# ARTHASHASTRA BY KAUTILYA

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CHAPTER I

ABOUT OP ART

INTRODUCTION

“As a flame is enveloped by smoke mirror by dirt, and embryo by the amnion, so is knowledge enveloped by desire”

Shri Krishna

Historical Perspective

1. **Evolution of the Term.** The skills of classical practitioners like Hannibal and Frederick the Great, and the insights of Clausewitz, Sun Tzu, Moltke and Jomini suggested long forgotten ways of analyzing the conduct of war. While it is true that the concept of operational art is fairly new, the activities it describes have existed in warfare in one from of the other throughout history. The steady expansion of the battlefield led to the emergence of “theatre warfare”. Large battles and smaller tactical action had to be fought almost continuously over a vast canvas of terrain to defeat the enemy. The scope of military strategy also expanded considerably, with its upper end, becoming closely tied to national strategy and policy, while its lower end - concerned with planning, preparation and movement of large forces prior to physical combat in each theater emerged as “operation” or “operational art”, or “operational warfare” as it is called today.

2. **Background.** The term “operation” was first used by German military theoretician, Dietrich Von Buelow who defined an operation as a movement by an army that starts from a base of operation and is directly aimed at the enemy. Von Clausewitz however re-defined an “operation” as the movement of an army determined by an operational plan and within the framework of strategy. The forms of such operations were determined by tactics, while lines of operations were selected by strategy.

3. Field Marshal Von Moltke Sr, can however be credited with introducing the term “operation” as a separate level of military actions between strategy and tactics including the unique German term, “operativ” (translated as “operational”) pertaining to an operation. In his view, operations were a link between strategic planning and tactical combat on the battlefield. By the end of the nineteenth century, “operation” emerged as an intermediate
area of study and practice in the German Military due to developments in the fields of weaponry and communication that led to change in force-space-time relationship.

4. The Soviet theory on operational warfare was perhaps the clearest and emerged as a distinct field of study in the mid 1920’s, necessitated by a need to restore mobility and manoeuvre to a stagnant aims. The distinctive Soviet term “operational art” was coined first by General Svechin, who believed that tactical creativity is governed by operational art. The US Army also adopted the Soviet term “operational art” in the early 1980s.

**The Necessity of Op Art**

5. War is a national undertaking encompassing all elements of national power - Military Power being one of them, to protect or further national interests. Military strategy derives the impulse from the national goals and constitutes the art and the science of employing armed forces to achieve national objectives, either by their direct application or by mere threat of their possible application.

6. Operational Art addresses the intermediate span that connects strategic aims to the tactical employment of forces. Thus, Strategy, Operational Art and tactics can generally be recognised as the broad divisions of activity in preparing for and waging war.

**Postulates of Op Art**

7. In short, Operational Art is the creative military skill of winning a war. It fits between tactics, which relates to the ability to win battles and the strategy which calls upon orchestration of higher direction for winning wars. It enables senior formation commanders to identify three essentials of war making:-

   (a) Military actions that would achieve the strategic goals most effectively.

   (b) Critical junctures in the contemplated military actions.

   (c) Allocation and integration of the combat resources at different stages of operation to ensure success.

8. The centrality of the theory of operational art in designing and conducting war-winning campaign needs no further emphasis. However, there are a few issues, which are to be addressed, primarily in the Indian context.
(a) Firstly, war is the ultimate manifestation of a ‘clash of wills’ between two adversaries, two fdcdrs (Gen to Lt), two people, two nations. Therefore, to be war winning, the theory of operational art developed and applied by a nation’s armed forces has to be unique, relevant to the geo-political and technological environment and, above all, superior to that of the adversary. Relative superiority over an enemy, at the operational level of war could also imply, not just being more innovative or unique but also being able to do the same thing qualitatively differently. (This is amplified by the quotation, ‘True skill of a great leader lies not in being able to do different things but in being able to do same thing differently’). The crux of the issue in defining our perception of successful conduct of war at the operational level thus is in being creative and revolutionarily, in thought and action, so that – “It is different”.

(b) Second, operational art is an abstract skill with its own distinct, all encompassing guiding concept which has to be absorbed and developed into a ‘seventh sense’ by military leaders involved in the higher direction of war. It would be unwise therefore, to try to impose too rigid a framework on the perception of the operational level of war or try to compartmentalise application of the art theory to various conflict scenarios. Unfortunately, we have been landing up with a ‘tacticisation’ of the conduct of war at the operational level, although, admittedly, an effect of RMA has been to blend the dividing line between the strategic, operational and even tactical levels.

(c) Third, even the innovative US Army, in its formulation on the operational level of warfare, had to lean heavily on the brainchild of Tukchevski for inspiration and took 30 to 40 years to concretize its own operational art theory. The advance Air Land Battle doctrine, which was the US answer to the Soviet Deep Battle Theory, finally emerged in 1986 and this doctrine saw successful application in the Gulf War.
A single assassin can achieve, with weapons, fire or poison, more than a fully mobilized Army.

Covert Activities

1. The creation of a secret service, with spies, secret agents and specialists such as assassins, was a task of high priority for the King. After the Royal Councillors and ministers had been appointed, their integrity was tested using one of the four tests based on the work allotted to them. The next task was the creation of an entire network of secret agents for ensuring the security of the Kingdom and expansion by conquest.

2. The organization of the secret services is as under:-

3. Clandestine agents were employed for the purpose within the country such as testing the integrity of ministers, surveillance over the population in general and high officials in
particular, secretly eliminating treacherous high official, preventing subversion by enemy kings, trapping criminal and forest bandits and detecting anti-social elements.

4. As one would expect, the use of clandestine agents is extensive with regard to relations with other Kingdoms, both in the context of foreign policy and in war. Some of the methods suggested involve the use of as many as three different types of agents. In general, the methods play on the weaknesses of men, such as ambition or lust. The use of false rumours to create mistrust is quite frequent. In addition to clandestine agents, others could also be used to play tricks, e.g., the conqueror about to eliminate the enemy may also use allies, loyal tribal chiefs and so called friends and supporters of the enemy into a false sense of security.

**Creating the Secret Service**

5. The King creates the secret service using agents for gaining information. Any information corroborated by three different spies shall be taken to be true. Any agent who is consistently unreliable shall be eliminated. The secret service would consist of two types of agents:

   (a) Agents Based at One Place.

   (b) Roving Agents.

6. **Agents Based at One Place.** These agents must ascertain the integrity of government servants. A government servant angry with the King for good reason shall be pacified with honours and awards while those acting against the King or angry without reason would be quietly eliminated.

   (a) A courageous and sharp student is trained as intelligence officer and sent out to report any activity against the King.

   (b) Honest and intelligent persons are used as spies and may take the cover as Udashita, (a monk) who has relinquished his vocation but pretends to be one after recruitment or an householder, who is an impoverished farmer, or trader, who is an impoverished merchant. These agents, having been provided with plenty of money and assistants, shall pursue a profitable occupation at the places assigned to them. Out of the profits, they shall give other monks, farmers, or traders food, clothing and shelter. Among those thus helped, the ones who want to earn money shall be recruited to act as spies using the appropriate cover. They shall swear loyalty to the King and be promised payment of salaries and expenses. With the new recruits also recruiting others, a network of spies shall be set up.

   (c) Ascetics with shaven head or matted locks who pretended, to practice austerity by eating very sparingly in public, may be established as an agent with his disciples near a city. He would establish his reputation and make predictions with the help of palmistry and similar technique as well as secret signs made by his disciples for his followers. Secret agents and other clandestine operators would make the predictions come true. He would be on the lookout for suitable recruits for government service.

7. **Roving Agents.** The intelligence gathered by these agents is collected and transmitted by code. The transmitters shall not know who the gatherers were. They shall be recruited to act as spies according to the cover specified below:-
(a) **Secret Agents (Sattri).** These are recruited from orphans who are looked after by the state, trained in different techniques of interpreting signs and marks, palmistry and similar technique of interpreting body marks, magic and illusions, duties of the ashrams and science of omens and augury etc or alternatively in art of men and society.

(b) **Assassin (Tikshna).** They are recruited amongst the bravest, who would fight with disregard to personal safety, for money.

(c) **Poisoner (Rasada).** Persons who are cruel, lazy and devoid of affection for their relatives are recruited as poisoners.

(d) **Wandering Nuns (Parivrajika, Munda-Vrishala).** They are recruited from poor but intrepid widows, who need to work for a living. They shall be treated with honour in the palace so that they may visit the houses of high officials freely to gain information.

8. In addition, occasional agents may be used. Other agents are:-

(a) **Double agents.** They are clandestine operatives who while employed by a King, spy for another King. They shall adopt a suitable disguise under the chancellor to carry out the task. The King must be aware of the possibility of his own servants being double agents and have their loyalty ascertained using other agents.

(b) **Agents Abroad.** Kings shall have spies in the courts of the enemy, the ally, the middle and neutral Kings to spy on the Kings and their officials. The different kinds of spies are as under:-

(i) **Inside Their Houses.** These were hunchbacks, dwarfs, eunuchs, women skilled in various arts, dumb persons and mlecchas etc.

(ii) **Inside Their Cities.** These were traders, espionage establishments.

(iii) **Near the Cities.** These were the ascetics.

(iv) **In the Countryside.** These were farmers, monks etc.

(v) **Frontiers.** These were the herdsmen.

(vi) **Forests.** These were the forest dwellers, such as shramanas and foresters.

9. **Counter Espionage.** To uncover enemy agents the King must employ his own roving and non-roving spies, operating in his own territory, who shall adopt disguise or covers similar to that of enemy agents or post at the frontiers high officials of unquestioned loyalty but acting as if they had reason for acting disloyalty (to attract approach from enemy agents).
10. **Agents Employed by the Chancellor.** The chancellor shall employ clandestine agents taking various disguises. These agents reported on the honesty or otherwise of village officials and heads of department.

11. **Work of Clandestine Agents.** The agents shall be used to:-
   
   (a) Neutralize principal officers working for the enemy.
   
   (b) Keep gullible people under surveillance.
   
   (c) Wage psychological warfare against the enemy.
   
   (d) Weaken the Enemy.

**Internal Security**

12. **Testing the Integrity of Ministers.** After appointing a minister, his integrity would be tested using one of the four tests viz. Dharma test, Artha test, Kama test and test by fear. However, Kautilya cautions that these ancient teachings will not be accepted completely and that the King or Queen must not be made the targets while carrying out such tests for ascertaining the probity of a minister. Also he should not corrupt the uncorrupted, as even the mind of the steadfast and the valiant may not return to its original purity if it is perverted by fourfold secret test. Thus Kings should make an outsider the object of the reference for the tests and keep the ministers under surveillance using clandestine agents.

13. **Surveillance of High Officials.** The King will select from the roving spies, those diligent, can disguise credibly and having knowledge of various languages and professions, to spy on high officials within the country. Assassins obtain employment under the official and report outdoor activities while poisoners employed by the officials as domestic, help report indoor activities of the official through wandering nuns.

14. **Surveillance of the Population.** The King must set up a system of keeping watch over the population in the cities and countryside. The agents must report rumours circulating, discontented people, facts of fields (size and production)households (taxes and exemptions) and families (varna and occupation) as well as crown property such as mines, water works, forests, various charges, subsistence expenses as well as the quantity stored in ware houses. They must ascertain the honesty of farmers, cowherds, merchants and Heads of Departments and keep vigil on public property and isolated places.

15. **Treacherous High Officials.** Treacherous high officials that cannot be dealt openly being too powerful or united are suppressed by the King using secret methods such as using his relatives against him, entrapment or playing one against the other.

16. **Subversion/ Intrigue.** The King must protect his people from subversion by the enemy by means of appreciation for those happy with the King and for those discontented shall be tackled by either conciliations, placating with gifts, sowing dissension, and use of force. However in enemy’s country, those easily subverted shall be won by conciliation and gifts and those not easily subverted will be tackled by sowing dissension, use of force or pointing out to them the defects of their King.
17. **Entrapment of Criminals.** The thieves in settled areas and forest bandits may be apprehended by agents who will win their confidence and have them caught in the process of committing a crime.

18. **Against Anti-Social Elements.** The Chancellor’s agents report dishonesty of village officials and heads of department, perjurers and procurers of perjury, persons practicing Witchcraft, Black magic and Sorcery, Poisoners and dealers in narcotics and counterfeitters and adulterators of precious metals. Various methods may be used to expose criminals making money by causing injury to people and punished with exile or payment of suitable redemption depending upon the gravity of the offence.

19. **Marauding Jungle Tribes and Robber Bands.** Clandestine agents who were employed in deceiving an enemy sheltered in a fort or removing anti-social elements can be used to tackle jungle tribes and robber bands raiding villages or ambushing caravans from the jungle in the similar manner of gaining their confidence, making them commit the act and catch them during the act.

20. **Against Oligarchies and Enemy Kings.** As per Kautiliya miraculous results can be achieved by practicing the methods of subversion as under:-

   (a) **Subversion in Enemy Territory.** The people in the enemy territory prone to subversion need to be identified. People who are angry with the King, greedy, frightened or haughty are prone to subversion. Each potential traitor should be approached according to the method best suited to his character.

   (b) **Against Oligarchies.** Oligarchies were characterized by collective leadership of a council of chiefs. Because of their cohesiveness, winning over an oligarchy was better than winning over an army or gaining a King as an ally. If an oligarchy could not be won over by conciliation or gifts, it was better to sow dissention among the chiefs by encouraging ambition or by exploiting lust.

21. **Sowing Dissension within a Confederacy.** Before setting out on a campaign of conquest, a conqueror must avoid the danger of external treachery, particularly from a confederacy of Kings, who join together to attack the conqueror by sowing dissention among them, mainly by making one of them out to be a villain, in league with the conqueror, against the interest of the confederacy. The agents shall than be used to implement the methods of deceptions and trickery.

22. **The Weak King Against an Aggressor.** The weak King must resort to whatever means possible to avoid being conquered. Some of the methods suggested are:-

   (a) **Assassinating the Aggressor.** The aggressor King may be administered poison by the queen using deception by clandestine agents in disguise.

   (b) **Subversion.** Important persons in the Kingdom may be subverted to revolt against the King.
(i) **Prince.** A son of the aggressor may be instigated by secret agents into revolt to fight and seize the Kingdom.

(ii) **Highest Level Officials.** A high level official may be deceived into acting against the King through higher aspirations, subversion against the King, greed or discontentment, which finally resulted in making them either fight their King or desert him.

(iii) **The Viceroy and the Chancellor.** The viceroy is put in charge of the capital when the King is away on a military expedition. Secret agents through rumours among the people spread that viceroy was skeptical about the King getting back from the campaign alive, creating doubt in minds of the people and suggesting them to look after their interests and kill their enemies. Thereafter when rumours widespread the agents would kill important people, rob etc. saying that these were punishments meted to those who disobeyed the viceroy and agents would also accuse viceroy of murder and pillage. Similar tactics is used against chancellor in countryside. After maligning the viceroy and chancellor, they shall be got killed by rousing people against them. Secret agents would use this opportunity for destruction of property and accuse viceroy and chancellor for wanton destruction. Further, a pretender or Prince in disfavour would be made King, who would then call off the attack.

(iv) **Army Chiefs.** Army chiefs could be subverted by provoking quarrels among them by young beautiful woman for whom they would be infatuated, or may be bribed with land or wealth to desert or fight on the side of the weak King.

(v) **Chief Commanders of the Defence Corps.** Chiefs of the chariot corps, elephant corps, cavalry and infantry shall be subverted by secret agents who would assassinate an official claiming orders from the King and advise others to save themselves by abandoning the King.

(vi) **Others.** Three other types (those who request for recompense for services rendered had been rejected, those who had been recompensed after asking and those who had not even asked for recompense) were identified, who rendered some service to the King and could be subverted by using the same tactics as for Chief Commanders of the Defence Corps.

(c) **Counter Attacking the Aggressor.** The weak King shall overcome the aggressor by adopting a method of attack appropriate to the place where the aggressor may be found.

(i) **Provoking an Attack on the Aggressor.** This is done by providing war material to a neighboring Prince, a jungle chief or a pretender or a Prince in disfavor along with information about a region that could be captured and together secret agents would strike at the weak points of the aggressor.
(ii) **Attacking an Aggressor with Poison.** An agent in disguise as a wine seller or trader/ hawker is used to poison the aggressor's army in its camp or selling poisoned liquids or poison the elephants and horses.

(iii) **Creating Chaos in the Aggressor’s Camp on the Eve of an Attack.** Chaos can be created in the aggressor’s camp on the eve of an attack by agents or by letting loose wild animals or serpents in the camp, setting fire to the camp or attacking troops and ambushing convoys with concealed troops also by proclaiming a night prior by blowing trumpets that capital had been captured.

(iv) **Assassinating the Aggressor.** The aggressor King may be assassinated prior to the attack using assassins in disguise or by mechanical contrivances.

23. **Conqueror Besieging an Enemy's Fort.** The conqueror may minimize his losses in overthrowing an enemy who has taken shelter in his own fort by various methods.

(a) **Lowering the Morale of the People in a Besieged Fort.** The gullible people inside the fort can be convinced that the conqueror is in direct communication with the Gods and Spirits by performing various tricks to lower their morale.

(b) **Enticing a Besieged Enemy by Tricks.** Various means are used to entice the King to make him vulnerable and killing him.

(i) **Agents in the Guise of Ascetics and Holy Men.** An agent disguised as an ascetic will convince the King of his magical powers using various tricks and promise him wealth and prosperity on performing the prayers for a week at an isolated spot. The King is thus enticed into spending a week outside the fort with his wife and children. This opportunity is used to attack and kill him.

(ii) **Agents in the Guise of Demons.** Agents disguised as demons will frighten the people and convince them that the demons will disappear only if the King performs prayers for seven nights, at a secluded place, where he would be killed.

