

IDSA Monograph Series
No. 47 October 2015

Kautilya's
Arthashastra
Contemporary Issues
and Comparison

Pradeep Kumar Gautam

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Contemporary Issues
and Comparison**

Pradeep Kumar Gautam



INSTITUTE FOR DEFENCE
STUDIES & ANALYSES

रक्षा अध्ययन एवं विश्लेषण संस्थान

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Fax.(91-11) 2615 4191
E-mail: contactus@idsa.in
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Contents

<i>Chapter 1</i>	
Introduction.....	5
<i>Chapter 2</i>	
Ceasefire in the 1947-48 Operations in Jammu and Kashmir (J & K)	14
<i>Chapter 3</i>	
Comparing Kautilya's <i>Arthashastra</i> with the <i>Panchatantra</i>	27
<i>Chapter 4</i>	
Ancient Indian Indigenous Traditions for Contemporary Social Science Research	42
<i>Chapter 5</i>	
Contemporary Use of Traditional Historical Knowledge in China and India: A Literature Survey	54
<i>Chapter 6</i>	
Conclusion	91
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	95

Introduction

Background

This monograph is in continuation with my first monograph *One Hundred Years of Kautilya's Arthashastra* that was published in July 2013.¹ The earlier monograph did not have sufficient examples of application of the text. In order to make a work relevant, scholarly attempts to study the text and then critically apply it to explain, compare and understand contemporary issues are a must. This monograph intends to fulfil this aim.

It is emphasized that I do not want to repeat what I have explained and analysed in my previous works.²

¹ P.K. Gautam, *One Hundred Years of Kautilya's Arthashastra*, IDSA Monograph No. 20, July 2013.

² Besides monograph at note 1 above see:-

- (a) 'Relevance of Kautilya's Arthashastra', *Strategic Analysis*, Vol.37, No.1, January-February 2013, pp.21-28, and 'Overcoming the Ways of *Matsya Nyaya*', *Strategic Analysis*, Vol.37, No.5, September-October 2013, pp.521-525.
- (b) 'Understanding Kautilya's Four Upayas', IDSA Issue Brief of June 20, 2013 at http://idsa.in/idsacomments/UnderstandingKautilyasFourUpayas_pkgautam_200613 (accessed June 22, 2015)
- (c) 'Shruti and Smriti: Some Issues in the Re-emergence of Indian Traditional Knowledge', IDSA Issue Brief, February 12, 2013 at http://idsa.in/issuebrief/ShrutiandSmriti_PKGautam_120213.html (accessed June 22, 2015).
- (d) Appendix titled 'Concept of Hub and Spoke in Kautilya's Arthashastra' in P.K. Gautam, 'Military Dimensions of US Pivot and Its Implications' in S.D. Muni and Vivek Chadha (Eds.), *Asian Strategic Review 2014: US Pivot and Asian Security*, New Delhi, IDSA/ Pentagon Press, 2014, pp.69-84.
- (e) 'Using Temple Gold for Shoring Up the Economy: Lessons from Kautilya's *Arthashastra*', IDSA Web comment, April 17, 2015 at http://idsa.in/idsacomments/UnderstandingKautilyasFourUpayas_pkgautam_200613 (accessed June 22, 2015).

My endeavour now, is to further apply the concepts for contemporary issues and undertake comparison. The title accordingly is Kautilya's *Arthashastra: Contemporary Issues and Comparison*. I will use the text to explain contemporary issues in the domain of political science, International Relations (IR) and security and strategic studies. I would suggest those who are new to this discipline to begin with my first monograph to understand the text of *Arthashastra*.³

The entire period since 2012 has been a learning process as it relates to the *Arthashastra*. Many events, by way of seminars, helped in improving my understanding of this ancient text. The proceedings of the first seminar held in October 2012 followed by a workshop in April 2013 are being published as *Indigenous Historical Knowledge: Kautilya and His Vocabulary*– Volume I. This seminar was followed by two more events - a national seminar in October 2013 and an international seminar in April 2014. Both the seminars were sponsored by the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR). I was the convenor in both the seminars. The proceedings of the national ICSSR-sponsored seminar on Kautilya held in October 18, 2013 are forthcoming as *Indigenous Historical Knowledge: Kautilya and His Vocabulary* – Volume II. The international seminar on Kautilya sponsored through ICSSR was held in April 2014 and will be forthcoming as Volume III. It will carry the title *Indigenous Historical Knowledge: Kautilya and His Vocabulary*– Volume III.⁴ The three edited volumes have a number of chapters and most

³ I mainly use the majestic and authoritative work by R.P. Kangle, *The Kautiliya Arthashastra, Part 1: Sanskrit Text with a Glossary, Part 2: Translation with Critical and Explanatory Notes, Part 3: A Study*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, Second Edition, Bombay University, 7th Reprint, 2010. Another good translation by Patrick Olivelle titled *King, Governance, and Law in Ancient India: Kautilya's Arthashastra, A New Annotated Translation*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2013 is now in public domain. For rearranged text L.N. Rangarajan is very popular. See L.N. Rangarajan *The Arthashastra*, New Delhi, First published by Penguin Books India, 1992, reprint, n.d. Other publications of worth are given under relevant chapters in footnotes.

⁴ You-Tube presentations of all seminars are on IDSA web besides a comprehensive portal of indigenous historical knowledge at <http://idsa.in/history/index.html> (Accessed June 23, 2015). All three edited volumes will appear as Pradeep Kumar Gautam, Saurabh Mishra and Arvind Gupta (Eds.), *Indigenous Historical Knowledge: Kautilya and His Vocabulary* – Volumes I, II and III (forthcoming).

attempt to make the text relevant by explaining key concepts of the text on statecraft, diplomacy, and state administration. This is then interposed with tackling contemporary issues of political theory, IR, strategic traditions and culture, negotiations, foreign policy, economy and ecology, military strategy, law, security and intelligence studies.

In parallel, Doordarshan TV also aired a programme on April 14, 2014 called Wide Angle on "Kautilya and his relevance". In that programme the reason for Kautilya's study by the IDSA was given by Dr S. Kalyanaraman, Research Fellow, who said:

The National Security Adviser (NSA) correctly said that the Kautilyan moment has arrived. The relevance of this lies in the fact that the world is fundamentally transforming itself in many ways. There is a visible shift of relative power from the west to the east, then there is rise of Asia, rise of China, India's own emergence, there is terrorism, nuclear weapons and a whole mix of factors impinging into India's national security. We need to navigate through this and for that we need more deliberated policies and strategies. Where else to learn some wisdom than from our ancient texts.⁵

It must also be mentioned that Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is slowly getting noticed across the world. In the Fourth "Global International Studies Conference," organised by the World International Studies Committee I presented a paper on Kautilya. Foreign academics, who were keen to teach the *Arthashastra* in IR theory, interviewed me on the subject. The New Zealand Command and Staff College visited the IDSA in the first week of November 2014. At the New Zealand Staff College Kautilya is taught and its study encouraged under the rubric of international relations (IR) by Professor Anna Powles, Massey University. In the interaction with the course members at the IDSA I had to

⁵ C. Raja Mohan in conversation with Dr. Kalyanaraman, IDSA, Dr. Medha Bisht, South Asian University and Ambassador H.H.S. Vishvanathan, Observer Research Foundation at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rBig0VL0638> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vnsKAIxFE_4 (Accessed June 23, 2015).

introduce the subject.⁶ Student officers who had chosen to submit dissertations on Kautilya informed me that they had extensively used You-Tube presentations and published work freely accessible at the IDSA web portal for their research. This indicated a clear demand for written work in the public domain on the subject. A delegation from Myanmar of 25 Political Science students of Mandalay University accompanied by Dr Mi Mi Gyi, Professor and Head, Department of International Relations visited IDSA in October 2015 for interaction. They were given a presentation on Kautilya. The delegation was keen to get guidance for inclusion of Kautilya in the syllabus for the future master's programme they have to design.

Notwithstanding the limited work being undertaken at the IDSA, in my opinion, rigorous examination of the *Arthashastra* has not begun in a systematic manner in think tanks or in the university system barring exceptions. These exceptions have been some very good articles and monographs published by the IDSA, and published in few other journals and books.⁷ It is clearly evident that an international forum is

⁶ Pradeep Kumar Gautam, 'Kautilya's Arthashastra: An Introduction'. Presentation for visiting faculty and students from New Zealand Command and Staff College to IDSA November 3, 2014 available at <http://idsa.in/history/KautilyasArthashastra.pdf> (accessed June 28, 2015).

⁷ Sachin More, *Lessons for the Contemporary Security Environment with South Asia as a Case Study*, IDSA Monograph Series No.31 January 2014. The author uses the *Arthashastra* for examining fragility in South Asia. Another work on intelligence studies is Michael Liebig, 'Statecraft and Intelligence Analysis in the *Kautilya-Arthashastra*', *Journal of Defence Studies*, Vol.8, No.4, October – December 2014, pp. 27-54. In this work the author shows: "Instead of a strictly hermeneutic methodology of interpretation the *Arthashastra*, I use an heuristic oriented on Helmuth Plessner's concept of 'covariance', which assumes that intrinsically (or genetically) related ideas can be generated in historical and culturally distant spaces."

For an eclectic and constructivist interpretation see Deepshikha Shahi, '*Arthashastra* beyond Realpolitik: The 'Eclectic' Face of Kautilya', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol XLIX, No.41, October 11, 2014 also featuring in Pradeep Kumar Gautam, Saurabh Mishra and Arvind Gupta (Eds.), *Indigenous Historical Knowledge: Kautilya and His Vocabulary* – Volume I.

For Kautilya as the founder of a number of economic theories and concepts see Balbir Singh Sihag, *Kautilya: The True Founder of Economics*, New Delhi, Vitasta Publishing, 2014.

now active to take forward traditional and indigenous knowledge of which Indian traditions such as Kautilya is an important part. It is a sensible idea that such scholarly works now need to originate from India in a substantial way.

In the policy recommendations it was argued that more applicatory and interpretative work needs to be done on themes such as foreign policy, intelligence, war and internal security as it relates to contemporary times. This monograph will supplement my individual work and also of the edited chapters of forthcoming publications from IDSA. It will also expand the knowledge base that has been generated for this subject by more than two dozen scholars over the past two to three years.

Once the edited books are in public domain for future research a good body of literature or a 'critical mass' will be available. To this body of literature I want to contribute my present humble work.

Layout of Monograph: Methodology and Analytical Framework

In my earlier works I had observed that although policy-makers and distinguished academics do mention that Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is relevant today, they somehow do not engage in its applicatory and explanatory characteristics. Thus, this was the research challenge. In methodology, I had initially planned to study the text (primary source) in historic context to analyse commentaries and carry out content analysis for key concepts. The most important thing to me was to have an innovative methodology. Finally, I could arrive at a simple workable four-step process in the methodology which is given below. However, most importantly, for reinterpretation and reviving rich text such as the *Arthashastra*, both working knowledge of the text (in English if not in Sanskrit) and domain knowledge of the subject being covered are needed. One workable methodology is to relate Kautilya's *Arthashastra* with a current issue as explained in the four steps (a to d) below:

- (a) Summary of a problem or issues in contemporary times.
- (b) Relating (a) with concepts in the *Arthashastra* as in the *sutras*.

- (c) Re-statement of the problem or issue at (a) modified using vocabulary/ concepts from the *Arthashastra* as established at (b). Here one may bring about a change and may either agree or disagree with Kautilya and then state the concept or position.
- (d) Reiterate strategic vocabulary so established.

The above-mentioned method brings out the reinterpretation of text for contemporary issues. This could be then related to concepts which may be similar or partially similar or even a mirror image for a comparative perspective.

Let me explain how I have applied this method at least for one of the chapters. In my study of military history, the ceasefire between India and Pakistan in the operations in Jammu and Kashmir of 1947-48, was included in two chapters titled 'Training and Education in Military Strategy' and 'Economics of Logistics' in a book I wrote in 2004.⁸ Later, in another work related to military history I made a mention of a similar research question that had been posed: "Why did India not take control of whole of Kashmir in 1948 given that the Indian military was a better fighting force than Pakistan military?"⁹ When I began studying the Kautilya's *Arthashastra* I could relate the potential of the text for giving additional insights into such military issues. In the second chapter of this monograph, 'Ceasefire in the 1947-48 Operations in Jammu and Kashmir (J and K)', I make use of concepts from texts such as *prakrits* (*saptanga* or constituent elements of a state), *vyasanas* (calamities), and *bhumisandhi* (pact for acquiring land) to explain the ceasefire between India and Pakistan in J and K in 1947/48. Further in the chapter, I compare the reason for sudden withdrawal of the Chinese in 1962 from erstwhile North East Frontier Agency (now called Arunachal Pradesh) during the Sino-Indian war of 1962 with a Chinese

⁸ P.K. Gautam, *National Security: A Primer*, New Delhi, Knowledge World, 2004, pp.20-21 and pp.106-107.

⁹ Kanti Bajpai, 'Obstacles to Good Work in Indian IR', *International Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 1 and 2, January and April 2009, pp.109-128 as quoted in P.K. Gautam, *The Need for Renaissance of Military History and Modern War Studies in India*, IDSA Occasional Paper No.21, November 2011, p.27.

equivalent of *Bhumisandhi*. This is based on recent scholarship from China on the same puzzle. I find similarities in the Chinese concept with the Kautilyan concept of *bhumisandhi*, that is, not getting into the business of capturing and holding territory, which may be untenable in the long-term.

Much of the wisdom of ancient Indian statecraft which spread out from India is attributable to the *Panchatantra*. Chapter three is a comparative study 'Comparing Kautilya's *Arthashastra* with the *Panchatantra*'. It has insights as to how the manual *Arthashastra* was converted into a pedagogical and didactic story based tool of the *Panchatantra*. In the ancient past complex matters of statecraft were made into framing stories. This was done by converting concepts of statecraft as in the *niti* and *danda* literature from the *Arthashastra* into easily identifiable fables for the education of the prince. In one way, today there is a similar need by revisiting heavy and serious text such as the *Arthashastra* and making it relevant for modern times. One necessary condition for its relevance is its easy readability for it to be grasped and understood. To that end it is hoped that Chapter Three will revive interest in study of both the texts.

Methodology and communication skills have a long historical past in Indian traditions. It is hoped that enduring features which are truly 'scientific' in ancient Indian methodology and epistemology will now re-surface and be made more popular, rather than lying dormant with just 'specialists' of the language, to be shared with the world at large. Chapter Four 'Ancient Indian Indigenous Traditions for Contemporary Social Science Research' attempts the same in comparing it the way research is structured today.

A number of Chinese scholars including some Western scholars use traditional knowledge of China in shaping or critiquing the discourse of international relations and security studies. Reputed international journals carry a good proportion of such work. This type of scholarship based on traditional and civilisational knowledge is bound to increase. It is almost like a re-discovery of traditions. In India, besides a limited comparative analysis of ancient Chinese and Indian traditions such as of Sun Tzu with Kautilya, much more multidisciplinary work needs to be done. Chapter Five 'Contemporary Use of Traditional Historical Knowledge - China and India: A Literature Survey' shows how rapidly

the writings on China are progressing and some areas where Indian scholarship may need to focus. This may open up new unexplored research questions for investigation and will also encourage more scholarship from within India and China.

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Ceasefire in the 1947-48 Operations in Jammu and Kashmir (J and K)

Introduction

This chapter attempts to provide an understanding with the explanatory nature of the Kautilya's *Arthashastra* on an issue of a recent war. The chapter begins by a brief mention of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* explaining some key concepts from the text like the seven *prakrits* (*saptanga* or the seven constituent elements of a state), *vyasanas* (calamities), and *bhumisandhi* (pact for acquiring land). These concepts are now related to the war between India and Pakistan over Jammu and Kashmir (J and K) soon after the partition. It explains the reasons for ceasefire in the 1947-48 operations.

Concepts

To recapitulate, the first concept is of the seven *prakrits* or *saptanga*. These are the constituent elements of a State. The concept deals with the need to take care of these *prakrits*. As given in Book Six, Chapter One, Sutra 1 (6.1.1), a state is made up of seven parts or elements. These are, namely, *svamin* (king or ruler), *amatya* (body of ministers and structure of administration), *janapada/rastra* (territory being agriculturally fertile with mines, forest and pastures, water resources and communication system for trade), *durga/pura* (fort), *kosa* (treasury), *danda/bala* (army) and *mitra* (ally). Further, Kautilya's *Arthashastra* warns that the *vyasanas* (calamities) may infect them. Book Eight concerns the topic of calamities that affect the constituent elements. It deals with the calamities that affect the various constituents (*prakrits*) of the state. It is necessary to take precautions against these calamities (*vyasanas*) before one can start on an expedition of conquest.

The next concept is from Book Seven on the six measures of foreign policy (*sadgunya*) which has the concept of *bhumisandhi*.

***Bhumisandhi* (Pact for Acquiring Land)**

For *sadgunya*, Kautilya's *Arthashastra* provides a number of scenarios on the topic of capture of land. One of the sections suggests not to attempt to conquer a land which may be ungovernable or difficult to hold. This concept resides in *Bhumisandhi* which features in Book Seven (The Six Measures of Foreign Policy) under Chapter Ten Section (iii) 'Pact for Land' sutra 14: "In acquiring land with permanent enemies, there is a great acquisition of enemies". Sutra 15: "And a permanent enemy remains an enemy whether he is obliged or injured". Sutra 16 maintains that "The land, whose frontiers have many forts (beyond them) and are never devoid of robber - bands or *Mleccha* forest tribes, is one with permanent enemies; in the reverse case, is in one without permanent enemies".¹

In ancient Indian history people outside the four-fold Aryan *varna* or foreigners or forest dwellers were called *mlecchas*. We can safely infer that these were regions either in the fringes of the Indian subcontinent or areas like western Afghanistan or forest dwellers in inaccessible areas within the country. L.N Rangarajan calls *mlecchas* "a group, who could have been of foreign or tribal origin."² Importantly, Rangarajan invites attention to what Kautilya has to say in Book 13 (Means of Taking a Fort), Chapter 5 Pacification of the Conquered Territory, sutra 15 (13.5.15): "After conquering a territory the king is advised to transfer and disperse *mlecchas* living there."³ Surely, an impossible task today in disputed areas of the borderland and periphery, and thick forest belts of India and Pakistan where people are permanently settled. In the current situation this relocation or population transfer is an impossible and impractical option.

