

BUILDING GRAND STRATEGY WITH INDIAN CHARACTERISTICS FOR REBOUNDING INDIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper is an initial attempt to formulate a Grand Strategy for India by fusing the concepts taken from Kautilya's Arthashastra and Sriyantra, the epitome of India's triadic thought-structure. American grand strategy is symbolized by the image of spread-wing eagle and that of China by the Yin-Yang symbol. Sriyantra as a symbol for Indian grand strategy can complement these two symbols. Only by formulating appropriate grand strategy, India's national interest can be realized.

Keywords: Arthashastra, diamond path, eagle, harmony, mandala, *parabellum*, Sriyantra, strategic culture, strategic preference, Superficial Friendship Theory, Yin Yang.

INTRODUCTION

There is a veritable explosion of debates worldwide about grand strategy of major players. While the U.S. and China have been resettling their strategic focus in an uncertain and fast-changing post-western world (dis)-order, Indian think tanks have been struggling over the debate as to whether India has a strategic culture and how to formulate a grand strategy for India for the coming decades.

GRAND STRATEGY AND STRATEGIC CULTURE

What is a grand strategy? For imperial Spain, the grand strategy of maintaining colonial empire for own prosperity was control of colonies, gold bullion and its uninterrupted circulation in global market during 16th century. France utilized its comparatively large population to build huge standing army to retain mastery over the continent. Britain used the uninterrupted trade of tea, opium and bullion across the global supply chain to derive primacy. To safeguard the global trade, it built a strong navy on the strength of solid industrial base, while followed the strategy of maintaining the balance of power in Europe. This prevented any continental power to unite Europe and build a fleet strong enough to challenge British supremacy in the sea. Britain used every means and successfully prevented emergence of any hegemonic power in Europe for more than a century.

The U.S. inherited the global hegemony, British possessions as well as the grand strategy from the British after the end of the Second World War. The U.S. built strong navy to control the sea and ensured that no hegemonic power emerge in Eurasia. The US followed the grand strategy of 'containment' against the Iron curtain of communism. This was a catchy phrase though effectively it was the old 'balance of power' strategy whose theatre was made wider from Europe to Eurasia. Creation of rimland alliance and taking benefit of Sino-Soviet split to effectively end a strong hegemonic

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contender, Soviet Union, was based upon this grand strategy.

Barry Posen succinctly puts grand strategy as "a state's theory about how it can best cause security for itself."¹ While earlier western writers on strategy focused more on military aspect of security, the non-military aspect was often ignored in formulating the grand strategy for a state. The foremost western exponent on military strategy, Carl von Clausewitz in his magnum opus, *On War (Vom Kriege)*(1832), explained strategy as the use or threat of force "to achieve the military objectives, and by extension, the political purpose of war."² But, it was the British war historian Basil H. Liddell Hart who introduced the term 'grand strategy' in academic discourse. Liddell Hart described the role of grand strategy as to "coordinate and direct all the resources of a nation, or a band of nations, towards attainment of the political object of the war- the goal defined by fundamental policy."³

Grand strategy renders the use of violence and war redundant. War becomes the necessity of the last resort and undertaken only with the maximum chance of victory. John M. Collins sums up, "Grand Strategy if successful alleviates any need for violence. Equally important, it looks beyond victory towards a lasting peace... Grand Strategy controls military strategy, which is only one of its elements."⁴

The grand strategy is basically implemented to achieve objective in pursuit of national interest with war as the last and an unavoidable option. Kantian 'perpetual peace' can be established through proper practice of grand strategy by major players. A grand strategy is the broadest approach of a state that includes military, political and normative means to achieve national objectives. It is sweeping in expanse and synthesis at the highest order. The grand strategy ought to include assessment of current military hard power, economic strength, geographical advantages and the soft power of the state vis-a vis various other competing players. The assessment ought to anticipate the dynamic behaviors of these other powers in a changing international system. In a way, expression of national interest which may vary from nation to nation depending upon its particular geography, unique history, domestic resource base, domestic polity, interest of other actors and the normative structure. Christopher Layne states that grand strategy "must be grounded in a conception of the national interest". Thinking in terms of national interest improves the quality of statecraft by forcing decision makers to ask the right questions- about the relations of ends to means, about what is desirable- when they formulate grand strategy."⁵

Kautilya in the *Arthashastra* lists threefold duties of a ruler in the internal administration which provides a useful tool to discern the national interest. These are *raksha* (protection from external aggression), *palana*(maintenance of law and order) and *yogakshema*(safeguarding the well being of people). But, nations do not work only for the material prosperity. The rulers as well as people are driven by the desire for 'recognition'. Socrates described this drive of "spiritedness" as *thymos*. It is the willingness to risk one's life for the sake of a "value". It is the psychological aggregate around one's self, the sense of self-esteem. Francis Fukuyama describes the term as "that part of man which feels the need to place *value* on things-himself in the first instances but as the people, actions, or things around him as well. It is the part of the personality which is the fundamental source of the emotions-pride, anger and shame, and is not reducible to desire, on the one hand, or reason on the other."⁶ History has been propelled by not mere material needs but by the forceful actors who longed to recover self and the group's self-esteem either by challenging the hegemony or by undertaking expedition for establishing control over other states.

In Indian tradition, the idea of self-recognition is enshrined under the term '*Gaurav*', '*samman*'. Therefore, I will add 'dignity' to the list delineated by Kautilya in his prescient examination of the national interest in the *Arthashastra*. This "four-fold X...ity"- Security, Prosperity, Stability, Dignity- is the minimal national interest for any political entity.⁷ Acronym SSPD can be stated to be a universal presence among the policy makers as the grand strategic ends. Each end is achieved by pursuing different means.

Alastair Iain Johnston argues that the states pursue three ideal grand strategic means of security-- accomodationist, defensive and offensive expansionist.⁸ In actual practice, the grand strategy is a proper combinatorics of all the three means to achieve security at minimal cost. This is the Fermat principle for national security. Grand strategy can be viewed as the highest level of synthesis to achieve objectives effectively in accordance with the national interest at minimal cost. It ought to synthesize internal and external dimensions and all other factors in making an intellectual assessment of multi-vector dynamics of a state ; identifying the ends, means and the institutional responsibilities to achieve the ends and later on to perpetuate the attainment .

Achieving security in an anarchic world is the foremost concern for Realists. The classical realists posit for competitive and unilateral strategies for nations after considering the fact that pursuit of maximization of power is rooted in the human

nature of greed itself. Neo-realists substitute human nature with the uncertainty in international system and uneven distribution of material capabilities and argue for realpolitik behavior of these states. The State prefers any of the three strategic means to make itself secure. Johnston has elaborated how a consistent hard realpolitik behavior (*parabellum*) can be ideationally rooted. Johnston termed such behavior as 'cultural realism' as a third explanation for realpolitik behavior. Johnston puts strategic culture as the determinant of the realist behavior at a higher pedestal than either the anarchical structure of international system or the human nature in the classical realist's position. The propensity of a state to pursue either of the accommodationist, defensive and offensive/expansionist policy is rooted in the strategic culture, Johnston argues. Johnston's examination of ideational sources of strategic choices has a huge fan following among Indian strategic community.

This has brought the theme of strategic culture in the discourse over strategic choices. In the early 1980s, the Soviet and the U.S. behaviour were generalized through strategic culture concept. Colin Gray described how the Soviet military was said to exhibit a preference for preemptive, offensive use of force that was deeply rooted in Russia's military history of external expansionism, and internal autocracy, while the U.S. tended to exhibit tendency towards a sporadic, messianic and crusading use of force that was deeply rooted in the moralism of the early Republic and in a fundamental belief that warfare was an aberration in human relations.⁹ Johnston summed up such ideationally-rooted strategic disposition under the analytic category of 'strategic culture'. Johnston further borrowed the idea of the famous cultural anthropologist, Clifford Geertz. Geertz viewed culture as a "system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitude towards life."¹⁰ Based upon Geertz's ideational interpretation of culture, Johnston paraphrased Geertz's definition of religion as cultural system, to define strategic culture as "*an integrated system of symbols (e.g. argumentation structures, languages, analogies, metaphors) which act to establish pervasive and long-lasting strategic preferences by formulating concepts of the role and efficacy of military force in interstate political affairs, and by clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the strategic preferences seem uniquely realistic and efficacious.*"¹¹

Johnston argues that structural conditions play at best a secondary role in determining the strategic preferences of states. He compares strategic behaviour of democratic and non-democratic states placed in a similar anarchic international environment. The democratic states behave differently for the democratic and non-democratic opponents. The maxim that 'liberal democracies' do not go to war with each other has also been elucidated by Fukuyama in his path-breaking work, *The End of History* (1992).

Johnston developed a central paradigm of strategic culture to explain varying strategic preferences of accommodation, defense or offense. Johnston seeks out the empirical referent of a strategic culture to a "limited, ranked set of grand-strategic preferences that is consistent across the object of analysis (e.g. textual sources for potential answer to the central paradigm) and persistent across time."¹² Without a preference ranking, there will be wide spectrum of strategies in a nation's history and that would cause policy conundrum. A strategic culture can be said to exist and persist if one finds consistency in preference rankings across objects of analysis from formative historical periods upto the period under examination.¹³

Another political scientist argues that a state's range of strategic choices (and its preferred choice from this range) is set by specific images and metaphors about the strategic environment at time.¹⁴

Strategic culture refers to such collectively held preferences and shared cultural artifacts like specific image and metaphor. Strategic culture is also reflected in symbols which act as 'mental aids' to make complex environment more manageable. Johnston suggests that "analysis of symbols in strategic texts may reveal a great deal about how strategic axioms in a text might be interpreted behaviourally that is, what sorts of strategic preference rankings are constituted by these axioms."¹⁵

Can we discern the Great Seals (*mahamudra*) that signify the ideational root of strategic behaviour of major powers?

EAGLE AND THE AMERICAN GRAND STRATEGY

Geography shapes to a large extant, the strategic behaviour of a country. The US is secure with oceanic moats on both flanks. The Pacific and the Atlantic oceans are the natural guards for the U.S. This removes the security anxiety that other major powers have to face from threatening neighbours. The doctrine of Manifest Destiny led the U.S. to expand from a union of 13 states on the Atlantic coast to stretch to the Pacific coast. In 1823, Monroe doctrine was promulgated thereby limiting the European intervention in the western hemisphere. Once secure in the homeland and with entrenched regional hegemony in a power-vacuum western hemisphere, the U.S. could afford to launch itself for extra-regional hegemony.

American grand strategy over last two centuries has been one of expansionism and multiplying the hegemony over as many extra-regions as necessary. In the name of containment strategy, the U.S. in fact further established extra-regional hegemony over the Persian Gulf and East Asia.

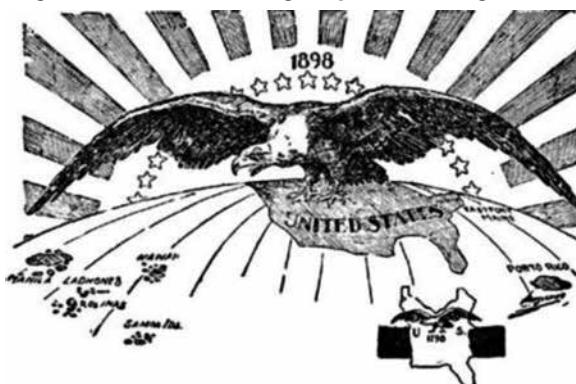
In the decade following the end of the Cold war, the debate in the U.S. turned shriller while seeking a grand strategy to replace containment strategy pursued against the Communist bloc during the Cold War. Posen and Ross examined four competing grand strategies in the essay, '*Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy*'.¹⁶ These are: neo-isolationism, selective engagement, cooperative security and primacy. But, in an inter-dependent world of global economy and limited availability of critical resources, neo-isolationism and selective engagement is virtually ruled out. The primacy as a grand strategy has led the U.S. to current state of imperial overstretches. In an interdependent world, cooperative security does appear a viable option, but a hegemon merely cloaks its hegemonic ambition under the cloak of 'cooperative security.' The proponent of cooperative security like G. John Ikenberry has gained some leverage with the administration by pinpointing the process of 'liberal order building' as the framework for the cooperative security.¹⁷ Subsequently, the U.S. navy issued the strategy paper, "*A Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower*" in October, 2007.