(iii) **Exploiting the Enemy King’s Weaknesses.** An enemy King’s fondness for animals, hunting or women may be used to lure him into a trap and kill him.

(iv) **Ambushing.** The enemy King may be ambushed by agents in hiding, at places he visits frequently and is unprotected or careless such as sanctuaries and temples and where an opportunity may arise for killing him.

(c) **Infiltrating a Force Inside the Enemy Fort.** Conquering a besieged fort will be less costly in men and material if a force can be infiltrated inside the fort. This force can then be used to assist the conqueror’s army in taking the fort either by tricking the enemy into opening the gates or by gradually building up a clandestine armed unit inside the fort.
Magic, Illusions and Occult

24. Kautilya also has spoken about techniques of secret practices to defeat the enemy including the occult and black magic. While maximum of these techniques deal with killing or maiming an enemy by chemicals or by black magic, a few are clearly tricks and don’t involve the occult. Also he talks about list of countermeasures and antidotes, and attacker making himself more powerful by becoming invisible or by acquiring ability to see in darkness.

25. A special preference has been given to chemical preparation which can be put into use against enemy in various ways causing death immediately or at end of different periods. Also making unconscious, killing or blinding with poisonous smoke, causing diseases, making someone rabid, poisoning water or causing disfigurement. Other uses of chemicals are for survival. Ingredients used in making chemicals are mixture of parts of various animals, insects and plants. The magical chemicals are mainly concerned with adding to the power of the attacker. Poison or poisoning are mentioned to get rid of traitors and enemies. While King was advised to use magical spells, occult methods and poisons against his enemies but common people indulging in these practices were punished. Further by means of mantras, drugs, illusions and occult practices, one’s own people shall be protected and those of enemy destroyed.
CHAPTER-III

FOREIGN POLICY

“The welfare of a state depends on an active foreign policy”

Kauutilyan Foreign Policy

1. Though less than a fifth of the Arthasastra deals with foreign policy, Kauutilya is deservedly known as the great theorist of inter-state relations because of his unique and unprecedented contribution, his teachings constituting a brilliant, comprehensive, cohesive and logical analysis of all aspects of relation between states. The common understanding is that Kauutilya propounded the theory that immediate neighbouring state in an enemy and a neighbour’s neighbour, separated from oneself by the intervening enemy, is a friend. This, no doubt, is almost always valid. Nevertheless, to reduce Kauutilya’s theory on foreign policy to just these observations is to do him a grave injustice. Indeed the theory deals with not just three states, but with a maximum of twelve. The state is conceived not as monolithic entity but as one with six internal constituents – the King, the ministers, the fortified city, the countryside, the treasury and the army. The power which a state can bring to bear on promoting its own interests vis-à-vis other states depends on how close to ideal the internal constituents were.

Theory and Practice

2. In trying to understand Kauutilya’s analysis, we have to keep in mind the fact that it is essentially theoretical. He does not deal with a particular state in historical time, but with the state as a concept. Since in the Kauutilyan view, the King encapsulates all the constituents of a state, he has expounded the theory in terms of the King i.e. any King. In other words, what Kauutilya calls as ‘the interest of the King’ would nowadays be termed as ‘national interest’. The Arthashastra is concerned with security and foreign policy needs of a small state, in an environment with numerals small states.

3. Kauutilya uses four devices to derive practical advice for specific situations from his essentially theoretical concepts. These are relative power, deviations from the ideal, classification by type of motivation and the influence of the intangible and the unpredictable. Power is not factor which is constant over time. Kauutilya frequently warns that both present (short-term) advantages and future (long term) advantages have to be taken into account, when to forego short-term advantages, or even any advantage, when concluding treaties. Another factor which affects the choice of policy is current condition of states involved. In first exposition of the theory of foreign policy, Kauutilya divide state into two broad groups, the first two circles of states (i.e.) the friendly ones and the hostile ones. Intangible and unpredictable factors affect policy choices. Kauutilya does not count power purely in terms of the resources of the state or the size of the army. Greater importance is given to the power of good command, analysis and judgment as well as to following just policies. The word ‘mantra ‘ for good counsel, analysis and judgment, also appears in ‘Mantra Yuddha’ warfare by ‘good counsel’, (i.e.) diplomacy. There are intangible factors dependent on the intellect. Unpredictable factors are Acts of God. ‘Events both human and providential, govern this world. If an Act of God results in helping the achievement of one’s objective, it is good fortune, otherwise, it is misfortune. Any human action which increases one’s welfare is good policy, otherwise it is bad policy.
4. Kautiya’s eminently practical approach to foreign policy is shown by his disagreement with earlier teachers on how a weak King should behave. ‘One should neither submit
spinelessly nor sacrifice oneself in foolhardy valour. 'It is better to adopt such policies as would enable one to survive and live to fight another day.' Notwithstanding the fact that Kautilya wrote this between nineteen hundred to two thousand years ago, the analysis of foreign policy in the *Arthashastra* has a universal and timeless validity.

**Basic Principles of Foreign Policy**

5. The guideline principles which govern the Kautilyan theory of foreign policy are:-

(a) A King shall develop his state, i.e. augment its resources and power in order to enable him to embark on a campaign of conquest.

(b) The enemy shall be eliminated.

(c) Those who help are friends.

(d) A prudent course shall always be adopted.

(e) Peace is to be preferred to war.

(f) A King’s behaviour, in victory and in defeat, must be just.

6. The welfare of a state, ensuring the security of the state within its existing boundaries and acquiring new territory to enlarge it, depends on adopting of policy of non-intervention or overt action. This establishes the basis for all foreign policy. This non-intervention, a method designed to build up confidence between Kings, is not a policy of doing nothing but the deliberated choice of a policy of keeping away from foreign entanglements, in order to enjoy the fruits of fast acquisition by consolidating them. *Vyayama*, (industry and activity) implies an active foreign policy, *Yoga*, the object of enlargement of one’s power and influence, and through these, one’s territory. These are two stages of policy and both depend on the state making progress, either materially in terms of its treasury and army or diplomatically in terms of its relations with other state. A state’s position is determined by its relative decline vis-à-vis other states in the neighbourhood.

7. The most important of a King’s neighbours is the ‘enemy’. Among the states surrounding a Kingdom, there is always one who is natural enemy. Presumably, this is the one neighbour who has designs on the King and, in the absence of any action, will be out to attack the King. The other neighbour may be hostile (*aribhavi*), friendly (*mitrabhavi*) or vassal (*bhrityabhavi*). There may also be a small buffer state between the King and the enemy (*antardih*). However, the main target of the conqueror is always designated natural enemy, ‘one cannot make peace with an enemy’. The reason of many aspects of the analysis of foreign policy being couched in terms of the conqueror outmanoeuvring the enemy, is that the enemy is also the target of the diplomacy of the conqueror. When the conditions are ripe, a military campaign will be undertaken against him.

8. Allies are important; in fact, allies are described as a ‘constituent element of a state (the only external constituent). An alliance is based on giving help. ‘The real characteristic of friendship is giving help. “A friend is ever a well-wisher”. Even an enemy who helps is fit to be allied with, not an ally who does not act like one’. Consequently, an ally who violates a treaty, goes over to the enemy and then wants to return to the alliance is to be treated with the utmost circumspection. ‘Just as living with a snake is living in a constant fear, one who has come from the enemy was always dangerous’.
9. Since prudence should always govern choice of policy, Kautilya is against both spineless submission and foolhardy valour. Peace should always be preferred to war: ‘When the degree of progress is the same in pursuing peace and waging war, peace is to be preferred. When benefit accruing the Kings under treaty, irrespective of their status as the weaker, equal or stronger party, is fair to each one peace by agreement shall be preferred course of action. If the benefits are to be distributed unfairly war was preferable.

10. Of the three categories of Kings (i.e.) stronger, equal and weaker, peace is to be made with the first two, war is recommended only against a weaker adversary since it brings gains at least cost. Even in waging war, Kautilya’s advice is that it is better to attack an unrighteous King than a righteous one. Just behaviour is also means that a King shall not take land that belongs to his ally, even if it is given to him by somebody else. A King shall also behave in a just manner towards a King whom he has subjugated.

**The Six Methods of Foreign Policy**

11. The conqueror with his allies and vassals, the enemy with a similar circle of Kings, other interested parties like the Middle and Neutral Kings are the actors in drama of diplomacy and war. The tools they use are six methods of foreign policy. For understanding the comprehensive sweep to Kautilyan foreign Policy, it is essential to note the meanings implicit in these six words explained as under:-

(a) **Samadhi.** Making peace, is defined as entering into a agreement with specific conditions, i.e. concluding a treaty. However, Kautilya also says that ‘non- intervention, negotiating a peace treaty and making peace by giving a hostage, all mean the same thing’. The aim of peace includes a variety of objectives:-

   (i) It enable a King to enjoy the fruits of his own acquisition and promote the welfare and development of his state without intervening in any conflict in his neighbourhood in other words, he can play the role of the Neutral King.

   (ii) A King may use a peace treaty to strengthen alliances.

   (iii) He may purchase peace by giving a hostage and await a favourable opportunity for pursuing his own interests.

   (iv) He may use it as one arm of a dual policy.

(b) **Vigraha.** War, in context of foreign policy includes everything from undertaking diplomatic offensive to fighting a battle. Hostilities is another instrument of foreign policy. It is classified into three kinds-

   (i) **Open War.** A battle in the normal sense.

   (ii) **Secret War.** Attacking the enemy in a variety of ways, taking him by surprise.

   (iii) **Undeclared War.** Clandestine attacks using secret agents and occult practices.

(c) **Asana (Staying Quiet) and Yanna (Preparing for War).** These are two methods used in connection with both peace and war. These are, in fact, stages in the transition from peace to war and vice-versa. The pause may be of short duration
waiting for some improvement, extended if there has to be a longer wait for the right opportunity and deliberate by not choosing to act when one can do so.

(d) **Samsraya.** It is seeking the protection, when threatened, of a stronger King and taking refuge in a fort.

(e) **Dvaidhibhava.** It is the policy of making peace with a neighbouring King in order to pursue, with his help, the policy of hostility towards another.

12. Environment envisaged by Kautilya makes provisions for some Kings who are not directly involved in the conflict between the conqueror and the enemy but can influence the course of that conflict. The middle King shares a border with antagonists and is more powerful than both. The neutral King is even more powerful but does not share a border with any of them. Confederacies and Oligarchies are two cases of collective leadership and conqueror needs special techniques to deal with them.

**Definitions, Principles and Methods**

13. Every King has his own circle of allies. Since conqueror, his enemy, the middle King and neutral King are all independent actors, there are four circles. The circle of Kings is not to be imagined geographically but it defines relationship in a dynamic situation which may create opportunities for some and expose others to dangers. The success of King’s foreign policy initiatives depends on power, which is not to be measured purely in terms of military power. Intellectual power and moral are two other aspects. By projecting his power by using the appropriate foreign policy, a King makes progress, thus contributing the further increase in his power. There is thus a dynamic relationship between power and progress, mediated by right policy, executed through the instruments of the circle of states. The six methods of foreign policy are then defined. Why one policy should be chosen in preference to another depends entirely on whether the chosen method helps the King to make progress. Hence, each of six methods are evaluated in terms of the situations in which their use will result in progress. The analysis of five of the six methods is clear cut. However in making peace with the enemy, Kautilya says that peace with the enemy can be made purely as a temporary measure provided that the long term objective of conqueror is facilitated. By definition two Kings are enemies when they share a border. Also would be conqueror is to be treated like an enemy.

14. The welfare of a state depends on adopting a foreign policy of non-intervention or overt actions. A policy which helps in undisturbed enjoyment of the results of past activity is defined as non-intervention. An active policy is one which is designed to bring new initiatives to a successful conclusion. Active and passive policies both depend on the six methods of foreign policy. The six methods are applied using constituent elements of states involved. Applying these policies may result in decline, progress or no change in one’s position. It is a decline for the conqueror if the enemy’s undertakings flourish or conversely the decline of an enemy’s undertaking is progress for the conqueror. Parity between the two is maintained when both make equal progress.
Power and Its Objectives

15. Strength is power, happiness is the objective of using power. Power and success are inter-related. Power is of three kinds, so is the success resulting from its use. Intellectual strength provides the power of good counsel, a prosperous treasury and strong army provide physical power and valour is the basis for morale and energetic action. The success resulting from each one is, correspondingly, intellectual, physical and psychological. To the extent a conqueror is better endowed than his enemy in the three kinds of power, and he will be stronger and more successful. If he is less well endowed, he will be weaker. Two Kings of commensurate power are equal.
16. Hence, the conqueror shall always endeavour to add to his own power and increase his own happiness. If he is unable to improve his own qualities, he shall endeavour to increase the power of the human constituents of his state, keeping in mind their integrity as well as their importance to the work about to be undertaken. He shall endeavour to reduce the power of his traitors and enemies.

![Diagram of Types of Enemies in the Rear]

**Types of Enemies in the Rear**

**Use of Circle and States by the Conqueror**

17. The conqueror shall think of the circle of states as a wheel with himself at the hub and allies drawn to him by the spokes, though separated by intervening territory, as its rim. The enemy, however strong he may be, becomes vulnerable to harassment and destruction, when he is squeezed between the conqueror and his allies. In order to further to his own interests, the conqueror shall establish, both in the front and in the rear, a circle of Kings made of excellent allies. Also he shall always station envoys and clandestine agents in all state of the circle. While the conqueror’s aim is to expand his own territory by conquest, he may find himself attacked by strong King and in this case Kautilya identifies the aggressor as three types:-

(a) **Righteous Aggressor.** Who only wants submission.

(b) **Greedy Aggressor.** Who wants land and goods.

(c) **Monstrous Aggressor.** Who on top of seizing land, goods, wives and sons, is satisfied only by taking life of his victim.
The Six Methods and When to Use Them

18. The would-be conqueror shall apply the six methods of foreign policy as appropriate to the various constituent elements of his circle of states with the aim of progressing from a state of decline to one of neither decline nor progress and from this state to one of progress. The King who understands the interdependence of the six methods of foreign policy, as explained in this treatise, will bind other rulers by the chains of his intellect and can play with them as he pleases.

The Six Methods

19. Kautilya agrees with the view that there are six different methods of the policy because each one is applicable in a different set of circumstances:

(a) **Making Peace.** It is entering into an agreement with specific conditions i.e., concluding a treaty. A King shall make peace when he finds himself in relative decline compared to this enemy.

(b) **Waging War.** It is active hostilities. A King superior to his enemy in power shall attack him.

(c) **Staying Quiet.** Being indifferent to a situation is staying quiet. When a King considers that neither he nor his enemy can harm the other, he shall remain quiet.

(d) **Preparing for War.** Augmenting one’s own power is preparing for war. A King with special advantages shall make preparations for war.

(e) **Seeking Support.** Getting the protection of another is seeking support. A King depleted on power shall seek help.

(f) **Dual Policy.** It is making peace with one King and war with another. A King whose aim can be achieved only with the help of another shall pursue a dual policy.

20. Progress can be achieved by the King by making peace, through war, by doing neither, by preparing for war, by seeking protection nor by following dual policy. When degree of progress is same in pursuing peace and waging war, peace is to be preferred, as war entails losses. For the same reason, a policy of neither peace nor war is to be preferred to making preparations for war and further between adopting a dual policy and seeking the protection, dual policy is to be preferred as one who seeks protection of another serves only other’s interest and not his own.

The Six Methods Applied to Stronger, Equally Strong or Weak Kings

21. As general principle, the would be conqueror shall apply the six methods with due regard to his power. He shall make peace with an equally powerful or stronger King but wage war against a weaker King. He shall not wage war against a stronger King because he who fights against a stronger King is crushed like a foot soldier fighting an elephant. A fight with an equal brings losses to both sides, just like the destruction of two unbaked mudpots hitting each other. Like a stone striking a mudpot, a more powerful King gains decisive victory over weaker one.
22. **Peace.** The four aspects of making peace by treaty are as under:-

(a) **Desire to Make Peace Where none exits.** It means:-

(i) The prospects of a new treaty keeping in mind the methods of conciliation etc.

(ii) The consequences of such a treaty.

(iii) The provisions determining the obligations of equal, stronger and weaker parties according to their strength are aspects of desires to make peace.

(b) **Respecting a Treaty.** It means:-

(i) The observance, on both sides, of the spirit of the treaty on the basis of mutual respect and its advantage.

(ii) The implementation of the provisions of the treaty as agreed upon.

(iii) The protection of the alliance by ensuring that no dissension creeps in between the parties.

(c) **Violation of treaty.** It is breaking the treaty after establishing, through spies and secret agents that other party is not respecting it.

(d) **Re-negotiating a Broken Treaty.** A treaty is re-negotiated when there is a reconciliation with a vassal or ally who had, through some fault, violated a treaty.

23. When the benefits accruing to Kings under treaty, irrespective of their status as the weaker, equal or stronger King, is fair to each one, peace by the agreement shall be preferred course of action and if the benefits are to be unfairly distributed, war is preferable.

24. **War.** The three kinds of war are:-

(a) **Open war.** Open war is fighting at a specific time and place.

(b) **Secret war.** Secret war is terrorizing, sudden assault, threatening in one direction while attacking in another, sudden assault without specifying time or place, attacking an enemy when he makes a mistake or is suffering from a calamity, and appearing to yield in one place but attacking suddenly in another.

(c) **Undeclared War.** Undeclared War is using secret agents and occult practices against the enemy.

25. **Pauses.** Prolonged inaction, inaction for a specific purpose and deliberately not taking action are three similar types of neither waging war nor making peace.

26. **Settling out on Campaign.** After the King has adequately increased his strength, he shall set out on a campaign against his enemy, choosing a time when enemy does not have all his forces fully mobilized. The condition are as under:-

(a) The enemy is suffering from calamity.
(b) The enemy’s trouble with one constituent of his state cannot be compensated by the other constituents.

