation of good governance and failure of the system in being able to deliver; Mizo rebellion began internally but was abetted by East Pakistan and to some extent by China. Kashmir problem was originally the making of external factor but later on abetted and carried on by local leaders in connivance with external factors, making this problem the most dangerous one. It also involves misgovernance. All the causes responsible for rebellion described by Kautilya have been present in some degree or the other at the root of the three issues discussed in the chapter. Kautilya equates internal troubles with fear from lurking snake and they should be got rid of first.

## II

### **Kautilya on Corruption-what we can learn**

Good governance is equal to and a precondition to economic governance and material well being. Kautilya places *Artha*, *Dharma*, *Kama*, and *Moksha* in this order. Material well being will entail happiness and when people are happy, State would be strong and stable. Internal stability strengthens external position of the state. A state fraught with internal strifes is an easy target for attack by enemy state. Also internal troubles drain the precious resources of the state. Putting one's own house in order is a precondition to any global aspiration. India's inactiveness during Gulf crisis was very much due to the fire in the house during V.P Singh's Prime Ministership. We have already discussed how Kautilyan *upayas* can be applied to tackle the problem of Naxalism, insurgency and separatism. Here we will concentrate on the ailment of corruption of which Kautilya talks in detail. Corruption is a major problem in India and the cause of many ills. The question to be examined is can we take some inspiration from Kautilya in this

regard and craft out a model of prevention of corruption. India being a welfare state, we already have in here a well established structure of administration and all the seven limbs of State. The system can work more efficiently if corruption is minimized. We must examine the usefulness and applicability of Kautilya's code of conduct to modern executives in view of the corrupt practices prevalent among them almost as a norm. Kautilya also says that just as you can not stop fish from drinking water in the river, so you can not expect zero mishandling of money in administration.<sup>253</sup> He further says that it is possible to know even the path of the birds flying in the sky, but not the ways of officers moving with their intentions concealed.<sup>254</sup> This shows his exasperation with the prevailing administration and the resulting distrust.

In chapter 2, we have discussed what Kautilya writes in Arthashastra about corruption. We saw that he says if rulers are accountable, beholder of public good and recallable there will be stability. He describes 40 ways of embezzlement in which government servants can cause loss to state revenue and prescribes the punishment for each type of misbehavior.<sup>255</sup> Corrupt practices affect people in many ways, unjust policies may be framed and implemented; and administrator can transact policies and day to day functions fraudulently. In some cases even loss to state treasury may be caused. To prevent corrupt practices, Kautilya encourages a system of informers and spies. Understanding that men are prone to cheat, civil servants were encouraged to confess when caught. They were also given protection against false accusations to ensure their impartial working. Honest officials were made permanent in their position and were given incentives<sup>256</sup> like a modern conglomerate. The victims of malpractice were provided compensation as a way to atone the wrong done to them and thus their rights were ensured. He even moots the idea of whistleblower and approver of modern times. Any informer, who even if had been a party in crime, was awarded with proportionate amount and was also given protection, however, false accusation against a state official could result even in death sentence. He vividly describes possible situations where personnel of state governance can indulge in practises which can cause harm to state treasury or public or to both and also punitive action against each.

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<sup>253</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit,p.91(2.9.33)

<sup>254</sup> Ibid,p.91(2.9.34)

<sup>255</sup> Ibid,p.86-87(2.8.4-21)

<sup>256</sup> Ibid,pp.89;91(2.9.9)(2.9.36)

**Corrupt Practise****Punishment**

Stealing an article of high value	Death without torture
Stealing article of low value	lowest fine affixed for violence
Seize from manufactories/king's granary	Fine
Seize article of high value	Death
Help thief	Tortured to death
Unauthorised use of orders or seals	Fine/death
Malpractise by judge	Fine
Delay in discharging duty	highest fine
Non performance of duty by clerk	Fine proportionate to guilt
Imposition of unjust fine by judge	Double fine
Imposition of unjust corporal punishment	Condemned to same punishment/fine
Letting out offender by Officer	Fine
Lets out Debtors	pay the debt
Lets out prisoner	Condemned to death & property confiscated
Undue imprisonment	Fine
Rape in captivity	Fine/death

Kautilya says that by strict implementation of punishment on corrupt officers according to offense, the King should first reform those who deal in money matters. Once they are corrected, they in turn should correct the citizens by means of punishment.<sup>257</sup> Beside these codes of conduct, Kautilya identifies financial frauds too and prescribes punishment for them.

**Corrupt Practise****Punishment**

Lending state Money or trading with it	Fine- twice the amount of profit
Fabrication of revenue collection	Fine of ten times the amount
Decrease in income and rise in expenditure causing loss of revenue—	Fine of four times
Self enjoyment through king's property	Death or fine depending on value
Misappropriation of revenue	Fine of twelve times the amount
Late or early entry of revenue realized	One fifth of the amount lost
Low revenue collection or high expenditure	Fine of four times the amount
Falsification of information entered in record	Fine

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<sup>257</sup> Ibid,p.277-280(4.9.1-27)

Inconsistency in transactions

Fine

Accepting bribe for favour

Trial

Beside these there are various other practises described where public suffers. One example is wrong branding of fineness of precious metal like gold; wrong pricing of goods; incorrect weights and measures; inconsistency in giving charities; stating that labourer is paid but actually no payment made, these are various ways of financial fraud where either public or state exchequer suffers. Kautilya was a realist and he had no faith in the goodness of the people. He declared that men are fickle minded and they keep changing. As such, honesty is not a consistent virtue in most men. Honesty stays till the lack of opportunity. The same is true even today. All methods of financial embezzlement described by Kautilya exist even today. Debtors are fleeing the country in connivance with co conspirators. Favours are sought for even the right work. False information is provided and records are changed for favour. Adulterated goods are sold. The list is long. It hurts the society. These elements are obstruction in the way of *Yogakshema*. There is need of strong preventive measures to contain these corrupt practises. Kautilya paves the way here too. Strict punishment is prescribed.

**Investigation and compensation:-**As far as identification of corrupt practises and the preventive measures are concerned Indian system is in consonance with Kautilya. Strict laws are prescribed as deterrence. Administrative law gives enough protection too to government officers to facilitate them to work with impunity. Constitution also provides for right to constitutional remedies to ensure the rights of the people and to keep the government under check. But despite laws and constitutional provisions, corruption has been rampant. Seeking financial favour to perform even the legitimate duty, is common among government employees and even people's representatives. Kautilya prescribes that all those who are involved in corrupt practise should be interrogated individually. The one, who lies, shall be punished equally as the main offender.<sup>258</sup> A proclamation shall be issued asking those who were wronged by the dishonest officer to communicate to the investigating officer. All those who communicate in response shall be compensated according to the injury suffered.<sup>259</sup> An official shall be held liable for all cases of fraud brought against him, if he denies all of them and is found guilty even in one. If he admits some of the charges leveled against him, then he will be tried for each charge separately and not

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<sup>258</sup> *ibid*, p.88 (2.8.22-23)

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid* p.88(2.8.24-25)



in a cluster. Similarly, if an official is provenly found to have defrauded even a small part of the sum he has been charged of defrauding; he will be considered liable for the whole amount defrauded by.<sup>260</sup>

Regarding informant Kautilya says that he will be given state protection. He will be acquitted of charges against him and instead will be given financial reward. The reward will amount to one-sixth of the amount proven to have been misappropriated. If the informer is state servant the amount will be one-twelfth of the amount proven to have been defrauded. This very much sounds like the idea of whistleblower in modern context and also of approver in a case. The reward shall always be proportionate to that part of the amount for which fraud is proved.<sup>261</sup> To ensure no false cases, out of malice or anger are registered against state servants, it was provided that if the case filed against the officer is not proved, the informer will be punished with fine or physical discomfort. This was also to ensure smooth functioning of various departments of state. When the charge is being proved and the informer at the behest of the accused decides to drop the charge, or makes himself scarce, he shall be condemned to death.<sup>262</sup> There is provision for punishment in case of administrative lapse too given in Book 4.

There seems to be a gap between the laws and their implementation, slow judicial system and largely untrained law enforcing agencies in today's India. Ours is a welfare state governed by rule of law, where capital punishment as prescribed by Kautilya in many cases, is not an option. Audit keeps government departments under check, yet cuts in deals, misrepresentation of financial information and data, concealment of income and expenditure, tax evasion by private enterprises exist. As execution of laws is slow and intermittent, fear of punishment is less. The problem with many Asian countries, including India is that corruption has its roots from top to bottom. Ten paisa of the one rupee sanctioned by government reaches, those for whom it is meant. As corruption prevails even at the top, policy decisions benefitting a few are sometimes taken, negating *Yogakshema*.

Welfare of the people depends upon the efficient management of finance. While absence of trouble is conducive to prosperity, fabrication of accounts, barter and defalcation tend to deplete the treasury. From ancient India to modern India corruption has been a serious problem. The driving force behind it is selfishness, greed, need and opportunity. Connivance with like

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<sup>260</sup> Ibid p 88 (2.8.26-28).

<sup>261</sup> Ibid(2.8.29-30)

<sup>262</sup> Ibid (2.8.31-32)

minded co-conspirators provides the necessary support. Complex regulations and non availability of information on public domain provides with opportunity. Through periodic audit and right to information, it can be prevented to some extent because this right brings with it transparency and accountability. Appointments through strict test regimen can also ensure a corruption free environment.<sup>263</sup> Corrective measures are both, self policing (*Dharma*) and laws with certainty of punishment (*Danda*). Lack of strict punishment for corrupt acts has led to the rise of the same. With strict punishment such activities can be prevented. There should be effort to create an ethical, formal and transparent work culture as well. Too much informality can lead to connivance and opportunity to err. An efficient information system has been described by Kautilya too to keep a check on administration. Infact, he even advises what we can today call sting operation to catch a dishonest person offguard.<sup>264</sup> The system of Vigilance Commission and Lokpal may come under such an information system. In modern times digitalization too has played its role in bringing transparency and lessening of corruption. As such more focus should be put on it. The remedy lies in, everyone following his or her *Dharma* (do what one is entrusted to do), strict implementation of laws and ensuring responsibility and accountability on the part of the decision makers and policy makers. Kautilya in Arthasastra suggests the use of even spies to keep an eye on state agents. Of course, this is a primitive method. However, keeping an eye on amassment and misappropriation of wealth can help. Transfers are an effective means to keep a check on corruption, but they many a times serve just the opposite purpose and are used either as punishment or reward. There is no dearth of laws and bureaucratic directives. The need of the time is their honest, timely and impartial execution. Kautilya believed in the end result which was *Yogakshema* and for that all means, moral or immoral were used. He explained working of checks and balances back then only, which is followed in the political setup of most democratic nations today.<sup>265</sup> Judging by the countless government scandals that are uncovered nearly every day in India, a reading of Arthasastra and imbibing its principles, ought to be the topmost priority of its leaders, both political and administrative/corporate.

