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STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT OF INDIA'S SOVEREIGNTY THROUGH KAUTILYAN FRAMEWORK

Colonel Vivek Puri, SM

*The author prostrates in reverence and gratitude to Kautilya,
whose monumental treatise on Statecraft continues to
illuminate the Indian Strategic Landscape*

Introduction

1. India is one of the oldest civilizational entities of this world. As a Nation it has existed since centuries, and we prefer to understand this concept as 'Bharat'. While its people have experienced multiple civilizational evolution, its territory has endured varying dimensions over a long period of time. One could safely argue that as a Nation- State, it has been existing since the period of 'Before Common Era (B.C.E.)'. Its current statehood status is a derivative of the event of its independence in 1947 from the British colonial occupation.

2. Any organization exists because of a 'felt need'. An organization is said to be effective if it fulfils that felt need. A Nation-State is an organization too. For a nation- state to be effective, upholding its sovereignty always must be a fundamental requirement. Like all

organisations, nation-states operate in a 'Volatile-Uncertain- Complex and Ambiguous-VUCA' environment. Achieving & sustaining competitive advantage in this dynamic environment is its core pursuit to realise its national vision, aim, mission, interests & objectives.

3. Post-independence, India as a state has remained subject to intense competition which has also manifested into number of armed conflicts that it had to engage in with its adversaries/ competitors. True to its nature, this competition has not ceased till date. In fact, this competition has damaged its sovereignty wherein its principal adversaries have usurped portions of its territory. They not only continue to remain in illegal occupation of India's sovereign territory till date, but also consistently covet more of it.

Intent

4. This Paper is an attempt to understand the challenges to India's sovereignty, explore the possibilities of successfully negotiating those challenges adopting the Strategic Management approach, and in doing so, seek solutions in the Kautilyan Framework as laid out by Kautilya, in Arthashastra¹.

Research Questions

5. This research basically intends to answer the following two questions: -

- (a) How does India's sovereignty stand challenged?
- (b) What are the Strategic Management prescriptions in Kautilyan Framework to preserve India's sovereignty?

¹ Arthashastra (the science of polity) by Kautilya (also known as Chanakya, Vishnugupta) is a work of exceptional value in the ancient Indian wisdom system. While varying estimates exist regarding the dating of this work, it is generally agreed to date from the period 321-296 BCE.

Methodology

6. **Theory in Use.** This paper applies the concepts of Strategic Management as prevalent in the contemporary world suitably stitched with the prescriptions by Kautilya in Arthashastra.

7. Applying 'Qualitative Data Analysis' approach, this paper analysed Kautilya's Arthashastra as the primary text. Towards this, translations by both RP Kangle and LN Rangarajan were referred to. The Research Design was based on both Diagnostic and Prescriptive Analysis. To find answers to the two Research Questions, as part of Diagnostic Analysis, a Conceptual Framework for understanding India's sovereignty was developed followed by identification of various challenges to India's sovereignty. Later, as part of Prescriptive Analysis, a Strategic Management Framework for preservation of India's sovereignty was developed.

Literature Review

8. **Sovereignty.** Sovereignty can be most simplistically and emphatically understood as the "supreme authority of the state over its people and territory unrestrained by laws originating outside the area" (Morgenthau, 2006, p. 317). According to Morgenthau, Sovereignty is indivisible (unshared) and is lost under two conditions; one, when State A surrenders it to State B and two, when State B trespasses State A (Morgenthau, 2006, pp. 323, 329).

9. **Concept of the State.** Kautilya's theoretical framework (The State and its Constituent Elements, 1987, p. 119) specifies the constituent elements of a State wherein it highlights the concept of 'Janapada', the territory of the state along with the population inhabiting it, and explains how its integrity is vital to the existence of the State.

10. **Territorial Integrity.** Further describing the 'Calamities' (The State and its Constituent Elements, 1987, p. 122) which is said to have

struck when any one of the constituent elements has characteristics opposite to those described as ideal, it places the calamity of Janapada (territory) in the third order of priority out of total seven. It also mandates (The Well Organised State, 1987) the creation of 'Fortresses'

11. **Rajmandala Theory.** The concept of Circle of States (Foreign policy, 1987) enunciates the sequence of enemies and allies which a State needs to consider for accurate comprehension of the competitive external environment in which it operates.

