

## ‘Dependency among Kautilya’s Three Major Ideas: Upaya, Sadgunya, and Prakrti’

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**Résumé:**

*La dépendance parmi les trois idées majeures de Kautilya : Upaya, Sadgunya et Prakrti*  
*Dans cette étude, je vais développer trois valeurs différentes pour Prakrti. Le statut du Prakrti sera respectivement évalué par «0» pour «stable» et «-1» en «déclin» et «1» en position «avancée». Ensuite, je déterminerai les autres positions d'Upaya et de Sadgunya sous l'angle de Prakrti.*

**Abstract :** *In this current study, I will 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 I will determine the other positions of Upaya and Sadgunya by evaluating those values from Prakrti.*

*Kautilya's Arthasastra* is the foundational work of political realism in international relations theory and achievements are on a plane with Machiavelli. Even though, Max Weber's repeated reference to *Arthasastra* and Hans J. Morgenthau's own statement that his theory of political realism is also based on Indian philosophy, *Kautilya* has remained on the sidelines of the Western discourse of international political science (Liebig 2014, 1). However, this *Arthasastra* is a theoretical and normative work and comprises of clusters of ideas mostly on statecraft and international relations.

In this current study, I will try to explain the exclusive three concepts from *Arthasastra*. 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, 150). In addition, I will try to find the dependency of these three concepts of (*Upaya*, *Sadgunya*, and *Prakrti*). In addition, I will try to develop a 'measuring scale' to measure the ratio of dependency of these three major components of statecraft. In addition, I 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 Indo-China War.

In this current study, I will 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 I will determine the other positions of *Upaya* and *Sadgunya* by evaluating those values from *Prakrti*.

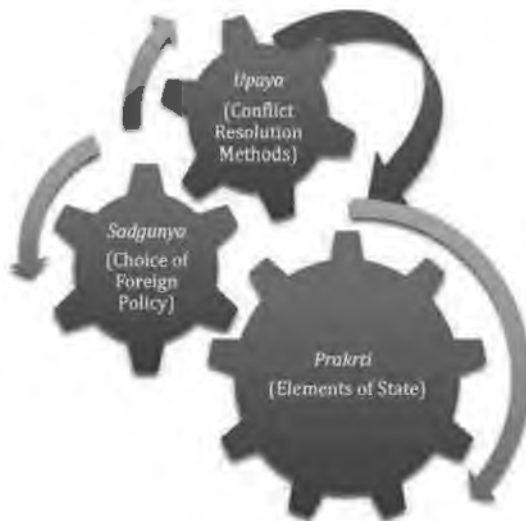


Figure 1 : Inter-Dependency among the Three Major Concepts by Kautilya

### Hypothesis and Research Question

The hypothesis of my study is, change in any one of the three concepts (*Prakrti*, *Sadgunya*, and *Upaya*) will affect the other two.

My research questions for my study will be-

Does change in any of these three will impact on other remaining two?

To answer the research question, I will try to find the relevant examples from the present-day world politics and statecraft. As the *Arthashastra* is value, time, and context-free (Boesche 2003) hence the example from any corner of the world will not affect the result of the test of my hypothesis since the methodology for that experiment is given by Kautilya and his works are time and context-free (Kangle 1972; Modelski 1964, 550).

In addition, the study is mostly secondary literature survey. I have tried to find the literature evidence from different books and articles. Furthermore, this study is qualitative research work. Another argument is the 1962 Indo-China 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 war, is not an option for peaceful co-existence. In this case, I will try to find the position of the Indian leaders according to the *Kautilyan* view.

### Kautilya

We know that *Kautilya* or *Chanakya* was a *Brahmin* and he served as Chief Minister of *Chandragupta* (321-296 B.C.) (Modelski 1964, 559). He is the man (*Kautilya*) who was responsible for the education and later policy guidance of *Chandragupta*. 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 (Kane 1930-46). The book is itself from 300 B.C. old and has no established proof that *Kautilya* is not the author of it (Liebig 2014).

### **Arthashastra**

This book named 'Arthashastra' is the combination of two Sanskrit words. If we divide the 'Arthasastara' 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 'Text Book' or 'Hand Book' (Gautam, One Hundred Years of Kautilya's Arthashastra 2013 p.24). Hence, if I try to make a literary meaning of Kautilya's 'Arthashastra' it would be 'Handbook of Statecraft' or 'Textbook of Politics' (Kinzinger 2015, 4-5).

The *Arthashastra* is a collection of 15 books, called '*adhyakarsans*' and each book consists of chapters that comprise verses, these are called 'sutras' (Shamasastri 1915). The book is composed of different concepts of statecraft. Before describing the major concepts by *Kautilya* I would like to give the readers an overview of the 15 books of the *Arthashastra*. In the following, a brief summary of those books is given (Shamasastri 1915; Gautam 2013, 24-25).