Christopher Layne provides a critique of primacy as grand strategic choice and advocated the grand strategy of off-shore balancing. He argues that the 'historical record shows that hegemonic grand strategies invariably have proved self-defeating. Because they result in counter-hegemonic balancing and /or imperial overstretch..... instead of pursuing extra-regional hegemony, the United States should have followed an offshore grand strategy.'¹⁸ In fact, offshore balancing strategy is another name for the balance of power system. The U.S. creates an extra-regional balance of power system among major powers of Eurasia without fitting itself in the strategic calculus. This gives the US choice to preserve the decisive power and indulge in perpetual edge for the U.S. power. Through such a macro-system, the US influences the outcome of any state or combination of state by aligning or opposing any nation or group of nations. The U.S. continues to prevent the rise of a hegemonic regional power in Eurasia and maintains its grip freely over the global commons particularly the oceanic trade routes.

The hegemonic grand strategy of the U.S. can be symbolized majestically by the image of spread-wing eagle. This image is ubiquitous in American institutions and the political discourse. The cover of the U.S. constitution itself contains this imagery. The coins in the U.S. bear this image. American passports have this image as the seal. The insignia worn by U.S. navy and military have eagle images. The National security Agency and the CIA's logo contain this image. In fact, the spread-wing eagle signifies the American strategic culture. Two wings are the two oceans of the Atlantic and the Pacific. The eagle seeks dominance with bare claws. Thus, the pervasive influence of this imagery influences the policy makers in the U.S. to naturalize tendency for seeking extra-regional hegemony and pursue expansionism as a natural right.

Figure 1: Great Seal of the US



Figure 2: American Eagle Spreads Wing (1898)

In the evolving dynamics in Asia, China is viewed as a serious threat to the U.S. hegemony. The U.S. is trying to materialize a balance of power system in East Asia by building a community of democracies involving India, Japan, South Korea, Singapore and Vietnam. An Asian IPTO (Indo-Pacific Treaty Organization) is on anvil. This will complement with the expanding NATO in Western Europe and the South Atlantic. Simultaneously, the U.S. has launched creation of two meso- architectures for trans-regional economic blocs- Trans-Atlantic Partnership (TAP) scheme and Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). The US has put Atlanticists like Charles Timothy "Chuck" Hagel and John Kerry on forefront to reinvigorate the Atlantic alliance and referring to Obama's Pacific origin to stitch a strong military alliance in the Pacific. In a way, it is the recursion of the two-ocean strategy that the US is pursuing since Manifest Destiny days. This is the grand strategy of *geopolitical double-facing* for deepening global hegemony.

Thus, the US grand strategy can be visualized as the image of a spread-wing eagle preparing to prey upon new territories as well as the best resources with bare claws.

YIN YANG SYMBOL AS THE EPITOME OF CHINESE GRAND STRATEGY

As China climbs up the Comprehensive National Power(CNP) ladder to emerge as a significant player in international affairs, there is clamor to portray China as an offensive power that aims to usurp the current international system. While many Chinese scholars deliberate upon the ethical and normative strand in the Chinese Strategic culture, cultural realist like Alastair Iain Johnston describes how among two dominant strategic cultures in China- one derived from Confucian-Mencian paradigm that places non-violent, accommodationist grand strategies before violent defensive or offensive ones- and a *parabellum* or hard realpolitik , paradigm which generally places offensive strategies before static defense and accommodationist strategies; there has been a consistence preference for the latter. Johnston explains that the *parabellum* strategic culture persists across China's multiple transitions.¹⁹ Andrew Scobell argues that contemporary Chinese policy is heavily influenced by China's ancient and enduring civilization and the interaction between a Confucian strand and a realpolitik tradition has produced a paradoxical '*Chinese Cult of Defence*' -in which even offensive force is resorted to by providing a 'defensive' moral rationale.²⁰

Tiejun Zhang characterizes Chinese grand strategy as one of 'cultural moralism'. This entails "prolonged habit or practice of moralizing and a persistent emphasis on morality, exemplified by Confucian belief on virtue (*de*), benevolence (*ren*) and righteousness (*yi*) as basic norms in maintaining domestic order and conducting security strategy."²¹

Wu Chunqiu, a veteran military scholar at the Chinese Academy of Military Science(AMS) mentions in his book, *On the Grand Strategy*, that China's ancient strategists , never advocated relying only on military power to conquer the enemy; but emphasized combining military power with the non-military power related to war in order to get the upper hand.²²

These two different approaches finds synthesis in the works of Professor Yan Xuetong of Tsinghua University, China. Professor Yan is a hardcore realist but he emphasizes on righteousness, peace and humane authority as the grand strategic ends. He derives the nature of three type of international leadership for states from Xunzi's writings-humane authority (*wang*), hegemony (*ba*) and tyranny (*qiang*). The threefold typology of political rule leads to different result for the international system. While true kingship or the humane authority leads to a stable international order, hegemony establishes hierarchies and symmetries, and the international order oscillates between stability (relationship between the

hegemon and its allies) and chaos (confrontation between hegemon and its opponents). Tyranny will inevitably lead to disaster and decline.²³

Yan Xuetong further mentions that a state can achieve humane authority only after developing sufficient material power and behaving in accordance with international norms that are accepted by the majority of countries. Humane authority attracts allies. But, hegemon practices a foreign policy according to international norms only for own allies and power politics as a principle for dealing with its enemies. A tyranny is a state that uses military force to protect their self interest at the expense of other. Humane authority does not indulge in double standards. Yan Xuetong recommends China to give up its non-alliance principle started in 1982 so as to increase the number of allies and evolve as a humane authority by undertaking greater international responsibility and offering moral and strong leadership. In fact, Chinese leadership pursued diligently Deng Xiaoping's 24-characters strategy since early 1990s: 'observe calmly; secure own position; cope with affairs calmly; hide our capacities and bide our time; be good at maintaining a low profile; and never claim leadership (*tao guang yang hui, you suo zuo wei*). Such statecraft on maintaining a low-profile was beneficial for peaceful rise of China to some extent but also puts a question mark over China's hidden intentions. To minimize the growing mistrust between China and the U.S.; Yan Xuetong proposed the idea of 'cooperation without mutual trust'. Mutual trust can result from long-term cooperation. He refers to the phrase, 'neither-friend-nor-enemy' (*fei di fei you*) which became widely accepted by experts in the U.S. and China to describe the new kind of unstable relationship between the two countries. Yan Xuetong and Qi Haixia theorize such a highly volatile relationship, apparent in shifts between good and bad periods, as "*Superficial Friendship*".²⁴ In such a superficial friendship relationship, strategic competitors learn to develop strategic partnership.

China finds itself growing peacefully in such an atmosphere of unstable relationship. In fact, neither cultural moralism nor cultural realism; neither offensive realism nor defensive realism can properly explain China's strategic thinking. We have seen how Chinese policy has now shifted from Deng's 'low profile' (*tao guang yang hui, you suo zuo wei*) to Xi Jinping's formulation in January, 2014 about "proactive and to excel" (*fen fa you wei*).

This is the unstable dynamics inherent in Chinese thinking symbolized by the Yin-Yang pair. Just as Yin and Yang are interdependent and mutually interpenetrate, Chinese grand strategy can be seen as harnessing the Yin-Yang philosophy of dynamic instability in the relationship. Yin and Yang are distinctively Chinese in its fundamental principles and cannot be comprehended through Western thinking. Yin-Yang symbols represents perfect balance. The opposites interact and in the process the seed of all things germinate. Evil results from an imbalance in Yin and Yang, and good arise from the harmonic balance of the two. It is impossible to have one without its opposite. For example, night (*Yin*) and day (*Yang*) form a Yin-Yang pair. But, it is impossible to have one without the other. Both co-exist and co-dependent in a totality. This principle is expressed in the Yin-Yang symbol by placing the seed of the opposite within the diagram. The small dots within Yin-Yang pair (represented by black and white) symbolize that there is seed of Yin (black) within Yang (white) and seed of Yang within Yin. Nothing is absolute with Yin and Yang. The designation of something as Yin or Yang is always relative to some other thing. Yin can transform into Yang under certain conditions as there is seed of Yang within Yin-part. This is how night paves way for the day, heat for cold and so on. In such a dynamic balance, the relationship goes beyond balance to one of harmony. This also captures the Buddhist momenatriness of constant cyclical flux.

Figure 3: Yin-Yang symbol



Thus, in Superficial Friendship Theory, friendship carries the seed of discord and the enmity that of friendship. The Chinese theorists focus more on harmony and not on balance of power. There is a vast discourse on Harmonious Neighbourhood (*hexie goujian*), Harmonious Asia (*hexie Yaxiya*) and Harmonious World (*hexie shijie*) since Chinese President Hu Jintao embarked upon the theme of Harmony (*he*) during his U.S. trip in October, 2006. Cooperation (*hezuo*) and harmony (*hexie*) has become dominant theme in the Chinese strategic debates which clearly springs from the Yin-Yang philosophy. The western strategic discourse is focused on "rebalancing", "calibrating the balances", "balance of power" and clearly misses the essence of Chinese strategic culture.

While Cold War was an open strategic competition between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. and attained degree of stability, the Chinese strategists favour instability in the relationship so that the same does not turn into open competition. They also advocate certain degree of competition realizing that often such healthy competition mediated through norms would pave way for cooperation in accordance with the Yin-Yang principle. Forging relationships even without trust finally creates a hierarchical structure based upon material capability and China can exercise leadership in the name of humane authority with minimal operational cost and loss of precious human lives. Yin-Yang symbolizes China's grandest of the grand strategies. The *parabellum* and Confucian-Mencian paradigm are fused unto a fluctuating relationship. While opening up, China is building a "Great Wall of Alliances" with Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) on west flank, Russia-China-Mongolia (RCM) Cooperation in the north, ASEAN +3 on the eastern flank and is trying to get entry in the SAARC on its southern tier. China's objective has been not to stabilize relationships even across this emerging Great Wall of Alliances. In stability is China's defeat. The Yin-Yang dynamism alone can bring rejuvenation to the Chinese state and society, as per the debates raging among the Chinese strategists.

DOES INDIA HAVE A GRAND STRATEGY?