12. **Westphalian Treaty and the Modern State.** In the modern-day context, the Treaty of Westphalia, 1648 (Network, 1986) lays down the foundation of territorial state order and the inviolability of the sovereignty of a state over its territory.

13. **Territorial Trespasses and Imperialism.** While explaining the 'three inducements to imperialism' (Morgenthau, pp. 56-59), Morgenthau underscores the available motivation for both the potential victor as well as the vanquished in a conflict as a policy option to alter the status quo and occupy superior power position. Weakness, demonstrated by any state further induces territorial trespassing. This could near accurately explain the dynamics in the context of India, Pakistan, and China. 'Localised preponderance of power', besides global ambitions, has been identified as one of the objectives of Imperialism by this theory.

14. **Political Unity of India.** KM Panikkar, in the very first chapter of his book on Indian Nationalism (Panikkar, 1920, pp. 5-14) argues in favour of historical unity of India by meticulously tracing the concept of 'Political India' beginning from the Rig- Vedic period. In doing so, Panikkar invokes the geographical and cultural indices provided by various ancient Indian scriptures besides analysing some major milestone political events throughout the history of India. He successfully concludes by convincingly establishing that India has always existed as a sovereign nation.

15. **Theory of Strategic Management - Competitive Advantage.**

Strategy rests on superior positioning (HBR's Must Read on Strategy, 1996). Any organization that yields its superior position loses Competitive Advantage² (Porter, 1985). Superior positioning needs to be followed by repetitive re-positioning to sustain the gained competitive advantage. Thus, extremely dynamic geopolitical environment warrants Strategic Management of National Security.

Analysis – Understanding India's Sovereignty

16. **Strategic Roots of Indian Concept of Sovereignty.** The text of Indian Constitution begins by defining the sovereign territory of India (Justice, 2020, p. 23). But this concept of sovereignty has always been an inseparable part of Indian National and Strategic Culture, throughout its history. The fact that Article 1(1) of Indian Constitution does not miss to define India as 'Bharat' is a testimony to the ancient vintage of this concept.

17. **Rajasuya and its Contemporary Relevance.** Historically, the Indian Strategic Leadership has believed in establishing sovereignty through performing Rajasuya³ (Encyclopedia, 2021) (Vasudev, 2019). The fact that this act of establishing sovereignty is inherently accompanied by seriously dangerous challenges⁴, to the extent of inviting harm to the state, is well recognised and accepted by this concept, but that does not inhibit the requirement of establishing sovereignty, because it is fundamental to 'Dharma' in ancient context, and by extrapolation to 'political existence' in contemporary context. Performance of Rajasuya was often preceded, if required, by 'Digvijaya', which implied the act of

² Michael E Porter defines competitive advantage as "creating and sustaining superior performance".

³ A Rajasuya Yagna was an ancient practice/ ritual to transform a king into an emperor. It was about establishing the sovereignty by sending out the message that this king has become fit and powerful enough to be the king of kings. Either others accept that, or if they do not, you fight with them. This concept has repeatedly been invoked in various texts and scriptures including the Epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata besides Upanishads, etc.

⁴ The dialogue between Narada and Pandavas in the Sabha Parvan of The Mahabharata allude to this subject. For this Paper, the author has relied on references to the 'Critical Edition of Mahabharata' published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (BORI), Pune in 1966.

military triumphs. This was required to reclaim the divine grace and royal authority by the sovereign⁵ (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 2021). Establishing, demonstrating, and preserving sovereignty has remained mandatory in Indian statecraft legacy. This author argues that in no period of its political existence, past, present, or future, can the Indian state ignore the significance of this fundamental requirement, and yet tacitly expect or pray for its adversaries/ competitors to respect its sovereignty.

18. **Digvijaya for Contemporary India.** So, does it imply that, to emphasise its sovereignty, the Indian State will have to undertake ‘military triumphs’? Not at all. Modern day Republic of India rests on its sovereignty bestowed upon it by its constitution⁶ (Indian Independence Act 1947) (Justice, 2020, p. 174). In the contemporary context, assertion of sovereignty, therefore, does not imply acquisition of new territory, while the Indian Constitution allows it⁷ (Justice, 2020, p. 23). ‘Digvijaya’ in contemporary context would involve ‘implementation of the state’s will to assert its sovereign authority and reclaim it should it be trespassed’. This ‘act of implementation of state’s will’ is not a matter of choice, but that of solemn national duty, mandated by the Constitution. Article 352 of the Indian Constitution recognises this concern and therefore calls for contingency provisions in case “grave emergency exists whereby the security of India or of any part of the territory thereof is threatened, whether by war or external aggression or armed rebellion” (Justice, 2020, p. 148).

