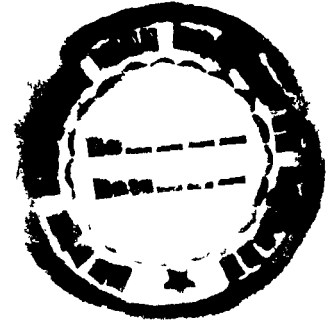


**PEACE, WAR AND MORAL
RESPONSIBILITY IN THE CONTEXT
OF NUCLEAR AGE**

BY

**BESTAR KHARMAWLONG
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
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**A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENT OF THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY
IN PHILOSOPHY**

TO

**THE NORTH-EASTERN HILL UNIVERSITY
SHILLONG**

MARCH, 2002

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I, **Bestar Kharmawlong**, hereby declare that the subject matter of the thesis is the record of work done by me, that the contents of this thesis did not form the basis of award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the thesis has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other University/Institution.

This is being submitted to the North-Eastern Hill University for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy in Philosophy**.



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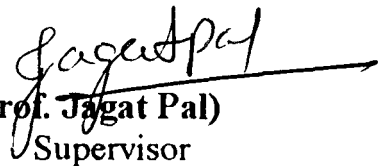
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CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a humble attempt to examine some of the moral issues relating to peace and war which have drawn the attention of moral philosophers since the days of human civilization. The moral issues raised by peace and war belong to the area of socio-political applied ethics. The enquiry into the moral issues relating to peace and war is more important in the present international scenario of the world because the way in which ethics is applied to the international society determines the nature of that society. Many philosophers, both Indian as well as Western, like Buddha, Mahavira, M. K. Gandhi, Swami Vivekananda, Plato, Aquinas, Augustine, Hobbes, Kant, Marx, Lenin, Locke, Rousseau, B. Russell, R. B. Brandt, R.M. Hare, Michael Wutzer, S. Levinson, Thomas Nagel and Nietzsche, etc., tried to solve the moral issues raised by peace and war which occupied the place of pride in most of their writings.

The moral issues raised by peace and war are not new issues in the history of mankind. People have been seeking peace and harmony since the days of human civilization both at the level of individual as well as society. Yet, the whole human civilization is full of wars down through the centuries and remain so even today. There is no doubt in it that production of nuclear weapons, missiles and rockets involve high cost which any country like India and Pakistan may not afford. But even then it has become inevitable for them due to current international environment. Third World Countries like India and Pakistan are

following the footprints of the First World Countries. They are spending a lot of economy of their country in innovation of nuclear weapons for the sake of national security. Such innovations of nuclear weapons have given birth to different opinions among the people. Some of them applauded over this achievement and some say that economy of the country should be spent over the developmental programmes of the country. Some view that by possessing nuclear weapons peace can be achieved by overcoming the non-nuclear nations as they would not dare to retaliate against the nuclear nations. According to them, peace could be achieved by possessing nuclear weapons. Some view that peace cannot be achieved through the production of destructive nuclear weapons because the use of destructive nuclear weapons give rise to war and war does not end war. It leads to enmity and enmity destroys peace and harmony of the society. To maintain peace and harmony at global level the balance of power all over the world is essentially required. If there is imbalance of power, the powerful countries will keep on causing fear and threat to other countries psychologically as well as physically for their own selfish end. Iraq country is an example of it.

The moral issues raised by peace and war are not the issues of any one particular country. They are the issues of international societies. Since moral issues raised by peace and war are the issues of international societies, therefore they cannot be solved by the conscious efforts of any one particular society or nation alone. They also cannot be solved by advancing more and more in the field of science and technology unless we also know how to put them in use for the betterment of the international societies. Looking at the present scenario all over the world

it has become imperative on our part that we must carry out introspection and search where we have gone wrong and decide about the measures which can help in setting the things right. The problems of peace and war are the problems of human interpersonal affairs. They can be solved only by harmonizing the interests of international societies. Any human society where 'Might is Right' and 'Law of Jungles' prevails, cannot restore peace and harmony. The moral issues raised by the practice of war also cannot be solved by appealing to any one particular religious ideology and beliefs because religion had led mankind to wars due to its misuse. History is full of evidences. Religious terrorism cannot provide any solution to the problem. The reason is simple because each religion has its own ideology and form of faith which are considered by its followers as holy. People derive inspirations from their own religion according to their own selfish end. We cannot stop people of any country from practicing and advocating of their own respective religion because religion is considered as a matter of private life. Those who view that religious considerations always override all other considerations including moral considerations when there is a conflict between them do not hesitate to adopt the path of holy war in the name of religion even if they die in the process of war. Under such situation how is the problem raised by war be solved? War is not a solution to solve the problem forever because war begets war. If one country wins over the other country through military powers, the problems of war do not come to end. They still persist. There has been a tremendous efforts by the United Nations Organization to restore peace through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)

and yet the problems of nuclear war remain at global level because of differences in human attitudes and ideologies.

When we go through the writings of different social and political moral philosophers, we find that there is no agreement among them on the issues raised by peace and war. They adopt different approaches to study the problems. Some philosophers adopt the absolutistic approach of morality to solve the problems of wars. According to them, war is an evil in itself no matter what the circumstances may be. For them war is morally unjustified in all human situations. While others do not agree with this view. They adopt relativistic approach of morality to solve the problems raised by wars. In their view, war is not an evil in itself independent of human conditions and circumstances. According to them, war is justified if it is targeted at military bases and not the innocent people. But a critical reflection shows that none of these approaches is satisfactory and adequate. The main defect from which these approaches suffer is that it is taken as the only valid approach to solve the moral issues raised by the practice of wars. The absolutistic approach of morality fails to offer viable solution because it does not take into consideration variations found in human conditions and circumstances which are morally relevant factors to solve the problems caused by wars. The relativistic approach of morality no doubt does provide some viable solutions to the problems of war, but does not provide an adequate and sustainable solution. If we seriously want to solve the problems raised by wars, we have to follow in true spirit certain fundamental peace preserving principles of morality such as mutual co-existence, cooperation, non-interference, non-discrimination, equality, fairness,

mutual understanding and co-respect etc. Only then we would be able to solve the problems caused by the practice of war. We have adopted good reasons approach of morality in our analysis to solve the international issues caused by the practice of war. We have tried to show through analysis that the moral issues caused by the practice of war cannot be solved just by referring to the very nature of the act of war without taking into account variations found in human conditions and circumstances at the global level. We have also pointed out that it cannot be solved just by referring to God because there is no logical connection between the two. It can be solved only by framing certain common peace preserving principles of morality and following them in true spirit without ill attitudes after taking into account human conditions and situations of all the people and nations concerned.

We have avoided entering into the historical controversies for our own convenience. We have not discussed sociological, psychological, political, economical and legal issues relating to the problems of peace and war. We have also not made any efforts to formulate any common international policy in our whole analysis on the issues related to peace and war. But the features which we have derived from our analysis may provide some basis on which international policy can be formulated. Therefore, the scope of the present enquiry is limited to only some of the basic moral issues raised by peace and war at the global level. The work is purely a philosophical work. It is neither sociological nor political nor historical.

In the Chapter 'Peace' we have tried to make it clear that the question of achieving peace does arise only when there exists some disorder, tension, conflict, disturbance and war, etc within individuals or between individuals or tribes or societies or nations. It does not arise in those cases where these factors are absent. Peace does not merely means the absence of discontent, aggression, conflict, terror, disturbance, quarrel, disorder, tension, distress, depression, lawlessness and war. It also means the presence of tranquility, harmony, calmness, stability, justice or equity among individuals, societies and nations. We have pointed out that peace is an acquired value. It is neither a gift of nature nor God. It is worked for. The idea of permanent peace in spiritual sense of the term is an utopia because so long as human being possess psycho-physical organism, the new issues will keep on coming in the society because of human weaknesses. Hence disorder, tension, conflict and disturbance in the human society are bound to occur in some or the other forms between individuals, tribes, societies and nations. What human beings can do at best is this that they can only minimize or reduce them by restructuring human interests, desires, passions and attitudes etc at global level.

In the Chapter 'War' we have tried to show that it always involves in it some amount of violence which leads to inhumane acts of different kinds between tribes, societies and nations. Violence by war is generally caused due to hatred, jealousy, rivalry, hostility, enmity, interference and desire for power and extension of territory. There are different kinds of war. It could be either a holy war or civil war or cold war or class war or a psychological war or war against terrorism. But nonetheless, whatever

the form of war might be, it always involves in it some amount of violence, disturbance, conflict, hostility, hatred and fear psychosis. We have examined the arguments of both absolutists and relativists on the issue of the justification of war in relation to social peace. Through analysis we have made a humble attempt to show that the absolutists arguments cannot be accepted because in certain cases wars are morally justified when they are fought in order to maintain peace or balance the power of hegemony nature. That is why war as such cannot be said to be an evil in itself independent of human conditions and situations. To say this, however, is not to saying that war is morally justified in all the circumstances. We cannot surely say that war is morally justified when it is fought in the name of religious (*Jihad*) or to protect the interest of one own nation at the cost of the interest of other nations. If every nation has a moral right to protect its own interest, then no nation has any moral right to interfere in or cost the interest of other nations because what gives a moral rights to one nation to protect its interest also binds at the same time not to take the moral rights of other nations. The relativists arguments do not provide satisfactory answer to the moral issues raised by the practice of war because in order to maintain and ensure social peace among the nations we have to have certain general moral peace preserving principles like principles of mutual-co-existence, co-operation, co-respect, co-understanding, mutual-trust, non-interference, non-exploitation and fair dealings independent of the peculiarities of the nations at the global level. To maintain and sustain social peace at the global level, moral peace preserving principles ought to be taught and followed in true spirit by all the nations. But to say this is not to say that the moral peace preserving principles should be applied mechanically

ignoring morally relevant human conditions, environment and the well-beings of all the people concerned. Moral principles should not be followed blindly. Anyone who follows them blindly could be said to be a moral fanatic and a moral fanaticism is not a virtue.

In the Chapter 'Moral responsibility' we have tried to show that it is the task of international societies to maintain peace and harmony by avoiding those factors which lead to wars and cause violence and disturbance. Social peace is a continuous process. It always requires a continuous effort, proper planning and management on the part of international societies. They have to anticipate the problems in advance and take necessary countermeasures to uproot the peace disturbing elements. But this is possible only when the international societies at global level have good understanding, and co-operation among themselves. Maintaining peace is as important as achieving of it because there is no guarantee in human affairs that if two countries are friendly today, they also would be friendly tomorrow. They might turned out to be worst enemies and hence cause disturbances and violence against each other. So without moral commitments a sustainable social peace at global level is not possible at all.

In the whole analysis of the concepts of peace and war we have tried to make it clear that moral issues raised by them can be solved satisfactorily only by adopting the good reasons approach of morality. We cannot morally justify any war merely on the ground of the well-beings of any particular tribe, society or nation by ignoring the interest of others. The reason is that because morality is a matter of all the

concerned. It is not a matter of private affairs. What is a morally good reason and what is not, cannot be decided and codified mechanically well in advance for all the time to come because human conditions and circumstances themselves are indeterminate which are morally relevant factors to decide them. In the cases of conflict morally good overriding reasons ought to be accepted and acted upon by all nations concerned to maintain global peace. While resolving the issues caused by the practice of war, the international societies ought to give primacy to moral considerations over all the other considerations such as religion, ethnicity, language and culture, etc. Then and then alone human world can be made free from wars and not otherwise.

CHAPTER- II

PEACE

Peace is a value concept. It is not only sought but also is prescribed that it ought to be sought by the individuals and societies to make human life full and well-lived. When we go through its uses in the domain of human life, we find that it is generally used in two broad different senses: negative and positive. In negative sense it implies the absence of intranquility, tension, conflict, disturbances, quarrel, trouble, violence, hostility, discontent, lawlessness, enmity, fear, war, unstability, suffering, aggression, depression, distress and terror etc. In positive sense, it implies the presence of tranquility, harmony, silence, calmness, content, lawfulness, equilibrium, stability, war ending treaty and happiness, etc. Intranquility, tension, conflict, disturbance, quarrel, trouble, violence, fight, hostility, enmity, fear, aggression, depression, distress, terror, war and suffering are generally called as disvalues. It is said that the individuals and societies should not practice these disvalues. Since these are considered as disvalues, therefore one can say that abstaining from them is a kind of values and these values may be characterized as negative values. Tranquility, harmony, silence, calmness, stability, lawfulness, war ending treaty, equilibrium and happiness are generally called as positive values. Peace consists in the following of both the kinds of values, negative and positive, not only at the level of individuals but also at the level of societies and nations.

Mind is the centre of all human activities because it is the mind which prompts us to do all kinds of action. Therefore it is the mind which could be said is responsible for creating hell and heaven in the world of human affairs. Disorder and unharmonious mind is a confused mind. It is an unstable mind. It always leads human beings to frustrations. Unless the virus of ill thoughts, attitudes and feelings existing in the mind are uprooted completely from the mind, no stable peace is possible in human affairs. So in order to have stable peace both at the level of individual as well as society, the primary need is to have mastery over our ill thoughts, attitudes and feelings not only towards oneself but also towards other people of the society. In other words, in order to achieve peace both at the level of the individuals as well as societies, harmonious relationship among the faculties of reason, passion and desire within one's own mind is needed. This is possible only when passions and desires are regulated by the faculty of our reason. The outer social harmony in fact is nothing but the result of inner harmony of our minds.

