

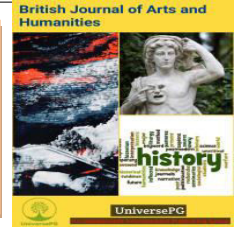


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Dependency among Kautilya's Three Major Ideas: Upaya, Sadgunya, and Prakrti

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ABSTRACT

Since the rediscovery of *Kautilya's Arthashastra*, it is considered as one of the oldest books on statecrafts and political realism in the world. In the book *Arthashastra*, *Kautilya* has described many ideas of statecraft, and they are still in the use of state polity. Until now some of his ideas remained unextractable. Many scholars in South Asia and the West are practicing the ideas formulated by *Kautilya*. Yet, as a native South Asian political fractional and international relations theorist, *Kautilya* remained under exposed. Nevertheless, this current study is an attempt to find the dependency among the three significant concepts by *Kautilya* from his *Arthashastra*. In the study, the researcher has attempted to show how shifts in one of the three major concepts can change the other two. They are entirely dependent on each other. The researcher has made an effort to create a 'measurement scale' to measure the dependence among the 'Upaya, Sadgunya, and Prakrti.' On the other hand, since these concepts can also be found in the modern-day state system, the study has analyzed the '1962 Sino-Indian War' concerning those three concepts. This current research is an explorative investigation.

Keywords: Kautilya, Upaya, Sadgunya, Prakrti, Arthashastra, Sino-Indian war, Dependency, and Political realism.

INTRODUCTION

Kautilya's Arthashastra is the foundational work of political realism in international relations theory, and achievements are on a plane with Machiavelli. On a similar note, Max Weber's repeated reference to *Arthashastra* can make us understand the importance of these several century-old work. There are not many political scientists, or international relations theorists from Global South marked their presence in Western academia (Ahmed *et al.*, 2019). On the other hand, *Kautilya* is one of them, among the very few. He is the first of a kind who talked about state security and power. Centuries later, many theorists wrote about those ideas, but there remains a clear difference.

Because unlike the Western philosophers, *Kautilya* talked about the holistic concept of state security and power. He says it is essential to have a strong treasury so that the state can ensure good governance and robust defense mechanism.

One of the significant international relations theorists in the twentieth-century Hans J. Morgenthau has coined the theory of political realism. And many scholars also claim that this theory is also based on Indian philosophy. However, as you can see now, *Kautilya* has remained on the sidelines of the Western discourse of international political science even though his works have been practiced by many western scholars already (Liebig, 2014; Liebig & Mitra, 2017).

However, this *Arthashastra* is a theoretical and normative work and comprises clusters of ideas mostly on statecraft and international relations (Spruyt, 2020; Prasad, 2018).

In this current study, the researcher has attempted to explain the exclusive three concepts from *Arthashastra*. They are *Upaya*, *Sadgunya*, and *Prakrti*. However, it is better to mention here is that *Upaya* is not the original concept by *Kautilya*. It was borrowed from the ancient epics *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* (Hillebrandt, 1923; Saad & Wenxiang, 2020). Besides, the researcher will try to find the dependency of these three concepts (*Upaya*, *Sadgunya*, and *Prakrti*). Also, the researcher will try to develop a ‘measuring scale’ to measure the ratio of dependency on these three significant components of statecraft. Likewise, the researcher will go further to find if there is any change in any sub-concepts affects the whole idea of these three concepts and will try to relate to the event from the 1962 Sino-Indian War (Prabhu, 2019).

In this current study, the researcher attempted to develop three different values for 7 *Prakrti*. The status of the *Prakrti* will be valued by ‘0’ for ‘stable’ and ‘-1’ is ‘decline and ‘1’ is ‘advancement’ position, respectively. Then the researcher will determine the other positions of *Upaya* and *Sadgunya* by evaluating those values from *Prakrti*. Once the position has been determined, then they will be placed on a measurement scale. Based on the scale, readers will be able to understand the dependency of the major concepts of *Kautilya*.

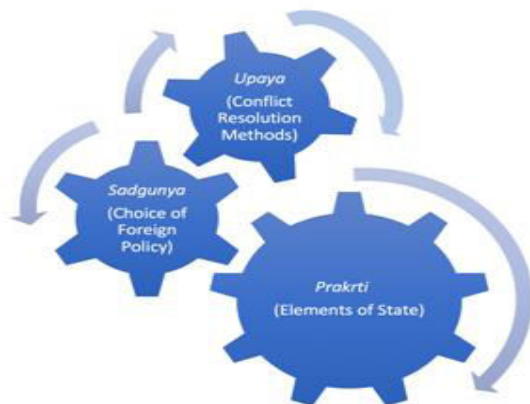


Fig 1: Inter-Dependency among the Three Major Concepts by *Kautilya* (adopted by the researcher).