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, in addition, *Kautilya* confirms 'caste system' is the center of the society.

The fourth book is the extension of the third book and continues the discussion on the legal system and penal law. On the other hand, how to recruit, educate and use spies is the major concern of the fifth book. In addition, 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. Actually, 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 are described in book twelve. On book thirteen, *Kautilya* made a guideline of 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 interesting thing about *Kautilya's Arthashastra* is when he starts writing; he starts with stating that most of the things he will lay down in the following have already been said. It determines that there was more political thinker before him. However, nobody didn't write the thing in an elaborate 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 had been able to draw a conclusion that he has made and that he has written down in the *Arthashastra* (Boesche 2002, 8).

### Major Concepts by Kautilya

Now I will give a short introduction of major concepts given 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 'law of the jungle', 'might is right' or 'anarchy'. Having 'selfish' disposition, humankind gets constantly 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 one. For *Kautilya*, this is the natural state of human existence (Liebig 2014, 4). To manage the conflicts *Kautilya* submits 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 in 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 (Shamasastri 1915, 13).

There is another major concept *Saptanga* (elements of state) from which the state is made of (Gautam 2013, 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* have logically set.

The *Swamin* or the ruler is the head of the state and he must be educated according to the *Arthashastra*. Moreover, *Kautilya* makes it clear that he 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 and 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 is 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 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, 42-43). 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 the foreign policy. All the *prakrti* are having an inter-dependency relation. The main task of the ruler is to secure the functioning all factors of the state. And when the ruler wants to prepare for the war he should make the factors even more prosperous. *Kautilya* mentioned that if all of the factors are not completely intact it is not possible to go into the military offensive to expand the territory. In addition, it is even dangerous for the state so that another ruler can attack. *Kautilya's* clear 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' but if we define the word as 'the unconditional imperative of the state's self-preservation' the idea was there in the *Arthashastra* (Liebig 2014, 11).

Another major concept by *Kautilya* in his book *Arthashastra* is *Sadgunya*. As already mentioned, it deals with foreign policy. Hence, *Shadgunya* is the 6 measures of foreign policy. They are – *samdhi* (peace); *vigraha* (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 we go back to the *prakrti* we 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 try to overthrow the current ruler of this state, and for this, the *swamin* supports them as *mitra*. Since the aim of the ruler is to reach the supremacy of the Indian Sub-continent the ruler has to choose which form of foreign policy will he 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 six measures of foreign policy will be taken by the *swamin*. *Kautilya* also mentioned 'war' is the last option especially the open war. *Kautilya* encourages the ruler to better use spies and agents in order to weaken the enemy's state. The spies and diplomatic agents are highly important 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, 6). There are four mainstream *upaya* in total. The four



*upaya* is an instruction on how to get one's will even against the resistance of others (Gautam, One Hundred Years of Kautilya's Arthashastra 2013). The first *upaya* is *saman* and it means kindness or amicability. It also includes compliments, flatteries, nicely spoken words to get one's will. In the case of 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* means every kind of gifts including granting of lands or even corruption. This one requires some material resources. *Bheda* means discord and breeding the seed of discord between two different actors and push one's will through. There is a clear 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 these four *upaya* can take place in internal policy 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 has the obligation to 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, 56).

There is another concept by *Kautilya* in his *Arthashastra*, *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 complex than it appears. Actually, *Rajmandala* is a system of concentric circles in which the *vijigishu* (the conqueror or the 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* turn into *ari*.

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. On the other hand, another powerful state is not directly involved in the circumstance because they are part of the circles but not physically attached to the circle because they are too far away.

From the *vijigishu*'s point of view, they are regarded as bystanders, these are the *udasina*. It is absolutely 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 and they are completely fluid (Gautam 2013, 54-56).

From the above discussion, it is now evident that every concept by *Kautilya* in his *Arthashastra* is dependent on each other. In this current paper will not discuss all

the concepts by *Kautilya* rather the major three (*Upaya*, *Sadgunya*, and *Prakrti*) according to my hypothesis, change in any one of these concepts will affect the other two.

### The Three Major Concepts and Their Inter-Dependency

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

What makes a state stronger, more stable? According to *Kautilya* the comprehensive framework of *prakrti* make the stronger and more stable (Buzan 1991, Kangle 1972). There are seven *prakrti* and on the basis of 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 it might impact on the functionality of state or even make it a failure state (Liebig 2014, 8).

