



## MANDALA THEORY OF *ARTHAŚĀSTRA* AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION TOWARDS INDONESIA'S GEOPOLITICS AND GEOSTRATEGY

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### Abstract

This article examines the Mandala Theory, which was formulated as a concept of national defense by Acarya Cakaya or Kautilya more than 2000 years ago. The Mandala theory has been used since ancient India. Various major kingdoms in Southeast Asia, including in the Nusantara, also use it even to be implemented in the defense system, embodied in their geopolitics and geostrategy. By some authors, Mandala Theory is still considered traditional and military heavy. But in fact, this theory is inseparable from other defense concepts such as diplomacy (The concept of *Mantrashakti*, *Śāḍguṇya*, and *Cautr Upaya*) which are the strength of a state. This qualitative study is using critical discourse analysis and Gadamer's hermeneutics. Mandala's theory as a defense concept in Chanakya's view was explored from several major theories in Arthaśāstra and its implementation in Indonesian geopolitics and geostrategy. However, the current defense needs to be adjusted, especially regarding the involvement of non-military elements, to build a strong state. Therefore, national defense theory should not only understood by state administrators. But also the intellectual cadre of state defense, and even all of its people.

**Keywords: Defense, Chanakya; Arthaśāstra; Mandala Theory; Geopolitics; Geostrategic**

### INTRODUCTION

The Mandala theory, as a concept of state defense, has been used by several Ancient kingdoms in India as in the Maurya Kingdom. The popularity of the teachings of the Maharsi Cāṇakya spread to Southeast Asia and is widely used in the major kingdoms of Southeast Asia as a heavy military concept of national defense. This ancient theory was also adapted by various countries, including Indonesia, with adjustments to modern defense patterns. This theory, if used appropriately, will be able to mature Indonesia's geopolitics and geostrategy in realizing the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

The Mandala Theory is one of the essential topics in the text, which is the Magnum Opus of Cāṇakya or Kautilya titled Arthaśāstra. Arthaśāstra was compiled by Cāṇakya based on some ancient Hindu political books, political traditions, and life experiences. Arthasashtra consists of 32 parts, 15 *adikarana* with 150 chapters, and 6000 slokas (Chatī et al., 2018). Thus Arthaśāstra can also be said as a compendium to manage a country in a complete and detailed way. For this monumental work, Cāṇakya is considered a legendary Hindu political figure, so his genius is often equated with western philosophers and statesmen such as Plato, Aristotle,

and Machiavelli (Rangarajan, 1992). Although in fact, the thoughts and works of Cāṇakya cannot be compared to the figures in the world afterward.

More in-depth study and interpretation make Arthaśāstra find its relevance amid the very rapid development of defense science in this modern era. Cāṇakya's thoughts in Arthaśāstra if literally interpreted, may look outdated and irrelevant. For example, regarding the theory of Mandala, Western thinkers only emphasize that *"every neighboring country is an enemy (source of threat), and the enemy of your enemy is your friend"* (Rangarajan, 1992). If seen only from this perspective, the Cāṇakya mandala theory seems "realist heavy" and difficult to apply at present. This perspective is in contradiction with the regionalism regime, which indirectly demands neighboring countries to cooperate for a common goal. Even today, it will be difficult for a country to show hostile conditions directly and openly with its neighboring countries. It is infrequent even today. However, if we read the Cāṇakya's work comprehensively, the theories that he came up with could be implemented at different times with several more profound and brilliant interpretations. Likewise, in modern geopolitics and geostrategy, the theory of Mandala continues to find its relevance and can strengthen the national defense system.

## **METHODS**

This article is the result of qualitative research with data analysis using content analysis. The steps of data collection follow a pattern (Creswell, 2010), namely observation and interviews, whether in the form of structured or not, documentation, visual materials, and efforts to design protocols for taking notes or recording information. This study is an attempt to find a common thread between the text of national defense contained in Arthaśāstra. This includes the concepts of geopolitics and geostrategy, threat mapping, statecraft, and diplomacy (relations between countries) with the context of the embodiment of the national defense system.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

Mandala theory as a concept of national defense has given influence to the significant kingdoms in Southeast Asia, and some modern countries adapted the memory of this theory. Major Abhishek Kumar (2016), through its work, titled "The Arthaśāstra: Assessing the Contemporary Relevance of an Ancient Indian Treatise on Statescraft" states the Priority of the Cāṇakya for elements of the national power of the country and its focus on increasing state power, finding common ground in contemporary Chinese policy choices. This paper also describes Chinese contemporary geopolitical environmental analysis in the Kautilya doctrine. In this paper, it was revealed that the concept of Kautilya was also found in China's geopolitical system.