Individual peace consists in mastery over desires, feelings, attitudes, tongue, senses, wants, anger, greed, hatred, jealousy, malice, delusion and thrives etc., because these elements are the enemies of mankind. Therefore they must be regulated and not suppressed or negated. We cannot negate them because they are the parts of our irrational mind. We can only rationalize them. To say this does not mean to say that external socio-political and economic conditions and environment etc, do not disturb the peace of human mind. They do disturb the peace of human mind because human beings are not only the creator but also are the product of socio-political and economic

conditions and environment. Their thoughts, passions, desires and aspirations are to a large extent influenced by them. So external factors are as important as internal factors to achieve the individual and social peace. Evil dispositions do not occur mechanically like the natural events. They are always caused by internal and external factors of human mind. These internal and external factors could be either intra-organic psychological factors or extra-organic natural factors or anything else. Whatever the case might be, nothing happens in the domain of individuals and societies uncaused. The individual mental peace primarily consists in the removal of evil elements of thought, feeling and attitude from the mind. That is why unless we purify our mind and heart, we cannot achieve stable peace in our life. We are in fact the maker of our own fate good or bad. We are what we do and we do what we are. Our good and bad deeds determine our future life. From this point of view, we can say that we are what we do. Our nature and *samskaras* determine our deeds and character. From this point of view, we can say that we do what we are. There is no contradiction in holding of both these statements together because they are made from two different angles. If this is so, then it is left to us to decide what kind of life we want to live. Peace is an acquired value. It is not an owned value. We have to work for it if we wish to have it. It is neither a gift of God nor nature. The attainment of peace always requires on the part of human beings to make conscious efforts for it. If at all it were a gift of God or nature, we would have had it since our birth without any effort. But this is not so, God extends His grace only when people work for it through dedicated service. Peace is not, therefore, an innate value. It consists in

the pursuit of harmonious efforts towards oneself as well as towards others.

When we go through the history of mankind, we find that different religious and ethical leaders like Buddha, Mahavira, Ramakrishnan, Vivekananda, Shankar, Prophet Mahammad, Guru Nanak, etc. have advocated different paths for the attainment of eternal peace which is considered to be everlasting. According to Buddha, the ideal of eternal peace is attainable only when the individuals sincerely follow a triple path consisting of right wisdom (*Prajñā*), right conduct (*shila*) and right concentration (*samādhi*) or *astāngika mārga* consisting of right vision (*samyak dr̥ṣṭi*), right action (*samyak karmānta*), right resolve (*samyak saṅkalpa*), right speech (*samyak vāka*), right living (*samyak ājīva*), right thought (*samyak smṛti*), right effort (*samyak vyāyāma*), right concentration (*samyak samādhi*). Mahavira is of the view that the ideal of eternal peace is attainable only when the individuals sincerely follow the paths of *tri-ratna*, this is, right knowledge (*samyak jñāna*), right faith (*samyak dar̥ashan*), right conduct (*samyak chāritra*). In Hinduism different thinkers have advocated different paths for the attainment of the ideal of eternal peace. The most widely accepted view is that the individuals can attain the ideal of eternal peace only by the acquisition of right knowledge and non-attachment (*niskāma karma*). For some thinkers non-attachment is only a means for the acquisition of right knowledge. It purifies the individual's mind and heart and thereby prepares the ground for eternal peace. While for some others the acquisition of right knowledge is only a means to perform non-attached actions. According to them, no action can be performed in detached

manner without having right knowledge of the reality. Some thinkers like Ramanujacharya say that eternal peace is not possible without the grace of God. According to them, the grace of God is an essential factor to achieve the ideal of eternal peace. The grace of God, in their view, can be obtained only by performing actions in disinterested manner towards God. Patanjali, the founder of the system of Yoga, says that eternal peace is possible only through Yoga (meditation). According to Christianity too, the ideal of eternal peace is possible only by the grace of God and the grace of God can be achieved only by following the righteous paths, that is, Ten Commandments. Although all these thinkers differ from each other in some or the other respects, but they all agree on this point that the ideal of eternal peace is not possible without controlling mind and purifying our thoughts, attitudes and feelings.

Social peace consists in the harmonious relationships between individuals, families, communities, tribes, societies and nations. The word, 'social peace' we are using here in a broad sense, that is, in the sense of interpersonal peace which exists between the individuals from a smaller group like family to a larger group like international society. The values of *artha*, *kama*, and *dharma* of the Hindu theory of *Purusartha* are social values in this sense of the term because they can be pursued only in the social world. The pursuit of these values always involves human interactions. The value of *kama* is a social value because the fulfillment of the most of our desires involves interactions with other people of the society. No society can be conceived without individuals because individuals are the constitutive elements of the society. But society is not just an aggregate of individuals because besides individuals, society also

does contain in it different kinds of organizations and institutions. Social peace consists in the harmonious relationship between all the components of society, i.e., individuals and their organizations. No stable social peace is possible unless there is a perfect harmony between the individuals or a group of individuals or a group of the groups of individuals. To say all this does not mean that social peace is diametrically opposed to individual's peace. Social and individual peace are not diametrically opposed to each other because they can go hand in hand. In fact social peace consists in the promotion of the peace of all the individuals of society and not in the promotion of the peace of some selected individuals of society. In other words, no social peace can be conceived apart from independent of the peace of its individuals because individuals are the constitutive organs of the society. Therefore no social peace is possible without the individuals' mastery over their desires, inclinations, feelings, greed, anger, aspirations, delusions, jealousy, hatred, hostility and enmity, etc because these evil elements cause disorder and disturbance not only in the mind of individuals but also in the society. The difference between individual and social peace lies only in this fact that the individual peace is self-centric. It does not involve any reference to the peace of other individuals of the society. While social peace is not individual centric. It is society centric because it is always viewed in relation of one individual to another individual or one society to another society or one nation to another nation. It exists in the harmony of the individuals.

Every family, community, tribe, society and nation, to achieve and preserve its peace, has to have rational policies to harmonize the interest

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of all its members, keeping in view short and long terms of interests. The harmonizing policies may differ from tribe to tribe, community to community, society to society and nation to nation depending upon their specific social, economic, political and cultural conditions and circumstances. But no society, however it may be small or big, can achieve and maintain its social well being without rationally harmonizing the interests of all its members. Global equilibrium gets disturbed only when individuals are set against individuals, societies against societies and nations against nations to safeguard one's own ulterior interests. Individual's interest conflicts with social interest only when it is promoted at the cost of other's interest of the society. It does not conflict when individuals promote their own self-interest by promoting other's interest of the society.

Social peace, thus, exists when there exists harmony between the interests of all individuals and society. Social harmony as a means not only to promote and maintain social well-being but also to promote and maintain individual's well-being because they are mutually dependant on each other. Individuals cannot fulfill their desires and needs without the co-operation of the other individuals of the society in which their social peace consists. So is the case with society too. Society cannot realize its social peace and well-being without the co-operation of all its individuals. We cannot say that social peace is a gift of human nature because human nature is both rational and irrational, selfish and non-selfish. Human beings are irrational and selfish because they want to do sometime wrong things which they expect them to serve their selfish end. In doing so they derive some amount of mental satisfaction. Human

beings are rational and non-selfish because they want to do sometime right things at the cost of their own selfish interest and in doing so they also derive some mental satisfaction. So one cannot say that human nature is totally rational or irrational. Rationality and irrationality of human beings are judged in terms of the manners in which they perform their actions towards themselves and towards others. No society can achieve its social equilibrium if it does not structure its socio-political and economic policies, organizations and development keeping in view the interests of all its members. A society achieves its goal when it builds up its social systems and institutions on the principles of rationality. An ideal rational society is one which frames its social organizations and institutions of different kinds by taking into account the well-beings of its concerned members. An ideal rational social being is one who realizes that he or she cannot fulfill his or her desires and needs unless he or she observes social and moral codes governing the interpersonal relationships of individuals within the society no matter whether that society is small like family or big like international society. If a society is not a harmonious society, it has to frame and implement its appropriate policies of social change and development based on the balance of good reasons and realistic understanding of people's needs, aspirations and style of life, material resources by instituting effective mechanism of reward and punishment. To achieve this goal if enforcement is required, it has to do it in the interest of social peace and harmony by legislation. Social peace cannot be maintained if the individuals of society are left to do everything and anything arbitrarily at their own sweet wills.

Social peace and harmony in a country like India is not just possible by advocating the ideology of any one particular culture or religion because India is a multi-religious and multi-cultural country. Each religion and culture have its own ideology, beliefs and forms of life in our country which are considered by its followers as holy. People derive inspirations from their own respective religion. We are all divided in the name of religion into different sects, such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism, Islam and Christianity etc. No matter whether we like it or not, but this is a ground reality of the Indian society. All these religions do not only differ in their ideologies, beliefs, form of faith and worships but also do contradict on certain points which the fundamentalists, politicians and crooked people use as a weapon to create social disorder in various forms within the Indian society to realize their own selfish ends. We cannot solve the problems of religious communalism, riots, violence and killings, etc. caused by religious fanaticism by referring to the ideology of any one particular religion of our society. We also cannot solve them by converting all the people of our country into one basic religious faith. We also cannot stop people from practicing their own respective religion. Because religion is considered by people as a part of their life. If religious conversion leads to intranquility in the society, no matter what religion it is, it ought to be stopped even if it is written in the scriptures of that religion for the promotion of social peace and harmony in multi-religious society. If we are all divided in the name of religion into different sects and each of us consider our respective religion as a holy and supreme, then we cannot maintain social peace and harmony in our Indian society by referring to the ideology of any one of the sectarian religions. But to say all this does

not amount to mean that people should discard their religion in order to solve the problems caused by religious conflicts. We can definitely solve the problems caused by religious conflict of our country by secularizing our religion and changing our fanatic attitudes towards other religions. To secularize religion does not mean to leave religion. It only means to adopt a secular view not only towards one's own religion but also towards other religions. A secular mind is a rational and open mind. To be a rational and open mind towards religion is not to go against the religion. It only means that we should give primacy of universal ethical values such as love, friendship, compassion, respect, co-operation, hospitality, truth, honesty, non-violence, brotherhood, fairness, non-interference, non-exploitation, tolerance, sacrifice, forbearance, equality and impartiality, etc over the sectarian religious values when there is a conflict between the two. Religion is no doubt a matter of private life but it is also a matter of public life when it is institutionalized or organized. To give primacy of the universal ethical values over the sectarian religious values is not to pay any disrespect to religion. It rather preserves the core of all religions which consists in the values of mankind because religions are meant to promote and preserve the well-beings of mankind as a whole. Religions are not meant to set one group of individuals against another group of individuals within the human society. Religion is meant for human beings. Human beings are not meant for religion. If our attitudes are secular towards people of other religions and we are all open minded and not fanatic, we not only can remove violence and killings caused by religious communalism and riots but also can live a full and well-being life for which we all aspire. Fanatic attitudes are the root cause of all our religious problems which can be removed only by

secularizing and purifying our attitudes towards religions. We have to respect others religion as we do respect our own religion. We should adopt good elements from any religion no matter what it is to preserve our social well-beings. Many morally enlightened people in fact have revolted against anti-humanistic view of religions. History is full of such instances; Swami Dayanand Saraswati is one of the examples. In their opinion religion of mankind is the only true religion. According to them, the whole world belongs to one family, that is, family of mankind as a whole. The religion of mankind in fact is nothing but an embodiment of secular universal human values. Anyone who follows the religion of mankind, his or her actions are guided by the non-sectarian attitudes of secularism. It is this attitude of human beings which distinguishes them from the other forms of existence and give them the right to be called human beings, The doctrine of secularism preserves the dignity of man as whole and his place in the world and let him free to have any religious attitudes towards God without interfering in the life of others. The problem arises when religion is exploited by the cunning people of the society for their own vested interests. What holds good in the case of religion also holds good in the case of culture as well. India is a multi-cultural country. We cannot impose the culture of one group over the culture of another group of people because each group considers its own culture as form of its life. Social peace in multi-religious and multi-cultural country like India consists in the unity of all the religious and cultural groups of people without showing the superiority of one over the others. Each religious and cultural group of people should adopt the policy of live and let live to maintain national integrity, harmony and peace. This is what the great leaders of Buddhism, Jainism, Islam,

Hinduism, Sikhism and Christianity have prescribed to the people and asked them to follow sincerely and consistently in order to govern their interpersonal life for attaining and maintaining individual and social peace.

Individual and social peace consist in the continuous harmonious efforts of all the individuals of society. Social peace is not an end of all human activities after obtaining of which we can say that there is nothing else left to be achieved. It always requires proper planning and management on the part of the authorities of society through its existent. A society is not a static entity. It keeps on changing and evolving from time to time because its individuals and their socio-political and economic environments keep on changing. Social peace cannot be said to be just an aggregate of the peace of all the individuals of society because society as an entity is conceptually different from its individuals. The concept of society contains in it, besides the individuals, social organizations and institutions of different kinds. Just as an individual has an interest in living-well, which is more than merely living, so also society has an interest in surviving well, which is more than merely existing. Both individuals and society need proper harmonious environments to fulfill their desired goals. Just as individuals do have certain rights by virtue of their being members of a particular society which they expect that their society must fulfill, so also society has certain rights which it expects that its individual members must fulfill. Individual and social peace consist in the fulfillment of their rights and needs which are not possible without having harmonious relationships between individuals and society. No society can live in tranquility if it

does not shape itself by the aspirations of its members, their needs and desires. Individuals also cannot live a well-meaning life if they do not follow the rational norms of the society which are framed by the society to govern their interpersonal life. If a society frames its wrong social, political, legal and economic policies, discontent among the individuals within that society is bound to be there. In such a state of affairs, no society can rest in peace and harmony. Society has to frame right policies of the development by taking into account the interests of all relevantly people. This means, in other words, that society must have a common policy for all the people who do not differ in relevant respects in their nature and conditions.