(c) The Enemy’s subjects have become impoverished, discouraged or disunited due to oppression by the troops or ill-treatment by their monarch and thus have become susceptible to enticement to desert.

(d) The enemy’s draught animals, men, stores and fortifications have been weekend due to fire, floods, disease, epidemics or famine.

27. **Seeking Help.** Amity with a more powerful monarch carries great danger for Kings except which one is actually at war with an enemy. A King can seek the protection of one who is stronger than the neighboring enemy. Should the King seek the help of King who loves him or a King who is loved by him. The best alliance is with the one who loves him.

28. **Dual Policy.** The conqueror shall out manoeuvre the second element of the Circle of the Kings (i.e.) the enemy as under:-

(a) He can induce a neighboring ruler to undertake a simultaneous expedition, each attacking the enemy from a different direction, due to which the spoils will be divided equally. If the neighbor agrees to equal division, a treaty shall be concluded. If he does not, he shall be treated as hostile.

(b) The conqueror may take the help of the second member of the Circle of Kings (i.e.) natural enemy in order to attack to another neighboring King.

**Envoys**

29. **On Envoys.** When after due deliberation, a decision to pursue a practical course of action has been taken, envoys shall be appointed. The conqueror shall entrust to his envoys the various duties. He shall also keep a watch over the activities of envoys sent to him by others using spies, visible and invisible guards as well as by sending counter-envoys.

30. **Duties of an Envoy.** The envoys shall resort to clandestine method where necessary. The envoy shall ever be diligent in the performance of his duties. The duties of an envoy are:-

(a) Sending information to his King.

(b) Ensuring maintenance of the terms of a treaty.

(c) Upholding his King’s honour.

(d) Acquiring allies.

(e) Instigating disension among the friends of enemy.

(f) Conveying secret agents and troops into the enemy territory.

(g) Suborning the kinsmen of the enemy to his own King’s side.

(h) Acquiring clandestinely gems and other valuable material for his own King.

(j) Ascertaining secret information.
(k) Showing valour in liberating hostage held by the enemy.

**Treaties**

31. **The Nature of Agreements.** Non-intervention, negotiating a peace treaty and making peace by giving a hostage, all mean the same thing, since the aim of three is to create confidence between two Kings. Some teachers say that an agreement made on the word of honour or by swearing an oath is an unstable peace whereas one backed by a surety or a hostage is more stable. Kautilya disagrees. An agreement made on oath or on word of honour is stable in this world and the next and breaking it has consequences in life and after death. An agreement which depends on a surety or a hostage is valid only in this world since their observation depends on the relative strength of parties making it.

32. **Types of Treaties.** There are two kinds of treaties (i.e.) those without specific conditions and those with specific obligations.

(a) **Treaties without Conditions.** The King, who wants to out-manoeuvre a wicked, hasty, lazy or shortsighted enemy, shall falsely create a sense of confidence by making a treaty without any conditions about territory, period or objective and merely an affirmation of alliance. Under cover of the treaty, the King shall find out the weak points of the enemy and then strike.

(b) **Treaties with Obligations.** In this connection, it is said that, a wise King will make one neighbouring King fight another neighbour and having thus prevented the neighbours from getting together, proceed to overrun the territory of his own enemy. There are seven types of treaties, according to the nature of the obligations with three variables of place, time and objective (all three together, any two or any one place, time and objective, place and time, time and objective, place and objective, place alone, time alone, objective alone).

33. **Response of The Enemy.** The vulnerable enemy who is the target of the proposed treaty between the conqueror and a common neighbour shall offer twice the benefit to one of the parties, with a view to switching the treaty of removing the profit motive. He shall describe to the neighbour thus approached, the losses, expenses, absence from home, the benefits to his enemies and the personal hardships likely to result from a treaty with the conqueror. If the neighbour agrees, the amount promised shall be paid, or, at least, enmity shall be created between the neighbour and the conqueror and their treaty frustrated.

**Renegotiation of Treaties**

34. **Reasons for Violating a Treaty.** Some teachers say that a vassal or ally violates a treaty for any of the following reasons:-

(a) Seeing the results of his efforts (on behalf of the King) destroyed.

(b) Loss of power.

(c) Desire to sell his knowledge (to a higher bidder).

(d) Feeling of hopelessness.

(e) Eagerness to see other countries.

(f) Lack of trust (in the King).
Conflict with a powerful person.

Kautilya disagrees with reasons as mentioned in para 34 above. As per him, fear, lack of employment and resentment are the only reasons why a vassal or ally leaves the King. It is assumed that re-negotiation takes place because a vassal or ally who had left the King in violation of a treaty, wants to come back to the fold. Normally, a vassal who violates a treaty has to be attacked and defeated. There are four kinds of treaty violators returning:

(a) One who leaves for good reason and also returns for good reasons.
(b) One who leaves and also return for no reason.
(c) One who leaves for good reason but returns for no reason.
(d) One who leaves for no reason but returns for good reasons.

Just as living with a snake is living in constant fear, one who has come from the enemy is always a danger because of his long association with the enemy therefore he must always be feared as posing a danger even in the future and re-negotiating should be avoided.

Equal and Unequal Treaties. An equal treaty is one in which the stronger King gets a greater share, an equally powerful King gets an equal share and a weaker King a smaller share. An unequal treaty is one in which a strong, equal or weak King does not get a share according to his power. An exceptionally unequal treaty is one in which one of the signatories gets a disproportionately large share. When the benefits accruing to Kings under a treaty irrespective of their status as the weaker, equal or stronger party is fair to each one, peace by agreement shall be the preferred course of action. If the benefits are to be distributed unfairly, war is preferable. A King may enter into an equal treaty with another of equal strength for the loan of forces:

(a) Expert in fighting the kind of forces which the enemy, the enemy’s ally or jungle tribes might use.
(b) Conversant with unfavorable terrain of the enemy’s country.
(c) To protect his base or rear.

A neighbour thus approached may agree to the loan of troops if he is convinced of the honorable intentions of the proposer otherwise the proposer shall be considered hostile. Both the King who proposes the treaty and the King approached shall consider the reason which prompted the proposal. Then, after analyzing the consequence of peace and hostility, the course of action more conducive to one’s well-being shall be adopted.

Present and Future Gain. The gain from a negotiation cannot be computed simply as a mathematical calculation. Kautilya suggests that one should take into account the overall benefit which includes the immediate gain as well as the potential future gain. Sometimes, it may even be advised to forego any apparent benefits.

Small Present Benefit, Large Future Benefit. Even when a King is facing financial difficulties or when he distrusts the other partner in the negotiations, he may accept a small immediate gain for the sake of a large future benefit, when he wants:
(a) To make the enemy, whose undertaking had not started well, suffer further loses or expenses.

(b) To prevent the success of the enemy’s undertaking, which had started well.

(c) To attack the enemy’s base camp, heartland or expeditions.

(d) To extract more benefit later after making a treaty with the enemy of the other partner.

41. **Little Present Benefit, Small Future Benefit.** A King may agree to forego a large immediate gain and seek only a small future benefit if:-

   (a) The transaction helps his ally and harms his enemy while maintaining his own advantage.

   (b) He intends to use again the partner who is being helped by asking for very little benefit.

42. **Seeking No Benefit Now or In The Future.** A King may not seek any benefit in the present or in the future if:-

   (a) He wants to save another engaged in a war with traitors or enemies or with a stronger King threatening his heartland.

   (b) He wants the other King to come to his help in similar circumstances.

   (c) He takes into account a special relationship with the other King.

43. **Demanding Agreed Payment or More.** A King may demand immediate payment of the amount as agreed upon or even more, if he:-

   (a) Wants to break the treaty.

   (b) Wants to (weaken his own enemy by utilizing an opportunity) harass the enemy’s people or break up an alliance between the enemy and his friend.

   (c) Apprehends an attack on him by the enemy.

44. **Response of the Other Negotiant.** In all the above cases, the second party to the negotiation shall analyse his own present and future benefit before accepting or rejecting.

45. **Helping the Ally the Middle King or the Neutral King.** Kautilya talks about cases when both the enemy and the conqueror try to negotiate a treaty of assistance with the same common neighbor and when there is the danger of both the conqueror and the enemy competing for the friendship of the middle or neutral King, neither of whom is directly involved in the fight with the two.

**Treaties by the Weaker King**

46. A weak King, when attacked by a stronger King, is advised to seek the protection of a powerful King or an impregnable fort. This involves the weaker King entering into a treaty with the King giving the protection. Kautilya classifies the treaties made by the weaker King into three groups, depending on whether the army, treasury or land is placed at the disposal
of the stronger King. Each group is further subdivided into specific types. Though four groups are mentioned, submitting himself as a hostage is treated as a special case of surrendering with troops.

47. A weak King, attacked by a stronger King, whose armies had already started moving against him, shall quickly submit and sue for peace with the offer of himself or his army, treasury or territory. The three kinds of treaties [recommended below] are to be used by the weaker King, at the proper place and at the correct time, in accordance with his analysis of his situation:-

(a) **Surrendering Himself or His Army.** It is of following types:-

(i) **A Treaty With Self as Hostage.** It is the one which requires that the King present himself with a specified number or proportion of his troops.

(ii) **A Treaty With Another as Hostage.** It is the one which requires that the Chief of defence or the Crown Prince present himself (with the specified troops). This type has the advantage that the King saves himself.

(iii) **A Treaty With no Hostage.** It is the one which requires that the King himself or the army should go away to another designated place. This type has the advantages that the King and the army chiefs are saved.

(iv) In the first two cases, the King shall arrange the marriage of one of his important people (e.g. the Crown Prince or Chief of Defence) with a woman of the stronger King’s family. In the third case the King shall employ secrets means against the stronger King.

(b) **Surrendering the Treasury.** It is of following types:-

(i) **A Buying-off Treaty.** It is the one where the release of the rest of the constituents is obtained by handing over the treasury (either immediately or when convenient).

(ii) **A Treaty of Tribute.** It is the one in which the payment is made in installments over a period of time or the payment demanded as punishment is limited to time and place (i.e. so many installments of specified products).

(iii) **A Golden Treaty.** It is the one which promotes unity through mutual confidence because the demand is for reasonable payments in the future. Being bearable, such a treaty is even better than the one based on a marriage alliance.

(iv) **Beggaring Treaty.** It is the opposite of golden treaty and so-called because of the excessive demands for immediate payment as against in future.

(v) In the first two cases, the tribute shall be made in the form of forest produce or poisoned elephants and horses. In the third case, the payment shall be made as agreed upon. In the last case, payment shall be delayed on the grounds of penury.

(c) **Surrendering Territory.** It is of following types:-
(i) **A Treaty of Cession.** It is the one where the rest of the constituents are saved by surrendering a part of the territory. This is preferable when the ceded territory is infested with secret agents and robbers.

(ii) **A Scorched Earth Treaty.** It is the one when all wealth has been removed from ceded territory, except for the weak King’s own base. This is to be preferred by a King who wants to involve his enemy in calamities.

(iii) **A Lease Treaty.** It is the one where the land is saved by payment of the produce from it.

(iv) **A Ruinous Treaty.** It is the one when the payment demanded is more than the land can produce.

(v) In the first two cases the weak King shall wait for an opportune time to regain the land. In the latter two cases, he shall keep the produce for himself and act according to the recommendations for the weaker King.

48. **On Giving and Liberating Hostages.** Kautilya considers that a treaty, the observance of which is backed by the giving and receiving of a hostage is the least satisfactory form of treaties. At best, a treaty should be based on word of honour or, second best on swearing an oath. Even a treaty guaranteed by a surety is preferable to one with a hostage.

**Allies and Vassal Kings**

49. Allies and Vassal Kings are rulers who have a special relationship with the conqueror. The former are Kings who either have close ties with the conqueror or share common interest. One of the common interests is, of course having a common enemy, with whom both have common borders. Vassal Kings are those who after having been defeated by the conqueror, have been treated so justly as to remain loyal. The most important characteristic of an alliance is giving help. The real characteristic of friendship is giving help and ‘help given to a friend in difficulties cements the friendship’. Kautilya prescribes different criteria for choosing an ally. Various types of allies are also defined according to their characteristics and their ability to help. Using the method of a choice between two alternatives, Kautilya suggests that the desirable qualities in an ally in decreasing order as controllability, constancy, ability to mobilize quietly and having troops concentrated in one place. Giving land is the best help, followed by giving money or troops.

50. **The Best Ally.** The best ally is one who has the following six qualities:-

   (a) An ally of the family for a long time and constant.
   (b) Amenable to control.
   (c) Powerful in his support.
   (d) Sharing a common interest.
   (e) Able to mobilize his forces quickly.
   (f) Not a man who betrays his friends.

51. **Types of Allies.** Following type of allies exist:-
(a) **A True Friend.** He is the one who shares (with the King) a common objective, is helpful, never changes and never double crosses even when the King is in trouble.

(b) **A Steadfast Ally.** He is the one who has the qualities of a true friend.

(c) **A Fickle Ally.** He is the one who sides from time to time with the King and King’s enemy.

(d) **An Indifferent Ally.** He is the one who has no real interest in the King or the enemy and who is friendly to both.

(e) **Indifferent.** An ally who has extensive and fertile territory, is contented and strong but is lazy will also be indifferent to the conqueror who suffers from a calamity.

(f) **A Weak Ally.** He is the one who derives benefits from the prosperity of the conqueror and the enemy and who incurs the displeasure of neither and is called ‘friendly to both’.

(g) **An Unhelpful Ally.** He is the one who is intrinsically the conqueror’s enemy, has become an ally because he is caught between two strong Kings and is either incapable of providing any help or is under no obligation to repay past help given to him.

(h) **An Inimical Ally.** He is the one who helps the conqueror though he is dear to the enemy who protects or honours him or has close relations with him.

(i) **Dangerous Ally.** He who disregards the dangers from an ally who deserts the alliance with or without reason and then returns with or without reason courts his own death.

52. **Utility of Allies.** The following are the utility of Allies:-

(a) **An Ally of Diverse Utility.** He is the one who helps in many ways with the products of his ports, villages, mines, herds, forests and elephants forests (namely gems, articles of high and low value, forest produce, riding animals and transport vehicles).

(b) **An Ally of Great Utility.** He is the one who gives substantial help with forces or the treasury.

(c) **An Ally of all Round Help.** He is the one who helps with troops, treasury and land.

(d) **An Ally on One Side.** An ally who resists the conqueror’s enemy.

(e) **An Ally on Two Sides.** He who resists both the enemy and the enemy’s ally.

(f) **An Ally on All Sides.** He who resists the enemy, the enemy’s ally, his own neighbour and jungle tribes.

53. **Constancy and Control.** That friend whose friendship has endured since earlier times and who protects and is in turn protected out of love and not for mercenary reasons is called a constant ally. Allies who are amenable to control can be classified into two types.
according to the type of assistance or the degree of protection, each with three categories. An Ally who constantly harasses the enemy but has fort or forest retreat is a constant Ally not amenable to control. An Ally is said to be amenable to control but not constant, when he became an Ally because he is under attack or is suffering from some small fortune.

**Choice of Allies**

54. When there is a choice between two possible allies, both in difficulties of whom one is constant but not amenable to control and the other is temporary but controllable, which one should be preferred? Some teachers say that the constant friend, though not controlled is to be preferred because even if he cannot help, he can do no harm. Kautilya disagrees. The one amenable to control, though a temporary ally, is preferable because he remains an ally only as long as he helps. The real characteristic of friendship is giving help.

55. When there is a choice between two possible allies, both amenable to control, of whom one can give substantial but temporary help and the other a constant help but only a little, which one should be preferred? Some teachers say that a temporary friend giving substantial help shall be chosen because such a friend by giving a lot of help in a short time helps to meet a large outlay. Kautilya disagrees. The constant ally giving smaller help shall be preferred. The temporary friend giving substantial help is likely to withdraw for fear of having to give more or, even if he actually provides the help, will expect it to be repaid. The constant ally, giving a small help continuously, does, in fact, give great help over a period of time.

56. **Who is a Better Ally.** Keeping the characteristics of Ally’s in mind some examples as to who is a better Ally are as under:-

(a) **A Mighty Ally Mobilizing Slowly or a Less Mighty one Mobilizing Quickly.** Some teachers say that a mighty ally is to be preferred because he adds prestige to the venture and, once he has mobilized, helps to accomplish the task quickly. Kautilya disagrees. An ally mobilizing quickly, even if he is less mighty, is preferable because he does not allow the opportune time for action to pass and being weaker, can be used according to the wishes of the conqueror, a mighty friend with extensive territory is less easy to control.

(b) **An Ally With Scattered Troops or one Whose Troops are Together but not Amenable to Control.** Some teachers say that because troops more under control can be brought together again, the scattered controllable troops are better. Kautilya disagrees. Troops which are in one place can be brought under control by conciliation and other means, however it is difficult to collect in one place scattered troops, each unit being engaged in its own task.

(c) **An Ally Who Assists With Manpower or One Who Gives Money.** Some teachers say that assistance with manpower is preferable because this adds prestige and once mobilised, helps to accomplish the task quickly. Kautilya disagrees. An ally who helps monetarily is preferable because one can always use money but troops can be used only sometimes, and with money one can acquire troops and anything else one wants.
57. **An Ally Giving Money or Giving Land.** Some teachers say that money, being movable property, is better because it enables one to meet all kinds of expenditure. Kautilya disagrees. It has been said in this work before that both money and allies can be got by land. Therefore, an ally giving land is preferable. When among a group of allies, many give equal help in terms of manpower, specially whose troops are valorous, able to tolerate hardship, loyal and versatile. When equal monetary help is given, it is advantageous to get it from the one who readily complies with requests, is generous, gives continuously and without too much effort.