Breana Coates and Col. Jeffrey Caton, through its work, entitled "The Ultimate Pragmatist: Kautilya's Philosophy on SMART Power in National Security" states that Kautilya's idea supports the combination of smart power with diplomacy and opportunism. Furthermore, Raja Mandala's theory is a model in which the king/state leader can decide between cooperation, collusion, alliance, acquisition, or destruction in dealing with other countries. This paper explains Arthaśāstra with soft power, and also hard power.

*"Mandala," "Segmentary State" And Politics Of Centralization In Medieval Ayudhya* was written by Sunait Chutintaranond, explaining about the use of mandalas in Southeast Asia in the Middle Ages. In his writings, he described how the pattern of a ring built by a king to strengthen his position while expanding the territory of his kingdom. Competition between kingdoms is the trigger for a ruler to reinforce his mandala position. The geopolitical dimension appears in an unstable circle. But in his conclusion, he emphasized that Ayudhya was a state; in his Mandala, there were small kingdoms. They were, to this extent, "little kings" in the vast but loosely integrated territories of the Ayudhya kings (Chutintaranond, 1990).

The article entitled *Mandala: From Sacred Origins to Sovereign Affairs in Traditional Southeast Asia* (2019), written by Rosita Dellios, examines 'mandala' as a tradition of Knowledge in Southeast Asia. A doctrine of traditional Southeast Asian 'international relations' derived from ancient Indian political discourse. It also highlights the value of Chinese thought as the 'yin' to ancient India's 'yang' in the construction of a Southeast Asian mandalic political culture (Dellios, 2003).

The writers above have a similar view that the ancient Cāṅakya theory that was implemented in the past in various kingdoms can still be adapted to the modern life of the present state. It was stated that each country changed several important Cāṅakya teachings differently. However, this study is essential because no one has specifically discussed the theory of Mandala concerning Indonesian geopolitics and geostrategy.

The Mandala Theory is one of the crucial doctrines in the ancient book on state administration, *Arthaśāstra*. This compendium of treatises is written by Cāṅakya or Kautilya, during the Mauryan Empire. *Arthaśāstra* means *śāstra* (science) of *artha* (wealth or territory with the human population). However, *Arthaśāstra* stated not only "the science of wealth" but also "political science" or "the science of government" (Sil, 1985: 102) in (Surpi, 2019a). Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is a very comprehensive treatise on governance in a monarchical Vedic state (Darnal, n.d.). This very comprehensive treatise discusses various matters related to state administration, including foreign policy. Besides, the essence provides education to state authorities on how to achieve the country's national goals, such as expanding the influence of its kingdom.

Cāṅakya or Kautilya as the author of this treatise, is a prime minister and chief political adviser to King Chandragupta and his son, Bindusara, in the Maurya Kingdom. The manuscript compiled around 300 BC contains a foreign policy doctrine related to the desire of an ambitious king to become a conqueror/ruler of the plains of India (Karad, 2015). Cāṅakya composed *Arthaśāstra* against the background of an anarchic international system. A condition where there is no existence of higher supremacy above the state. During the Chandragupta dynasty, what was developed as a view of realism, which promoted self-help, the country's efforts to continue to accumulate power so that the country's sustainability was maintained. The belief that develops between countries is that there are only two choices, whether to conquer or be conquered. The development of a country's power or growth can occur when the state successfully acquires the territory of its neighboring kingdoms or other kingdoms.

*Arthaśāstra* is divided into three major parts. The first part deals with the administration of a country. This section describes the organizations that exist within a country. Like for example, what are the duties and responsibilities of each significant state official, whether it is in the form of efforts to maintain order or collect revenue for the country. The second part deals with the code of law and justice. This section includes an explanation of civil and criminal law as well as law enforcement efforts. Meanwhile, the third part deals with a foreign policy whose primary purpose is the acquisition of territory through conquest (Vittal, 2011). The three sections refer to the three goals of the state, namely wealth/welfare (economy), justice (law and order), and growth (expansion of territory/power). *Arthaśāstra* was compiled based on several ancient Hindu political books, political traditions, and life experiences. Chanakya The work consists of 32 parts, 15 *adikarana* (book) with 150 chapters, 180 *Prakarana* (section devoted to a specific topic), and 6000 slokas (Chati et al., 2018). *Adhikarana* (book) first discusses the King, the training that must be passed by the King, the procedure for appointing ministers and state officials, security, and state safety. The second *Adhikarana* explained the tasks that must be carried out by state executive officials. In the seventh *Adhikarana* Chanakya outlines the mandala theory, the state's circle (Raj Mandala Theory / the circle of state theory) and also the theory of six foreign policy (*Ṣaḍguṇya* / Six fold Foreign Policy) that can be used in various situations. These theories are used to achieve the final goal that has been set, namely, to ensure the welfare of the country (Rangarajan, 1992).