¹ 7.1.13-18. The best translation of text from Sanskrit to English considered and used primarily in this paper is that of R.P. Kangle, *The Kautiliya Arthashastra, Part 2: An English Translation With Critical and Explanatory Notes*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, Second edition, Bombay University, 7th Reprint, 2010, pp.492. In this chapter and the monograph I rely on R.P. Kangle's translation.

² L.N. Rangarajan, *The Arthashastra*, New Delhi: Penguin Books India. Reprint n.d., p.36.

³ Ibid.

Relating Text to India–Pakistan

Having seen the theoretical basis, I will now relate the concepts of the *Arthashastra* to the ceasefire in J and K while relating the same to key concepts on terrain analysis and weather. Terrain, weather, place and time of military operations are important attributes in warfare. How the basics have not changed over centuries can be shown by a study of the ancient text. In Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, the place and the time for a military operation have been vital inputs in military appreciations. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* gives the following guidance in the form of aphorisms (or *sutras*) to the king in Book 9, Chapter 1.

Sutra 37: "He should march in winter against a country which is very hot or which has little fodder, fuel and water".

Sutra 38: "He should march in summer against a country with showers of snow, or consisting mostly of deep waters or dense grass and trees".

Sutra 39: "He should march when it is raining against a country suited to the operations of his own army and unsuited to those of the enemy".

Sutra 40: "He should march on an expedition of long duration between Margasirsa and the Paus full moon days, on medium duration between the Caitra and Vaisakhi full moon days, on short duration between Jyestha and the Asadha⁴ full moon days, on the fourth (expedition), if desirous of burning up (the enemy) in his calamity".

Kautilya's *Arthashastra* also offers advice relating to the type of mobility and transport. This of course has now to be modified and updated for mechanical modes of transport (or even the good old pack and draft animals like mules, ponies and yaks still fundamental to foot and hoof mobility in the Himalayas). Thus the text says:

Sutra 45: "At a time when excessive heat is over, he should march with elephant divisions for the most part".

⁴ The lunar months of *Margasirsa* corresponds to November–December; *Paus* to December–January; *Chaitra* to March–April; *Vaisakha* to April–May; *Jyestha* to May–June and *Asadha* to June–July.

Sutra 46: "For, elephants, sweating inside, become leprous".

Sutra 47: "And not getting a plunge in water or a drink of water, they become blind through internal secretion".

Sutra 48: "Hence in a region with plenty of water and when it is raining he should march with elephant divisions for the most part".

Sutra 49: "In the reverse case, (he should march) with troops consisting mostly of donkeys, camels, and horses, in a region with little rain and mud".

Sutra 50: "In regions mostly desert, he should march with the four-fold army when it is raining".

With these concepts the next step is to briefly view the history of the Indo-Pakistan War. For this I use the official history and a few secondary sources.

Background Leading to the War

In August 1947, at the end of the British colonial rule and the partition of India and Pakistan, the status of the princely state of J and K remained undecided. Later, in October 1947, when J and K was invaded by tribal raiders supported by Pakistan, the princely state formally acceded to be a part of India. Thereafter, to save the state and evict the intruders, India launched a military operation in October 1947. India was able to push back the intruders and regulars of the Pakistan army to a limited extent. India took the case to the United Nations (UN) in January 1948 as the fighting continued. A ceasefire became effective on night of January 1, 1949. This resulted in the occupation of some areas of the state under the control of Pakistan, which is termed as Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK). Even since then, there has been a debate in India and elsewhere over the merits or demerits of the decision over the ceasefire. While the literature over the debate is not being reviewed, the text of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* may also provide an explanation and a new perspective for the decision.

Balraj Puri defends the reason for ceasefire in 1947 - 48 Indo-Pakistan War over J and K. His explanation is that although the Indian army could have marched into remaining areas of J and K, it was held back as the rest of the state was inhospitable from the point of view of

terrain and people and the army would have got trapped in guerrilla warfare for years, and could not have held onto Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) due to ethnic problems.⁵ In Kautilyan vocabulary this is explained by *Bhumisandhi* and *Vyasanas*.

Bhumisandhi, (7.10.16) in simple terms, implies not getting into the business of capturing or occupying land which is deemed to be ungovernable. This *Bhumisandhi*-like situation can be one factor why there was no progress in recapture of the entire state of Jammu and Kashmir and rather the country went in for a ceasefire in the 1947-48 Indo-Pakistan War. This combined with the concept of *vyasanasis* adequate to explain the ceasefire in an understanding of Kautilyan text.

Kautilya's *Arthashastra* has the concept of calamities called *vyasanas*. It is necessary to take precautions against the constituents (in this case the army) before one can start on an expedition of conquest. As we know, the *danda/bala* (army) is one of the essential constituents (*prakritis*) of the state which needs to be in good order. Out of the many listed for relating to administration for the army, following can be selected to explain the calamitous-like situation from the text (8.5.1): "Come after a long march, exhausted, depleted, caught in an unsuitable season, caught in an unsuitable terrain".⁶ These calamities indicate logistic problems and issues of overstretch which military commanders, as in the past or today, have to bear in mind in military appreciations. The text, in one way, lists out the contingencies on the use or non-use of force. Or the 'scenarios' so to speak exist in the text.

The *Vyasanas* or Lack of the Principle of War: Administration

Since the Napoleonic wars and thereafter, Antonio Jomini has been rightly given the pride of place in matters of logistics and strategy. He,

⁵ Balraj Puri, 'Security Solution in Jammu and Kashmir', in Satish Kumar (Ed.), *India's National Security Annual 2002*, New Delhi, Indian Research Press, 2003, p.329. Also quoted by me in P.K. Gautam, *National Security: A Primer*, New Delhi, Knowledge World, 2004, pp.106-107.

⁶ R.P. Kangle, *The Kautiliya Arthashastra, Part 2: An English Translation With Critical and Explanatory Notes*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, Second edition, Bombay University, 7th Reprint, 2010, pp.401-402.

famously had theorized that strategy decides where to act, and logistics brings troops to this point. In other words, as is well understood by military leaders across the world, that the young officers think tactics, but the generals, admirals and the air marshals think logistics. Even *Arthashastra* is based on the word 'Artha' which has many meanings, but the most fundamental is material well-being and economic prosperity, or we may say logistics.

In an analysis and study of the operations in J and K by a former Defence Secretary, a major factor which held India back was the lack of supplies or logistics. P.V.R. Rao, during his USI Security Lecture in 1973, argued that the government decision to ask for a ceasefire was a correct one as supplies of war such as stores and fuel were being imported from abroad from the USA and UK.⁷ This situation was that the military had reached its logistical culmination point. Administration and logistics are the basis for any successful military operations. The Indian military and most of the foreign ones have administration as a principle of war. This essential mantra of administration and logistics is instilled into the military minds and exists across the spectrum of leadership from lieutenant to a general. Successful military commanders know that lack of administration and logistics has serious problems in military outcomes.

Lt Gen E.A. Vas had fought the Indo-Pakistan War as a young major. In his book he recounts that poor road communication in the mountainous terrain was a major drawback. Communication impacts both the size of the force and its mobility. Vas refers to an article in the Pakistan press which had rightly appreciated that logistic incapacity of the Indians would not allow any further offensive.⁸ It seems Vas' appreciation and understanding of the logistical and administrative difficulties as a young major fighting the war was correct. The official

⁷ P.V.R. Rao, 'India's Defence Policy and Organisation since Independence', *USI National Security Lectures*, March 1973, New Delhi, USI of India, March 1977, p.33.

⁸ Lt Gen E.A. Vas, PVSM, *Without Baggage: A Personal Account of the Jammu and Kashmir Operations 1947 - 49*, Dehradun, Natraj Publishers, First Published 1987, Reprint, 2003, pp.154-155.

history records that “Indian forces had inevitably spent their initial momentum of attack, extended their supply lines and used up their immediate stocks of food and ammunition.” To the question of liberating enemy held areas of J and K, the official history mentions: “The answer is clearly in the negative, unless more troops were brought into J and K from the rest of India.”⁹ The history elaborates that Indian forces were outnumbered and more troops would have accentuated the supply problem.

This example of a military operation indicates that if a study of text is carried out critically with the context, it provides a simple explanation of the application of means on its impact at the ends to a contemporary example. Thus, Kautilya's *Arthashastra* if deeply studied and applied can be made into a very practical theoretical tool. This does not mean that Kautilya's *Arthashastra* by itself provides some magic solution to a strategic issue. Issues such as all the seven *prakrits* to be in a high state of development and readiness to perform and deliver; the constituent elements, in this case the army, should not be under any *vysanasa* or calamities; the need for a dynamic and a high order military intelligence and superior decision-making are given.

Ideas on Further Application and Research

The two concepts of *Bhumisandhi* (7.10.16) and *vysanas* (8.5.1) may explain the stalemate in J and K during the first war between India and Pakistan. This calls for further applicatory research. The Sino-Indian border dispute could be one. Another may be capture of territory as a bargaining chip across the international border in case of a war between Indian and Pakistan. Yet, another could be the incapacity of the Israelis to be in occupation of land claimed and also populated by Palestinian in the long- term.

Sino-Indian Border Dispute

One reason in 1962 for the Chinese unilateral ceasefire and withdrawal from Arunachal Pradesh (erstwhile North East Frontier Agency, NEFA)

⁹ S.N. Prasad and Dharam Pal, *Operations in Jammu & Kashmir 1947- 48*, History Division, Ministry of Defence, Government of India, Dehradun, Natraj Publishers, first published 1987, reprint 2005, pp.369-375.

after having advanced to the foothills routing the Indian Army could well be a combination of *Bhumisandhi* or their incapacity to get the willing support of the people of Arunachal Pradesh to their side combined with *vyasana* or logistic difficulties due to weather, terrain and overstretch. Before I had got familiar with Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, in an earlier paper on the Kameng Region in the Sino-Indian border war of 1962, besides showing the nationalistic attitude of the locals, I had argued that: "It is clear that calling the Chinese withdrawal in 1962 post ceasefire as a blunder in current Chinese perception are afterthoughts. It was logistic difficulties and over stretch that made the Chinese withdraw in NEFA after declaring ceasefire in 1962."¹⁰ Now, I can clearly relate the reason for the Chinese unilateral withdrawal by relating it to the text of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* - that is - logistical difficulties or *vyasana* and the hostile nature of the Indian people of the area the Chinese occupied in lines of the concept of *Bhumisandhi*.¹¹

What do Chinese scholars have to say about this concept? There may be similarities in not attempting to conquer land which may be ungovernable or difficult to hold in the concepts of Sun Tzu. When the US invaded Iraq in 2003, Huang Pumin, Professor of History, Renmin University of China and a scholar of China's ancient war theory literature, referred to Sun Tzu to say that the commanders should know "there are armies he should not attack, walled cities he should not assault and territories he should not contest for."¹² Without doubt, this is also an advice like what is based on *bhumisandhi* from Indian traditions.

A Chinese Equivalent of *Bhumisandhi*?

Interestingly, in a recent edited book titled *China and its International Relations* (2010), a new hypothesis for future research has been suggested by Ren Xiao basing it on an interpretation of the traditional Chinese

¹⁰ P.K. Gautam, 'Learning Lessons and Revisiting Myths from Kameng', *Journal of Defence Studies*, Special Issue 1962: A Retrospective, Vol.6, no.4, October 2012, pp.141-154.

¹¹ I thank K.C. Johri, veteran of the erstwhile Indian Frontier Administrative Service (IFAS) in suggesting this explanation to me.

¹² As referred by Wang Yanjuan, 'Analyzing the War', *Beijing Review*, April 3, 2003, pp. 34-36.

theory and practice of foreign relations of Chinese tribute system. First, Ren Xiao provides the reader with the rationalisation of the East Asian order with an inner circle directly under Chinese rule, an outer periphery and a more distant one. He suggests two factors for this relationship. First, that it was a tradition worth an inheritance by the *tian xia* (all under heaven) and the second, more important one, was the security conception 'defense through barbarians' (*si yi*).¹³ He then gives an example as a research puzzle over the reason for the Chinese withdrawal after defeating Indian army in 1962 in the northeast of India and also the Chinese attack on Vietnam in 1979. Ren Xio elaborates in explaining the puzzle and his hypothesis. I need to quote him so that there is no misunderstanding in what Ren Xiao argues:

In 1962, when the invading Indian troops who were encroaching on Chinese territory were defeated, why did Chinese leadership order its army to withdraw 20 kilometres further inside China than the original control line? In 1979, why did China decide to wage a war against Vietnam to teach it a 'lesson'? what was behind the thinking of 'teaching somebody a lesson'? Those puzzles have answers once we have understood the one key factor that traditionally drove China's foreign behaviour was 'righting the order'. It is very probable that in the eyes of China, both India and Vietnam's behaviour violated the principle that constituted a normal and right order, and therefore had to be dealt with. This may be a new hypothesis for future research. In the meantime, China did not want to grab any piece of land from any foreign country- another interesting perspective- because no 'barbarian land' was desirable since it was often more a liability rather than an asset.¹⁴

The mention of 'barbarian land' from Chinese traditions in a basic way relates to the concept of *Bhumisandhi*. It is recognised as an area

¹³ Ren Xiao, 'Traditional Chinese Theory and Practice of Foreign Relations' in Zheng Yongnian (Ed.), *China and International Relations: The Chinese View and the Contribution of Wang Gungwu*, London, New York, Routledge, 2010, pp.102-136.

¹⁴ Ibid, pp.114-115.

inhabited by barbarians (*si yi* in case of China). Professor Ren Xiao has appropriately argued about the undesirability of such a barbarian land which is more of a liability rather than an asset. In the case of China the geographic region on the periphery is mentioned and is possibly unchanged over the ages.

Capturing Land in Future Indo-Pakistan War as Bargaining Chip

Capture of territory across the international boundary in a short and decisive Indo-Pakistan War may be one political aim to use it as a bargaining chip at the negotiation table later. Jasjit Singh argues that due to nuclear deterrence only a limited war can be prosecuted and it may not be possible to achieve 'decisive military victory'. In a response to provocations by Pakistan, discrete conventional punitive strikes against selected politico-economic targets preferably in POK in a calibrated manner is suggested. Further, he argues that the Indian Army which is in a generally strategic defensive posture may get in the task of capturing territory. He suggests shallow depth objectives of about five kilometres at five to seven places along the border to occupy territory for negotiation purposes.¹⁵

However, doubts exist that unlike the wars of 1965 and 1971 with Pakistan, will it be possible to hold on to captured territory across the international border knowing that the region besides being urbanised with high population densities is also infested with extreme strain of Islamic militants? In other words, conceptually, R.P. Kangle's study of the *Arthashastra* explains thus "A factor that must be weighed before starting is the gain expected from the expedition and the losses likely to be suffered. Normally, the former must outweigh many times over the losses in men and animals and the expenses in cash or grains (9.4.1-3). Gains, principally those of land, are classified in various ways, such as *adeya* 'easy to seize and keep', *pratyadeya* 'easy for the enemy to recover', *hrasvakala* 'quickly attainable', *tanuksaya* 'costing little', *kalya* 'safe', *dharmya*

¹⁵ Jasjit Singh, *India's Security in a Turbulent World*, New Delhi, National Book Trust, 2013, pp.171-174.

'righteous' and so on (9.4.5-23)."¹⁶ Surely, losses in capturing territory may now prove very costly being untenable and there will be no gains in shallow land grabs for later negotiations as in the past in the case of an Indo-Pakistan war. Here, it requires that a politico-military-strategic appreciation be done with facts as of today on the following sutras of the text given under Book Nine: The Activity of the King About to March, Chapter Four, Section 142 'Considerations of Losses, Expenses, and Gains' (9.4.5-7):

5: That which is easy to obtain and protect, and cannot be recovered by enemies is the (gain) which can be seized.

6: In the reverse case, it is one that can be recovered.

7: One, seizing it or staying there, meets with destruction.

Israel and Palestine

The Israel-Palestine dispute over territory is another contemporary problem which can be theorised and understood from the concept related to *bhumisandhi* of Book 7 and losses or gains as in Book 9. Applying this logic from text based on *bhumisandhi*, and gains and losses, it is quite likely that Israel in the long run may also have no long-term sustainable gains by occupying Palestinian territory. As Arab demographic pressures increase and international opinion gets built for a final solution, the cost of holding on to the territory of West Bank by Israel and treating Gaza as an enclave may become untenable. A point may be finally reached when some compromise may have to be devised. Thus, even in this case in West Asia, it is possible to see how conceptually Kautilya's *Arthashastra* makes a contemporary issue understood in practical terms.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to use concepts from the *Arthashastra* with my own analysis of the ancient text and comparing it with the India- Pakistan War of 1947/48. I have demonstrated that this ancient

¹⁶ R.P. Kangle, *The Kautiliya Arthashastra, Part 3: A Study*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, Second edition, Bombay University, 7th Reprint, 2010, p.257.

text has the versatility and capacity to explain a number of issues in military strategy and statecraft of contemporary relevance. For land issues over disputed borders and territory, the concept of *bhumisandhi* combined with gains and losses if applied and examined critically can be of help in identifying drivers for being addressed in a number of ongoing territorial disputes. Some of these being like not getting into the business of capturing or occupying land which is deemed to be ungovernable, issues of military logistics and overreach. Based on the 1962 Sino - Indian border war, I also provide avenues for further non-western research which can be done by scholars of ancient Indic and Sinic traditions.