Hypothesis and Research Question

The hypothesis of the study is, change in any one of the three concepts (*Prakrti*, *Sadgunya*, and *Upaya*) will affect the other two. My research questions of the study are, does change in any of these three will impact the other remaining two?

To answer the research question, the researcher will try to find the relevant examples from the present-day world politics and statecraft. The *Arthashastra* is value, time, and context-free reading (Boesche, 2003). Hence the case from any corner of the world will not affect the application of the book. *Kautilya's* method gives the result of the test of my hypothesis, and the methodology for that experiment; given his works are time and context-free (Modelski, 1964).

METHODOLOGY

The paper is based on an extensive review of published and unpublished works on *Kautilya* and his works around the world. These works include the relevant annual as well as special reports and publications by the following organizations. They are namely- United Services Institution in India, South Asia Institute, Heidelberg, Germany; Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses New Delhi, India; as well as that of other national and international agencies were also considered for literature collection for the given topic. The researcher has reviewed articles and research papers published in scientific journals for the consolidation of this current paper. In short, the paper is a review article based on secondary data. Furthermore, the paper is exclusively based on reviews of English language articles and reports. Besides, the study is mostly a secondary literature survey. The researcher has tried to find the literature evidence from different books and articles recommended by my peers. Furthermore, this study is a qualitative research work. The final argument of this study is the 1962 Sino-Indian War was a miscalculation of ‘co-relation of forces’ from the Indian point of view. The realist might argue that due to the self-help security system, India went to war; however, the idealist would say the war is not an option for peaceful co-existence. In this case, the researcher will try to find the position of the Indian leaders according to the *Kautilyan* view (Hossain, 2020).

Kautilya - You know that *Kautilya* or *Chanakya* was a *Brahmin*, and he served as Chief Minister of *Chandragupta* (Modelski, 1964). *Kautilya* was initially responsible for the education and later policy guidance for *Chandragupta* and his administration. Some other early texts show that *Kautilya* set *Chandragupta* on the throne. However, his name is also associated with the famous book on statecraft from ancient Hindu World 'Arthashastra'. The Indologists have been debating about the authorship of the book. The book is itself from 300 B.C. old and has no established proof that *Kautilya* is not the author of it (Liebig, 2014; Liebig & Mitra, 2017).

Arthashastra - This book, named 'Arthashastra,' is the combination of two Sanskrit words. If you divide the 'Arthashastra' into two parts, there is 'Artha' and 'Sastra.' Now let's translate those words. 'Artha' means 'object' or 'thing.' On the other hand, in this context, the proper translation will be 'Statecraft' or 'Politics.' Likewise, 'Sastra' means 'Textbook' or 'Handbook' (Gautam, 2013a). Hence, if you try to make a literary meaning of *Kautilya's* 'Arthashastra' it would be 'Handbook of Statecraft' or 'Textbook of Politics' (Kinzinger, 2015; Kainiraka, 2016).

The *Arthashastra* is a collection of 15 books, called 'adhikarans,' and each book consists of chapters that comprise verses; these are called 'sutras'. The book is composed of different concepts of statecraft. Before describing the major concepts by *Kautilya*, the researcher would like to give the readers an overview of the 15 books of the *Arthashastra*. In the following, a summary of those books is given.

The first book in *Kautilya's* *Arthashastra* describes the challenges for the ruler. To be specific, the ruler (the king) must face the challenges of his education, the way to appoint officials, his ministers, the diplomats, and his administrators. Likewise, the state departments and their tasks are at the center of the investigation, and focus is on the tax policy are the things discussed in the second book. The third book discusses justice and law. Also, *Kautilya* confirms the 'caste system' is the center of society (Gautam, 2013b; Kainiraka, 2016).

The fourth book is the extension of the third book and continues the discussion on the legal system and penal law. Likewise, how to recruit, educate, and use spies is the major concern of the fifth book. Besides, it describes the system of agents and spies. In the sixth book, *Kautilya* describes the two major concepts- *Rajamandala* (circle of kings) and *Saptanga* (elements of state). In addition, book seven describes the *Kautilya's* account of six foreign policy measures *Sadgunya* (choice of foreign policy).