19. **Kautilyan Framework for Sovereignty.** Let us endeavour to understand the concept of ‘sovereignty’ through Kautilyan Framework. This is represented by the Mind Map⁸ in Figure 1 below. Kautilya declares

⁵ Based on Speech Analysis of lecture delivered by Dr Gauri Moghe on ‘Sabha Parvan’ as part of the course on “18 Parvans of Mahabharata” organised under the aegis of BORI wef 01-23 Jul 2021.

⁶ Post-Independence, India derived its territorial jurisdiction based on ‘The Indian Independence Act 1947’. This Act was later repealed vide Article 395 of the Constitution of India.

⁷ Article 1(3)(c) of Indian Constitution refers.

⁸ Prepared by the author based on translations of Kautilya’s Arthashastra by RP Kangle and LN Rangarajan.

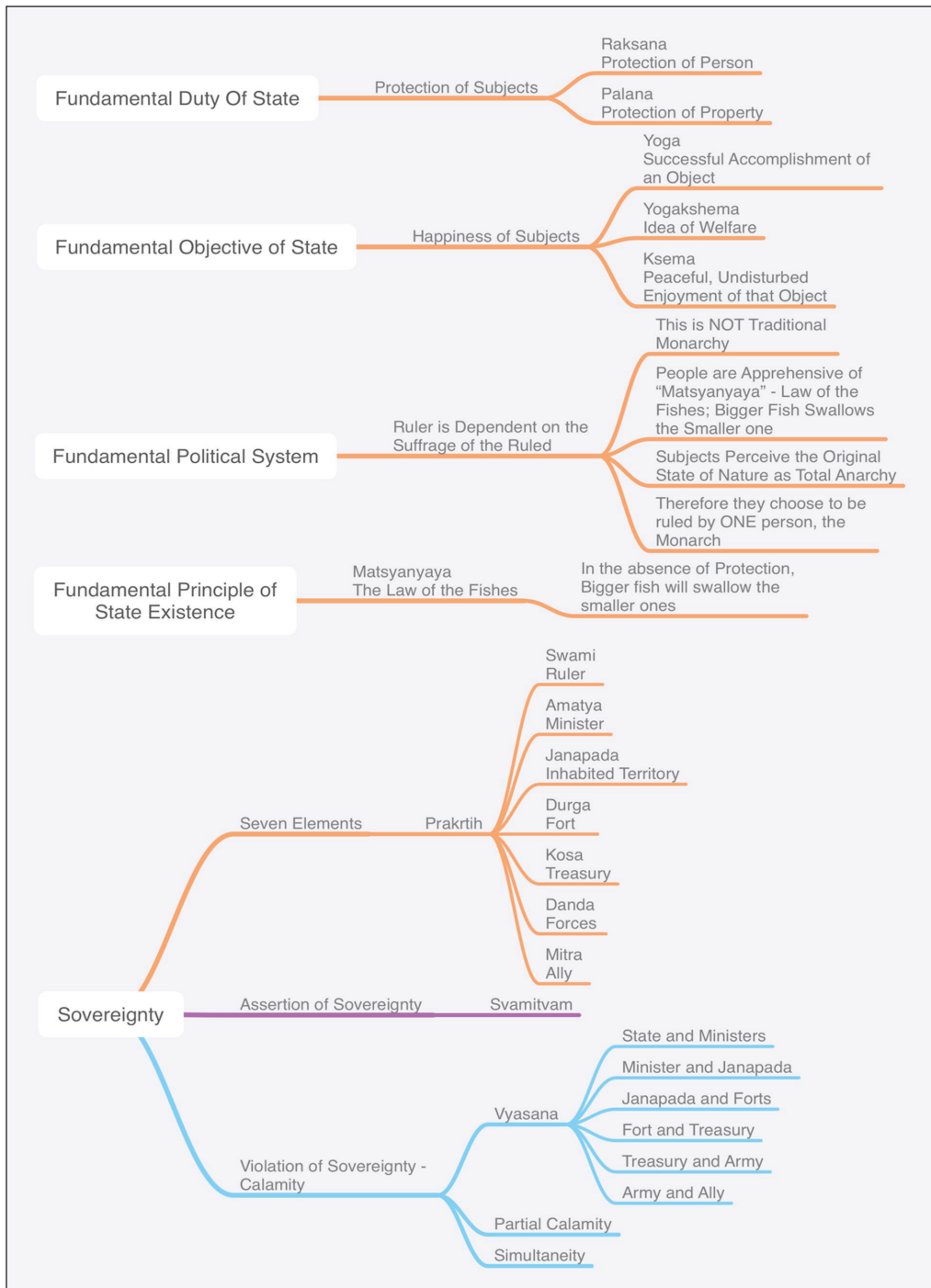


Figure 1-Mind Map of Kautilyan Framework for Sovereignty

the fundamental duty of state⁹ to be the protection of its subjects¹⁰. In its fundamental form, it includes protection of the individual as well as the property (Kangle, The Kautiliya Arthashastra Part III, 2014, p. 117). In doing so, the only objective of the state is happiness of its subjects¹¹. This must be the most unique concept of state anywhere in the world at any period. Kautilya terms this idea of welfare as 'Yogakshema'¹². This concept encompasses both the successful accomplishment of the objective as well as its undisturbed enjoyment (Kangle, The Kautiliya Arthashastra Part III, p. 118). The fundamental political system that governs the state and its subjects is 'no' traditional monarchy since the ruler is dependent on the suffrage of the ruled¹³. Such a system is manifestation of peoples' apprehensions regarding 'Matsyanyaya', the law of the fishes, wherein the bigger