SCIENCE OF ETHICAL GOVERNANCE COMPLEMENTING NATIONAL SECURITY

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Abstract:

Government of the people, by the people, for the people, sums up the definition of modern- day governance and puts in focus the necessity to fulfil the aspirations of the people. Fulfilling the commitment requires principled and efficient governance structure. Governance has the dual nature of being good and bad and therefore, impacts people, society and ipso facto the state. The subject of governance is relevant in discussing human security.

The paper postulates that ethics and people centric governance are prerequisites for nation building and human security. The congruence of concepts of the science of administration of a pre-modern era (17/18 Century A.D) with the writings of the Arthashastra, establish the importance of characteristics and principles necessary for administration in any form of government. Cameralism is one such concept which placed people above everything and is a useful idea to extrapolate for administrative and economic practices of the modern society.

The current pandemic encompassing the global community brings to focus the necessity of recalibrating the way we see humanity and perhaps restructure our priorities to the people rather than narrow selfish needs. The subjects of good governance thus go beyond the scope of ethical governance as a foundation for national security.

Index Terms - **Arthashastra, Cameralism, Dharma (Righteousness), human security, national security, Governance, Ethics**

INTRODUCTION

'Governance' is a process of deciding and implementation for the good of society. Government is one of the actors involved. It includes rural population, NGOs, Industry, religious leaders, political parties and institutions in the processing mechanism. Nation-states "exist to provide a decentralized method of delivering political (public) goods to persons living within designated parameters…." And "it is according to their performances—according to the levels of their effective delivery of the most crucial political goods—that strong states may be distinguished from weak ones... (Rotberg, as cited by Besancon, 2003). The responsibility to ensure good governance is dualistic. The government and people are shareholders. The well-being of the society and the nation are determined by conjoined participation. Abraham Lincoln very famously said, "*government of the people, by the people, for the people, ...*". The Gettysburg address is considered as one of the best-known speeches in American history. It sums up the definition of governance and puts in focus the necessity to fulfil the aspirations of the people. The Constitution of India has adopted this phrase, 'Of the people, for the people and by the people'. The Indian constitution personifies its commitment to secure justice, liberty and equality for the people and for promoting fraternity, dignity, unity and integrity of the nation. Fulfilling the commitment requires principled and efficient governance structure. Governance has the dual nature of being good and bad and therefore, impacts people, society and ipso facto the state.

Governance is relevant in discussing human security. Human security is increasingly viewed as a new normal in International Studies (IR). In academic research and debate, the term human security has found a place in all schools of thought as realists, liberals, critical theorists and constructivists seek clearer definitions and ways to measure data relating to human security to generate policy-related research plans (Peter Sutch & Juanita Elias, 2007).

Human Security Unit of the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) defines human security as,

Human security is far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good administration and access to economic opportunity, education and health care. It is a concept that comprehensively addresses both 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want'. (Kofi Annan, 2000). Good governance and access to economic opportunity are keywords in the definition by the UN. Human security is what affects an individual in his daily life. It assumes a corollary that bad governance affects people adversely, weakening the nation and providing opportunities to exploit by stronger nations. Conversely, good governance provides the backbone for a strong nation which can implement its national security goals. Principles of good governance and its characteristics are important determinants of impact on people. India's ancient literature provides concepts and ideas of governance that resonates with the requirement of human security definition of the UN.

Arthashastra considered a masterpiece on governance was written in 3 / 4 B.C. It is a set of instructions to the king on how to govern and expand his kingdom. Kautilya the author of Arthashastra, was a minister and mentor to the king. The establishment of the Mauryan empire which extended from the Hindukush in the West, Himalayas in the North and peninsular India is a credit to his intellect and guidance. Kautilya covers in detail all aspects of administration as we know today, including foreign relations and diplomacy.

The homological link to the modern science of administration and ancient India is 'Cameralism'. It is a precursor to the modern system of administration. The origin of the word 'Cameralism' is attributed as a German science of administration and a counterpart of French 'Mercantilism'. The administrator of Royal finances was called 'Camerarius' and thus cameralism became the predecessor of the modern science of Public Administration. As a science of administration, it ensured the fulfilment of wants and needs of the people and resuscitated Germany after the 30-year war. The concept of *Cameral science* consisting of three disciplines of *Cameralwissenschaft (public finance), Polizeiwissenschaft (administration of order)* and *Oeconomie (economic policy in a wider sense)* (Hans-Christoph Schmidt am Busch, 2009.) came into focus for teaching cameralism and the teachers were called Cameralists. The subject is of great import to the form of governance today since it shows an approach of control over economic activities and matters of good governance to expand the state power. Thus, cameralism arose as a governance philosophy in the mid 17th Century.

The paper postulates that ethics and people-centric governance are prerequisites for nation-building and human security. The congruence of concepts of the science of administration of a pre-modern era (17/18 Century A.D) with the writings of the Arthashastra, establish the importance of characteristics and principles necessary for administration in any form of government. Cameralism is one such concept which placed people above everything and is a useful idea to extrapolate for administrative and economic practices of modern society.