When the *prakrti* (*saptanga*) are in danger or do not develop positively, what measures should be taken, are described in book eight. Simultaneously, book nine describes how to plan the invasion of another state and which preparation should be done before starting a military operation. All aspects of military intervention and how to deal with the army are discussed in the tenth book. This tenth book is connected with book nine. In book eleven, *Kautilya* shows that how the state can, through the use of intelligence service, destroy inner enemies and sabotage an adversarial group in his country.

How the ruler can gain control over the weaker states through the help of the secret service and diplomacy is described in book twelve. In book thirteen, *Kautilya* made a guideline on how to conquer the enemy's capital without being cruel to the population and without destroying the city. Some occult measures and magical practices as psychological warfare are discussed in book fourteen. And finally, the book fifteen is a glossary and where *Kautilya* explained the terms he used in *Arthashastra*.

Another exciting thing about *Kautilya's* *Arthashastra* is when he starts writing; he begins by stating that most of the things he will lay down in the following have already been saying. It determines that there was more political thinker before him. However, nobody didn't write the thing in an elegant way he did. He is the one who sums up everything and brings the conclusion before anyone else did. However, he points out that none of them could draw a conclusion that he has made and that he has written down in the *Arthashastra* (Boesche, 2002).

Major Concepts by Kautilya- Now the researcher will give a short introduction of major concepts presented by Kautilya in his *Arthashastra*. Let's start with the 'matsya-nyaya.' And it means the 'law of the fishes' which corresponds in western terminology to 'the law of the jungle,' 'might is right' or 'anarchy.' Having 'selfish' disposition, humankind consistently gets in conflicts of interests with each other. If they are left their own, these conflicts are resolved by the stronger party enforcing its will against the resistance of the weaker ones. For Kautilya, this is the natural state of human existence (Liebig, 2014; Kanwal, 2016).

To manage the conflicts, Kautilya submits a kind of 'contract theory.' Since people have suffered from the condition of *matsya-nyaya* – fearing for their life and property, then they want a ruler with supreme executive power and armed with 'rod' (force) and punishment. With the establishment of a supreme ruler, the 'might makes right' is monopolized by the state. With this monopolized power state can punish who would illegally use force (murder, assault, or robbery, etc.) within its territory. The thing is, for the absence of a magistrate, the strong will swallow the weak; but under his protection, the weak resist the strong. If the state were incapacitated, *matsya-nyaya* would return (Kainiraka, 2016).

There is another major concept *Saptanga* (elements of state) from which the state is made of (Gautam, 2013b, p. 33). They are- *swamin* or the ruler; *amatya* or the administration and the ministers; *janapada* or the population or rural population; *durga* is the capital city and the fortress; *kosa* is the treasury; *danda* is the executive power of the state and armed forces; *mitra* is the foreign allies. These are the seven *prakrti* or the *saptanga* theory, and the order of these *prakrti* has logically set.

The *Swamin* or the ruler is the head of state, and he must be educated according to the *Arthashastra*. Moreover, Kautilya makes it clear that king is the first servant of the state and should take control over *amatya* or the administration and must secure their loyalty and effectiveness. The well-being of the *janapada* or the population or rural population working in the agricultural field must be ensured by

the *amatya* so that they can make much profit by doing their agricultural livelihood. Through this, they can pay taxes. The *durga* is the capital city and the fortress, which is the heart of the empire, and here the king, the royal household, and administration are situated. The fifth factor *kosa* is the treasury also located here. With the efficiency of the ministers, the capital city has to be secured. Without that, the capital wouldn't exist, and another king would capture *kosa*. To prevent this capture of *kosa*, the *swamin* needs *danda* is the executive, and its job is to protect all other *prakrti* in the case of attack. These are mainly concerned about the domestic policy of a state (Ray, 2015). The last factor is *mitra* the foreign allies and deals with the foreign relations of the state.

The first two *prakrti* are concerning the personnel of the state, whereas the other four are more complex and cannot be easily replaced as the first two. In addition, the first six *prakrti* are concerned about domestic things of a state, but the last one is about foreign policy. All the *Prakrti* have an inter-dependency relation. The main task of the ruler is to secure the functioning of all factors of the state. And when the ruler wants to prepare for the war, he should make the elements even more prosperous. Kautilya mentioned that if all of the factors are not entirely intact, it is not possible to go into the military offense to expand the territory of the state. Besides, it is even dangerous for the state so that another ruler can attack. Kautilya's explicit instruction to the ruler is that the optimization of the seven state factors must be 'raison d' état.' He himself didn't mention the word 'raison d' état.' Still, if you define the term as 'the unconditional imperative of the state's self-preservation,' the idea was there in the *Arthashastra* (Liebig, 2014).