fish is bound to swallow the smaller one (Kangle, The Kautiliya Arthashastra Part III, pp. 116-117). This necessitates protection, thus always making maintenance of sovereignty not a matter of choice but a fundamental principle of state existence. The Kautilyan Framework for sovereignty ultimately rests on three pillars, viz the Seven elements – prakrtih, Assertion of sovereignty – svamitvam and finally the calamities – vyasana. Vaman Shivaram Apte's Sanskrit dictionary describes 'prakrtih' as "the natural condition or state of anything, nature, or natural form" (Apte, 2020, p. 1055). So, any entity cannot exist otherwise. This framework lays down the prakrtih of a State to be composed of seven elements in a hierarchical order. The sovereignty of a state is therefore defined by and reliant on these seven elements¹⁴. Absence, dilution, violation, or existence of any of these seven elements in a form different than its original would constitute violation of sovereignty. Top of this hierarchy is occupied by the 'Swami', the ruler,

⁹ While Kautilya refers to the supreme authority as the 'ruler king/ svamin' in accordance with the political system of that period, it must be taken as 'state' in accordance with the conventions of the contemporary period.

¹⁰ 3.1.41 of Kautilya's Arthashastra refers.

¹¹ 1.19.34 of Kautilya's Arthashastra refers.

¹² 1.13.7 of Kautilya's Arthashastra refers.

¹³ It must be noted though that RP Kangle, while elaborating on this subject in his commentary on Arthashastra, underscores a caution that Kautilya does not take direct ownership of this theory of monarchy since he uses a third person account to propagate this idea.

¹⁴ Also famously known as Kautilya's Saptanga Theory of State.