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Comparing Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and *Panchatantra*¹

Introduction

Arthashastra and its variations such as the *Panchatantra* have helped in the spread of Indian culture and concepts both to the east and west. Today, stories from the *Panchatantra* are sold as comics for children. Many people may not be aware that the *Panchatantra* was used as an educational tool for statecraft in the past. In one popular English version of the *Panchatantra* for children the introduction mentions that "originally it was written in Sanskrit. Legend has it that a king who had three foolish sons engaged a versatile teacher Vishnuserman who taught them how to be happy and successful in life. 'Pancha' means five, 'tantra' means doctrines of conduct or modes of action, namely, confidence or firmness of mind, creation of prosperity or affluence, earnest endeavour, friendship, and knowledge. The *Panchatantra* depicts *nitishastra* (wise conduct of life) through stories, mainly of animals, which children love to read."²

Chandra Rajan argues that "The author of the *Panchatantra* is a story teller of hoary antiquity, an almost legendary figure like Vyasa... whom tradition declares to be the author of the *Mahabharata*. In fact we know a little more about the author of the *Mahabharata* than we do about

¹ Two short articles by me on the subject have been published in the past. See P.K. Gautam, 'Kautilya's Arthashastra and Panchatantra', *Journal of Indian Ocean Studies*, Vol.22, No.1, April 2014, pp. 119-128 and P.K.Gautam, 'Kautilya's Arthashastra and Panchatantra: A Comparative Evaluation', *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues*, Vol. 18, No.2, Summer (April-June) 2014, pp. 64-72.

² *Stories from Panchatantra*, New Delhi, A Children's Book Trust Publication, 2013.

the author of *Pancatantra*.”³ According to historian Kaushik Roy, the original *Panchatantra*, composed in Sanskrit, is lost. The Pahlavi version of the *Panchatantra* was composed before 570 CE. The present translation of *Panchatantra* is reconstructed from Arabic and Syrian versions. Within South Asia it was translated into Newari language of Nepal. It was claimed to have been translated into Chinese by last decade of 5th century CE.⁴ But there is some hope for the preservation of the *Panchatantra*. As it relates to archives, Chandra Rajan's translation with an introduction to *The Pancatantara* (1993) mentions that the original 870H (AD 1491) archives of *Kalila wa Dimnah* (the Arabic version of *Panchatantra* done in Iran in AD 870) is in National Museum, New Delhi. It was inscribed and illustrated somewhere in India.⁵ Another hope is that the Tibetan *Tanjur* collection may be having what is called '*Canakaraja niti*'.⁶ Probably the work has not been re-translated back to its original language as yet. The Indian literary style had influenced the Chinese writings. Sinologist such as B.R. Deepak mentions that Indian stories, fables, art, drama and medicine reached China. During Tang Dynasty, Chinese literary forms like *Chuanqiwen* and *bianwen* were greatly influenced by Indian literary style manifested in *Panchatantra* and Buddhist stories.⁷

Sanskrit scholar Arthur W. Ryder informs us that the original text of the *Panchatantra* was composed in Kashmir, about 200BC. There are 25 recensions of the work in India. "The *Panchatantra* is a *niti-shastra*, or text book of *niti*. The word *niti* means roughly "the wise conduct of

³ Chandra Rajan, 'Foreword', Visnu Sarma, *The Pancatantra*, translated from Sanskrit with and introduction by Chandra Rajan, New Delhi, Penguin Books, 1993, p.xi.

⁴ Kaushik Roy, *Hinduism and the Ethics of Warfare in South Asia: from Antiquity to the Present*, Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp.144-151.

⁵ Chandra Rajan, op cit, p.xiv.

⁶ Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya (compiled, edited and introduced by), *DD Kosambi: Combined Methods in Indology and Other Writings*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2002, p.677. Evidence is also in Suniti Kumar Pathak, *The Indian Nitisastras in Tibet*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1974.

⁷ B.R. Deepak, 'Introduction', in Wang Shuying and B.R. Deepak (Eds.), *India-China: Civilizational Perspectives*, New Delhi, Manak Publications, 2012, p.xxiv.

life".⁸ *Panchatantra* means "Five Books". Each book is independent, consisting of a framing story with numerous inserted stories.⁹

Regarding the origin of *Panchatantra*, it is said that a king's three sons were hostile to education. The king requested the 80 year-old teacher Vishnusharma to take his 'spoilt brats' under his care and train them. In six months Vishnusharma made the boys learn these gripping beast and animals fables by heart. The practical wisdom in the five books deals with: 1) The Loss of Friends, 2) The Winning of Friends, 3) Crow and Owl, 4) Loss of Gains and 5) An ill-considered action. Since then this work on art of intelligent living has traveled the world. Surely, the *Panchatantra* is a good educational tool with the correct communication strategies. These concepts from the *Arthashastra* continued and mutated in popular literature and stories such as in *Panchatantra*. Take for instance six measures of foreign policy. In Book III concerning the war of crows and owls six possibilities of *Sadgunya* are quoted (peace, war, change of base, entrenchment, alliance and duplicity).¹⁰ Herbert H. Gowen's¹¹ analysis had made the evolution of *Panchatantra* from that of the *Arthashastra* clear:

niti of the old Indian rulers, as embodied in such treatises, became in course of time a system coveted and adopted by foreign potentates. It was exported chiefly in the form of *Beast*

⁸ 'Translator's Introduction', *Panchatantra*, translated from Sanskrit by Arthur W. Ryder, New Delhi Jaico Publications, 1949, 34th edition 2011, pp. 3-13. Ryder explains in detail the term *niti* which he rightly points out has no Western equivalent. *Niti* presupposes its practice by a social being. It has ideas on how to obtain security which is based on a negative foundation - example mouse having his dwelling unit beyond the reach of a cat's paw. Positive contents of *niti* allows for security, freedom and a better life.

⁹ "[T]he pattern of emboxing stories within a main tale, developed, possibly, on the model of method of presenting narratives found in the *Mahabharata*." (Mukherji, Ramaranjan.2013, p.274).

¹⁰ *Panchatantra*, translated from Sanskrit by Arthur W. Ryder, New Delhi Jaico Publications, 1949, 34th edition 2011, p.234.

¹¹ Herbert H. Gowen, 'The Indian Machiavelli or Political Theory in India Two Thousand Years Ago', *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol.44, No.2, June, 1992, pp.173-192.

Fables, which after the decline of Buddhism, became the manuals *par excellence* of statecraft for lands outside as well as within the bounds of the peninsula.as Buddhism waned, the collection became *niticastras*, instead of *jatakas*, and such books as *Pancatantra* and the *Hitopadeca* were compiled not as *sutras*, or as literature of entertainment, but for the instruction of princess in the way they should go.¹²

A Common Story in Many Cultures

One story, which is very popular in India, conveys a key lesson of life that 'unity has strength.' In this story a father demonstrates to his sons how easy is to break single wooden sticks, but how difficult it is to break them as a bunch. In mid 15th century, Japan went through a period of warfare among different factions for about 150 years, called the *Sengoku Jidai*, the Age of the Country at War, a name they took from China's Age of Warring States. During this time samurai warlords fought for control of all Japan, often making alliances with other clans to advance their purpose. The warlord Mori Montonari while speaking of alliances to his three sons called "Parable of Arrows" gave them an arrow each and asked them to break it. After they were successful, he gave three arrows in a bundle to break which they could not.¹³ We can compare this story with a story from the *Aesop's Fables*. A father demonstrates the strength of unity to his quarreling sons by showing how easy it is to break a single stick and how difficult to break a bunch of sticks. The moral he lectures is: "My sons, if you are on one mind, and unite to assist each other, you will be as this faggot, uninjured by all the attempts of your enemies; but if you are divided among yourselves, you will be broken as easily as these sticks".¹⁴

¹² Herbert H. Gowen, Ibid and P.K.Gautam, *One Hundred Years of Kautilya's Arthasastra*, IDSA Monograph Series No.20, July 2013, pp.62-63.

¹³ Mark McNeily, *Sun Tzu and the Art of Modern Warfare*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001, p.130.

¹⁴ Aesop, *Aesop's Fables*, London, Harpr Press, 2011, p.6. According to legends Aesop lived in ancient Greece, circa 620-564BC and that he was originally a slave who earned his freedom by imparting wisdom through his fables. There are about 600 fables attributable to him and many continue to be retold. See *ibid*, 'Life & Times', pp.v-viii.

If the Aesop's Fables came much after *Panchatantra* (more likely), then it clearly shows how common ideas of practical wisdom were transmitted across cultures. No case is being made here on the superiority of *Panchatantra*, but the issue is how wisdom knows no boundaries. A lot of blending is evident as we see its recorded spread.

To the West: Arabic and Persian Sources

Great Sassanid ruler Khosru Nushirwan's Ambassador was unable to get possession of the age-old wisdom as stored in the *Panchatantra*. He conceived the plan of learning it tale by tale, and so transmitted to Persia what was regarded as the very quintessence of political wisdom.¹⁵ At that time before the advent of Islam, the language/script in Persia was Pahlavi. It is not clear whether knowledge of that script has survived in Iran or in Indian universities. This Persian collection, known as *Qalila and Dimnah* (also known as *Qalia wa Dimma*)¹⁶, passed to Arabia and thence, along the highway of a conquering Islam, to North Africa, Spain and Provence.¹⁷

In a chapter devoted to India's relations with the Arab world, Shashi Tharoor points out:

Over centuries, stories from the Hindu classic the *Panchatantra* have been retold across the Arab and Greek world, blending with the Fables of Aesop and stories from Alf Laila or the Arabian Nights.¹⁸

¹⁵ Herbert H. Gowen, op cit and P.K. Gautam, *One Hundred Years of Kautilya's Arthashastra*, IDSA Monograph Series No.20, July 2013, pp.62-63.

¹⁶ Variations in spellings is common, e.g., *Qalila wa Dimna*, *Kalila wa Dimna*, and *Kalilah and Dimnah*. According to Patrick Olivelle *Kalilah and Dimnah*, were the names of the two jackal ministers from Book I. See *Panchatantra: The Book of India's Folk Wisdom*, translated from original Sanskrit by Patrick Olivelle, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997, pp.xliii-xliv.

¹⁷ Op cit, Herbert H. Gowen and P.K. Gautam, *One Hundred Years of Kautilya's Arthashastra*.

¹⁸ Shashi Tharoor, *Pax Indica: India and the World of the 21st Century*, New Delhi, Penguin, 2012, p.160. Book also alludes to Indian numerals reaching the world through Arabs, absorption of Indian concepts ranging from medicine, mathematics, astronomy in Arabic scientific writing like Algebra an Indian invention perfected by Mohammed ibn Musa al- Khwarizmi.

S.A.A. Rizvi has done good deal of tracing of the pathways of *Kalila wa Dimna* to show how the translations reached Persia:

A very comprehensive Arabic *Mirror for Princes* entitled *Sirajju'l-muluk* was compiled in 1122 by Abu Bakr Muhammad bin al-Walid al Turtushi (1059-c.-1127), who was born in Spain and visited Iran and Iraq. Here he met the Seljuk vizier Nizamul'l-Mulk Tusi (1018-92) and was greatly impressed by Tusi's scholarship and political acumen. Even the earlier *Mirror for Princes* had drawn upon the stories of *Kalila wa Dimna*, as translated from the Pahlavi (Old Persian) by Ibnu'l-Muqaffa(d.756).¹⁹

The 12th century Persian Sufi poet Farid at-Tair, who is known for his best work *Manteq at- Tair* in his *The Conference of the Birds* uses examples of birds for an explanation of human behaviour. The sources used are Sanai's *Divan* and also *Kalila and Dimna*. This extraordinary popular work, also called *The Fables of Bidpai* originated in India and was translated into many languages.²⁰

Overall, the intellectual currents from India are best captured in what the medieval Arab poet from Baghdad called al- Sabhadi had to say:

Three things on which Indian nation prided itself: its method of reckoning, the game of chess, and the book titled *Kalila wa Dimna*.²¹

Although it may be said that tales and stories can exist simultaneously in many cultures and places, this does not seem to be the case for tales related to beast and animal fables. These tales now spread across the

¹⁹ S.A.A. Rizvi, *The Wonder that was India Volume II: A Survey of the Indian History and Culture of the Indian Sub-continent from the Coming of Muslims to the British Conquest 1200-1700*, London: Picador, 2005 (first published 1987), p.156.

²⁰ Afkhan Darbandi and Dick Davis, 'Introduction', Farid ud-din Attar, *The Conference of Birds*, translated with an introduction by Afkhan Darbandi and Dick Davis, London, Penguin, 1984, p.9 and p.16.

²¹ Georges Ifrah's *One to Zero* as quoted by Amartya Sen, 'Indian Traditions and the Western Imagination', *Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences*, Spring 1997, pp.1-25.

world surely have a major Indian origin. In the case of Europe, Daya Kishan Thussu in making a good case for the spread of India's 'soft' power argues:

In Spain it was translated into Hebrew and then into Spanish in 13th century. The Hebrew version was also translated into Latin at the end of that century and published in Germany in 1480, as the source for the 1483 *Buch der Weisheit (Book of Wisdom)*. It was then translated into Italian in 1552 and English in 1570.²²

Patrick Olivelle has provided a detailed picture of the spread of the translations of *Panchatantra* from Sanskrit.²³ On the availability of the manuscript he tells us that all subsequent pre-modern western translations are derived directly or indirectly from this Pahlavi version, which is now lost. The translation was done in various pathways into – Arabic, Syriac, Greek, Latin, German, Slavonic, Persian, Spanish, Hebrew, Latin, Italian, and English. Importantly he argues:

The repeated retranslations took these versions far from the original *Panchatantra*, and indeed most Europeans had forgotten that the work originally came from India. Beyond the translations themselves, the *Panchatantra* influenced Arabic and European narrative literature of the Middle Ages, most notably *The Arabian Nights* and La Fontaine, who in the second edition of his *Fables* (1678) states expressly that much of his new material was derived from the Indian sage Pilpay, perhaps a corruption of the Sanskrit Vidyapati ('Lord of Learning') or of the common Brahmin title Vajapeyi.²⁴

To establish its widespread influence the *Cultural Heritage of India* records that about two hundred versions of the *Panchatantra* in some sixty

²² Daya Kishan Thussu, *Communicating India's Soft Power: Buddha to Bollywood*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p.49.

²³ *Panchatantra: The Book of India's Folk Wisdom*, translated from original Sanskrit by Patrick Olivelle, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997, pp.xliii-xliv.

²⁴ Ibid.

languages have been traced so far and the *Panchatantra* is second only to the *Bible* from this point of view. It further mentions:

The resemblance between the fables of *Pancatantra* and those of *Aesop* on the one hand and those of La Fontaine on the other is striking, and the originality and uniqueness of the Indian version have been admitted by almost all scholars.²⁵

Harappan Age

Interestingly, tales from the *Panchatantra* have influenced the *Arthashastra* and vice-versa. There is a lot of overlap. Recent literature traces few of the roots to the pre-Vedic Harappan age. The dialogues and interaction of the fox and the crow provide simple lessons on national interests and outmanoeuvring, so natural to diplomacy. The painted pot from Lothal of the Indus Civilization has a scene depicting a bird perched on a tree holding a fish, and a fox-like animal below. Ancient historian and archeologist B.B. Lal argues that the scene is very reminiscent of the story of the 'clever fox' narrated in the *Panchatantra*, wherein the fox praised the crow on the tree-top for its sweet voice and thus made it open its mouth and drop the morsel which the fox ran off with.²⁶ If you visit the National Museum in New Delhi and see the Indus Civilization and Harappan jewelry and trinkets, you may notice striking similarities to what is being sold at the Dilli Haat.

Varying Interpretations in Indian Philosophy

It seems very logical to agree with Charles Drekmeier who mentions that the *Panchatantra* fables are in the same classification as *Arthashastra* and *Nitishastra* work.²⁷

²⁵ Bishnupada Bhattacharya, 'Sanskrit Prose', in Suniti Kumar Chatterji (Ed.), *The Cultural Heritage of India, Volume V: Language and Literature*, Belur Math, Ramakrishna Mission, 2013, pp. 253-272.

²⁶ B.B. Lal, 'The Indus Civilization', in A.L. Basham (Ed.), *Cultural History of India*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, Second Indian Impression, 1998, pp.11-19.

²⁷ Charles Drekmeier, *Kingship and Community in Early India*, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1962, p.220.

However, Charles Drekmeier may not have noticed the popularity of the book for children in India. Today, it is also a book of morals. Charles Drekmeier in his book, meant for serious western readers, mentions the influence of *Arthashastra* on *Panchatantra* where the *Panchatantra* testifies in its opening verse the great influence of the *Arthashastra*. Charles Drekmeier connects the moral tone of the *Panchatantra* with that of another Indian saying (but it is not a part of the *Panchatantra* for sure). The moral tone of the *Panchatantra* is in the story of the lion who, suffering from acute hunger, eats a camel. The simple camel, is tricked by the other servants of the lion (leopard, crow and jackal) to offer himself after the lion has refused to eat the three other servants. It is now that the lion is advised by a crow to kill and eat a camel to whom the lion had given protection evoking a philosophical argument:

For, says the crow, the sages have told us that such actions may be committed for the sake of self-preservation. The noble creature is unconvinced, and the crow continues his lecture: the individual may be sacrificed for a family, the family for the village, the village for the state- and for the self all the world may be sacrificed.²⁸

Thus, it seems that by evoking this example of 'sacrifice' Drekmeier provides two pathways (moral and immoral) by including a wider and all-encompassing verse. This verse, it needs to be said, is not found in most of the versions of the *Panchatantra*. However, its use by three heavy weights (Charles Drekmeier, S. Radhakrishnan and Jawahar Lal

²⁸ Charles Drekmeier, *Kingship and Community in Early India*, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1962, pp.220-221. In the English translations, I found this story as Book I, Story 7 'How the Lion's Servants Got the Camel Killed' in *Panchatantra: The Book of India's Folk Wisdom*, translated from original Sanskrit by Patrick Olivelle, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997, pp.46-48. It was not to be found in Arthur W. Ryder's translation from Sanskrit *Panchatantra*, Mumbai, Jaico Publishers, 2011 (thirty fourth Impression) or in Visnu Sarma, *The Panchatantra*, translated from Sanskrit with and introduction by Chandra Rajan, New Delhi, Penguin Books, 1993. In any of the books on *Panchatantra* I could not locate Charles Drekmeier's quote in the *Panchatantra* "the individual may be sacrificed for a family, the family for the village, the village for the state- and for the self all the world may be sacrificed". It appears that this rare story from the *Panchatantra* has only been used as a comparison by Drekmeier to show moral/immoral acts in context.