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<sup>263</sup> Ibid, pp.20;75(1.10.13-14)(2.5.21)

<sup>264</sup> Ibid, p.265(4.4.6)

<sup>265</sup> Ibid, p.91;277(2.9.29-30)(4.9.1)

### III

#### Contemporary Relevance of *Mandala* and Six-Fold Policy

**Reflection of Kautilyan legacy in Indian Prime Ministers--** An analysis of India's foreign policy under different Prime Ministers would reveal that for India the whole of South Asia is its arena and it considers security and stability of the region as its own responsibility. We have already discussed India's geographical and civilizational sphere of influence in chapter 3. For Pt. Nehru, the first Prime Minister and Foreign policy maker, India's neighbourhood included not just South Asia but West Asia (India's term for middle-east), Central Asia and South-East Asia too. Nehru chose different policies towards India's immediate periphery and the distant Asian neighbourhood. Immediately after Independence and through the initial cold war years, India sought to continue the British policy of buffer zones around India, especially to the north. It built close ties with Nepal and Bhutan in order to 'fortify Himalayan defense structure.'<sup>266</sup>

India under PM **Nehru** also sought to prevent neighbours like Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka from joining military alliances with either cold war bloc and was particularly irked by Pakistan's participation in western military alliances. Former foreign secretary, J.N. Dixit writes that "Nehru's 'sense of history' and awareness that India's neighbours were critical to India's security led him to adopt this policy."<sup>267</sup> Dixit argues that Nehru was aware of the asymmetry in size between India and its neighbors. He sought to reassure these smaller neighbours by attempting to build ties based on Panchsheel or five principles of equality, non-interference and respect for territorial integrity. International Relations scholar Werner Levi stated that when it came to India's immediate neighbours Nehru was 'very much the realist' who understood that in the Westphalia system of states 'national survival is the primary aim of foreign policy.' For Levi, interventionist and pro-active policies adopted towards Hyderabad, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Nepal demonstrate the realist aspect of Nehruvianism. Nepal was strategically important for India and Nehru could not risk India's security by leaving Nepal to tilt towards China. Michael

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<sup>266</sup> S.D. Muni, India's foreign policy: the democratic dimension, with special reference to neighbors, New Delhi: Foundation Books/Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp.22-26 as quoted by Aparna Pande, op.cit, p.51

<sup>267</sup> J.N. Dixit, 'Jawaharlal Nehru – architect of India's foreign policy,' in Nehru Revisited, pp.69-76 as quoted by Aparna Pande, Ibid p.51

Edwards refers to Non-alignment as Pt. Nehru's 'doctrine of defense by friendship', a policy that appealed to Nehru on both practical and moral grounds.<sup>268</sup> Pt. Nehru leveraged India's ties with former colonies to create a third bloc or *mandala* of nations refusing to join either bloc during the cold war. Non alignment is perceived as as application of dual policy by Nehru. Burma, Egypt, Ghana, Yugoslavia and Indonesia joined India as the founding members of the Non-Aligned movement in 1961. According to veteran diplomat Natwar Singh, Nehru treated Non-alignment as 'an instrument' which could strengthen 'forces of peace, disarmament and economic cooperation' and 'provide a platform' for the recently decolonized nations of Asia, Africa and South America. He asserted that Nehru's non-alignment meant retaining 'our thought, judgment and action under conditions of the Cold War' instead of becoming a camp follower of the United States or the Soviet Union. For Paul F. Power and Murty, non-alignment was a calculated response to the prevalent international situation. It was not just 'an ad hoc response' to the cold war. Averting polarization on foreign policy gave Nehru a relatively free hand in dealing with divisive politics over domestic problems. Nehru preferred cooperation and reasoning over confrontation and conflict. He conceived himself as peace seeker. Subrahmanyam points out that Nehru had deployed non-alignment as a tactic specifically for the cold war but it became 'a moral code of conduct' for executing foreign policy in the post-Nehru era.<sup>269</sup> Journalist Inder Malhotra also echoed Subrrahmanyam's views that for Nehru non-alignment was not a doctrine. It was a policy suiting our circumstances. It was also not a '*mantra* to be chanted in season and out of season.'

While many term Nehru a follower of Kautilya's realism others criticized Nehru for his 'idealistic presumptions' in a Hobbesian world based on realpolitik, Dixit critiques Pt. Nehru for his naïve belief that since India 'had no expansionist or aggressive designs against any other country, India would not face any threats to its unity or territorial integrity.'<sup>270</sup> Pt. Nehru being aware of Kautilya's Arthasastra accepted the idea of Indian subcontinent. He believed that since India has decided to keep away from power blocs, it would be protected from the negative implications of the cold war equations.<sup>271</sup> Dixit points out that India's neighbours joined the cold

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<sup>268</sup> Micahael Edwards, 'Illusion and Reality in India's Foreign Policy', International Affairs, Vol.41 No.4, January 1965, pp.48-58 as quoted by Aparna Pande, Ibid, p.52

<sup>269</sup> K.Subrahmanyam in Foreword to Jaswant Singh, Defending India, New Delhi: Macmillan Press, 1999, pp.viii-x. as quoted by Aparna Pande, op.cit. p.53

<sup>270</sup> J.N.Dixit, 'Jawaharlal Nehru – An architect of India's Foreign Policy', in Nehru Revisited, pp.65-68.as quoted by Aparna Pande, op.cit. p.58

<sup>271</sup> ibid pp.65-68 as quoted by Aparna Pande, op.cit. p.58

war –Pakistan in alliance with America and China’s initial alliance with theUSSR—and brought war to India’s neighbourhood. India’s lofty principles of non-intervention were not enough to deter others from pursuing cynical realism. Even though India was a status quo power, her neighbours China and Pakistan were revanchist as was amply demonstrated in the wars of 1948, 1962 and 1965. The war with China in 1962 exposed the chink in India’s armor as there was much idealism in Nehru’s China policy and in his worldview. Nehru being an internationalist saw the United Nations ‘as an opportunity to reshape the international system in ways that were both morally desirable and consistent with India’s interests in particular.’<sup>272</sup>

In recent years, PM Narendra Modi holds the same vision as Pt. Nehru’s and sees India as a potential world power. After winning the 2014 and 2019 general elections with a landslide mandate, Prime Minister Modi strategically planned to put in a lot of time and political will to meet world leaders and global corporate executives, hoping to boost India’s stature, win global support and also to strengthen its economy and military.

**Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri**, who succeeded Pt. Nehru as second Prime Minister, remained in office rather briefly from 1964 to 1966. As a former colleague of Nehru, Shastri did not alter Nehru’s policies during his short stint. India’s second war with Pakistan in 1965 was the key event during Shastri ji’s tenure. By most accounts, Shastri ji handled the war and India’s foreign and defense policies extremely well though he had no foreign policy experience before becoming prime minister. Until then, domestic policies had been his forte.

**Tashkent Declaration-** The declaration signed by India and Pakistan after the 1965 war focused on good neighbourly relations, peaceful settlement of disputes, regional peace, non-interference, discouragement to hostile propaganda and confidence building measures. The armies of both countries returned to their posts. Prisoners of war were returned. Both sides agreed to return property and assets taken over during the conflict. India had gained 1,920sq.km. of Pak territory while Pakistan, 550 sq.km. This agreement was not a victor’s agreement for India but a treaty between two equal states, whereas the result of war was to its opposite. After this war, India had to bear a diplomatic setback too in the form of Pakistan sealing its alliance with China, an adversary of India. Now India had two hostile states bonding together against it, a two front strategic threat.

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<sup>272</sup> Andrew Kennedy, ‘Nehru’s foreign policy: Realism and Idealism Conjoined’, in David Malone, C. Raja Mohan and Srinath Raghavan (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of India’s foreign policy*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015, pp.93-95

**Indira Gandhi** became prime minister in 1966 and India's foreign policy evolved significantly under her leadership. She served from 1966 to 1977 and again from 1980 until her assassination in 1984. Indira Gandhi brought a radical change in the foreign policy of India, by changing India 'from an idealistic player into a force to be reckoned with.'<sup>273</sup> Pt. Nehru's policy of peace and friendship towards all countries was continued but India's security and territorial integrity became the primary concern.<sup>274</sup> Indira Gandhi believed that only a stronger and more united India 'would we be able to stand up to other nations.'<sup>275</sup> Under Indira Gandhi, Indian strategists embraced the belief that India's security would be negatively impacted unless its smaller neighbours followed pro-Indian foreign policies. Indira doctrine held that India should be so capable that in future no foreign power could violate India's border. This doctrine ultimately led to India's military victory in 1971 against Pakistan, which restored self-confidence after the 1962 military loss against China.<sup>276</sup> Under Indira the tilt in India's foreign policy was towards balance of power, realism and power building than on increasing moral influence.<sup>277</sup> Indira Gandhi maintained the dual policy of Nehru ji with respect to championing disarmament while continuing to build India's nuclear potential. The desire for an independent foreign policy remained strong under Indira Gandhi as it did for Pt. Nehru. For her it meant both India's territorial integrity as well as economic autarky. For Indira, non-alignment was not simply 'avoidance of entanglement' with the two blocs but rather 'preserving independence despite close relations with one or both of them.'<sup>278</sup> For Indira, deeper ties with the Soviet Union and even the 1971 treaty of friendship with the Soviets (concluded amidst US backing for Pakistan during East Pakistan/Bangladesh crisis) did not mean that India was no longer non-aligned. As Indira often stated, India was too large a country to be part of any bloc but it needed economic, military and scientific resources to be able to follow an independent policy.

While India under Indira still talked about the need for global peace and prosperity, what Indira sought was a 'new international economic order' where the developing countries had a say and where only a few countries –permanent members of the UN Security Council –did not

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<sup>273</sup> J.N. Dixit, *Makers of India's Foreign Policy*, p.119 as quoted by Aparna Pande, op.cit. p.66

<sup>274</sup> Indira Gandhi, 'India and the World', *Foreign Affairs*, October 1972, pp.68-69

<sup>275</sup> English translation of a speech given by Indira Gandhi in Hindi on the occasion of India's Independence Day, Delhi, 15 August 1970. Indira Gandhi: *Selected speeches and writings, 1969-1972: The Years of Endeavor*, New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1975, p.60

<sup>276</sup> Dixit, op.cit, pp.145-47 as quoted by Aparna Pande, op.cit. p.68

<sup>277</sup> Surjit Mansingh, *India's Search for Power: Indira Gandhi's Foreign Policy, 1966-82*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1984 pp.1-

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<sup>278</sup> Ibid pp18-25

determine the balance of power. So far we can see that Indian prime Ministers were largely in line with Kautilya.