Does India have a grand strategy? Indian government doesn't articulate a 'grand strategy' like the U.S. which bring out its National security Strategy at regular interval. But, absence of an articulated grand strategy doesn't mean that India does not have a grand strategy. Though, George K. Tanham wrote in his essay, *Indian Strategic Thought*²⁵ that India has produced little formal strategic thinking and planning. He provides three reasons for the same:

1. India lacked political unity throughout most of its history. The few brief periods of imperial unity depended on the will and power of a great leader.
2. Hindu concept of time in which there is little sense of history and future. This discourages planning.
3. Hindu view of life as unknowable and not entirely under man' control. This discourages strategy and planning.²⁶

Tanham's essay led to Indian response. But, even after two decades, there is no clear cut articulation about an Indian grand strategy. There are competing visions but those are couched in the metaphors and rhetoric and completely lack any empirical data, typologies and modeling. India' leading government think tank, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA) in New Delhi organized two day conference on "*India's Grand Strategic Thought*" from 8-10 September, 2010. The papers presented have been just released in a book form under the title, "*India's Grand Strategy: History, Theory, Cases*"²⁷. One of the editors, Professor Kanti Bajpai argues about three major schools of thought in Indian strategic thinking- Nehruvians, Neoliberals and Hyper-realists. Bajpai argues that the core values remain common to all, but strategies differ. Hyper-realists emphasize upon military strength for the state to look after its interest in a dangerous, anarchic world and draw inspiration from western thinkers on war and strategy like Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Morgenthau as well as Kautilya's Arthashastra. Neoliberals posit for the primacy of economics in international relation. Nehruvians believed in security in peace and war by means of regional co-operation and non-alignment. In fact, Bajpai is transposing western arguments in Indian context without delving into the issue of Indian strategic culture rooted in its history and culture or building IR theory with Indian characteristics. He doesn't go for any empirical analysis and it becomes difficult to gain any useful insight from the arguments of political philosophy dating back to a period before the post-modernist and post-post-modernist turn. The arguments and the terminologies put forward by him are not entirely new. He presented the same theme before an august audience in the year 2000, while delivering 17th P.C. Lal Memorial lecture upon the subject, "*Nuclear policy: Grand Strategy and Political Values in India*". Unlike Professor Yan Xuetong, Wu Chunqiu and their contemporaries in China, no strategic calculus for India derived from Indian thinking has been attempted. Though, India's National Security Adviser, Shiv Shankar Menon coined a moniker, "*strategic autonomy*" and "*non-alignment as flexible realism*" to reason about India's grand strategy, while paying tribute to the doyen of Indian strategic community, K. Subramanian, the generalized undefined concept doesn't hold much water.

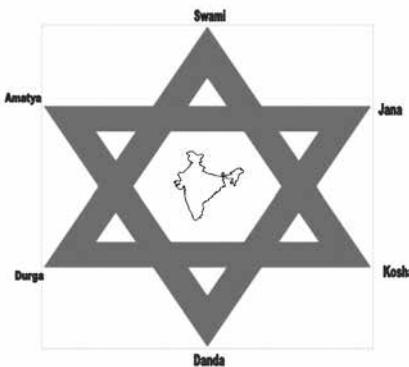
Rhetoric cannot be the substitute for hardcore ideas. What is required is to delve deep into India's history and study the classical texts, decipher the dominant cultural symbols that influenced strategic behaviour of the Kings and their ministers. One needs to dig for specific symbols and metaphors shared simultaneously during the period of external aggression against a territory. India has been a hunting ground for the invaders from the land and the sea for thousands of years and it still retains political unity to a large extent. What is that which keeps India secure, stable and persistent in renewal?

Geographer Schwartzberg concludes that only 9 out of 63 major powers of Indian subcontinent in the period between 60 B.C. and 1976 A.D. can be characterized as pan-Indian.²⁸ These nine pan-Indian powers were as follow: Mauryas, Guptas, Rashtrakutas, Khiljis, Tughlaqs, Mughals, Marathas, British India and the present Republic of India. All these pan-Indian powers were centered in areas that are today a part of the Indian republic. This clearly indicates that inspite of partition, the core of Indian subcontinent is intact and the severing of peripheries on two flanks (Pakistan and Bangladesh) might prove to be a transient event. This "something" that binds India and let it rebound time and again inspite of periodic invasions must be ideational since the external environment has changed many a times. Can we discern this "*ideational something*" by rereading Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, the grandest of classical text on science of State?

SECRET OF KAUTILYA'S ARTHASHASTRA: TRIADIC THINKING

Critics accuse Indian realists of pursuing a hyperrealist policy based upon Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. Kautilya predate Machiavelli by more than a millennium. The *Arthashastra* is a magnum opus on statecraft. It elaborates the *Saptanga* theory of the State and the *Shadgunya* policy for conducting diplomacy. The *Saptanga* theory describes the 'constituting principles of organizing the state.'²⁹ The state has seven elements (*prakrittiya*)- *Swamin*(king), *Amatyā*(minister), *janapada* (people and territory), *durga*(fort), *kosha*(treasure) , *danda*(armed force) and *mitra*(alliance). Since alliance is merely external relationship, the basic internal constituents of a State are only six according to the *Arthashastra*. *Amatyā* in the contemporary context will refer to institutions. The six-fold internal constituents of the State can be represented through a hexagram.

Figure 4: Hexagram of Six Prakrittiya



The King's duties in the internal administration is three-fold: *raksha*(protection from external attack), *palana*(maintenance of law and order), and *yogakshema*(welfare of people).³⁰ Applying the principles of *Arthashastra*, the Mauryan Empire sought a balance of the triad of *artha-dharma-kama*.³¹ This has been termed as the *trivarga* of *purushartha* by Kautilya himself.

In fact, the whole *Arthashastra* is an elaboration of three-folded truth:

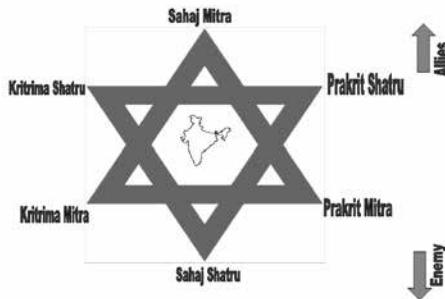
- *Sukhasya Mulah Dharmah*: The root cause of happiness is the righteous duties(*Arthashastra*, Chapter I.1)
- *Dharmasya mulamartha*: The root of dharma lies in prosperity and wealth. (*Arthashastra*, Chapter I.2)
- *Arthasya mulam rajyam*: The root of prosperity lies in the stability of State. (*Arthashastra*, Chapter I.3)

Thus, without peace and political stability, there cannot be prosperity and *aishwarya*. Only a wealthy and prosperous society can devote energy in the pursuit of righteous living. Without righteous life, one cannot attain happiness. Thus, most of the commentators miss the essence in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* when they claim Kautilya to be a hyperrealist who advocates all form of duplicity and stratagem in pursuit of power and domination.

It is a selective reading of *Arthashastra* when foreign scholars criticize the Indian thinking as that of treating neighbors as enemy by focusing on *mandala* theory. But, the *mandalas* are not geographical, rather conceptual. There is no white and black theory of treating all neighbours as enemies in the *Arthashastra*. The peaceful and prosperous neighbourhood for stability of the state is a major theme in the work. Like Xunzi, Kautilya emphasizes that alliances strengthen a state.³² Kautilya want the king to develop good relationship with neighbouring king so that an enemy does not get foothold in the neighbourhood.

Kautilya divides states into a complex triad system-normal states, middle (*madhyama*) state and neutral (*udasina*) state. Normal states can either be a friend (*mitra*) or enemy (*shatru*). *Mitra* is of three kind: *sahaj mitra*(Natural friendship established through blood relationship or matrimonial alliances), *kritrima mitra*(acquired through obligations and favours done) and *prakrita mitra*(neighbouring kingdoms which are having common interest with the particular kingdom). Similarly, there is a triad typology for the category of enemy (*shatru*) - *sahaj shatru*(natural enemies among relatives), *kritrima shatru*(created due to breach of obligations) and *prakrita shatru*(neighbouring states with competing interest). If one represents *mitra*- triad as an up triangle and *shatru*- triad as a down triangle, and interlocks them around the individual king, a hexagonal *mandala* is generated. This is the Star of David held so sacred by the Jews and a symbol of spiritual significance in India. This is the backbone of the Sriyantra, the king of all geometrical designs used in religious ritual and spiritual practices in India from time immemorial.

Figure 5: Typology of Friend/ Enemy triads



We find various triads all through the book. The war itself is to be launched in three ways: open war (*prakashayuddha*), secret war (*kutayuddha*) and silent war (*gudayuddha*). There are three kinds of neighbours – hostile (*aribhavi*), friendly (*mitrabhavi*) and vassal (*bhrithbhavi*). The aggressor is one of the three kind- righteous (*dharmaik*), greedy (*lobhi*) and tyrannical (*atyachari*) and appear to be resonating Xunzi's thought during the same period.

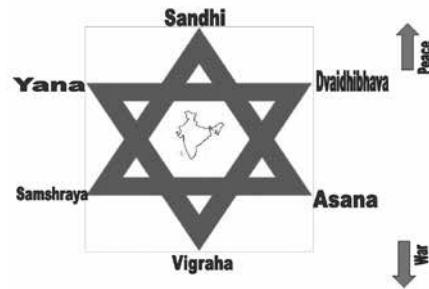
I have discussed in my book, *Sriyantra and the Geophilosophy of India*³³ that triadic thinking is rooted in Indian geography itself. This is the geophilosophical realism. Since India has a perfect triangular peninsula, this landscape had profound influence over Indian thought-structure. Indian mind is encapsulated in triadic thinking that possibly stems from the geophilosophical domain. The Vedas are three; also termed TriVedas-Rik, Sam, Yajur. Atharveda was a later development and still not debated along with the early tri-Vedas. The Reality is believed to be tri-*gunatamak*- composed of three gunas-*sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. The fires are three- *surya*(sun), *soma*(moon) and the *agni/vahn*(fire). The fire in social world are three- *ahvaniyagni*(sacrificial), *Garhapatiyagni*(household) and *dakshinagni* (crematory). There are three powers of Shakti- *Iccha*(will), *jnana*(knowledge) and *kriya*(action). Similarly, there are three lokas- *bhuh*(earth), *bhuvah*(space), *svah*(heaven)three padas of Gayatri(Tripadi); three bodies- *sthula*(gross), *sukshma*(subtle) and *akarana*(causal); three state of speech-*Pasyanti*, *Madhyama*, *Vaikhari*; three state of consciousness- sleeping, dreaming and waking; three kinds of breath-*prana-apana,samana*; three nadis of the highest path-*sunshumna*, *Pingala*, *Ida*; three-fold classification of kala- *bhuta*(past), *vartman*(present), *bhavishya*(future).

Another Indian concept has been the analogy of reflection. It is how sacred- complexes duplicate. There are innumerable Gangas and the Govardhanas. When an entity and its mirror-image (opposite) interlock, there is fullness of existence. This lies at the root of tantras where male and female energies as the opposites enter into conjunction. When a triangle interlocks with its mirror-image, this creates the *shatcakra*(Star of David). In the *shatcakra*, the conjunction also creates six secondary triangles i.e. three times more triangles than the original number. Thus, the structure duplicates and multiplies and signifies the growth. It is why the *shatcakra* is employed to propitiate the divinity or prosperity. The *shatcakra* also emerged as a significant ideogram for subsequent Indian thinking and spread across various realm.

The sacred geography of India contains references to the six mountain range – Himavat, Hemakuta, Nishadha, Nila, Sweta and Sringavat stretching over the *Jambudvipa*. The division between mountain ranges is called Varshas. Present day India is known as Bharat *Varsha*. Hindu system of philosophy has six principal system- samkhya, yoga, Nyaya, Vaisesika, Mimamsa and Vedanta. The triVedas have six Vedangas. But, the six-foldedness appear to govern the psychological realm more than the material realm. There are six cakras (mystical subtle circles) inside the body which a Yogi intends to pierce to realize the divinity. The seasons are cyclic but also a psychological experience. Therefore, there are six seasons (*shadritu*) - *Basant*, *Grishma*, *Varsha*, *Sharad*, *hemant* and *Shishir*. There are six passions collectively- *kama*, *mala*, *mana*, *lobha*, *harsha* and *rusha*.