Another major concept by Kautilya in his book *Arthashastra* is *Sadgunya*. As already mentioned, it deals with foreign policy. Hence, *Shadgunya* is the six measures of foreign policy. They are - *samdhi* (peace); *vighraha* (war); *asana* (neutrality); *yana* (diplomatic pressure); *samshraya* (cooperation); and *dvaidhibhava* (diplomatic double-game). These are the measures of foreign policy. One ruler can choose any foreign policy measure by testing or compare the seven *Prakrti* of the state.

If you go back to the *prakrti*, you will see that *mitra* is an ally in foreign policy. *Mitra* can be the ruler of another state but also some opposing forces in a foreign, hostile state, which tries to overthrow the current ruler of this state, and for this, the *swamin* supports them as *mitra*. Since the ruler aims to reach the supremacy of the Indian Sub-continent, the ruler has to choose which form of foreign policy he will choose by testing his seven state factors? For instance, if the *swamin's* state factors are better functioning and more intact than that of the rival state the *swamin* can make use of war and he can easily win the war, or he can also make a treaty with other states in which the surrounding of this state will be confirmed. As already mentioned, seven *prakrti* are the main determinant factors, among which the *swamin* will take six measures of foreign policy. *Kautilya* also said 'war' is the last option, especially the open war. *Kautilya* encourages the ruler to better use spies and agents to weaken the enemy's state. The spies and diplomatic agents are highly crucial for the concept of *Sadgunya* because, through their activity, the ruler gets the information about the other state.

Upaya is not the original concept by *Kautilya*. The existence of this concept can be found in ancient Hindu sacred books *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, as mentioned earlier (Liebig, 2014). There are four main stream *upaya* in total. The four *Upaya* is an instruction on how to get one's will work even against the resistance of others (Gautam, 2013a). The first *upaya* is *saman*, and it means kindness or amicability. It also includes compliments, flatteries, nicely spoken words to get ones will. In the case of a state, *saman* also includes treaties that are temporary and can be broken anytime. Likewise, it doesn't require any financial resources. The next one is *dana* means gift. By gift, *Kautilya* suggests every kind of gift, including granting of lands or even corruption. This one requires some material resources. *Bheda* means discord and breeding the seed of friction between two different actors and push one's will through.

There is an explicit instruction for the king how to use *bheda* to end protest or move against the king. The last *upaya* is *danda* means punishment. Unlike the other three *danda* can turn into violence. It can be silent

punishment by using criminal law, or in the case of foreign policy, it can be war with another state. The application of this four *upaya* can take place in internal strategy as well as foreign policy. *Kautilya* also mentions there is the hierarchy of *upaya*, and the king has to use cost-benefit analysis but not listen to one's instincts while using it. Moreover, the king should use the other three *Upaya* before using *danda*. And only if when he doesn't reach his goal, then he can use *danda* (Boesche, 2002; Kanwal, 2016).

There is another concept by *Kautilya* in his *Arthasastra*, *Rajmandala*, and it means 'circle of kings' and people connect it with the statement, 'every neighboring state is an enemy, and the enemy's enemy is a friend.' However, this system is much more complicated than it appears. *Rajmandala* a system of concentric circles in which *vijigishu* (conqueror or ruler) and his territory lie at the center. His (King) direct neighbors surround him, and they are regarded as *ari* (enemy) because they all share at least one border with the *vijigishu's* state. Those states defined as *ari* are surrounded by other states, which are called *mitra* (ally, friend), and those are more friendly with the *vijigishu* because they don't share a border with him, so at the moment there is no reason for the dispute. At the moment, the *vijigishu* has conquered one of the neighboring states; the situation changes because a former *mitra* turns into *ari* (Sihag, 2016).

There are two other kinds of states. One is *madhyama* (Middle Ruler), which is not directly related to the *vijigishu's* foreign policy. However, this state shares a border with *vijigishu* and *ari*, but they have a neutral position (Mohanty & Das, 2017). As well as, another powerful state is not directly involved in the circumstance because they are part of the circles but not physically attached to the loop because they are too far away. From the *vijigishu's* point of view, they are regarded as bystanders; these are the *udasina*. It is not useful to take the *Rajamandala* system as a static concept because, for *Kautilya*, the relations between states were regarded to be in constant flux and these relations, might they be friendly or hostile, only have a temporarily limited quality. They are entirely fluid (Gautam, 2013b).