### **Creation of Bangladesh & Sikkim – A Kautilyan Template**

**Bangladesh-** If we analyse the tactics of statecraft practiced by the Indian leadership leading to the birth of Bangladesh in 1971 and integration of Sikkim in the Indian Union in 1975, it reveals some influence of Kautilya<sup>279</sup> and a fair play of all measures of *Shadgunya* (an example of *habitus*). Trouble had been brewing up in East Pakistan and it was a classic case of people waiting to be emancipated from state atrocities. India only had to give a push to the freedom movement there, which it did keeping in mind its own national interests. The creation of Bangladesh could be attributed to a combination of traditional altruism and a clear understanding of realpolitik and the role of force in statecraft by India's political establishment. While most commentators have solely attributed this to PM Indira Gandhi, the Kautilyan flavour to the entire orchestration of geopolitical events was provided by a close group of key foreign policy and military advisors. Foreign Minister Swaran Singh; Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram; foreign policy advisor, P.N. Haksar and the Army chief, General Manekshaw; were all part of this strategy. The sequencing of events was impeccably restrained and calibrated and preceded by much deliberation which lulled the adversary into a sense of complacency. The March 1971 Genocide in East Pakistan was initially tackled at the bilateral level; it was then taken to the UN and accompanied by genuine attempts at the highest level to diplomatically resolve the crisis. While all this was on, on the ground this was done by the strengthening of vulnerable areas, example of *Yana* and *Asana*– the strengthening of *MuktiBahini* in the east and plugging gaps in the west. Indira was advised that India should intervene in the liberation struggle of East Pakistan only if Mujibur Rahaman would be restored to leadership in Bangladesh. It was also taken care that nothing be done or said publicly that would compromise India's position on Kashmir, which entailed that India would not tolerate any outside interference there. India's signing of the Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty was a hedging maneuver in the face of direct diplomatic bullying by the US and an example of dual policy. It provided immediate dividends during the closing days of the war as the movement of the US Seventh Fleet was countered by Russian naval presence in the area. Operationally too, the Lightning Campaign in Bangladesh took note of many Kautilyan

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<sup>279</sup>Sumit Kumar, "Impact of Kautilya on contemporary Indian statecraft." *Understanding Strategy* (National Defence College) II (2016).

principles. Among them were the right campaigning season, good logistics provisioning, surprise and deception.<sup>280</sup> Ultimately, India fought a just war at a time chosen by itself, treated its defeated adversary with dignity and alerted the world that India was ready to emerge as a power of consequence in the region. Kautilya would have been proud, though none of the commentaries of the time suggest that Indira Gandhi and her team had specifically studied him prior to the events.

**Shimla Agreement-** In 1972 July, India and Pakistan signed a pact to establish peace in the region. It was described as more than a peace treaty. The agreement focuses on respect, territorial integrity, non interference, detisting from political propaganda, bilateralism, uphold the inviolability of line of control in Jammu and Kashmir, build confidence building measures, promotion of friendliness, good neighbourliness and no unilateral step in future. On these grounds both countries withdrew their forces to their side of border and decided to respect the line of control resulting from this agreement. The agreement was signed by the Prime Ministers of both the countries. However, the agreement held many disadvantages for India and advantages for Pakistan. India returned the territory it had won in war and safe passage to Pakistani prisoners of war was given without trying them for the genocide conducted by them in East Pakistan. After signing the agreement, Pakistan started playing victim card and since 1980s is waging a *kutayudha* against India in Kashmir. In Kautilyan context it was a lost opportunity for India to bring permanent peace in the region. It was the time when India could have made treaty with the weaker state with an upper hand, instead of returning 93000 Pak army soldiers and 15,000 sq. km. of its territory. An opportunity to weaken a hostile neighbour was lost.

**Sikkim--** The kingdom of Sikkim was a protectorate of India as per a treaty signed in December 1950. It enjoyed an amicable relationship with New Delhi. India was responsible mainly for the external affairs and defense of Sikkim. Nehru believed that India's benign power was enough to keep influence over this small Himalayan kingdom and he preferred minimal coercion and interference in sub-continental affairs. Despite Sikkim State Congress making a plea for accession to India, Nehru preferred not to disturb the status quo in Sikkim. However, Indira Gandhi was not hesitant in displaying India's relative strength in the sub continent or South Asia. She understood that India cannot win friendship with its neighbours simply by making

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<sup>280</sup>Zorawar Daulat Singh, *Power and Diplomacy, India's Foreign Policies during the Cold War*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2019,p.284



concessions. She saw that if bullied or threatened by a stronger China, these small protectorates may choose to align with it rendering India's north-eastern frontier vulnerable. India had larger concerns now in the backdrop of its strained relationship with China after 1962. And Indian leaders of that period led by Indira Gandhi were concerned about Chinese threat to India through Sikkim. The thought was that it was necessary that China should be contained and for this purposeful control over the affairs of Sikkim was required. The Indian leaders of the time had no moral scruples about breaking the earlier pact, if it ensured India's security. Also the victory in the 1971 Bangladesh war and successful conduct of a nuclear test in 1974 had emboldened a confident Indira Gandhi to strengthen India's northern flank by convincing the Chogyal of Sikkim through combination of coercion and cajoling to join the Indian Union, an apt application of *Asana* and *Yana*.<sup>281</sup> Mrs. Gandhi was also concerned that Sikkim may show tendencies of wanting independence and become a United Nations (UN) member as Bhutan had done in 1971. And so in April 1975 Sikkim was annexed as a part of India without any blood shed. Both Kautilya and Sun Tzu would have approved of such an operation to protect national interests, writes Sunanda K Datta-Ray in the Smash and Grab: Annexation of Sikkim.

The creation of Bangladesh and integration of Sikkim are not mere events from history; they are real case studies of realpolitik and a demonstration that Kautilya was very much alive in the modern consciousness. Morgenthau had also said that a small neighbour state should not be allowed to take its own foreign policy decisions. By maneuvering the creation of Bangladesh, Mrs Gandhi targeted several purposes with this one stroke: it was better to have one enemy at western border than two, one at western and another at eastern border. By helping in creation of Bangladesh, India won a friend at its eastern border and also weakened its core enemy, Pakistan. This war reinstated India's global position after the unfortunate debacle of the 1962 war. The balance of power turned in India's favour in South Asia and India's sphere of influence increased. This was what Kautilya too had advised in Arthashastra that the king should secure his borders through a circle of kings who are his allies.<sup>282</sup> Kautilya also advises to woo enemy's friends. Mrs. Gandhi was Kautilyan in another way too; she realized the significance of intelligence (*anvikshiki*) and the loss its absence can cause to state's security. By establishing

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<sup>281</sup> Ibid, pp, 317-340

<sup>282</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit, p.320(6.2.39)

Research and Analysis Wing (R&AW) she underscored an outlook that India needed to develop the instruments of statecraft to pursue its strategic interests in South Asia.

As prime minister, **Rajiv Gandhi's** views on foreign policy reflected Nehru's idealistic and moralistic streak combined with a streak of pragmatism inherited from Indira Gandhi. Rajiv Gandhi 'recognized the importance of foreign policy in furthering his domestic objectives.' He spoke about India being an old country but a young nation. His pragmatism was reflected in his desire to improve relations with Pakistan and China. Rajiv Gandhi emphasized the importance of the geographical, historical, religious-cultural and ethno-linguistic ties that bound the various South Asian countries. He spoke of the need to increase interactions so as to boost each other's resources. Interestingly, Rajiv Gandhi justified SAARC on the grounds of the importance of having friendly neighbours, of which Kautilya also speaks.

Internal economic problems, collapse of Soviet Union and the resulting end of cold war led the Indian government to implement a series of economic measures that led to liberalization and less governmental control. The opening up of economy also forced a rethink of India's foreign policy even though the left wing opposed both economic and international realignment. For an administration that lasted less than a year, the V.P. Singh government cast a long shadow on Indian foreign policy, especially in the Gulf Arab region.

**P.V. Narsimha Rao** is considered as very much Kautilya like and 'as one of the most effective and creative influences' on Indian foreign policy. Rao became prime minister at a time of domestic upheaval. Rao also had to contend with far-reaching alteration in the global order marked by the end of cold war, the coming down of Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Rao provided 'the required equilibrium' that India's foreign policy needed in the post-cold-war era. One of the major foreign policy initiatives of the Rao government was its 'Look East' policy. India realized the significance of the economic success of Japan, Korea and other East Asian countries and the benefit of having relations with them. Rao understood that there was little he could achieve with India's immediate neighbours, especially Pakistan, which had stepped up support for Islamist militants in Jammu and Kashmir. Sri Lanka was in turmoil with its escalating civil war while Nepal and Bangladesh faced internal crises. In such an environment, Rao decided to build a legacy by expanding India's *mandala* of states with ties with South-East Asia while adjusting to the new America-led world in which Russia had a diminished presence compared to the one in past. PM Rao realized that Japan and South Korea

may be set in Far East for America but for India they were in its east only and intermediate neighbours. In addition to enhancing relations with burgeoning economic powers of East Asia, Rao's government also boosted India's relations with the Gulf States that had been annoyed by the V.P. Singh government's attitude during the war over Kuwait. Without disturbing internal factors Israel was given recognition. Rao's big idea in India's external relations was to weave in economic needs into foreign policy priorities, which was quite realistic. During Rao's time India changed its policy towards China and it was realized that it would be in both countries' interest if they work to improve relations at other fronts leaving aside border issue of which solution was not in sight, an example of *dvaiddhibhav* as discussed in chapter 4.

After two general elections and three coalition governments, in late 1990s **A.B. Vajpayee**, leader of National Democratic Alliance (NDA) won a full five-year term as prime minister. India's foreign policy which had drifted under the unstable conditions before Vajpayee restored order to the conduct of external relations. The BJP's foreign policy accepted some strands of Nehruvian beliefs, especially that India is a great civilization and that it has a role to play in the global arena as well as belief in economic independence. It differed from Nehruvianism in emphasizing pursuit of economic independence as well as the pursuit of economic and military power and not just invoking India's moral or civilizational greatness.

Atal Bihari Vajpayee came to power expressing a desire to rebuild ties with India's neighbours, improve ties with the United States, focus on India's look East Policy and push for building India's military and economic resources. He had profused the same when he was Minister of Foreign Affairs in Janata party government. To A.B. Vajpayee and Jaswant Singh, the US was a friend rather than a threat, China was not a natural ally of India (unlike what Nehru believed till 1962) and India needed to build its economic and military power because that is what would make India accepted by the world as a major power.