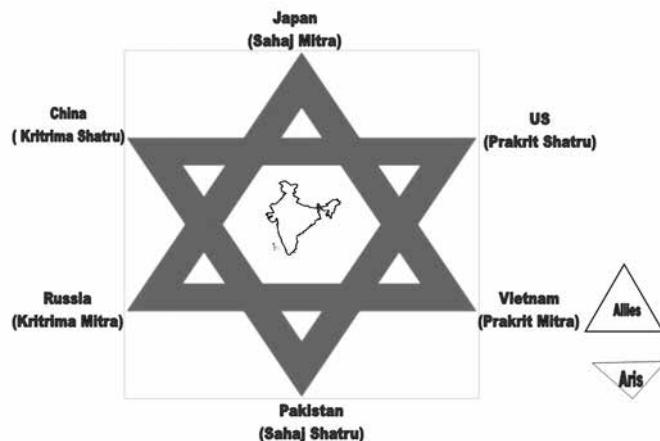
Since foreign policy depends upon psychological perception of the intentions of friends and enemies as well as the psychological make up of the actor himself, Kautilya propounded the theory of *shadgunya*(six-fold policy) for the king to apply to the elements of his circle of states. The *shadgunya* policy comprises *sandhi*(peace/alliance), *vigraha*(enmity/war), *asana* (inaction so that things fizzles out), *yana*(preparation for war), *samshraya*(seeking protection of a powerful state when threatened by a powerful enemy) and *dvaividhibhava*(dual policy). The *shadgunya* policy can be represented through a *shatcakra*.

Figure 6: Typology of *Shadgunya* foreign policy



A *shatcakra* can also be built for two triads of different friends and enemies by interlocking an up and down triangle. We can design a shatcakra for India in current strategic environment. Three kind of friends for India can be as follow: Japan (*sahaja mitra*), Russia (*kritrima mitra*), Vietnam (*prakrit mitra*). Similarly, three kinds of enemies can be identified as Pakistan (*sahaj shatru*), China (*kritrima shatru*) and the U.S. (*prakrita shatru*). The U.S. has been kept in the typology of enmity due to the very nature of *matasya-nyaya* in international relations. The US is hegemonic and bound to have inimical relationship with a rising major power like India. Since the U.S. is rebalancing focus towards Indian Ocean, the U.S. ought to be counted as a power in the geographical proximity like a *prakrita* enemy.

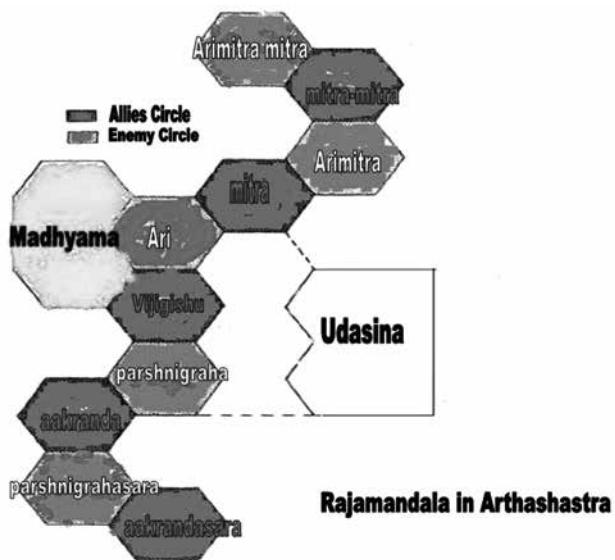
Figure 7: *Shatcakra* of India's Primary Friends and Enemies



RAJAMANDALA AND SRIYANTRA

Kautilya developed a complex theory of foreign policy, *Rajamandala*- the circle of kings. It is to emphasize again that by visualizing concentric mandala, most of the commentators wrongly interpret that in the *Rajamandala*, all neighboring states are to be treated as enemies or potential enemy. The neighboring states can be friends, enemies as well as the Middle states(*madhyama*). There are 12 States constituting a *Rajamandala* each with six elements (*swami, amatya, janapada, durg, kosha and danda*). Thus, there are 72 elements that are to be factored in while formulating a grand strategy for a conqueror state (*vijigishu*). Twelve states are named as follow: *Vijigishu*(conqueror state/ self), *ari*(enemy), *mitra*(friend), *arimitra*(enemy's friend), *mitra-mitra*(friend's friend), *arimitra-mitra* (enemy's friend's friend), *parshnigraha*(enemy in the rear), *aakranda*(friend in the rear), *parshnigraha-sara*(friend of rear enemy), *aakranda-sara*(friend of rear friend), *madhyama*(middle king) and *Udasina*(neutral state). *Madhyama* is the state sharing border with both the *Vijigishu* state and the prime enemy and also more powerful than either of them. *Udasina* is more powerful than the *madhyama* but geographically distant from the *Vijigishu*. Their relationship is represented through the Figure 8 below:

Figure 8 : Rajamandala in Arthashastra



We can take up the case of India. Pakistan can be put in the category of *sahaj shatru*(fraternal enmity). China is the *madhyama* since it share the border with both India and Pakistan and also more powerful than each of them. The U.S. is distant from India and in Indo-Pak relationship, pursues a policy of neutrality. The U.S. is also more powerful than the *madhyama*, China. Thus, the U.S. fits the definition of *udasina* state for India.

In this *rajamandala*, one can notice that there are five enemy state and four friendly states, one middle state and one, the most powerful and yet the neutral state. If we follow the triadic representation for friends and enemies, we can decode the *rajamandala* with fresh insight. Five enemy triangles and four friendly triangles if interlock, the process will generate the Sriyantra, the King of the mandalas. In a Sriyantra, these nine primary triangles produce 43 secondary triangles and the gain is almost 4 times in the number of triangles. This is much more productive as self-replicating design than even a *shatcakra*. In a Sriyantra, four circles of secondary triangles are enclosed by an eight-petaled and sixteen petaled enclosure. If we synthesize Kautilya's *rajamadala* idea with the Sriyantra geometry, the grand strategy of India might emerge as an ideogram.

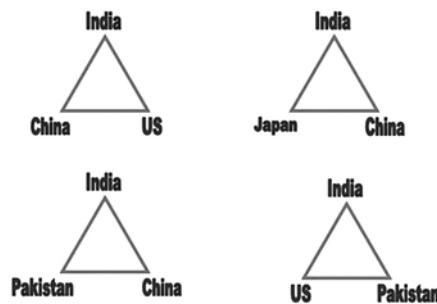
In fact, the *Arthashastra* itself is a salutation to the Goddess *Sri*. The very first verse of *Arthashastra* refers to the *Sri* as the Goddess of prosperity.³⁴ Throughout the book, the reference has been made to the Goddess *Sri* and *Sri* as a sign of prosperity. The book exhorts vigorous and courageous act as the way to obtain the blessings of goddess *Sri*. *Artha* is used as a double entendre – wealth and territory. *Sri* is the Goddess of the *artha* in both meanings. Thus, fusion of Sriyantra model and the *Arthashastra* concepts are very natural.

Influence of triadic thinking is evident on Indian strategic thinking. India always plans by taking into account

triad of relationship-India-China-Pakistan, India-U.S.-China, India, U.S.-Pakistan, India-China-Japan, India-Pakistan-Afghanistan, India-SriLanka-China, India-Russia- U.S.

Figure 9 : Triads in Indian Strategic planning

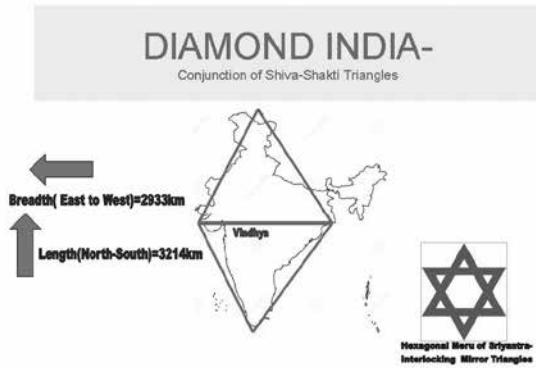
Triadic Thinking in Contemporary Indian Strategy



This stems from Indian Geography. Indian geography as pointed out earlier in the paper is not only triangular but an un-interlocked superimposition of two opposit triangles. Two geographical triangles touch at around the Vindhyas and give Indian geography the look of a 'diamond'. George K. Tanham rightly observed this appearance in his study of Indian strategic thought:

*"The Himalayas and the Hindukush mountains in the north, the Bay of Bengal in the east, and the Arabian Sea in the west have created a giant natural entity often referred to as the Indian sub-continent. This **diamond-shaped landmass** stretches over 300 kilometers from the southern most tip of India's north to the Himalayas and roughly the same distance from east to west."*³⁵

Figure 10: India that Mirrors Like a Diamond



India can be viewed as two opposite triangles of similar size (east to west length is 2933 km and north to south is 3214 km.) joining around the Vindhyas. If both halves get interlocked, a *shatcakra* will be formed with J&K, Gujarat, North-east India and Tamil Nadu-Kerala occupying secondary triangles. But, can Sriyantra being the ultimate encapsulation of Indian triadic thinking with its geopolitical roots, provide the Diamond path of foreign policy to Indian strategy planners? Can Sriyantra be the ideogram of Indian grand strategy complementing spread-wing eagle image for the U.S. and the Yin-Yang symbol for China? Is it likely that exactly the ninth pan-Indian power viz. Republic of India would immensely prosper and rebound with the Sriyantra model of the Grand Strategy?

SELECTING THE RIGHT ELEMENTS FOR THE SRIYANTRA MODEL

Grand strategy ought to incorporate history, present relationship and future needs. Those requirements vary from nation to nation and arise from a neatly defined national interest. What is India's paramount national interest? It has been beautifully summarized in the very first three verse of the *Arthashastra* as righteous living, prosperity and peaceful

stability. The righteous living is in accordance with a normative structure, *dharma* that promotes compassion, peace and cooperation. *Dharma* is the miniaturized concept that has manifold applications and is also synonymous with the concept of fairness, justice, and virtuous. According to the *Arthashastra*, the root of the triad of objective lies in the hard work, courage, enthusiasm, risk-taking ability, organization and proper policy. Kautilya deliberates upon a leader with such virtue as the true hero. A great leader is also a great organizer who can impose an order that limits the unpredictable contingencies. Men can do things that earlier could be accomplished only by the Gods.³⁶ Thus, the proper organization, right policy and dynamism can help achieve the goal. But, are these enough in an anarchic international system? It is a competitive world out there where resources are limited and distributed unevenly. Other states vie for achieving "security, stability, prosperity and dignity" at the cost of others and thwarting one's chance to have unlimited access to the resources. One is required to identify those very states and formulate strategic choices, accordingly. Selecting the states which are to be given preference for orienting policy is a serious business, since preferences are to be hierarchically arranged in a world where interacting units have highly uneven material capabilities.

Naturally, the six *prakrittiya* of Kautilya's *Saptanga* theory comes to our mind. These can be the criteria for identifying the players in the Grand Strategy Mandala-*swamin*, *amatya*, *janapada*, *durga*, *kosha* and *danda*. *Swamin* and *amatya* are important factors and has to be taken into consideration for formulating policies like cooperative security through institutional dialogues or if the leader of a state is belligerent, thence forming alliance and partnerships with other players to thwart evil designs. But, these two factors are short-term for a longer durée calculus. Out of the rest four, *janapada* connotes both, population and territory and this ought to be given preference as the determining criteria. In current context, *durga*(fortification) will refer to the ease of access or command over the global commons. *Kosha* will refer to the fiscal health, availability of finance capital and the forex reserve. *Danda* will include nuclear capability too.

Eighteen out of top 20 most populous countries in the world have been selected for this Model. Ethiopia (Rank: 13) and Congo-Kinshasha (Rank: 19) has not been included. The dynamics of population has to be closely watched out. According to the US Census Bureau projections, while there are 4 countries in top 20 most populous countries from Africa at present, the number is likely to shoot to 6 by 2050 A.D. Massive expansion of population in Africa is underway. Africa's population surpassed that of Europe in 1997, but it has added one-third of Europe's population (nearly 226 million) in next 13 years alone.