From the above discussion, it is now evident that every concept by *Kautilya* in his *Arthashastra* is dependent on each other. This current paper will not discuss all the ideas by *Kautilya*; instead, the major three (*Upaya*, *Sadgunya*, and *Prakrti*), according to the hypothesis of the current study, change in any one of these concepts will affect the other two.

Three major concepts and their inter-dependency -

From the above discussion, it is now you can assume that there is dependency among the concepts by *Kautilya* in his *Arthashastra*. As already mentioned, in this current paper, the researcher will focus on three major concepts by *Kautilya*. In this section of the article, the researcher will try to analyze the details of the three major ideas (*Upaya*, *Sadgunya*, and *Prakrti*) and find their dependency on different aspects.

What makes a state more robust, more stable? According to *Kautilya*, the comprehensive framework of *prakrti* make a stronger and more stable (Buzan, 1991; and Mohanty & Das, 2017). There are seven *prakrti*, and based on the *prakrti*, the state can be considered as strong, or these *prakrti* can provide the base for expansion and progress. Thus, weaknesses in any one of them might impact the functionality of the state or even make it a failure state (Liebig, 2014).



Fig 2: Circular Representation of *Kautilya's Saptanga/Prakrti* (More, 2015)

From the figure, you can see the seven *prakrti* and their hieratical order of *prakrti*, and that starts with *swamin* leadership and ends with *mitra* (alliance) (More, 2015). *Kautilya* also mentioned that the progress of the *prakrti* leads to the 'king's duty' or '*rajdharm*' *rakshana* (protection), *palana* (welfare),

and *yogakshema* (the rule of law) (ibid). Based on the theory of social contract, if the king obeys his duty, and that gives him the legitimacy to rule the state legally.

"In *Kautilya's* basic view of power as the capacity to use force as the means to enforce one's will against the resistance of others be it within a state or against another state – there is an evident homology with Max Weber, Plessner, and Morgenthau" (Liebig, 2014; Mohanty & Das, 2017). Also, this power is exclusive to the state's capacity to use force. And this state power is the aggregate result of the seven state factors. Besides, the state is not only determined by one part but also the other six power factors. The powerful state is determined by the given status and the developmental trend of all seven *prakrti*.

Moreover, *Kautilya* assigns a relative weight to the seven state factors. For example, a good ruler can bring the other six consecutive factors into good condition; besides, a lousy ruler will do the worst. The ranking of the *prakrti* is logical, substantive hierarchy, and generative principle. The first state factor *swamin* (ruler) is the generative condition of the state factor *amatya* (institutions), and without a ruler, there will be no institutions. Ruler and institutions constitute the institutional framework for the *janapada* (rural people) living and working therein (Liebig, 2014; Liebig & Mitra, 2017).

Besides, the first three state factors are the prerequisite of the state factor *durga* (fortress), residence, and capital. And in the capital, there is the next state factor *kosa* (treasury) so that it is safe and also to ensure the flow of the tax revenue (Shahi, 2019).



Fig 3: *Prakrti* (Elements of the State) Modern Day State System (More, 2015).

A well-stocked treasury is vital for financing *danda* (armed forces). And these six *prakrti* are essential for successfully conducting the *mitra* (foreign policy and alliance). Now it is evident all the *prakrti* are logically and practically interdependent (Liebig, 2014; Prabhu, 2019; and Shahi, 2019).

To get an objective assessment of seven state factors, *Kautilya* proposes a census system. Evaluating and estimating his power and foreign states, the king will take the decision. In this system, geographically and demographically, big states might find that they have small military and small treasury (More, 2015; Prabhu, 2019). Also, a territorially and the demographically small state can become a powerful state. If the state factors leadership and institutions are of excellent quality will expand the economy in the rural people and the city, thus increasing tax revenue allowing armed forces to be upgraded and conducting a wise foreign policy (Liebig, 2014; Prasad, 2018).

The *saptanga* theory (seven *prakrti*) provides an assessment of one's resources and capabilities on one side and the skills of others on the other side. The target is to estimate the situation, and at the bottom is the correlation of forces between states. The main idea is to eliminate non-reflective, impulsive, and arbitrary action in foreign policy by the king (Liebig, 2014). And via the *saptanga* theory, *Kautilya* establishes substantive and objective criteria for assessing the correlation of forces between the states, and this assessment and that will determine which foreign policy measures the ruler should select (Liebig & Mitra, 2017).