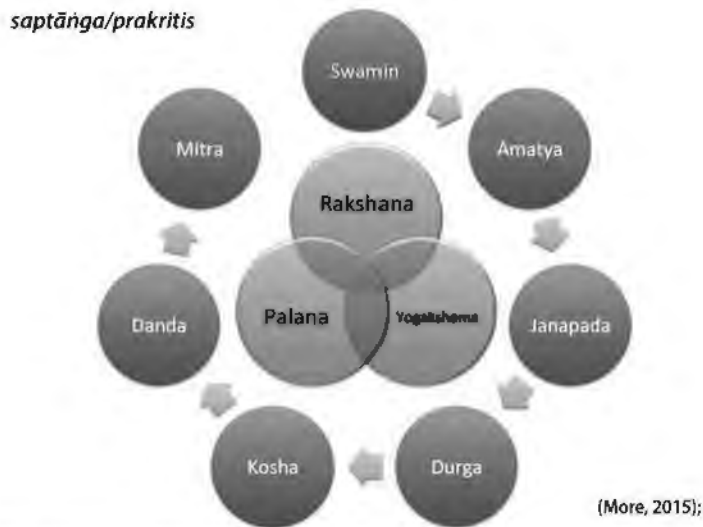


Figure 2 : Circular Representation of *Kautilya's Prakrti*

From the figure, we can see the seven *prakrti* and their hieratical order of *prakrti* and that starts with *swamin* leadership and ends with *mitra* (alliance) (More 2015, 14-15). *Kautilya* also mentioned that the progress of the *prakrti* leads to the 'king's duty' or '*rajdharmā*' *rakshana* (protection), *palana* (welfare) and *yogakshema* (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, 9). In addition, 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. In addition, the state is not only determined by the one factor 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 relative weight to the seven state factors. For example, a good ruler can bring the other six consecutive factors into a good condition on the other hand; a bad 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).

In addition, 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 the tax revenue. A well stocked treasury is important for financing *danda* (armed forces). And these six *prakrti* are important for successfully conducting the *mitra* (foreign policy and alliance). Now it is evident all the *prakrti* are logically and practically interdependent (Liebig 2014, 9).

### Elements of state



Figure 3: *Prakrti* (Elements of the State) Modern Day State System

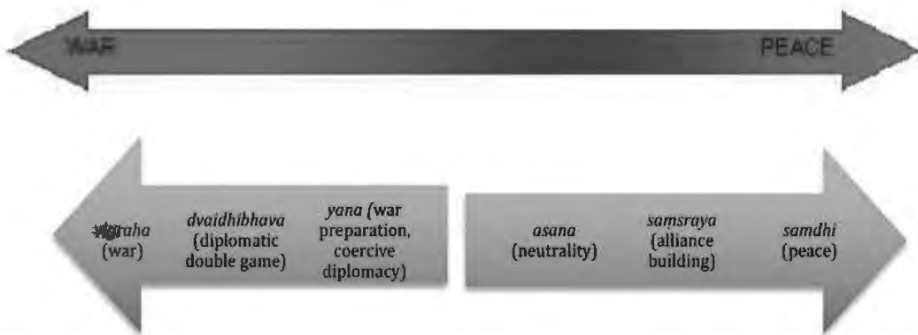
To get an objective assessment of seven state factors *Kautilya* proposes census system. Evaluating and estimating his own power and foreign states the king will take the decision. In this system geographically and demographically big state might find that they have small military and small treasury (More 2015, 13). On the other hand, a territorially and 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, 9).



The *saptanga* theory (seven *prakrti*) provides an assessment of one's own resources and capabilities in one side and the capabilities 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 (Liebig 2014). And via *saptanga* theory, *Kautilya* establishes substantive and objective criteria for assessing the correlation of forces between the states and this assessment will determine which foreign policy measures the ruler should choose.

*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, 8-10)

- *samdhi* (peace) - the rival state is stronger and will remain so in the foreseeable future
- *vigraha* (war) - the rival state is vastly inferior in power
- *asana* (neutrality) - the correlation of forces is balanced
- *yana* (war preparation, coercive diplomacy) - one's own power is rising vis-a-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



**Figure 4: Six potential foreign policy choices for the King (More 2015, 16)**

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. In addition, the *saptanga* theory provides the benchmark for the correlations of forces between the rival states and this correlation of forces is the determinant of which foreign policy measure 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.



According to Boesche *saddgunya* are the 'Pendulum theory of history' in which the country passes through three phases and they are- decline, stability, and advancement (Boesche 2002, 56). *Kautilya* says when the country is in decline make peace; when prospering make 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 (Kangle 1972, More 2015, 17). *Kautilya* also mentions that mistakes by the king and natural calamities can put the kingdom advancement and stability position to decline the position. And while making policies for the state he attributes 'divine' intervention for good fortune and misfortune.

*Kautilya* also mentioned four basic conflict resolution methods (Adityakiran 2015). There are also three advanced conflict resolutions methods described in *Arthashastra*. However, as already mentioned these methods are not originally from *Kautilya* but they are from *Sukra Niti*, *Agni* and *Matsya Puranas*, and *Nitisara* of *Kamanadiki*, besides many other texts (Gautam 2013, 18). 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, 32-35).