whom Apte defines as ‘A Sovereign’, and assertion of his sovereignty as ‘Swamitvam’ (Apte, p. 1743). Interestingly, the roots of this Kautilyan Theory of State go back to Mahabharata wherein the Shanti Parvan mentions the seven elements of a state (Rajya) as – Mitra, Amatya, Pura (City), Rashtra (Nation), Danda, Kosha, and Mahipati¹⁵ (King) (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 2021). Mahabharata’s seven elements of state do not appear to be any different from those of Kautilya, the only variation being that latter has modified ‘Pura’ as ‘Durga’ and ‘Rashtra’ as ‘Janapada’. Kautilya introduces the concept of ‘calamity’ – Vyasana (The State and its Constituent Elements, 1987, p. 100). Kautilya himself gives the etymology¹⁶ of this term ‘vyasana’ as “It is what throws out a person from his good, hence it is called vyasana’ (Kangle, The Kautiliya Arthashastra Part II, p. 385). Apte’s dictionary describes vyasana as ‘violation/ calamity/ adversity’ (Apte, p. 1515). Calamity can strike any of the seven elements of state. So, while the Kautilyan Framework may not have given a direct definition of sovereignty, the answer to the question, ‘What, according to Kautilya, is sovereignty?’ is best provided, indirectly, by this concept of calamity. Occurrence of calamity¹⁷ among any of the state elements would amount to ‘violation of sovereignty’. Severity of the calamity follows the order of the hierarchy of the prakritihs, which means that a calamity of a constituent higher in order is more serious than that of the one immediately succeeding (The State and its Constituent Elements, p. 100). From this framework, it can be reasonably concluded that a state loses its sovereignty whenever a calamity exists. This loss of sovereignty, however, may not be total since strength of the other parts of the same element may render the calamity as partial¹⁸. That notwithstanding, Kautilya is unambiguous in

¹⁵ Based on Speech Analysis of lecture delivered by Dr Madhavi Kolhatkar on ‘Shanti Parvan’ as part of the course on “18 Parvans of Mahabharata” organised under the aegis of BORI wef 01-23 Jul 2021. 16 8.1.4 of Kautilya’s Arthashastra refers. “Vyasyatyenam Sreyasa iti vyasanam”.

¹⁷ According to the translations provided by RP Kangle and LN Rangarajan, inversion of excellences (when any of the constituent elements has characteristics opposite to those described as ideal), absence, a great defect, addiction (personal vices), or affliction (natural calamities like fire and flood) constitutes a calamity – vyasana.

¹⁸ 8.1.61 of Kautilya’s Arthashastra refers.

his prescription¹⁹ that even if the entire constituent element cannot be saved, there must be an endeavour to rescue part of the constituents (The State and its Constituent Elements, p. 104). Simultaneity of calamities is also taken cognizance of by this Framework (The State and its Constituent Elements, p. 104) (Kangle, The Kautiliya Arthashastra Part II, p. 390). If a calamity strikes more than one constituent equally and simultaneously, the one likely to cause increasing damage is more serious. And if calamity of one element has the potential to afflict others, then that assumes greater seriousness²⁰.

20. **Conceptual Consequences of Kautilyan Framework.** It is thus the argument of this author that a nation-state enjoys its sovereignty through the integrity of its (seven) constituent elements, the prakrtihs. Assertion of its sovereignty always is mandatory to deter any threat to it. It is the absence, weakening, or overwhelming of this assertion that invites a calamity. Once a calamity strikes, the sovereignty is violated. While Kautilya might not have attempted to give a direct explanation of the concept of sovereignty, it is best understood through the idea of 'vyasana', the calamity, which leads to negation of sovereignty. It is thus through this visualisation of the violation of sovereignty that we correctly understand the meaning of sovereignty.

21. **Conceptual Framework for Sovereignty of India.** Based on the analysis in the foregoing, sovereignty of India must be governed by following ten fundamental principles (Ps).

¹⁹ 9.7.48 of Kautilya's Arthashastra refers.

²⁰ 8.1.62-63 of Kautilya's Arthashastra refers.