Table 1: Top 20 Most Populous Countries

2014		2025		2050	
Rank	Country	Rank	Country	Rank	Country
1	China	1	India	1	India
2	India	2	China	2	China
3	U.S.	3	U.S.	3	U.S.
4	Indonesia	4	Indonesia	4	Nigeria
5	Brazil	5	Nigeria	5	Indonesia
6	Pakistan	6	Pakistan	6	Pakistan
7	Nigeria	7	Brazil	7	Bangladesh
8	Bangladesh	8	Bangladesh	8	Brazil
9	Russia	9	Russia	9	Ethiopia
10	Japan	10	Mexico	10	Philippines
11	Mexico	11	Ethiopia	11	Mexico
12	Philippines	12	Philippines	12	Congo-Kinshasa
13	Ethiopia	13	Japan	13	Egypt
14	Vietnam	14	Egypt	14	Russia
15	Egypt	15	Vietnam	15	Tanzania
16	Turkey	16	Congo-Kinshasa	16	Vietnam
17	Germany	17	Turkey	17	Japan
18	Iran	18	Iran	18	Turkey
19	Congo-Kinshasa	19	Germany	19	Iran
20	Thailand	20	Thailand	20	Uganda

Source: Compiled from U.S. Census Bureau.

But, more population does not necessarily add to a country's strength. Therefore, only two African nations, Nigeria (Rank: 7) and Egypt (Rank: 15) out of top 20 most populous countries have been identified for the Model. Ethiopia with a net population of 9.6 crores has been excluded due to various reasons. The share of trade between India and Ethiopia is mere 0.10% of India's total trade in 2012-13. There is no resource base of any strategic or critical mineral or even fossil fuel. Its urbanization is very low and stands at 17 % (2011). After independence of Eritrea on 24th May, 1993, the Red sea coast has been lost and as a landlocked state, it has low strategic value in the Horn of Africa. With a low GDP (US \$47 billion in 2013), Ethiopia is marred by ethnic clashes in Gambela and insurgency in Somali. Only high population doesn't merit preferential attention of Indian policy makers towards Ethiopia at this stage.

Take the case of Congo-Kinshasa. With a current population of 7.74 crore, it occupies the 19th spot in the chart of world's most populous nations. According to the projection of the U.S. Census Bureau, it might climb to 12th position by 2050 A.D. Unlike Ethiopia, it has a huge resource base. There are huge mines of copper, zinc, tin, diamond and tungsten. But, for this country, resources are a curse. It is mired in a prolonged resource war played by different countries and their backers. In fact, many view Congo at the centre of Africa's world war. Neighbouring countries like Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Uganda, and Rwanda are involved in the ethnic conflicts within Congo and many of these countries themselves act as tactical props of the major extra-regional powers like China, Russia, France or the U.S. More than three million people have been killed in civil war raging soon after its independence in 1960 when the popular President Patrice Lumumba was murdered by troops loyal to Army Chief Joseph Mobutu in 1961.

The economic condition of Congo is dismal with mere US \$18.56 billion GDP at official exchange rate in 2013. It is a minor economy. More than 70% population still survives at below poverty line. India's trade with Congo is meager at only \$147 million in 2012-13, that amounts to 0.02% of India's total trade. India's active engagement with Congo might estrange relationship with other viable economic/security partners without much advantage to India's national interest.

All top 10 countries with largest population finds place in the Sriyantra *mandala*. The set of three nations alone constitute 58% of the world population. The innermost core has four of the top 10 most populous countries viz. China, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. These four countries alone contribute 41.23% of world population as per figure/estimate of government agencies in April, 2014.

Out of 28 countries with population of more than five crores, 26 countries have been included in the model. Out of top 42 countries with population of more than 3 crore, 32 countries have been selected. Following 10 countries have been excluded based upon strategic value and current level of economic engagement with India: Ethiopia, Congo-Kinshasa, Uganda, Sudan, Poland, Algeria, Argentina, Tanzania, Morocco and Peru.

Now, we may have a look at the comparative economic strength of the major countries. The World Bank has recently released data of International Comparison Program(ICP) which shows that in 2011, top 30 biggest economies had produced 84.1% of world GDP at PPP. All except Poland has been included in the model. Since, India is highly dependent on Russia for defence equipments and Russia has evolved as a permanent friend, preferential policy towards Poland may be detrimental to India's Russia ties. All top 22 biggest economies constituting 78.3% of world GDP in the year 2011 are included in this model. Once the full data is released for all the 1999 countries covered under the ICP, it is estimated that the 67 countries participating in the grand mandala will have more than 92% share of the world GDP.

The next criterion is to rope in military and diplomatic heavyweights. All the five permanent members of the UN Security Council are included. Among countries that possess nuclear-weapons, all but North Korea has been included. Since India intends to deepen ties with both Japan and South Korea, North Korea should not seize preferential attention of policy makers. The trade between India and North Korea is negligible. North Korea is also not a resource-supplier. It is not in the geographical proximity. But, the *mandala* is dynamic and country like North Korea might come inside *mandala* if there is regime change in future or denuclearization of Korean peninsula and strong economic recovery in North Korea.

All the world's top 15 military powers find place in the *mandala*. These are U.S., Russia, China, India, UK, France, Germany, Turkey, South Korea, Japan, Israel, Italy, Egypt, Pakistan and Brazil. This ranking has been compiled by using Pwr index (Power index) based upon 50 different factors by GFP (Global Fire Power). Out of the top 25 most powerful militaries, only Poland has been excluded from the *mandala*. All the 11 countries that possess aircraft carrier have been included. The list includes: U.S., Italy, India, China, Brazil, UK, Thailand, Spain, Russia, Japan, and France. Colombia is a strong regional naval power and possesses 11 submarines. Colombia is the second most populous country in South America after Brazil and expected to be on a growth curve. India's total trade with Colombia was significant with \$4 billion total trade in the year 2012-13. These manifold factors are the reason for Colombia's inclusion.

Next factor that has been taken into account is India's commercial relationship with the rest of the world. No country can be secure and stable until and unless it achieves a modicum of growth rate so as to provide job to the growing working population. Only with a higher growth, the state can generate sufficient revenue to support the marginalized populations through targeted intervention and also build up business-friendly infrastructure. The growth can be sustained only in a smooth global trading system. The countries, with which strong commercial ties have been stabilized, should always require preferential attention. Trading statistics of 222 countries available with the Export Import Data Bank of the Ministry of Commerce, Government of India for the year 2012-13 has been analyzed. Among the top 50 trading nations with India which constitute 93.18% of India's total trade, 46 countries have been included in the model. All among top 42 countries have been included. This set alone constitutes 91.22% of India's total trade. Share of trade of 67 countries included in the *mandala* is 92.2% of India's total trade. That leaves mere 7.8% share of rest of the 156 countries/dependent territories with which India has commercial relationship.

Table 2: Significant Trading Partners of India (2012-13)
(Values in US\$ Million)

Rank	Country	Export	Import	Total Trade	Trade Balance	Share (%)
1.	U Arab Emirates	36,316.65	39,138.36	75,455.01	-2,821.72	9.54
2.	China(PRC)	13,534.88	52,248.33	65,783.21	-38,713.45	8.32
3.	USA	36,155.22	25,204.73	61,359.95	10,950.49	7.76
4.	Saudi Arab	9,785.78	33,998.11	43,783.89	-24,212.33	5.53
5.	Switzerland	1,117.28	32,166.54	33,283.82	-31,049.25	4.21
6.	Germany	7,246.20	14,325.79	21,571.99	-7,079.58	2.73
7.	Singapore	13,619.24	7,486.38	21,105.63	6,132.86	2.67
8.	Iraq	1,278.13	19,247.31	20,525.44	-17,969.18	2.59
9.	Indonesia	5,331.30	14,879.49	20,210.79	-9,548.19	2.55
10.	Hong Kong	12,279.20	7,907.17	20,186.37	4,372.04	2.55
11.	Japan	6,100.06	12,412.29	18,512.35	-6,312.24	2.34
12.	Kuwait	1,061.08	16,588.13	17,649.21	-15,527.05	2.23
13.	Korea RP	4,202.25	13,105.12	17,307.37	-8,902.87	2.19
14.	Qatar	687.18	15,693.08	16,380.26	-15,005.89	2.07
15.	Belgium	5,507.30	10,046.87	15,554.17	-4,539.57	1.97
16.	Australia	2,348.65	13,085.70	15,434.34	-10,737.05	1.95
17.	Iran	3,351.07	11,594.46	14,945.53	-8,243.39	1.89
18.	UK	8,612.54	6,293.09	14,905.62	2,319.45	1.88
19.	Nigeria	2,740.04	12,086.11	14,826.15	-9,346.07	1.87
20.	Malaysia	4,444.07	9,951.06	14,395.13	-5,506.99	1.82
21.	Venezuela	234.14	14,117.67	14,351.81	-13,883.54	1.81
22.	South Africa	5,106.93	8,887.89	13,994.82	-3,780.96	1.77
23.	Netherland	10,565.02	2,379.09	12,944.11	8,185.93	1.64
24.	Brazil	6,048.53	4,825.76	10,874.29	1,222.77	1.37
25.	France	4,986.03	4,652.36	9,638.39	333.66	1.22
26.	Thailand	3,733.17	5,352.61	9,085.78	-1,619.44	1.15
27.	Italy	4,372.61	4,711.27	9,083.87	-338.66	1.15
28.	Angola	488.79	7,157.54	7,646.33	-6,668.75	0.97

29.	Taiwan	3,043.97	3,963.35	7,007.32	-919.38	0.89
30.	Russia	2,295.68	4,231.56	6,527.25	-1,935.88	0.83
31.	Vietnam Soc Rep	3,967.37	2,314.78	6,282.15	1,652.60	0.79
32.	Israel	3,739.71	2,356.66	6,096.36	1,383.05	0.77
33.	Turkey	3,963.66	2,034.18	5,997.84	1,929.48	0.76
34.	Bangladesh	5,144.99	639.33	5,784.31	4,505.66	0.73
35.	Mexico	1,628.24	4,037.62	5,665.86	-2,409.37	0.72
36.	Egypt	2,897.33	2,553.47	5,450.80	343.86	0.69
37.	Canada	2,036.58	2,800.22	4,836.80	-763.64	0.61
38.	Spain	2,865.75	1,815.66	4,681.40	1,050.09	0.59
39.	Sri Lanka	3,983.87	625.81	4,609.68	3,358.06	0.58
40.	Oman	2,599.49	2,009.72	4,609.21	589.78	0.58
41.	Kenya	3,770.34	105.95	3,876.29	3,664.38	0.49
42.	Chile	690.00	2,992.31	3,682.31	-2,302.31	0.47
43.	Nepal	3,088.84	543.10	3,631.94	2,545.73	0.46
44.	Colombia	912.12	2,352.79	3,264.91	-1,440.67	0.41
45.	Ukraine	519.79	2,657.47	3,177.26	-2,137.68	0.40
Total for 45 countries		294963.20	488811.70	715977.32	-193848.50	90.51
India's Total		300,400.67	490,736.64	790,987.00	-190,335.97	100

Source: Calculated from EXIM Data Bank, Ministry of Commerce, Government of India

The entire top 40 countries from where India imports, are included in the model. These 40 countries account for 94.32% of total import of India in the year 2012-13. Similarly, India's entire top 30 export destination receiving nearly 80% of India's export are included. All the 66 countries in the *mandala* have 88% of India's total export share. Hong Kong has though been counted as a separate trading entity, but in the *mandala*, it is treated as part of China PRC. Thus, the grand *mandala* clearly incorporates the neo-liberal's position in the framework of primacy and security of the state.

For persistent growth in economy, the basic requirement is energy. India is highly dependent on oil import. The major suppliers are limited. In the year 2012, Russia surpassed Saudi Arabia to become the biggest oil producer in the world. Out of the top 15 biggest oil-producing countries, top 13 are included in the *mandala*. This set alone contributes 72% of world oil production.