After five years in office, Vajpayee and the BJP lost the 2004 general elections. The Congress party formed the government under **Dr. Manmohan Singh**, the technocrat and reformist finance minister in the earlier Congress government. Dr. Singh led the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) and he remained in office for two successive terms, spanning the decade from 2004 to 2014. Manmohan Singh in his speeches said, what later emerged as Manmohan Doctrine that sought to build a global environment which paved the way for India's economic development. After the pragmatic approaches of Narsimha Rao and A.B. Vajpayee,

India's new prime minister reverted to idealistic proclamation on certain issues as a substitute for hard-nosed policy choices.

The 2014 election brought the BJP to office after ten years in opposition, with **Narendra Modi** as prime minister. Mr. Modi's charismatic personality was a major catalyst in his party's second electoral success in 2019. The clear majority allowed him considerable leeway in defining his own foreign policy. The Modi doctrine, though still evolving, appears to have elements of both continuity and change with its predecessors despite the desire to be different from the Congress and Nehru.

### **India and her Neighbours in the light of Arthashastra**

Kautilya's Arthashastra was written 2200 years ago and of course the setting of states today is much different from what it was in Kautilya's time. The setting in modern times is a multi-state or multi-polar landscape of contending states. Kautilya's *Vijigishu* (conqueror) can be any state and a conqueror visualizes his circle of states or *mandala* as a wheel, where his allies are closely associated with him, though separated by intervening territory. The intervening territory may contain hostile, neutral, strong, weak or even vassal states. Their precise pattern in the territory defines *Vijigishu's* foreign policy strategy. In making his foreign policy strategy Kautilya says that the conqueror should take stock of his *Prakriti* which are defined as elements of national power by modern theorists. Political leadership is equivalent to Kautilya's *Swamin*; good governance through counselors is equal to *Amatyas*; territory and people are *Janapada* or *Rashtra*; the economy is Kautilya's *Kosha*; fortifications or strategies may be termed as *Durg*; military power is equivalent to *Danda* and allies are termed as *Mitras* by Kautilya. Kautilya further in his treatise formulates foreign policy options for an active and expanding state in a multi-state setting when confronted with a hostile state. The options are: - Seeking peace through treaty –*Samdhi*; Staying neutral –*Asana*; Marching on an expedition –*Yana*; Seeking protection from stronger states –*Samsraya*; Pursuing policy of war with one state and peace with another – *Dvadhibhava*; War- *Vigraha*. Thus Kautilya builds his international relations theory along the form of the *Mandala*. However, one must be careful not to become mechanistic in applying this template to contemporary situations. Today's world is multipolar with many players in the field. Kautilya can give us a few lessons in managing the situation if we understand and interpret him as per current scenario and not at its face value.

We can examine India's world view placing it within the framework of the *Mandala* as described in the old treatises on Indian statecraft and then placing it within modern world order. Studying the *Jambudvipa Mandala* from our ancient texts, one is struck by the fact that it does not ascribe centrality and superiority to *Bharatvarsha*, which is only one among the lotus petals that make our universe.<sup>283</sup> Each of the concentric circles in the *mandala* that radiates outwards is superior to the preceding one. This is the reverse of Chinese world view, which sees the Han core as the most advanced, with the increasingly larger circles symbolizing the more barbaric and less civilized. India will never be in a 'middle kingdom complex'. It accepts a world in which there are other *dvipas* or islands with their own characteristics and values. We have already discussed how Indian Prime Ministers look at *Jambudvip* or Indian subcontinent as a single unit which is geographically interconnected, economically interdependent and has common history and common interests.

In the past, political divisions tended to be more diffuse. The modern state system on which an international order is built originated in the Peace of Westphalia which brought a debilitating thirty-year war in Europe to a close in 1648. It inaugurated a European order with equality of states as its basic feature. It contained state's monopoly over coercive power within its own territorial limits. This mooted the concepts of political sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent states and, as a consequence, a multi-polar world held together by a set of agreed rules of the game and a balance of power among its participants.<sup>284</sup> An attempt by any country to upset the balance and seek dominance would trigger responses from other players to restore the equilibrium of power. And this is how the system operated in subsequent decades. After Westphalia, the concept of European order received a further elaboration at the Congress of Vienna convened in 1815. The objective of the Congress was to restore peace in Europe by constructing a new balance among the major powers after another bout of nearly continuous warfare ensued for almost twenty-five years due to the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. The current theory of international relations takes the Westphalian state as its basic unit – an independent political entity with sovereignty over its territory and domestic affairs.

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<sup>283</sup> Shyam Saran, *How India Sees the World: Kautilya to the 21st century*, Juggernaut, 2017, p.16

<sup>284</sup> As Kissinger has observed in *World Order* "...the structure established in the Peace of Westphalia represented the first attempt to institutionalize an international order on the basis of agreed rules and limits and to base it on a multiplicity of powers rather than the dominance of a single country." Shyam Saran, *Ibid*, p.259

But this became the norm only after the mid-seventeenth century, when the more indefinite and shifting frontiers of the past began vacillating into rigid national boundaries. In a much earlier age, the Indian subcontinent was bound together by the multiple networks reinforced by the successive empires. Invaders, migrants and traders soon became absorbed in these networks, enriching them and being enriched in return. However, this closely interconnected entity is fragmented today, with the subcontinent divided into several sovereign, independent states and India being by far its largest and most powerful entity. This being so, the country's strategic compulsions are still defined by sub continental concerns that override existing political divisions. But these concerns can not be addressed because the subcontinent stands divided today. A barrier has now appeared, both political and geographical, in the form of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, which includes the regions of Gilgit and Baltistan. This stands in the way of India's land access to Afghanistan, the Gulf, West Asia and Central Asia. While India was able to retain the major part of Jammu and Kashmir, it did not recover Gilgit and Baltistan, which would have at least assured access to Afghanistan and Central Asia. Till the present day, India's Afghan and Central Asian strategy is severely constrained as a result.

In the east, Bangladesh forms a political barrier to India's unobstructed bonding with the South East Asian countries, although this is gradually being overcome as relations between India and Bangladesh improve. The erstwhile East Pakistan reduced India's access to its north-east as well, to a narrow and threatened corridor aptly named as chicken's neck. The creation of Bangladesh in 1971 has reduced the security threat to some extent but the relative isolation of India's north-east is only now being tackled as relations between Indian and Bangladesh improve. Here too we find that the cordiality of relations depend on who is in power in Bangladesh, Sheikh Hasina or Begum Khalida Zia. With the former coming to power, relations improve and with the latter coming to power, they deteriorate. The situation is complicated by the overlapping ethnicities, kinship and linguistic ties that spill across national boundaries in the subcontinent. Since independence, the persistent challenge for India is the reconciliation of its security interests - which cover the entire subcontinent - with the reality of a divided polity.

It is quite natural that India's interests clash with those of its neighbours regarding demarcation of geographical borders and use of resources like water. The question before India is how to consolidate its position with reference to its immediate neighbours, extended neighbourhood and distant neighbourhood. Here, Kautilya's six fold policy may be and has been

useful for India. We have already discussed that Indian policy makers have unconsciously been following the ancient Indian texts, especially Kautilya's Arthashastra for statecraft and inter-state relations. India's policy of no first attack seems to be a direct outcome of Kautilya's advice that if between war and peace, peace is more advantageous then we should detest from war. India's policy towards China, to some extent has been in line of Kautilya's thought, though not in earlier years. The annexation of Tibet by China in 1954, for the first time in history, extended a relatively short border between China's Xinjiang province and India's Jammu and Kashmir state to a vast frontier, impacting India's strategic space. India's decision to give protection to Dalai Lama and Tibetan exiles maybe compared to Kautilya's advice of giving protection to the enemy of the stronger state. After 1990s, Prime Minister PV Narsimha Rao's policy of forging friendship with China, despite border dispute was perhaps the most practical foreign policy decision. Similarly the Gujral doctrine of winning the neighbouring states by giving them some concessions may also be perceived as the adoption of Kautilya's six fold policy (*samshraya*) and *saam* and *daam*. Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan were, in the early years, fearful of China and India was able to continue with the traditional British policy of guaranteeing their defense and remained the dominant presence in these countries.

A strong and long-lasting defense partnership evolved between India and the USSR in later period of 60s. This was further strengthened when the US and China established a virtual alliance in 1971. This is a textbook example of the dynamics of Kautilya's *mandala* of interstate relations. For India, a closer alignment with the Soviet Union was logical, given the superpower's own emerging adversarial, indeed hostile, relations with China. For the Soviet Union, India was its neighbour's neighbour, with the shared imperative of restraining China. Similarly, China saw in Pakistan a useful proxy against India –the pattern of allying with the hostile neighbour's neighbour coming into play. In 1971, during the Bangladesh war, India prevented China from intervening in support of Pakistan by signing the Indo-Soviet treaty of friendship. However, in recent years, China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) which traverses the Indian-claimed territory of Gilgit and Baltistan, presently under Pakistani occupation has underlined the role of Pakistan in China's global strategy. In the recent past, Chinese economic and military capabilities have steadily advanced. This reinforces the fact that the new world order is likely to be shaped in Asia. Over the past three decades the Asia pacific region has replaced the trans-Atlantic as the nucleus of the global economy. China and Japan, the

second and the third largest economies in the world and India, the fourth largest economy in terms of purchasing-power-parity, lie in Asia. In addition there are other substantial economies like South Korea, Taiwan and ASEAN as a whole. At a time when USA and Western Europe are facing a slowdown in economic growth, two Asian countries, China and India are being termed as the two rapidly rising economies in the world. Asia is on the whole a multi-polar continent and any new world order is incomplete without Asia. However, USA is still the most formidable military force in Asia. Yet its economic profile has diminished even as China's has grown. Lately China most unpredictably has shown a willingness to assert its power against the countries of the region by claiming its authority on some islands in South China Sea or through the creation of artificial islands and deployment of its military assets. China has used *Sama, Dama, Danda* and *Bheda*, to propagate its interest in the region. It is using its OBOR policy now named BRI to gain inroads in to the South Asian countries. It has even gained access into EU through France. The growing might of China has challenged the monopoly and unilateralism exercised by USA. In central Asia China's inroads into Russia's near neighbourhood may not be a cause of concern for Russia right now, but in the long run it may not be palatable to Russia. After an interval of about 150 years described as period of national shame and humiliation by China, it has now re-emerged to take its place at the top of the hierarchy of nations, first in Asia and then in world. The Covid 19 crisis has only abetted China's rise, while impacting other states of the world adversely. The situation gives rise to many a conspiracy theory merit of which only time would decide.