The paper is organised in two parts. First, elaborate on the criteria for a people
-centric administrative system satisfies good governance and secure the lives of its people. The second, establish the applicability of the concepts and principles of 'Indian Cameralism' for present-day institutions of governance.

The contextual ideas of the subject are derived from a dialectical ingenuity
involving a methodological approach of transposing ancient thoughts to the lexicon of modern political science. The methodology assumes a homological identity of the ancient thoughts to key concepts of pre-modern cameralism and practice of governance in the twentieth century.

GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY

Governance. The concept of 'governance' involves a decision-making process which has formal and informal actors participating in it. It is a system of direction and control. Government is a formal actor accountable to the people. Civil society is an informal participant, not accountable yet important. Governments have a responsibility of exercising their authority in managing the resources of the country. Good governance is a widely used phrase in discussing development. Donors and financial institutions base their aid on conditions of 'good governance'. What is good governance? If governance is an exercise of authority in managing resources of a nation then, good governance makes sure that this authority helps improve the quality of life.

Criteria for Good Governance The object of all social theories was to show how the welfare of the State might be secured (Phillip Wilhelm Von Hornigk, 2018). The welfare of the State was the source of all other welfare. Good governance has 8 major characteristics (United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, n.d). It is participatory, consensus-oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society. Administration and rule of law bind a society into one happy mass of progressiveness.

The administration is a subset of governance. It is through good administrative practices that a nation can be governed effectively. Ethics, the honesty of purpose and integrity drives the institution for direction, supervision and implementation. The capability of administrators and the ruler (elected leader in democracies) drives the decision process. The third level of measurement is the participation of society and the acceptability of the people. I consider ethics (honesty and integrity of decision-makers and implementors), rule of law and competence and capacity as benchmark indices of effective nation-building. The achievable aspects of the principles mentioned rest on the dedication and involvement of the ruler and his administrators. A focus of welfare of the people by incorruptible ministers and bureaucracy will ensure the desired quality of governance. Society and people do not exhibit idealistic behaviours. They need to be conditioned by a rule-based order. Law and justice form the next important element of public administration.

The ruler or leader, the administrator(s) and the administrative machinery form the three key pillars of governance mechanism. The three are interdependent organisms. Capability, Enthusiasm, Honesty and Integrity, ethics of conduct are the core traits of those involved in the process of administering the nation and leading it to a path of economic progress. Economic progress removes the fear of want and provides a sense of happiness and security to the people.

Human Security Traditional view of security-focused on territorial integrity through the use of military force. The end of the Soviet Union and the reduced threat of major wars signalled a review on the meaning of security. Scholars, analysts began to recognise environmental threats, epidemics, natural calamities as an important measure of security. The argument of human security in the security literature captured the view that the focus of security studies should shift from the state to the individual and should encompass military as well as non-military threats (King & Christophe, (2001). UNDP report on *Human Development Report* (HDR) in 1994 became a seminal script on human security. The 1994 Report introduced a new concept of human security, which equates security with people rather than territories, with development rather than arms (UNDP, 1994). It emphasised concern with human life and dignity, drawing attention to the people-centric approach. Protection (survival and livelihood), dignity, and a paramountcy status in society became core values in defining human security. A conception of security that is centred above all on the sanctity of the individual may be called human security (Bajpai 2000). Kanit Bajpai places importance on physical safety, well-being and individual freedom. The UN definition of freedom from want and freedom from fear is debatable. Want relates to development while fear is attributable to protection. Quantification of human needs is a vast list and difficult to categorise under broad headings. The UN report grouped seven threats: hunger, poverty, health, environment, community, and political as fundamental to human security. The seven identified threats signify the physical well-being of humans. The means to overcome the threats was a strong economy which is a function of the government.

There are fundamental differences among scholars in conceptualizing security. Nevertheless, concepts on human security and state security have points of convergence. Both proactively identify threats on empirical data and develop systematic, durable and coordinated responses. The responses involve legal frameworks, political, economic and legit military instruments of power. Thus, recognition of the importance of human lives and livelihood as a factor of security, identification of threats and responses thereof and instrumentality of institutions define the link of the importance of governance with state security.

ARTHASHASTRA AND GOVERNANCE

Kautilya's Arthashastra was set against a backdrop of 3-4th Century B.C, in an anarchic world with a fractured political system. It is an encyclopaedical work covering inter-alia, governance, public administration, economics, law, foreign policy and diplomacy, military affairs and intelligence. *Kautilya's Arthashastra* considered a 'classic' by Weber, Hillebrandt, Zimmer and many western authors. Gerard Chaliand (1994), states "Kautilya's Arthashastra must be regarded as one of the major political and strategic treatises of the ancient world". Heinrich Zimmer proclaimed Arthashastra as the first complete anthology of the timeless laws of politics, economy, diplomacy, and war (Zimmer Heinrich, 1976**).**

The philosophy of Arthashastra is indicated in its conception and scope in two contexts. First, Government (Danda- one who wields the rod or sceptre) is necessary for the existence and functioning of philosophy, the traditional faith and economic occupation. Science, which regulates it is *Dandaniti* (Governance). Second, the extent of a Nation, its geography and the nations in its neighbourhood determine its strategy, National aims and objectives, the foreign policy and the requirement of a military balance.