Table 3: Top Oil Producing Countries (2012)

Country	Share of world Oil Production (%)
Russia	13.1
Saudi Arabia	13.0
USA	8.6
China	5.5
Iran	4.5
Canada	4.1
Iraq	3.9
UAE	3.7
Kuwait	3.5
Mexico	3.4
Nigeria	3.3

Source: www.bloomberg.com

But, oil import is causing the worsening of current accounts deficit (CAD) in India. This has forced the policy makers to harness the nuclear energy. At present, India is producing only 3.6% of energy from nuclear fuel. There are 21 operating reactors with net production of energy at 5302 Mwe. 22 nuclear new reactors are under construction and 35 are under proposal with a plan to expand nuclear energy production to 40,000Mwe. This will require uninterrupted supply of nuclear fuel viz. uranium, which is found in limited supply in handful of countries. At present, India is consuming only 913 tonnes of Uranium which is a meager 1.38% of the world consumption.

Table 4: Uranium requirements of Major Countries (2014)

Country	Tonnes of Uranium
USA	18816
France	9927
China	6296
Russia	5456
South Korea	5022
Japan	2119
Ukraine	2359
Germany	1889
Canada	1784
UK	1738

Source: World Nuclear Association

Among these top consumers of Uranium fuel, Canada, Russia, USA and China have some reserves and production, but other countries like France, South Korea, Ukraine, Germany and UK will be competing with India for import of nuclear fuel from few countries of supply. Japan may steer out of the race after the tragic disaster at Fukushima in the wake of Tohoku earthquake and tsunami in 2011. But, for India, this will require Herculean effort if India continues to pursue policy of increasing contribution of nuclear energy in the energy-basket.

The largest producer of Uranium in 2013 was Kazakhstan. Niger was ranked fourth. Kazakhstan alone had share of 38% world output in 2013. Both these countries have been included in the *mandala*. Niger, South Africa, Brazil has major reserves. Out of top 10 countries with uranium reserves, 9 are included in the *mandala*. India has tied up with Kazakhstan, Australia and Uzbekistan for import of uranium. In future, major mines are anticipated to be discovered in Gabon, Kyrgyzstan and Mongolia. Mongolia and Gabon are included in the outer 16-petaled circle.

Table 5: Uranium Output and Reserve (Top 10 countries, 2013)

Country-wise Output ranking (2013)		Known recoverable Reserve of Uranium (2011)	
Rank	Country	Country	% of World Reserve
1	Kazakhstan	Australia	31
2	Canada	Kazakhstan	12
3	Australia	Russia	9
4	Niger	Canada	9
5	Namibia	Niger	8
6	Uzbekistan	South Africa	5
7	Russia	Brazil	5
8	China	Namibia	5
9	USA	USA	4
10	Malawi	China	3

Source: World- Nuclear .org

There is a major policy shift towards harnessing renewable energy sources. Solar energy is in abundance in India. For efficient solar power, two leading thin-film photovoltaic materials are Cd-Te (Cadmium-tellurium) and CIGS (Copper-Indium-Gallium- selenium). These are critical minerals and only few countries have viable extractable reserves. In future, 'green energy" solution will gather steam. Solar power, hybrid vehicles, light -emitting diodes (LEDs) are some of the promising new technology of green energy. But, all such form of energy and energy saving devices require a group of metals called Rare Earth Minerals (REE). REE are a group of metallic elements comprising of Lanthanide series placed at the bottom of the Periodic Table (Periodic Number 57-71), Scandium and Yttrium. These elements show similar optical, chemical and electro-magnetic properties. These element have been termed as 'seeds of technology" by the Japanese engineers as the race for advanced materials in the armament sector, missile technology , high-grade optical instruments, i-pods, LCD, new generation mobiles, green energy, nuclear reactor. REEs are bringing in the happening revolution in miniaturization, durability and speed in the electric and electronic components. But, many of the elements like Neodynium(used in making world's strongest magnets, laser ranger finders and guidance system of missiles, Europium(used in Pilot display screens, engines of fighter planes, TV, Fuel Cell, Neutron absorber), Dysprosim(used in hybrid engines) will be in short supply in the next 15 years.³⁷

China accounted for 94% of global production of REE in 2010. China has the discovered world reserve of 48%. Brazil and Malaysia are also producing significant amount now. All these nations are included in the *mandala*. Mongolia and Gabon are anticipated to have reserves of REEs. For leapfrogging in advanced material technology which also boosts nation's military strength, India ought to plan diligently for the future needs. Apart from the REE, there are strategic and critical minerals like cobalt, tantalum, manganese, and columbium. These are essential components for building lightweight material, stealth material, propulsion technology, sensor material and electronic & photonic material for high speed communication. Tellurium is required for missile nose cones, infrared technology; Rhenium for jet engine blade and rocket nozzles, beryllium in military optics and missile defense system, nuclear reactor rods, warheads; Hafnium in naval nuclear reactor, titanium in jet engine and aircraft structure. Kazakhstan is emerging as a significant supplier of not only REEs but also many of these strategic minerals like titanium, Beryllium and Chromium. Then, there are Platinum-Group metals (PGM-Platinum, Palladium, Rhodium, Ruthenium, Iridium, Osmium). These are used in catalytic converters to reduce emission and chemical and petroleum industry for extraction.

Table 6: Amount of Strategic Minerals used in one Jet-Fighter Engine³⁸

Mineral	Amount (in tonnes)
Titanium	2.7
Nickel	2.6
Chromium	0.8
Cobalt	0.5
Aluminum	0.4
Columbium	0.1
Tantalum	3pounds

Table 7: Critical and Strategic Minerals used in Defense Technology³⁹

Minerals	Applications
Gadolinium	Protective coating against neutron radiation
Samarium, neodymium, cobalt	Precision guided bombs
Erbium, Europium, Gadolinium, Holmium	LASER in rangefinders
Neodymium, Yttrium	Mine detection technology
Yttrium, Samarium, Gadolinium, Cobalt	Radar system
Gadolinium, Cerium	Optical instruments
Dysprosium	Sonar technology
Gadolinium	Nuclear marine propulsion
Neodymium, Samarium, Titanium, Cobalt	Stealth technology
Nickel, Niobium, Hafnium	Aircraft and rockets
Yttrium	High temperature ceramics

South Africa has the largest reserves of PGM, manganese and chromium. In fact, world's top five mineral producing countries- U.S., Canada, Australia, Russia and South Africa- are in the same circle of the Grand *mandala*.

In a world where circulation of finance determines the investment climate, subsequent production, and trade, major countries with financial wherewithal ought to be incorporated in the formulation of grand strategy. All top 12 countries with more than US\$200 billion in forex kitty have been included in the *mandala*. Switzerland and Taiwan finds a place with their financial strength.

Table 8: Countries with Largest Forex Reserves

S. No.	Name	Amount (in billion US \$)	Period of Reporting
1	China	3820	Dec.2013
2	Japan	1288	Feb. 2014
3	Saudi Arabia	725.6	-do-
4	Switzerland	543.75	-do-
5	Russia	493	-do-
6	Taiwan	423	-do-
7	Brazil	362.60	-do-
8	South Korea	351.79	-do-
9	Hong Kong	315.90	-do-
10	India	309.44	April,2014
11	Singapore	273.99	Feb. 2014
12	Germany	210.55	-do-

Thus, by analyzing various factors, 66 countries have been selected for a placement over a triangular or petal seat. Rest of the UN-recognized nations and dependent territories will lay in the *bhupar* region, i.e. outside the circles of the *mandala*, the set of concentric sheath. These countries will not get the preferential attention which the countries within the *mandala* structure would get. Nevertheless, as and when needs arise, many among these countries can move into the *mandala* and occupy a place and vice versa for the countries situated inside the *mandala* moving out into *bhupar*.

In the *mandala*, 66 +1 (India at the centre) positions are fixed, but the occupants may change with the evolving dynamics. Congo-Kinshasa, Tanzania, North Korea, Poland, or Argentina might occupy a petal-position or a triangle in the coming decades. Only the elements within the first circle, the circle of neighbouring states cannot change in coming many decades.

In this model, it is assumed that Indian strategic culture is rooted in triadic thinking which had a major influence over Kautilya's composition of *Arthashastra*. Unlike neo-realists, globalization of finance, cooperative paradigm and regionalism have been factored into the model. On the other hand, there is emphasis on military security for the State's perpetual existence. In Kautilya's *rajamandala*, there are 72 constituents to be considered for the policy formulation. In this model, there are 67 constituent states and equally extensive in approach.

VERILY! SRIYANTRA MANDALA OUGHT TO BE THE INDIAN GRAND STRATEGY

We have seen how 43 secondary triangles are generated by interlocking 4 up and 5 down triangles. These triangles appear as arranged in concentric sheath. If one moves from inner to outer side, the inner most triangle (*Sarva Siddhiprada cakra*) is surrounded by a concentric sheath of 8 triangles, thence two sheaths of 10 triangles each. The outermost sheath of 14 triangles is surrounded by two concentric layers of 8-petals and 16-petals, respectively. In the Sriyantra Mandala of the Grand Strategy, only names of various sheaths have been paraphrased with appropriate categories based upon certain common characteristics of countries included in the respective sheaths. The general description of model is given in the Table 9 below.

Table 9: Structure of Sriyantra Mandala of Grand Strategy

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Cakra in Sriyantra</i>	<i>Geometrical characteristics</i>	<i>Sheath in Sriyantra Mandala of Grand strategy</i>	<i>Composition of countries</i>
1	Sarva Siddhi Prada Cakra	Single triangle	Sarva Karmabhumi Kosha	Self-India
2	Sarva Rogahara Cakra	Eight triangles	Sarva Prativesha Kosha	SAARC +China
3	Sarva Raksha-kara Cakra	Ten triangles	Sarva Ayamvesha Kosha	ASEAN
4	Sarvarthasad-haka Cakra	Ten triangles	Sarva Uppana Kosha	UNSC Permanent Members, nuclear powers, financial and economic powers.
5	Sarva Saubhagyadayaka Cakra	Fourteen triangles	Sarva Avantardesh Kosha	Major suppliers of fuel and resources, market
6	Sarva Sankshobhana Cakra	Eight petals	Sarva Matrimula Kosha	8 nations with significant population of PIOs with pre-20 th century migration history. This is the sheath of frontier Scout from the Past.
7	Sarva Paripuraka Cakra	Sixteen petals	Sarva Bhautik Kosha	Nations with strategic and Critical minerals supply, global trading choke points. This is the sheath of Rear Guards of the Future.

The six-folded concentric sheaths beyond Indian territory resonates Kautilya's *shadgunya* policy for conducting foreign affairs. For brevity, I have clubbed the 6 concentric sheaths into group of two. This corresponds with the structure of the earth. Since, Sriyantra is the diagrammatic representation of Sri, the goddess of the earth (*bhu*) and prosperity, the resemblances are not surprising. The inner two circles of 8 and 10 triangles each constitute the core, next two the mantle and the group of petal sheath as the crust. The inner core is like the earth's core. It is the densest part in terms of population. Its share in world population is 42.25 %(based upon US Census Bureau's 2014 estimate) with world's four out of top 10 most populous countries occupying a place. This sheath is also India's geographical neighbourhood. The next sheath is India's extended neighbourhood of ASEAN. This fits in well with the Indian government's Look East policy. Just as in the geo-dynamics, major activities take place in the mantle. All the major powers in term of military, finance and strategic superweights are placed in the mantle-structure. In fact, two sheaths of mantle constitute 61.25% of India's total trade in the year 2012-13. Like the earth's crust, the concentric petal sheaths are marginal in terms of density. But, it contains the records of past expansion like fossils and the signs of future activity. The 8-petaled structure comprises of countries and dependent territories with influential Indian diasporas where many a times Indian-origin leaders have been heading the national governments. The outer-petal sheath comprises of nations of future. Advanced technology, green energy of wind, solar, hybrid engines, LEDs will depend upon the critical minerals supplied by these countries. This belt also contains the major uranium suppliers to India in future. For the smart defence system, these nations are critical as supplier of other critical materials.