In cases where social norms of one particular tribe or community conflict with the norms of other tribes or communities, the people of those tribes or communities must find out rational means to solve their problems in peaceful manner without putting any resistance to show that only the norms of their society are right and not of the others. In the cases of conflict if both the parties do not agree on rational ground, there cannot be peace and harmony between them. Each tribe or community will have to adopt flexible and rational attitudes towards others. In the cases of conflict if they adopt unfair means to win over other without any hesitation, it is bound to create hatred and hostility between them. They cannot have mutual friendship and love which are essentially required to maintain cordial relations between them. To maintain cordial relations each concerned tribe or community will have to tolerate and sacrifice their certain ulterior ends. To maintain trust and peace between the two groups of people, each group of people will have to realize that love,

friendship, tolerance and sacrifice are the only true values in the cultivation of which their true peace and harmony consist. If the concerned tribes or communities want to restore peace, they will have to educate people of their tribes or communities to practice the right social values, in rational manner.

Social corruption is a wrongful state of affairs no matter whether it is political corruption or economic corruption or religious corruption or anything else. It disregards to the basic code of social human values. Hoarding, black-marketing, poll capturing, adultery, nepotism, religionism, communalism, misuse of power, drug-abusement, stealing, profiteering and adulteration of food stocks etc., are social evils because they cause disharmony and disorder in the society. A section of people may individually progress by practicing these disvalues but no society as whole can progress and rest in peace if these disvalues are allowed to prevail in the society. Politics without principles, business without ethics, education without character, administration without accountability and responsibility and work without dedication are such kind of things which are cancerous to the society. Therefore they ought to be eliminated at any cost from the society to maintain harmony within the society in which social peace consists. In other words, no society can rest in peace if it allows its individual to follow the path of disvalues. Social peace cannot be maintained by following the utilitarian view of morality because the utilitarian view of morality does not take into account the interests of all the concerned people of the society. It believes only in the greatest happiness of the greatest numbers. Social peace also cannot be maintained by following the egoistic and hedonistic views of morality

because these views are self-centric and ignore the interests of other individuals of the society. Social peace is possible only when we follow the Gandhian *Sarvodaya* view of morality because the Gandhian *Sarvodaya* view of morality includes in it the interests of all the concerned people of the society without ignoring the interest of any individual falling within that class. No society can rest in peace if it sets one section of its people against another section of people by framing wrong socio- political and economic policies. If some sections of people are enjoying and the other sections of people are dissatisfied within the same society because of discrimination, injustice and inequality, they will not allow that society to rest in peace. They will keep on creating problems within the society. To avoid the problems the concerned society will have to organize its social systems by framing such rules which preserve the right and interests of all the sections of people of that society. To say this does not mean that society should ignore relevant specific factors while framing its social policies. It only means that whatever the policies it frames, they must be extended to all the relevantly similar people of that society.

We are all living in nuclear age, that is, the age of science and technology marked and characterized by fast living, materialistic, industrial and political rivalries. Materially no doubt we have advanced and removed to a large extent our social and physical miseries and distress caused by poverty and other things. Yet, morally we have suffered a set back because of degradation of human character. Our informative knowledge has increased but our minds and hearts are polluted by evil thoughts, feelings and actions. Fast means of

communication have brought about geographical unity of the world but lack of the values of mankind. The world is divided into different compartments. America and Taliban war in the present day is an example of it. The destructive nuclear weapons have created such an international environment where the fate of mankind is at stake. The production of nuclear weapons missiles, rockets, etc cost so much which any poor country like India, Pakistan, Nepal and Bangladesh etc., cannot afford. But they are forced to by the current international environment to go for them. They have to spend a lot of their economy for the protection of their national security. As a result, they cannot spend the whole economy of their country on the developmental programmes which they require to meet the needs of their people. We cannot surely maintain international peace by producing more and more destructive weapons because the use of destructive weapons always give rise to tension and war which lead to enmity (*Vaira*) and enmity lead to hatred and hostility which in turn destroy the equilibrium of international societies. Even if the destructive weapons are not used to fight a war, they do destroy the economy of country which gives rise to social miseries and discontent. Not only this, the very presence of nuclear weapons cause fear psychosis in the mind of the people of other neighbouring countries which destroys the peace of their mind. So in order to maintain peace at global level restriction on the production of nuclear weapons must be imposed on all the countries. If possible, they must not be produced at all. Because once hoarding of nuclear weapons start, there is no end to it. Every country would like to have it more and more to safeguard its national interest from the danger of other countries even if they cost more. We cannot achieve and restore global peace just by making more and more advancement in the area of

science and technology unless we also know how to put them to proper use for the welfare of mankind as whole. The advancement of science and technology no doubt have removed a lot of miseries from the human society but at the same time it is also true that it has caused havoc in the world of human life. The advancement of science and technology fortifies a nation with power but power must be used for constructive purposes and not to destroy human life. What is happening in the present scenario of international society is this that science and technology are being used as an instrument to exploit the economy of other countries for their own selfish interests. The powerful countries like America, France, Britain, China and Russia are deciding the fate of all other countries in their own interest. They themselves do not follow the international code of conduct but force other countries, which are weak, to follow the norms set by them. Some countries encourage terrorism against another country when it suits to them. But when they themselves become the victim of terrorism no matter whether it is cross border terrorism or state sponsored terrorism, they talk about uprooting of terrorism from all over the world to restore peace and justice of the people. This kind of international policy rests on discrimination and where there is discrimination, there cannot be peace and harmony. A common international policy based on the principles of non-discrimination and equality ought to be followed consistently by all societies in dealing with international affairs no matter whether they are rich or poor, small or big. The global peace is not a task of any one particular country. It is the task of all the international countries. People might argue that we should not go for nuclear weapons. Instead of spending money on nuclear weapons we should spend it on the development of agriculture, industries, powers, medicines, roads,

education and drinking water, etc which people of the country need to fulfill their aspirations of life. But this argument holds good only when there is no threat and fear to national security from the other neighbouring countries. If the existence and peace of a nation is under threat, it will have to spend its economy on defence whether it likes it or not. Religious, linguistic and cultural intolerance, terrorism, riots, political and economic rivalries and the use of destructive weapons have brought humanity on a cross road where a step taken in wrong direction would destroy the whole human civilization. This situation can be avoided only by following a common international moral codes of conduct by all nations. Global peace consists in the harmonious relationship among the people of international societies based on the philosophy of mutual co-existence, co-operation, co-respect, understanding, non-interference, non-discrimination, fair dealing, non-exploitation and common well-beings. If these peace and harmony preserving values are not followed in practice by the international societies, no society can rest in peace.

Social peace is not an eternal peace. It consists in the process because social phenomena are not static phenomena. Society keeps on changing and evolving from time to time according to human conditions and environments. Its individuals are not permanent. They come and go. Their nature and conditions vary. They do not entertain the same kind of beliefs about the nature of good life. Some people think that goodness of life consists in the enjoyment of worldly things while others think that goodness of life consists in the realization of true self or God. If social phenomena are not static and their components vary according to social

conditions and environments, there cannot be such peace in the society which can be said to be everlasting for all the time. The idea of eternal peace, which is advocated by the different religious leaders like Buddha, Mahavira, Shankara, Ramanuja and others, is merely an utopia in the domain of social life because of its inherent nature. If at all it is possible, it is only possible only in the domain of individual life. So long as individuals are living in the society and possess psycho-physical existence, they are bound to have some human weaknesses which will lead them to cause some disturbances and disorder in the society in one or the other form. Everybody cannot have mastery over his or her mind and circumstances at the same time which is required to attain eternal peace. Social peace does not consist in the peace of only few individuals or the majority of individuals of the society. Social peace consists in the peace of all individuals of the society. Society peace is a holistic peace. If this view is correct, then how can we imagine the possibility of eternal social peace when human minds and their conditions vary time to time. In fact the idea of eternal peace is of such kind that after achieving it all human desires and activities come to an end because there is nothing else left to be desired and achieved beyond it. There cannot be a society if there is no human desires and goals to be realized. Social peace can be said to be an end in itself only when it is understood in the sense of well-being of the society. If social peace is understood in the sense of social harmony and tranquility, then it cannot be said to be an end in itself because it can be viewed both as a means as well as an end. It is a means because it is used as weapon by the society to realize its ultimate goal, that is, social well-being. No society can realize its ultimate social goal unless there is peace in the sense of harmony in that society. Social peace

also could be said is an end because it is sought by the society. If there is no peace in the society, the society frames its proper socio-political and economic policies to attain it in that society. There is no contradiction in saying that social peace is sought both as a means as well as an end because what is sought as an end could also be a means to achieve some other ends. An end cannot be a means only when it is used as an end in itself. If social peace is understood in the sense of social well-being, then surely it cannot be said to be a means to some other ends because social well-being is an end in itself from the point of view of society after achieving of which there is nothing else left to be achieved by the society. Social peace cannot be said to be an end in itself if it is understood in the sense of harmony and lawfulness which are used as a means to protect and promote social well-being. Social peace also cannot be said to be an end in itself if it is understood in the sense of peace treaty which two countries make to end the war. Whatever the case might be, social peace is a worldly peace. It is not a spiritual peace which can be said to be consisting in the realization of the true nature of self or God. Social peace is worldly peace because it consists in the harmonious relationships between people who live in the society with their bodily existence. Social peace does not consist in the existence of disembodied self or society. It also does not consist between man and God. Social peace consists between individuals and their society. Social peace in the sense of harmony is always desirable because no society without it can realize its ultimate social goal, that is, social well-being of all the people. No society can realize the well-beings of all its people in the state of violence and bloodshed caused by communalism, terrorism, riots and corruptions, etc. Worldly individual peace consists in the fulfillment of

the worldly psycho-physical needs and desires **and not** in renouncing of them. To say this does not mean that individuals should not control their worldly desires and needs. If individuals do not control their worldly needs and desires, they cannot rest in peace because fulfillment of the most of their worldly desires and needs involve reference to the co-operation of other individuals of society. To get co-operation from other individuals of the society, they have to control their needs and desires which cause conflicts in the society. Worldly individual peace consists in the harmonious relationship with other individuals of the society. This is possible only when the individuals sacrifice their selfish-interests and develop the attitudes of love and tolerance towards others. Buddha rightly propagated “Universal Love or Maitri”¹ to the people. Gandhi was also right in saying that “Love is the strongest force”². Mutual love is a means to attain and maintain harmony and stability among the people. It unites them together. It does not make any distinct demarcation between the individuals on the basis of caste, colour and creed. It establishes the feeling of oneness. This feeling of oneness not only promotes individual peace but also social peace because social peace after all consists in the harmonizing of the interests of all individuals of society. Love should flow from our heart. It should not be an artificial love. When love flows from our heart, it removes all bitterness and hatred from our minds towards others. Love is not possible without sacrifice, compassion, tolerance and feeling for the well-being of others. Buddha, Mahavira and M.K. Gandhi sacrificed their worldly pleasures for the cause of the

¹ P N Chopra & T Sumi (ed.), *Contribution of Buddhism to world Civilization and Culture*, S Chand & Co, Ltd. Rannagar, Delhi, 1983, P. 228.

² Mahendra Kumar, (ed). *Non- Violence: Contemporary Issues and Challenges*, Gandhian Peace Foundation, New Delhi, 1994, P 5

promotion of well-beings of mankind, because they had genuine love for others. When there is tolerance, there is self-surrendering. Tolerance and self-surrendering are the two sides of the same coin. They cannot be separated. They always go together. If the present society really wants to attain and maintain social peace, it has to practice the philosophy of love, tolerance, compassion and self-sacrifice. We are all responsible, individually and collectively, in some sense for the existing state of human affairs. It all depends upon us to choose what kind of life we want to live peaceful or non-peaceful. If we want to live a collective peaceful life, we have to make collective continuous efforts to uproot anti-social elements from the society which cause time to time disturbances and disharmony in our human society. We have to create such society where 'Might is Right' rule does not prevail because the rule of 'Might is Right', is not a rational rule. It is a rule of barbarians. We have to act as rational civilized people in carrying out our interpersonal affairs and solve our differences whatever they are on rational grounds with mutual co-operation and understanding. If there is a conflict between the interests of different individuals or societies, it should be solved on the ground of moral overriding reasons. Overriding reason is a relative characteristic because it is derived from the relative weights of individual and social interest. Individual and social interests vary according to their nature and conditions. So what is overriding reason in one case may or may not be overriding reason in another case.