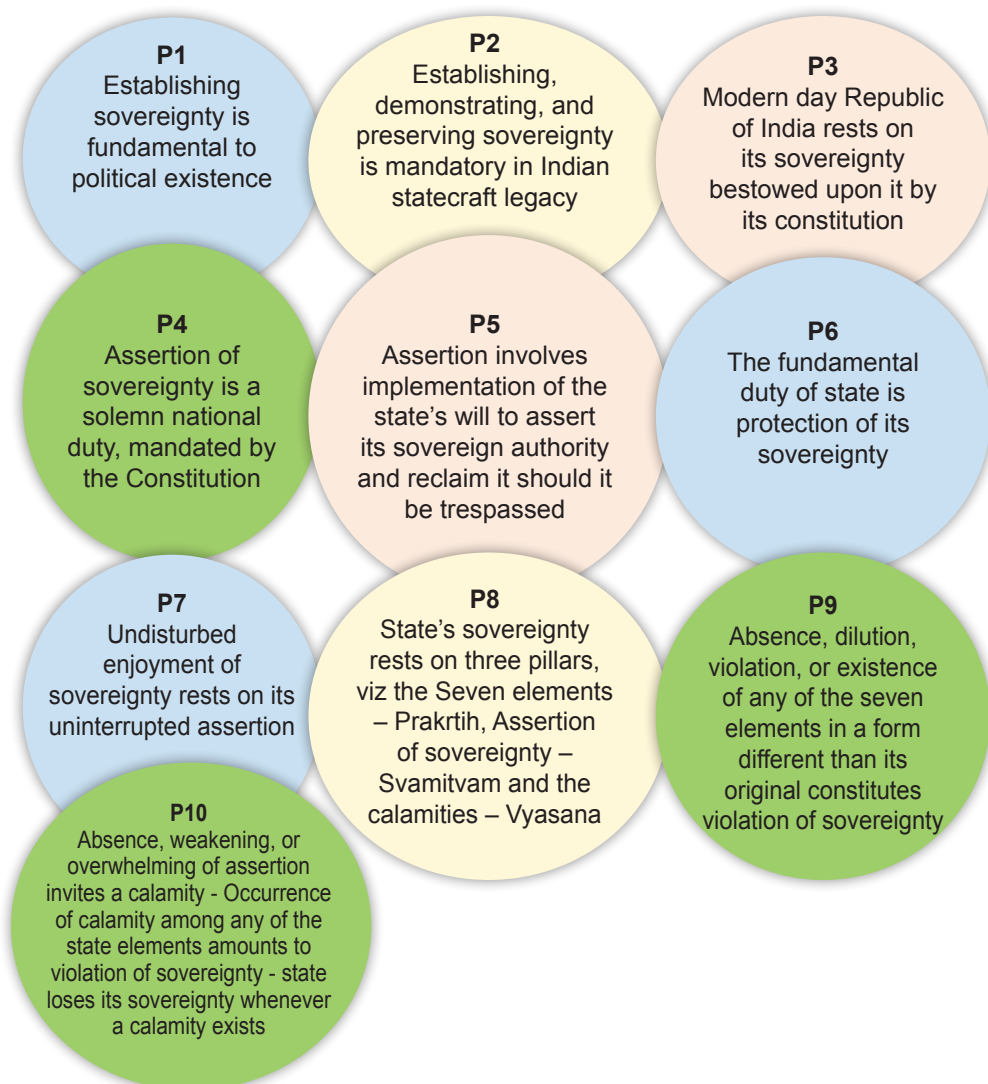


Figure 2-Conceptual Framework for Sovereignty of India

Analysis – Challenges to India's Sovereignty

22. Based on the Kautilyan Framework and the Conceptual framework for the sovereignty of India as discussed in the foregoing, it is evident that 'causation of calamity - vyasana', among the elements of the state - prakrtih, constitutes the fundamental challenge to state sovereignty. For

it is this calamity which causes ‘inversion of excellences²¹’ (Kangle, The Kautiliya Arthashastra Part II, p. 885) or in other words, causes existence of any of the seven elements in a form different than its original.

23. These causative factors, or threat to sovereignty may have internal or external origins²². Kautilya gives a Framework (Kangle, The Kautiliya Arthashastra Part II, pp. 420-422) (Rangarajan, Kautilya The Arthashastra, 1992, pp. 138-139) for understanding and addressing these challenges (Cs), as depicted in the table below²³. The strategies to counter these challenges are discussed subsequently in this paper.

<u>Challenge</u> <u>(C)</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Abetment</u>	<u>Threat</u>
C1	Internal	Internal	Highest
C2	External	External	Second Highest
C3	Internal	External	Second Least
C4	External	Internal	Least

Table 1-Kautilyan Framework for Challenges to India’s Sovereignty

24. If this framework is applied to India in the contemporary period, illustrations as given in the table below can be considered as real-life examples of some of the challenges to India’s sovereignty.

²¹ 8.1.3 of Kautilya’s Arthashastra refers.

²² 9.5.1 – 9.5.32 of Kautilya’s Arthashastra refers. While LN Rangarajan’s interpretation lists C4 and C3 as Second Least and Least threats respectively, it differs from Kautilya’s sutras as translated by RP Kangle. This author has maintained the latter interpretation.