There are 34 Asian countries out of 44 Asian nations recognized by the UN. Therefore, more than half constituents in the model come from Asia. Hence, the model is Asia-centric. Asia is the pivot of world politics and economic activity. Farther the continents, lesser should be the preferential engagement since power tapers with distance. Continent-wise inclusion of countries in the model are as follow: 11 countries from Africa and 10 from Europe, 4 countries out of 23 countries from North America , 6 out of 12 countries in South America and 2 out of 4 countries of Oceania. Since the ongoing globalization is a regionalized globalization, there is more focus on the region and the extended neighbourhood in the Model. The model fits in well with different strands of thought prevalent in current academic discourse on strategic imperatives for India.

Table 10: Population Characteristics of National actors in Grand Mandala

Population(2014)	Number	Total Number of countries in Grand Mandala	Countries not in Mandala
>10 crore	11	11(China, India, US, Indonesia, Brazil, Pakistan, Nigeria, Bangladesh, Russia, Japan, Mexico)	Nil
5 crore-10 crore	15	13(Philippines, Vietnam, Egypt, Germany, Iran, Turkey, France, Thailand, UK, Italy, Myanmar, South Africa, South Korea)	2(Ethiopia and DR of Congo)
3 crore-5 crore	16	8(Colombia, Spain, Ukraine, Canada, Iraq, Uzbekistan, Malaysia, Kenya)	8(Uganda, Sudan, Poland, Algeria, Argentina, Tanzania, Morocco, Peru)
<3 crore	181	35	146

A brief description of six sheaths (*Sadakosha*) is provided along with sheath-wise share in total trade with India in the year 2012-13.

1. ***Sarva Prativedsha Kosha*** (सर्वप्रतिवेशः कोषः) - Sheath of Neighbourhood

This is an 8-nations neighbourhood sheath comprising of SAARC and China.

Table 11: Structure of *Sarva Prativedsha Kosha* (Population-wise)

Countries	% Share of World Population (April,2014)
Afghanistan	0.36
Bangladesh	2.13
Bhutan	0.01
China	19.1
India	17.4
Maldives	0.0044
Nepal	0.7
Pakistan	2.60
Sri Lanka	0.8
Total for SAARC + China	42.25

Table 12: Structure of *Sarva Prativedsha Kosha* (Trade-wise)

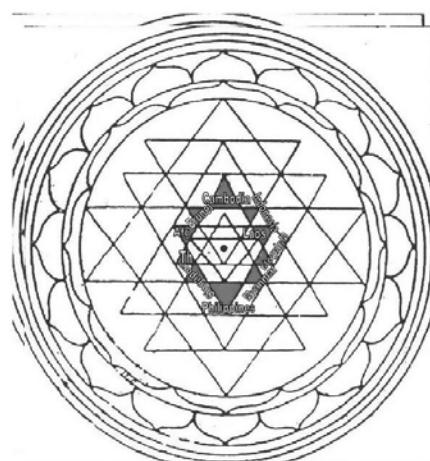
Countries	% Share of Trade with India(2012-13)
Afghanistan	0.08
Bangladesh	0.73
Bhutan	0.05
China	8.32
Hong Kong	2.55
Maldives	0.02
Nepal	0.46
Pakistan	0.33
Sri Lanka	0.58
Total for SAARC + China	13.12%

Figure 11: Sarva Prativedha Kosha

2. **Sarva Ayamvesha Kosha** (सर्वआयामवेशः कोष) - Sheath of Extended Neighborhood (10-nations sheath)—ASEAN
Population share of world population is 8.45% as in 2014.

Table 13: Structure of Sarva Ayamvesha Kosha (Trade-wise)

Countries	% Share of Trade with India(2012-13)
Brunei	0.11
Cambodia	0.02
Indonesia	2.55
Laos	0.02
Malaysia	1.82
Myanmar	0.25
Philippines	0.21
Singapore	2.64
Thailand	1.15
Vietnam	0.79
Total for ASEAN	9.56 %

Figure 12: Sarva Ayamvesha Kosha

3. Sarva Uppana Kosha (सर्वउप्पन कोष) - Sheath of Powerful Nations (10-nation Sheath)-

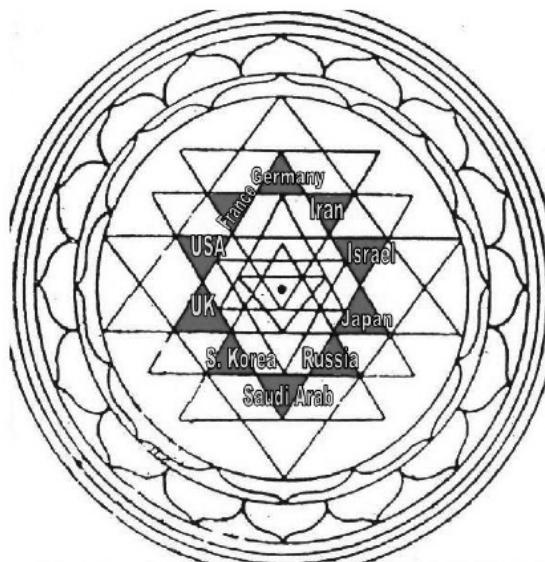
Four permanent UN SC members-US, UK, France, Russia-are in this sheath. World's major powers of technology and innovation viz. US, Japan, South Korea, France and Germany are also in this sheath. Major military powers are also present except India, China, Pakistan which are in the Core and Turkey which is in the outer most sheath. Major financial powers like USA, UK, Saudi Arabia, Japan and Russia are also present.

Population=13.3% of world share

Table 14: Structure of Sarva Uppana Kosha (Trade-wise)

Countries	% Share of Trade with India(2012-13)
France	1.22
Germany	2.73
Japan	2.34
Iran	1.89
Israel	0.77
Russia	0.83
Saudi Arab	5.53
South Korea	2.19
UK	1.88
US	7.76
Total for 10 nations	27.14 %

Figure 13: Sarva Ayamvesha Kosha



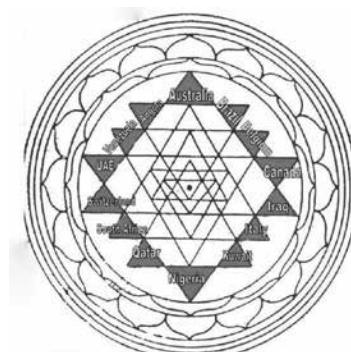
4. Sarva Avantardesh Kosha (सर्वअवान्तरदेश कोष) - Sheath of Distant Intermediate Power (14-nation Sheath)

This sheath contains countries that possess raw materials and fuel needed for Indian economy.

Population =9.21% of world's share

Table 15: Structure of Sarva Avantardesh Kosha (Trade-wise)

Countries	% Share of Trade with India(2012-13)
Australia	1.95
Brazil	1.37
Belgium	1.97
Canada	0.61
Iraq	2.59
Italy	1.15
Kuwait	2.23
Nigeria	1.87
Qatar	2.07
South Africa	1.77
Switzerland	4.21
UAE	9.54
Venezuela	1.81
Angola	0.97
Total for 14 nations	34.11 %

Figure 14: Sarva Avantardesh Kosha

5. **Sarva Matrimula Kosha** (सर्वमातृमूल कोष) - Sheath of Origin(8-nation Sheath)-Counties with significant PIOs-Front Scout from Past

Population=0.69%

Table 16: Structure of Sarva Matrimula Kosha (Trade-wise)

Countries	% Share of Trade with India(2012-13)
Fiji	0.01
Guyana	0.00
Kenya	0.49
Mauritius	0.17
Reunion	0.01
Seychelles	0.01
Surinam	0.01
Trinidad & Tobago	0.01
Total for 8 nations	0.71

Figure 15: Sarva Matrimula Kosha

6. **Sarva Bhautika Kosha** (सर्वभौतिक कोष) - Sheath of Resource(16-nation Sheath)- This is the set of nations which are Rear Guard for Future needs . These possess strategic and critical mineral resources and some of these have strategic security location at global trading choke points.

Population=8.08% of world's share

Table 17: Structure of Sarva Bhautika Kosha (Trade-wise)

Countries	% Share of Trade with India(2012-13)
Azerbaijan	0.08
Chile	0.47
Colombia	0.41
Egypt	0.69
Gabon	0.11
Kazakhstan	0.05
Mexico	0.72
Mongolia	0.00
Netherlands	1.64
Niger	0.02
Oman	0.58
Spain	0.59
Taiwan	0.89
Turkey	0.76
Ukraine	0.40
Uzbekistan	0.02
Total for 16 nations	7.43

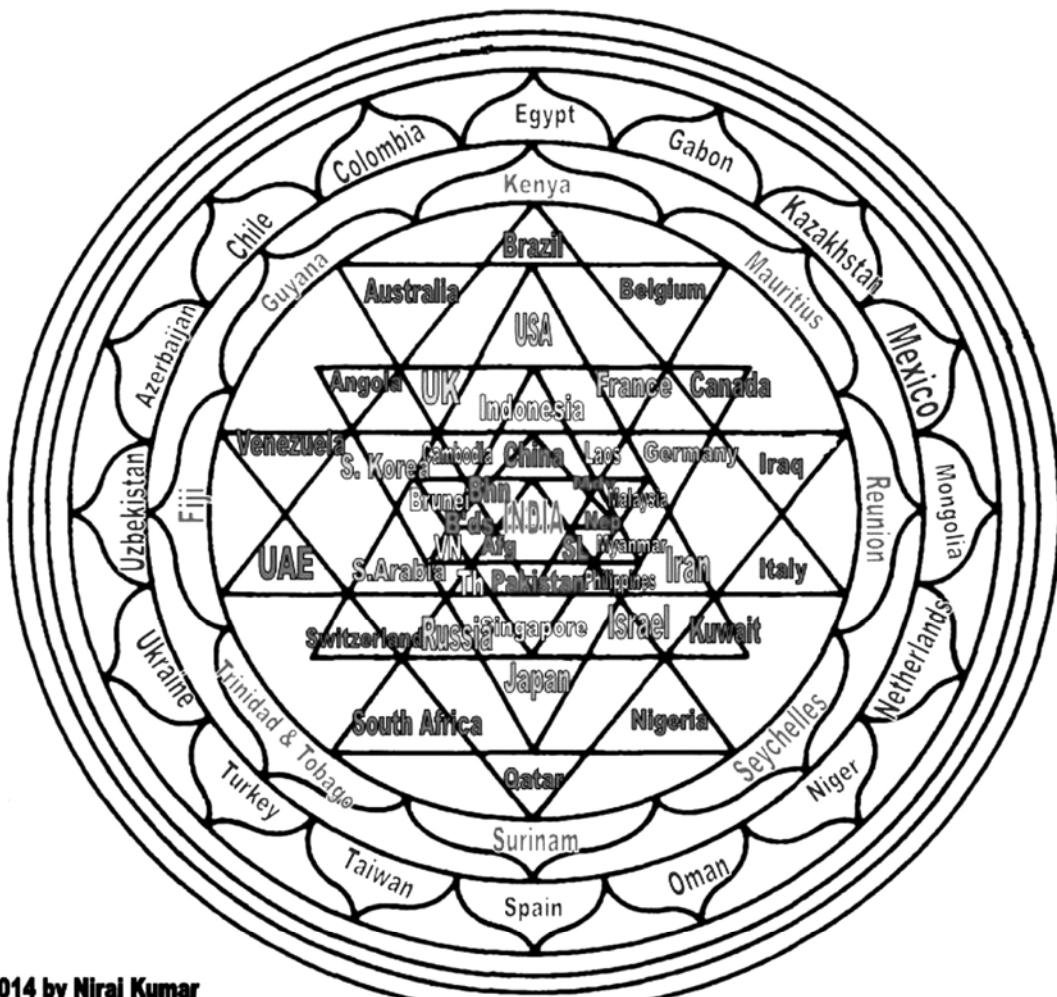
Figure 16: Sarva Bhautika Kosha

Table 18: Structure of Sriyantra Mandala (Population-cum-Trade-wise)