No means is good or bad in itself. Its goodness or badness is derived from its relation to what we want to realize by it. Not only this,

what is a good means in one context may or may not be a good means in another context. Take, for example, the case of Indian Society. Indian Society is a multi-religious, multi-cultural and multi-linguistic society. Religion, culture and language based politics surely cannot be said to be a good means to realize the social goal of peace and harmony in our country as whole. When we all differ in our religions, cultures and languages we need a common synthesizing principle which can bind us all together irrespective of our religions, cultures and languages. This common principle could be either positive or negative. Non interfering into other's religion, culture and language and respecting them all equally could be said to be one of the synthesizing principles. So secular moral based politics surely can be said to be a good means to realize the social goal of peace and harmony in our country. Because secular moral values do not rest on any one particular religion, culture, language, colour, sect and ethnicity etc. Secular moral values are universal in character in the sense that they are applicable to all relevantly similar persons in relevantly similar circumstances. Moral concepts are not like mathematical concepts which could be said to be applicable independent of psycho-physical, political, economic and cultural variations found in human world. Morality takes into consideration all the relevant factors existing in human nature and conditions. To say this does not mean that moral values are subjective in character. Moral values are not subjective in character. Moral values are objective in character because they solely rest on good reasons. Moral reasons are universal and person-neutral because what constitutes as a morally good reason in one case to say that something is morally right also constitutes at the same time as a morally good reason to say that any act which is not different from it in relevant

respect is morally right. When M K Gandhi used religion in politics to unite all Indian people together, he did not use religion in a narrow sense pertaining to any one particular religion or religious groups. He used religion in a wider sense by basing it on universal secular moral values embodied in all religions. This is what is needed to protect and promote social peace at national level. Social peace and harmony result when everyone gets his or her dues, which is possible only when their rights are preserved. Every individual has certain rights within the society and these rights could be either economic rights or political rights or legal rights or religious rights or cultural rights. The policy of protecting and respecting of others rights surely can be said to be a good reason to restore and promote peaceful existence of all the individuals of society. The concept of social peace involves in it justice and justice consists in equality and fairness among all the concerned individuals as well as nations. If every one endorses it with the content of his own hopes and fears, values, aspirations, needs and demands, we cannot attain and maintain social peace because social peace consists in the harmonization of all the individual's interests, needs, aspirations, rights and duties. No society can prescribe violence and killing as a general rule. From this point of view one can say that violence, killing and peace do not go together. But nonetheless, in certain cases where morally good overriding reasons are available, violence and killing can be prescribed as a means to restore and promote social peace in the society. In such cases they can be said to be morally justified means. Violence and killing surely cannot be said to be morally justified if they are used as a means to promote one's own selfish goals at the cost of the life of others. Any means, no matter what it is, is morally justified only when it rests on morally good overriding reasons.

Violence no doubt begets violence. It leads to hatred and hostility. But no society can practice its codes of punishment without causing some amount of mental or physical violence on those people who commit crimes in the society. To prevent crimes in the society, punishment is needed in some or the other forms and punishment is always painful and disgraceful. Violence cannot be completely wiped out from the human society unless we presuppose that all the individuals of society are free from poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, greed, hatred, hostility, jealousy and injustice etc. So long as these evil elements continue to exist in any human society, violence is bound to occur. Sometimes to protect righteousness (*dharma*) in the society, killing becomes inevitable in certain circumstances. Gandhi also realized it when he said, "I do believe that, where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence".³ The Buddhist and Jain's views of non-violence is an utopia because it cannot be practiced at all in true sense of the term. Because human existence is not possible without causing some amount violence to some beings. What a human society can do at best is this that it can make an attempt to reduce it to minimum. But it cannot totally eliminate it because of the inherent nature of man. Violence and killing should not be done for the morally wrong causes. If they are used as a means for the righteous cause, they are morally justified even if we cannot prescribe that as a general moral principle. As far as possible societies should avoid violence and killing. If it is not possible for them

³ Mahendra Kumar (Ed)- *Non-Violence: Contemporary Issues and Challenges*, Gandhian Peace Foundation, New Delhi, 1994, P. 59.

to avoid to maintain social peace, they should try their best to reduce violence and killing to the minimum.

CHAPTER-III

WAR

War is generally said to be a kind of social disvalue which no tribe, community, society and nation prescribes that it ought to be sought as an end in itself. While in contrast to it peace is said to be a kind of individual and social value which prescribed by all the individuals, tribes, communities, societies and nations that it ought to be sought as an end in itself because it preserves human well-beings and does not destroy their existence. There are different kinds of war, for example, civil war, cold war, holy war, cultural war, biological war, racial war, class war and war against terrorism. However, no matter what forms of war may be, it always implies on the one hand the presence of conflict, opposition, tension, hostility, hatred, bitterness, aggression, oppression, distress, violence, miseries and suffering and on the other hand the absence of love, friendship, brotherhood, tolerance, mutual understanding, co-operation, co-prosperity, co-existence, calmness and happiness. The basic truth of war is that it is phenomenon of the human world. It is not phenomenon of the non-human world such as plants, insects and animals. War is not fought between plants, insects and animals. It is always fought between two or more than two different groups of people. To say this does not mean that war is fought between individual to individual. It only means that war is always fought between two or more than two different large groups of individuals. These groups of individuals may be either tribes or communities or states or nations. But war is never directed against oneself or against any particular individual of the society. Civil

war is fought between two or more than two different large groups of individuals but within the same country or nation. It is not fought between the countries. But when it is fought, it does involve in it physical violence. Cold war is fought between two or more than two groups of countries. But when it is fought, it is not fought physically. It is a psychological warfare. Holy war is fought between two or more than two large groups of religious people either within the same country or between the countries. But when it is fought, it is fought either to defend or to propagate a religion. It does involve in it physical violence like civil war. Cultural war is fought between two or more than two different large cultural groups of people either within the same country or between the countries. But when it is fought, it is fought either to protect or to expand or to establish its superiority. It also does involve in it physical violence like civil and holy wars. War against terrorism is fought between two or more than two terrorist and non-terrorist groups of people either within the same country or between the countries. It is fought either to eliminate or to expand terrorism. Terrorism could be either cross-border terrorism or state sponsored terrorism. But whatever its form may be, terrorism is terrorism. It is never considered as a social value because it involves in it loss of innocent life. Therefore, no matter what the forms of war may be, it always involves fighting between two or more than two groups of people. It implies the presence of distress, tension, opposition, conflict, discontent, hostility, hatred, enmity, aggression and oppression. The term 'war' is used not only in external sense but also in internal sense. When it is used in internal sense, it is used in the sense of inner fighting or conflict between good and bad elements inside the same individual. In this sense war does not cause any physical damage, injury or violence to

any other individuals of society. However, in the present context we are not concerned with this sense of the use of the word 'war'. We are concerned with the external sense of the use of the word 'war' which is always fought between two or more than two large groups of people within the domain of human world.

When we go through the history of mankind, we find that the phenomenon of war is as old as human civilization. Only its forms, methods and goals have been changing from time to time due to the variations found in human nature, conditions and socio-political and economic environments. In the ancient days wars were generally fought for livelihood. They were not fought for economic, political, religious, cultural and racial reasons. At that time human beings had no inclinations for political powers and extensions of territories. Two tribes or communities used to fight either to protect or capture cultivating land because land was their source of life. But after that wars were not fought for livelihood. They were fought for wealth, power, gaining of supremacy over others, expansion of geographical, religious and cultural territories, etc. The same trend continues even today. Wars are not fought generally to restore justice. In the name of justice countries fight war against each other to protect the interests of their own country. Whatever the reasons of war may be, the fact remains that wars always involve killings of innocent people, besides the killings of those individuals who are found involve in fighting of war. The modes of fighting of war in the present days have drastically changed. We have now sophisticated nuclear and biological weapons, missiles, rockets and aircrafts etc. Due to the advancement of science and technology we have reached to such stage of

human civilization that any country can be destroyed just on the push of one button. The advancement in science and technology no doubt has eliminated poverty and miseries from human life and has made human life more comfortable and easy. But at the same time it is also equally true that it has turned human beings into devils. In the name of religion and culture people are sucking the blood of others. They do not hesitate to indulge in war to protect their own selfish interest. Although the causes of war vary but their sources directly or indirectly also lie in human greed, passion, anger, jealousy, hatred, fanatic religious and cultural attitudes. To say this does not mean that all the causes of war are internal. The causes of war may be internal or external or both. It only means that war does not generally originate without the involvement of evil elements found in the irrational part of human nature itself besides external factors. War always brings disasters no matter which party wins over the other. It always gives rise to bitterness, hatred, hostility, etc. towards one another and these factors are of such kinds that they do not allow anyone of the parties to rest in peace. Thus, war always begets wars. Even if peace is achieved through war, it remains unstable because it leaves possibility of begetting another war.

The question now at issues is this: Is war morally justified? When we go through the writings of different socio-political and moral thinkers, we find that there is no agreement among them on the issue of the justification of war. The Christian activists are of the view that participation in war is always right and hence is justified. According to them, every citizen has national duty to support his or her government when it is engaged in warfare with other country. They say that since the

government is the guardian of its citizens, therefore it is the duty of citizens to obey the commands of its government. No citizen has the right to question the authenticity of the decision of its government. If any citizen disobeys the commandments of its government, he or she is treated as traitor by that government even if it is engaged in unjust war. The citizens are morally bound by their national duties to safeguard the interest of their country. Thus the Christian activists claim that when the government is engaged in war no matter whether it is just or unjust, the citizens should not raise any question. They have to just obey and discharge their duties as good citizen in the interest of their own country. According to them, every citizen by virtue of being a citizen is duty bound to take part in a war and it is left to the government to decide whether war is just or unjust. The citizens have no right to pass judgements of authenticity or inauthenticity on the decision of the government. To support their view, the Christian activists derive arguments from the written religious scripture of Bible according to which the state is established by God and governed by the King who derives his authorities from God. The King is responsible on this view not to the subject over whom he rules but to God because it is God who chooses him to be the King. The Holy Bible says, "this is the man I spoke to you about; he will govern my people"⁴ (Sam: 9:17). "Everyone must submit himself to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established"⁵. Another passage also supports the claim of the activists which says, "he who rebels against the authority

⁴ *Holy Bible, New International Version*, International Bible Society, Colorado Springs, Colorado, Copyright 1973, 1978 & 1984, Printed in the United State of America, P. 241.

⁵ Norman L. Geisler. *Christian Ethics Options and Issues*. Baker House Book, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 49516, 1989, P 217

is rebelling against what God has instituted.”⁶ The King in the old times was the government. Since the government according to the activists belongs to God, therefore the order of government is the order of God. It is thus, on the Biblical ground the activists claim that the citizens have to obey the authority of their government by participating in war when it occurs no matter whether war is just or unjust. The Christian activists also give another argument based on philosophical and social ground to support their view. They say that since government is our guardian; it protects us from dangers and guides us in our daily life; it works for the welfare of the people and fulfills our needs and desires, therefore it is our duty to obey the decision of the government. The activists also give the example of Socrates to support their view. When Socrates was in prison, Crito, his friend urged him to escape and evades the death penalty given to him by his government. But he did not do so because according to him, one has to obey even an unjust government because government is man’s parent. So the decision of the government, they argue, is to be accepted even if it fights unjust war. It is well known fact that any government which participates in war never says that it is participating in an unjust war. For the government every war in which it participates is a just war. This claim is made by all the governments involved in warfare. No government on its own says that it is fighting an unjust war even if it is unjust.

⁶ Norman L Geisler *Christian Ethics Options and Issues* Baker House Book, Grand Rapids, Michigan 49516, 1989, P 217

But the arguments put forward by the Christian activists cannot be accepted because they rest on the wrong ground. Their first argument rests on the belief in the existence of God which itself is questionable. Not only this, if we go by the empirical evidences, no government is appointed and ordained by any divine God. It is always done by the people of the concerned country. Since it is done by the people of the concerned country, therefore what its government does cannot be justified just by appealing to its people because they might go wrong. They may not judge the rightness or the wrongness of the act of war on the basis of its own merit. They may judge it keeping in view the interest of their own respective government even if it involves the cost of the interest of other effected government. The Christian activists quote religious scripture of Bible to justify their view that participation in war is always justified. But they forget that the same Bible also says that man is not the master of life. "Man is merely the custodian of life. Since man is the custodian of life according to the Bible, therefore man has no right to take any life. Life is gift of God and gift of God is valuable. Since life is gift of God, therefore according to the Bible, only God has the right to take the life of others. It is man's duty to accept the decision of God, not to pass judgement on them. If God has created and bestowed life upon man, it does not fall within the right of man to destroy it".⁷ If we accept this view of Bible, then to support the decision of the government by participating in war cannot justified because the path of war involves killing and killing is against the commandments of God. This argument of the Christian activists also does not hold when they say that citizens

⁷ Charles J McFadden, Op. Cit, P. 227, as quoted in Marwin Khol, *The Morality of Killing Sanctity of life, Abortion and Euthanasia* Atlantic, Highland, N J , Humanities Press, 1974, P.5.

should obey the commandments of their respective government because the government protects them and works for their welfare. Because the rightness or the wrongness of the act of war cannot be judged by making reference to the interest of the citizens of any one particular government by ignoring the interest of the other effected government. In judging of the rightness or the wrongness of the act of war from the moral point of view, we have to take into account the well-beings of all the concerned governments on the rational ground without showing favour to any side. It is true that every citizen must obey his or her government. But the government must fight for the right cause. He or she should not obey the commandments of any government just on the ground of this because it is the commandments of government. He or she should judge critically and rationally the commandments of his or her government before acting upon them.