The **environment** under which the Arthashastra was composed was a social milieu, within which the king, his Government and the people had to function (Rangarajan L.N, 1992). The Treatise was about an ideal state and therefore forms a theoretical framework for the art of governance. The 'Ideal State' idea should not be misconstrued as an imaginary or utopic entity. The concept is derived from prevalent traditions, customs and practices of ancient India, including the concept of the state according to ancient political theory. Suffice it to adopt Weber's terminology that India was a 'patrimonial state'. The Arthashastra became an instruction to the king of an existing state on the practice of a monarchical kingdom.

Importance of wealth creation for *Yogakshema* and the need for an elaborate administrative structure defined the necessity of governance.

"All undertakings depend upon finance. Hence foremost attention shall be paid to the treasury" (Sutra 2.8.1)

"Public prosperity (pracharasamrddhih), rewards for good conduct (charitriinugrahah)* capture of thieves, dispensing with (the service of too many) government servants, abundance of harvest, prosperity of commerce, absence of troubles and calamities (upasargapra- mokshah), diminution of remission of taxes, and income in gold (hira payanam) are all conducive to financial prosperity" (Sutra 2.8.2, Shamasastry, 1951, p 65). The above two stanzas explain the importance of wealth creation. Kautilya also mentions of the interdependent nature of wealth with army. The State, as conceived by Kautilya, is predominantly an economic one. The evidence comes from the Sutra (verse), 'Wealth, righteousness and enjoyment are the triad of worldly existence' (Arthashastra Sutra 9.7.60,61, Translated by Naik, 1932, p.108). Of these, it is better to secure that which is mentioned in the order of enumeration. He makes this replacement because in his opinion, "wealth is the basis of virtue and enjoyment (Naik, 1932).

For Kautilya, the existence of the kingdom and the king are axioms (Rangarajan) or a conflated nature of the ruler and the state. Liebig considers the state bureaucracy as an institutional expression of the kingdom's eigenvalue, the inherent logic of the state's conduct is expressed in Kautilya's *Raison d'état; preserving and expanding the power of the state* (Subrata Mitra, Liebig Michael, 2017). It, therefore, becomes a contractual bind between the ruler and the ruled. The ruler is vested with 'supreme functions' categorized as the ruler's *Dharma* to strengthen the power of the kingdom, assure the security and material well-being of the subjects. While the ruler is the sole and supreme authority, code of ethics, conduct and judiciousness binds him. The concept of an ideal state to flourish requires an ideal king. Dharma and purpose of the state became an essential framework for the 'Ideal State'.

Ancient Indian society was described as a patrimonial society. The Indian society had wealthy merchants and guilds including prosperous artisan guilds but was subject to the dominion of the king. Adherence to Dharma (Righteousness) for all actions, rule-based society in which everyone was required to follow his/her role in society, emphasis and strict following of the *four stages of life* (adolescence, family, contemplative on begetting grandchild and detachment from worldly affairs as the final stage) became the social foundation of the kingdom. The *varna system* categorized the society based on their skill sets and capabilities and bound them with a responsibility to follow their respective profession/ role in society without violation. Every person was committed to the fulfilment of his/her responsibility which ensured his/her salvation. The political task of the ruler was to ensure the inviolability of the caste system. The Kautilyan state was a secular state. The caste system decentralized the functions within a society. For example, production, trade and financial power rest with the *vaishyas*. The *Kshatriyas* were protectors and *brahmins* the teachers and spiritual leaders. Thus, power was decentralized among the society and ensured participation, responsive and consensual political entity.

Kautilya gave a codified structure to the state. The goal of the state was to provide and ensure the well-being of the people (Yogakshema). It established the Primacy of the king as the sole authority of the state. The role of the ruler was to protect (Raksana & Palana)- ensuring territorial integrity and securing the lives of the people of the kingdom. This referred to the administration of the kingdom. Yogakshema became the responsibility of the state. The analogy of a state emerges from the concept of 'Matsya Nyaya' (Might is Right). Michael Liebig (2014), explains the political anthropology of the Arthashastra on two assumptions:

- Lust, greed, striving for domination are central features of man's anthropological constitution. Man, as an individual has an anthropological disposition for 'egoism' and 'social bodies' of human beings are 'selfish'.
- These anthropological dispositions lead to conflicts of interests and power struggles. Man's political world is one of anarchy and insecurity within and among political communities – Matsya nyāya.

Kautilya's *ideal state* gives primacy to the king. The ancient Hindus had realized the importance of organised rule embodied in a King (Naik, 1932). Book 1 of the Arthashastra deliberates on the following:-

- Personal qualities and training of a ruler and method of exercising his powers.
- The importance of learning philosophy (the basis of logical thinking and decision making).
- Leading a disciplined way of life.

Arthashastra mentions four fundamental concepts (Subrata Mitra, Liebig, 2017).

(a) The economy is the basis of state capacity.