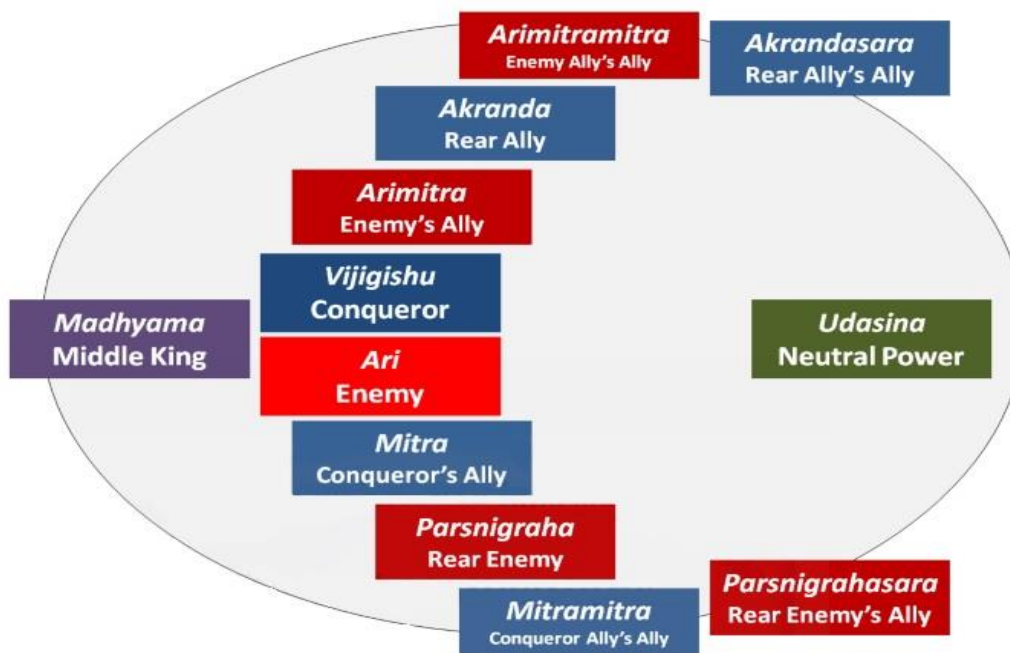
Associated with the defense of a country, in the eleventh, Adhikarana discusses how Vijigīṣu (leader of a country that has a passion for conquering) should be able to beat samghas or oligarchy governed by a group leader. While the thirteenth Adhikarana discusses the procedures for conquering the fortified capital of the enemy country either by relying on reason/pretext/negotiation (diplomacy) or through fighting (fighting), this section also discusses how to govern the conquered territories. Meanwhile, at the fourteenth Adhikarana, Cāṇakya discusses the secret methods that can be used to destroy enemy forces, ranging from medicine to occult methods. Then in the fifteenth Adhikarana Cāṇakya revealed an explanation of 32 types of *tantrayukti* or methods for treating the subject, the tools used in science-processing (Astana, Made, 2015). In Arthaśāstra, Cāṇakya outlines in detail the ways and methods to build a country and preserve its power in a strategically competitive environment and in adversarial power with the inherent danger of political subversion and social instability (Avalokitesvari et al., 2018).

Meanwhile, the threat was discussed at the eighth Adhikarana. Cāṇakya refers to disaster or threat by the term *vyasana*. This source of disaster or threat can come from within the country or abroad. The threat from within the country including the rebellions, famines, plagues, epidemics, internal strife, decadence ruler, merchant/officials are dishonest (corrupt), economic problems, treachery committed by state officials (ministers / high state officials), famine, drought, natural disasters (floods, forest fires), and domestic crime (robbery, theft). While disasters from outside the country can be in the form of enemy efforts to conquer/invade the *vijigīṣu* / state, defected allies, and infiltrate agents from foreign countries into the country (Astana, Made, 2015).

In Cāṇakya's view, the most potential external threat is from a country that borders directly with his country. Thus it can be said that the neighboring country is the most potent enemy where the highest external threat to the country comes from this neighboring country. Mapping threats, especially threats from outside the country, is described in the theory of Mandala. The geographical position of a neighboring state is immediately categorized as a natural and most potential enemy. Then every country that is allied with the neighboring country will also be classified as an enemy (Gonda & Kangle, 1967). On the other hand, enemies from neighboring countries should be invited to work together because they are categorized as friends. The simple language is "the enemy of your enemy is a friend, and the friend of your enemy is an enemy."