The Christian pacifists hold just the opposite view of what the Christian activists hold. According to them, war is never justified because it involves killing and killing cannot be justified at any cost. The Christian pacifists also support their view by quoting the Biblical scripture which says, "You shall not kill".⁸ To kill is to commit a sin because it involves destruction of human life and destruction of human life is morally wrong because it goes against the commandments of God. Besides the Biblical statement, the Christian pacifists also quote the statement of Jesus Christ to support their view which says, "Do not resist

⁸ Norman L Geisler *Christian Ethics Options and Issues* Baker House Book, Grand Rapids, Michigan 49516, 1989, P 221

one who is evil".⁹ It is on the ground of the religious beliefs the Christian pacifists, thus, claim that war is always morally wrong. According to them, evil should not be returned with evil. Since the act of war involves killing of innocent people and soldiers, therefore it is morally unjustified. When war takes place, the involved countries no doubt convince their people that they are fighting just war. But for the Christian pacifists no matter whether war is fought for just or unjust cause, it is always morally wrong because it involves killing of people. The Christian pacifists say that war is morally unjustified not only on the ground of religion, but also on the ground of social factors as well. According to them, war is not a good means to settle human disputes. We should settle human disputes through peaceful negotiation. The Christian pacifists argue that war takes place because of the evil of human greed. The countries fight among themselves to achieve their own selfish ends. Human greed leads a nation to fight against another nation. The act of war causes human sufferings. It gives rise to many social evil things such as rape, murder, starvation and destruction of human life. Those who loss their dear ones experience pain and sorrow. Those who survive also have to live with the horror of war in their minds which in turn causes mental suffering. We cannot glorify human sufferings which result from the act of war no matter whether war is conventional or non-conventional. The First and the Second World Wars are the example of it. Those who could survive after bombing of the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasakhi in Japan are still suffering from different type of genetic diseases. Since the act of war leads to human

⁹ Ibid., p 221

suffering and loss of life, therefore the Christian pacifists argue that war is always morally wrong. It is anti-Biblical and anti-social.

But the arguments put forward by the Christian pacifists cannot be accepted because they rest on the wrong ground. The first argument rest on the belief in the existence of God which itself is questionable. Not only this, even if we accept the existence of God, we cannot judge the moral rightness or the wrongness of the act of war by referring to it because there is no logical connection between the existence of God and morality. A man can be moral and his act can be judged as morally right even if he does not entertain the idea of the existence of God. The second argument put forward by the Christian pacifists no doubt does have some strength because war leads to undesirable consequences. But merely on the ground of this we cannot say that the act of war is always morally wrong. Because in certain cases war may be inevitable to protect humanity from the brutal act of social elements when there are no other morally good overriding alternative is available. The war between Pandavas and Kauravas is an example of it. Pandavas had no other options except to fight war for the protection of *dharma* and any war which is fought for the protection of *dharma* is morally justified even if it leads to the destruction of human life.

The Christian selectivists reject the arguments put forward by the Christian activists and pacifists. They adopt a middle path. According to them, to participate in some wars is morally justified and in some it is not. To support their view they draw instances from the Holy scripture of Bible like the Christian activists and pacifists. They say that “When

Abram heard that his relative had been taken captive, he called out the 318 trained men..... During the night Abram divided his men to attack them and he routed them.”¹⁰ To protect the life of innocent people is morally right. To fight for a just cause according to them is not morally wrong because it amounts to the protection of the innocent people. Therefore if any government participates in just war, its citizens must support the government. War is morally unjustified according to the Christian selectivists when it is fought to conquer and expand the territory because it goes against the sovereignty and liberty of the defeated country. The Christian selectivists argument seems to be quite rational because there is nothing in the nature of the act of war as such on the ground of which war could be judged to be right or wrong. Both the Christian activists and the pacifists have gone wrong because they took the absolutistic line of thought to judge the nature of the act of war, though they held the opposite views about the nature of the act of war. According to the Christian activists, participation in war is always morally justified irrespective of the consequences. While according to the pacifists, the act of war is always morally unjustified because it involves the destruction of human life. According to their view, no matter whether war is fought for the just or unjust cause, it is always an evil in itself. But both the views are one sided. Hence they cannot be accepted. Because in certain cases where war is fought for the right cause, it cannot be said to be morally unjustified merely on the ground of this because it is war. The rightness or ^{the}wrongness of the act of war has to be judged in term of morally good overriding reasons. The issue of morally good

¹⁰ *Holy Bible New International Version*, International Bible Society, Colorado Springs, Colorado, Copyright 1973, 1978 & 1984, Printed in the United States of America, p. 11.

overriding reasons cannot be decided independently of human nature and their conditions and situations. In judging the rightness or the wrongness of the act of war we have to take into account the total picture of the situation relevant to it before arriving at any decision. The issue of rightness or wrongness of the act of war cannot be settled by taking into consideration the interest of anyone particular party involved in the warfare. In judging the issue of rightness or wrongness of the act of war we have to take into account not only the consequences of war but also the causes of war. If we go just by the consequences of the loss of human life, no war can be said to be morally justified because it always involves the destruction of human life. But if we go by the protection of human life from the brutal act of hegemony character, the act of war can be said to be morally justified. So it all depends upon our moral perspective.

Both for and against war arguments can be given. But we have to judge them on a rational ground and a rational ground cannot be decided independent of human intentions, conditions and circumstances. Because what is morally rational in one case may be or may not be morally rational in another case when human intentions, conditions and circumstances vary in relevant respects. Every nation has a moral right to protect its sovereignty and the interest of its people and to retaliate when it is attacked by the external forces in defence. But no nation has any moral right to control and encroach the rights of any other nations. The power to declare war no doubt totally rests on the government and it is the duty of government to protect and look after the welfare of its people. But no government has the power to declare war just, to protect and look

after the welfare of its people at the cost of the welfare of the people of the other governments. If every country has a moral right to protect and look after the welfare of its people, then no government has any moral right to destroy the welfare of other nations. The government should exercise its power to declare war for the right cause and not for the wrong cause. The responsibility and burden, therefore, lie on the shoulder of the government. No war can give full guarantee for the safety of innocent people because war is after all a war. It does involve killing and disaster which cannot be totally avoided. It can be totally avoided only by not fighting of the war.

The views of non-Christian thinkers fall in one or the other categories mentioned above, i.e. the activists, the pacifists and the selectivists. For example, according to the Scripture of *Bhagavadgita*, the main issue in war is not violence but is whether it is fought in accordance with the demands of *dharma*. All the time Krishna had been reminding Arjun that killing by itself is not a sin. Killing is a sin only when it is done against the demands of *dharma*. To fight a righteous war is not a sin. Not to fight a righteous war is rather a sin. The *Bhagavadgita* clearly says, "There is nothing more welcome for a warrior than a righteous war."¹¹ "If you (Arjun) do not wage such a righteous wars, then you will incur sin."¹² Krishna himself took the *chakra*, a weapon of war, to protect *dharma*. He nowhere recommends the doctrine of passive resistance to his disciple, Arjun. This view of *Bhagavadgita* directly goes against the view of pacifism. Not only this, it also goes against the view of activism because

¹¹ Pathukonda Viswambara Nath, *Tattvam Asi The Universal Message in Bhagavadgita*, Vol I, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt Ltd, Delhi, 1998, P 60

¹² Ibid P 61

according to the view of activism war is always morally justified which the Bhagavadgita does not prescribe at all. The Philosophy of the Bhagavadgita goes along with the view of selectivism according to which to fight the righteous war is always morally justified. The *ManuSmriti* scriptures also recommends the same thing. The Ramayan too never treats war as a sin when it is fought to protect *dharma*, M. K. Gandhi himself was not against fighting. He was against the use of brute force. This view of his is quite clear from his following statements: "I want you to fight Nazism with our arms".¹³ "Perish unarmed".¹⁴ Taking life may be a duty".¹⁵ "Non-Violence does not mean meek submission to the evil doer".¹⁶ The Jains and the Bauddhas do not entertain the views of Bhagavadgita and Ramayan. Because according to them, killing (*himsa*) is a sin in all conditions. Their this view, thus, goes along with the view of pacifism. Since according to the systems of Jainism and Buddhism, the act of war involves killing, therefore it cannot be said to be morally justified at all in any condition. But many other revolutionary Hindu activists like Bhagat Singh and Subhas Chandra Bose who believe in 'freedom by Bombs and Bullets' do not consider that killing is always morally wrong. According to them, war is always morally justified if it is fought for justice and freedom. Hitler's view also goes along with the view of activism. He says, "Let us do wrong and kill people to save Germany"¹⁷ and many people were killed as a result of it.

¹³ M K Gandhi, *Non-Violence in Peace and war*, Vol I, NPH, Ahmedabad, 1949, P 251

¹⁴ Ibid P 152

¹⁵ Basant Kumar Lal, *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, Motilal Banarsidass, Indological Publishers and Book Seller, First Edition, Patna, 1973, Printed in India, p 109.

¹⁶ Ibid, P 111

¹⁷ Bindeswar Pathak, 'Source of War and Peace', *Peace re new International Journal of Peace*, Vol I, No 1, June, 1998, P 2

When we critically examine all the arguments put forward by different thinkers mentioned above, we find that their arguments logically rest either on religious ground or on political ground or on social ground or on prudential ground. But all these ground hold good only when they do not go against the principles of morality. No war can be said to be justified from the religion point of view if it goes against the humanistic view of morality. Because as soon as we leave moral basis we cease to be religious. The same logic also does hold good in the case of other arguments as well. They hold good only when they do not go against the principles of morality. If each state, for example, has a moral right to take adequate steps to defend its existence, sovereignty and integrity, then no state has any moral right to fight war against another state to destroy its existence, sovereignty and integrity. If any state has a moral right to promote the interest of its own people, then no state has any moral right to exploit the interest of other states, If every state has a moral right to protect its sovereignty, then no state has any moral right to capture, control and dictate other states. The problem of war does arise when one state starts interfering in the matter of another state against its will to achieve selfish interests. If there exists a conflict between moral and non-moral considerations, (i.e., religious, political, cultural, social and racial etc.), it is moral consideration which ought to be preferred because moral considerations always override non-moral considerations. If there exists a conflict between two different sets of moral considerations within the same domain, then one should prefer to that moral consideration which has overriding feature. One moral consideration overrides another moral consideration only when it has relatively more weightage over other. All the problems related to war

have to be settled on the basis of morally overriding reasons. If one moral consideration does not override another moral consideration and both the moral considerations do have equal relative weightage, then any one of them could be accepted to decide the problems pertaining to war. If any country decides to go for a war in order to save the life of innocent people from the brutal act of terrorists, it cannot be said to be guilty of war because saving the life of innocent people from the brutal act of terrorists is morally right even if it goes against the scriptures of any religion. War no doubt does destroy the life of some innocent people when it is fought. But between saving and killing of the life of people, the one which has moral overriding feature has to be taken into account over the other. If by killing some evil people, one can save the life of a large numbers of innocent people through a war, war can be said to be morally justified, provided that there is no other better alternative available to achieve the same goal. Killing of innocent life is no doubt morally wrong. But not to save innocent life is also equally morally wrong. Under such situations where we cannot save some innocent life without taking some other innocent life, we have to decide them in a rational manner. The one which morally overrides the other ought to be accepted. We cannot decide the problem of justification of war on a priori ground without taking into account all the positive and negative morally relevant factors. Because there is nothing in the nature of the act of war as such on the ground of which we can legitimately say that it is morally justified or unjustified. War is morally justified only when it rests on the morally good overriding reasons. To say this, however, does not mean that if there are morally overriding reasons, a country will necessarily follow it. A country may or may not follow morally overriding reasons due to its

weaknesses. If a country is weak economically, politically and militarily, it may not decide to fight a war even if the fighting of that war is morally justified. In such cases we do not generally hold a country to be guilty of not fighting a just war. It becomes morally unjustified only when that country is in position to fight a just war but does not fight it. The question of the justification of war does arise only when there is context of war. If there is no context of war, the question of the justification of war does not simply arise at all. When two countries fight a war it is quite possible that both of them may be morally right or one of them is morally right and another is not. Because the grounds of fighting of a war vary. Nonetheless, whatever the case might be, no war can be said to be morally justified if it does not rest on morally good overriding reasons.

The most general problem raised by the conduct of warfare is the problem of means and end. The end of the act of a war is what the concerned country aims at achieving by fighting it. When the end of a war is achieved, the process of warfare also comes to an end. Because after achieving the end what the act of a war is intended to achieve, nothing is left out. When nothing is left out, there is no point in continuing of a warfare. After achieving the end if any country still continues the process of warfare, it does it to achieve some other new ends. The end for which a war is fought may vary from context to context and country to country. But there is no war which is fought just for the sake of war. It is always fought to achieve some end, just or unjust. Since the fighting of a war is decided by human beings, therefore its end is what human beings think it to be. In thinking so it is quite possible that human beings may or may not be rational. But in spite of that what they

aim at remain as an end. There is no end without a means and there is no means without an end because both means and end are inseparably connected. The end is an end only in relation to a means and the means is a means only in relation to an end. If something is not used to achieve something else, it does not acquire the status of a means. So is the case with vice-versa too. If there is nothing to be achieved by something else, it does not acquire the status of an end. This is analytically true by the definition of the notions of means and end themselves. Further, means and end are relative terms because what is a means in relation to some end may be an end in relation to some other means. Likewise, what is an end in relation to a means may be a means in relation to some other end. All this is logically possible because the terms of means and end are a relative terms. An 'end' does not become a means to something else only when it is used in the sense of an 'end' in itself. Because when an 'end' is used in the sense of an 'end in itself'. There is nothing else left to be achieved by it and this does not hold good when an 'end' is used as a means. Therefore something can be a means in one context and end in another context.