(b) The rulers' wise and prudent use of the coercive power of the state is a precondition to ensuring its stability and prosperity.

(c) The irrational and arbitrary use of state power leads to the rebellion of the people.

(d) A weak and passive state leads to social and political anarchy (Matsya nyāya).

How does Arthashastra compare with the ideology and characteristics of good governance? Arthashastra recognized the triad of Leader, Administrator and the normative structure of state and state machinery as foundations for a prosperous empire. Indian social thought expressed itself in terms of a static ideal in the policy. The king who aspires to universal dominion (Vijigishu-Emperor) should resort to war sparingly and build a confederated empire by the use of elaborate and complex diplomacy. What 'Indian cameralism' demanded from the 'King' was an ascetic reformist who leads a life of dedication with little scope for the wayward pursuit of low pleasures. The duty of the Prince does not end when he has secured independence for his state and internal order. He must work actively to promote morality among the people. The King is aided by ministers with habits of intense labour, frugal living, and dutiful subservience to the state. Aiyengar (1949) explains the word 'Vartta' as a science dealing with the economics of a community engaged in a pastoral and agricultural activity which evolved into a study of economics, industry and trade. There is a similarity with the word *Oeconomics* used by cameralists. In consonance was the modern science of cameralism which said that the key to sustainable wealth and happiness lay neither in conquest nor expansive economic development, but instead in the conservation and effective exploitation of local resources (agriculture, mining, forestry, fisheries and manufacturing). The emphasis was on local production, organisation of domestic production and trade as a means of inclusive growth rather than relying on foreign trade as was the concept of mercantilism. Cameralism advocated hierarchical and monolithic control of economic activities. Arthashastra also emphasized centralization in the form of state control of strategic sectors of the economy: mining and metallurgy, manufacture of military goods, precious metals and infrastructure. The societal living was secular and accepted plurality and diversity which is a characteristic of Indian cultural space. Thus, the ancient Indian system of welfare and governance came to comprehend politics, economics and administration (Aiyangar, 1949). Weber uses the term 'cameralism' as the most appropriate characterization of the economic system of the ancient Indian patrimonial state:

"In India, all science of social life remained in the form of a policing and cameralistic technology [Kunstlehre]. This can well compare with the contributions of our [European] 17th and early 18th-century cameralism" (Weber as cited in Mitra, Liebig, 2017).

CAMERALISM

Germany suffered ruinous destruction during the "Thirty Years War" and the immediate task of reconstruction though daunting was the urgent need to transit to peace. Systemizing revenue, restoring treasuries and administration became a priority. The task of the cameralists was to piece together the shattered elements of the German economic and political system and create stable governments and prosperous communities (Aiyangar, 1949). The problems at that time were, knowing what to do and finding the right persons to do it. The science of Cameralism had an impact on other nations such as the Scandinavian countries, Russia and Portugal and branched off into Mercantilism in France and the UK. Some authors may view Cameralism as German variant of Mercantilism. "The purpose is to strengthen the power of the state leadership externally and internally. Thus, mercantilism means the formation of the modern power state, directly by increasing state revenues, indirectly by increasing the population's capacity to pay taxes" (Weber as cited in Mitra, Liebig, 2017). Mercantilism stuck a balance between the state and private economic players, while cameralism emphasized on a dominating role of the state in managing private economic actors. The conceptual differences notwithstanding, the subject is of great import to the form of governance today since it shows an approach of control over economic activities and matters of good governance to expand the state power. Thus, cameralism arose as a governance philosophy in the mid 17th Century.

The western cameralists were regarded as political scientists who were servants and supporters of the state, to whom the purposes of the state were paramount. Rangaswami Aiyangar explains that the western cameral aims of the state were, protection of the people (just laws, affordable and expeditious judicial procedures, protection of property), sustenance through the development of agriculture, commerce, ensuring internal and external security by an efficient standing army and police, adopting a foreign policy that ensures 'balance of power' and extending the sphere of influence of the state (spiritual, ethical and economic) became imperatives of existence. Richard Wagner describes cameralists as consultants to the various kings, princes, and other royal personages who ruled throughout those lands (Wagner R.E. 2012). In a modern-day bureaucracy, a bureaucrat is expected to be more loyal to the State than his/her political masters and provides the much-needed checks and balances between right and wrong.

The main ideas of Cameralism are synthesized by Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi (18th Century cameralist), in his book Staatswirtschaft -State Economics, 1758, (Mihalache A. 2008). According to Justi, the state is, more precisely, a form of cooperation characterized by the existence and enforcement of generally binding and lasting rules which is acceptable to all. It is a unification of will of the majority. "Any man can consider himself happy if he is free, lives in favourable external circumstances, and enjoys perfect security" (Justi, as cited by Hans-Christoph Schmidt, am Busch. 2009).