*Mandala Theory – The Circle of State Theory*, describes the geopolitical constellation of a country. his Mandala theory includes at least 12 state categories in the circle of a state. First, *vijigīṣu*, the would-be conqueror. Second, *ari*, the main enemy of the *vijigīṣu*. Third, *mitra*, the *vijigīṣu*'s ally. Fourth, *arimitra* the ally of the enemy. Fifth, *mitramitra*, the friend of the ally. Sixth, *arimitramitra* or the ally of an enemy's friend. Seventh, *parsnigraha*, or enemy in the rear of the *vijigīṣu*. Eighth, *akranda*, or the *vijigīṣu*'s ally in the rear. Ninth, *parsnigrahasara*, or the ally of *parsnigraha*. Tenth, *akrandasara*, or the ally of *akranda*. Eleventh, *madhyama*, or the middle King, which bordering both *vijigīṣu* and the *ari* or the middle power country. Meanwhile, the twelfth, *udasina* a country which is lying outside, indifferent/ neutral, more powerful than *vijigīṣu*, *ari*, and *madhyami*, or the major power state (Kangle, 1986). The description of the geopolitical constellation in the mandala theory can be seen from the illustration in the following figure.

Figure 1. Geopolitical Constellation in Mandala Theory



Source: Vittal, 2011

This geopolitical constellation is more a symbolic form and a form of confidence built by a country. It is possible to form overlapping mandalas between one kingdom and another. In this geopolitical constellation, not necessarily the *vijigīṣu* or the state which intends to conquer becomes the center of other countries literally. This geographical constellation is dynamic, where neighboring countries may be hostile, friendly, or vassal (subordinate) (Gonda & Kangle, 1967).

This state was confirmed by R.P Kangle (1986), that Cāṅakya did not hit all the neighboring countries as enemies. This is discussed in the seventh *Adhikarana*, chapter 18 of the 29th sutra, that:

The princes of neighboring countries, *samantas*, are usually considered hostile. But it is possible that some of them may have friendly feelings towards *vijigīṣu* (conquering states), while others may even submit to it. Neighboring countries fall into three categories; *aribhavin* (from hostile dispositions), *mitrabhavin* (from friendly dispositions), and *bhrytyabhavin* (from brotherly dispositions) (Kangle, 1986).

It is justified that the categorization of this country is based on several things such as actions/behaviors shown by neighboring countries towards *vijigīṣu*, shared goals to be achieved, differences in interests, the political content of the neighboring country's alliance with other countries and so forth. Furthermore, in Cāṅakya's view, neighboring countries are naturally seen as potential enemies, but not necessarily all neighboring countries are enemies. If the neighboring country always shows opposing attitudes and policies and is detrimental to the *vijigīṣu* and even has the potential to threaten, then the neighboring country is categorized as *aribhavin*. Meanwhile, if the neighboring country cooperates with the *vijigīṣu*, it does a lot of mutually beneficial cooperation with one another, has a shared vision of regional security and peace. The neighboring country is not an enemy but as a partner or *mitrabhavin*.

More in-depth analysis shows that the theory of the Mandala is one of the bases in running a foreign policy that is run during the Maurya dynasty under the supervision of Acharya Chanakya. Mandala theory, as explained in the above description, is a geopolitical constellation of countries that coexist with the *vijigīṣu* state. This theory states that potential threats emerge from countries that border directly or neighboring countries. In carrying out its foreign policy,