Nehru) is profound and fundamental. For this there is a need to engage with Indian philosophy and how its interpretation varies.

Indian philosophy has very powerful personal and social messages in ancient traditions and text. Former President of India scholar-philosopher S. Radhakrishnan in his famous *Hindu View of Life* in a passage at page 70 under the title "Man More Important than Society" quotes from a Sanskrit verse: "For the family sacrifice the individual; for the community the family; for the country the community, and for the soul the whole world." Radhakrishnan then explains that "family and country, nation and the world cannot satisfy the soul of man. Each individual is called upon at a certain stage of his life to give up his wife, and children and his caste and work. The last part of life's road has to be walked in single file."

Jawahar Lal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of independent India, in his book *Glimpses of World History*, which is about a series of letters he wrote to his daughter Indira Gandhi, writes:

In one of our old Sanskrit books there is a verse, which can be translated as follows: "For the family sacrifice the individual, for the community the family, for the country the community, and for the Soul the whole world". What the Soul is few of us can know or tell, and each one of us can interpret it in different way. But the lesson this Sanskrit verse teaches us is the same lesson of co-operation and sacrifice for the larger good.²⁹

In a close study of *The Nitisara of The Elements of Polity by Kamandaki*, this wisdom is also found. But it is under Sarga (Chapter) XI, Prakarna 16. "Varieties of Marching, Encamping, Dual movement and Political alliance or seeking protection of the stronger power.", sutras 31, 32, 32A and 32B (11.16. 31, 32A-B). It is the last resort under diplomacy to be taken when overwhelmed:

31. (Finding no other alternative) an assailed ruler should seek alliance with the very assailant by surrendering to him his army or treasury or land and its products, as it is injudicious to remain without a protector (*anapasrayah*).

²⁹ I thank Shyam Hari in drawing my attention and providing me a scanned copy of page 8 of the rare book.

32. Afflicted by perilous circumstances the ruler should forsake everything (i.e., all his resources) in order to save his own self (so that, if alive those may be regained under a favourable situation). King Yudhisthira (having lost everything to the Kauravas) later regained his kingdom.

32A. An inspiring popular verse (*laukiki*) says that a living man is likely to secure happiness even after the lapse of a hundred years (i.e., at a future date, as one's suffering and joys move in a cyclic order).

32B. (It is also said that if such a contingency arises) a particular person (however near and dear) should be forsaken in the interest of the village, and the village should be forsaken in the interest of the country (*janapada*). But for the larger interest of self-preservation he may even abandon his own life after careful deliberation.

Clearly, it shows that in Indian philosophy and traditional statecraft, as these examples show, there are multiple interpretations demanding a deeper understanding.

Conclusion

Individual Salvation, Moral Message and Statecraft

The *Arthashastra* has nothing to say on individual salvation or moksha, but text as the *Panchatantra* is not only meant for kings and ministers but also for the common man. In the World Book Fair at Delhi in 2015 there was a special pavilion for the *Panchatantra* and similar literature for children. The fact is that today *Panchatantra* is very popular with children as it relates to morals (except brutal stories such as the lion being tricked by servants to eat the camel who had been given shelter) and it must remain so.³⁰ I seem to agree with the understanding of

³⁰ Scholars have different understanding of political and moral philosophy of the *Panchatantra*. Patrick Olivelle has ten pages devoted to the political and moral philosophy of *Panchatantra* (op cit, pp.xxxi-xl). I do not agree with some of his conclusions, more so when he introduces the 'homosexual relations' in animal stories.

Ramaranjan Mukherji who writes: “*Panchatantra* claims to be a work specifically intended to teach practical wisdom to princes. In doing this it shows connection with the Niti-sastra and the Artha-sastra... Nevertheless, there lingers round the *Panchatantra* the definite influence of Dharma-sastra, the code of morals, for the fables never extol cleverness and political wisdom divorced from morality.”³¹ For adults and those with scholarly bent of mind, Kautilya’s *Arthashastra* may be the better option. I am in agreement with that the tenants offered by *Panchatantra* though relevant, fail to make an impact towards strategy which are clearly brought out in Kautilya’s *Arthashastra*. And further, in the *Panchatantra*, there is sense of universal applicability especially to the common man. Today like the epics, the *Panchatantra* is more popular including for the young while *Arthashastra* remains highly complex and serious. Thus this distinction, it is reiterated, must remain so.³² I also do not recommend teaching of *Arthashastra* in schools as was being suggested in a TV discussion recently. For those who may like to study *Arthashastra* as well as *Panchatantra*, this important differentiation and factor must be kept in mind. In a sense the new vigour to engage with Kautilya’s *Arthashastra* and make it simpler for the vocabulary to get established could be compared with the urge of Visnu Sharma to device beast fables for the lazy princes. But in modern times, policy-makers are aware and highly competent. They do not need the *Panchatantra*. However, the policy-makers do need to apply the concepts of the *Arthashastra* while framing the country’s policies.³³

³¹ Ramaranjan Mukherji, ‘Sanskrit and Sanskrit Fables’ in Suniti Kumar Chatterji and K.M. Munshi (Eds.), *The Cultural Heritage of India, Volume V: Languages and Literature*, Belur Math, Ramakrishna Mission, 2013, pp.273-274. Notice that for the same book Ramaranjan Mukherji’s assessment is opposite of that of Patrick Olivelle. This shows that there may be no final word and it depends on scholarship and perception.

³² I thank an anonymous referee who pointed out to this important distinction and the need to be conscious of it.

³³ As given in chapter 1, to achieve this aim a series of seminars and events on Kautilya have been held at IDSA since 2012. See Pradeep Kumar Gautam, Saurabh Mishra and Arvind Gupta (Eds.), *Indigenous Historical Knowledge: Kautilya and His Vocabulary* – in the three Volumes (forthcoming). You-Tube presentations of all seminars are on IDSA web besides a comprehensive portal of indigenous historical knowledge at <http://idsa.in/history/index.html>

While our policy-makers and diplomats are highly capable and understand where to draw a line in moral and national interest, the study of *Arthashastra* and *Panchatantra* may be more important for developing good governance and a comprehensive national power. No state can prosper with *vyasanas* or calamities of governance, leadership and morals as theorized crisply in the *Arthashastra*.

In conclusion it could be said that the values in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* with its variations and wisdom from *Panchatantra* can not be just claimed by India. It is an original contribution and part of Indian tradition or we can say of the Indian sub-continent (this include all countries and civilisations of South Asia like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Afghanistan, Bhutan, Tibet, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Myanmar or Burma), and now an intellectual property of world knowledge with no copyright to hinder its free use. So is the case of stories and its off shoots from the *Panchatantra*. The next exciting event in security and strategic studies may well be revisiting these historic links and complimenting the ancient Greek and Chinese literature with knowledge from South Asia. Greece and Rome have enriched the discourse of international studies and all disciplines of humanities very well. It is now the turn of Asia to enrich the literature by revisiting and sustaining the wide study and application of the positive features of traditional historical knowledge.

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Ancient Indian Indigenous Traditions for Contemporary Social Science Research¹

Introduction

There is much to learn from ancient Indian traditions. This knowledge can be used to supplement and improve upon existing knowledge. But one has to be very careful in using terms translated from Sanskrit into English. Only very reliable sources need to be used (and not internet-based search engines). It is in this category that I will use D.R. Chattopadhyaya's work. D.R. Chattopadhyaya shows that in the Indian tradition, as given in the *Rigveda*: " *vidyas* (or sciences) are said to be four in numbers:

- (a) *Trayi*, the triple Veda.
- (b) *Anviksiki*, logic and metaphysics.
- (c) *Danda-niti*, science of governance.
- (d) *Vartta*, practical arts, such as agriculture, commerce, medicines etc."²

Further in the classical tradition of India, "the word *sastra* has at times, been used as synonym of *vidya*. *Vidya* denotes instrument of teaching, manual or compendium of rules, religious or scientific treatise. The

¹ In my earlier IDSA Issue Brief of February 12, 2013 titled 'Shruti and Smriti: Some Issues in the Re-emergence of Indian Traditional Knowledge', I had included an Appendix 'Research Methodology, Writing Skills and Logic from Indian Traditions'. I have used some concepts from that Issue Brief for this chapter. I also use explanations where necessary as given in my monograph P.K. Gautam, *One Hundred Years of Kautilya's Arthashastra*, IDSA Monograph Series No.20, July 2013.

² D.R. Chattopadhyaya, 'General Introduction' in D.R. Chattopadhyaya (General Ed.), *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization*, Volume X, Part 7, New Delhi, Sage 2006, pp.xx-xxi.

word *sastra* is usually found after the word referring to the subject of the book, e.g., *Dharma-sastra*, *Artha-sastra*.³ Similarly, the two “different branches of knowledge are *jnana* and *vijnana*. While *jnana* means knowing, knowledge, especially the higher form of it, *vijnana* stands for the act of distinguishing or discerning, understanding, comprehending and recognizing. It means worldly or profane knowledge as distinguished from *jnana*, knowledge of the divine.”⁴

Today, in Hindi *jnana* (also written as *gyan*) is equated with knowledge and wisdom, while *vijnana* (also written as *vigyan*) means science. A scientist in a laboratory will be a *vigyanik*.

It needs to be remembered that Kautilya wrote and compiled the work in a time bracket which may vary from 4th century BCE to 3rd AD. One has to relate the knowledge of this text to the society and conditions that existed at that time. In this context, in the content page, in Book 1, Kautilya lists sections of the *Arthashastra*. At 1.1.3 he says “Enumeration of the Sciences.” The four sciences he expands in the next chapter Two under section 1 Enumeration of the Sciences (1.2.1):

(i) Establish (the necessity of) Philosophy

1. Philosophy, the three Vedas, economics and the science of politics – these are the sciences.

Anivikshiki as we note above is ‘logic and metaphysics’ and is the blanket term for philosophy. Later, at 1.2.8 Kautilya in his characteristic style rejects and updates the old syllabus prescribed by earlier teachers to reiterate his new list (1.2.8):

Four, indeed, is the number of sciences, says Kautilya.

R.P. Kangle in the translations of remarks on the four sciences (1.2.8) notes “The four *vidyas*, on the study of all of which Kautilya himself insists, practically cover all branches of learning known at the time.”⁵

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ R.P. Kangle, Part II, p.6.

After having spelt out the first leg of the syllabus for education and training, Kautilya prescribes the most important of the extant social sciences as we know today – philosophy/ *Anvikshiki* (1.2.10):

Samkhya, Yoga and Lokayata- these constitute philosophy.

Samkhya and *Yoga* are the two schools from the famous six schools of Indian philosophy.⁶ Lokayatas are those who argue that matter alone is real, there is no life after death, no soul or God. Including Lokayata philosophy is a remarkable attitude to show that Kautilya was not interested in preaching religion but was truly a materialist engaging in all forms of knowledge. In a way he is rightly a-religious.

Today, in an age of the ‘techie’ we lament at the drop in standards and interest for humanities and social sciences. It is very interesting to note that these were never ignored in the past. To see the relevance and importance of some traditions today accordingly this chapter now begins with a short introduction to *Nyaya* or analytical philosophy. This will be followed by how a topic needs to be broken up as given by Jaimini of the *Mimamsa* School. Logical reasoning, deduction and induction in Indian traditions are introduced. This is followed by perception and communication skills to match the past with present.

***Nyaya* or Analytical System of Indian Philosophy**

The famous Gautama Rishi was the founder of the *Nyaya* or Analytical system of Indian philosophy, which forms part of the six systems already described in note 6. “The *Nyaya* method originated undoubtedly from the tradition of debates and dialects which prevailed in ancient India. It was the result of an intellectual climate pervaded by public discussions, debates, arguments, and counter-arguments”.⁷ In an

⁶ These systems are the pre-Buddhist set of literature called *Sutras*, or aphorism - *Nyaya Sutra* of Gautama (school of logic or analysis), *Vaisesika Sutra* of Kanada (atomic realism/theism); *Samkhya Sutra* of Kapila (enumeration), *Yoga Sutra* of Patanjali (yoke, application); *Mimamsa Sutra* of Jaimini (enquiry), and *Vedanta* (absolute soul).

⁷ Bimal Krishna Matilal, *Perception: An Essay on Classical Indian Theories of Knowledge*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1986, p.70. Matilal points out that “philosophy as a discipline has been designated as *anviksiki* by Kautilya and Vatsyayana. The term literally means the method of critical examination”.

Appendix VII to his seminal *The Wonder that Was India*, A.L. Basham shows that in the *Nyaya* School of logic:

One of the most important topics of Indian thought in this field was the question of *pramana*, which may be translated "means of reliable knowledge". According to the later *Nyaya* school there were four *pramanas*, perception (*pratyaksa*), inference (*anumana*), inference by analogy or comparison (*upamana*), and "word" (*abda*), the pronouncement of a reliable authority, such as the *Vedas*.⁸

It was argued further that "It was probably in the study of the process of inference that schools of true logic arose."⁹ The five constituents of reasoning being:

- (a) *Pratijna* or the proposition what one proposes to prove,
- (b) *Hetu* or reason,
- (c) *Udharana* or example,
- (d) *Upanaya* or application, and
- (e) *Nigamana* or conclusion.¹⁰

Jaimini's Philosophy

The French Indologist Robert Lingat has done a deep study of Indian traditions. *Mimamsa*, according to him, "was regarded as an indispensable science for the interpreter".¹¹ Jaimini of the *Mimamsa* school of philosophy (period varies from 200 BC to 200AD) articulated that a topic or subject called *adhikaranas* is subdivided into five parts:

1. *Visaya*: Subject of the investigation.
2. *Samasya*: The doubts it raises.

⁸ A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that Was India*, London, Picador, 2004 (first published 1954), Appendix VII 'Logic and Epistemology', pp.501-503.

⁹ Ibid, p.501.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Robert Lingat, *The Classical Law of India*, translated from French with additions by J. Duncan M. Derrett, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1998, p.148.

3. *Purva Paksha*: The hypothesis or *prima facie* view.
4. *Uttara Paksha*: The reply.
5. *Siddhanta/ Nirnaya*: The conclusion.

Lingat notes that Indologists have observed that “this method of discussion is not without relevance to the method followed by the jurist in elucidating a point of law.”¹²

This ancient knowledge is still relevant today in social sciences and possibly not in pure science where a good professor is still remembered for his famous statement: “Theory guides, experiment decides.”¹³

Deduction and Induction

Ancient Indian traditions besides separating practice from theory also had issues of logic. The most important aspect is about deduction and induction. It has been pointed out by Charles Drekmeier that whereas “the *Dharmasastra* considered government and political process with reference to the ideals expressed in the vedic canon, the largely secular analysis of *Arthashastra* treats this subject more objectively. In the *Arthashastra* literature, the interest of the state, rather than the king's personal fulfillment is of foremost importance. Dharmashastra is of an essentially deductive nature; arthashastra by contrast, introduces inductive reasoning and a greater realism.”¹⁴ Although Charles Drekmeier did not elaborate or explain as to why *Arthashastra* introduces inductive reasoning, it is clear that he was relating it to the very nature of deductive reasoning - it cannot throw up new data.

Let me explain induction and deduction. In a review essay I have argued:

Robert M Pirsig's *Zen and the Art of Motor Cycle Maintenance: An Inquiry into Values* (USA, William Morrow & Sons, 1974) also

¹² Ibid, p.149.

¹³ E. Arunan, 'Is Indian science too theoretical?', *Current Science*, Vol.105, No.1, July 10, 2013, pp.15-16.

¹⁴ Charles Drekmeier, *Kingship and Community in Early India*, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 189.

discusses logic, both inductive and deductive. He explains that inductive inferences start with observation. For example, if the motor cycle goes over a bump and the engine misfires, and then goes over another bump and the engine misfires and then goes over a long smooth stretch of road and there is no misfiring, and then goes over another bump and the engine misfires again, one can logically conclude that the misfiring is caused by the bumps. This is induction: reasoning from a particular experience to general truth. Pirsig then explains that deductive inference does the reverse. They start with general knowledge and predict a specific observation. For example, if, from reading the hierarchy of facts about the machine, the mechanic knows the horn of the cycle is powered exclusively by electricity from the battery, then he can logically infer that if the battery is dead the horn will not work. That is deduction.¹⁵

With this inductive reasoning various strategies and policies can be worked out. Even Sherlock Holmes, the detective of the novels by Arthur Conan-Doyle, relies more on induction to solve a mystery based on the logic of the dog that did not bark, though in his forensic analysis he also makes use of deduction.