58. The conqueror shall treat each ally according to his special characteristics which are ten types from being reliable to perfidious. The principles are, that the ally should be prevented from going over to the enemy but at same time, neither should be allowed to grow in power nor become too weak. An ally shall not undertake independent operations which are not in consonance with the objective of the conqueror. All perfidious allies shall be crushed.

59. If the conqueror followed the principle of just behaviour and the methods set for dealing with different types of subjugated Kings, such Kings sustained in their own Kingdoms by conciliatory methods, will remain loyal to the conqueror and his descendants. The conqueror shall control member of his circle of Kings, the antagonists with contiguous territory and allies with non-contiguous territory using four methods of **Sama, Dana, Danda and Bheda.** The weak shall be controlled by Sama (Conciliation) and Dana (Placating with Gifts) and strong by Bheda (Sowing Dissent) and Danda(Force). Antagonists can be neutralised by gift of land. The basic principle is that since the recipients are inherently untrust worthy, the land gifted shall be such as not to make them powerful by capitalising on their advantages.

**Joint Activities**

60. The purpose of concluding treaties and acquiring allies or vassals is to enable the conqueror to increase his power. This can be achieved either peacefully or by force. The choice of method and of the King to be allied with for the joint activity, have to be made taking into account the strength of the partner.

61. Most valuable acquisition is land. This is normally done by conquest, though purchase is also possible. Acquiring wealth is next in the order of priority and acquiring an ally is the last. If settled land is acquired, whoever wrests it from a more powerful King or a foolish King out-maneuuvres the other, such land should be nearby, free from troubles and defensible from the point of view of the attacker. A land fort is easiest to take, a river fort more difficult and a mountain fort most difficult. From the point of view of the besieged, the reverse order applies, the mountain fort being the best.

**Before Undertaking the Joint Activity**

62. Before undertaking a combined operation with the forces of other rulers, the King shall carefully consider the reasons for waging war or making peace and join forces with powerful and upright rulers. A powerful ruler is one who can attack the King’s enemy in the rear and can give material help to the campaign. An upright ruler is one who does what he has
promised, irrespective of good or bad results. As between joining forces with a ruler who is stronger than the King or with two rulers of strength equal to the King, it is better to join two equal Kings, for with one ruler, the stronger ruler will have the upper hand during the campaign, whereas with two equals the King can keep control. If one of them turns treacherous, it will be easy for the other two to suppress him and make him suffer the consequences of the dissent. As between joining forces, it is better to join with the weaker ones, since the King can delegate two different tasks to them and keep them under control.

**Objectives of Joint Campaigns**

63. The objective of a joint campaign after a treaty with another King or Kings is to acquire an ally, wealth or land, gaining one later in the list is preferable to one earlier as money and allies can be obtained by land and an ally can be obtained with money. However, it is preferable to obtain any of the three, so long as it is a means of getting the other two. A King shall enter into a treaty and undertake a joint campaign always keeping in mind his own objective and after analyzing the clear and definite benefit or part benefit that will accrue to him.

64. The King who acting according to the policies set out in this *Arthashastra*, seizes land from others, gains a special advantage over his own confederates and his enemies. The King who acting according to the policies of this *Shastra* acquires allies, money, populated land or unsettled land, out-manoeuvres his confederates. A King obtains special advantages when he acquires undertakings such as forts, water works, productive forests, elephant forests mines, trade routes, parks and roads at small cost and large benefit.

65. A similar treaty is one in which the signatories to a treaty for a joint campaign acquire the same objective (i.e.) both allies, both money and both land. When each gets a different kind of benefit, it is a dissimilar treaty. Any signatory who gains a special advantage is said to out-manoeuvre the others. In a similar treaty, whoever obtains an ally with all the six qualities or relieves an old friend in difficulties is said to outmanoeuvre the others, for help given to a friend in difficulties cements the friendship firmly.

66. **What is Preferable.** As per Kautilya large gain in future is preferable to immediate small gain. Further he prefers poor land without permanent enemies. Between a small piece of land nearby to a large tract far away, small piece nearby is preferable and between two tract of land both far away, one which can be defended with its own resources is preferred over one which requires for it defence an army to be stationed there. Between taking land from a wise and foolish King, the latter is preferable. Between taking land from a King who can be harassed and one who can be thrown again latter is preferable. Between a King entrenched in land fort and one in river fort, seizing land from former is preferable. Between king entrenched in a river fort and entrenched in mountain fort again seizing land from former is preferable. As between those fighting on river to those fighting on land, seizing land from former is preferable and finally between warrior in trenches and fighters in open, seizing land from former is preferable.

67. **When the Task is Accomplished.** There are three situations as under:-

(a) **Allied with a Stronger Ruler.** If the stronger ruler is not upright, the King shall quickly withdraw under some pretext, when the work has been done. If the stronger ruler is upright, the King shall wait until he is given permission to leave. The King shall make all efforts to move away from a dangerous situation, after ensuring
the safety of the Queen. Even if the King receives a small share, or even no share, from the stronger King, he shall go away with a seemingly content look. Later, when the stronger King comes under the King’s power for any reason, twice the loss shall be extracted.

(b)  **Allied with An Equal King.** The King may face dangers even from a trusted King of equal power, when the latter has achieved his objective. Even an equally powerful King tends to become stronger after the task is accomplished and when his power has increased, becomes untrustworthy. Prosperity changes peoples’ minds.

(c)  **King as Leader.** The King, when he himself has led the allies to victory, shall let the others go, after giving them their due shares. He should, if necessary forego his own share and not deprive them of theirs. It is thus that King will win the affection of his Circle of States.

**Planning A Campaign**

68. The activity of one setting out on a journey deals with the factors to be taken into account before a King decides that it is in his interest to set out on a military campaign. Kautilya lists eight different factors, each of which has a bearing on its success or failure. If, after giving due weight to the different factors, the King concludes that he is superior to the enemy about to be attacked, he shall make preparations for war. The factors are as under:-

(a)  **Power.** The first factor, power, is the most important. One does not foolishly attack a stronger adversary. But power, for Kautilya, is not just military might or the economic strength backing it. Intellectual power which enables a King make an objective analysis and arrive at the correct judgment is the most important. Intellectual power, military might, enthusiasm and morale these are the three constituents of power, in decreasing order of importance.

(b)  **Place & Time.** The next two factors to be taken into account are place and time (the nature of the terrain where the battle will be waged and two aspects of time). In this context, time means the season when battle is likely and the expected duration of the battle itself.

(c)  **Deciding on Right Kind of Troops to be Mobilised and Right Kind of Season for Setting Out, Also Danger of Revolt Against the King in his Own Kingdom When He is Away.** The next two stages of the preparation are deciding on the right kind of troops to be mobilized and on the right season for setting out. But these steps should not be undertaken unless the King has considered the next factor (i.e.) the danger of a revolt against him in his own Kingdom when he is away. The categorical advice is that the King shall not absent himself if there is even a remote possibility of an internal rebellion. When a King has to undertake a campaign against an enemy inspite of there being the danger of rebellion, it is better for the King to stay behind and make the Crown Prince or the Chief of Defence lead the expedition. The first three factors are interdependent. Only when a King is sure that he is superior in power, space and time, shall he proceed to a consideration of the other factors. Equally, when a King finds himself superior, he shall not waste time. One should proceed against one’s enemy whenever, by so doing, the enemy can be weakened or crushed.
After deciding on the right kind of troops to mobilise and the right season for setting out, the King shall calculate what he hopes to achieve by the campaign, taking into account the nature of his gains and the extent of his losses. The analysis suggested by Kautilya is very logical and precise. After defining the various types of gains, the special situation of when to try to get what type of gain is explained. The last factor to take into account is the possibility of treachery either internal or external or a mixture of both.

When taking a decision to set out on a campaign, Kautilya emphasises the importance of the King and his counsellors acting together. If the King and the counsellors do not agree on the course of action, it spells future trouble, irrespective of whether the venture is crowned with success or ends in failure. Kautilya also warns against the King exhibiting irresolution, other-worldliness, misplaced kindness and similar weak qualities. Once a decision is made to go on a military campaign, it must be pursued steadfastly. It is not in the stars that success lies but in using one’s resources to gain more.

**On Power**

The three constituents of power are counsel and correct judgment, might (the actual strength of the fighting forces) and enthusiasm and energy. The three are not equally important. Sheer military strength is more important than enthusiasm and power of judgment is superior to might. After discussing place and time, Kautilya holds that power, place and time are interdependent. Some teachers hold enthusiasm to be more important than might so long as a King is himself brave, strong, healthy and expert in the use of weapons, he can defeat with only the army to help him become even a mightier King. Kautilya disagrees. A mighty King, by his very might can overpower an energetic one for, a mighty army, richly endowed with horses, elephants, chariots and instruments of war, can move unhindered anywhere. Further, a mighty King can get the help of another energetic one or he can hire or buy heroic fighters. It is known that even women, children, the lame and the blind have conquered the world after winning over or buying heroic fighters with their might.

Some teachers hold might to be more important than the power of good counsel and judgment. However good a King’s analysis and judgment, he thinks but empty thoughts if he has no power. Just as a drought dries out the planted seeds, good judgement without power produces no fruit. Kautilya disagrees. The power of good counsel, good analysis and good judgment, is superior to sheer military strength. Intelligence and knowledge of the science of politics are the two eyes of a King. Using these, a King can, with a little effort, arrive at the best judgment on the means (the four methods of conciliation, sowing dissension etc.) as well as the various tricks, stratagems, clandestine practices and occult means to overwhelm even Kings who are mighty and energetic. Thus the three components of power i.e. enthusiasm, military might and the power of counsel are in ascending order of importance. Hence, a King who is superior as compared to his enemy, in an item later in the list, out manoeuvres his adversary.

From the conqueror’s point of view, the best land is one which is suitable for the operations of his army and unsuitable for that of his enemy’s. The converse is worst for him and if the terrain is equally suitable to both, then average. On each type of land, the conqueror shall undertake such works as would increase his power.

By time is meant the climate (heat, cold and rain) as well as the time or duration of the campaign (night, day, fortnight, month, season, half a year, one and five years). From the conqueror’s point of view, the best time is one which is suitable for the
operations of his own army and unsuitable for that of his enemy, the converse is the worst for him, and, if equally suitable it is average. In each period, he shall undertake such works as would increase his own power.

75. **Of Power, Place and Time.** Some teachers say that, as among power, place and time, power is the most important because a powerful King can overcome the difficulties of dry or wet terrain and the effects of heat, cold or rain. Some others hold that the place is the most important. Some other hold time to be the most important. Kautilya disagrees and brings out that Power, Place and Time are interdependent.

76. **The Right Reason for The Campaign.** Most teachers advise that a King shall march against an enemy who is suffering from adversities and calamities. Kautilya disagrees. One cannot be certain when a calamity will strike the enemy or what its effect would be. It is better to march when one has acquired sufficient power, without waiting for something to happen to the enemy. One should proceed against one’s enemy whenever by so doing, the enemy can be weakened or crushed. The duration of the different stages of the expedition shall be regulated in accordance with the nature of the terrain, (even or uneven and with or without water) and the nature of the task (short duration for tasks easily accomplished and longer duration for difficult ones).

**Troop Mobilisation**

77. The occasions when different kinds of troops (i.e.) the standing army, the Territorial Army, the militias, friendly forces, alien forces and tribal forces are to be mobilised are clearly spelt out. It is better to mobilise the force mentioned earlier than one later. The mobilisation shall take into account the kind of troops the enemy has and the forces necessary to counteract them.

78. An energetic army is one which is composed of many units raised from different areas and which is ready to fight, whether ordered to or not, for the sake of plunder. A mighty army is one which fights even without food and wages, with labourers, with valour in adversity, which the enemies cannot divide and which is made up of men from the same region, caste or profession. When the enemy tries to mobilise his own troops, the King shall obstruct the mobilisation, divert the potential recruits elsewhere or render the mobilisation ineffective. Or, the King may recruit troops first to protect them joining the enemy and, when the time is ripe, disband them. The King shall obstruct the mobilisation of forces by the enemy while safeguarding his own.

79. Having decided to undertake a military expedition, the army shall be mobilised. Then, secret agents in the guise of merchants shall supply all the necessary goods to the soldiers on conditions of repayment of double the quantity when the expedition was over. Thus two objectives are achieved (i.e.) the sale of Crown goods and the recovery of double the wages paid. By taking care of expenditure and income in this manner, the King avoids a calamity to either the army or the treasury.

80. **Revolts and Rebellions in the Rear.** Since a King is likely to be away from his country and capital for a long time when he undertakes a military campaign, it is essential that he is absolutely certain of the security of his Kingdom. There shall be no possibility of a revolt behind him (*paschatkopa*), which could be exacerbated into a conflagration by enemies, internal and external. However tempting the large gain by conquest may be, it
should be resisted if there is even the slightest chance of a revolt in the rear. A small revolt in the rear outweighs a large gain in the front, for when the King is not there, a small revolt in the rear may be worsened by the anger of the people or by traitors, enemies and jungle tribes. The likely dangers are of internal and external treachery.

81. **Losses, Expenses and Gains.** The King shall undertake a march when the expected gain outweighs the losses and expenses.

82. **Use of The Four Methods.** The use of four methods are as under:-

(a) **Conciliation.** The King shall pacify a pious ruler by praising his birth, family, learning and conduct, by pointing out the relationship between the ancestors and at all times by providing help to him and refraining from harming him.

(b) **Placating with Gifts.** A greedy or weakened King shall be placated with gift, provided an ascetic or a chief stands as surety.

(c) **Sowing Dissension.** The King shall try to sow dissension among the members of a confederacy of Kings, even before they get together to attack him. In particular, he shall frequently send envoys and well-known personalities with presents to the court of one of the Kings, while they are still in their own territories. They shall urge the targeted King either to make a treaty or to kill another confederate. Even if he does not agree, the conclusion of a treaty shall be announced and double agents shall make propaganda about the treachery among other members of the confederacy.

(d) **Use of Force.** Secret persons shall conceal themselves in the fort of a keen, energetic enemy suffering from a calamity, one of them shall murder him with weapons, fire or poison when it is easy to do so. For a single assassin can achieve more than a fully mobilized army can. The conqueror shall cause their Kingdoms to be destroyed by neighbouring Kings, jungle tribes, pretenders or unjustly treated Princes. When the conqueror is under attack from a confederacy he shall kill his enemies by deceit after lulling them into trust.

83. There are three kinds of cases where progress for the conqueror may also lead to progress for the enemy which are as under:-

(a) **Risky Acquisition.** This is of three kinds (i.e.) gain of wealth, Dharma and pleasure. Of these it is better to achieve them in order as mentioned.

(b) **Wrong Acquisition.** This is of three kinds (i.e.) loss of wealth, Adharma and misery. Of these it is better to counter act them in order as mentioned.

(c) **Doubt.** This is of three kinds which are consequences of an action (i.e.) gain or loss of wealth, gain of loss of Dharma, pleasure and misery in each case it is better to avoid latter alternative and achieve the earlier.

84. Both Risky and Wrong acquisition can either have long term consequences or none. The geographical situation also plays an important part. Because of the effect of risky acquisition, wrong acquisition or uncertainty, losses are apparent immediately during the
course of an expedition. It is better to obtain gains at start or middle of the expeditions as they become useful for overcoming enemy in the rear and the rear enemy’s ally for recouping the losses, expenses andrigors of the march and for protecting the base. Likewise a wrong acquisition or doubtful venture becomes more easily bearable to one staying in one country before setting out. However at the end of a campaign, after achieving objective of weakening or destroying an enemy, it is better to act only to achieve fortune and not wrong acquisition or uncertainty, because of dangers arising from an enemy.

**Middle and Neutral Kings**

85. The Middle King and the Neutral Kings are both outside the immediate circles of the conqueror and the enemy, but powerful enough to influence the interaction between the two. It is also likely that, once the conqueror has subjugated his enemy, the Middle King may become the natural enemy, because of the common border. It is, therefore, in the conqueror’s interest not to let the Middle King become too powerful. By and large the Neutral King is to be treated in the same way as the Middle King except for the fact that since he has no common borders with any, he is a bit remote from the scene of action. Between the Middle and Neutral Kings, the conqueror shall lean towards that King who is liked by his Circle of Kings. If the Middle King is to proceed against the Neutral King, the conqueror shall help the Middle King with a view to sowing dissension between the two. If the Neutral King were to proceed against the Middle King, the conqueror shall side with the one who helps him to out manoeuvre his own enemy, who helps his ally, or who helps him with troops. The marginal preference for the Middle King is due to the fact of there being a common boundary between him and the conqueror and none between conqueror and the neutral King.

**On Attacks In The Rear**

86. The concept simply means that when one King is fighting another, a third King attacks the first one from a different direction. Let us envisage a situation where both the conqueror and his natural enemy have an opportunity of increasing their power by attacking their respective enemies in the rear, because of this, latter two are, in turn engaged in fighting their own enemies. This basic situation, described, is shown in the diagram. It is easier to visualize if it is shown as two figures, one from the conquerors point of view and the other from the enemy’s point of view. Here A is the conqueror, B his natural enemy and C the conqueror’s enemy in the rear. C could be engaged in his own fight with D who is ally of a correspondingly F (enemy’s enemy in the rear) could be engaged in his own fight with G. In this parallel situation who does better when A attacks C and B attacks F. This problem is analyzed in term of four successive logical levels:-

(a) If of the Kings attacked in the rear by the conqueror and of the enemy, one is more powerful than the other.

(b) If both are equally powerful, the King who has mobilised more extensively.

(c) In case of equal mobilisation, the one who uses all his resources for the attack.