²³ Significantly, these aspects were highlighted by then Vice President of India’s address at The National Defence College, Abuja, Nigeria delivered on 28 Sep 2016, accessible at <https://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/27445>

<u>C</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Abetment</u>	<u>Case</u>	<u>Explanation</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Element Facing Calamity</u>
C1	Internal	Internal	Socio-political-economic dissensions	Besides the conventional triggers for this kind of challenge, contemporary India also faces this as part of the Hybrid threat	Pliable Govt Civic Revolt Enforced Economic Deprivation ²⁴	Swami (King) Amatya (Ministers) Janapada (Inhabited Territory) Janapada Kosa (Treasury)
C2	External	External	Assaults on territory, Economy, Population	Terrorism Territorial Annexation ²⁵ Trade War	Jammu & Kashmir (J&K) J&K, Arunachal Pradesh Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP)	Janapada Durga (Fort) Danda (Forces) Mitra (Ally)
C3	Internal	External	Challenging State's authority	Insurgency	Northeast India Left Wing Extremism (LWE)	Janapada Durga Danda Kosa Mitra

²⁴ This could also be termed as enforced poverty. There are many forces within the state that prefer to and act towards creating and sustaining conditions which aggravate the intra-societal economic divide.

²⁵ This includes illegal occupation of Indian territory, threats of annexation, acts of annexation, manipulative territorial claims, and coveting territory.

<u>C</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Abetment</u>	<u>Case</u>	<u>Explanation</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Element Facing Calamity</u>
C4	External	Internal	Non-territorial threats to state's sovereign space	Economic Warfare – Goods Dependence	Dumping Ground for Chinese Products	Janapada Kosa

Table 2-Practical Examples of Challenges to India's Sovereignty

Prescription for the Problem – Strategic Management of India's Sovereignty

25. Before proceeding further towards evolving strategies that aim to mitigate the risks and counter the threats to our sovereignty, certain theoretical aspects as discussed below merit attention.

26. **Theory of Inter-State Relations.** Arthashastra rejects the State as a monolithic entity (Foreign Policy, 1987). Analysis of all political contingencies and recommendations for their strategic management reveal that in pursuit of its national interests, a state can manifest Power through strategic management of its internal environment governed by its seven prakrtihs - the elements of the state, and the external environment governed by the Rajmandala theory - the circle of states, at least twelve in number.

27. **Theory of Foreign Policy.** The six basic principles of Kautilyan theory of foreign policy (Foreign Policy, 1987, pp. 548-549) lay tremendous emphasis on expansion and preservation of territory. Among the 'six methods of foreign policy', 'samdhi', peace/ treaty is not to be negotiated with the prospect of ceding the competitive advantage.

28. **Theory of Warfare.** Kautilya suggests four kinds of War (Kautilya on War, 1987) against an adversary which go beyond the concept of mere physical warfare. ‘Mantrayudha’ - war by counsel, ‘Prakasayuddha’ - open warfare, ‘Kutayuddha’ - concealed warfare and ‘Gudayuddha’ - clandestine warfare provides an innovative and compelling framework from which the most suitable option that best resolves the competition/ conflict can be exercised.

29. **Territorial Reclamation and Imperialism.** Morgenthau in his seminal work ‘Politics among Nations’, explains what actions by states initiated in national interest do not qualify to be the acts of imperialism. “Not every foreign policy aiming at an increase in the power of a nation” as well as “Not every foreign policy aiming at preservation of an empire that already exists” is imperialism, declares Morgenthau (Morgenthau, p. 57).

30. **Strategic Management Process.** Strategic Management as a process consists of four different sequential phases. These are linked to each other, and each successive phase provides feedback to the previous phase. This process is depicted in the figure below (Management, 2021).

<u>Stage 1</u>	<u>Stage 2</u>	<u>Stage 3</u>	<u>Stage 4</u>
Establish Strategic Intent	Strategy Formulation	Strategy Implementation	Strategy Evaluation
Nation-state’s ambition for the long term	Course(s) of action	Translating strategy into action and results	Indicates success/ failure of strategies
Leads to measurable objectives	Takes the state from present to future	Application of management functions	Ongoing process

Figure 3-Strategic Management Process

Such a representation yields a dynamic model of strategic management, which considers the emerging factors as the process moves on.