In the application of concepts from the *Arthashastra*, induction is most helpful. The sequence is not rigid, but for an example we begin with the six measures of foreign policy: 1) *Samdhi*, making a treaty containing conditions or terms, that is, the policy of peace, 2) *Vigraha*, the policy of hostility, 3) *Asana*, the policy of remaining quiet (and not planning to march on an expedition), 4) *Yana*, marching on an expedition, 5) *Samsraya*, seeking shelter with another king or in a fort, and 6) *Dvaidhibhava* the double policy of *Samdhi* with one king and *Vigraha* with another at the same time. To arrive at a decision the thinking process may be as in succeeding paragraphs.

Each *prakrit* or element of a state, that is *svamin* (king or ruler), *amatya* (body of ministers and structure of administration), *janapada/rastra*

¹⁵ P.K. Gautam, Review Essay 'Research and Think Tanks', *Strategic Analysis*, Vol.34, No.3, May 2010, pp. 451-455.

(territory being agriculturally fertile with mines, forest and pastures, water resources and communication system for trade), *durga/pura* (fort), *kosa* (treasury), *danda/bala* (army) and *mitra* (ally) in the circle of kings or mandala needs to be mapped and measured (including that of the *vijigisu* or would be conqueror himself). For this the tool is obviously through intelligence, of which the *Arthashastra* is a foundational text.

Then the theory of *mandala* as a conceptual tool has to establish friends, foes, middle power or *madhyama* and neutral power or *udasina*. This has to be worked out in a dynamic fashion linked with the intelligence and survey of state of *prakrits*. Then the application of the four *upayas* (*sama- dana- bheda- danda* : conciliation, gifts, rupture and force) has to be thought through. Issues of morality and justice have to be catered for as well. All this is best served by induction, though deduction has also to be used in discarding a course of action due to the 'so what factor' or when Kautilya in his characteristic style rejects the teaching of earlier teachers and gives his own priorities or opinion.

Ideas for Future Research

In an informal discussion held by the Kautilya study group in December 2014, the idea of using middle range theories, as suggested by Alexander George and Andrew Bennett in *Case Studies and Theory Development in Social Science Research* (2008), to understand concepts in the *Arthashastra* was discussed. This includes an interest and revival of "Return to History."¹⁶ This may only be possible provided there is the knowledge of the *Arthashastra* combined with the clear understanding of case study method. Another key concept that is being attempted is "Reuse of the Past" in the IDSA bilateral with South Asia Institute, Heidelberg University, Germany.

Next to be considered are issues of Perception and Communications in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*.

¹⁶ Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in Social Science Research*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 2005.

Perception, Communication and Writing Skills

Perception (Book One of Kautilya's Arthashastra)

Kautilya divides perception into three categories - directly perceived, unperceived and inferred.¹⁷ In matters of consultation, policy issues which are applicable even today including research in IR the three categories have not changed.

Communication and Writing Skills (Book Two Kautilya's Arthashastra)

Chapter Ten, Section 28: The Topic of Edicts is the closest to the written word. In composing a document the guidelines are (2.10.6 -12):

- “6. Arrangement of subject-matter, connection, completeness, sweetness, exaltedness and lucidity constitute the excellence of writings.
7. Among them, arranging in a proper order, the statement first of the principal matter, is arranging of subject – matter.
8. The statement of a subsequent matter without its being incompatible with the matter at hand, right up to the end, is connection.
9. Absence of deficiency or excess of matter, words and letters, description in detail of the matter by means of reason, citations and illustrations, (and) expressiveness of words, is completeness.
10. The use of words with a charming meaning easily conveyed is sweetness.
11. The use of words that are not vulgar is exaltedness.
12. The employment of words that are well-known is lucidity.”

The characteristic of good writings as above are self-evident. Kautilya then also points out common errors or defects to be conscious of and to be avoided (2.10.57):

¹⁷ P.K. Gautam, *One Hundred Years of Kautilya's Arthashastra*, IDSA Monograph Series No.20, July 2013, Appendix B, pp.29-30.

"57. Absence of charm, contradiction, repetition, incorrect (use of a) word, and confusion, - these are the defects of writing."

Kautilya continues (2.10.59-62):

- "59. The incompatibility of the later with earlier is contradiction.
60. Statement a second time of what is said without distinction is repetition.
61. The wrong use of gender, number, tense and case is incorrect (use of a) word.
- 62 The making of a group where there should be no group and not making a group where there should be a group, this reversal of qualities is confusion."

As it relates to in writing skills, what Kautilya wrote in detail is also applicable today. Like Kautilya, Forrest D. Colburn and Norman Uphoff have dealt with this. Upfront in a box 'Norman Uphoff's Tips for Students' Papers', Norman Uphoff recalls the painstaking efforts of his guru:

Rarely discussed is something seen as decidedly pedestrian; the advisor's ability and penchant for offering detailed, written comments on drafts that refine the exposition, and in the process, strengthen the student's skill at composition. It is my good fortune, more than 20 years ago, to have a dissertation advisor who not only offered exhaustive comments on my drafts, but who also took the time to teach me what I thought I already knew- how to write.¹⁸

It appears as if Kautilya had dictated the key principles of writing which these academics and teachers seem to focus upon. Like him they emphasize on (1) Diction or choice of words, consistency as a function of being disciplined and careful, capitalization, headings, dates, (2) Grammatical considerations, (3) Punctuation, (4) Paragraphs and

¹⁸ Forrest D. Colburn and Norman Uphoff, 'Common Expository Problems in Students' Papers and Theses', *Political Science & Politics*, Vol.45, No.2, April 2012, pp.291-297.

how to make them meaningful, (5) Spacing, (6) Spellings, (7) Abbreviations and Italicization, (8) Hyphenation, (9) Footnotes and miscellaneous points.¹⁹

Matching Past with Present

The basics and fundamentals have not changed. D.R. Chattopadhyaya rightly tells the reader:

In medieval Europe the expression 'the seven liberal sciences' has so often been used simultaneously with 'the seven liberal arts', meaning thereby, the group of studies by the *Trivium* (Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric) and *Quadrivium* (Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy).²⁰

Today, you can never be a loser if you can have knowledge of *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*. The same is the case with Indian tradition and let us say 'non-western' traditions which seem to supplement and reinforce our knowledge.

Below is a framework for writing concept papers. What is given below may be the format being followed today generally across the world in social science research including in think tanks. It could have been written more than 2,000 years ago in India:

- Justification of proposed research, including a literature review and pointing out gaps, if possible.
- Objective of the paper/study, the research questions to be addressed, and the analytical framework.
- Main testable hypothesis.
- Methodology.
- Research outputs and policy relevance, and
- Bibliography.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ D.R. Chattopadhyaya, 'General Introduction, in D.R. Chattopadhyaya (General Ed.), *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization*, Volume X, Part 7, New Delhi, Sage 2006, pp.xx-xxi.

Conclusion

Contemporary social science researchers can benefit if a serious study of ancient India text is undertaken critically. As this chapter shows, there is the need for a wide and wholesome education of arts and sciences. The methodology of communication skills is probably the same in many respects to what may be prescribed in think tanks, universities and management schools. This can be further improved upon and refined. An exciting area of future research is to relate text, history and episodes from ancient traditions to explain contemporary issues. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is not based on historical narratives. However, the inductive method of using concepts for theory making is possible to explain a point of view of political realism, statecraft, diplomacy and other related disciplines.

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Contemporary Use of Traditional Historical Knowledge in China and India: A Literature Survey¹

Introduction

In recent times, as China rises and develops there has been an increase in the number of writings on ancient traditions. Authors attempt to explain aspects of international relations, diplomacy, and international order from various strands of Chinese text, traditions and history. India also is endowed with a rich ancient past. This chapter demonstrates how contemporary Chinese and other scholars use concepts and examples from ancient Chinese traditional knowledge in their writings as it relates to international relations (IR) and military craft. From this survey, it is possible to see that civilisational traditions have much to offer to the academic world in enriching our understanding of international politics. It is also evident that in the case of India, much more needs to be done.

The chapter begins with ancient Indian and Chinese traditions with their brief comparison. The paper is divided into two parts. Part 1 details International Relations (IR) and Morals. Part 2 deals with the Art of War. Each part covers how contemporary Chinese and other scholar use examples and concepts from ancient Chinese traditions in IR and the Art of War, respectively. Part 2 also include some comparative work by Indian scholars on Sun Tzu and *The Art of War*.

Indian and Chinese Recordkeeping Traditions

At the outset, it must be recognised that ancient India relied on oral

¹ I use explanations where necessary as given in my monograph P.K. Gautam, *One Hundred Years of Kautilya's Arthasastra*, IDSA Monograph Series No.20, July 2013.

traditions. Eminent Chinese Indologist Professor Ji Xianlin maintains that:

Ancient India had a very weak textual tradition but a very strong oral tradition. Chinese scholars posit that Indians ignored historical records for oral tradition, albeit they have excelled in religion, philosophy and meditation. Throughout the history of Indian civilisation, although there are thousands of scriptures passed down from generations to generations, but not a single chronological history or historiography is to be found.²

Thus, there is at the most, some literary material as source but hardly any written historical records such as those of Greek or Chinese civilisations.

The Chinese have a rich historic tradition of accurate record keeping and archival work. The most striking feature is that the dates of various periods are clearly given with no ambiguity. However if the intellectual history is compared, both Chinese and Indian civilisations are rich in ancient text on statecraft and art of war. In this paper, the period analysed will be of the Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and the times of the Magadha Empire. For our comparison we may presume Kautilya's *Arthashastra* to represent the band from 4th century BC to 3rd century AD.³ Like in the Chinese concept of 'Warring States', in India according to Buddhist sources, northern India had the famous sixteen Mahajanpads. Finally, it was the Magadh Empire that emerged victorious. Later the Mauryan Empire under Chandragupta Maurya and his grandson Ashoka unified the Indian subcontinent. In one way this is the Sino-Indian axial age of great intellectual and philosophical churning. Ideas and concepts if critically studied from text are still relevant.

² As quoted by Yin Zhao, 'Bimbisara, Buddha, and Buddhism: Reconstructing the Linkages through Chinese Buddhist Sutras' in Wang Shuying and B.R. Deepak (Eds.), *India-China: Civilizational Perspectives*, New Delhi: Manak Publications, 2012, pp.45-74.

³ We do not get concerned with this debate but engage with ideas in the text.

Indian Traditions

As in the case of ancient China, the period of intellectual history of India in which Kautilya made his appearance and wrote the *Arthashastra* must be understood. D. Mackenzie Brown had rightly opined that the “most creative period for Indian theory occurs, as in China and Greece, before the beginning of Christian Era in the West.”⁴ He also observed that “Indian political thought cannot be isolated from the main body of Hindu philosophy. In the West, we have accepted a tradition, partly Machiavellian, of a science of government which rests upon its own empirical basis. But the great works of Indian polity are like the political dicta of Aquinas, one facet of a vast and integrated system of reasoning which poses and interprets the very problem of human existence.”⁵

Nilima Chakravarty has analysed and traced the essentials of Kautilya's thought. She argues that there were a number of traditions and an understanding of them is essential:

We must understand the period of intellectual history of India in which Kautilya made his appearance. The Upanisadic thinkers and the Buddha with his followers dominated the scene. They pointed to the transitory and ever changing nature of the empirical world. Worldly pleasures were not worth pursuing, they were to be shunned.⁶

Nilima Chakravarty shows that emphasis on asceticism and renunciation led to reactions from the Lokayata thinkers. Lokayatas argue that matter alone is real, that there was no life after death, no soul, no God. They rejected all sources of knowledge. To Nilima “Kautilya would be regarded as close to a Lokayatika.”⁷ It is in this intellectual ferment that

⁴ D. Mackenzie Brown, *The White Umbrella: Indian Political Thought from Manu to Gandhi*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964, p.12.

⁵ Ibid, p.6.

⁶ Nilima Chakravarty, *Indian Philosophy: The Pathfinders and the System Builders (700BC to 100AD)*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers Limited, 1992, 'Kautilya' Chapter VI, p. 167.

⁷ Ibid, pp. 167-168.

the text matured. In comparing the present with the past, the then Indian National Security Adviser Shivshankar Menon in April 2014 argued: "Arthashastra itself emerged from the collision of India's 6th century BC Enlightenment (Upanishads, Buddhism, reason) and the power politics of the Magadhan and North Indian state system in subsequent centuries. Both were worlds in rapid change. We seem to be at an analogous historical moment again."⁸

Chinese Traditions

To place the ancient Chinese traditions in perspective, dynastic chronology of China is given in the Appendix. Here we focus on ancient period Before the Common Era (BCE).

According to Yongjin Zhang, "Ancient China boasts one of the earliest systems of states in world history. Like ancient Greece, but on a much larger scale and certainly in a much longer historical period, ancient China was in a state of prolonged war during the Spring and Autumn period (771- 481 BC) and the Warring States period (481–221 BC)."⁹

There was incessant warfare with over 100 independent states initially followed by struggle for power amongst seven states (compare this with the 16 Mahajanpads of the Mauryan /Buddhist times). The armies comprised a small force of nobility mounted on chariots backed by an ill-armed crowd of peasants on foot. By mid 5th century BC, only seven major kingdoms survived. Three main schools emerged:

- (a) the Confucian, intensely conservative.
- (b) Taoists- more imaginative.

⁸ Shivshankar Menon, National Security Advisor, Speaking Notes at the International Conference on Kautilya, April 9, 2014, at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=huC-qMQOa68&list=PLrR2OTOrNPrh8TQLOo_OPhLNRDH9dV5-p (accessed on April 29, 2014).

⁹ Yongjin Zhang, 'The idea of order in ancient Chinese political thought: a Wightian exploration', *International Affairs*, Vol.90, Issue 1, January, 2014, pp.167-183.

The chronological dates are from Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, (Eds.), *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999.

- (c) Legalists who shared authoritarianism of the Confucians and the belief of Taoists- proponents of naked power politics.¹⁰

The Chinese scholar Yan Xuetong gives a very clear and detailed account of the ancient Chinese traditions.¹¹ An appendix by Xu Jin in Yan Xuetong's book elaborates further. The Spring and Autumn period is recorded in *The Spring and Autumn Annals* and the Warring States period is recorded in *The Stratagem of Warring States*, a historical work edited by Liu Xiang. The Spring and Autumn period was a turning point for China's ancient history as it saw the dawn of the iron age and breakup of the clan communities based on blood lineage.¹² But the final unification was in the period that followed, that is Warring States period. As Xu Jin shows:

During the Warring States Period, the seven states of Wei, Zhao, Han, Qi, Chu, Qin, and Yan, known as the Seven Powers, were constantly at war with one another. . . . Shang Yang, who transformed the legal system of Qin and developed the state into a rich and powerful one, ensured that ultimately Qin became dominant as it gradually annihilated the other six states and realized the goal of unity.¹³

In 221 BC, the first emperor of Qin unified the other six states. In this endeavour, the Chinese thinker and 'strategist' who finally made the unification and victory possible was Shang Yang (author of *Book of Shang*) called the Legalist. Likewise, in India, Chandragupta Maurya - the first Mauryan king advised by the strategist Kautilya (also known as Chanakya or Vishnugupta) and author of the *Arthashastra* unified India.

¹⁰ D.C. Twitchett, 'Chinese Politics and Society from the Bronze Age to the Manchus' in Arnold Toynbee (Ed.), *Half the World: The History and Culture of China and Japan*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1973, pp.53-78.

¹¹ Yan, Xuetong, *Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power*, edited by Daniel A. Bell and Sun Zhe, translated by Edmund Ryden, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2011.

¹² Xu Jin, Appendix 1 'The Spring and Autumn and Warring State Periods and the Pre-Qin Masters', in Yan Xuetong, pp.223-228.

¹³ Ibid.

The many intellectual currents during those ancient times in India (unification of Magadh and later the Indian sub-continent) have been mentioned earlier. Kautilya's work then became the supreme text on state craft. It could be due to this similarity that Charles Drekmeier compares Lord Shang, the Legalist with Kautilya (covered later in Part 1).

In sum, in the account by Xu Jin, during the pre-Qin period or the Spring and Autumn and the Warring State period a new intelligentsia emerged, the scholar- officials:

Representatives of this group include Laozi, Confucius, Mencius, Mozi, Zhuangzi, Xunzi, Hanfeizi, the Legalist Shang Yang and Shen Buhai, the primitive agriculturalist Xu Xing (ca.390-315 BCE) and his disciple Chen Xiang, and the military strategist Su Qin and Zhang Yi. All of these were famous thinkers, politicians, military experts, or scientists.¹⁴

These scholars wrote books and sought jobs as advisors giving their political ideas :

Of these four are important - Confucianism, Daoism, Mohism, and Legalism - and the *Analects*, *Mencius*, *Mozi*, *Laozi*, *Xunzi*, and *Hanfeizi* are the representative works of these four schools.¹⁵

IR and Art of War

Two strands of literature now radiate from the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States period. The first is concerning the IR theory and issues of grand strategy, statecraft and diplomacy. The second strand is the 'Art of War'. In comparison, the Kautilya's *Arthashastra* consisting of 15 books encompassing both the strands besides other subjects of diplomacy, foreign policy, law, economics, accounts and internal governance etc. In the Chinese text Sun Tzu is only concerned with practical issues of military strategy and tactics. The book has 13

¹⁴ Ibid, p.226. .

¹⁵ Ibid. Notice the absence of the military theorist Sun Tzu in the list of these intellectuals.

chapters. The scholarship in the field of Sun Tzu and *The Art of War* is well developed, not only in China but also internationally. In India a survey of literature will show later, maximum work is on comparison of Sun Tzu with that of the military and strategic dimensions given in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*.