Cameralism can be explained as the school of statecraft or economics which based itself on expanding population. This was directly related to the view that each individual was a net producer, rather than a drain on society, and that the source of wealth in society is not raw materials or land, but the productive powers of labour of individuals. It evolved into a concept of a requirement to improve that productive power, through education, infrastructure and technological advance (Mihalache, 2008). Marten Seppel and Keith Tribe in their book discuss the impact of cameralism on practices of governance and acknowledge the necessity of this 'form' of science for nation-building. They also acknowledge that Cameralism did not concern itself only with the planned development of a state's economic potential and revenues but viewed the needs of the state in a broader context: of the administrative and economic management appropriate for the welfare of the country, its people and economic prosperity (Marten Seppel and Keith Tribe, 2017). Cameralists presumed that the happiness and welfare of the population was part of the sphere of state governance. The ruler should care not only for the state's fiscal interests but even more so for the general welfare of his subjects. This linkage of the interests of the ruler with those of his subjects was one of the principal concerns of seventeenth-century authors (such as Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff, Johann Joachim Becher and Wilhelm Schroder) –for the welfare and well-being of subjects is the foundation upon which all happiness of a ruler of such subjects must be based (Marten Seppel and Keith Tribe, 2017). This thought appears as an exact transposition of Kautilyan assertion of, " In the happiness of the subjects lies the happiness of the king, and in what is beneficial to the subjects his own benefits" (Arthashastra Sutra 1.19.34 as cited in Kangle, 1988).

GOVERNANCE AND SECURITY

While security can be sub-divided into external and internal variants, Justi further divided Internal Security into two notions, namely internal security of the state and internal security of the individual (Hans-Christoph Schmidt am Busch. 2009). Justi explains the concepts of freedom, security and inner strength (individual well-being) when he says that a state enjoys full internal security as long as the supreme power is respected, and the constitution maintained. The citizen enjoys full internal security if as a person and owner of goods he is not subject to injustice and violence. Security of a nation lies in the security and happiness of the people. Hans Morgenthau describes national morale as an important facet of national power. The quality of people's support to cause results in its success or failure. Morgenthau attributes national morale to the quality of governance. He says, without national morale, national power is either nothing but material force or else a potentiality which awaits its realization in vain (Hans Morgenthau, 1949).

Kautilya is more specific when he enumerates the primacy of protecting the people. The duty of the ruler is not confined to the physical security of the people and the borders. *Yogakshema* implies the idea of welfare, well-being, including the idea of prosperity, happiness and so on (Kangle). Thus, *yogakshema* becomes one of the foremost duties of the state. To ensure this role the state must guarantee personal protection and that of property. Corrupt officials, thieves, anti-social elements are considered thorns in fulfilment of this responsibility and therefore are required to be weeded out. Kautilya adds that a wise king will protect his subjects against the intrigues of the enemy, irrespective of whether the persons are likely to be subverted or not (Arthashastra, Sutra 1.13.26 translated by Rangarajan, 1992). The Arthashastra identifies people who can be subverted by the enemy as those who are angry, greedy, frightened and haughty. The underlying logic being that anyone unhappy with the king for a reason can be subverted. The unhappy person switches allegiance to another king. The cause of such dissension leads to insecurity and is exploitable by the enemy. While the laws nominally bound peasants to the land, given the often-short distances between polities (German principalities), it was feasible for those within a prince's domain, if they were unsatisfied with the terms by which they were governed, to leave for another prince's domain who may offer better terms. (Salter A.W, 2016). A shifting allegiance of the people is a symptom affecting national security.

Kautilya's response to unforeseen calamities is also a pointer to how issues of human and socioeconomic welfare were prioritised by the state. Kautilya writes, "In times of calamities, the land should not only be capable of sustaining population but also outsiders, when they come into the kingdom, in times of calamities." Kautilya did foresee the linkage between natural disasters and potential conflicts and epidemics and environmental security came under the ambit of state security (Medha Bisht, 2016). Thus, the welfare of the people also included taking adequate health safety measures, as it was directly linked to the prosperity, stability and security of the state. Similarly, during famines, grains from royal stores were distributed, exemption of taxes was made, public works like road constructions were started for the unemployed, rich were heavily taxed and help from foreign countries was also sought (Sinha, 1971).

It is against this background that one correlates a need for good governance as mandatory to ensure sustained welfare of the people and their happiness. It is through sustained happiness that one can hope to achieve efficient and comprehensive security of the nation.

Taking the argument of the core theory of economic well-being and effective administration of the people as a foundation of security, it can be stated that, the most important takeaway of post-cameralist governance mechanisms, in theory, and practice, are ways of institutionalizing and environment where bureaucrat-administrators have the information and incentives to govern in a wealth-producing manner.

Good governance the cameralist way is explained as a paradigm involving monocentric hierarchical administrative organisation vs a polycentric structure which works on the principle of feedback and incentives for the administrators. Alexander Salter compares the polycentric form of administration of Singapore and the centralized structure of the UAE and concludes that both have their relative advantages and shortcomings. Yet they have resulted in robust systems that have produced vibrant economies. According to Buchanan (1975), good governance is about protecting property rights, collective goods provision, simultaneously preventing the predatory possibilities created by the concentration of power.