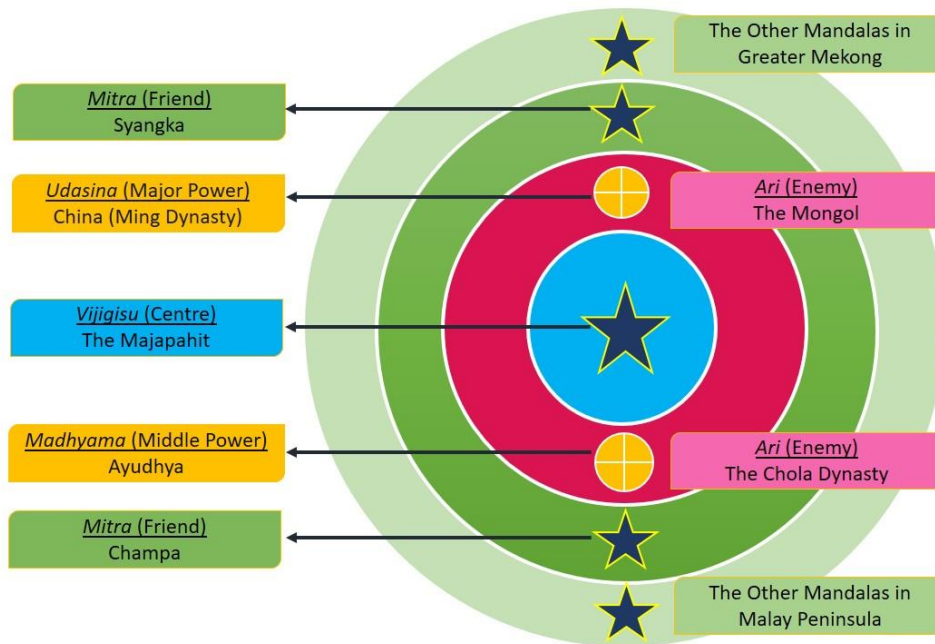
Cāṅakya always reminds the Maurya dynasty government to be guided by this theory in determining the position of the country, which will be invited to cooperate or be conquered.

After determining the position of the targeted country, the next step is what policy will be taken to deal with that country, namely *ṣāḍguṇya* or six-fold foreign policy. Next, it was decided what efforts would be considered as an integral part of the foreign policy (*catur upaya*), whether the *sama*, *dama*, *bedha*, or *danda*. This constellation is widely spread along with the growth of various kingdoms in Southeast Asia. (Chutintaranond, 1990) has written about the mandala pattern used by the Ayudhya kingdom, which was used as a form of state defense. This theory has been able to build the kingdom of Ayudhya to be significant and influential. (Boesche, 2003) said the constitutional structures of the Southeast Asian international society were primarily derived from ancient Indian political discourse based on the book of *Arthaśāstra* by Mauryan Chief Minister, Kautilya, in the 4<sup>th</sup> Century.

Furthermore, Kautilya's concept, the *Mandala*, was then adopted by Wolters (1968) to denote pre-colonial Southeast Asian political formations. Southeast Asian polities did not conform to the Chinese view as the polity defined by its centre rather than its boundaries, and it could be composed of numerous other tributary polities without undergoing administrative integration (Dellios, 2003). Mandala theory is the plan, the blueprint of the expedition with the intention of world conquest because Kautilya believes in strength and power. For him, "Power is the possession of strength," and it is in three forms: 1) Mantrashakti: the power of Knowledge, i.e., power of counsel; 2) Prabhu Shakti: Power of might, i.e., the power of treasury and army; and 3) Utsaha shakti: the power of energy, i.e., the power of bravery. Likewise, success is also threefold. By this theory, Kautilya indicated towards reality and made alert to the King to be a conqueror or suffer conquest. All his discussion is revolving around the desire of victory over the enemy and world conquest to establish unified, sovereign world empire that is the concept of Chakravarti – imperatively the Indian territories in between the Himalaya and the sea. Moreover, this theory provides a Geostrategic analysis of interstate relations. Therefore, it is the theory of geopolitics (Karad, 2015).

The application of the Mandala geopolitical theory, as explained by Cāṅakya in *Arthaśāstra* is also widely used in the Classical Southeast Asian Era. For instance, the Srivijaya period and the Golden Age of the Majapahit Kingdom with an area of power that stretches from the island of Sumatra to New Guinea, which covers the territories of Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei, Southern Thailand, the Philippines and East Timor at present (Manggala, 2013). Under the leadership of Supreme Minister Gajah Mada and the Charismatic Leadership of King Hayam Wuruk, the Majapahit Kingdom formed a geopolitical mandala by placing the surrounding kingdoms in concentric circles with Majapahit as the center of its circle (*chakravartin*). Foreign relations established by Majapahit refer to the Geopolitical Mandala, which places several countries as *Mitra* (friends/allies), *ari* (opponents/enemies), *madhyama* (middle power), and *udasina* (significant power). The Majapahit Geopolitical Mandala concentric circles can be described as follows.