(d) When first three are equal, he who attacks one entrenched in a fort.
87. Thus when the conqueror and the enemy both attack different Kings in the rear, he who chooses a more difficult adversary will eventually emerge stronger, because of having eliminated a stronger threat to his own rear. A different situation exists when C is fighting D (ally of conqueror) but F is attacking H (enemy common to B & F).

**Attacking Enemies-in-the-Rear**

88. **Attacking the Middle King in the Rear.** Attacking the Middle king in the rear are special case of both the conqueror and the enemy attacking the Middle or Neutral King. We must recall that both the middle and neutral Kings are bigger than both the conqueror and the enemy and influence both. The situation analysed is one when the Middle and Neutral King is engaged in the fight with someone else and the conqueror or his enemy can utilize the opportunity to attack in the rear of the Middle or Neutral King as the case may be, with a view to reducing his power. Who comes out better out of his operation, may depend on the third King attacked by the Middle or Neutral King since the third King may become a friend as a result of the help given by the rear attack. Alternatively the relations between the Middle or Neutral King and his own ally may become strained due to the ally not doing anything to prevent the attack in the rear. In short, an attack-in-the-rear on Middle or Neutral King is worth making only if it wins an ally.
Attacking the Middle King in the Rear

89. **On Dealing With An Attack In the Rear.** Some teachers say that when a King, about to go on a campaign against his enemy is attacked in the rear, it is better for him to adopt the measures of mantrayuddha (a diplomatic offensive) to persuade the attacker-in-the-rear not to do so. The reason is, in an actual war with troops, both parties suffer a decline because of losses and expenses, even the winner, with depleted treasury and army, will be a loser. Kautilya disagrees. An enemy’s destruction shall be brought about even at the cost of great losses and expenses.

Against Confederacies and Oligarchies

90. **Against an Attacking Confederacy.** It deals with the situation when a King is beset by a confederacy of allies and needs to recoup his powers and build up his strength. The first step is to break up the unity of the confederacy. Kautilya distinguishes two cases and suggests courses of action when there is a clearly defined leader in the confederacy and another when there is no such leader. When the King under attack cannot afford the time needed to sow dissension among the members of the confederacy, Kautilya advises that it is best to make peace by making concessions, with the time bought by peace, he shall try to remedy each type of his weaknesses.

91. **When the Confederacy Has a Leader.** The King has following options:-

   (a) The King under attack shall offer to the leader of the confederacy both money and a treaty of alliance and point out that he is doubly benefitted by money and friendship. He shall point out that the others in the confederacy are taking advantage of him while masquerading as his friends and, when they have grown at his expenses, will overthrow him.

   (b) He may try to sow dissension by pointing out that, just as he himself who had done no harm to anyone was being attacked by the confederacy, so could they, with their combined force, also attack the leader, irrespective of whether the leader was free or beset by calamities. He shall point out that since power corrupts minds, it is better to prevent the other members from becoming too powerful. When the King succeeds in sowing dissension within the confederacy, he shall adopt whichever course best suits his own interests, either set the leader against the weaker members of the confederacy or assist the enmity among the members of the confederacy so that it breaks up.

   (c) The King under attack may make a separate agreement with the leader offering him more than he would have got from the confederacy. Then double agents shall poison the minds of the other confederates by showing how they had been cheated by their leader who makes greater profit by the separate treaty. When their minds are duly poisoned, some of them shall be made to break the confederacy agreement. Double agents shall again use this as further proof of disunity within the confederacy and sow more dissension. When the confederacy is divided, the King under attack shall support one of the groups and plan his actions accordingly.
92. **When the Confederacy Has No Leader.** When there is no clear leader among the confederates, the King under attack shall select one according to the following criteria and win him over by the method described below:-

(a) **The Inciter.** By surrendering himself.

(b) **The Resolute.** By conciliation and obsequiousness.

(c) **One With Loyal Subjects.** By marriage alliance.

(d) **One Who Joins the Confederacy Out of Greed.** By offering him double what he expects to get out of joining it.

(e) **One Who Joins Out of Fear.** By offering money and forces.

(f) **One Afraid of the King Under Attack.** By creating confidence with the offer of a hostage.

(g) **One With Blood Ties to the King Under Attack.** By offering even closer ties of unity.

(h) **An Ally.** Both by doing what is mutually beneficial and by the King under attack sacrificing some gain in favour of the ally.

(j) **A Fickle Enemy.** Both by dropping hostile activities against him and by offering help.

(k) Ones later in the above list shall be selected before the ones earlier (i.e.) the list is in descending order of difficulty of bringing about the break-up of the confederacy. The conqueror shall adopt any means as appropriate (i.e.) either of the four methods of conciliation, placating with gifts, showing dissension and the use of force or any of the methods under revolts and rebellions in order to win over the members of the confederacy.

93. **When it is Necessary to Gain Time.** When, because of a calamity, the conqueror is under attack and does not have the time to implement the techniques of sowing dissension, he shall enter into a treaty with the confederacy, offering the use of his wealth or his forces and specifying the terms (i.e.) the time, the place and the nature of the work. After concluding the treaty, he shall set about remedying his own weaknesses, which may be:-

(a) Lack of support or protection.

(b) Inadequate analysis and judgment.

(c) Insufficient material resources.

(d) Unenthusiastic troops.

94. **On Oligarchies.** Because oligarchies are cohesive entities, enemies cannot break them easily. The Chief of an oligarchy shall endear himself to his people by just behaviour, being self controlled and diligent in pursuing activities which are liked by the people and are
of benefit to them. Oligarchies shall protect themselves from the deceitful tricks of the single King.

95. **Controlling Oligarchies.** Among gaining as oligarchy, an army or an ally, gaining an oligarchy is the best because of its unassailable cohesiveness. The conqueror shall win over those favourably disposed towards him with conciliations and gifts and sow dissension or use force against those hostile to him. When oligarchy has been divided by sowing dissension, the conqueror shall remove weaker parties from their own territory and settle them together somewhere else. Or they shall be settled as agriculturists in groups of five or ten families for if settled together may become an armed group. In all cases of strife among the members of an oligarchy, whether they arise by themselves or are incited by assassins, the conqueror shall assist the weaker party with money and arms, make them fight the hostile group and urge them to kill their rivals. The conqueror can control the oligarchies by:-

(a) Sowing dissension.
(b) Using class conflicts.
(c) Using assassins.
(d) By putting up a pretender.
(e) By false accusations of treachery.

**The Weak King**

96. The analysis of foreign policy until now has been from the point of view of the conqueror and sometimes of the conqueror and his enemy as initiators of the action. The concept of the weak King is however, quite different, he is the King who is the target of aggression by a stronger King. That a King cannot always make the first move in conquest is recognised by including 'seeking shelter' as one of the six methods of foreign policy.

97. The Kautilya eschews the extreme positions of earlier teachers and cautions both against spineless submission and foolhardy valour. It is better to give up what is sure to be taken by force and live to fight another day. Only if the circumstances are not conducive to peace shall he fight. The attitude to be adopted towards the aggressor also depends on the character of the aggressor, whether he is righteous, greedy or monstrous.

98. A weak King can either seek shelter in a fort or with another King. If the protection of another King is sought, the preference shall be for a strong King who is immune to the diplomatic machinations of the aggressor, has sound advisers, comparable military strength and has mobilised, In the absence of such a strong King, protection of Kings weaker than the aggressor can be sought, so long as they have these good qualities and also have terrain and time suitable for fighting. If no protector can be found, the weak King may seek refuge in an impregnable fort with a strong body of men to defend it. While sheltered in the fort, the weak King shall do whatever is possible to improve his position.

99. The last resort is surrendering, with honour, to the aggressor. Verses prescribe the submissive code of conduct of the surrender. It is presumed that a righteous aggressor will
treat the subjugated King fairly. The book gives a logical exposition of advice to the weak King for dealing with different stages of the aggression. The stages are:

(a) When the aggressor is getting ready to attack.
(b) When he starts the military campaign by marching towards the fort.
(c) When he starts the siege.
(d) When defeat is imminent.
(e) After the defeat.

100. A weak King may try to reduce his losses by suing for peace during most of the stages. Equally, he can employ clandestine methods to kill or weaken the aggressor. What, in all prudence, he should do will depend on the circumstances of each case.

101. **Attitude Towards a Stronger King.** Bharadvaja says that a weak King, when attacked by a stronger King shall bend like a reed and surrender his all. On the other hand Vishalaksha says that a weak King shall fight with all his resources, for only with valour can one surmount calamities. It is the Dharma of a Kshatriya to fight, whether he wins or loses. Kautilya disagrees with both. He who surrenders all, lives only a life of despair, like a sheep that has strayed from its herd. On the other hand, one fighting with a tiny army perishes like one trying to cross the ocean without a boat. It is better to seek the protection of a powerful King or an impregnable fort. The weaker King shall offer by one means or another, that which the other will, in any case, take by force. It is life that is worth preserving not wealth which, being impermanent can be given up without regrets.

102. **Protection of Forts.** If a weak King cannot find any other King to protect him, he shall seek shelter in a fort, it shall be such that the aggressor, even with a large force, cannot cut off supplies of food, fodder, fuel and water and shall be so impregnable that the aggressor will suffer heavy losses and expenses if he tries to take it. When there is a choice of forts, some teachers think that one with a better stock of materials shall be preferred. Kautilya is of the view that a fort, with men, as well as stocks, is preferable. Seeking shelter in a fort is not an end in itself, the aim is to utilise the protection to defeat the aggressor.
CHAPTER-IV

DEFENCE AND WAR

“To be in accordance with dharma, the place and time of battle must be specified beforehand”

Kauutilya on War

1. From the time immemorial, the great aims of human endeavour have been classified in India as being four i.e. Dharma, Artha, Karma and Moksha, roughly translated as moral behavior, wealth, worldly pleasure and salvation. Kauutilya describes that a King had two responsibilities to his state, one internal and one external, for which he needed an army. He describes that one of the internal duties of the King as raksha or protection of the state from external aggression and the other responsibility was the enlargement of the territory by conquest.

2. Kauutilya defines the War against an enemy is not limited to only physical warfare. The four kinds of war mentioned are:-

   (a) **Mantra Yuddha (War by Counsel).** It means the exercise of diplomacy, this applies mainly when a King finds himself in a weaker position and considers it unwise to engage in battle.

   (b) **PrakasaYuddha (Open Warfare).** It specifies time and place (i.e.) a set-piece battle.

   (c) **KutaYuddha (Concealed Warfare).** It refers primarily to upajapa(psychological warfare) including instigation of treachery in the enemy camp.

   (d) **GudaYuddha (Clandestine War).** It is using covert methods to achieve the objective without actually waging a battle, usually by assassinating the enemy. In waging clandestine war, the King used not only his own agents and double agents but also allies, Vassal Kings, tribal chiefs and the suborned friends and supporters of the enemy.

3. Kauutilya describes the defence of the realm a constant preoccupation for the King consisting not only of the physical defence of the Kingdom but also the prevention of treachery, revolts and rebellion. The physical defensive measures were the frontier posts to prevent the entry of undesirable aliens and forts in various parts of the country. Four different types of forts (i.e.) mountain, river, jungle and desert are mentioned.

4. **Control of Army.** Kauutilya describes that the King maintained control over his army by a variety of means. The Chiefs of the army were paid well so that they would not be tempted by the bribes of the enemy and could afford to pay their men well. Their integrity was tested, particularly to weed out the cowardly. They were kept under constant
surveillance through clandestine agents especially to see that they did not succumb to the instigations of the enemy. For the same reason, each of the four wings of the army were placed under the control of more than one chief, so that mutual suspicion and fear would ensure their loyalty. Those suspected of treachery, were posted to remote areas while their families were kept in the capital as hostages. Sometimes, they were secretly eliminated. The military forces describe in Arthashastra confirmed the classical Indian pattern of four wings of elephants, chariots, horses and infantry. In battle each warrior on horseback was surrounded by six foot soldiers and elephants and chariots by five horse units. Infantry had archers as well as soldiers equipped with swords, spears and lances for hand to hand combat. References are also found of fighters on water and fighting from trenches. The classification of troops into different types (i.e.) standing army, the territorial army, the militias, allied troops, alien forces and tribal forces is also found.

**Military Organisation**

5. Kauṭilya describes, the characteristics of ideal army, six types of troops ranging from standing army to the unreliable alien and jungle forces, the organization structure and duties and responsibilities of officials concerned with war.

6. **The Ideal Army.** Kauṭilya examines the various calamities which can affect the fighting capacity of the army. A study of comparison brings out what an ideal Army should be like. It should be well paid, honoured and kept upto strength. It should not have any traitors or dissension within its ranks. It should not be scattered but kept together. Even if demobilised, the soldiers should be kept in one’s own country, in case it is necessary to collect the army together again. In war, it should never be abandoned, left leaderless or totally merged into someone else’s army. It should always have adequate reinforcement. It should not be allowed to become too tired by long marches. The terrain most suited to the type of force should be chosen for the battle. It is better to allow it to withdraw than perish in a frontal battle. It should not be allowed to be sandwiched between a frontal enemy and an enemy-in-the-rear nor be completely encircled. Some of the calamities are explained as under:-

(a) **An Unhonoured Army.** Will fight if honoured with money, not so a dishonoured army which holds resentment in its heart.

(b) **An Unpaid Army.** Will fight if paid immediately, but not so a sick army, which is unfit to fight.

(c) **An Army Newly Arrived.** An army newly arrived in a region will fight if, mixed with experienced troops, not so an army tired after a long march.

(d) **An Exhausted Army.** Will fight after refreshing itself by bathing, eating and sleeping but not so a depleted army, having reduced in fighting men and draught animals.
(e) **An Army Repulsed.** Will fight if rallied by heroic men, not so an army defeated after a frontal attack, as would have lost many of its brave men.

(f) **Season and Terrain.** An army made to fight in an unsuitable season will do so if provided with suitable vehicles, weapons and armour. An army cannot fight in unsuitable terrain because its movement will be impeded and it cannot take raids.

(g) **A Despondent Army.** Will fight if the hopes are fulfilled, but not an army abandoned by its chief.

(h) **An Army with Women.** Will fight if the women accompanying it are separated from it, not so an army with traitors and enemies in it.

(i) **An Angry Army (Whose Officers are Provoked for Some Reason).** Will fight if their resentment is overcome by conciliation and similar means, not so a disunited army whose members are estranged from each other.

(k) **A Disunited Army.** A defeated army may take refuge in one state or be scattered in many states. An army staying together and taking refuge with an ally or in a fortress will fight if persuaded by diplomatic and conciliatory tactics. It is more dangerous to try to collect a scattered army.

(l) **An Army Fighting Alongside.** In case of a joint expedition, one’s own army may be encamped near another and fight alongside or may be merged completely into another. An army fighting alongside can fight the enemy separately because it will have its own positions and possibilities of mounting independent tasks. An army completely integrated with another has no independence of movement.

(m) **An Obstructed Army.** It can fight the enemy obstruction by choosing another direction of attack, not so as encircled army, being obstructed from all sides.

(n) **Supplies and Reinforcement.** An army with its supply of grains brought from elsewhere, it can also subsist on locally available animals and vegetables. But an army cut off from its reserves of men cannot fight being bereft of reinforcements.

(o) **A Dispersed Army.** An army kept dispersed in one’s own land can be collected together in case of trouble, being disbanded in one’s own territory, not so an army dispersed in the land of an ally, being far removed in place and time.

(p) **An Army Threatened From Hostile Army in the Rear.** An army full of traitors will fight if officered by trustworthy commanders who can isolate the traitor units, not so an army with an hostile army in the rear being frightened of an attack from behind.

(q) **An Army Whose Base Has Been Weakened.** An army with a denuded capital city behind it will fight after it is fully mobilized with the support of the citizens, not so an army cut off from its leaders being without a King or commander. An army
whose commander is dead will fight under a new commander, not so a blind leaderless army.

7. Kautalya also gives out the following remedies to prevent the calamities:-
   
   (a) Removal of vices and defects.
   
   (b) Reinforcements with fresh troops.
   
   (c) Entrenching oneself in a strong defensible place.
   
   (d) Reaching over the enemy to secure allies or attack him from the rear and making treaty with one who can help.

8. The best infantry is that which consists of men of the same qualities adverse as described. The soldiers shall be men of tested loyalty, strong, obedient, not averse to a long expeditions, skilled in handling all weapons, possessed of endurance and with the experience of many battles. The best horses and elephants are those with good pedigree, strength, youthfulness, vitality, loftiness, speed, mettle, good training, stamina, a lofty mien, obedience, auspicious marks and good conduct.

9. **Types of Troops.** The nature of the troops is not clearly defined and are deduced from the word themselves and partly from the comparison made:-

   (a) **Maula (Regular Standing Army).** It is composed of the natives of the country, dependent on the King, sharing his interests and constantly trained. A special part of the regular army is the King’s Own Guards (antaravamsikasainya), which was never disbanded.

   (b) **Bhrita (Territorial Army).** It is raised from the natives of the country for a particular campaign, can be easily mobilized and are more obedient.

   (c) **Sreni (Organised Militias).** They are the native militias, acting as a group, having the same interest as the King.

   (d) **Mitra (Friendly Troops).** Troops of an ally, or those hired or brought from other King under a treaty, available at any time for use anywhere and with interests similar to those of the King.

   (e) **Amitra (Alien Forces).** These are those troops which happen to fight with the King for their own reasons.

   (f) **Atavi (Tribal Forces).** These are commanded by their own chiefs.

10. It is better to mob a force earlier in the list than one later. Because the standing army depends on the King for its existence and as it is constantly under training, it is better than a territorial army. Because a territorial army is nearby, more easily mobilized and more obedient, it is better than an organized militia. Because the militia is part of the population of
the country, the members have a common objective, they are better than friendly non-native forces. Because friendly forces have interests similar to those of the King, they are better than alien forces. Alien troops and jungle tribal forces are equally untrustworthy, as both have plundered as their objective.