The 1962 war with India had started this process of re-establishing China's place in the world. The failure in the war undermined India's position both in Asia and the world. India lost its clout among its neighbours. The challenge before India has been to not only counter the rising Chinese might but also to have friendly relations with its neighbours. In the past thirty years India's equation with Russia and USA has reversed. It has used to some extent Kautilya's instrument of *Sama, Dama, Danda* and *Bheda*. However, to become a *Vijigishu* or the conqueror much is left to do be done. This is the world scenario in which India has to function.<sup>285</sup>

India needs to reconnect with its distant neighbourhood too. Both south East Asia and Asia pacific region form the most dynamic component of India's external economic relations. New India is reconnecting with Asia in terms of trade, investment and tourism. This changed

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<sup>285</sup> Ibid, p.33



perspective requires the expansion of India's *mandala* of states. Today geography is not the only factor to determine this *mandala*. Cultural, social, religious and economic ties and concerns play an equally important role. The idea of physical reintegration of the Indian subcontinent should be the guiding *mantra* of India's foreign policy behavior and a counter strategy to China's BRI. India's extended neighbourhood now includes the states lying on the east and west of the Indian Ocean and the Northern Indian Ocean along with Iran. Its central Asian neighbourhood includes former Soviet Union States and Afghanistan. To the west, Indian influence is required to be along the Gulf and the eastern seaboard of Africa. To the east, it extends to South East Asia, the eastern coast of China and as far as Japan. To be more precise whereas Kautilya's *mandala* was restricted to Himalayas in the north and Indian Ocean in the south, modern India's *mandala* is wider. Its inner circle is demarcated in the west, by Pakistan; in the north by China, Nepal and Bhutan; in the north east, by Bangladesh and Myanmar; and in the south by, Sri Lanka. The adjacent outer circle is made up of Iran and Afghanistan in the west and north-west, central Asia and Russia in the north, South East Asian countries and Australia and New Zealand in south. The outermost circle is formed by the remaining countries of the world where important ones are USA, the whole of European continent, Japan and South Korea in the far-east. In today's world it would be more apt to include not only independent countries but regional groups also in India's *mandala*. These groups may be South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Association of South East Asian nations (ASEAN), Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), Quadilateral Security Dialogue (Quad); Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC); even global organizations like United Nations and World Trade Organization (WTO) are a part of India's *mandala* of influence. When Kautilya gave his *mandala* theory, the purpose was to guide the conqueror to protect and promote its interests. In modern times interests are promoted not through geographical conquests but through economic conquests. We have the example of China's policy of Belt and Road Initiative through which it has immensely enhanced its *mandala* of influence.

Being the largest country in South Asia, it is apt that India should lead the region; however with China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) project it has become increasingly difficult. After 1990s India inaugurated its Look East Policy and later Act East Policy and made this region a dynamic economic partner in addition to providing great potential for robust security

engagement. During this period, Russia continued to be a close and very crucial ally for India. The challenge before India today is the rise of China and its increasing assertiveness and claim to the entire South China Sea. It seems geo-politics has made a comeback because the unipolarity of the 25 year period after the end of cold war has now come to an end. Russia and China are no longer ready to submit to US definition of global power.

In the 1990s prime minister Narsimha Rao who according to Shyam Saran “represented the Kautilyan mind more than any other Indian leader in recent times,” made certain decisions which consolidated India’s position in the new world order. In the Asia Pacific India’s rise was welcomed and during the two decades preceding and following the turn of the millennium, India moved from being a dialogue partner of the ASEAN to a full partner, then a summit partner and finally in 2012 a strategic partner. India is also a negotiating partner for RCEP, a free trade agreement between the ASEAN and its six summit partners (China, Japan, South Korea, India, Australia and New Zealand). India is also a member of Asia Pacific Economic Community, the trans-regional consultative body that promotes greater economic engagement at the sharing of best practices among its members. As far as its extended neighbourhood is concerned India is firmly embedded in the region and is playing a role in shaping its emerging economic and security architecture.

As regards its immediate neighbourhood, it is inevitable that both India and its neighbours would promote their interests and as such will continue to develop relations with the other’s neighbours with the intention to counter the other and to tilt the balance of power in their own favour. In this endeavor India has been using the age old practices, a possible outcome of ancient Indian treatises like Arthashastra and according priority to its sub continental neighbourhood so that it does not leave gaps that China or others can take advantage of. We are today in a phase of renewed rivalry and incipient confrontation among the great powers. India is coping with a more complex and polarized international environment as a result, which limits its room for maneuvers and employment of its stated strategies.

South Asia is defined by asymmetry where India remains the largest country not only in size and population but economically and militarily too. The apprehensions of domination by India are quite natural among its neighbours. The Kautilyan template would show the adoption of hedging tactics by India’s neighbours to resist or counter Indian domination as inevitable. An

obvious illustration of this is Nepal's brandishing of the China card to offset what it regards as its excessive dependence on India.

The Kautilyan template would say that if India wants to consolidate its position in South Asia it should adopt sixfold policy in different combinations vis-à-vis its neighbours. The options for India are using *Samadhi* or conciliation; *Asan* or neutrality; *Yana* or march and *Vigraha* or war in various combination. *Yana* can work with both *samdhi* and *asana*. One could add *Dama*, buying allegiance through gifts; and *Bheda*, sowing discord. The option of *Vigraha*, of course, would be the last in today's world. With weak neighbours India should remember that "if the weaker were to remain submissive in all respects, he should make peace with him."<sup>286</sup> In its interactions with Nepal and Bhutan, India must remember this. Use of Trade and Tariff Treaty with Nepal as arm twister by India has not gone well with Nepal and it is leaning towards China now. Kautilya says such a state becomes the object of favour of the circle. India must remember, "If he (king) were to see success in his work by peace in one place and war in another, then even the stronger should resort to dual policy"<sup>287</sup> In Book 7, chapter 4, verse 19, Kautilya advises collaboration to balance the enemy. He even advises to enter into a treaty with an enemy who is vicious, hasty, contemptuous, slothful or ignorant to over reach him.<sup>288</sup> He should generate confidence with a treaty". Kautilya sees no immorality in breaking of the treaty. Ally giving help of money is preferable, this should be remembered when receiving or giving, help to ally. Ally should be chosen carefully, someone who is constant and not given to double dealing. These and many more verses which we have already discussed in chapter 3 and 4 can be used as manual of foreign policy by its makers. However the Indian response to its sub-continental problems often departs from Kautilyan principles. And it does not approve of competition for the affection of its neighbours. This leads to either excessive and often misdirected generosity and accommodation, or harsh overreaction.

A reader of Arthasastra can observe some challenges too to its relevance in modern times. One is that Kautilya's theories were from the perspective of an aspiring hegemon in a multistate environment. His client is a revisionist state trying to overthrow the existing order. India does not qualify to this idea. Subsequent governments have behaved more like Ashoka.

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<sup>286</sup> Kangle, Part II, op.cit,p.327(7.3.10)

<sup>287</sup> Ibid,p.328(7.3.19)

<sup>288</sup> Ibid,p.339(7.6.13)

Asoka's approach was more appropriate to a self-satisfied hegemonic state trying to preserve the existing order –a status quo power, in contemporary parlance. But the world today is changing rapidly. The thirty years of globalization have taught us that despite everything states will not compromise on their sovereignty and nationhood. In fact what we are witnessing today is reversal of globalization. BREXIT is one example of this. States are becoming more and more conscious of their land and maritime boundaries and the modern age tool of dominance is based on technology aimed at enhancing knowledge. Kautilya too had emphasized on intelligence as an important tool of statecraft and interstate relations.

The various challenges that lie before countries today are different in nature –Food security, Water Security, Energy security, National security, Climate Change emergency etc. National Security has a more comprehensive connotation now and is no more perceived in narrow military terms. One example may be global health, pandemics such as Ebola or Zika or Corona which may arise in a remote part of the world but spread across vast region in a very short time. Drug trafficking and international terrorism, maritime piracy and environmental pollution are other cross-border challenges that require a collaborative response. There are many dangers in applying a narrowly nationalistic and competitive framework in the management of these crises. And so there is a need to create a framework of mutual reassurance. India as a plural democracy is equipped to deal with the emerging new world. While for other countries they are the centre of all their actions, our view of world is not India centered.

Naturally the question arises if Kautilya's Arthashastra or Kamandaki's *Nitisara* still hold lessons for the navigation of a world so different from theirs. Many thinkers believe that the attributes of a successful state as laid down by Kautilya remain relevant. In his work 'Politics among Nations' under chapter The Six Principles of Political Realism, Hans J Morgenthau has argued that the antiquity of a theory does not make it obsolete. Just because it was given thousands of years ago, does not entitle us to reject it. It will be like denying the truth.<sup>289</sup> Both Kautilya and Kamandaki counsel prudence in managing statecraft and inter-state relations and liken foreign policy to a weapon and diplomacy as its delivery system, a very practical counsel. Kautilya advises the use of *Danda* (coercive power or war) only when other ways, like talks, offer of financial incentives and method of creating dissension have been tried and have failed. For a relatively weak king Kautilya prescribes a very practical advice: 'One should neither

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<sup>289</sup>Hans J Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1978, pp. 4-15

submit spinelessly nor sacrifice oneself in fool hardy valour. It is better to adopt such policies as would enable one to survive and live, to fight another day.'<sup>290</sup>It needs a comprehensive understanding of Arthashastra to learn lessons from it.

Since independence, India has been striving for a great power status-fueled by an inner impulse of Kautilyan realism. It can be said that with the turn of the millennium, India has begun to reap the fruits of this striving power. The development process and its underlying impulses have reached the threshold of perceptibility. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Kautilya discourse has emerged just at that point of time. It does not mean, however, that the Indian leaders have suddenly discovered Kautilya and his precepts, or that they are now really familiar with them. They are still too detached from those roots as to say Kautilya is the answer, or the Arthashastra has the answers. But, India is finally rediscovering its Kautilyan past in terms of exercising realpolitik rather than being mesmerized and fixated on rhetoric and moralpolitik. We are beginning to appreciate the real power factors of the country. Material factors tend to matter more than the spiritual domain, in that sense we are moving towards Kautilya. Despite persistent severe internal problems-poverty, lack of education for the poor, infrastructure deficits-today's India is the tenth largest economy in the world if the GDP-OER standard is used. If the GDP-PPR is applied, India is the fourth largest economy in the world (cf.CIA World Factbook). The Indian economy will continue to grow-probably somewhat slowly but steadily. Already today, the well educated Indian middle class is larger than the total population of United States. The Indian armed forces are among the largest in the world and include land, air and sea-based nuclear weapons systems.