S. No.	Sheath	Characteristics	Part of Structure	Number of nations	Name of Nations	Share of world Population (%)	Share of Total Trade with India (2012-13)
1	Sarva Prati vesa sha Kosha	Sheath of Neighbourhood	Inner Core	8+1 (SAARC +China)	Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka + India	42.25	13.12
2	Sarva Ayamvesha Kosha	Sheath Of Extended Neighborhood	Outer Core	10 (ASEAN)	Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam	8.45	9.56
3	Sarva Uppana Kosha	Sheath of Significant Nations	Mantle	10 (Major extra regional powers and UNSC Permanent Members)	France, Germany, Iran, Israel, Japan, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, UK, USA	13.30	27.14
4	Sarva Avantardesh Kosha	Sheath of Distant Intermediate Power	Mantle	14 (Resource-rich Nations)	Angola, Australia, Brazil, Belgium, Canada, Iraq, Italy, Kuwait, Nigeria, Qatar, South Africa, Switzerland, UAE, Venezuela,	9.20	34.11
5	Sarva Matrimulla Kosha	Sheath of Scouts from Past	Inner Crust	8 (Nation with significant presence of PIOs) Frontier Scout from past	Fiji, Guyana, Kenya, Mauritius, , Reunion, Seychelles, Surinam, Trinidad & Tobago	0.69	0.71
6	Sarva Bhautik Kosha	Sheath of Resource	Outer Crust	16 (Rear guard for Future –Re-served Resource base of material, finance and strategic)	Azerbaijan, Chile, Colombia, Egypt, Gabon, Kazakhstan, Mexico, Mongolia, Netherlands, Niger, Oman, Spain, Taiwan, Turkey, Ukraine, Uzbekistan	8.08	7.43
Total				67		83.97	92.07

Strategic Space(*Bhupar* of Sriyantra) beyond six sheath will contain 156 nation, with 16.34% population and merely 8.26% trade share in total trade with India in the year 2012-13.

Figure 17: Grand Strategy of Sriyantra Mandala



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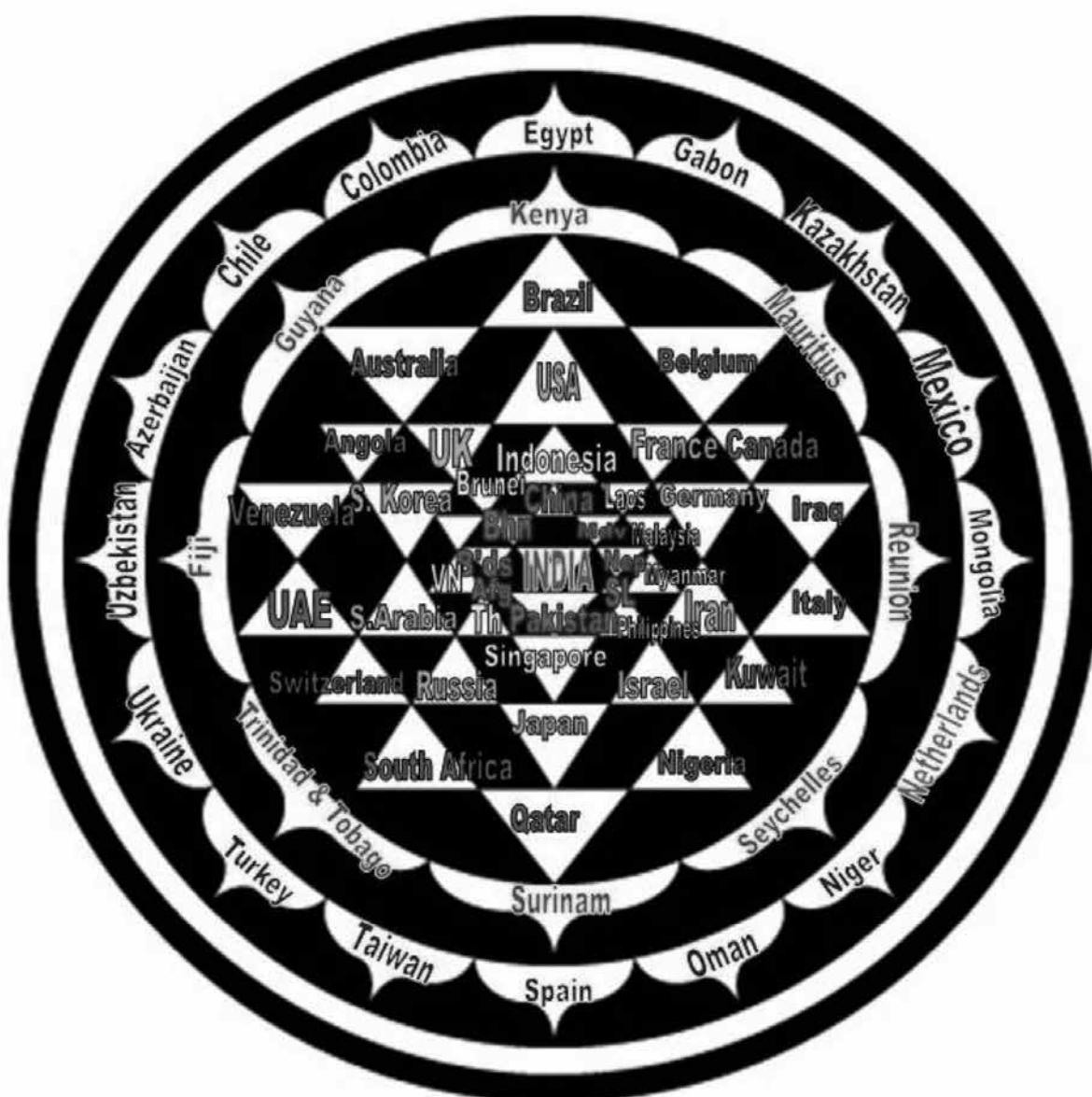
Figure 18: Grand Strategy of *Sriyantra Mandala* - Triadic Perspective

Figure 19: Perspective of the World from Delhi.

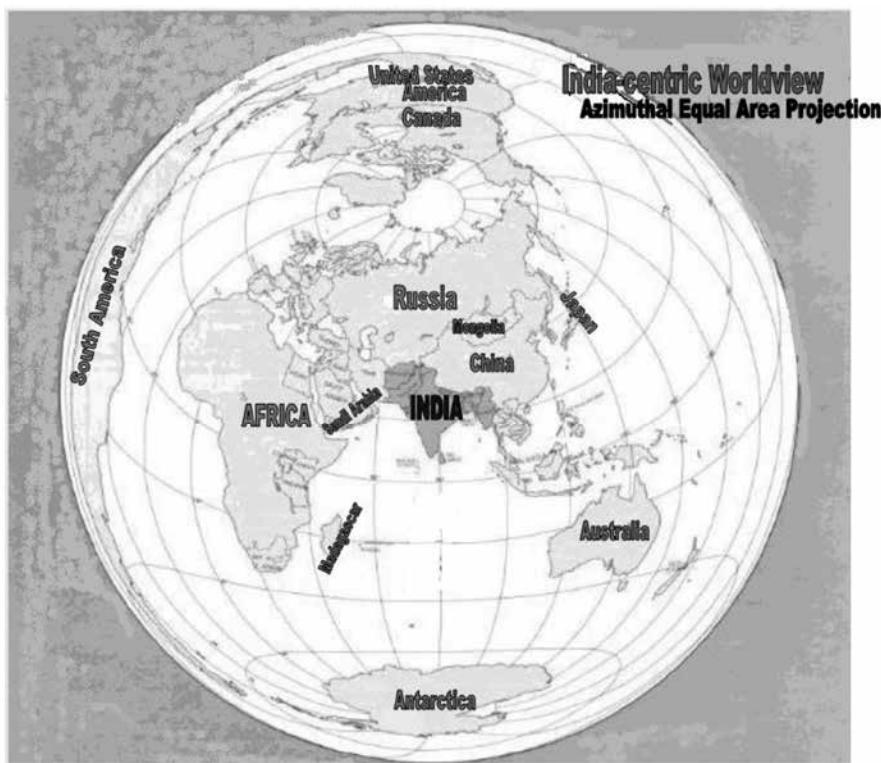
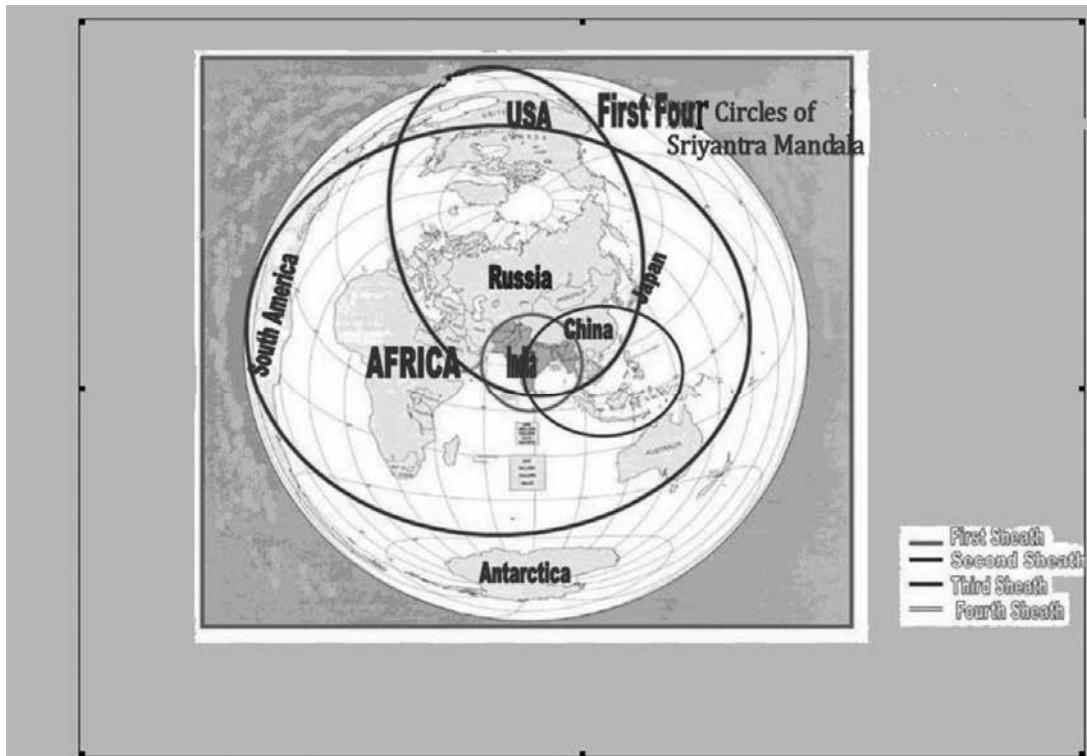


Figure 20: Superimposing Circuits of Grand Mandala over India-Centric Worldview



India's Cakravyuha

In the epic *Mahabharata*, there is mention of a *Cakravyuha* as the most complex security zone consisting of seven layers. Arjuna's son, Abhimanyu fought valiantly to pierce the rotating *Cakravyuha*, but he could not succeed and was killed at the seventh gate. This Sriyantra mandala is analogous to the Mahabharat's *Cakravyuha*. After the six protective sheaths comes Indian territory with well-protected borders. It would be impossible for any enemy to pierce this protective shield. Grand in the scope and expanse and all-encompassing in the methods, the Sriyantra Mandala reiterates India's strategic culture of *Vasudhaiva kutumbaka*, the whole earth is a common family .When the nation is in phase of growth, the strategic preference ought to be from inside out and when it is in decline, the order needs to be reversed. Operationalizing such a grand strategy will lead to attainment of four- fold ends - *security, prosperity, stability* and *dignity*. India will rebound as the *Mahabharat*, the Greater India!

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