11. **Org Structure.** The officers of the armed forces were under the Commander-in-Chief. The organizational structure comprised of the Chief of Defence (Senapati), with chiefs of four wings (chariots, elephants, horses and men) and Chief of Ordnance as subordinates. Under the Chief Commanders were Divisional Commanders. There were other officers who were given specific functions during the march to battle. The structure of defence forces at the highest level is as shown below:-

```
Commander-in-Chief
  Senapati
    (Chief of Defence)
       Chief Commanders

Chariot Corps  Elephant Corps  Cavalry  Infantry

<------------------------ Divisional Commanders ------------------------>
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12. The structure below the level of the divisional commander is specified as per the battle. The structure below a division commander is as given below:-

(a) **Div Cdr (Nayaka).** Has ten battalion commanders/ Senapatis under him.

(b) **Bn Cdr (Senapati).** Has ten company commanders (Patika) under him.

(c) **Coy Cdr (Patika).** Each unit (e.g. chariot unit with its own chariot, horses and men) come under a Patika.

13. Divisional commanders and the Battalion commanders were responsible for mobilisation and de-mobilisation and also responsible for the payment of wages and rations to the men under their command. Every division of the formation had its own distinguishing trumpet sound, flags and banners to signal the commands to the division, dividing these into sections, joining together, halting, advancing, turning and attacking.
The Four Wings

14. The section deals with specific uses to which each of the four wings of the army can be applied. Labour did not comprise of the fighting arm, but were a contingent of workers always accompanied the army to set up the camp and to do support jobs. When to use a particular type of force in battle also depended on the nature of the opposing force. Lastly, the ground chosen for camping or for battle must also be suitable for the type of force used. The functions of four wings are as under:-

(a) **Chariots.** A King who has few horses may use bullocks, as well as horses, in his chariots. Their functions are:-

(i) Protecting the army.
(ii) Repelling attacks by any of the four wings.
(iii) Capturing and liberating battle positions.
(iv) Reuniting one’s own broken ranks and breaking up the enemy’s unbroken ranks.
(v) Causing terror in the enemy’s army and adding magnificence to one’s own.
(vi) Making an awesome noise.

(b) **Elephants.** A King relies mainly on elephants for achieving victory in battles. With their very large bodies, they are able to do things in war which are dangerous for other arms of the forces. They can be used to crush the enemy’s foot soldiers, battle arrays, forts and encampments. Kautilya advises that an army composed mostly of elephants should be used only when the hot season is over, when it rains or in places where there is plenty of water. Their functions are as given below:-

(i) Marching in front.
(ii) Making new roads.
(iii) Camping grounds and fords.
(iv) Protecting the flanks.
(v) Helping to cross water and climb or descend from mountains.
(vi) Entering difficult or crowded places.
(vii) Starting or extinguishing fires.
(viii) Using elephants alone for victory.
(ix) Reuniting one’s own broken ranks and breaking up the enemy’s unbroken ranks.

(x) Protecting against danger.

(xi) Trampling the enemy’s army.

(xii) Frightening by mere presence.

(xiii) Causing terror in the enemy’s army by action, adding magnificence, capturing and liberating battle positions.

(xiv) Destroying ramparts, gates and towers.

(xv) Bringing one’s own and carrying away captured wealth.

(c) **Horses.** Their functions are as given below:

(i) Reconnoitring battle grounds, camping sites and forests.

(ii) Securing level ground, water supply sources, fording places and positions favourable with regard to the sun and the wind.

(iii) Destroying the enemy’s or protecting one’s own supplies and reinforcements.

(iv) Maintaining the discipline of the army.

(v) Extending the range of raids.

(vi) Protecting the flanks, making the initial attack, penetrating or breaking through enemy ranks, providing respite to one’s own forces, capturing prisoners, liberating prisoners held by the enemy, diverting a pursuing army, carrying off the treasury and Princes (one’s own or the enemy’s), attacking the enemy in the rear or at the extremities, pursuing the weak, marching with one’s own troops to guard them and rallying the troops.

(d) **Infantry.** The function of the infantry are to bear arms in all places and at all seasons and fighting.

15. **Labour.** The functions are to maintain camps, roads, embankments, wells and fording places, carrying machines, weapons, armour, implements and provisions and removing weapons, armour and the wounded from the battlefield.

**Modes of Fighting**

16. **Horses.** Horses shall be used to rush forward, around, beyond or back, hold enemy forces at bay after an attack, surround enemy forces by a pincer movement, moving zigzag, encircle enemy forces after cutting them off, scatter enemy forces, first retreat and
then renew the attack, protect one’s own broken ranks in the front, rear or flanks, and pursue the enemy’s broken army.

17. **Elephants.** As per Kautilya, elephants shall be used in the same manner as horses, except for scattering enemy forces i.e. rush forward, around, beyond, and back, hold enemy forces at bay after an attack, surround enemy forces by a pincer movement; move in a zig-zag, encircle enemy forces after cutting them off, first retreat and then renew the attack, protect one’s own forces broken ranks in the front, rear or flanks and pursue the enemy’s broken army. In addition, elephants shall be used to destroy the four constituents of the enemy’s forces whether combined or separate, trampling the centre, flanks or wings, making surprise attacks e.g. when the troops are asleep.

18. **Chariots.** Chariots can be used like elephants except for holding enemy forces at bay and, in addition, for fighting on land suitable to them, while going forward, going backward or remaining stationary.

19. **Infantry.** Foot soldiers can be used to attack at all times in all places and for silent or surprise attacks.

**Trg and Cont**

20. **Trg.** Infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants shall have their training outside the city at sunrise every day except on days of conjunction of planets. The King shall take a personal interest in the training and make frequent inspections.

21. **Cont.** Secret agents, prostitutes, artisans, entertainers and military personnel with long service shall keep a diligent watch over the honesty and loyalty of soldiers.

22. **Emp of Force.** The suggested employment of forces is as given below:-

(a) **Against Elephant Divisions.** Elephants, machines and wheeled vehicles at the centre, infantry armed with lances, javelins, tridents, staves, maces, bows and arrows.

(b) **Against Chariot Divisions, Cavalry, Armoured Elephants and Horses.** As above, infantry also equipped with stones, clubs, shields and hooked weapons.

(c) **Against an Army with All Four.** Armoured chariots and mailed infantry.

**Battle and Camping Grounds**

23. The ground and time suitable for fighting for the following types of troops shall be chosen according to their special qualities:-
(a) Infantry when fighting in deserts, forests or water-logged areas.
(b) Infantry when fighting from trenches or open ground.
(c) Infantry when fighting by day or by night.
(d) Elephants and horses according to where they were bred.
(e) Land with rivers, mountains, marshes and lakes.

24. **Chariots.** Ground suitable for chariots is that which gives them free unobstructed run, (i.e.) level, firm, clear, has nothing which will make wheels, hooves or axles get stuck, free of trees, plants, creepers, tree trunks, water-logging, pits, ant-hills, sand, mud and fissures. It is excellent if, in addition, the ground also has water-reservoirs and shelters and is suitable for chariots to turn around.

25. **Elephants.** Ground suitable for elephants is that which, though hilly, watery or even, can be traversed by elephants, which has uprootable trees and creepers that can be torn out, and is muddy and free of fissures. It is excellent if, in addition the ground has dust, mud, water, reeds and rushes, is free of thorns (called ‘dog’s teeth’) and is free of obstruction from branches of big trees.

26. **Horses.** Ground suitable for horses is that which has small stones and trees, small pits which horses can easily jump over, and is pitted with small fissures. It is excellent if, in addition the ground is also doubly wide for turning, free of mud, water, bogs and small pebbles.

27. **Infantry.** Ground suitable for infantry is that which may contain big tree trunks, stones, trees, creepers, ant-hills and thickets. It is excellent if, in addition the ground is free of thorns, not too uneven and has room for the infantry to manoeuvre.

**Choice of Battle Ground**

28. The battle ground shall be surveyed for evenness in the front, on the flanks and in the rear. The army shall be arrayed in a favourable position, not facing the south, but with the sun behind its back and the wind favourable. If the ground is not suitable, cavalry shall be used to secure favourable ground. When the army is on ground that is neither suitable for standing firm nor for moving quickly, it will be defeated whether it stands and fights or moves away. On favourable ground, however, it can fight or change positions.

**The Base Camp**

29. The base camp was a fortified area set up near the war zone, but far away from the capital of the attacking force. It was a semi-permanent establishment, resembled the town plan of the capital city, with fortifications such as moat, towers, parapets and gates. The site
was chosen by experts in building and at a time chosen by astrologers. The camp may be circular, rectangular or according to the shape of the terrain.

30. The camp was divided into concentric areas, from the center outwards and each succeeding sector was occupied by less important officials and less trustworthy troops. In the innermost was the King’s quarters, audience chamber, the treasury, the communication center and the King’s personal elephant, horse and chariot. The base camp disposition is as given below:-

31. **Protection and Discipline.** The following was ensured:-

(a) Guards stationed at the designated points in the camp shall be changed at stated timings.

(b) Watch shall be kept all day, in order to uncover the spies.

(c) Disputes, drinking, parties and gambling were prohibited.

(d) A system of passes with seals was instituted.

(e) Any soldier trying to leave the camp without written orders was arrested.

**Base Camp to Battle Ground**
32. The base camp was set up at some distance from the war zone since it had to be near a place of refuge in King’s own territory, secure and capable of being provisioned and reinforced. The actual war zone could still have been a few days or week march away.

33. **Provisioning.** The following is considered for the march from the base camp to the battle ground:

   (a) Rate of march.
   
   (b) The programme of extended stay/short stay.
   
   (c) Ability of villages and forests on the way to supply fodder, fuel and water.
   
   (d) Twice the amount of the equipment and food will be carried. If not possible, the troops should themselves transport it or it was stored beforehand at intervals along the route.

34. **Choice of Routes.** Most suitable route for own army will be selected as those who fight from suitable terrain will be superior to those who fight from unsuitable terrain.

35. **Order of March.** The order of march will be, the Commander in front, the King and women in the middle, horses and bodyguards on the flanks, elephants and reinforcements at the end and finally the Chief of Defence. The same shall be order of encampment.

36. **March Array.** The type of array will depend on the circumstances:

   (a) If an attack is anticipated:
   
      (i) In the Front. - *Makara* (Crocodile).
      
      (ii) In the Rear. - *Sakata* (Cart).
      
      (iii) On the Two Flanks. - *Vajra* (Thunderbolt).
      
      (iv) On All Sides. - Sarvatobhadra (Uniformly circular).
   
   (b) If the path is narrow permitting only single file - Suchi (Needle).

37. **Rate of March.** The rate of march are as given below:

   (a) Slowest. - 15 Kms per day (one yojana).
   
   (b) Middling. - 22.5Kms per day (one and half yojanas).
   
   (c) Best Rate. - 30 Kms per day (two yojans).

38. Rate of march will be slowed down in the following cases:

   (a) When steps have to be taken to counteract enemy action in the rear.
   
   (b) When difficult path is to be cleared.
(c) When waiting for a suitable season, arrival of treasury, reinforcements, allied troops, alien troops or jungle forces.

(d) When expecting deterioration in enemy fortifications, morale of his mercenary or allied troops.

(e) When secret agent have been slow in their tasks.

(f) When enemy will himself do something to help the conqueror.

39. **Protection of the Army.** Arrangements will be made to protect the army against the following to prevent affecting its fighting strength:-

   (a) A long march in waterless region.
   (b) Running short on fuel / fodder.
   (c) Marching over a difficult route.
   (d) Harassment by enemy attacks.
   (e) Hunger, thirst or the rigors of a long march.
   (f) Crossing rivers in mud / deep water.
   (g) Climbing or descending hills.
   (h) Marching in single file through mountainous terrain or narrow path.
   (j) Suffering from lack of equipment during the march or halts.
   (k) Eating, exhausted or sleeping.
   (l) Affected by diseases, epidemic or famine.
   (m) The infantry, cavalry or elephants falling ill.
   (n) Marching on unsuitable terrain.

**Open and Deceptive Battles**

40. In order to be strictly in accordance with dharma the place and time of battle must be specified beforehand. The conditions for open fight are given below:-

41. **Open Battles.**

   (a) When own army is superior.
   (b) Instigations in the enemy’s camp have been successful.
(c) All precautions against dangers have been taken.

(d) The terrain is suitable for own army.

42. **Deceptive Battles.** In case the above conditions are not satisfied, deception will be employed, the details are as described below:

(a) The enemy shall be attacked when his forces are suffering from a calamity, his forces are unprotected and he is on less suitable terrain compared to the attacker.

(b) The enemy may be attacked even if he is on suitable terrain, provided that the attacker has the support of all the constituents of his state. The attacker shall lure the enemy on to unsuitable terrain by pretending that his own unreliable, alien or jungle forces have suffered a rout. He shall first break the compact battle array of the pursuing enemy using elephants and then attack with his own unbroken army.

(c) The enemy’s army may be attacked in the front with a part of the forces and when it is staggering or has turned its back, attacked in the rear with elephants and horses.

(d) The enemy’s army may be attacked in the rear with a part of the forces and when it is staggering or has turned its back, attacked with the best or the forces. Similar tactics may also be employed for the two flanks. The attack may also be directed towards where the enemy’s forces are weak or unreliable.

(e) If frontal attack is unfavourable, the attack shall be from the rear and vice versa, similarly if attack on one flank is unfavourable, it shall be made from the others.

(f) The enemy’s forces shall be made tired by attacking with unreliable, alien or jungle troops and then attacked by the conqueror with his own fresh troops.

(g) The enemy may be made to believe that he has won by a seeming defeat of the conqueror’s unreliable troops, then his forces shall be ambushed by the conqueror’s reliable forces from safe positions.

(h) A Vigilant conqueror may strike at an enemy who is negligent while his forces are plundering a caravan, animal herds, a camp or transport.

(j) The conqueror may conceal a strong force behind a weak force and when the weak force has penetrated the enemy ranks, reinforce the attack with strong one.

(k) The enemy’s warriors may be lured into an ambush by tempting them with cattle for seizure or wild animals for hunting.

(l) The enemy’s warriors may be kept awake by night forays and then attacked during the day when they are drowsy or asleep.
(m) The enemy’s sleeping warriors can also be attacked with elephants, whose feet have been covered in leather to make their passage silent or as protection against dogs.

(n) If the enemy forces are tired after making preparations for the battle in the forenoon, they shall be attacked in the afternoon.

(o) The ranks of the enemy’s horses and elephants may be broken by letting loose frightened cattle, buffaloes or camels, which are made to run helter-skelter with contraptions which make a lot of noise tied to their backs. The conqueror shall make sure his own ranks are not broken.

(p) Any force which has to fight facing the sun or wind shall be attacked.

(q) The conqueror shall attack the enemy when he suffers from any of the difficulties against which he should have taken appropriate protective measures.

43. **Opportunities for an Ambush.** A desert, forest narrow path, marsh, mountain, valley, uneven ground, boat, cattle, cart-array of the army, mist and night are suitable opportunities for ambushes.

**Preps for Battle**

44. **Exhortation of Troops.** Exhortation of troops will be carried out prior to the battle, the details are as given below:-

   (a) The conqueror will collect his forces together and say to them that I am as much a servant of the State as you are we shall share the wealth of this state. ‘Attack the enemies’.

   (b) Counsellors and the Purohitashall encourage the troops by pointing out the excellent qualities of the army and the chosen battle formation.

   (c) Astrologers and similar professionals shall inspire the troops by proclaiming the King to be omniscient and divinely aided and shall fill the enemy troops with dread.

45. **Night before the Battle.** The King shall observe a fast, the night before the battle and sleep beside his chariot and weapons. He shall make oblations in the fire according to the Atharva Veda. He shall have prayers said for victory in battle and for attainment of heaven by those who fall.

46. **The Day of Battle.** Troops which are brave, skillful, of noble birth, loyal and not unhappy with the wealth and honours bestowed on them shall be placed in the centre of the forces. Among them the King shall take his place, bare of flags and distinguishing features and surrounded by warrior kinsmen, paternal relatives, brothers and sons. He shall normally ride a chariot or an elephant and be guarded by cavalry, or he may ride whatever is
preponderant in his army or in which he is proficient. A double shall impersonate the King at the head of the formation. Bards and praise singers shall describe the heaven that awaits the brave and the hell for cowards. The chief of defence shall make troops happy with wealth and honours and announce various rewards. The following shall be stationed in the rear:-

(a) Physicians with surgical instruments, equipment, medicines, oils and bandages.

(b) Women with cooked food and beverages and women to encourage the men to fight.

**Battle Arrays and Formations**

47. Kautilya gives an exhaustive description of how to arrange the forces for a set piece battle. Basic unit for cavalry was a warrior as a horse accompanied by six soldiers and both chariot and elephant unit had five cavalry units surrounding it. The other characteristic are as under:-

(a) **Close and open orders.** The forces could be arrayed in a densely packed close order or in a more spread out open order, the choice of which depended on the nature of terrain, type of forces available and type of forces fielded by the enemy.

(b) **Arrays.** Out of these basic units, arrays were formed. The arrays for chariots and elephants were identical with minimum number in arrays being nine arranged in three rows of three each. Since each chariot was supported by five cavalry unit (each with one mounted warrior and six foot soldiers), the minimum array consisted of nine chariots, forty five mounted warriors and two hundred and seventy foot soldiers.

(c) **Formations.** Arrays were put together in a formation by placing one array in the centre, two in the flanks and two in the wings. When five arrays of a formation are all of equal size, it is called balance.