If we analyse, we can see that modern state has all the problems that Kautilya had presupposed in Arthashastra. Warfare also follows the same pattern. The state which does not learn from past events of statecraft and military is condemned. India claims to be the land of Buddha not Kautilya. This vehement assertion over times has made India a passive and defensive State. Policy makers have been hesitant to identify them with Kautilya. Though, unconsciously they follow him out of habit.Kautilya's influence on the Indian foreign policy is unmistakable. However, the degree of this influence is debated. While analysts like Bangaldeshi political

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<sup>290</sup> Rangarajan, op.cit., p.508

scientist Rashed uz Zaman<sup>291</sup> and German international scholars like Michael Liebig<sup>292</sup>, argue that Kautilyan thought is very much inherent in Indian strategic thinking and one can understand the foreign policy of India, only by having an understanding of Kautilya. Liebig supports his argument by using Bourdieu's concept of '*habitus*' and its connection with 'strategic culture'.<sup>293</sup> Shiv Shankar Menon former National Security Advisor says that roots of Indian political rationalism can be found lying in Kautilya. There are other scholars who differ and postulate that Indian policy makers may be called the followers of Buddha, not of Kautilya.

Two situations where we can say our policy makers were inspired by Kautilya are, India's preparedness after terrorist attack on parliament in 2001 which is an example of *Yana* and in 2019 after Pulwama attack, India's reaction of using *Danda*, after having exhausted all other *upayas*. The state is responsible for the safety of the people. And for the safety of its people state can use any of the measures of sixfold policy and *upayas*. India's response in this case is an example of Kautilya's advice of planned mobilization of troops, where *mantrashakti* (good counsel); *prabhavshakti* (capability) and *utsahshakti* (the josh or morale) all were coordinated.<sup>294</sup>

### Re-use of the past

The challenges of historical change are not dealt with by breaking with tradition but by actively re-using tradition. Since past ideas and practices are incorporated in the *habitus*, they can be reactivated. Since independence, realism in the Kautilyan tradition has subtly guided India build up power. Once India has (re-)gained great power status, it is confronted with new internal and external challenges. Is it not natural that, in addressing these challenges, Indian political and strategic actors would take discursive recourse to Kautilyan thought? One cannot

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<sup>291</sup> Rashed ul Zaman argues that India follows dual policy as given by Kautilya, on the one hand it is non-aligned and on the other it is a member of organizations like BRICS. The layered alliances and the mistrust of all the allies is also an indicator that it adopts Mandala theory. Rashed Uz Zaman, 'Kautilya: The Indian Strategic Thinker and Indian Strategic Culture', *Comparative Strategy*, Vol.25, No.3, 2006, pp.233-35 in Aparna Pande, op.cit, p.24.

<sup>292</sup> Michael Liebig believes that non-alignment is nothing but Kautilyan realism in a new garb.

According to Liebig Kautilyan influence on Indian life can be seen in many ways. Streets are named after him, India's diplomatic enclave is named as Chanakyaपुरी and so on. Liebig argues that in modern Indian strategic thought we can see a latent influence of 'Kautilyan thought'. Michael Liebig, 'Kautilya's Relevance for India Today', *India Quarterly*, Vol.69, No.2, 2013, Abstract in Aparna Pande, op.cit. p.24.

<sup>293</sup> Mishra, Saurabh & Liebig, Michael (Ed.), *The Arthashastra in a Transcultural Perspective: Comparing Kautilya with Sun-Zi, Nizam al-Mulk, Barani and Machiavelli (IDSA)*, New Delhi, Pentagon Press, 2017, p.2

<sup>294</sup> "The time and nature of attack and selection of target suggests good counsel. The speedy, precise and deep penetration without any casualties demonstrates IAF's full spectrum capability. The surprise and deception, in particular, would make Kautilya proud. And of course, the response the people of India have shown, have brought greater motivation" to the defense forces. Dr Kajari Kamal, A Kautilyan Take on the Recent India-Pakistan Conflict by Strategic Studies Programme. <https://takshashila.org.in/a-kautilyan-take-on-the-recent-india-pakistan-conflict/>

accept any longer the 'division of labour' between the theory-suppliers of the 'Global North' and the theory-licensees of 'Global South'.

Kautilya is not only the first realist but the genesis of the theory of origin of state too can be seen in Kautilya's *Saptang*. Kautilya did not explain these theories exclusively, yet they are inherent in the text. We read and teach organic, contract and the divine origin theory of State as part of western discourse. There is need to refocus our vision. Arthasastra may not be a treatise on a total welfare state and it may have some streaks of a police state, yet Arthasastra must be acknowledged as the most comprehensive treatise on statecraft with intention to establish a state where king's primary duty is to ensure *Yogakshema* of people.

China is tapping its Confucian and 'Legalist' legacies and has already established Sun-Tzu's The Art of War in the canon of strategic classics. In India too Kautilya's Arthasastra is of singular importance among endogenous resources. The time when Kautilya was wholly ignored or treated as the 'Indian Machiavelli' in Indian Political science and the strategic community, is surely coming to a close. The growing power-potential of India and the power-shifts of the multi-polar world bring up the question of India's soft-power positioning and the role of endogenous politico-cultural power resources therein. India's self-representation in terms of soft power is essentially confined to expounding its democracy and freedom of expression. That surely distinguishes India from China. However, the self portrayal as the 'the world's largest democracy' has lost attractiveness since most emerging countries in global south have also become functioning democracies. The 'spirit of Gandhi' - in the sense of strict non-violence and ethical rigour –too has lost much of its earlier appeal, notably so in Asia.

In 1919, Benoy Kumar Sarkar published in the American Political Science Review his essay 'Hindu Theory of International Relations'. In this, Sarkar addresses the foreign policy theorems in Kautilya's Arthasastra and discusses their relevance to Western theorizing of inter-state relations. He sees Kautilya as one of the originators of the concepts of 'power politics' and 'balance of power' in IR theory. However, Sarkar's early initiative regarding Kautilya's lasting relevance for IR theory was not taken up by Indian Political Science. Up to the present day, most Indian Political Scientists do not reference the term 'Political Realism' to Kautilya, instead they connect it with Hans J. Morgenthau and his work "Politics among Nations".<sup>295</sup> Indian thinkers

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<sup>295</sup> Sarkar, Benoy Kumar. 1919. "Hindu Theory of International Relations." The American Political Science Review 13(3):400-14 as quoted by Subrata K. Mitra & Michael Liebig, op.cit, p.344

like Behera and Amitav Acharya have criticized that Indian IR theory (if there is any) has ignored its endogenous intellectual resources and thus misses the opportunity to use them for theory building with respect to current issues. Western realism positions itself in the European intellectual tradition of Thucydides, Thomas Aquinas, Machiavelli and Hobbes-and claims universal validity for its propositions. In contrast we think of Kautilya as an Indian Machiavelli, not of Machiavelli as Euro-Mediterranean Kautilya.”<sup>296</sup> And so, his ideas have value because Hobbes’*Leviathan* or Machiavelli’s *The Prince* say this and not vice-versa.<sup>297</sup> Theorizing inter-state relations has had a long history in India and it can be said that indigenous writings on statecraft and diplomacy date back to ancient India when strategists such as Kautilya theorized [...]. It is ironical that despite this long and sustained history of strategic thought, it was the European theorizations that went on to dominate subsequent studies on India.<sup>298</sup>

Dr.S. KalYanaraman establishing the relevance of Arthashastra says: there are three main reasons (why) Kautilya’s Arthashastra must be studied. First, Arthashastra is the earliest known treatise on statecraft and being Indian in origin there is need to celebrate this heritage by providing it a prominent place in the Indian discourse on International Relations. Second, the Arthashastra continues to be relevant because of the key insights it provides about the nature of the state and inter-state system. The third and even more important reason for studying the Arthashastra is to encourage the discipline of International Relations in India, a discipline that is widely acknowledged as continuing to wallow on to the margins of the global discourse in this field [...]. It is within the broader focus upon the diplomatic history of pre-1947 India that the study of ancient Indian treatises such as the Arthashastra as well as many classical texts needs to be located. Studying this history will enrich the Indian discourse in International Relations including by providing a laboratory to test and enrich the concepts and theories postulated both by contemporary scholars as well as by classical Indian thinkers like Kautilya.<sup>299</sup>

Kautilya’s theory of inter-state relations, says Shiv Shankar Menon, speaking at IDSA, differs from the Westphalian system in that it is not “based on an idealized and immaculate sovereignty’but includes various forms of dominion or suzerainty. Kautilya’s pre-modern state

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<sup>296</sup> Acharya, Amitav. 2011. “Dialogue and Discovery: In search of International Relations Theories Beyond the West.” *Millennium* 39(3): 619-37 as quoted by Subrata K. Mitra & Michael Liebig, op.cit. p.347

<sup>297</sup> Behera, A., & S.K. Sharma. 2014. *Militant groups in South Asia*. New Delhi: Pentagon Publishers/IDSA as quoted by Subrata K. Mitra & Michael Liebig, op.cit, p.347

<sup>298</sup> Rajeev Bhargava, New Delhi, May 9, 2012 as quoted by Subrata K. Mitra & Michael Liebig,, op.cit. p.353

<sup>299</sup> Kalyanaraman, S. “Arthashastra, Diplomatic History and the study of International Relations in India.” In *Indigenous Historical Knowledge- Kautilya and his Vocabulary* (Volume 1), Ed. P K Gautam, Saurabh Mishra, Arvind Gupta, Pentagon Press, New Delhi, 2015, p 1



conception has many affinities to the state in the twenty-first-century world where absolute sovereignty has been made porous by non-state actors and technological advances. Since the Kautilyan state is situated in multi-polar setting, it needs to be investigated how Kautilya's principle of maximizing state power can be realized within a multi-polar context-then and now. Arthashastra is a treatise which demonstrates as to how *Yogakshema* can be attained in a world struck with strife and instability. Menon argues that both the pre-modern Kautilyan state and the modern twenty-first-century state face a similar problem: 'a binary opposition between aspiration and instrumentality.'<sup>300</sup>

Thousands of years later Kautilya's principles are valid even in our transformed world. The country today needs strong and forward looking institutions to make India into a contemporary version of Chanakya's *Chakravartin*.<sup>301</sup> For the past several years we have been hearing about the prospects of India becoming a super power and we say that by 2030 India would lead the world. However, it is still a distant reality because India is still in the need of a driving vision, a sense of national destiny, a clear idea of its national interests, a definite goal and a strategic plan to reach that goal. It also needs the willingness to use force to fulfill its national interests. For this, use of both hard and soft power is required where Kautilya can be the trail blazer and preceptor.<sup>302</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> Menon, Shivashankar.2015. "Keynote Address."At IDSA, Kautilya Conference. Oct 18, 2012, cited in ibid p.xv

<sup>301</sup> <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/cover-story/story/20190603-a-tough-neighbourhood-foreign-policy-1534289-2019-05-25>

<sup>302</sup> Bharat Karnad, Why India is not a great power? (Yet), New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015, as quoted by Aparna Pande, op.cit. p.1