Figure 2. Mandala Geopolitik Majapahit



Source: Adapted from (Manggala, 2013)

Majapahit put Champa as the rear friend. This constellation is based on Champa's position, which at the time rejected the Mongol hegemony in the region. Champa even rejected Mongol's request to use one of the ports in Champa as a place of embarking logistics when Kublai Khan launched a massive invasion of Java at the end of the 13th Century. On the other hand, Majapahit established a relationship with the Syangka kingdom because they both rejected the dominance of the Chola kingdom from the Indian sub-continent. This relationship is also based on the Chanakya doctrine "my enemy's enemy is my friend." The Syangka kingdom is an enemy of the Chola kingdom. Because Majapahit was also hostile to the Chola kingdom, Syangka as an enemy of the Chola kingdom was a *Mitra* or partner who was worthy of cooperation. These relationships show how Majapahit manifested the balance of its influence by establishing a relationship with the kingdom, which considered capable of reducing the hegemony of their enemy. Majapahit tried to ensure that its *ari* (enemy), the work of the Mongols and Cholas, was balanced by its *Mitra* (allies), the kingdoms of Champa, and Syangka.

Meanwhile according to (Muljana, Slamet, 979), Majapahit also built and maintained relations with Ayudhya because Ayudhya had created a population and had power in the Central Indochina Peninsula, which previously had no record of the influence of relations with the Majapahit kingdom. Majapahit placed Ayudhya as *Madhyama* (Middle Power). Meanwhile, Majapahit placed China, which was then under the Ming Dynasty empire, as *Udasina* or Major Power. Majapahit established trade relations with the Ming Dynasty to build a desired regional architecture. However, it was never under the control of Chinese influence. Majapahit formed a strategic partnership with China. Through this relationship, Majapahit established regional stability based on mutually beneficial economic cooperation, without having to submit politically to the Ming Dynasty in China. In the 15th poem Nagarakretagama, Majapahit mentions Campa, Cambodia, and Yawana are friendly countries (*Mitreka Satata*).

The important thing to understand in the constellation of geopolitical mandalas in Southeast Asia in the classical era, including in the golden age of Majapahit, was its international system that did not refer to the tributary system that was run by the empire in China. Countries that recognized the Majapahit authority paid several annual tributes and thus were under the "protection" of the Majapahit Kingdom. But they were given flexibility in



running their government as usual. There was no significant interference from Majapahit on the running of government in the kingdom. In other words, the kingdoms under the protection of Majapahit had autonomy over their respective territories. Another diplomatic approach used by Majapahit is to build alliances through marriages between royal families.

The Mandala Geopolitical Constellation used by the Majapahit Kingdom still shows a pattern that is almost similar to the constellation used by the Maurya Dynasty in India when Kautilya served as Prime Minister and principal adviser to the kingdom. There are clear definitions of partners (allies/friends), as well as definitions of the kingdom which are stated as *ari* (opponents/enemies/rivals), *madhyama* (middle Power), and *Udasina* (significant power). The position of the international system, which also still adopted an anarchic order, made the existing kingdom at that time need to form an alliance of cooperation to get protection from other kingdoms that were bigger and stronger in power. Meanwhile, this massive empire needs to continue to strengthen itself and preserve its power. The geopolitical constellation of the Mandala used by the Mauryan Kingdom was aimed at realizing the ambition of the Supreme Minister Kautilya to unite all the kingdoms in the Indian subcontinent under the Mauryan kingdom.

Meanwhile the Majapahit Kingdom's Mandala Geopolitical Constellation is aimed at fulfilling Gajah Mada's ambition to unite the kingdoms in the archipelago and surrounding areas under the rule of the Majapahit Kingdom. Most of the scholars remember *Vigraha* (war/invasion / hard power) as a method used in perpetuating power and carrying out foreign policy in the constellation of geopolitical mandalas. In contrast, *Vigraha* or war/invasion / hard power is only one of several approaches outlined by Kautilya. Another approach is to use the diplomacy method more. Like for example, it is achieving peace through a peace agreement / Cooperation (*samdhi*), conducting diplomacy to form an alliance or seeking support (*samsraya*), or being quiet/neutral (*asanas*). The Geopolitics of Majapahit kingdom run its Mandala, which focuses on cooperation between the kingdom, including trade cooperation.

The mandala concentric circle constellation can still be seen today in the foreign relations of Indonesia and other ASEAN countries. Even so, it cannot be denied that the changing times and the international political system have changed the pattern of approaches used in carrying out the mandala geopolitical constellation. At present, the mandala constellation in the form of concentric circles will mostly form a priority circle of cooperation between countries. It is because international norms make the state no longer able to declare other countries as enemies or rivals openly and freely. Besides, there is no longer any attack using hard power, which makes a country must seek alliances to obtain protection. The mandala concentric circle constellation of Indonesia's foreign cooperation places ASEAN as its first concentric circle. The next concentric circle is filled with cooperative relations with significant power countries and other countries that have a common goal or interest with Indonesia. This concentric circle is also apparent in the regional architecture of the cooperation carried out by ASEAN. Strategic groupings are carried out to form cooperation with other countries outside ASEAN, such as ASEAN + 1, ASEAN + 3, ASEAN + 6, and even East Asia Summit. ASEAN Plus One (dialogue partners), which consists of 6 (six) countries, namely China, Japan, Korea, India, Australia, and New Zealand, focuses on trade liberalization and regional comprehensive economic cooperation. ASEAN Plus Three (APT) began to be formed since 1997, involving three East Asian countries, namely China, Japan, and Korea. APT cooperation is based on the Joint Statement on East Asia.