Governance in Singapore is described as the 'carrot' of pecuniary incentives linking administrators' rewards with the health of the economy (and hence the state) is also paired with a formidable 'stick': Singapore harshly deals with instances of shirking and corruption (Salter). Kautilya uses the principle of justice in,

"It is the power of punishment alone when exercised impartially in proportion to the guilt, and irrespective of whether the person punished is the King's son or an enemy, that protects this world and the next." (Arthashastra Sutra 3.1.42, translated by Rangarajan, 1992).

In contrast, the administrative structure of the UAE resembles a family business. Governance is a hierarchical bureaucracy with power resting with the monarchies. It is, however, the ruling family which has the political authority and not the monarch. While the above two models of administrative structures are not comprehensive in arriving at an outcome. The underlying method of good governance depends upon a dynamic feedback mechanism to create people-friendly policies along with incentives to the administrators as a mechanism to deliver as well as to be accountable.

Historically, the intellectual antecedents of modern bureaucracy lie in the German tradition of public administration (Salter). Cameralism as a science is also closely connected with the development of bureaucracy in the early modern period because it was a method aimed at increasing the efficiency of cameralists. The selection of ministers by Kautilya and the importance of the incorruptible nature of those selected finds import in the modern era. Juxtaposing this thought in modern-day India we find that lack of ethics and ownership in governance is the singular cause for unhappiness amongst the society and derides meaningful development. The underlying cause for the complete lack of ethics, however, is complex. The foundations of an amoral society were laid post-independence when a traditional society was to be modernized and humanized through state intervention. While bureaucrats grew in numbers, archaic British rules and laws remained, creating an amoral polity adrift without a code of conduct. The potential for uniting ethical values and codes was also completely ignored from the time of Independence. 'Secularism'- protecting the rights of minorities that allowed communal groups to manifest themselves and emphasize differences instead of similarities became the norm. Distrust of people, scarcity of resources led to highly centralized decision making thus exacerbating bureaucratic corruption. The Second Administrative Reforms Commission in its fourth report, published on 31 August 2007, identifies three principal reasons for aggravation of corruption in India. First, there is a colonial legacy of unchallenged authority and propensity to exercise power arbitrarily (Government of India, 2007). Post-Independence, a set of policies created overwhelming centralized control and the public was at the mercy of the State. The majority of the organized

sector was identified with government jobs which created a power structure along with centralized control. The asymmetrical power between the state institutions and the common people lowered societal pressures to conform to ethical behaviour making corruption an indulgence. The commission reported that over-centralization increased corruption. The causal factors became endless.

Governance applies to the exercise of power in a variety of institutional context; the object of which is to direct, control and regulate activities in the interests of people as citizens, voters and workers (Herbert et al., 2014, P31.). Accountability, Legitimacy and Transparency are imperatives to the definition of governance. Observance of the three imperatives denotes good governance and the absence of the obverse. Herbert C. Edeh, Michael I. Ugwueze (2014) in their study on Boko Haram, have identified corruption, self-interest and loss of political legitimacy due to undemocratic leadership as the bane of the crisis of governance in Nigeria. The study accepts National Security as a value of physical safety and also the safety of cherished values. Security is objective by a measure of the absence of threat, anxiety or danger and is subjective by a measure of the absence of fear that such threats will not materialize.

The Second Administrative Reforms Commission in its Seventh report identifies poor governance as a major cause of tension amongst individuals and society (Government of India, 2008). The real problem in India is the conflict over resources but camouflaged in various forms of identity politics based on religion, caste, region, ethnicity, language and less frequently based on ideological divides. According to the report, the potential for conflict will always exist in a society with its members having different mores, interests, and socio-economic conditions and needs. Thus, in any society, for a variety of reasons, perceptions may be conceived about a group or communal interests being harmed or relatively deprived. What exacerbates and ensures the conflict is the inflammation provided by vested interests. The indicators of the conflict go through a cyclic phase and have an escalation ladder (Government of India, 2008). At every stage of the conflict, one can come across weak governance, interference and inept handling by administrators/governments.

Corruption is a contra indicator of economic growth. The above two reports (Nigeria and Administrative Reforms Commission) indicate that resources of a nation are directed towards the welfare and benefit of its people through good Governance only. An increased economy minimises threats and a corresponding decline in insurgencies and improvements in the internal security situation of a nation. Cleo Paskal (13 May 2020), cites the manipulations by political leaders in India to create a cyclic path to make money, ferret money out of the country, utilise it abroad and to move it back, by a series of policy measures. She cites it as an embedded system that has stifled economic growth and creating a security risk by opening some of the highest levels of governance to blackmail.

Ethics of Governance in Ancient India In tackling the issue of ethics in governance, the two classical sources of Ancient Indian works of literature- Arthashastra and Thirukkural are worth considering for their thoughts. Kautilya's concept of what is good governance is reflected in his approach to the adequacy of compensation in the form of good pay of official administrators and maintaining a hierarchical approach to calculation and distribution of wages. The correct perspective on this matter is derived from the Sutra 5.3.1 of the Arthashastra, which states,

> *By the requirements of his forts and country parts, the king should fix under one-fourth of the total revenue the charges of maintaining his servants. He should look to the bodily comforts of his servants by providing such emoluments as can infuse in them the spirit of enthusiasm to work. He should not violate the course of righteousness and wealth* (Arthashastra Sutra 5.3.1. Trans, Shamasastry, 1915/1951).