## Anexure-1

### Causes of Naxalism in India

**Acute poverty:-** Maoists have made the maximum impact in the poorest states of the country and they have the widest support base among the most deprived social groups. It is not suggested that poverty inevitably breeds Naxalism, but it does provide an environment where its ideology finds ready acceptance and, if the grievances are not addressed, there is social conflict or even armed insurgency. The general trend has been that poverty rate is higher among the STs, SCs and OBCs in the same sequence, than it is in the rest of the population. The reason that STs lag behind the other sections of the society may be that they live in remote areas and do not have access to basic amenities like infrastructure, roads, schools, hospitals etc. In 2004-05, more than fifty percent of the SC and ST population in rural areas was below the poverty line.<sup>303</sup> However, things became better in 2011-12. Planning Commission data shows that as compared to 53.5 per cent in 2004-05; in 2011-12, 31.5%. SCs in rural areas were below poverty line. The overall rural population that remained below poverty line during the same period was 25.7%. For SCs in urban areas, the fall in poverty was of 19 percentage points and now, ie, in 2011-12, 21.7% remained below poverty line. For the overall population in urban areas, poverty fell 12 percentage points to 13.7 per cent. In rural areas, the number of STs below the poverty line was 62.3% in 2004-05. In 2011-12 there was a fall of 17% in poverty and the percentage below the poverty line now stood at 45.3%. During the same period (2011-12), the data for STs in urban areas was 24.1% seeing a fall of 11.4% points. The status of STs has improved from the past, the planning commission data shows. However much more is to be done to integrate them into the system. For this targeted action is required.<sup>304</sup>

**Land problems:-** Land as we all know is the cause of both power and misery. In India there is a long list of cases where land was maliciously taken by the powerful from the poor and illiterate. There was a time in India when people turned rebel and took shelter in jungles in the vast span of Bhind and Muraina. Land reform which is a state issue is essential for any long term improvement in the agricultural sector. The central government has been playing a coordinating role in the matter ever since the first Five Year Plan was launched. *Bhudan* movement after

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<sup>303</sup><http://socialjustice.nic.in/UserView/index?mid=76672>

<sup>304</sup>[https://www.business-standard.com/article/economy-policy/fewer-poor-among-sc-st-obc-114031301232\\_1.html](https://www.business-standard.com/article/economy-policy/fewer-poor-among-sc-st-obc-114031301232_1.html)

independence and land holding ceiling act were ways to rectify the injustice meted out to the small farmers who had to work as labour on their own land due to debt or other reasons. The total area of land declared surplus after ceiling was 73.5 lakh acres, however only 53.9 lakh acres was distributed.<sup>305</sup> In some cases, land was distributed on papers only causing much discontent. The reasons for either non distribution of land or distribution of barren land were slow process of legislation, inadequacies of administration, too much judicial intervention and also non availability of land records in many cases.

The Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-17) document also admits that progress on land reforms has been slow. Where the land reforms have been implemented honestly, discontentment could be controlled for example, in West Bengal, where the Naxalite movement had begun. Such is the power of land reform. According to Economic Survey Report, 2017-18, agricultural sector employs more than 50 per cent of the total workforce in India and contributes only around 17-18% to the country's GDP, signifying unemployment-total or partial among a large population.<sup>306</sup> This of course results in poverty and discontent. The estimated number of landless rural families in the country is 1.30 to 1.80 crores. Failure of land reform, faulty land-acquisition policy, non-existence of Rehabilitation and Resettlement policy and creation of Special Economic Zone (SEZ) in the conflict area provide opportunity for discontent and protest. The central slogan of the Naxalite movement has been land to the tiller.

**Illiteracy:-**For several centuries education system in India remained the prerogative of the rich and upper caste. Dalits and tribals, the downtrodden of the society have been discriminated against and education was denied to them on the ground of their caste. However, after independence, education has become inclusive with targeted and positive intervention on the part of the government, but low level of literacy among them is still cause of worry and the literacy gap between those deprived and traditionally nondiscriminated classes remains wide.

**Lack of infrastructure:-**Inadequate transport and communication in the green belt region isolates some pockets from the mainstream of the mainland which raises harassment and dissatisfaction among the people. Railway is mainly connected to mining hub in these areas and it neglects the socio-cultural connectivity. The highways connecting to these regions are in bad

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<sup>305</sup> Eleventh Five Year Plan, 2007-12, Vol.III, pp. 29-30, as quoted by Prakash Singh, The Naxalite Movement, op.cit. p.231

<sup>306</sup> Financial Express, 29.01.2018, New Delhi

condition due to heavy minerals transport through trucks and vehicles. Telephone, mobile, postal communications are also in bad situation with scattered prevalence.

**Health problems:-**The health status of both SCs and STs is already bad in comparison to that of other sections of the society and in naxal affected area it is worse. Infant mortality, maternal mortality, malaria rates are higher here, the reason being either limited or no access to health services. STs usually live in remote rural areas and very few of them have access to basic amenities, like doctors or even Asha workers. The necessary vaccination to children is also not available, mainly due to unavailability of vaccines and partly due to unawareness on the part of young parents. Malnutrition is a common problem. Also lack of clean drinking water and sanitation causes many diseases resulting in even death.

**Unemployment:-**The large population of India has resulted in high unemployment rates too. One cause of it is landlessness. As discussed earlier the tribals do not have any written documents to prove their ownership of land and as such the incidence of landlessness is higher among them. A random survey carried out in Andhra Pradesh showed that in a number of cases, the youth were attracted to the People's War in the absence of jobs. The possession of a weapon and the fear he evoked as a member of an underground organization gave him both money and status.<sup>307</sup>

The Indian Institute of Dalit Studies had conducted a primary survey in 2013 which provides us with some insights into the fabric of caste-based discrimination in employment. The survey was conducted among 1992 households spread over 80 villages in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Haryana. 441 farm wage labourers responded. The report based on the data says that about 41 per cent of those questioned reported that they were denied job by the high caste employer, which reflects caste prejudice. The nature of work was grain harvesting, cultivation of vegetable, cultivation and drying of chilly and other grains. 11 percent were not allowed to work as domestic help, reason being caste. The same was the situation in rural private sector. About 18 percent of 314 regular salaried SC workers reported discrimination in selection. They reported that despite being more qualified they were not given the job, due to

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<sup>307</sup> The survey was carried out by the Andhra Pradesh Police on the author's directions while he was chairman of the one-man Commission of Inquiry to look into the attempted assassination of Chandrababu Naidu, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Prakash Singh, *The Naxalite Movement*, op.cit. p.234

their caste and some said that there prevailed same caste preferential treatment. The studies on the urban labour market showed the same trend.<sup>308</sup>

**Political marginalization:-**An important political right is the right to vote. Political rights were denied to dalits for long and tribals were not even aware of their rights. The universal adult franchise succeeded in making the political system more inclusive. The right to vote and get elected has empowered the traditionally marginalized people and has also enhanced their status. However, dalits have often had to struggle in order to assert this right and struggle again to demand accountability from the elected member. They face a lot of resistance when it comes to access to privileges usually available to upper caste people. Untouchability is still practiced in many parts of India. It is the worst form of denial of human dignity. Dalits have limited access to common roads, water bodies, cultural activities, even government services in their own villages. The political status of tribals is still in the making. Even those elected are usually marginalized.

**Displacement:-** There are many other causes of the tribal movements, beside poverty. For example land alienation, forced evictions from land, and displacement, lack of proper rehabilitation measures. The tribals form about 8 percent of the country's population but they form 40 percent of the total displaced persons. Only 29 percent of the affected tribals have been rehabilitated. Although Supreme Court of India has been a custodian of Tribals' rights in this regard yet vested interests and lack of knowledge about ground reality has been hindrance in proper rehabilitation. Not able to prove their right to land leads to deprivation of compensation on the part of many among those displaced. Many a time people don't want to leave their home due to various reasons and when they are forced to evict, it causes trauma and anger leading to rebellion.

There is raging debate between development and Tribal's rights to land. Whether it was the case of Sardar Sarovar Yojna or the matter of Niyamatgiri, much heartburn was caused. Despite several efforts on the part of the government to make administration reach the poorest of the poors in the form of various plans and laws, development is yet to reach the remote corners of the country. And we see movement of tribals from tribal to non tribal areas in search of livelihood. 73rd and 74th amendments were a step in the direction of making political system more inclusive. But more is yet to be done so as to win the confidence of people.

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<sup>308</sup><https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/scheduled-castes-among-worst-sufferers-of-india-s-job-problem/story-Qh0hyHy9UUTg1cIOpi5l2K.html> Accessed on 1.08.2019 12.51 pm

**Tribals' Rights:** - According to the Census of 2011, there are 10.42 crore tribal people in India. They constitute 8.6 percent of the total population of the country. 89.97 percent of them live in rural areas and only 10.03 percent in the urban areas. A large proportion of tribal population lives in three states of Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha, with Chhattisgarh topping the list with 30.6% tribal population. These states have a strong Naxal presence too.<sup>309</sup> Subsequent Governments have been aware of the unrest among tribals and have shown concerns and have recognized that the main cause of unrest among the tribals was exploitation by 'outsiders', lack of basic amenities like roads, hospitals, electricity & schools and land grabbing.<sup>310</sup> Despite industrialization having been at their doorsteps, they suffer from lack of basic amenities. Social development and economic well being is yet to reach most of them.

**Limited access to forest:** -In spite of the implementation of the forest conservation act 1980 forest dwellers are continuously denied access to their life giver. The rights of the tribals, the actual claimants of the forests have been curtailed in the name of forest conservation. This has deprived them of the only source of livelihood they had. The government policy of promoting industrialization, building dams, and mining has prompted the framing of laws which if seen from the affected people's perspective, will look unjust. There is a big debate on land acquisition and development. Finding a balance is a tough task. The recent eviction of tribals from forests in the name of Forest Rights Act is already causing much anguish among forest dwellers. Under the act, the onus of proving land right lies on forest dweller and in many cases they do not have the required papers for the purpose.

**Corruption & Misgovernance:** -Corruption in India is a major problem and it has its tentacles spread in all spheres. Mehbub-ul-Haq, a famous economist, says that corruption in South Asia acquires its distinctiveness from four extremely dangerous characteristics: it comes from above and so decisions and policies are distorted; black money finds place in foreign banks; a corrupt person is not punished but is awarded; it hurts the poor the most. It makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for millions of people in India to get what is earmarked for them by the state or which should be available to them on payment of a minimal price. A paper circulated by National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution said that hardly 16 percent of

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<sup>309</sup> Prakash Singh, op.cit, p238

<sup>310</sup> Dr. K. Mohan Rao has given the following figures of land alienation in his book Tribal Development in Andhra Pradesh: Problems, Performance and Prospects (1999) in some of the affected districts of Andhra Pradesh: Khammam 52.79 %; Warangal 71.64 %; Adilabad 60.69 % as quoted by Prakash Singh, op.cit.p.293

the funds meant for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes reach them while the rest is misappropriated.