Today, the mandala theory is also implemented in the concept of Indonesia's defense in geopolitics and geostrategy. The term geopolitics is used in a variety of contexts, as far as it is concerned with the political significance of geography and the strategic construction of countries towards geographic development (geostrategic). In geopolitical theories, geography is believed to be the dominant factor influencing the identity, behavior, and interaction of a country (Anggoro, 2017). Geostrategy is the formulation of a national strategy to take into



account the geographical conditions and the constellation as a major factor. In formulating geostrategy, it is necessary to pay attention to various internal and external factors that will influence it. For instance, the geography, demography, natural resources, ideology, politics, economics, social culture, and defense and security, in addition to other factors such as global and regional conditions (Mulyono, 2017). Thus geostrategy is the formulation of a national strategy by taking into account the circumstances and constellation of geography as its main factors.

In general, the view of geopolitics gives rise to two streams of power, firstly focusing on forces on land (continental) and secondly, focusing on strength in the sea (maritime). The Maurya Kingdom, setting its mandate focused on continental power, while Srivijaya and Majapahit focused more on sea power. However, in the past and present, the frontier region must receive attention in efforts to build a strong defense system. Just like in the past, Indonesia must pay close attention to the frontier region, which is the territory of the Republic of Indonesia's geography, which is located directly adjacent to neighboring countries. As a maritime country, Indonesia has recently strengthened geopolitics and geostrategy by paying attention to the sea area. This is demonstrated by Indonesia's response to geopolitical dynamics in the Indo-Pacific, where Indonesia's geographical position is right in the middle of the Indo-Pacific, with the originating of the Global Maritime Fulcrum (GMF). The Global Maritime Fulcrum is placed as geopolitics, a geographical director of a country's foreign policy which places the sea as an important dimension of the Global Maritime Fulcrum, a concept presented by President Jokowi at the East Asia Summit, in Naypyidaw Myanmar on November 13, 2014. While Japan and India first launched the concept of Confluence of the Two Seas in 2007, followed by the United States with Rebalancing toward Asia in 2011, and China with the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road in 2013. The four major powers competed in the Indo-Pacific region. (Yani & Montratama, 2018). This great program is ideal and strategic, considering that history shows that the Kingdom of Srivijaya and the Kingdom of Majapahit enjoyed its glory by mastering the route of service between China and India. China and India were great powers in the days of Srivijaya and Majapahit.

Five major powers (US, China, India, Japan, and Australia) have a large interest and try to secure in terms of shipping routes, market access, and access to resources in the Indo-Pacific region. Indonesia's position is right in the middle of the Indo-Pacific, which must be utilized as well as possible for the greatness of the Indonesian people. China is dealing with the US, India, Japan, and Australia. Indonesia's position to face a competition between these two great powers is not easy. On the one hand, Indonesia wants to continue to maintain positive relations with China, especially because Indonesia wants investment from China to improve infrastructure and also strengthen domestic industries that can open jobs. On the other hand, Indonesia also realized that China could have great potential to create instability in Southeast Asia, especially as a threat to ASEAN unity.

Since a long time ago, Kautilya Pandit, in his treatise Arthaśāstra has taught how political power must be attained and maintained but must not neglect the welfare of society, including its moral quality and way of thinking. Politics is dedicated to the welfare of society, not to destroy the nation's fundamentals, which are composed of morality and unity. Cāṅkya and Machiavelli are two camps of political thinkers of different eras and different lands. Still, the teachings have a common thread, even though they are disguised in the fabric of political morality to build virtue in the midst of society. (Surpi, 2019a). Indonesia now and in the future, must be awakened with intelligence and unity. More and more ancient Knowledge should be able to be read, constructed, and contributed to the thinking of national defense. In addition, more and more young people must learn Knowledge about national defense and also become national defense cadres (Surpi, 2019b).