So what are this *upaya* and how those works according to *Kautilya*. Since the political world is divided conflicted and anarchical and in this state of affairs the ruler has to act politically (Liebig 2014). In addition, politics is the issue of enforcing one's own will upon another or others. In order to use one's own will against resistance, there are four methods of political behavior. They are called four *upaya*- (Liebig 2014,4)

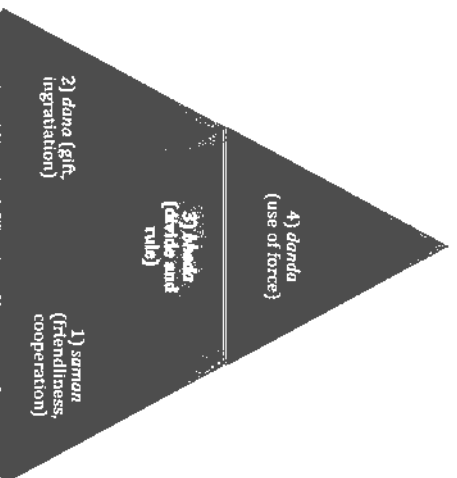


Figure 5 : hierarchical positions of four *upaya* for Conflict Resolution by *Kautilya*

There are other three advance methods and they are *upeksha*—stepping back, ignoring deliberately, being indifferent; *maya*—passive deception and *dindrajala*—active deception (Kangle 1972). *Kautilya* recommended different *upaya* for different situations and places. In the case of pacifying the military, people in the countryside or citizens in of the city *dana*, *bheda*, and *maya upaya* can be used. However, in the case of neighboring prince or forest chiefs *bheda*, *danda*, and *dindrajala upaya* are

recommended methods. Now we can see that depending on the condition of the *prakrti* by *Kautilya* the ruler should choose which kind of *upaya* should be used. In addition, in the case of foreign policy measures the ruler should decide which *upaya* he will use for which strategy of foreign policy.

### **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, we 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, 56). Keeping that in mind, if I start 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 I will measure this position with '0'. However, if they are dissatisfied then I have to consider this state factor is in 'decline' position and will measure this position with '-1'. On the other hand, if this state factor (rural population) is happy with the king then I can consider this state factor is in 'advancement' position and I have to 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 we can apply this method with every *prakrti* or state factors.

And according to the theory of *saptanga*, *sadgunnya* 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* is in decline position according to the measurement scale the state power will be in '-7' and the ruler should make peace. 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. However, if all the *prakrti* change their position and are in a stable position the state power will be '0' according to the scale and the ruler will have to neutral according to the *sadgunnya*. On the other hand, 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. In addition, there can be the different combination of state factors among decline, advance and stable but we have to look the number of the total and based on the number we will be able to decide which kind of foreign policy measure 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 other or others (Liebig 2014, 6). In order to enforce 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, we 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. On the other



hand, 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) and one is in stable position then that make 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*. 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 important 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
The 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				

#### Reference From 1962 Indo-China War

"India's China War" was, specifically, the major military clash of 1962 on the Indian-Tibetan border (Maxwell 1970). At this point in the paper, I 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 *prakrti swamin* (leadership) and during that time Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru (political realism) in the first place believed in peaceful coexistence and then changed policy to defending the border (Apri 2004, Mathai 2013, 120). According to his 'Discovery of India', it is now evident that he knew about *Kautilya*. He (Nehru) was not totally wrong about his prediction since he believed in peaceful coexistence. He thought that China would not attack India. In this case, according to the measurement scale, the leadership is in advancement position (1). Being the elected leaders since 1947 as Prime Minister Nehru has substantive control over the second state factor *amatya* (institutions, ministers).

However, others warned him from the cabinet about China policy not only by Vallabhbai Patel but also very pro-China advisors like Krishna Menon. In this case, if we 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'. In addition, 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 and the national infrastructure was in a condition of decline (-1) until the war took place. On the other hand, *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. In addition, *danda* (military, secret service) is another important factor for the 1962 Indo-China War. India's intention was to derive China out from the Indian-claimed territory. However, during that time the literature suggests that Nehru was indifferent about military development. In addition, for secret and intelligent information India had to depend on the USSR and USA secret services (IDSAs 2012, 1). Furthermore, India didn't use its Air Force during the war. Now it is clearly depicted that the *danda prakrti* 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. In 1962 at the very same time the big world powers and so-called friends of India was busy with '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 we consider the measuring scale, we will find the 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. And 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 kind 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 using the measurement scale I have tried to analyze the event of '1962 India-China War' and have suggested what should have done instead of going to war according to *Kautilya* and the 'measurement scale' of three major concepts.



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