31. **Strategic Management Framework for Sovereignty of India.**

While the principles of Strategic Management can be applied for entire National Security of India, the scope of this Paper is limited to ‘Strategic Management of Sovereignty’. Therefore, ‘Preservation of Sovereignty’ becomes the context for this exercise. This may be looked at for a futuristic period of 10-15 years. As part of Stage 1 of the process, the Nation-state’s Strategic Intent needs to be established. This intent must be rooted in the dynamics that result from mutual interaction of the fundamental principles of (Ps), and challenges to (Cs) India’s sovereignty, discussed in the foregoing. This must lead to Strategy Framework in Stage 2. Establishment of strategic intent helps in identifying the Strategic Gap, that is, the gap between where we are to where we want to be. This gap must be effectively bridged, and this function is performed by strategy through strategic management. For brevity, and to remain ‘predominantly’ diagnostic as opposed to being prescriptive, this Paper is not proceeding beyond the Stage 2 of the process. In this regard, the Strategic Management Framework for Sovereignty of India is indicated below.

<u>Context</u>	Preservation of National Sovereignty
• <i>Fundamental to existence</i>	
<u>Time Period</u>	Ten Years
• <i>2021-2031</i>	
<u>Strategic Intent</u>	To establish, demonstrate, and preserve India’s sovereignty as enshrined in its Constitution; assert State’s will to uphold its sovereign authority at all times, and be ready to reclaim it should it be trespassed; prevent, at all costs, occurrence of calamity on any of the elements of the State
• <i>Based on P1 - P10</i>	

Figure 4-Stage 1: Strategic Management Framework for Sovereignty of India

Kautilyan Strategy Framework for Challenges to India's Sovereignty²⁶					
<u>Challenge (C)</u>	<u>Origin</u>	<u>Abetment</u>	<u>Strategy</u>	<u>Target</u>	<u>Constituents</u>
C1	Internal	Internal	Conciliation, Gifts, Dissension, Force	Originator	Conciliation – Giving a position and showing honour
C2	External	External	Dissension, Force	Originator	Gifts – Favours and exemptions or employment in works
C3	Internal	External	Dissension, Force	Abettor	
C4	External	Internal	Conciliation, Gifts	Abettor	

Table 3-Stage 2: Strategic Management Framework for Sovereignty of India

32. **Contemporary Strategy Framework.** The four principal instruments of National Power in the contemporary period are the instruments of Diplomacy, Information, Military, and Economy – DIME (Management, 2021). It is interesting to note that the elements of Kautilyan Strategy Framework, discussed above, are not at any noticeable deviation from what is considered relevant contemporarily. A rough equivalence is indicated in the figure opposite. The modern day understanding of 'Strategy' is all about how (ways) leadership uses the power (means) to exercise control over sets of circumstances and

Conciliation (Sama)	Dissension (Bheda)	Force (Danda)	Gifts (Dana)
Diplomacy	Information	Military	Economy

Figure 5-Contemporary Relevance of Kautilyan Strategy Elements

²⁶ Based on 9.5.1 – 9.5.32 of Kautilya's Arthashastra, and LN Rangarajan's interpretation

geographic locations to achieve objectives (ends) that support the state interests. Hence, in the context of this discussion, while Preservation of Sovereignty remains the ultimate 'End', the various instruments of national power would serve as the 'Means', and the 'Ways' could range across the spectrum of the fundamental principles (Ps) discussed earlier as part of the Conceptual Framework for Sovereignty. This Paper thus suggests any of the appropriate combinations of the listed means and ways as the Strategy Framework for preservation of India's sovereignty.

<u>Ends</u>	<u>Means</u>	<u>Ways</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preservation of Sovereignty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diplomatic • Informational • Military • Economic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishing • Demonstration • Protection • Assertion • Reclamation • Calamity Prevention

Figure 6-Stage 2: Strategic Management Framework for Sovereignty of India

Conclusion

33. The State leadership must demonstrate willingness to employ all means or instruments of national power. This is contingent upon implementation of state's will through ingenuine combinations of various ways and means. Preservation of national sovereignty is fundamental to our existence and hence our foremost 'Dharma'.

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