The Mandala theory formulated by Kautilya was used as a concept of national defense during the Chandragupta Maurya period. The concept was adopted by several major kingdoms

in Southeast Asia, such as Ayudhya (Ayodhya, Ayutthaya) and Majapahit. The two big empires use the concept of Kautilya as the primary form of their geopolitical and geostrategic constellations. As a theory that is widely known and used in ancient kingdoms, the mandala theory was also adapted in defense of the Republic of Indonesia to strengthen Indonesia's position in Asia and the world (Surpi et al., 2019).

The implementation of Mandala Theory today is more concentric circles that are cooperating within the ASEAN Region. For then, it is enlarged for the sake of economic strength and cooperation in other fields. Today, no country can openly declare itself hostile to a certain country. But that does not mean there will be no problems that arise. Competition continues to occur even when there is a conflict of interest. Indonesia's relations with neighboring countries often experience ups and downs and dynamics from time to time. The strategy must continue to be changed following global developments and chess games carried out by many large countries, which often harm other countries. How should Indonesia continue to map geopolitics and work on geostrategy to face regional and even global divisions that have different interests? Moreover, the political constellation is not only a concept as outlined in a white paper but also requires the ability of its people to understand, design, and run geostrategy to succeed above the many global competition and rules.

Indonesia's foreign policy, which is Associative Diplomacy, always strives to develop significant relationships in cooperation with other countries, outside transactional interests and routine relations. ASEAN is like a yard and must continue to be improved, and Indonesia can go beyond Asia. Nevertheless, Indonesia and some countries in the inner circle are not without problems. Indonesia and Australia, despite close ties, have experienced several tensions that have resulted in the closure of the embassy office. Indonesia and Australia have sensitive zones to discuss, namely about West Papua. The convergence of so many dividing factors into this single issue would suggest that West Papua will continue as a significant test for the relationship (Day, 2015). The existence of Australia, which provides asylum for citizens who demand independence, has disturbed the excellent relations of Indonesia and Australia on many occasions.

Another example is the relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia, an allied country that is sometimes at odds. During the Sukarno administration, relations between Indonesia and Malaysia were marked by tension, which in the following period was the normalization and efforts to reduce conflict during the Suharto era. Indonesia's relations with Malaysia drifted apart in the 1990s when there was an Indonesian military training facility for Singapore that was considered a threat by Malaysia, a suspended sentence given to an Indonesian citizen in Sabah, to the disputes on the islands of Sipadan and Ligitan.

Tensions between Jakarta and Beijing illustrate how problems arose with neighboring countries, followed by various other issues. For example the abduction of Indonesian citizens in the Sulu Sea, piracy in the Malacca Strait, smuggling of weapons, narcotics, and humans through the Andaman Sea, to the issue of naval power competitions among maritime countries such as the United States, India, Russia, and of course China in the Indo-Pacific (Manurung, 2018). Various events often test Indonesian sovereignty. Therefore, in addition to the formulation of national defense, including geopolitics and geostrategy, qualified human resources are needed to execute the strategy brilliantly.

The future of Indonesia will be determined by the concepts of geopolitics and geostrategy that are implemented. All children of the nation must master geopolitics and geostrategy well. Because in the future, the glory of a country is determined to what extent the attitude of heroism and nationalism of its people. The national defense system is often sinister by many because it is considered weak. Indonesian territorial disputes often succumb to ASEAN's unity. This can be an indication that Indonesia's Mandala must be strengthened through strengthening geopolitics and geostrategy and carried out carefully.

## CONCLUSION

Mandala theory has been widely applied as a state defense and political concept in ancient India, the great kingdoms of Southeast Asia, and the famous Majapahit Mandala. In modern times, several countries in Southeast Asia adapted this mandala theory in their geopolitics and geostrategy. Today, modern states do not explicitly determine who their enemies are. However, there are competition, trade wars, and attempts to dominate. Indonesia must continue to mature its Mandala, in the sense of adaptation efforts that are adapted to the present context. Able to deal with neighbors who are often involved in the feud because of differences in interests and alliances of the interests of large countries. Indonesia must always mature its geopolitics and geostrategies to build an established national defense and be able to continue to strengthen the country and increase its prosperity in the politics of world regulation.

The mandala theory, built by Kautilya or Cāṇakya, was used extensively to create the Maurya kingdom, and the Knowledge was written in his famous treatise, *Arthaśāstra*. For the future of Indonesia, mandala theory must strengthen the concepts of geopolitics and geostrategy. Likewise, other theories in *Arthaśāstra* should be used to enrich the defense and management of the state. The involvement of an intellectual cadre of state defense in Indonesia is a strategic step in strengthening Indonesia's defense. However, serious efforts must be built by all parties in the interests of the nation and state.

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