Kautilya offers six basic approaches in foreign policy the *sadgunya* theory. And the indirect basis of this theory is seven *prakrti*. Depending on the objective assessment of the correlation of forces the following are the strategies in foreign affairs for the ruler (Liebig, 2014)

- *samdhhi* (peace)- the rival state is more robust and will remain so in the foreseeable future
- *vigraha* (war)- the rival state is vastly inferior in power
- *asana* (neutrality)- the correlation of forces are balanced

- *yana* (war preparation, coercive diplomacy)- one's ability is rising vis-à-vis the rival state
- *samsraya* (alliance building)- the rival state's power is rising faster than one's own
- *dvaidhibhava* (diplomatic double game)- the constellation among rivals and allies is very fluid

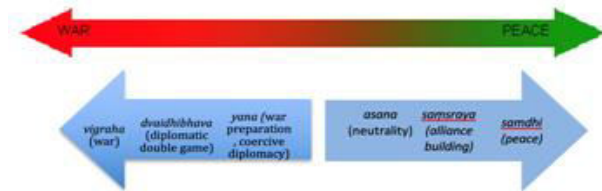


Fig 4: Six potential foreign policy choices for the King (More, 2015)

As *Kautilya* mentions, these six measures are the action strategies in foreign policy because of the different situations in the country. That means, due to the dependence and the status of the seven *prakrti*, the king will decide which foreign policy should be taken. Besides, the *saptanga* theory provides the benchmark for the correlations of forces between the rival states, and this correlation of forces are the determinant of which foreign policy measures should be chosen. *Kautilya* says, using the seven *prakrti* and six methods of foreign policy, the ruler should seek to progress from decline to stable condition and from stable condition to advancement position (Shahi, 2015).

According to Boesche, *sadgunya* are the 'Pendulum theory of history' in which the country passes through three phases, and they are - decline, stability, and advancement (Boesche, 2002). *Kautilya* says when the country is in fall, make peace; when prospering makes war; if equal in power remain neutral; depilated in power seek shelter with the help of dual policy and when blessed with excellence prepare for war (More, 2015).

Kautilya also mentions that mistakes by the king and natural calamities can put the kingdom from advancement and stability position to decline the position. And the policy makers/ king is making policies for the state *Kautilya* talks about 'divine' intervention for good fortune and misfortune. Because anything can happen in any state at any time (Prasad, 2018).

Kautilya also mentioned four basic conflict resolution methods in his book for bring peace among the conflicting parties or state (Adityakiran, 2015). There are also three advanced conflict resolutions methods described in *Arthashastra*. However, as already mentioned, these methods are not initially from *Kautilya*, but they are from *Sukra Niti*, *Agni* and *Matsya Puranas*, and *Nitisara* of *Kamanadaki*, besides many other texts (Gautam, 2013b). Hence, exploring the *saptanga* and *shadgunya* combined with a suitable *upaya*, *vijigishu* can ensure that he achieves his national goal of *yogakshema*, *lokasangraha*, and becoming a *chakravartin* ruler (Adityakiran, 2015; Ray, 2015).

So, what are this *upaya* and how those works according to *Kautilya*? Since the political world is divided between conflicted and anarchical, and in this state of affairs, the ruler has to act politically (Liebig, 2014; Liebig & Mitra, 2017). In addition, politics is the issue of enforcing one’s own will upon another or others. To use one’s own will against resistance, there are four methods of political behavior. They are called four *Upaya* (Liebig, 2014)

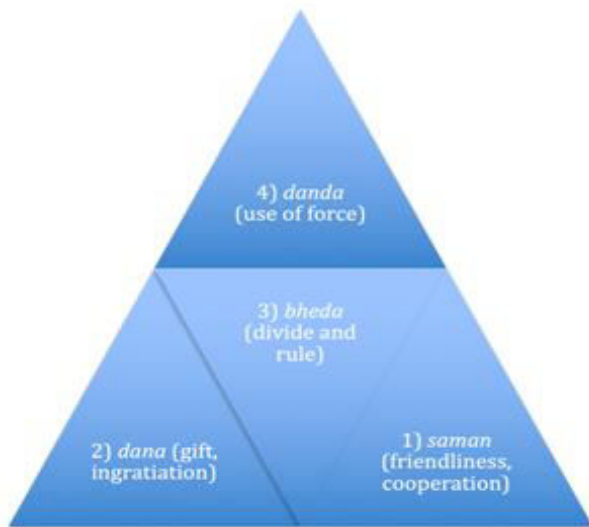


Fig 5: Hierarchical positions off our *upaya* for Conflict Resolution by *Kautilya* (adopted by the researcher).