Kautilya as a realist is explained by Gupta (1987) when he says, Dharma-sutra teaches morality and lays down the duties of the individual and regards deviation from them as sin. Kautilya is a realist and deals with duties, violation of which is regards as crimes and punished by the State. A study by Dr Gerrit, De Vylder Et al, (2014) mentions that in the first two years of service, the salaries of an IAS officer are more than or at par with what Kautilya had recommended. However, at senior levels in the bureaucracy, the salaries earned were much less from what was prescribed by Kautilya for Governmental officials. When employees perceive inequity in the ratio of outputs to inputs of self and others, they take steps to correct it. Liberalising the economy in 2009 caused a visible disparity in wages between the private sector and the bureaucracy. Given the low salaries and poor opportunities for economic growth, it is no wonder that the overall satisfaction of government servants with their pay and benefits was very low and even though they were quite satisfied with their job and were proud of being government servants, it did not compensate for their dissatisfaction with the poor pay and benefits. It would be fair to assume that the Pay Commissions as an institutional tool for pay fixation in India adequately compensate the government employees and reduces the disparity between the private and public sector. While Kautilya was liberal on the issue of compensation, he was also correct in ensuring punitive legal action of the fraudsters and those engaging in unethical behaviour in quick time. If the punishments for misdeeds and corruption, as described in the Arthashastra, are any indication, it was most unlikely that the Mauryan state could be defrauded by the people or its officials. Kautilya's realism in tackling ethical deficit including corruption of important office bearers was not shared by other philosophers of India existing around similar period.

Thiruvalluvar, a Tamil poet was one who did not share the pragmatic solution of Kautilya in tackling the ethical deficit. The Tirukkural, (literally Sacred Verses), or shortly the Kural, is a classic Tamil language text consisting of 1,330 couplets or Kurals. Considered as one of the greatest works on ethics it has been translated into at least 42 world languages, with about 57 different renderings in the English language alone (Wikipedia contributors. (2019, August 16).
Thiruvalluvar, through his couplets, goads society to be virtuous, noble and honest in their dealings. The Kurals spiritually extort society and convey a sense of love and compassion in addressing the conduct of men and women in society. said that wealth acquired with proper means will yield virtues and happiness and when used for the noble purpose will earn peace and prosperity.

> *Though a minister may see his mother starve; let him do not act which the wise would (treat with contempt).* (Kural 656. Trans, Pope, Drew, 1982).
> *(For a minister) to protect (his king) with wealth obtained by foul means is like preserving a vessel of wet clay by filling it with water.* (Kural 660, Trans, Pope, Drew, 1982).

Thiruvalluvar valued wealth just as Kautilya emphasized the creation of wealth as the foundation for a secure empire. The following couplets of the Kural explain the value attached to wealth.

Besides wealth, there is nothing that can change people of no importance into those of (some) importance. (Kural 751. Trans, Pope, Drew).

All despise the poor; (but) all praise the rich. (Kural 752. Trans, Pope, Drew).

An inference that can be drawn from the 'Kurals' is that wealth was a means to fight poverty and society should not have inequalities in wealth. Thiruvalluvar's conclusions were equally remarkable: he stated that ethical values coincide with a good economy and that therefore a free market is necessary. Basically, humans are naturally good and contribute positively to the economy, a clear difference from Kautilya and certainly on a philosophical plane.

Indian *cameralism* suffered at the hands of invasions and imperialism. Today, the faith in individual virtue and democracy and the germinal philosophy and ideas of the past are either forgotten or subjected to criticism. The Indian Cameral thought of exalting the State to save the society has been permanently thrust to the background, just as the ideals of '*Dharmasastra' and 'Arthashastra'* have fallen out of sympathy and forgotten due to the advent of 'Imperialism'. The enormity of restoring idealism in Nationalism is stupendous. A true leader will always lead by their example. If a leader is honest, sincere and committed to the task assigned to him, the vibes created percolate down the hierarchy cleansing the system that he controls. We need a majority who subscribe to the thought of ethical cleansing as a National priority.

The Pandemic   The magnitude of the Covid-19 crises is beyond the perceptions nurtured by humanity on epidemics and pandemics despite numerous records in history. An epidemic or a pandemic is a grave health issue which becomes the prime focus of governance and calls for a sense of urgency. The current global crisis is not only a simple issue of countries addressing the concerns individually but has serious implications on a wide range of security-related subjects such as biological warfare, International relations and multilateralism.