Both the civilizations though have ancient traditions but are, so to speak, new to the discipline (when compared with the West) of the 're-use' of the past. The text of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* was only rediscovered or fixed in early 20th century. It was then translated into other language from Sanskrit. Likewise, as I have written earlier in my monograph, the knowledge of Chinese classics such as 'Sun Tzu and the Art of War' to the English speaking and understanding world is only about one hundred years old. The first French edition appeared in 1772 and in 1910, the first English version.¹⁶ I had shown how Christopher Coker distinguishes China from the West. He argues that China has never had a strong warrior tradition. All the seven military classics were collected and made canonical in the Sung dynasty (960-1279), and all seven became required reading for those who wished to pursue a military career. While they were neglected in the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) they were rescued from oblivion by nationalists and taught in military academies in 1920s. All cadets were required to study Sun Tzu, as they are today.¹⁷ Japan is also a Sinic culture and interestingly, in her case, Lo Shun-Te argues that the study of Sun Tzu's *Art of War* was introduced in Nara Era (693-755) as required reading.¹⁸

While Chinese traditions such as those of Sun Tzu are now well-researched and available in many languages, Kautilya remains a poor understudied cousin in the academic world in international studies (IS)

¹⁶ P.K. Gautam, *One Hundred Years of Kautilya's Arthashastra*, New Delhi, IDSA Monograph No.20, July 2013 at <http://idsa.in/monograph/OneHundredYearsofKautilyasArthashastra>

¹⁷ Christopher Coker, *Waging War without Warriors: The Changing Culture of Military Conflict*, London/ Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002, p.125 as quoted in P.K. Gautam, *ibid*, pp.81-82.

¹⁸ 'Foreword', Lo Shun-Te (Ed.), *Sun Tzu: The Art of War*, Taipei, Li Ming Cultural Enterprise Co. Ltd, 1991, p.45.

or IR. For example, Paul Kennedy in *Engineers of Victory* (2013) narrates that he taught a class on grand strategy in a twelve month course at Yale that examines the great classics (Sun Tzu, Thucydides, Machiavelli, Clausewitz) together with a number of historical examples of grand strategies that went right or wrong, and concludes with an analysis of contemporary world problems. It is noticeable that no Indian tradition finds a mention in the syllabus such that of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* as a classical text. This may be due to insufficient theorizing, education and teaching of Indian traditions. However, he has been referred to in a spasmodic manner by some. The strategist Colin S. Gray reminds us that "the classical texts of political realism provide sound education. Of course, every text bears the stamp of its place, time and particular culture - for example, Thucydides, Sun Tzu, Kautilya, Machiavelli, Morgenthau and Aron all offer timeless wisdom because they all shared an accurate enough vision of enduring reality."¹⁹

Belatedly, it is for the first time that Kissinger's appreciation of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* has come to notice. Henry Kissinger in his *World Order* writes:

Millennia before European thinkers translated their facts on the ground into a theory of balance of power, the *Arthashastra* set out an analogous, if more elaborate, system termed the "circle of states."²⁰

Kissinger avers that Kautilya is a combination of Machiavelli and Clausewitz and goes on to say that he is comparable to Napoleon. The praise for this rich and ancient text coming from a western scholar such as Kissinger may now have a greater impact on those who may have ignored the text.²¹

¹⁹ Colin S. Gray, 'Clausewitz Rules, OK? The Future is the Past- with GPS', *Review of International Studies*, Vol., December 25, 1999, pp. 161-182.

²⁰ Henry Kissinger, *World Order: Reflections on the Character of Nations and the Course of History*, Penguin Books Ltd. Kindle Edition, 2014, pp.194-198 and p. 201. For hard copy see New Delhi, Allen Lane/Penguin, 2014. I thank Dr. Kalyanaraman who brought the e-book to my notice.

²¹ There are some areas where I do not agree with Kissinger, specially his understanding that "The *Arthashastra* was a guide to conquest, not to the construction of an international order."

Ungrudgingly, it must be admitted that the state of affairs also indicates the relative popularity of Chinese traditions in international scholarship. This observation still holds with one exception of comparative work by a number of Indian scholars on Sun Tzu and Kautilya. By far this comparison appears to be most popular genre which is covered later in this chapter as Part 2. But the most rigorous work in China is being done on moral issues in international relations. It is this field of morals or dharma that is likely to witness reinterpretation rather than scholarship on warfare as in the past. The chapter is divided into two parts from here. Part 1 deals with IR and Moral Issues and Part 2 is on Art of War.

Part 1 - International Relations and Moral Issues

One core matter of interest is the comparison of the Indian and Sinic state systems to contemporary times. According to Muthiah Alagappa, "contemporary international politics in South Asia is not very different from that articulated in the *Arthashastra*. The Indic system seems more congruent with the contemporary anarchic system than does the historic Sinic system. The Indian system is of intellectual interest, and its study can sensitize the students of international politics to an early Asian counterpart of Western political realism."²² This research puzzle posed by Muthiah Alagappa is intuitively fit for further research and not much of work has come to notice on this aspect. Some arguments in this paper may throw some light.

I. Comparing Statecraft and Interstate Relations: Indic and Sinic Systems

A very limited work exists on issues of IR in comparison. Scholars have made passing reference to similarities in the ancient Indic and Sinic traditions. Below I have the examples of this literature of which *The Book of Lord Shang* finds resonance with that of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* to some.

²² Muthiah Alagappa, 'International Politics in Asia: The Historical Context' in Muthiah Alagappa (Ed.), *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1993, pp.74-75.

Wei Yang's Book of Lord Shang - A Chinese Equivalent of the Arthashastra?

Charles Drekmeier in *Kingship and Community in Early India* (1962) explains that:

The Book of Lord Shang, supposedly the work of Wei Yang (died c. 338 B.C.), is in some ways a Chinese equivalent of the *Arthashastra*, although the latter does not have the same totalitarian implication, nor is it in substance a critique of the old order. The legalists, who took inspiration from the *Book of Lord Shang*, set out to destroy hereditary class privilege and the feudal structure of China, and to challenge the traditional Confucian ideals and anything that was thought to detract from the strength of the state.²³

Charles Drekmeier's comparison of Lord Shang with Kautilya is not supported by any evidence and to his credit he just made a reference to it in a footnote. Adda Bozeman's (Bozeman: 142) understanding is apt:

Upon closer examination, however, the two expositions must be rated differently. Kautilya wrote a detached quasi-scientific treatise and argued his propositions out of the context of established and observed Indian traditions. Shang, on the other hand, indulged in so much personal vindictiveness and political opportunism that his manual cannot really be regarded as representative of a general Chinese tradition.

We set aside the comparison and now only focus on Lord Shang. In a work on just war in early China by Mark Lewis, it has been shown that *The Book of Lord Shang (Shang Jun shu)* is a philosophical work which "argues repeatedly that the purpose of warfare is to punish deviance, impose order, unite the world, and thereby attain peace. It even employs the formula found in *Sima fa* (a military treatise of uncertain Warring States date) that one should use war to end war." Lewis calls these as

²³ Charles Drekmeier, *Kingship and Community in Early India*, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1962, p.194, footnote *h*.

conventional *yi bing* ideas, meaning that war was held necessary and proper, so long as it as used by a legitimate ruler to curb violence. Mark Lewis then explains the philosophy of the *Shang Jun shu* :

Shang Jun shu introduces a unique argument on the manner in which warfare can lead to social order. It argues that given the inevitable competition among men, the populace's growing strength would necessarily lead to internal conflict. This threat was to be countered in two ways. First, the people as individuals and household had to be weakenedSecond, the power and aggression of one's own people had to be channeled into the army and then dispatched into enemy territory in the form of military campaigns. In a striking image, the strength and aggressing of one's own people was described as a poison that had to be expelled into enemy territory or it would destroy one's own.²⁴

These ideas seem to be the ones that possibly Hitler cherished and is a typical 'storyline' to show aggressive behaviour of a nation bent upon waging war. Not much of Chinese writings on *The Book of Lord Shang* and Legalism are to be found in English and being made use of. It is clear that in a cooperative world order, such Legalist traditions may have no utility to be talked about, unlike Confucius who represents harmony. Rather Confucianism is a better role model as is evident by the Confucius centres in operation across the world by China. It may be that Chinese academics from mainland China now reject the harsh strictures that are given in the *Book of Lord Shang*.

Developing Narrative on IR

A Chinese Theory of IR?

In my previous work I had argued that Qin Yaqing had deliberated on the topic of Chinese IR under the new Asian current of the need for non-western IR theories. The three phases of theory making identified

²⁴ Mark E. Lewis, 'The Just War in Early China' in Torkel Brekke (Ed.), *The Ethics of War in Asian Civilizations: A Comparative Perspective*, London and New York, Routledge, 2006, pp.185-200.

by Qin Yaqing are: Pre-theory, theory learning and, theory building. Yaqing Qin feels that China is presently at theory learning phase.²⁵ While this acknowledgement of China being in the learning stage may be more to do with academic standards, there is also a need to relate to power equation as done by Yan Xuetong.

Yan Xuetong is perhaps the most widely known Chinese scholar of repute representative of the Chinese state from Tsinghua University. In his seminal book *Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power* (2011) he has written in a blunt manner that there is a political reason as to why Chinese scholars have not given birth to the IR theory. He feels that this is so because China is not strong as the US. Thus, Chinese IR concepts and ideas are unable to garner the same attention as the US concepts from the rest of the world. Yan Xuetong suggests three possible academic reasons for non-availability of Chinese IR theory. These are – Chinese scholars lack basic methodological training to develop systematic explanations for international phenomenon, lack of training in traditional Chinese political thought and, too few theoretical debates amongst Chinese scholars.²⁶

The internal balancing of China is also under scrutiny and much more is desired. He Kai in a review of Yan Xuetong's book argues to say:

Beside international responsibilities, the Chinese government should pay more attention to its responsibilities to its own citizens. If China wants to be respected and followed by other countries of the world, its society should be the best and most attractive to them. This requires China to own the most advanced social, economic and political system in the world, as it did more than one thousand years ago during the Tang dynasty ... for China's desire of humane authority status in

²⁵ Yaqing Qin, 'Why is there no Chinese International Relation Theory?' in Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan (Eds.), *Non – Western International Relations Theory: Perspective on and beyond Asia*, Oxon, Routledge, 2010, pp. 26-50. Also quoted by me in P.K.Gautam, op cit, note 16.

²⁶ Yan Xuetong, 'Appendix 3 – Why Is There No Chinese School of International Relation Theory' in Yan Xuetong, op cit, note 11, pp.252-259. Also quoted by me in P.K.Gautam, op cit, note 16.

Yan's term, are more dependent on China's domestic policies than its foreign policies. In other words, domestic politics is the foundation of all foreign policies. And no country can become a great power simply by relying on its foreign policy strategies.²⁷

Western scholars have also taken notice of Yan Xuetong's book. Mark Leonard describes Yan Xuetong, as an influential hawk by recalling what Yan Xuetong had told him:

When China is as powerful as the United States, we will have same approach to sovereignty as the United States.²⁸

David Shambaug treats Yan Xuetong as a hard realist and proponent of Western quantitative IR methodology. Shambaug highlights what Yan has to say: "I oppose this concepts (a Chinese IR School) because those who call for it have already named the baby before the baby is born!. They need to focus instead on the context of theory before calling it Chinese school."²⁹

A similar debate can also be noticed in India, in recent times, on the issue of an Indian theory of IR based on ancient text. Here interestingly and independently, the IDSA vocabulary workshop on Kautilya of April 2013 had the following report:

In his concluding remarks, Dr. Arvind Gupta, Director General, IDSA said that India urgently needs an Indian discourse

²⁷ He Kai, Review article of Yan Xuetong's *Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power* (2011), 'A Realist Ideal Pursuit', *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol.5, No.2, Summer, 2012, pp.183-197. What He Kai says in the review about domestic politics is almost true for India.

²⁸ Mark Leonard, 'Why Convergence Breeds Conflict: Growing More Similar Will Push China and the United States Apart', *Foreign Affairs*, September-October 2013, pp.125-135.

²⁹ David Shambaug, 'International Relations Studies in China: History, Trends, and Prospects', *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific: A Journal of the Japan Association of International Relations*, Vol.11, No.3, 2011, pp.339-372. Quote is at page 365. Shambaugh argues "it is highly questionable whether China will spawn a school of IR studies that has transnational appeal." Ibid,p.366.

of International Relations than Indian International Relations Theory, and the workshop is a small step towards this goal.³⁰

While theory of IR with national characteristics may be a work in progress, what of great significance is the discourse on the ancient system of China- the tributary system.

The Tributary System

The Chinese tradition also has the famous *Tianxia* (all-under-heaven) world order. "China's traditional *tianxia* theory and the institutional expression of this theory, namely the 'tributary system', have been explained by various Western concepts and theories of international relations in modern times."³¹ Zheng Yongnian argues to show that "In its thousands of years of history, China practiced its external relations based on the *tianxia* concept. What justified this external order was Confucianism which regarded China's external relations as an extension of its domestic order."³²

The tributary system is a quintessential system associated with ancient China. Today, it has generated a lively debate. While scholars mostly outside of mainland China argue for its relevance, there are others Chinese, such as Yan Xuetong, who (as representatives of the ideals of the state) reject it.

Rejection of Tributary System by Yan Xuetong. Yan argues that the "tribute system once played a role in maintaining regional order but it is obsolete and outdated for the modern world."³³ In his chapter

³⁰ IDSA Event Report, Workshop on Kautilya: Creating Strategic Vocabulary, New Delhi: at <http://idsa.in/event/WorkshoponKautilyaCreatingStrategicVocabulary> (accessed on November 17, 2013).

³¹ Zheng Yongnian, 'Preface' in Zheng Yongnian (Ed.), *China and International Relations: The Chinese View and the Contribution of Wang Gungwu*, London, New York, Routledge, 2010, p.xvii.

³² Zheng Yongnian, 'Organizing China's inter-state relations: From "*tianxia*" (all-under-heaven) to modern international order' in Zheng Yongnian (Ed.), *China and International Relations: The Chinese View and the Contribution of Wang Gungwu*, London, New York, Routledge, 2010, pp.293-321.

³³ Yan Xuetong, op cit, note 11, p.104.

on 'Xunzi's Interstate Political Philosophy and Its message for Today' and elsewhere in his book he calls the tribute system obsolete for reasons such as scientific progress, increased communications, universal norm amongst nations of the idea of sovereign equality, and lack of a common understanding in each pre-Qin schools of thought.³⁴

Those for Tributary System. Notwithstanding that some scholars such as Yan Xuetong do not consider the tributary system suitable and fit for contemporary times; its appeal has not abated. It seems the idea of a tributary system is too strong to be wished away in the world arena of international scholarship. Yuen Foong Khong employs the idea of tributary system associated with China's IR from antiquity to interpret how America relates to the rest of the world as its tributaries.³⁵ The work is almost like a Chinese mirror reflecting US behaviour. Yuen, it seems is paying back its arch rival the US in the same coin by his rhetorical article.

Clearly, the differences in Chinese scholarship are evident on tribute system. We saw how Yan Xuetong calls it obsolete, whereas Yuen Foong Khong makes it as a befitting contemporary portrayal of US behaviour.

Book of Changes

Ye Zicheng, from the School of International Studies Peking University in China, has made a case for understanding IR as contained in the *Book of Changes*. He argues that most literature is heavily influenced by Western, and in particular US modes of strategic thought. "There are, significant limits to the utility of transferring US scholarly thought and grand strategy to China." He makes a case to give "priority to the ways of thought in China's own *Book of Changes* and combine them with Chinese studies of the humanities and social sciences. The *Book of Changes* is the first of the Six Classics and the source of all the classics. Grand strategy requires grand thought. The outstanding feature of the *Book of Changes* is its systematic thought. Compared to holistic thought,

³⁴ Yan Xuetong, op cit, note 11, p.204.

³⁵ Yuen Foong Khong, 'The American Tributary System', *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol.6, No.1, Spring 2013, pp.1-47.

the Yin-Yang school, and dialects, it is particularly well-suited for grand strategic thinking."³⁶

If a comparison is to be made then it could be said that just as the roots of most of ancient Indian traditions are based in the Vedas: the roots of all Chinese traditions can be traced to the *Book of Changes*. Wen Haiming's seminal *Chinese Philosophy* calls the *Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi*) the fundamental resource of Chinese philosophy.³⁷

Thus there has to be more engagements between scholars to understand various sources and interpretations of tribute system with a serious study of the *Book of Changes*.

II. Morality in IR

Both Indian and European traditions uphold the laws of beasts and birds (*matsya nyaya*) to explain the state of nature. " *The Leviathan* of Hobbes (1588-1679) declares similarly, that the state of nature is a state of war and of no rights.....in China also the state of nature was analyzed by Moh-Ti (c.500-420 B.C.) in almost identical terms."³⁸

Mozi's philosophy is surely worth comparing with idealists and moralists. The Daoist philosophy combined with other text is one successful construction of morality. This is surely an area of inquiry worth taking up today.

Kalidas Nag was possibly the first Indian scholar who noticed resemblances in literature, philosophy and culture of China and India

³⁶ Ye Zicheng, *Inside China's Grand Strategy: The Perspective from the People's Republic*, edited and translated by Steven I. Levine and Guoli Liu, New Delhi, Knowledge World, 2013, pp.262-263.

³⁷ Wen Haiming, *Chinese Philosophy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p.7. I thank M.S. Prathibha in providing me this book.

³⁸ Benoy Kumar Sarkar, 'The Hindu Theory of the State', *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No.1, March 1921, pp.79-80. In the article Sarkar has spelt Mozi as Moh-Ti, which was the spelling in his times in early 20th century. I have also used this example of Sarkar in 'Overcoming the Ways of *Matsya Nyaya* ', *Strategic Analysis*, Vol.37, No.5, September-October 2013, pp.521-525.

to say that in “late Chou period when Laotze appeared and spoke almost the language of the Upanishads.”³⁹

In Indian traditions, *dharma* is about the moral and ethics. However, application of *dharma* (moral) for the national interest, or *raison d’etat* (reason of state), in economic or military arena of power politics in the international system faces hurdles. The concept is an important one in international relations, where pursuit of the national interest is the foundation of the realist school.