Corruption tends to slow down economic development as it creates administrative hurdles. As a result policies fail to serve the purpose for which they were enacted- employment generation, opening up of opportunities for public and poverty alleviation. It retards service delivery. And a plan which began with good intent, fails. This causes distrust and alienation among people. They start to believe that government can not redress their ailments. This results in loss of faith in legitimate means of change. This loss of trust and faith in the system results in creating conducive atmosphere for the sustenance and spread of Naxalite ideology, which people come to believe, can deliver them from troubles.

**Delay in justice:-**In 2000 out of 116,131 cases registered under various Crimes against Scheduled Castes and Tribes 100,891(86.9%) remain pending. As the saying is justice delayed is justice denied. The delay in justice delivery to the marginalised section of society again reiterates naxalism. There are more than 1.8 lakh cases pending in 702 special courts that were set up following provisions of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, Union Law Minister Ravi Shankar Prasad told in the Lok Sabha on 25 July, 2019.<sup>311</sup>

Besides these factors there are some acts and laws which have created discontentment among people:-

**AFSPA:-**Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (AFSPA) was imposed on the Northeastern States decades ago to counter increasing insurgency there. The Armed Forces (Special Powers) Bill became Act after the approval by the President on September 11, 1958. It was extended to Nagaland, Assam, Manipur except Imphal, and some parts of Arunachal Pradesh. The Act caused much resentment among the people of these states because of its arbitrary nature. It has been a controversial act and human rights groups have been opposing it as being aggressive. Manipur's Irom Sharmila has been one of its staunchest opponents. She took upon hunger strike in November 2000 and continued her vigil till August 2016. After ending her strike, she even contested elections. There has been much other opposition to the act.

**National Register of Citizens (NRC) & Register of Indigenous Inhabitants of Nagaland (RIIN):-** NRC is a register containing names of all genuine citizens of India. The register was

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<sup>311</sup><https://www.news18.com/news/india/justice-delayed-to-scs-and-sts-as-702-special-courts-race-against-1-8-lakh-pending-cases-2245737.html> Accessed on 01.8.2019 1.58 pm

first prepared after the 1951 Census. The NRC is now being updated in Assam to include the names of those persons (or their descendants) that have a document which would prove their presence in Assam or in any part of India on or before 24th March, 1971. The issue has stirred up much resentment among those affected by it. It has caused anxiety among indigenous people too. And they fear that granting citizenship to large number of migrants would change the composition of population in their state and endanger their cultural identity.<sup>312</sup>

RIIN is an endeavour by the Government of Nagaland to create a master list of the indigenous inhabitants of the State. It is aimed at preventing fake indigenous inhabitants' certificates. The government plans to issue an identity card to all those who make it to the master list and thus are the genuine inhabitant of Nagaland. The list based on RIIN will be circulated in all villages and ward. After the finalization of the RIIN, no fresh indigenous inhabitant certificates will be issued except to newborn babies born to the indigenous inhabitants of Nagaland.<sup>313</sup>

**Forest Rights Act:** -The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006, was enacted to protect the marginalised socio-economic class of citizens. It aimed at balancing their right to environment with their right to life and livelihood. Under the Act forest dwellers had to prove their right to forest by way of papers. However a large number of them were not able to prove it either due to lack of papers or due to dealing officers' apathy. As a result on February 13 2019, the Supreme Court of India passed a judgement ordering the eviction of lakhs of people belonging to the Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (OTFDs) categories in 16 States because they were not able to prove their claim.<sup>314</sup> Although in a recent development court has put stay on its own order.<sup>315 316 317 318 319 320</sup>

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<sup>312</sup><https://www.thehinducentre.com/the-arena/current-issues/article25142441.ece> Accessed on 02/8/2019 12.21 pm

<sup>313</sup><https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/assam-nrc-nagaland-register-of-indigenous-inhabitants-5809576/> Accessed on 08.8.2019 4.12 pm

<sup>314</sup><https://www.thehindu.com/sci-tech/energy-and-environment/what-is-forest-rights-act/article26419298.ece> Accessed on 2/8/2019 1.20 pm

<sup>315</sup><https://www.thehindu.com/sci-tech/energy-and-environment/what-is-forest-rights-act/article26419298.ece> Accessed on 2/8/2019 1.25 pm

<sup>316</sup><https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/failing-the-forest/article26424970.ece> Accessed on 2/8/2019 1.38 pm

<sup>317</sup><https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/encroachers-on-their-own-lands/article26749821.ece> Accessed on 2/8/2019 2.00 pm

<sup>318</sup><https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/editorial/before-eviction/article26368003.ece> Accessed on 2/8/2019 2.16 pm

<sup>319</sup><https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/without-land-or-recourse/article26344370.ece> Accessed on 2/8/2019 2.34 pm



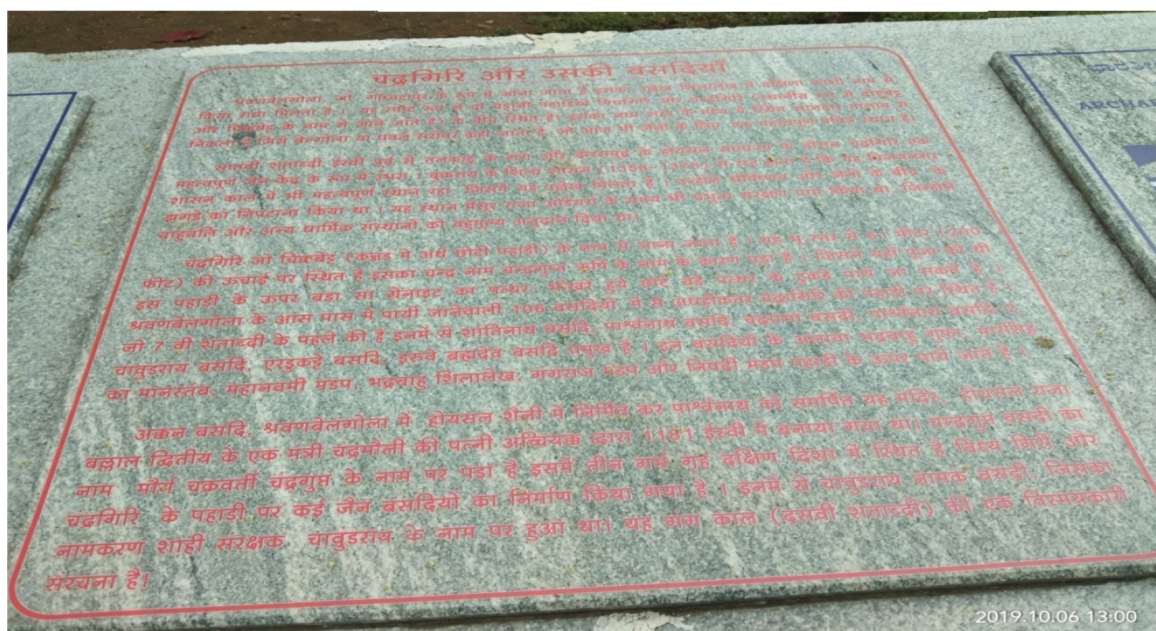
## Annexure 2



**Photograph 1:** Original manuscript of Arthasastra preserved in Oriental Research Institute

**Photograph 2:** Oriental Research Institute in University of Mysore, Karnataka

<sup>320</sup><https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/editorial/humanise-the-law/article26891105.ece> Accessed on 2/8/2019 2.55 pm

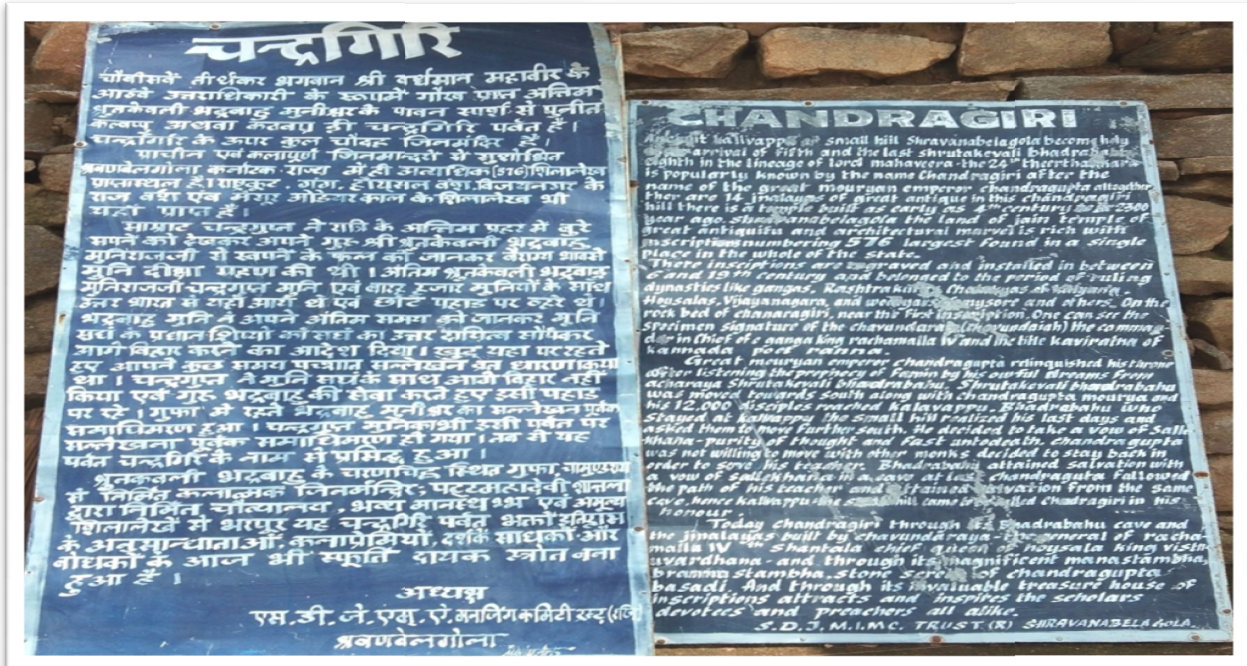


**Photograph1:** (From top left) Main entrance towards Chandragiri & Vindhyagiri hills, Shravanabelagola, Karnataka

**Photograph 2:** Stairs leading to Chandragiri hill-top

**Photograph 3:** Description about Chandragiri and its monuments





**Photograph 1:** (From top left) Inscription describing arrival of Shrutakevali Bhadrabahuswamy & Chandragupta Maurya

**Photograph 2:** Figure of Chandragupta Maurya in Chandragiri Caves situated on same hill top.

**Photograph 3:** Description about Chandragupta Maurya retiring from active life for serving Shrutakevali Bhadrabahuswamy and spending rest of his life on the same hill, hence the hill got named Chandragiri.

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