(d) **Surpluses and Strengthening.** After allocating available forces to forming the units and arrays, some forces may still be available. Rules for distributing them to strengthen the wings, flanks and centre has been prophesied.

(e) **Pure and Mixed Formation.** A battle formations, consisting of a centre, two flanks and two wings can be formed using only one type of force (i.e.) only foot soldiers, only cavalry units or only chariot or elephants units. These are pure formation. However a mixed formation consists of more than one type of force. Horse units, elephants and chariots could be used together, all four wings could also be used.

(f) **Modes of Attack.** The different arrays in a formation could attack the enemy forces in a variety of ways
(i) **The Truncheon (Danda).** It is the one in which the wing, flank and centre arrays advance evenly abreast.

(ii) **The Snake (Bhoga).** It is the one in which they advance unevenly in a sinuous manner, one after the other.

(iii) **The Circle (Mandala).** It is the one in which the wings, flanks and the centre become one and the advance is in all direction (simultaneously).

(iv) **The Dispersed (Asamhata).** It is the one in which the wings, flanks and the centre advance independently of each other, irrespective of their original positions in the formation.

(v) If in the straight (truncheon) formation the array move one behind the other then it is called the needle. If there are two such parallel columns, it is ‘the bracelet’. Four such is ‘the invincible’. An octagonal formation (a form of the circle) is also called the invincible. Any kind of formation of the enemy can be successfully countered by ‘the invincible’.

(g) **Order of the four constituents.** It is described as under:-

(i) **The benevolent.** Chariots at the centre, elephants on the flanks, horses in the rear and infantry on the wings.

(ii) **The immovable.** Infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants in that order, one behind the other.

(iii) **The Unrepulsable.** Elephants, horses, chariots and infantry, one behibd the other.

**The Attack Battle**

48. **The Attack** Following is ensured:-

(a) Conqueror shall not attack without having reinforcement in the rear.

(b) After setting up battle formation enemy shall be attacked with one or two groups in the array and rest be kept in reserve to support the attack.

(c) Best troops shall be used to attack weak enemy units.

(d) When enemy army is strongest attack shall be made with twice number of best troops.

(e) Part of attacking force which has few best troops shall be reinforced by a larger number.

(f) Reinforcement shall be directed to where the enemy forces are weak or from where there is a danger of defeat or counter attack.
(g) Infantry shall be attacked by horses, horses by chariots and chariots by elephants.

(h) An enemy force weak in one constituent shall be attacked by a stronger force of the same constituents.

(j) During the battle the conqueror shall strike terror in the enemy forces by various means.

49. **After the Battle** After routing the enemy’s army the conqueror shall:

(a) Sue for peace if enemy force was more powerful.

(b) Agree to peace if sought by an enemy of equal power.

(c) Destroy an enemy of inferior power, except when he has reached his own territory or is ready to sacrifice his life.

(d) A routed enemy army shall not be further harassed.

**The Siege**

50. When an enemy defeated in battle takes shelter in a fort, his overthrow has to be achieved by besieging and capturing it. The siege was a costly exercise, in Kautilya’s words, it entailed losses of men, heavy expenditure and long absence from home. The absence from home was as important as the other two, when the King was away, there was a greater likelihood in his own Kingdom of internal rebellion, palace coups, intrigue and treachery. It was therefore essential for the aggressor to capture the fort in the shortest possible time at minimum cost to himself. Kautilya describes a variety of methods as given below:

(a) Before laying the siege, the aggressor may wage psychological war (upajapa) with the aim of frightening the people inside the fort and boosting the morale of his own people, subverting the enemy’s high officials or de-populating the territory of the enemy.

(b) If this does not succeed, the aggressor shall try to draw out the enemy from the protections of the fort by various clandestine methods and kill him (yogavamana). The presumption is that with the high officials subverted or the leader dead, the fort would fall into the aggressor’s hands without a fight.

(c) If the enemy is intelligent and as much a student of Kautilya as the aggressor, it is unlikely that he will fall for any of the tricks. If the attempts at killing the enemy prove to be impracticable or if they fail, the conqueror shall set about weakening the enemy (apasarpa). The methods suggested include a trusted subordinate of the conqueror gaining the enemy’s confidence and then betraying him and using allies or the enemy’s enemy.

(d) The next possibility is for the aggressor to infiltrate his own forces into the fort, so that it can be taken from the inside.
Laying siege (paripusana) and taking the fort by direct assault (avamardha) is the last resort. However, there are still some steps which could be taken to emasculate the enemy before the siege is actually laid. Removing the civilian population from around the siege and fort area is one, however, Kautilya is categorical that there shall be no permanent loss of population from the area which will, after victory, become that of the conqueror. For, ‘there cannot be country without people and there is no Kingdom without a country’. Reducing the supplies available to the enemy for withstanding the siege is another precaution.

The aggressor shall then strengthen his own siege camp and lay the siege at the right time. While carrying out activities like undermining ramparts and breaching the walls, the besieger shall try to avoid further bloodshed and get the enemy to surrender by using the four methods of conciliation, gifts, sowing dissension and force. Setting fire to the fort by various means is a possibility but this is not recommended for there is little to be gained by conquering ashes.

Even when the enemy’s strength is depleted, there are alternatives to direct assault. The enemy can be tricked into coming out of the fort by pretending to withdraw the siege and convincing him by using different types of people that it is safe for him to come out. He shall then be killed.

When all else fails, there is no option but to take the fort by storming it. The rules for the assault also specify that those inside the fort who surrender or do not take part in its defence shall be spared.

When the fort is taken, it shall be cleared of all supporters of enemy and suitable precautions taken to eliminate the possibility of secret attacks. For example, the defeated enemy may hide himself in the fort and try to assassinate the conqueror. Only when the conqueror is absolutely sure of security, shall he enter the fort as the victor.

The five means of taking a fort are psychological warfare, enticing the enemy out, weakening him, besieging him and taking the fort by direct assault.

**Psychological Warfare.**

51. The conqueror shall demonstrate his pervasive knowledge by:-

(a) Letting his chiefs know that he is aware of their domestic affairs and secret activities having found out about them through secret agents.

(b) Unmasking traitors, having first found them out through secret agents employed for that purpose.

(c) Revealing that someone was about to make a request for a favour having ascertained that through unnoticed contacts, prior knowledge or signals.

(d) Revealing knowledge about foreign countries before it becomes public, having got from agents a secret sealed communication through homing pigeons.
52. **Demonstrating Association with Gods.** The conqueror shall make gullible people believe that he is in direct contact with gods by various tricks.

53. **Propaganda.** Soothsayers, readers of omens, astrologers, reciters of puranas, intuitionists and clandestine agents, those who helped the King perform the tricks and those who had witnessed them shall advertise them inside his own territory. In the enemy’s territory, they shall advertise, in particular, the appearance of Gods and his receiving army and treasury from divine sources. Whenever there is an opportunity e.g. when interpreting questions to Gods (devaprasna), omens, the cawing of crows, body-language, dreams, bird-calls and animal noises, they shall proclaim the meaning to be victory for the conqueror and defeat for the enemy. Any appearance of a meteor in the constellation of stars of the enemy’s birth shall be proclaimed by a beat of drums as an omen of the imminent defeat of the enemy.

54. **Against the Enemy’s Chiefs.** Agents, in the guise of envoys pretending to be motivated by friendliness, shall tell the chief principals of the enemy of the high regard the conqueror has for them, of the strength of his side and of the deterioration in the enemy’s side. The principals, both civilians and soldiers, shall be promised that they will not lose i.e. have the same rewards and honours when the conqueror absorbs the territory. The principals shall be looked after if they encounter calamities and be treated as a father would treat his children.

55. An agent, in the guise of a holy man shall take refuge in a popular temple of the city and by his performances of magical tricks gradually win over the principals and use them to out man oeuvre the enemy.

56. **Weakening the Enemy.** The methods are as given below:-

(a) **Using One’s Own Trusted Officers.** The following is resorted to:-

(i) A trustworthy counselor, jungle chief or militia chief, ostensibly dismissed from his post, shall seek shelter with the enemy and gradually bring over his own men on the grounds of protecting his people. He shall then, with the help of spies, attack a treacherous town of the conqueror, or an unreliable and weak force of the conqueror or an unreliable rearally of the conqueror. Alternatively, the planted official may increase his own strength by winning over the militias or tribal forces in a part of the enemy’s territory. When the traitor has earned the full confidence of the enemy, word shall be sent to the conqueror, who, pretending to go to catch elephants or put down tribal rebels, shall attack the enemy without warning, the planted official revealing his true colours at that time.

(ii) The conqueror shall first make peace with the enemy and then ostensibly dismiss some counsellors, who are then to appeal to the enemy for help in reconciling them with their master. Any envoy sent by the enemy for this purpose shall be insulted, whereupon one of the dismissed counsellor shall seek shelter with the enemy and gain his confidence by recommending treacherous spies who have betrayed the conqueror, the disgruntled, the unreliable, the weak robbers or jungle chief who harass both. He shall then falsely betray important officers of the enemy, such as frontier officers, tribal chiefs or army chiefs accusing them of being in league with the conqueror so
called proof shall be provided by letters carried by the concerned men. Thus important officials providing valuable support shall be eliminated, thereby weakening the enemy.

(iii) The conqueror shall ostensibly banish a chief official of a fort province or army accusing him of treachery. The banished official shall take shelter with the enemy and use the opportunity of a battle, a sudden assault, a siege or a calamity to outman ouvre the enemy. While waiting for an opportunity he shall set about sowing dissension among the supporters of the enemy. In this also they shall use letters carried by condemned men.

(b) **Weakening the Enemy by Using Other Kings of the Circle.** This series of methods makes use of the enemy's enemy, the conqueror's ally or the enemy's ally. Some details of the same are as under:-

(i) The enemy can also be destroyed with methods involving the use of armed forces. In this case the enemy's enemy (in theory, a friend) shall by secret methods be made to appear to do harm to the conqueror who shall then pretend to mount an attack against the ally in retaliation. The enemy shall then be invited to join in it on the promise of a share of land or gold captured on the expedition.

(ii) The conqueror shall contrive a situation whereby the enemy is invited to come with armed forces to his help. In this case the conqueror shall make a treaty with the ally for sharing the enemy's land. When the ally attacks the enemy, he shall appear to do harm to the conqueror who shall then pretend to mount an attack in retaliation and invite the enemy to join in an attack on an ally of the conqueror promising a share of the land.

57. The enemy may or may not trust the conqueror, the methods of destroying the enemy depends on his reactions.

(a) **If the Enemy Trusts the Conqueror and Agrees to a Joint Campaign.** The enemy shall be killed in an ambush or an open battle with the supposed target of the expedition. If this is not possible, the enemy shall be invited to the court of the conqueror on some possible pretext (i.e.) gift of land, installation of the crown Prince or grant of protection and then imprisoned. If this is also not possible, the enemy shall be done away with by secret means.

(b) **If The Enemy Only Provides His Army But Does Not Accompany it Himself.** The target of the campaign shall be made to destroy the enemy's enemies.

(c) **If The Enemy Leads his Forces Separately and Not With The Conqueror.** He shall be destroyed by being squeezed between the two forces of the conqueror and that of the King used as bait.

(d) **If the Enemy is Distrustful and Engages in the Campaign on His own or if He Wants to Attack a Different Part of the Territory.** He shall be killed by the target of the campaign or the conqueror shall do so mobilizing all his forces.
(e) **When the Enemy is Actually Fighting the Targeted King.** The conqueror shall seize the base of the enemy by sending a different force.

(f) **In Case of the Enemy Undertaking a Campaign Against the Conqueror’s Ally.** The enemy will be first helped with the troops and when he is engaged in battle, he shall be outmanoeuvred by the conqueror.

58. **Time for Besieging.** The enemy’s fort shall be besieged when:-

(a) The attacker’s troops are supplied abundantly with high quality grains, forest produce, machines, army, armour, labour, ropes and other requirements.

(b) The climate is favourable to the conqueror and unfavourable to the enemy.

(c) The enemy suffers from diseases, famine, depletion of stores, deterioration of fortifications and the weariness of his mercenary and allied troops.

**Storming the Fort**

59. **The Right Conditions.** The best opportunities to storm the fort are as given below:-

(a) The conqueror is fully equipped with all implements and labourers.

(b) The enemy is ill.

(c) The enemy’s principal officials are happy through being subjected to secret tests of loyalty.

(d) Enemy’s fortifications are incomplete, stores depleted and reinforcements unavailable.

(e) The enemy is likely to make a treaty with all to provide reinforcements before the assault.

60. **The Right Time.** The right time to storm the fort is as given below:-

(a) There has been a fire in the fort.

(b) The people are participating in a festival or watching a show.

(c) There is a drunken quarrel among the troops inside the fort.

(d) The enemy troops are tired of constant fighting.

(e) The enemy troops have suffered many casualties after heavy fighting.

(f) The people are tired after being kept awake or when they are asleep.

(g) It is cloudy, raining, flooded or foggy.
61. **The Assault.** Prior to the assault, conqueror will first mount a diversionary attack with his own unreliable troops or tribal forces so as to engage part of enemy forces. The attack shall be led by the conqueror’s unreliable, alien or tribal forces as well as by those who hate the enemy and deserters from the fort, who had been rewarded and honoured by the conqueror. After capturing the fort, it shall be cleared of enemy’s supporters and precautions shall be taken, both inside and out, against secret attackers or tricks. Only then shall a conqueror enter the fort.

**Peaceful Rule of the Acquired Territory**

62. Kautilya describes the three ways by which a conqueror can acquire territory:

(a) **Inheritance.** In case of inherited territory the conqueror shall avoid mistakes of his father and emulate his virtues. Only those customs and practice in vogue accordingly to the dharma shall be continued and only those confirming to the dharma shall be introduced.

(b) **Re-acquisition.** In case of territory which was originally his and has been re-acquired, the conqueror shall avoid mistakes which led to the territory being lost and strengthen those qualities through which he regained it.

(c) **New Territory Acquired by Conquest.** Having acquired a new territory the conqueror should ensure the following:-

(i) Substitute virtues of enemy vices and where enemy was good make them twice as good.

(ii) Shall follow policies which are pleasing and beneficial to the constituents by acting according to dharma and by granting favors, tax exemptions, giving gifts and bestowing honours.

(iii) He shall reward, as promised, those who were traitors to the enemy for his sake.

(iv) He shall adopt way of life, dress, language and customs of the people of new territory.

(v) He shall please the chiefs of the county, towns, castes and guilds by looking after their customary rights.

(vi) Shall ensure devotions are regularly held in all the temples and ashrams.

(vii) All prisoners shall be released on special amnesty. Ill, helpless and distressed shall be helped.

(viii) All practices which are not according to the dharma or which affect the treasury or army shall be discontinued and replaced by those in accordance to the dharma.
(ix) Thieves shall be removed from their usual places of residence and dispersed.

(x) The posts previously occupied by the enemy’s men shall be filled by the conquerors’ own people or those who were in disfavor with the enemy.

Conclusion

63. Is Kautilya relevant to twentieth century? The nature of human beings remains the same and states heads behave in the same way as they do earlier, people have the same distrust of one nation for another, the same pursuit of its interest by every nation continue. The conditions and means of application have changed over the years, but the constant that Kautilya had added remain unchanged. The application of the Chanakya neeti is seen in the actions of all, though called by a different name. There is therefore no reason to doubt the relevance of Kautilya and his teachings even in the twentieth century and even beyond.
**CHAPTER - V**

**RELEVANCE OF ARTHASHAstra IN ARAB-ISRAEL CAMPAIGN**

**Gen**

1. War fighting has evolved over a pd of time with advancements being made in all aspects of warfare. Modern armies use modern wpns and eqpt utilizing the latest techniques and technology. Thus, technically the Arthashastra, written by Kautilya around 320 BC during the ‘Mauryan’ pd, should not find relevance in the modern warfare during the Arab Israel conflicts. The subsequent paras, however, bring out some relevant issues which were common in both eras of war fighting.

**Plg a Campaign**

2. **‘Arthashastra’ Version.** As per the ‘Arthashastra’, there are eight factors to be considered prior to launching a campaign:-

   (a) Power.
   
   (b) Place.
   
   (c) Time.
   
   (d) Right kind of tps.
   
   (e) Right reason.
   
   (f) Revolts & rebellions.
   
   (g) Losses, expenses & gains.
   
   (h) Methodology.

3. **Relevance in Arab Israel Conflict.** Both the ‘Six Day War’ and the ‘Yom Kippur Campaign’ were extremely well planned and executed and displayed glimpses of the teachings of Kautilya.

   (a) **The Six Day War.** The Six Day War commenced with the IAF bombarding the Arab tgt (right kind of tps) in depth areas (right place) at the very commencement of the conflict (right time) which led to huge losses to the Arabs, specially to Eqypt. Israel had clearly understood that the Suez Canal was the ‘Centre of Gravity’. Thus, they had focused clearly towards their Western opponent, ie. Egypt, while for the rest, they waited for correct time for attack.

   (b) **The Yom Kippur War.** Similar plg is evident by the Arabs during the ‘Yom Kippur Campaign’. They secretly forged a united front against Israel and aslt from two dirns, thus dividing the initial reaction. The Arabs were adequately prep in
terms of plg, tps and eqpt (right kind of tps) to initially surprise the Israelis. The initial aslt was on two fronts along the Bar Lev line and the Golan hts (right place) on the day of Yom Kippur (right time) that led to the Israelis suffering setbacks during the initial phs of the war.