The relation of means and end is quite different from that of the relation of cause and effect. The relation of means and end always involves in it a reference to some agency and his or her abilities, intentions and desires, etc which the relation of cause and effect does not necessarily involve in it. The notion of cause is not essentially linked with the notion of any agency. For example, when the earthquake occurs, it occurs not because of the involvement of any human or divine agency. It occurs because of the presence of certain antecedent conditions. It is

because of this reason we do not hold the event of an earthquake morally responsible even if it causes large destructions and damages to human life and their properties. While no war is fought as a means without the involvement of human agencies. Because it is always planned and intended in order to achieve some goal which are not possible without assuming the involvement of some human agencies. We cannot say that war is a means to itself because no means is an end to itself. The relation of means and end is not a reflexive relation. It is irreflexive relation. The relation of war generally holds good between the two or more than two large groups of people. The warfare phenomenon is a phenomenon of means and end. It is not a phenomenon of cause and effect. But to say this does not mean to say that a cause cannot be a means or a means cannot be a cause. A cause can be a means or a means can be a cause, there is nothing in the notions of cause and effect because which debar one from being another. War can be said to be a means because it is used as a weapon to achieve some ends. But it also can be said to be a cause because it causes destruction to human lives and their properties. The effect of war is different from the end of war. The effect of war is that what results from the actual act of war. But the end of war is that what the concerned nation thinks that it would bring about if it is fought. And what the concerned nation intends to bring about by the act of war before fighting it may or may not go along with the actual result of it. Because there is no logical connection between the intended result and the actual result of a war. The intended result of a war is the characteristic feature of human mind because it exists only in the human mind. While the actual result of a war is the casual features of the act of war which casually results from the act of war what it is done. It does not exist in the mind

of the doer. Since the intended result and the actual result of the act of war are conceptually different, therefore they should not be muddled. In other words, to muddle the relation of means and end with the relation of cause and effect has a serious implication in deciding of the moral rightness or wrongness of the act of war. We cannot justify or condemn the act of war merely on the ground of the actual result of war as the consequentialists do. Because the actual result of a war is not in the hand of those people who fight the war. What is in their hand is the intended result of a war because they can control it, if they wish, by doing or not doing the act of war. But once the act of war is performed, no human beings have any power to control over it. It is causally bound to produce by its nature some effect, good or bad. We can control the effect of war only when we presuppose that the same cause produces the same effect and they are necessarily connected. But if the same cause does not produce the same effect and there is no necessary connection between the two, then we cannot say with certainty such and such effect the act of war is going to produce. We can merely guess but we cannot say anything with certainty.

The concepts of means and end are morally neutral concepts. Something acquires the status of an end only when it is sought or is prescribed that it ought to be sought. It does not acquire the status of an end because of having certain moral elements inherent in it. Likewise, something acquires the status of a means only when it is used in order to achieve some end by someone. It does not acquire the status of a means because of having some moral elements inherent in it. If it is true that something acquires the status of an end because of having some moral

elements inherent in it, then no end can be said to be immoral by definition because an end in that case would not be an end if it is not moral. So is the case with a means too. If something acquires the status of a means because of having some moral elements inherent in it, then no means can be said to be immoral by definition. Because any means in that case would not be a means if it is not moral. But this is not so because means and end acquire the status of moral or immoral only when we evaluate them from the moral point of view and assign moral values to them. If we do not judge the act of war from the same moral point of view, we cannot settle the issue whether war is morally justified or not. Because moral disagreements in that case are bound to be there because of having different moral points of view. If this is so, then both the absolutists and consequentialists moral thinkers could be said are right from their own moral point of view on the issue of the nature of the justification of a war. But both the views cannot be accepted. The absolutists view cannot be accepted because it focuses only on the act of war. It does not take into account the possible outcome of war and the intentions behind doing the act of war. While the fact is that in deciding whether war is morally justified or not, we have to take into account not only the possible outcome of the act of war but also the intentions of those people who participate in the act of war. The consequentialists view also cannot be accepted because it focuses only on the outcome of the act of war. It does not take into account the rightness or the wrongness of the intentions behind doing the act of war which are morally relevant factors in deciding the issue of the justification of war. If this be so, then while judging the rightness or the wrongness of the act of war from the moral point of view, we have to go beyond the act of war. We have to take into

account various morally relevant factors such as intentions, socio-political and economic conditions, and well-beings of all of the people concerned. Before deciding the issue we have to weigh all morally relevant factors in term of the relative strength. War is justified only when it rests on morally good overriding reasons. There is no doubt about it that we do not have any direct assess to know the intentions of all those people who participate in warfare. But we can know it only indirectly and that too from the context in which they perform their actions during warfares and for that we need not have any special assess into their minds. Every action is done in certain context and the context in which it is done very often provides sufficient clues as to the intentions behind the action. To say this does not mean that we cannot commit a mistake. We may commit a mistake in ascertaining the intentions due to lack of our knowledge of facts. But to say this does not means to say that we cannot know the intentions of those people who participate in warfare. Every intention presupposes something to which it is directed. If that thing does not satisfy the conditions of morality, it cannot be said to be morally justified. Not only this, the intentions linked with it also cannot be said to be morally justified. The rightness or the wrongness of a means have to be judged in the light of intended end for which it is used. It is quite possible that there may be more than one means to achieve the same intended end. In such cases all the available means have to be judged in term of their relative strength keeping in view the morally desired end. If there are better means available to achieve the same end, bad means should not be adopted. They ought to be avoided even if they lead to the same end. If this be so, then from this it is quite clear that all means even if they are good may not be equally good to realize the same

end. For the right end, right means should be adopted as far as possible and bad means should be avoided. For example, between violence and non-violence, non-violence no doubt could be said to be a better means to settle the disputes if we can do it by adopting it without following the path of violence. Likewise, between nuclear weapons and conventional weapons, conventional weapons can be said to be relatively a better means to end the war if we can achieve it without using the nuclear weapons. In every case of war, we have to judge means in term of their relative strength. A means which maximize good and minimizes evil surely should be preferred to another means which does not relatively maximize good and minimize evil. Which means should be adopted and which means should not be adopted from the moral point of view ultimately depends upon the decisions of those people who are found involved in the warfare. But the moral justification of a means does not depend upon their decision. It depends upon the morally good overriding reasons.

CHAPTER-IV

MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

In the preceding Chapters we analyzed the concepts of peace and war and their relationship. We found in our analysis that the concept of peace involves in its meaning the absence of war and the concept of war involves in its meaning the absence of peace. In other words, what the concept of peace involves in its meaning, the concept of war does not involve in it and what the concept of war involves in its meaning, the concept of peace does not involve in it. Both the concepts have different meanings. But to say this, however, does not amount to mean that war cannot be a means to peace and peace cannot be an end to war. War can be a means to peace and peace can be an end to war. And to say this is not equivalent to saying that war is morally justified in all situations. War is not morally justified in all situations. It is morally justified as a means only when it rests on morally good overriding reasons and morally good overriding reasons cannot be stipulated well in advance independent of socio-political and economic conditions and environments of human societies in question.

But then the question arises: who is to be held morally responsible for the consequences of the practice of a war? Can we hold each and every individual of the society morally responsible for the act committed by the other individuals involved in the government agencies? Can we hold morally responsible any government when it is forced to enter into a warfare? Who is morally responsible to end a war? Are people individually and collectively responsible for maintaining the global peace

by avoiding the possible wars? Does it makes sense to talk about moral responsibility when there is no warfare? Is the problem of moral responsibility pertaining to war a global problem? In what does moral responsibility consist ? These are some of the basic questions pertaining to peace and war which we cannot answer without analyzing the very concept of moral responsibility itself because their answer always presupposes it. Therefore let us first analyze the concept of moral responsibility itself.

When we reflect critically upon the concept of moral responsibility, we find that it is essentially connected with the concept of freedom. Because without assuming the concept of freedom, the concept of moral responsibility cannot be used meaningfully. The concept of freedom is an ambiguous concept. It is used generally in two different senses: "negative and positive."¹⁸ In negative sense it implies the absence of constrain, coercion and compulsion caused by external or internal factors. In positive sense it implies the presence of power to bring about certain changes in the existing state of affairs. In both negative and positive senses the concept of freedom is used in wider and narrower senses. For example, in the Indian systems of thought the concept of freedom is used in the sense of *moksha* (liberation) which consists in the freedom from sufferings, pains, mind, body and senses on the other hand and the presence of bliss (*anand*) on the other hand. Although the concept of freedom in the Indian systems of thought is used in the sense

¹⁸ John Hospers, *An Introduction to Philosophical Analysis*, Allied Publishers Private Ltd, 1971, P 330

of *moksha* (liberation) but it is not used in the same sense in all systems. Buddhists concept of freedom is different from the Jain concept of freedom and the Jain concept of freedom is different from the Hindu concept of freedom. Not only this, even within the Hindu systems of thought, the concept of freedom does not carry the same meaning. The Samkhya concept of freedom is different from the Nyaya Vaisesika concept of freedom and the Nyaya Vaisesika concept of freedom is different from the Advaita and Visistadvaita concept of freedom. However in the context of human actions, the concept of freedom is not used in the sense of *moksha*. The concept of freedom in the context of human actions is used to signify the absence of constrain, coercion and compulsion on the one hand and the presence of self-determination, self-governance and self-control on the other hand. It is in this sense we are concerned here with the concept of freedom because the issues relating to peace and war fall under the domain of human actions. By 'peace' here we mean worldly interpersonal social peace and not individual eternal spiritual peace which is said to be attainable after the death of physical existence. Even if we attain it during our physical life, we are not obligated thereby to carry out any social and moral responsibility.

In the context of human actions when we say that somebody is free, it means that he or she himself or herself determines, governs and control his or her actions without the enforcement of any internal or external factors. If there exists no constrain, coercion and compulsion, the question of his or her being free from something does not simply arise at all. Because to be free means to be free from constrain, coercion and compulsion. And the question of making free oneself from constrain,

coercion and compulsion does not arise unless it is meant to do something because the use of the concept of freedom in the context of human actions always includes in its meaning not only 'freedom from' but also 'freedom to'. To free oneself from something is to make oneself free to do something. Freedom in the sense of 'freedom to do something' means to determine to choose, to govern, to control and to act by oneself without any enforcement from the external and internal factors. The concept of moral responsibility is conceptually connected with this sense of freedom and not freedom in the sense of self-realization or identification of oneself with the absolute or the placement of self in the company of God. Because in these senses the concept of moral responsibility is incompatible with the concept of freedom. When a person attains freedom in the sense of spiritual liberation (*moksha*) mentioned above, he or she does not have any moral responsibility towards anyone to undertake. He or she transcends all his or her moral responsibilities and commitments. If this is so, then only a free human agent who possesses physical existence can be held to be morally responsible for doing or not doing certain kinds of action in relation to oneself or in relation to other individuals of society which he or she is morally supposed to do or not to do. What holds good in the case of a particular individual, also holds good in the case of a group of individuals no matter whether that group is a tribe or community or nation. If one country is forced or compelled by another country to enter into war, then the enforced or compelled country cannot be held to be morally responsible for the consequences of war. The reason is simple because if a country has no freedom to decide a war but is compelled to enter into it, it cannot be said to be morally responsible at all for the consequences of

war because moral responsibility always presupposes freedom of choice and action.

A society consists of many institutions and organizations. And the state occupies the central position among all the institutions and organizations in the society. The state is a political organization. It has its own government through which it controls, regulates and co-ordinates different phases of social life. In other words, the government is an instrument through which the state performed its various functions. The forms of government may vary according to circumstances, spirit and tradition of the people. The state maintains its social order, stability, peace, well-being, sovereignty and security through the machinery of government. There is no state without government. The government is the central authority of the state. Because it is the government who is said to have the ultimate power to decide the fate of its own people. Every government has certain social, political and economic responsibilities towards its own people and nation. The decision and policy making authority lies with the government concerning all the matters relating to national security, integrity, sovereignty and prosperity, etc. It is the government of the state who is the final authority to decide any action to be performed by its subordinates. Military officials and soldiers do not decide the fate of country. They merely carry out the orders given to them by the authorities of government without any question. Since the government is the final authority and freedom of choice lies with it whether it should fight or not fight a war in the interest of nation, therefore it is the government which can be held to be morally responsible for the consequences of a warfare. Military soldiers cannot be

said to be morally responsible for the consequences of a warfare because they do not decide to fight war on their own. They only carry out their professional duties assigned to them by their officers and the officers act according to the guidelines given to them by the authorities of government. Since it is the government who has the ultimate power to determine, control and govern military officers, therefore it is the government who should be held morally responsible for the consequences of a war and none else. It is a moral responsibility of the government to anticipate problems well in advance and take necessary counter measures through its various agencies to avoid or limit the damage caused by possible warfare. If the government decides to buy equipments and weapons in the interest of nation to prevent the possible war, then there is nothing morally wrong in it. Because every government has a moral responsibility to protect peace, integrity, sovereignty and security of its nation. It has to keep the defence equipments up-dated to meet the challenges of external aggressions even if they cost more. To fight war against a war is not a moral crime if it is fought to protect *dharma* or justice. Not to fight war to protect *dharma* or justice is rather a moral crime. War becomes a moral crime only when it is fought to destroy other nations to meet its own selfish needs and interests. But when a war is fought to restore peace of all the people concerned, it is not a moral crime. It is rather morally permissible. The officers and soldiers of a fighting country can be held to be professionally responsible if they do not co-operate with their government to restore the goodness of all the people concerned.