There are three other advance methods, and they are *upeksha* stepping back, ignoring deliberately, being indifferent, *maya* passive deception and *aindrajala* active deception. *Kautilya* recommended different *upaya* for different situations and places. In the case of appeasing the military, people in the countryside or

citizens in the city *dana*, *bheda*, and *mayaupaya* can be used. However, in the case of the neighboring prince or forest chiefs, *bheda*, *danda*, and *aindrajalaupaya* are recommended methods. Now you can see that depending on the condition of the *prakrti* by *Kautilya*, the ruler should choose which kind of *upaya* should be used. Besides, in the case of foreign policy measures, the ruler should decide which *upaya* he will use for which strategy of foreign policy (Prasad, 2018; Set, 2015).

Measurement scale for showing the dependency among three concepts - From the above discussion, it is now demonstrated that the three major concepts of *Kautilya* are interconnected, and they have substantial interdependency. At this point, the researcher will formulate a general measurement scale for showing the dependency among the three concepts. Boesche mentioned that the state always passes through three phases- decline, stability, and advancement (Boesche, 2002; Saad & Wenxiang, 2020).

The researcher is keeping that in mind if the researcher starts with seven *prakrti* by *Kautilya*. For instance- if the *janapada* (rural population) is satisfied, that means this state factor is in a ‘stable’ position, and the researcher will measure this position with ‘0’. However, if they are dissatisfied, then the researcher as to consider this state factor is in the ‘decline’ position and will measure this position with ‘-1’.

Similarly, if this state factor (rural population) is happy with the king, then you can consider this state factor is in the ‘advancement’ position and measure this position with ‘1’. And for measuring the status of the state factor, *Kautilya* has mentioned different methods, including secret agency, survey, census, and much more. Now you can apply this method with every *prakrti* or state factor.

And according to the theory of *saptanga*, *sadgunya*, and correlations of forces, the position, and status of the *prakrti* or state factors are the determinants of the six foreign policy measures. For example- if all the *prakrti*s in decline position according to the measurement scale, the state power will be in ‘-7’, and the ruler should make peace (Saad & Wenxiang,

2020). However, if all the *prakrti* are in advance position and according to the measurement scale, the state power will be ‘7’, and the king will be able to make war. If all the *Prakrti* change their position and are in a stable position, the state power will be ‘0’ according to the scale, and a ruler will have to neutral according to *sadgunnya*.

Furthermore, if three *prakrti* are in advance position (3), two are in decline position (-2), and one is in the stable position (0), and that will make the state power total of ‘2,’ and the ruler has to prepare for war. Likewise, if the four *prakrti* are in decline position (-4), one is in advance (1), and two are stable (0), and that will make a total state power of ‘-3,’ and the king has to seek for protection.

Besides, there can be a different combination of state factors among decline, advance, and stable. Still, you have to look at the number of the total, and based on the number, you will be able to decide which kind of foreign policy measures the ruler should choose.

Furthermore, according to the understanding of Max Weber’s ‘political struggle’ or ‘power’ is the issue of enforcing one’s own will upon others or others (Liebig, 2014). To impose one’s will against resistance, *Kautilya* sees four – no more and no less – basic methods of political behavior – the four *upaya*. And with the help of the scale, you will be able to determine, in which condition the ruler should use which *upaya*. For example- if all the state factors are in decline position and that means the total state power is ‘-7’, then the ruler should use *saman* (friendliness or cooperation) as *upaya* to rule or solve the existing problem inside or outside of the state. Correspondingly, if all the state factors are in advance position and that means the total state power is ‘7’ and the ruler can use *danda* (use of force) as *upaya* to rule or solve the existing problem and conflict resolution accordingly.

Likewise, if five state factors are changed in advance position (5), and one is in decline (-1). One is in a stable position, then that makes the state power a total of ‘4,’ and the ruler can use *bheda* (divide and rule) as *upaya* to solve the move against him or to rule. It

means that the change in *prakrti* has affected the decision of the king on *Upaya* (Liebig & Mitra, 2017).

On the other hand, if the state power is ‘-2’, then the rulers have to use *dana* (gift, ingratiation) to reach the goal. From the above discussion, it is now evident that the change in any subcomponent of the three major concepts will affect the others. The following table will show the tabular representation of dependency on the three critical concepts by *Kautilya*.

Table 1: Measurement Scale of *Kautilya*’s Three Major Concepts.