Current Chinese scholarship to revisit and extract the moral argument in IR needs to be taken notice of and is covered next.

Case of China

Yan Xuetong argues that even the Legalist Hanfeizi, notorious for his extreme cynicism, allows morality in certain case. Yan then gives examples of the issue where moral arguments are vital. He refers to Non Traditional Security (NTS) issues such as the financial crisis, the energy crisis, environmental pollution, and climate change as being grave threats and reducing carbon dioxide emissions has become a moral issue.⁴⁰ Surely this logic is impressive and use of *dharma* by scholars yet needs to be deployed in such international security issues.

Scholars need to notice as to how the Daoist philosophy is being put to a sensible interpretation in China.⁴¹ L.H.M. Ling’s forthcoming textbook is *Learning World Politics: People, Power, Perspective, Vol. I: Confucianism, Hinduism, Islam*. She is also co-editor of forthcoming *Rethinking Borders and Security, India and China: New Connections for Ancient Geographies*. In her article (refer note 41) it is argued that roots of Westphalia lie in territorial sovereignty and commerce which is founded on suspicion and inevitability of clash between hegemons (US and China). From Sun Tzu’s *Art of War* she uses the Dao or idea of Yin and Yang (The Way) as understood by Sun Tzi, *wuwei* (non-coercive action) and Laozi’s philosophy.

³⁹ Kalidas Nag, *Discovery of Asia*, Calcutta, The Institute of Asian African Relations, 1957, p.433.

⁴⁰ Yan Xuetong, op cit, note 11, p.63.

⁴¹ L.H.M. Ling, ‘Worlds beyond Westphalia: Daoist Dialects and the “China Threat”’, *Review of International Studies*, Vol.39, No.3, July 2013, pp.549-568.

In reviewing Yan Xuetong's *Ancient Chinese Thought, Modern Chinese Power* (2011) and other two articles⁴², Lian Ma appreciates that Yan Xuetong has drawn deeply from ancient Chinese philosophers - Guanzi, Laozi, Confucius, Xunzi and Mencius. Lian Ma also supports Yan and mentions that Yan Xuetong has alluded well to the morality of leadership in interstate relations. The ancient Chinese philosopher Xunzi's idea of political morality is also mentioned. Song Tianyang from Renmin University of China likewise shows the commonality in thought of Laozi and ethics in Western political philosophy. On the centrality of ethics, it is further argued by Song Tianyang that:

Even many Western scholars admit that since the time of Sunzi (544-496BC) and Mozi (470-390BC), idealism has provided a counterpoint to realism. China's ancient tradition of idealism held that morality, law and cooperation can form the basic relationship between countries; human nature is not evil, and peace and cooperation are possible.⁴³

For expanding Chinese soft power Song says:

Daoism is one of the most valuable theoretical systems worth examination.⁴⁴

Case of India

In Indian traditions closest to this moral argument is the following passage from the *Kurals*, the Tamil classic:

To seek to further the welfare of the State by enriching it through fraud and falsehood is like storing water in an unburnt mud pot and hoping to preserve it.⁴⁵

⁴² Lian Ma, review essay 'Thinking of China's Grand Strategy: Chinese Perspectives', *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific: A Journal of the Japan Association of International Relations*, Vol.13, No1, 2013, pp.155-168.

⁴³ Song Tianyang, 'Global Ethics in Thought of Laozi: Constructing China's Soft Power', *China Report*, Vol.49, No.2, May 2013, pp.185-196.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ A. Appadorai, *National Interest and India's Foreign Policy*, Delhi: Kalinga Publications, 1992, pp. 4-5.

When an explanation of the state on Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is discussed, R.P. Kangle the translator and interpreter brings in the powerful idea of *Yogaksema* (security and well being) to say that that "yogaksema implies the idea of welfare, well-being, including the idea of prosperity, happiness and so on."⁴⁶ As to the final goal: "The ends which the *Arthashastra* has in view are the *yogaksema* (protection of what is acquired) and *raksana* (protection) of subjects."⁴⁷

Yogaksema is the purpose and the responsibility of the state by avoiding *matsya-nyaya* (law of jungle, anarchy or big fish swallowing the smaller fish). Kautilya enjoins the king to adopt policies that would lead the state to *Vridhhi* (prosperity) and avoid those that result in *Kshya* (decline).⁴⁸ The Kautilya's core message as a function in the Rule for the King (1.19.34) for this is "In the happiness of the subjects lies the happiness of the king and in 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)."

All these concepts are aspects of morals. So is happiness of the people. On happiness I had made use of the findings of Jayashree Vivekanandan's work to show how she emphasises on what Adam Watson writes on 'happiness': "It is curious that from the *Arthashastra* to the American Declaration of Independence (which opposes imperial rule) no other text puts the pursuit of happiness quite so high."⁴⁹ In a recent and important work relating the ancient text to modern economics, Professor Balbir Singh Sihag also argues very convincingly

⁴⁶ R.P. Kangle, *The Kautiliya Arthashastra, Part 3: A Study*, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, Second edition, Bombay University, 7th Reprint, 2010, p.118.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p.272.

⁴⁸ Book Seven, Six measures of Foreign Policy, Chapter One, Section 99, Determination of (Measure in) Decline, Stable Condition and Advancement, sutra 38 (7.1.38): "Situated in the circle of constituent elements, he should, in this manner, with these six measures of policy, seek to progress from decline to stable condition and from stable condition to advancement in his own undertakings."

⁴⁹ P.K. Gautam, op cit, note 16, Adam Watson, *The Evolution of International Society: A Comparative Historical Analysis*, London, Routledge, 1992, pp.88-89; and Jayashree Vivekanandan, *Interrogating International Relations: India's Strategic Practice and the Return of History*, New Delhi, Routledge, 2011.

that Kautilya's *Arthashastra* with its ethics-intensive approach is far superior to the approach based on self-interest.⁵⁰

It is generally understood (or misunderstood) that in foreign policy driven by national interest(s) there is no morality. However, from ancient literature, both from China and India, it is evident that this reasoning and justification of absence of morals in foreign policy may not be universally true. Moral and foreign policy is expected to be the dominant discourse in an era of soft power and this is a field, where Sinologists and Indologists can do more work in service of political scientists. There is a very vague or best esoteric understanding of *dharma*. Shyam Ranganathan mentions: "Most scholars of India though, trained in contemporary university in departments of religion, history or Indology, are ill-equipped to translate the moral content of Indian philosophy into English or other contemporary languages."⁵¹

Thus, it is clear that much work is yet to be done in this field of morals and morality in IR by using concepts from Indian traditions. However, it must be said that the 'first strand' of scholarship of Sun Tzu and *Art of War* by far commands a greater popularity, and readership. The book which gave prominence to ancient Chinese text in the English speaking world is surveyed next in Part 2.

Part 2 - Art of War (*Bingfa*)

I. Sun Tzu and Art of War

There are varying accounts of the date and author of the best-known Sun Tzu and *The Art of War*, just like Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. According to Lawrence Freedman, Sun Tzu was "a general who served the king Wu in Eastern China around 500 BCE, toward the end of China's Spring and Autumn Period. . . . *The Art of War* seems to have been written or at least compiled over the subsequent century during the Warring States Period."⁵²

⁵⁰ Balbir Singh Sihag, *Kautilya: The True Founder of Economics*, New Delhi, Vitasta Publications, 2014.

⁵¹ *Patanjali Yoga Sutra*, translated from the Sanskrit with an introduction and commentary by Shyam Ranganathan, New Delhi, Penguin, 2008, pp.5-6.

⁵² Lawrence Freedman, *Strategy: A History*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2013, p.44.

It is important to clarify that Sunzi and Sun Bin (also spelt at times as Sun Pin) are two different personas with a common lineage. The discovery of archeological evidence in 1972 has confirmed that 'Sun' was a clan name in the middle years of the Warring States Period.⁵³ The early text of Sun Tzu's *Art of War* may even have been edited by Sun Tzu's famous descendant Sun Pin (Sun Bin), who also extensively employed its teaching in his own *Military Methods*.

One book widely read and available in most good libraries in India is Ralph D. Sawyer's *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*.⁵⁴ The book, besides Sun- Tzu's *Art of War* has the other Chinese classics which include: 1. T'ai Kung's Six Secrets Teachings, 2. The Methods of the Ssu-ma, 3. Military Thoughts of Wu-tzu (Wu ch'i) and, 4. Wei-Liao-Tzu, 5. Three Strategies of Huang Shih- kung, and 6. Questions and Replies between T'ang Tai-tsung and Li Wei-Kung.⁵⁵

Ralph D. Sawyer in preface to his *The Complete Art of War: Sun Tzu Sun Pin*, updates thus:

The intent of the *Complete Art of War* is to provide readers with an integrated edition of the remarkable Sun family military writings-Sun-tzu's famous analytic overview of the nature of warfare known as the *Art of War* and the work recently recovered from Han dynasty tomb attributed to his direct descendent Sun Pin, also entitled the *Art of War* but, for convenience, best identified as *Military Methods*. This integrated edition differs from our previous single-volume editions (and the *Art of War* translation included in our *Seven Military Classics* translation) in unifying and expanding the chapter commentaries; appending a tactical index; revising the translation slightly to make them more accessible upon first reading; excising material

⁵³ Sun Bin, *The Art of Warfare*, A translation of the Classical Chinese Work of Philosophy and Strategy, translated, with an Introduction and Commentary by D.C. Lau and Roger T. Ames, Albany, State University of New York Press, 2003.

⁵⁴ Ralph D. Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China*, Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1993.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

of interest primarily to scholars; abridging the historical background; and deleting the tactical analysis of various battles.⁵⁶

Another earlier foundational work in the English language is by General Samuel B. Griffith, *Sun Tzu the Art of War* (1963).⁵⁷ It is also a good study with a foreword by Basil Liddell Hart. In the forward it is made clear how rich and sensible are Chinese ancient traditions. Liddell Hart in the preface argues that instead of Clausewitz had Sun Tzu been known then, the carnage of World War I could have been greatly reduced. Liddell Hart further elaborates to argue that "By the time later translations of Sun Tzu were produced in the West, the military world was under the sway of Clausewitz extremists, and the voice of the Chinese sage had little echo." Liddell Hart also mentions that in the middle of the Second World War a Kuomintang Chinese military attaché informed him that though Sun Tzu's book was venerated as a classic, it was considered out of date by most young officers, and thus hardly worth studying in the era of mechanized weapons. It is clear that Liddell Hart was propagating his own case of expanding torrents and strategy of the indirect approach with this example as he was anti Clausewitzian due to his negative impression of the slaughter of the First World War in which he, as a young officer, was injured.

Mark McNeilly, a former US Army infantry captain, similarly has authored *Sun Tzu and the Art of Business: Six Strategic Principles for Managers*. His other book *Sun Tzu and The Art of Modern Warfare*⁵⁸ is devoted to military history so that the work is more easily understood by those interested in strategy and warfare. He is propelled by the idea that with the rise of China as a great power it is necessary to understand her strategic and military heritage. According to Mark, this is essential because China relies on her ancient history in determining her future course much more than other countries. Mark is one of the few authors

⁵⁶ Ralph D. Sawyer, *The Complete Art of War: Sun Tzu Sun Pin*, Boulder, Westview Press, 1996, pp. x-xi.

⁵⁷ *Sun Tzu: The Art of War*, translated and with an introduction by Samuel B. Griffith, with foreword by B.H. Liddell Hart, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1963.

⁵⁸ Mark McNeilly, *Sun Tzu and the Art of Modern Warfare*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001, p.185.

who have compared Clausewitz and Sun Tzu. He finds similarities in both on the concept of war as politics (policy), the need for a military genius, and war being the domain of friction. The most important takeaway is that where he finds a major difference between the two. He argues that Clausewitzian preference for total war influenced by the French revolution led to the notion of destruction of enemy's army through a Cannae like battle. But Sun Tzu differs and his concept of wining war without bloodshed is evoked. The author feels that "Indeed, Clausewitz' writings, whether interpreted correctly or not, have led generals to direct attacks on enemy strengths, which in turn have led to huge casualties and limited success. Thus it is imperative that Western leaders not allow themselves to be misled by Clausewitz and instead look to Sun Tzu for guidance in this arena."⁵⁹

Scholars also have provided examples for the understanding of Confucian ideas to that of Sun Tzu. One which is noticeable is linkages with Confucius:

Sun Tzu's dictums are echoed in the text of Confucius. Wise leaders, Confucius held, must constantly reflect on war and prepare for it ... Overconfident generals or ineffectual security advisors can bring ruin to the strongest state. For Confucius, a qualified commander "must be afraid of the assignments he is going to undertake" and "must be able to win by prudently planned strategies that outmaneuver and outthink an adversary."⁶⁰

Sun Tzu, interestingly, besides having a DNA, so to speak, of Confucius is also influenced by Daoism as noted in Part I.⁶¹ This aspect leads to very interesting parallel with the influence to which Kautilya may have been imbibed from other traditions. Conceptually although Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is primarily on artha, and has books on war, it also has concepts of dharma. Coercion has to be regulated by dharma or the

⁵⁹ Ibid, pp.182-185.

⁶⁰ John Wilson Lewis and Xue Litai, *Imagined Enemies: China Prepares for Uncertain War*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2006, p.23.

⁶¹ L.H.M. Ling, note 41.

moral or ethical argument. It is also influenced by materialists or Lokayuktas.

II. Sun Tzu and Other Examples from War Legends

A number of scholars have used effortlessly, so to speak, examples from Chinese traditions. Some examples are worth noting as they relate to the use of traditional knowledge for contemporary times.

- (a) In an earlier work of mine, to show how concepts of Sun Tzu are used to explain tactical successes and strategic errors in the US-led war on Iraq in 2003, I was struck by the simplicity of the logic of Sun Tzu as articulated by Professor Huang Pumin. Examining the initial phase of the conventional war in 2003, Huang Pumin, Professor of History of the Renmin University of China gave the US-led forces their due at the tactical level (rapid advance, leap-frogging, bypassing built up areas and avoidance of heavy casualties in assaulting strong defences). Pumin regarded this as compliance to Sun Tzu's tactical treatise that "there are no fixed tactics in war, just as there is no constant course in the flow of water." Pumin quoting Sun Tzu explains that a commanders should know "there are armies he should not attack, walled cities he should not assault and territories he should not contest for." At the strategic level, Pumin called the war a big mistake, stating that "Sun Tzu never saw war as a pure military action, but instead a combination of multiple factors- political, economic and diplomatic." Bush had not done enough homework and paid little heed to Sun Tzu's advise that a wise ruler should not wage a war by his state of mood. "Bush launched the war by taking advantage of the American public's fear of terrorism after September 11 attacks." Wang Yanjuan argued to say "war can never bring peace to Iraq, stability to the Middle East and to the United States itself".⁶²

If a thorough study is done of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, then the dictum of Sun Tzu that is: 'territories he should not contest for' is very well covered in the six measures of foreign policy (*Arthashastra*

⁶² As quoted by Wang Yanjuan, 'Analyzing The War', *Beijing Review*, April 3, 2003, pp. 34-36.

Book 7) under the concept of *bhumisandhi*. In chapter 2 this volume a similar argument is made as a hypothesis by Ren Xiao for unilateral ceasefire and withdrawal by the Chinese from Arunachal Pradesh in 1962 with the concept of 'no barbarian land' was desirable since it was often more a liability rather than an asset.⁶³

- (b) Former Combined Force Commander in Afghanistan, General Karl W. Eikenberry, who also served as the US Ambassador to Afghanistan from 2009 to 2011 takes recourse to Sun Tzu's advice which the US ought to have heeded. He quotes: "But as the ancient Chinese military sage Sun –Tzu wrote, there has never been a protracted war from which a country has benefited."⁶⁴
- (c) Colonel Golubev of the Russian army writing in the Russian military journal *Military Thought* shows that Sun Tzu (6th and early 5th BCE) and Wu Qi (early 4th BCE) are widely read with the earlier authors of the *Seven Military Classics*.⁶⁵ Ancient Chinese military art is called Sun Wu bing fa (the military art of Sun Wu) in China and Japan and is an indication of its significance of these two authors' treatises. 'The Way' is the moral element shared by Wu Qi and Wei Liaozi. From early 19th century Sun Tzu was mandatory reading at higher military education institutions in China and Japan (there were three editions during Japanese militarization in 1935, 1940, and 1943). The article provides insights into the ideational foundations with the concepts of: 1) Sun Tzu's instinct of fury and instinct of greed. Harsh measures make soldiers afraid of his general, not the enemy. For soldiers to hate the enemy rather than their general, he must be with them through hazards and hardships of military campaigns (Liu Tao's treatise); 2) Instinct of greed is essential for victory. There

⁶³ Ren Xiao, 'Traditional Chinese Theory and Practice of Foreign Relations' in Zheng Yongnian (Ed.), *China and International Relations: The Chinese View and the Contribution of Wang Gungwu*, London, New York, Routledge, 2010, pp.114-115. See Chapter 2 this volume.

⁶⁴ Karl W. Eikenberry, 'The Limits of Counterinsurgency Doctrine in Afghanistan: The Other Side of COIN', *Foreign Affairs*, September – October 2013, pp. 59-74.

⁶⁵ (Res) Col. A.Yu Golubev, 'Training Principles in Armies of China and Japan', *Military Thought*, Vol.21, No.3, 2012, pp. 132-145.

is also a discussion between Legalists and Moralists (Sun Tzu and Wu Qi).