Every individual of a country does not have the authority to decide whether the nation should fight a war or not. It is only the government who has the authority to take initiative step to wage or stop a war against another country. The government of a nation must see to it that as far as possible war should be avoided because it brings disaster to innocent human life. It causes sufferings not only to innocent human life but also to other non-human life. If it is not possible for the government of a nation to avoid war because of the madness of the aggressor country, then it should try its best to reduce the harm to the minimum. If the government does not do what it is required to do morally, it can be held to be morally accountable for the damage caused by a warfare. Surely no government of a nation can be held to be morally responsible for the deeds done by the other government of another nation involved in a warfare. Because people can be held to be morally responsible, individually or collectively, only for those actions which originate from their free act of choice. If the authorities of government do what morality requires them to do for their nation, they can neither be condemned nor can be held morally responsible for the damaged caused by a war. They can be condemned and held morally responsible only when their actions do not conform to the principles of morality.

From the foregoing discussions, thus, it is quite clear that we cannot hold morally responsible each and every citizen of a country for the failure of the authorities of government. To hold each and every citizen of a country morally responsible for the act committed by persons acting authority of their government is a mistake. They can be held morally responsible only when they exercise their freedom of choice in

joining or not joining of their government in a war. But they cannot be held to be morally responsible at any cost on the ground of the deeds done by the authorities of the government either individually or collectively because moral responsibility logically rests on the presupposition of the postulate of freedom of choice and action. Even if we accept for the sake of argument that each and every citizen of a country is morally responsible directly or indirectly for the consequences of a war, he or she still cannot be held to be morally responsible in the same degree. Moral responsibility varies according to their status and participation in the decision making policy of a war. The authorities of government are morally more responsible than that of an ordinary citizen of a country because of their status and participation in the government decision- making policies of a war. It is the duty of the authorities of government not only to promote and preserve national peace but also to safeguard its existence from the external forces. If there exists a conflict between moral and political considerations of a country, they have to decide the matter by giving primacy to moral considerations over political considerations because moral considerations override all non-moral considerations. The moral issues pertaining to a war cannot be decided just by referring to the interest of anyone particular country concerned. Because morality deals with the interest of all the countries concerned involved in a warfare. It does not deal with the interest of anyone particular country. To say all this does not mean to saying that the interest of one particular country cannot go along with the interest of another country. It can go along with the interest of another country. If this is true, then nation-centric consideration of one country may or may not conflict with the interest of another country. Moral considerations are

rational considerations because they always rest on rational grounds. They have relatively more weightage than those of political, legal and economic considerations of a nation. Every nation has certain moral obligations towards the people of its nation, besides political, legal, economic and social obligations which it has to fulfil. But no nation has a moral right to encroach the rights of other nations to fulfil its greeds, passions, anger, hatred and hostility which lead to violence and warfare between them.

We cannot stop war to maintain global peace just by making advancement in science and technology. Because the problems of war and peace are not the problems of science and technology. They are the problems of human relationships at global level. Science and technology can make nations powerful. But they cannot give guarantee for peace and stability among the nations. In fact, history of human civilization shows that when man is equipped with the scientific and technological powers, the result have been frightful. There is no denying of this fact that if all the nations are equally powerful, the world will be in a state of equilibrium and the possibility of wars may not be there and peace may descend on the earth. But this possibility remains merely as a hope and wishful thinking because all nations as we know cannot be equally powerful as a matter of fact because of the variations found in their socio-economic, political and material conditions. To govern human relations and maintain global peace the international societies will have to evolve certain policies based on mutual co-existence, co-respect, co-understanding, co-operation, respect for integrity and sovereignty of every nation, fair dealings, non-interferences and common well-beings.

Then and then alone they can make global human life free from wars. Global peace is a continuous process. It requires continuous conscious efforts on the part of the international societies to maintain it with mutual-co-ordinations. If the interests of international societies conflict, they have to be solved on a morally rational grounds through mutual dialogue and understanding with good will. If this is so, then it is a moral responsibility of the whole world communities to avoid wars in order to maintain mutual co-respect, social harmony and stability at global level. But this goal is possible to achieve only when all the nations do have genuine feelings for humanity as whole. To cultivate genuine feelings for humanity as whole every nation will have to rise above caste, creed, colour, region, race, language and nation. There is no denying that the nations which possess weapons will use them in war either in defence or to destroy other countries. They may say that they are having them to protect their own national integrity and interest. But there is no guarantee that they will not use them to destroy other countries for their own selfish ends. As long as there exists distrust between the nations and one nation treats another nation as its enemy, the world will never be free from wars. War is bound to happen. That is the reason why all nations, rich or poor, have desire to possess nuclear and chemical weapons. They want to produce nuclear and chemical weapons to protect their own interest. But as a matter of fact, these nations not only exploit other nations in various forms but also dig at the same time their own grave in long run.

Look at the present scenario of the world. The world is full of terrorism. Terrorism had led one country against another country to fight a war. America and Taliban are an example of it. But who is to be held

morally responsible for the phenomenon of terrorism. Surely, we cannot hold animals to be morally responsible for the phenomenon of terrorism. It is some of the international societies who could be held to be morally responsible for it. Those who promoted terrorism at one point of time to meet their own selfish goals are the ones who are becoming the victims of terrorism today. Terrorism is no doubt a global problem because it causes disturbance, violence and destruction of innocent life at global level. It is setting one country to fight war against another country. If two or more than two countries are fighting a war against terrorism, is it not a moral responsibility of all other nations to join hand with them to eliminate terrorism and make this world worth-living? Surely every nation of the world has a moral responsibility to extend its support to other nations who are fighting a war to eliminate terrorism for the right cause.

In the last few decades there has been a race among the nations, whether rich or poor, to enter into the nuclear club. The main purpose behind it is to produce the most destructive nuclear weapons for defensive or offensive uses. To stop the nuclear race the United Nations Organization adopted the policies of Non-Proliferation Treaty and Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty for nuclear disarmament and asking all other countries who have nuclear capabilities to sign on these policies. But can we really maintain global peace by adopting these policies in the present forms? The answer seems to be negative because these treaties prevent only the non-nuclear weapon states from entering into the nuclear club. They do not uproot the problems caused by the nuclear weapon states because they allow the nuclear states to keep huge stock of nuclear

weapons at their disposal. The policies of Non-Proliferation Treaty and Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty no doubt are morally praiseworthy because they are one step towards peace maintenance but they cannot be said to be free from discriminations because they allow some gap between the nuclear and non-nuclear weapon states. The newly nuclear states, like India and Pakistan, who have just made an entry into the nuclear club, find these policies difficult to accept in the present forms. Because they rest on discrimination and partiality and there is some grain of truth in it. If the super power states are morally really committed to the cause of global peace and harmony and wish to make this world free from the nuclear wars, they have to destroy completely all their existing nuclear weapons which they have with them. Not only this, they should also not manufacture or allow any country to manufacture new nuclear weapons or any other dangerous weapons like chemical weapons and biological weapons. Then and then alone United Nations Organization can get out of the danger of nuclear wars. Unless it is done United Nations Organization can neither stop the production of nuclear weapons; nor does it have any moral right to prevent any non-nuclear weapon states from producing nuclear weapons. The reason is simple because as long as the nuclear weapon countries keep nuclear weapons with them, the fear in the mind of other countries is bound to be there that they might be used against them for their own selfish interest. We cannot say that their, this fear is not a genuine fear. The fear is quite genuine because human mind is highly unreliable and unstable. We cannot say that a country which is friendly today will not be enemy tomorrow. It may turn out to be the worst enemy. This possibility cannot be ruled out from the world of human affairs. If this be so, then to make the policy of

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty more effective the complete destruction of all the existing nuclear weapons must be done. Only then United Nations Organization can achieve its goal in true sense and solve the disputes of the international countries. If it is not done, then the United Nations Organization cannot uproot the danger resulting from the nuclear weapons. The non-nuclear countries may shout and protest against the production of nuclear weapons. But they cannot make world free from nuclear wars. They can make the world free from nuclear wars only when nuclear weapon states co-operate with them by way of destroying all their existing nuclear weapons. "No first use of nuclear weapons" oath has no meaning because a country which has nuclear weapons may infringe this oath to promote its own national interests. There is no guarantee that a country which takes oath today may not break it tomorrow. To keep the oath of "No first use of nuclear weapons" intact, moral commitment and integrity on the part of those countries who take oath are required. Only then the "No first use of nuclear weapons" oath can be said to be practically significant. That is why the problems posed by the production of nuclear weapons can be solved completely only by not having them in the world of human beings. Because as long as world is not free from nuclear weapons, countries will go on producing them by fair or foul means to safeguard their own national interest even if they cost more. Because the programme of nuclear policy is not based on economic cost factor. It is based on self-defence and every country has a moral right to defend its own existence, integrity and sovereignty. To achieve this goal it can build up its own defence mechanism. No one else can help it. Even if any country helps, it helps not because it wants to help but because of its own hidden vested interest. One might say that if other

countries are spending so much money on the programme of nuclear weapons, why should we also do it; why cannot we be virtuous? But this line of argument does hold good only when a country does not face any threat from nuclear states. It does not hold good in such cases where a country faces threats of nuclear war from their neighbouring countries. Every country has a moral responsibility to safeguard its own existence, integrity and sovereignty. To achieve this goal the production of nuclear weapon, we can say, is morally justified even if it costs more. If there is no threat from external forces, no country would like to go for the programmes of nuclear weapons because it costs a lot. It is in fact nuclear weapon states who could be held to be morally responsible for the production and encouragement of nuclear weapons. Because it is they who have posed the danger of nuclear wars. They are morally accountable to the world of human community for prevailing of the present international environment.

The efforts of various peace movements and organizations are morally praise-worthy. Because they organize various programmes to enlighten international communities about the danger of possible nuclear wars. If they have failed in their mission, they have failed due to lack of moral understanding or commitment or finance. No doubt, some people do take advantage to create their own image by using these peace organizations. But some of such things are bound to happen in the world of human affairs due to greeds and weaknesses. But in spite of this if some people keep on working for the good cause of humanity, their efforts are no doubt morally commendable.

Any country which fights a war either loses or wins it. But no country fight a war to lose it. Every country fights a war to win it. If this be so, then we can say that the concept of winning is central to war ethics. But there is nothing in the concept of winning of a war on the basis of which the winning country can be morally praised. So also is the case with the concept of losing of a war because there is nothing in the concept of losing of^a war on the basis of which the losing country can be condemned. The winning or losing of a war becomes a subject-matter of moral evaluation only when we judge a war from the moral point of view. To judge a war from the moral point of view means to apply certain criteria of morality in evaluating it. When we judge a war from the moral point of view, we judge not only its goal but also the manner in which it is fought. A war is morally praiseworthy only when it is fought for the righteous cause in righteous manner irrespective of its consequences, otherwise not.

Moral rules are sometimes converted by the international societies into legal rules when they find them that they have great social importance. Moral rules are also converted into legal rules when the international societies find that the disputes between the two countries are not likely to be settled by mere verbal moral talk. But whenever moral rules are converted into legal rules, they do not cease to be moral. They still remain moral. They are converted into legal rules because they are moral and preserve social harmony and well-beings. All legal rules need not have a moral base. Legal rules acquire moral significance only when they are derived from or rest on moral grounds. When moral rules are converted into legal rules, the gap between the two does not cease to

exist. It still remains. Moral rules take the forms of legal rules only when they are duly sanctioned by the legal authorities of the societies. Moral rules as such do not acquire any sanction from any legal authorities. If the international societies follow the legal rules derived from moral rules sincerely and honestly, they can stop the practice of immoralities in warfare. If any country at war violate them, they can impose punishment according to the nature of crime defined by the legal laws of the international societies. Because when any country violates legal laws based on morality, it not only becomes legally accountable but also morally accountable for the consequences of the actions done by it. No legal system of laws can bring peace unless the international societies are willing to obey them. If the countries at war are not willing to obey the rules sanctioned by the international communities, their disputes cannot be settled on morally rational ground. We also cannot end a war if it occurs between them in rational manner because under such situation the countries at war are bound to do certain things which are not morally permissible.