An epidemic is a causal factor for psychosocial vulnerabilities. Vulnerability is an internal state of an individual or group and is either inborn or acquired due to circumstances such as epidemics, hunger. Vulnerability sets off a set of behaviour amongst affected people or individual. The theoretical basis for the behavioural aspects of humans is explained by the German-Jewish philosopher and sociologist Helmuth Plessner. A 1931 study, 'Macht und menschilche Natur' by Plessner, mentions that man is not principally anti-social. However, the necessity of self-preservation, primarily due to the basic needs of food, shelter and clothing which are essential to survival, leads to conflicts of interests inevitably. Epidemics are health emergencies which threaten human lives. Invariably, countries resources will appear insufficient as seen in the EU and the USA trying to manage the Covid crisis. A major epidemic also brings in psychosocial disturbances that exceed the populations capacity to handle the situation and the entire population could experience extreme stress. While some psychological manifestations are transitory due to living through the traumatic experience some can turn pathological. This epidemiological phenomenon requires prolonged care and addressed by humanitarian and social assistance (helping the poor by providing food, state intervention in health care), counselling services and mass communication.

National Security Implications In the context of the present crisis affecting the entire world, we could say that any threat emanates from two principal issues. One, vulnerability amongst humans as explained above, is exploitable and will be exploited. Secondly, the cohesion of the political elite on matters of national importance is a foundational prerequisite for nation-building, the absence is a security concern. The dangerous form (uncontrollable spread) of this virus has also given rise to a debate on the possibility of it being a biological weapon of choice. The aspect of vulnerability among people causes internal turmoil and societal upheavals while the weaponization parameter of the virus gives a new strain to the spectrum of warfare.

This crisis has highlighted the devious overtures of manipulation of one nation on many others. The age-old practice of graft is a feature of a nation's political system. Power and corruption are hand-in-glove and always posed a threat to the rule of law and hindered protection of basic civil and economic rights. What is new, however, is the transformation of corruption into an instrument of national strategy. The scale at which it is practised gives anarchy a new dimension. 'Weaponised corruption' is the new name for this practice. Congressional Research Service in the US calls Russia and China as 'strategic competitor' states (Weber, Michael, Katarina, Brown, Nick, May 2020). A strategic competitor exploits state weakness and population to extract resources. The fact that terrorism and criminals thrive where governments are weak, rampant corruption and disruptive and deceitful polity provide the link to strategic corruption as a tool to state policy.

There are prominent cases of strategic corruption in recent times. Ukraine imbroglio, China's BRI projects and involvement of CEFC China Energy, and Chinese *overlordship* in Italy (Beanz Tracy, 2020) are vivid examples in the International arena. Impeachment of the US President has foreign roots. Chinese efforts in reshaping political environment are systematic with methods varying with target countries. A structured attempt into Australian political space was detected in 2018 when a senator was forced to resign due to his countersurveillance deal with a Chinese donor. Indications of the political and strategic influence came as early as 2005 from the defected Chinese diplomat Chen Yongling. Australia's business lobby had made a compelling case of pursuing a thriving commercial engagement with China despite the warning. The structured inroad into Australia started with the lease of the strategically important port of Darwin to Landberg Industry for 99 years in 2015. Attempts to take over the expansive Kidman farms(100000 Sq Kms) and 50% stake into NSW electricity distribution company Ausgrid to State Grid of China ran into trouble with the new Federal government (Navdeep Suri, 2020). Australia, a member of the Five Eyes intelligence-sharing alliance declared its opposition to China's 5G program. A simultaneous effort to fostering corruption among the political elites and Chinese real estate developer, influence and intimidation at universities (sponsored violence and protests by Chinese students), setting up of Confucius institutes, cyber-attacks of a sophisticated kind on the Australian National University in 2018 became the state-directed methodology. The happenings are endless.

Conclusion

Till the dawn of the socialist regime in recent years, the magnification of the State above the individual was unpopular. Modern Economics found its way into the political system and quickly replaced the older Cameral teachings by its greater modernity and its political liberalism. Modern society has created new health problems, the solution of which requires an intense feeling of social service. Communal action to solve modern problems is extending the sphere of State action. But society is still imperfectly organized for social service. It is against this context that the science of Cameralism finds import and revival.

In this paper, we have highlighted the homological linkage of the pre-modern concepts of governance with that of an ancient Indian scripture with specific emphasis on principles of governance and the need for strong ethical governance as a counterbalance to the prevailing environment of opportunistic relationships in International relations. Arthashastra, a classical text of 4th Century B.C. provides an important source from which to reconceptualize the present, to rethink, reinvent and even challenge well-established theorizations. While historians seek to understand, explain and even reconstruct the past, political theorists attempt to hypothesize the present. Such an environment is proving to be harmful, especially in the current pandemic situation. Scholars on security have treated the need and changes to the causal nature of threats. E.g., the end of cold war renewed the focus on human security. A changed situation was instrumental in our thinking. The simple fact that 'there is no kingdom without people' (Kautilya) was overlooked in the empirical method of theorising security.
T
he examples of Nigeria and the account of the Administrative reforms Commission of India lends credibility to the primacy of Accountability, Legitimacy and Transparency as imperatives to the definition of governance. Nations security is affected due to subversion of individuals and Institutions. A shifting allegiance of the people is a symptom affecting national security. Such nuanced threats to the population of a country and its democratic institutions affect national security in the long run. Therefore, an idea such as cameralism which reconstructed a devastated country in the 17th Century can be useful in a realigning world order today.

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