<i>Prakrti</i>	Decline	Stability	Advancement	<i>Sadgunya</i>		<i>Upaya</i>	
Leadership	-1	0	1	Peace	-7	Friendliness	-7
Institutions	-1	0	1	Seeking Protection	-3	Gift	-2
People	-1	0	1	Neutral	0	Divide and Rule	4
Fortification	-1	0	1	Preparing for War	2	Use of Force	7
Treasury	-1	0	1	Dual Policy	5		
Military	-1	0	1	War	7		
Alliances	-1	0	1				

Source: Prepared by the researcher

Reference from 1962 Sino-Indian War - “India’s China War” was, mainly, the major military clash of 1962 on the Indian-Tibetan border (Spruyt, 2020). At this point in the paper, the researcher will try to evaluate the decision of going to war from the Indian side, considering the state factors by *Kautilya* and measuring them with the measurement scale from this paper.

Let’s take the example as the first *Prakrtiswamin* (leadership). During that time, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru (political realism) in the first place believed in peaceful co-existence and then changed policy to defending the border (Apri, 2004; Mathai,

2013). According to his 'Discovery of India,' it is now evident that he knew about *Kautilya*. He (Nehru) was not wrong about his prediction since he believed in peaceful co-existence. He thought that China would not attack India. In this case, according to the measurement scale, the leadership is in an advancement position (1) (Joshi, 2019).

He was the elected leader since 1947 as Prime Minister Nehru has substantive control over the second state factor *amatya* (institutions, ministers). However, others warned him of the cabinet about China policy not only by Vallabhbhai Patel but also very pro-China advisors like Krishna Menon. In this case, if you consider the status of this status of state factor, it was in decline (0). The third state factor, *janapada* (the rural people) were criticizing Nehru for giving into China and that led to 'Forward Policy.' Besides, there was a change in public mode and within parliament about China. Considering the facts, the *janapada* was also in decline (-1). *Durga* (fortress) is the national infrastructure, and it is evident that after liberation in 1947, there was a nationwide riot in India. The national infrastructure was in a condition of decline (-1) until the war took place.

Moreover, *kosha* (treasury) of India was not protected enough, and in 1962, the per capita income of India was 90.00 USD. By comparing the fact, it is evident that the *kosha* was in decline status (-1) too. Besides, *danda* (military, secret service) is another critical factor for the 1962 Sino-Indian War. India intended to derive China out from the Indian-claimed territory. However, during that time, the literature suggests that Nehru was indifferent about military development. Also, for secret and intelligent information, India had to depend on the USSR and USA secret services (IDSA, 2012). Furthermore, India didn't use its Air Force during the war. Now it is depicted that the *dandaprakrti* was in decline (-1) for India during that time before going to war. Last but not least, *mitra* (alliances) of India was busy with other events (Joshi, 2019). In 1962 at the very same time, the big world powers and so-called friends of India were busy with the 'Cuban Missile Crisis.' In addition, Nehru perceived that Russia and the USA would come forward against China's attack on India. In addition,

due to the cold war, the world powers were also divided into two blocks, and India followed the neutral law and formed the Non-Alliance Movement (NAM). Considering all these facts now, it is evident that the *mitra* was also in decline (-1).

Now, if you consider the measuring scale and you will find a total of '-4'. And according to the scale, with this state power during India should have used *asana* (neutral) or *samshraya* (seeking protection) as the foreign policy measure. And for solving the problems, including national and international interest, India should have used *sama* (friendliness, cooperation) or *dana* (gift, ingratiation) according to measurement scale. What could be the real steps that can be another issue of discussion?

CONCLUSION

The book *Arthashastra* by *Kautilya* is a rulebook for the rulers. It was written several centuries before in this Indian subcontinent. Nonetheless, it is time and context-free, but there are arguments about it. However, from the above discussion, it is evident that the three major concepts by him are significantly interlinked and interdependent. In addition, considering the status of the *prakrti*, any political analysts can suggest which kind of foreign policy measure should be used for foreign relations and which type of method should be used for mitigating problems/ events and conflict resolutions in national or international spheres. And the measurement scale is another attempt to show the positive and negative correlations of forces and determining the *sadgunhya* and *saptanga*. And finally, there is a discussion the 1972 Sino-Indian War. The war is one of the India's most devastating and cruel past. In that war India was defeated by China by several means. Nevertheless, the war came to an end within a month. In the above discussion the researcher has discussed the war using the measurement scale and tried to analyze the event of the '1962 Sino-Indian War'. The researcher has suggested what should have done instead of going to war according to *Kautilya* and the 'measurement scale' of three major concepts. Using the major three concepts of *Kautilya* and the measurement scale the researchers can do some analysis with the other events like 1962 Sino-Indian War.

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CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

The researcher declares no possible conflict of interest concerning the study, data collection & analysis, authorship, and/or publication of this present article.

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