**Allies**

4. **‘Arthashastra’ Version.** As per ‘Kautilya’, the best ‘Allies’ should have the fwg qualities :-

(a) Ally of family.

(b) Amenable to cont.

(c) Powerful in his sp.

(d) Sharing common interest.

(e) Able to mob force quickly.

(f) Not a man who betrayed his friends.

5. **Relevance in Arab Israel Conflict.**

(a) **The Six Day War.** Israel allied with USA & UK, who were powerful countries and shared common interests. The Arabs, though were united on religion, were very different in their interests. Naseer had his own plans of becoming a ‘Statesman’ and often changed his allies wrt his interest. As regards to Syria, USSR came to their sp only for her own start interest (to counter the presence of USA), thus clearly indicating that Allies chosen by the Arabs never shared a common interest.

(b) **The Yom Kippur War.** The Arabs initially presented a united front with detailed coord wrt the aim of the war, mob of forces, maint of surprise, coord offn and even the S’ hr for the offn. This coord was however short lived and crumbled under the pressure of the offn mounted by Israel. The Russians initially were stable allies to the Arabs, however, this sp was out of their own vested interests. The American sp to Israel was, on the other hand, time tested and continuous.

**Preferred Place of War**

6. **‘Arthashastra’ Version.** Kautilya says that the place chosen for initial stgs of war must be such that it brings more ‘shock action’ to the en and inflicts huge losses at the very beginning of the battle.

7. **Relevance in Arab Israel Conflict.**

(a) **The Six Day War.** On getting hints of a possible Arab offn, the Israelis mob their reservists and utilised the IDF to completely decimate the arab air power. Sinai and West Bank were the places chosen by the IDF for their their subsequent offn,
clearly indicating that they were avoiding a direct confrontation with Syria (the adversary in the North) due to their sp from USSR.

(b) **The Yom Kippur War.** The Arabs initially launched a joint offensive on two fronts in cardinally opposite directions, thus dividing the initial reaction by Israel. In the later stages of battle, the Israelis under Gen Ariel Sharon homed on to the gap between the Bitter lakes and the Egyptian forces to counter the Arabs.

### Other Relevant Issues

8. **Lowering the Morale of People in Besieged Fort.** On 06 Oct 73, the forts (16 forts) in the Bar Lev line were manned by a reserve brigade i.e., 116 Inf Bde with a total of 436 men supported by seven bty of ARTY. The attack by the Egyptian forces surprised the Israeli forces and on the first day by midnight, Egyptians successfully breached the Bar lev line and captured 14 forts. Israeli soldiers in the forts were totally surprised and confused. The astounding achievement of the Egyptian forces lowered the morale of Israeli soldiers, one of them later confessed that they were firing from time to time mainly to keep up their morale.

9. **Infilt a Force inside En Def.** Kautilya stated that infiltrating a force inside the enemy defenses would be less costly in men and material and can provide initial success for gradual build up. On the night of 05-06 Oct, Egyptians Rangers and Frogmen crossed the canal covertly and sabotaged the 'secret wpn' of the Israelis with the help of which they could 'put the Suez canal on fire'. The level of the water in the canal was reduced on the morning of 06 Oct.

10. **Foreign Policy/ National Interest.** Kautilya described "the interest of the King" which nowadays is termed as National Interest. He warned that both present and future advantages had to be taken into account and when to forgo short term advantages, while concluding treaties/policies. Another factor which affected the choice of policy was the current condition of states involved in the campaign. The Egyptians, flag bearers of the attack on Israel, wanted to limit the ops to simply recovering the occupied territory and their lost pride whereas, Syria wanted to completely dismantle the State of Israel. However, the present condition of both countries during the campaign was not as strong as required. Finally, Sadat managed to persuade Assad to limit the aim of the campaign to recovering lost territories.

11. **Development of State.** One of the basic principle which govern the Kautilayan theory of foreign policy was development of state i.e., augmentation of its resources and power in order to enable a state to embark on a campaign of conquest. In Dec 1970, the Egyptians concluded a military assistance agreement and a 15 yr treaty of friendship in May 1971 with the erstwhile Soviet Union. As part of the agreement, the Egyptians received military equipment, advisors, instrs and technicians from the Soviets. The military hardware supplied incl almost 100 MiG-21, 25 SU-7s, 55 MiG-17s and MiG-15s, 70 Mi-8 heptrs and unspecified number of SAM-2s, SAM-3s, ZSU 23 mm anti ac guns and 203 mm fd guns. The weapons destroyed during the 1967 war had been replaced by the Soviet Union and Egypt possessed almost 1700 tks,
1200 Lt Armd Vehs, 150 SP Guns, over 4500 various types of Guns and Mors, 24 FROG (Free Rocket Over Gnd) msls and a number of RPG-7. The assistance provided by Soviets made Sadat to say “I have recd from Russia what I want and now I am satisfied. They are drowning me in new arms.” Sadat ensured that Egypt is self sufficient in terms of resources for embarking a campaign on Israel.

12. **Allies.** Allies were described as a constituent of a state and the alliance was based on giving help. It was realized by Sadat that Egypt alone could not defeat Israel. Since Syria was also nursing a deep wound inflicted by the Israelis during the war in 1967, Assad expressed interest in Sadat's plan. Sadat also persuaded King Feizal of Saudi Arabia and through him apch King Hussein of Jordan. Saudi Arab agreed to assist by using the “oil wpn” and the Jordanian armed forces were tasked to force the Israelis to commit tps in the east. The Algerian President also agreed for unrestricted supply of wpns and amn to both Egypt and Syria.

13. **Peace – Preferred Course of Action.** Kautilya was against both spineless submission and foolhardy valour. Peace was always preferred to war. June 1967 witnessed the Arabs incl Egypt and Israelis engaged in a swift ‘six day war’ with Arabs buying heavy cas in terms of ac and mil eqpt. The Egyptians lost between 10,000 to 15,000 men and 5000 were listed missing. Their Air force was completely decimated and the most humiliating was the loss of Gaza strip and Sinai Peninsula. Post 1967, Egypt rather than going foolhardy, maint peace so as to recover and regroup its forces for the future campaign. President Sadat, after assuming power in sep 1970 opted against reopening the “war of attrition”. Even after Yom Kippur, Anwar Sadat in Nov 1977 vis Israel and addsd their parliament in Jerusalem. He offered peace and in return recognized the state of Israel. The Camp David agreement brokered by USA in 1978 and was signed by Israeli PM Menachem Begin and Egypt president Anwar sadat. As per accord, Israel agreed to return Sinai peninsula and finally transferred it in 1982. Even the UN brokered a deal between Israel and Syria, as per which all area captured by Israel I 1973 were returned.

14. **Staying Quiet and Prep for War.** One of the six methods of Kautilyan foreign policy was “staying quiet and prep for war”. These were the two methods used in connection with both peace and war and infact are the stgs in the transition from peace to war and vice versa. The loss in 1967 was stucked like a thorn into Egyptians mind, still Egypt maint peace and remained quiet till Yom Kippur happened. During this quiet pd, Egypt carried out activities on a wide front for prep of war which incl Re-org and re- equipping of the armed force, realistic and intensive trg, prep of defs and strengthening mil alliances to incl formation of Arab Comd def council.

15. **Circle of States.** In the famous ‘circle of states’ theory by Kautilya, the flag bearer of the campaign is the hub of wheel and the allies drawn to him are spokes, though separated by intervening territory. The flag bearer of the campaign has to apply six methods of foreign policy as appropriate to various constituent eles of the state with the aim to prog.
Egypt was the main country of yom kippur and formed the hub whereas Syrai, Jordan, Saudi Arab and Morocco were the spokes. Each of the six methods of Kautaliyan foreign policy are applicable in a different set of circumstances:

(a) **Making Peace.** After the setback in 1967, Egypt maint peace and continued its prep for future campaign. Even Anwar Sadat, after assuming power in sep 1970, opted against reopening the war of attrition.

(b) **Waging War.** The 1967 war decimated the mil and air force components of Egypt to a large extent. Egypt was not superior in terms of power to Israel and hence remained peaceful till confident of its re-org of armd forces.

(c) **Staying Quiet.** Egypt was aware that he is not in a condition to regain its lost territory after 1967. He was also sure that Israel will not harm him because of being over confident that Egypt is not going to war in future. Egypt remained quiet during this intervening pd and continued its prep.

(d) **Prep for war.** Egypt carried out certain activities for prep of war to incl Re-org and re-eqipping of the armed force, realistic and intensive trg, prep of defs and strengthening mil alliances to incl formation of Arab Comd def council.

(e) **Seeking Sp.** Egypt alone could not defeat the Israelis, hence seek sp of the nations with agenda similar to Egypt. They garnered sp of Syrai, Jordan, saudi Arab, Algeria, Morrocco and Libiya and formed a jt Arab Comd Def Council. However, Libiya subsequently pulled out.

(f) **Dual Policy.** Ref Para 10 below.

16. **Types of War.** Kautilya described three kinds of war. Open war i.e., fighting at a specific time and place, Undecl war by using secret agents against the en and the Secret war which incl sudden aslt without specifying time and place. When Egypt and Syria launched their attack, the Israelis were taken by surprise as they were not aware of the place and the time as it was kept very secret and only Sadat, Assad and few high level officials were aware of it.

17. **Dual Policy.** The attacker in order to outmvre the en could induce a neighbouring state to undertake a simultaneous expedition, each attacking the en from a different dirn. In the Yom Kippur, Egypt attacked the Israeli along the Suez canal with aim to capture Sinai Peninsula whereas the Syrain forces attacked from the north eastern dirn with aim to capture Golan Hts.

18. **The Best Ally.** Kautilya described six qualities of the best ally which incl that it should be a long time and consistent ally, amenable to cont, powerful in his sp, able to mob
his forces quickly and share a common interest. Syria was such an ally of Egypt during the Yom Kippur campaign. Both Egypt and Syria lost to Israel in 1967 war and and wanted to regain both the lost pride and the territory, a common interest. Although Syria wanted to completely dismantle the state of Israel however, persuaded by Asad to limit aim to recover the lost territory. Syria, since 1967 war, also took concrete steps to enhance its def capabilities with assistance from Soviet Union and over a pd of time emerged as a powerful sp to Egypt. Syria was also amenable to cont as it readily agreed for Sadat as the Cdr-in-chief of the Federated Armed Forces of Egypt and Syria and mob his forces quickly, as planned, to capture Golan Hts from NE dirn.

19. **Choice of Ally.** As per Arthashastra, a constant ally giving smaller help was to be preferred over a temp ally giving substantial help as he is likely to withdraw. A constant ally in fact will give great help over a pd of time. Initially Libya was part of the Jt Arab Comd Def Council however, subsequently pulled out. Jordan, Saudi Arab and Morocco proved to be the constant allies of Egypt and provided help in terms of wpn, eqpt, amn and manpower whereas Syria emerged as “A True Friend” during the campaign.

20. **Jt Activities.** Kautilya described that the purpose of acquiring the allies is to incr the power and for jt activity it is necessary to take into acct the str of its allies. It is better to join with comparatively weaker states as the stronger state could delegate the different tasks to them and keep them under cont. The Jordanian armed forces were considered too small and accordingly were tasked to force the Israelis to commit tps in the east. Even Syria though powerful, but was amenable to Egypt cont over its forces and agreed to Sadat’s aim of ops for the campaign.

21. **Preferred Gains.** As per Kautilya, large gain in future was preferable to imdt smaller gains. However, he also mentioned that a small piece of land nearby is preferable as compared to a large tract far away as it requires def forces to be stationed permanently for its protection and security. Syria wanted to completely destr and capture Israel whereas, Egypt focused on regaining the lost territory. The complete capture of Israel would have created problems in future for both Syria and Egypt as it would have required considerable amount of forces to be dply. Also the mil power of both the countries was not adequate for complete annihilation of Israel. Hence Syria agreed to Egypt with regard to the aim of the campaign.

22. **Plg a Campaign.** Kautilya mentioned eight different factors to be taken into account for a successful campaign. The three most imp being power, place and time of the campaign.

(a) **Power.** It is the most imp factor and consists of intellectual power, mil might, enthusiasm and morale. He also mentioned that one should not foolishly attack a stronger adversary. Anwar Sadat was a intellectual ldr who analysed the obj of the campaign and succeeded in persuading Assad for same. He enhanced the mil capb
of Egypt with assistance from Soviet Union. The realistic and intensive trg conducted by the Egyptians and Sadat’s assurance to the people to regain lost pride and territory ensured that the enthusiasm and morale of all indls is high at all times. Sadat repeatedly declared his ‘Year of Decision’ which shifted from 1971 to succeeding year however, psychologically it helped to retain the morale and hope of mil decision alive. On the other hand, in Israel, Moshe Dayan had instituted a toughening up pgme for all the offrs and led them himself. Israeli offrs were trained to take lead personally to live upto the motto ‘follow me’. This not only ensured high morale of the Israeli offrs but also of their me.

(b) **Place.** On Egyptians front the place for campaign was the suez canal and Sinai peninsula. The aim was to cross Suez canal, est Br H on the eastern bank and capture max territory. On Syrian front the place was Golan Hts, with aim to capture this imp strategic part of Israel. The campaign on two fronts divided the reaction capability of the Israeli def forces.

(c) **Time.** The factor of time is very crucial for a successful campaign. Egypt finalized the D day as 06 Oct 1973 and time S Hr as 1400 hr with due consideration of certain factors as mentioned below. This assisted them in achieving surprise and deception and yielded tremendous success during the initial phases of the campaign.

(i) **Holy Month of Ramzan.** During this pd, muslims fasted during hrs of day lt, hence attack would be least expected by Israel.

(ii) **Tenth Day of Ramadan.** Mythologically, on the tenth day, Prophet Mohammad in 626 AD, achieved the first victory after a long campaign in the “Battle of Badr”, to enter Mecca. Hence the mil aslt was code named ‘Op Badr’ and planned on tenth day of Ramadan.

(iii) **The Day of Yom Kippur.** The day of Yom Kippur was the ‘Day of Atonement’ for the Jews. It is the holiest of the days in the Jewish calendar which all jews celebrate with their families. It was appreciated that during this day, the Bar Lev Line and other units would be at their lowest str.

(d) S Hr was 1400 Hr, which was made possible by the presence of the msl umbrella over the suez canal to ensure min Israeli air interference. Meteorologically too, it was a correct choice as October gave a clear 12 hrs night darkness besides tranquil wx conditions. In addn, the Jewish Sabbath and the sun blinding the defenders of the Bar Lev Line, the S Hr served both.

23. **Coord between President/ King and Officials.** Kautilya emphasized the imp of coord between the King and his counselors for a successful campaign. Anwar Sadat took his mil officials i.e., Gen Ahmed Ismail Ali, Cdr-in-chief of Egyptian armed forces, Lt Gen Saad el
Shazil and Lt Gen Mohammad El Gamasy on board while plg the mil ops. The complete ops was also planned in consonance with the Syrain ldr and mil officials.

24. **Cont of Army.** As mentioned in Arthashastra, the King must maint cont over his army by a variety of means. Anwar Sadat implemented certain measures to have strong hold over his armed forces as under:-

(a) Reduction of pol influence in armed forces by weeding out the senior and incompetent offrs with pol connections.

(b) Formulation and issuance of directives which defined the exact task of every soldier.

(c) Incorporation of high mil officials in plg the campaign.

(d) Moshe Dayan also incorporated certain measures to have cont over the army which incl a toughening up pgme for all the offrs and led them himself. Israeli offrs were trained to to live upto the motto ‘follow me’ which instilled a sense of resp among them and faith in their ldr.

25. **Deception.** Kautilya mentioned various means of a deceptive battle in Arthashastra which are crucial for a successful campaign. Anwar Sadat implemented certain measures to ensure deception before and during the campaign. Some are as under:-

(a) **Diplomatic Deception.** The natl security advisor vis Moscow, Bonn, London and Washington along with vis to UN HQ at New York with a peace proposal that never materialized. The foreign minister also vis New Delhi and Peking to gain sp for a peaceful settlement of the crisis. To world it appeared as if Sadat was looking for a peaceful settlement to the problems with Israel.

(b) **Russian Pull Out.** On 06 Jul 1972, President Sadat gave orders for Soviet technicians to leave Egypt by 17 Jul 1972. This incident not only shocked the Russians but also the Israelis whose belief for confirmed that the Egyptians could not go to war all by themselves.

(c) In Sep 1973, the newspapers carried a story that the Army was drawing up a list of offrs and men who wanted to perform the winter Haj pilgrimage at Mecca.
**REVISION QUESTIONS**

**Question No 1.** Explain diagrammatically/ using sketch, the famous Kautilyan ‘Circle of States’. Is the ‘circle of states’ applicable to both the Arab Israel wars? Comment.

**Question No 2.** Explain the process of transmission of intelligence obtained by the agents to the King.

**Question No 3.** Explain the calamities discussed by Kautilya which adversely affected effective functioning of the army.

**Question No 4.** Write a brief note on arrangements as proposed by Kautilya which are required to be made to protect the army against factors affecting its fighting strength.

**Question No 5.** Besides the clandestine agents working directly under the King, Kautilya has recommended some other agents. Briefly give out the role and modus operandi of these agents.

**Question No 6.** Kautilya has given certain tests to ascertain the integrity of ministers. Briefly describe these tests and bring out their relevance in the present day context.

**Question No 7.** As part of ‘Yom Kippur War’, explain how propaganda/ psy warfare was successfully emp by both warring sides.

**Question No 8.** List out the guiding principles of Kautilyan foreign policy. Compare it in light of the Arab and Israeli interests in the region.

**Question No 9.** Describe the six methods of implementing the foreign policy.

**Question No 10.** What are the four kinds of war as per Kautilya?

**Question No 11.** While describing the types of treaties, Kautilya discusses ‘Treaties without conditions’ and ‘Treaties with obligations’. Explain the types of treaties according to the nature of obligations.

**Question No 12.** While concluding treaties, the gain from a negotiation cannot be computed simply as mathematical calculation. Discuss the different concepts of treaties based on ‘Present and Future Gains’.

**Question No 13.** List out the six qualities of a ‘Best Ally’. The Arab Israel wars witnessed several attempts at waging war through alliances by the Arabs. Did the Arab alliances succeed? Comment with reasons.

**Question No 14.** Explain briefly the various factors to be considered while planning a campaign. Did the Arab forces keep these factors in mind during both wars?