- (d) **Game Theory.** Using models of legend of Li Guang and his 100 horsemen (144BC), and the legend of Zhuge Liang and the Empty City (228AD) two economists have used the game theory based on Perfect Bayesian Equilibrium.⁶⁶ In both legends the military commander faces a much stronger opposing army, but instead of ordering the men to retreat, they are ordered to act in a manner consisting with baiting the enemy into an ambush. The stronger opposing army, uncertain whether it is facing a weak opponent or an ambush, then decides to flee and avoid battle. In India deployment of the game theory to explain social events is yet to pick up. In the 45th IDSA Foundation Day Lecture on November 11, 2010 Economist Kaushik Basu in his talk on 'Game Theory and Strategic Foreign Policy'⁶⁷ had urged game theory to be used in the service of strategic studies. I would suggest like Chinese, Indian examples can also be attempted.

Word of Caution by Western Scholars

According to Edward Luttwak, the Chinese have "a stubborn faith in the superior strategic wisdom to be found in ancient texts, and the resulting belief that China will always be able to outmaneuver its adversaries with clever expedients, circumventing the accumulating resistance caused by its rise."⁶⁸ This perception is also shared by the old China watcher Ian Johnson who in his review essay of Edward N. Luttwak's *The Rise of China vs. the Logic of Strategy* remarks:

China's blindered approach to international affairs leads Luttwak to a humorous discussion of many Chinese people's conviction that they are heirs to a tactically clever and sophisticated civilization. The Chinese, Luttwak notes, often

⁶⁶ Christopher Cotton, and Chang Liu, '100 Horsemen and the Empty City: A Game Theoretical Examination of Deception in Chinese Military Legend', *Journal of Peace Research*, 48(2), 2011, pp.217-223.

⁶⁷ <http://idsa.in/event/45IDSAFoundationDayLecture> (accessed June 27, 2015).

⁶⁸ Edward N Luttwak, *The Rise of China versus the Logic of Strategy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012, p.72.

assume that foreigners are stupid or naïve – certainly not up to the wiles of the people who begat *The Art of War*.

Ian then narrates a conversation of a Chinese diplomat of a high level delegation on tour of the US who remarked:

It is not easy really to know China because China is an ancient civilization... [whereas] the American people, they're very simple.

And yet Luttwak points out that these assumptions haven't served China well historically or today. Two of China's last three dynasties were controlled by tiny nomadic groups who outmaneuvered the Chinese, while today the country's tactics have left it surrounded by suspicious and increasingly hostile countries.⁶⁹

Daniel Lynch demonstrate that like himself, a number of western specialists on China such as Alastair Iain Johnston, Thomas J. Christensen, and Andrew Scobell have been remarking on the strongly realist tendencies at the root of Chinese strategic culture and conceptions of international system.⁷⁰ Daniel Lynch has examined the writings of Chinese elites which shows an unmistakably cultural realism with "The tendency for Chinese foreign policy elites to securitize culture in international relations by portraying it as a zone of intense contestation with other states suggest that China's rise will be rocky."⁷¹

David Shambaugh argues that critical thinking is not encouraged in China. This retards the development of social sciences including IR studies.⁷² However, to me this does not seem to be the case any longer seeing the other work surveyed as it relates to use of their traditional knowledge. Survey of literature shows that traditional knowledge is used by scholars of IR and security studies in a great measure.

⁶⁹ Ian Johnson, Review Article, 'Will the Chinese Be Supreme?', *The New York Review of Books*, Vol. LX, No.6, April 4, 2013, pp.35-37.

⁷⁰ Daniel C. Lynch, 'Securitizing Culture in Chinese Foreign Policy Debates: Implications for Interpreting China's Rise', *Asian Survey*, Vol.53, No.4, July/August 2013, pp. 629-652. See author's note 1.

⁷¹ Ibid.

III. Work on Sun Zu by Indian Scholars and Comparison with Kautilya

Sun Tzu alone appears to be the most popular in Indian imagination. Monographs and articles have been written to analyse and compare him with Kautilya which I survey below.⁷³

K.N. Ramachandran finds striking similarities in the two in delineating strategic and tactical issues relating to war and peace. Both have wisdom fit even for contemporary issues of intelligence and foreign policy. Welfare and safety of the people is a priority for both. Importantly, achieving objectives without war is the preferred course.

Giri Deshingar sees that both works display realism and neither advocates protracted war. Kautilya is far more concerned with preventing conquest by others through diplomacy. Both suggest indirect

⁷² David Shambaugh, 'International Relations Studies in China: History, Trends, and Prospects', *International Relations of Asia-Pacific*, Vol.11, No.3, 2011, pp. 339-372.

⁷³ The known work in security and IR related literature which I refer to is as under:

- (a) K.N. Ramachandran, 'Zun Zi and Kautilya - Towards a Comparative Analysis', Chapter 4 in *Sun Zi and China's Strategic Culture*, IDSA Occasional Paper Series, September 1999, pp.46-78 and its reproduction 'From the Archives' *Strategic Analysis*, Vol.38, No.3, May- June 2014, pp.390-408.
- (b) Giri Deshingar, 'Strategic Thinking in Ancient India and China, Kautilya and Sunzi' in Tan Chung (Ed.), *Across the Himalayan Gap: An Indian Quest for Understanding China*, New Delhi, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1998, pp.357-358 and 'Strategic Thinking in Ancient India and China: Kautilya and Sunzi', *The Indian Journal of Diplomacy*, January-February, 2014, pp.2-10.
- (c) V.R. Raghavan, 'Arthashastra and Sunzi Binfa' in Tan Chung (Ed.), *Across the Himalayan Gap: An Indian Quest for Understanding China*, New Delhi, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1998, pp.365-366.
- (d) Col V.M.B. Krishnan, 'Comparative Analysis of Teaching of Kautilya and Sun Tze', *Trishul*, Vol.XXIII, No.2, Spring 2011, pp.81-92.
- (e) Wg Cdr G. Adityakiran, 'Sun Tzu vs Kautilya: A Path to Unraveling the Chinese Mind', *Trishul*, Vol.XXV, No.2, Spring 2013, pp.40-55.

approach, deception, and minimizing the economic costs of war and casualties. V.R. Raghavan as a discussant to Giri Deshingar's work feels that it is better to study both on their own terms instead of looking at commonalities. Importantly, he urges the need for deeper understanding from the classics to provide insights for future management of relations with each other. This is an important observation, but a minority opinion.⁷⁴ V.M.B. Krishnan argues that a comparative analysis of Kautilya and Sun Tzu throws up three significant issues. First, Kautilya, the statesman, covers the entire spectrum of topics relevant to running a state, Sun Tzu, the General, dwells on warfare exclusively. Second, except for a few topics such as the factors to be considered before waging war and intelligence system, the treatment of all other subjects vary substantially in scope and content. Third, Sun Tzu's teachings are largely conceptual, while Kautilyan teachings are practical with conceptual underpinnings.

G. Adityakiran's main focus is Sun Tzu's notion of winning without fighting, and attacking enemy's strategy and plans. Its unorthodox underpinnings according to Adityakiran are being studied in China to understand the revolution and military affairs (RMA). For a comparison he gives example of Kautilya's successful execution of *Tusnimityuddha* (silent war) and *Kutayuddha* (deception war).

In the above-mentioned laudable works by Indian scholars, only the tip of the iceberg has been attempted. The challenge is that one needs to have a good working knowledge of the twins - Indology and Sinology, and then a good grasp of political science, international relations and history or the so-called domain knowledge. One welcome development is that there is an understanding that now no justification to treat the lack of language skills as an excuse anymore, as good translations of the texts in English are now available both in India (of the Sanskrit texts) and the Chinese language. The need is to study the larger issue of IR, philosophy and society and not just *Art of War*. The former now is the future research menu.

⁷⁴ At IDSA, for instance there was a discussion on Kautilya and it was concluded that to make the topic popular and relevant comparison is essential.

Conclusion

There is a marked increase in scholarship on China on its traditional knowledge and traditions as it relates to IR and security studies. This traditional knowledge is now being theorized and applied in contemporary issues by both Chinese and non-Chinese scholars. In the case of India, while the 'axial age' of India's ancient past is as rich as that of China with various shades of political philosophy, not much effort seems to have been devoted to revisit Indian traditions for contemporary times, barring exceptions. More work needs to be done by scholars in revisiting and using ancient traditions and its concepts and vocabulary of its philosophers. The ethical and moral dimensions are one priority area of enquiry.⁷⁵

It is important for India to 'Know Oneself'. Once sufficient scholarship gets accumulated on indigenous traditions for contemporary times it will then be the ripe moment for a comparative study of both civilizational traditions of India and China. For this, scholars of varying domains and disciplines will have to engage with and understand both the Chinese and Indian traditions or Sinology and Indology. In this regard, Patricia Oberoi has recently pointed out that most comparative studies of Indian and Chinese traditions are conducted off shore and not in India or China.⁷⁶ She is right and this chapter may help Indian scholars of IR and security studies to deepen and widen this exercise in India. It is hoped that this chapter will motivate scholars, departments, think tanks and institutes to now research on these aspects.

⁷⁵ My next work is on Dharma and Artha.

⁷⁶ Patricia Oberoi, 'China Studies in India -3', *China Report*, Vol.49, No.2, May 2013, pp.185-196.

Dynastic Chronology of China

Legendary Sage Emperors	2852 – 2255 BCE (Before Common Era)
Hsia (Xia)	2205- 1766 BCE
Shang	1766 - 1045 BCE
Chou (Zhou)	
Western Chou (Zhou)	1045 – 770 BCE
Eastern Chou (Zhou)	770 – 256 BCE
<i>Spring and Autumn</i>	722 – 481 BCE
<i>Warring States</i>	403 – 221 BCE
Ch'in (Qin)	221 - 207 BCE
Former Han (Western Han)	206 BCE – 8 CE
Later Han (Eastern Han)	23 – 220
Three Kingdoms	168- 280
Six Dynasties	222- 589
Sui	589- 618
T'ang (Tang)	618- 907
Five Dynasties	907 - 959
Sung	960 – 1126
Southern Sung	1127- 1279
Yuan (Mongol)	1279- 1368
Ming	1368- 1644
Ch'ing (Manchu) (Qing)	1644 - 1911

(Source: Ralph D. Sawyer, *The Tao of Deception: Unorthodox Warfare in Historic and Modern China*, New York, Basic Books, 2007, p. xv.)

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Conclusion

In this chapter I summarize the key findings of the study of the *Arthashastra* to reveal its relevance in modern day in issues such as military issues, IR, traditional methodology and agendas for new research.

Why Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is Necessary

India as a re-emerging power and civilization needs a rightful place in the world order. It is important that the ancient civilization also reinforces and compliments literature which is overwhelmingly based on western traditions and experiences. There is a need to re-establish the central role of ancient Indian traditions in strategic studies, international relations and issues such as foreign policy, intelligence, war and internal security as it relates to contemporary times. The Chinese have begun this exercise in re-discovering their traditions for the English-speaking world. In India, due to rigid structure, the universities may study the subject in the narrow confinements of the departmental walls. Think tanks such as the IDSA have the agility and creativity to take on this multidisciplinary initiative. The *Arthashastra* is known to be a library of Indian traditions and knowledge. Therefore, the study of the *Arthashastra* must now be the first step or focus of this re-discovery of our ancient civilization.

There is a non-availability of a work that explains the concepts on Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and how it can be related to contemporary issues for strategic studies and statecraft. The subject is of historical significance and has remained understudied. In comparative terms the text is also unique and at par and with knowledge and wisdom from other cultures and civilizations. As I have shown, a number of concepts and vocabulary on statecraft and diplomacy as in the text of *Arthashastra* are relevant today. Below I summarize the findings with areas for new research.

Summary and Finding of the Study

Methodology

Two criteria have to be met. Both a working knowledge of the text and a domain knowledge of the subject being covered is needed. This is best expressed in a simple methodology:

- a) Summary of a problem or issues in contemporary times.
- b) Relating (a) with concepts in the *Arthashastra* as in the *sutras*.
- c) Re-statement of the problem or issue at (a) modified using vocabulary/concepts from the *Arthashastra* as established at (b). Here one may bring about a change or say I agree or do not agree with *Kautilya* and then state the concept or position.
- d) Reiterate strategic vocabulary so established.

For comparison a third requirement has to be met. That is knowledge of what is being compared. Thus, if Chinese traditions and *Panchatantra* are to be compared, a working knowledge of Chinese tradition and of *Panchatantra* has to be acquired. This may be easier if a group of scholars in a multi-disciplinary way attempt to address an issue. Absence of a working knowledge of *Kautilya's Arthashastra* is a tragedy for the scholars. To that end introduction of the text in a simple terms may be included at undergraduate level.

Kautilya's Arthashastra can not be stereotyped and pushed into the corner of a known discipline in IR. It is truly a library of Indian wisdom. It is also observed that if IR is to be attempted then it is necessary that besides realism, other strands of liberalism and constructivism cannot be ignored.

Military Issues

In the chapter on India-Pakistan War of 1947/48, it is revealed how the concepts from ancient text provide the versatility and capacity to explain a number of issues in military strategy and logistics. For issues over disputed borders and territory, the concept of *bhumisandhi*

combined with gains and losses if applied and examined critically can be of help in identifying drivers in a number of ongoing territorial disputes. These concepts from the ancient texts can help in resolving cases such as capturing or occupying land which is deemed to be ungovernable, issues of military logistics and overreach. Based on the 1962 Sino-India border War, I also provide avenues for further non-western research which can be done by scholars of Indic and Sinic traditions. These concepts can also be related to other territorial disputes in West Asia like Israel and Palestine.

Besides comparison with Sun Tzu, an area for further research could be comparison with Clausewitz to study concepts of nature and character of war and attrition, destruction and annihilation.

Comparison with Other Text

Unlike the Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, the *Panchatantra* is not only meant for kings and ministers, but also for the common man. As I have shown the *Panchatantra* is very popular with children as it relates to ethics and morals. The study of *Arthashastra* and *Panchatantra* may be more important for developing good governance and a comprehensive national power. No state can prosper with *vyasanas* or calamities of governance, leadership and morals as theorized crisply in the *Arthashastra*.

Another field is to place the morals and ethics or *dharma* at a high pedestal by revisiting the text including the *Kurals*. Comparison of the moral argument as in Daoism in Chinese tradition also needs to be undertaken with concepts in Indian traditions.

The next exciting event in security and strategic studies may well be revisiting these historic links and complimenting the ancient Greek and Chinese literature with knowledge from South Asia. Greece and Rome have enriched the discourse of international studies and all disciplines of humanities. The literature will only get enriched by revisiting and sustaining the wide study and application of the positive features of traditional historical knowledge.

Social Science Research

In social science research, there is a wide scope of the study of Indian methodology and epistemology. As shown, the basics of communication and writing skills of ancient past are no different from those being followed in think tanks, universities and management schools today. This topic can be further improved upon. One area of future research is to relate text, history and episodes from ancient traditions to explain contemporary issues. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* does not give historical narratives in its construction of books. Episodes from the epics can explain a point of view of political realism, statecraft, diplomacy and other related disciplines.

There is a great scope for research on "Return to History" with the clear understanding of case study method. "Reuse of the Past" in the IDSA bilateral with South Asia Institute, Heidelberg University, Germany is one such endeavour which has begun.

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Presentations conducted at the IDSA for IFS Probationers (2012 and 2013 batches) and for senior BSF and IPS officers, further helped me in my understanding of the text. I also want to thank the interns at IDSA, on whose request, a short informal capsule on the *Arthashastra* was organized in 2013, 2014 and 2015. Besides, a number of scholars both civil and military and academics from India and abroad kept interacting with me in person or via the internet for their dissertations or for discussions on various aspects of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*.

The World International Studies Committee (WISC) organized the Fourth "Global International Studies Conference" at Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany, on August 6-9, 2014. The initiative to have a session on non-western IR (Kautilya) was taken by Professor Navnita Chadha Behera, Delhi University, who with Professor Gunther Hellmann of Department of Political Science, Goethe University, Frankfurt (Chair) was in the organization committee. I thank them for providing an international forum where Indian traditions are finding their rightful place. Special thanks to Professor Subrata K. Mitra who was a discussant for my paper.

Over and above these 'learning' experiences I also benefited a lot with my interaction with Dr Michael Liebig, former visiting fellow to IDSA, lead author of on-going bilateral project of IDSA with South Asia Institute (SAI), Heidelberg University, and author of a book in German on Kautilya released in October 2014, published by Baden Baden,

Nomos titled in German as “Endogene Politisch-Kulturelle Ressourcen - Die Relevanz des Kautilya-Arthashastra für das moderne Indien”. (The book is being translated into English by him).

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I remain responsible for what I have written and ascertain my moral right as an author.

In order to make a work relevant, scholarly attempts to study the text such as Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, and then critically apply it to explain, compare and understand contemporary issues is necessary. This monograph intends to fulfil this aim in a small way.

The chapters have examples of application of the text for contemporary issues such as military operations; comparison of texts of *Arthashastra* with the *Panchatantra*; Indian Indigenous Traditions for Research; and Contemporary Use of Traditional Historical Knowledge in China and India.

Pradeep Kumar Gautam joined IDSA in 2005 as a research fellow. He has authored over half a dozen books/monographs, a number of edited chapters, occasional papers and series of articles/commentaries. He has also contributed to IDSA working groups and task force reports. The topics of these outputs include non traditional security subjects like environmental security, the military and the environment, climate change, and water; military issues; and Tibet.

Since 2012 he is researching on Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. 'One Hundred Years of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*' was his first publication in 2013. He was the convener of the Indian Council of Social Science Research sponsored national and international seminars on Kautilya at IDSA in 2013 and 2014. He is the co-editor of three volume publication - Indigenous Historical Knowledge: Kautilya and His Vocabulary, Volumes I to III (forthcoming) and is a lead member of a bilateral on Kautilya. His current research is on *dharma* and *artha*.



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Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses

No.1, Development Enclave, Rao Tula Ram Marg,
Delhi Cantt., New Delhi - 110 010
Tel.: (91-11) 2671-7983 Fax: (91-11) 2615 4191
E-mail: contactus@idsa.in Website: <http://www.idsa.in>