It is generally said that no country can win a war, however, righteous its purpose in fighting of a war may be unless that country does certain thing which is not morally permissible. There is no doubt about it that in most of the cases immoralities are unavoidable in war. But it is not true that no country can win a war without the practice of immoralities because there is no logical connection between the winning of a war and the practice of immoralities. A country can win a war by following the path of righteousness, that is, by trying its best to avoid harming civilians and their properties. If it is not possible for it to avoid the destruction of

civilian people and their properties, then it can try its best to reduce the harm to the minimum. If a country reduces harm to the minimum, it cannot be said to be doing something to win a war which is not morally permissible. If a country is not following the path of righteousness in fighting of a war, then it is a moral responsibility of the international societies to enforce it to do so. In fact, no war takes place between the two countries if they follow the righteous path to settle their disputes. It takes place when there is no mutual understanding between them and one country distrusts another country or tries to win over it by foul means to fulfil its own self-centric or nation-centric interests. The promotion of nation-centric interest at the cost of the interest of another country surely cannot be said to be a moral rational ground to settle the dispute. Because morality is not a matter of the goodness of anyone particular country at war. It is a matter of the goodness of all the countries at war. If the countries at war are interested only in their nation-centric interest, they will choose only those means which will maximize their expected interest even if they are not morally permissible. If a war is fought to spread political and religious creed, to acquire territory or wealth, to become the supreme power of world, then it cannot be said to be morally justified war. Because it involves the destruction of the interest of other concerned country which morality does not permit. Any country which fights such a kind of war is liable to moral condemnation. In fighting of a war, the policy of good treatment of prisoners is something which can be said to be morally good which all the countries at war should follow. If the countries at war do not keep prisoners in good house, feed well and give adequate medical care, then they cannot be said to be morally praiseworthy. They can be said to be morally accountable for the loss of

prisoner's life. They also can be held to be morally responsible if they do not prevent their soldiers from torturing, raping and killing of innocent women during a war. The destruction of life and property of enemy civilians can be said to be morally permissible only when there is no other morally good overriding reasons that will significantly enhance the prospect of victory for the right cause. In normal situation, bombing on any enemy country cannot be said to be a morally desirable means to win a war. The use of bombing is morally permissible only when there is no other good alternatives available to win a just war. In a fighting of a war every country is morally expected to observe patience and resistance. If they loose their patience and resistance, repercussion of war is bound to be there and therefore they can be hold to be morally responsible for the consequences of that war.

No doubt, it is a professional duty of every soldier of a country to sacrifice his or her life for the protection of the integrity, sovereignty and existence of a nation to which he or she belongs. But a professionally good soldier may or may not be a morally good person. A soldier is professionally good if he is competent to do his job well and does it well. If he does not do his job well the way his profession requires that he ought to do, he cannot be said to be professionally good at all. If he does his job well by avoiding immoralities or reducing them to the minimum (i.e., he does not harm civilians and their properties), he can be said to be a morally good professional because he not only does his job as soldier honestly but also avoids immoralities in doing of them. To say this does not mean that there cannot be a conflict between professional morality and general morality. If there exists a conflict between professional

morality and general morality, he has to decide the whole matter on the basis of morally good overriding reasons for to be called a morally good professional. Which morality, between the two, will override and which one will not depends upon the nature of circumstances. A soldier is guilty of professional misconduct only when he does something contrary to his professional morality and not otherwise. What is true of soldiers is also true of the authorities of government associated with the decision of warfare. If the authorities of government do not do their job well by avoiding immoralities or reducing them to minimum, they cannot be said to be morally good government authorities. The authorities of government should not only be good administrators but also should be morally good persons. The reason is that because they play a very significant role in the decision of warfare. If they wish, they can settle their disputes in rational manner and avoid the destruction of human life. The problem of war arises when the government leaders and administrators try to satisfy their ego and interest by winning over their enemy country without bothering morality. To say this does not mean that they should follow morality blindly and mechanically and becomes moral fanatic. Moral fanaticism cannot be said to be a rational approach to solve the problems of human affairs. Because sometimes what is considered a generally immoral principle (for example, "Telling a lie"), becomes morally justified if it is followed to restore morally justified cause (for example, innocent life), Lord Krishna himself said in the *Bhagvadgita* that in certain situation it is morally justified to violate the general moral principle for the righteous cause. Any country which does not participate in unjust war but instigates another country to fight unjust war is also morally equally responsible for the consequences of war as

the fighting countries are. Any country which does not fight unjust war nor does it instigate any other country to fight war but does not extend its support to other country which fights just war is also morally accountable for the consequences of war. Every country of the world has certain moral responsibilities being a country of human world towards other countries from which it cannot escape. If all countries of the world practice moral values sincerely and honestly, then they cannot only make this beautiful human world free from discontent, violence, miseries and war but also can make this world worth-living. But to practice moral values they have to control their greed, passions, anger, hatred, hostility and jealousy, etc. Then and then alone social equilibrium in the human world can be restored and maintained at global level and not otherwise. Gandhian philosophy is very important from this angle.

CHAPTER-V

CONCLUSION

We have found out in our inquiry that peace is not only an individual value but also a social value for which every individual and society aspire. The pursuit of peace consists in harmonious relationship. It always acquires conscious effort on the part of individual as well as society. Peace is not a such kind of value which we can say that every individual and society possess without making any conscious effort for it. It is neither a gift of God nor nature. It is always worked for. If it were not the case, we would have it since our birth. But this is not so because all the time we make conscious efforts to acquire it. Individual peace consists in mastery over mind because mind is the centre of all human activities in the sense that it is mind which prompts us to do all kinds of actions good or bad. It creates hell and heaven in the world of human affairs. Disorder mind is a confused mind. It is an unstable mind. It always leads individuals to do ill things. Therefore, unless the virus of ill thoughts and feelings are uprooted from the mind of individuals, no stable peace is possible in the domain of human world. To attain and maintain a stable peace both at the level of individual as well as society, the primary need is to have control over our ill thoughts, attitudes and feelings not only towards ourselves but also towards others. But all this is possible only when there exists harmonious relationships not only within the inside of individuals but also between the individuals and societies at global level.

The harmonious relationship within the inside of individuals does exist only when passions, desires and feelings of individuals are regulated by the faculty of reason. The harmonious relationship between the individuals, societies and nations exist only when their interest are organized rationally through the enactment of rational policies and plannings. The harmonizing policies and plannings do differ from tribe to tribe, society to society and nation to nation because of the variations found between them in their socio-political, economic, cultural, geographical conditions and environment, etc. But no society, however, it may be small or big can attain and maintain stable social peace unless it rationally harmonizes the interest of all its members and organizations. If any society does not rationally harmonize the interests of all members and organizations, the disorder, disturbance and violence in that society is bound to happen between their individuals and organizations. If any society is not a harmonious society, it has to frame and implement its policies of social change and development based on the balance of good reasons and realistic understanding of the needs, aspirations, the style of life and material resources of its people by instituting effective mechanism of reward and punishment. Social peace cannot be attained and maintained if the individuals of society and its organizations do not co-operate and are left to do anything and everything arbitrarily at their own sweet will.

No doubt individual and social peace are conceptually different. But they are not mutually exclusive. They are in fact mutually dependent upon each other. Individuals cannot fulfil their needs, desires and aspirations without the co-operation of other individuals of society

because the fulfillment of most of their needs, desires and aspirations involve a reference to other individuals of society. The co-operation among individuals is possible only when there exists harmonious relation among them. What is true of individuals is also true of societies. No society, however, it may be big or small can realize its social needs and aspirations without the co-operation of all its individuals because individuals are the constitutive elements of society. To say this does not mean that society is nothing but an aggregate of individuals. Society is not just an aggregate of individuals because besides individuals, society also has certain forms and organizations which are constructed by relating one individual with another through the enactment of certain laws. That is the reason why no social peace is possible unless there is harmony among the individuals and their organizations within the same society. In other words, social peace consists in the peace of all its individuals and organizations. Individuals and their organization cannot live in peace if they do not control their desires, inclinations, greeds, anger, aspirations and delusion, etc. Because these elements are of such kind that they always cause disorder and discontent not only within the inside of individuals but also between the individuals and societies. Social disorder and discontent are nothing but the result of inner disorder and discontent of the individual's mind. The causes of inner disorder and discontent of the individual's mind could be either internal or external. Individual and social peace always consist in the continuous harmonious relationship between them. Just as individual has an interest of living well which is more than merely a living. So also society has an interest in surviving well which is more than mere existence. But both individuals and society need proper harmonious environments to fulfil their needs

and aspirations. Just as individuals do have certain rights by virtue of their being members of society which they expect their society must fulfil, so also societies do have certain rights which they expect that their citizens must fulfil. Individual and social peace consist in the fulfillment of their rights in rational manner which is not possible unless there exists harmonious relationship between them. No society can live in tranquility if it does not shape itself by the aspiration of its citizens, their needs and desires. So is the case with individuals too. No individuals can live a meaningful social life if they do not follow the rational norms of the society which are framed by the society to harmonize their interests and govern their interpersonal social life.

It is perfectly quite possible that the interest of individuals may conflict with the interest of society and they do in fact conflict. But when they conflict both individuals and society will have to find out certain rational means to resolve their conflicts in rational manner with mutual understanding and co-operation without putting any resistance to show the superiority of one over the other. They will have to adopt flexible and rational attitudes to solve their problems. If they adopt immoral means to fulfil their interests at the cost of the interests of others, hatred, hostility, enmity and violence are bound to occur between them. As a result of it, they cannot develop their mutual friendship, brotherhood and love which are essentially required in the world of human affairs to maintain peace and harmony. To maintain peace and harmony both individuals and society will have to practice the philosophy of non-violence, tolerance and sacrifice etc., then and then alone they can realize their needs and aspirations.

To attain and maintain global peace is not just a task of any one particular country. It is a task of all countries of the world. Global peace consists in harmonious relationship among the people of all international societies and countries. And this is possible only when international societies and countries organize their interests in harmonious and rational manner by following the philosophy of mutual co-existence, co-operation, co-respect, co-prosperity, understanding, non-discrimination, fair dealing, non-exploitation and common well beings, etc. Because these moral values are human peace preserving moral values. If these human peace preserving moral values are not followed sincerely and honestly in practice by all the individuals, societies and countries, global peace cannot be achieved and maintained because global peace consists in the peace of all individuals, societies and countries. If there is discontent between them, global peace cannot be restored.

No means is good or bad in itself. The goodness or the badness of a means is derived from its relation to what we want to realize by it. Not only this, what is a good means in one context may or may not be a good means in another context. All this is possible because of variations found in human conditions. If this is so, then from this it is quite clear that no war cannot be said to be good or bad in itself independent of what we want to realize by it. To say this does not mean that we can prescribe war as a general principle. We cannot prescribe war as a general principle because war is a social disvalue which no tribe, community, society and nation would like to prescribe that it ought to be sought as an end in itself. While in contrast to it, peace is said to be a social value which every tribe, community, society and nation prescribes that it ought to be

sought as an end in itself not only by the individuals but also by the societies and nations. Because it preserves human existence and well-beings. War is a kind of social disvalue because it involves human killings and destruction of properties. War is not a viable solution to human problems because war begets war. It gives rise to bitterness, hatred, enmity, hostility, violence and suffering. It is because of this reason, the pacifists say that war is always morally wrong. It is never morally justified in any condition. It is intrinsically bad, no matter whether it is fought for just or unjust cause. But this line of argument cannot be said to be valid because there is nothing in the nature of the act of war as such on the basis of which we can say that it is intrinsically bad. Its goodness or badness always depends upon what we really want to achieve by it. Not only this, it also depends upon the manner in which we want to achieve our goal by it. Both these factors are morally relevant factors. Hence they should be taken into account while judging and deciding the goodness or the badness, the rightness or the wrongness of the actual act of war. In other words, without taking into account all the positive and negative morally relevant factors we cannot pass any value judgement of right or wrong about the actual act of war even if we accept in principle that war is an evil which ought to be avoided and not practiced because it involves bitterness, hatred, enmity, hostility, violence, killing and suffering. The reason is that because in certain situations it is morally justified to violate the general moral principle of "No fighting of war" when morally good overriding reasons are available. For example, when someone tells a lie to save the life of an innocent man, we do not hold him guilty of violating the general moral principle of telling the truth. Because saving the life of an innocent man

we consider a morally good ground for telling a lie. So is the case with war too. If war is fought for the right cause with right intention, it is morally justified even if it goes against the general moral principle of “No-fighting of war”. Because right cause and right intention we consider as morally good reasons for fighting of war. If we follow the general principle of morality of ‘No fighting of war’ blindly and mechanically even when morally good overriding reasons are available to violate it, we are moral fanatic and not rational. While the fact is that moral considerations are not fanatic. They are rational considerations and rational considerations ought to be followed even if they go against the general norms of moral value. If this be so, then a war can be said to be morally justified if it is fought for just cause with good intention.

If the arguments mentioned above are valid, then the activists and the pacifists accounts of war cannot be said to be rational accounts at all. The activists account of war cannot be said to be a rational account because war is not morally justified in all conditions. It is morally justified only when it is fought for the right cause with good intention. It is not morally justified when it is fought for unjust cause with bad intention. For example, if war is fought for the promotion of religious and political creed, the extension of territories and to show the supremacy over other nations, it is morally unjustified. But if it is fought to save the life of innocent people for the brutal act of terrorists, it is morally justified. Because the saving of the life of innocent people from the brutal act of terrorists we consider a morally good reason even if it involves the destruction of the life of the terrorists. The pacifists account of war is not a rational account because war is morally justified in certain conditions.

It is morally justified only when it is fought for just cause with good intentions. The selectivists account of war seems to be quite a rational account because it rests on morally good overriding reasons. It takes into account all morally good relevant factors while making the decision about the actual act of war which the activists and the pacifists accounts of war do not take into consideration. The activists and the pacifists accounts of war are one sided and hence are irrational. War can be a rational means provided that we choose it to maintain and restore social justice in the absence of any other morally good overriding alternative available. The concept of war surely does involve in its meaning the absence of peace. But to say this does not mean that a war cannot be a means to peace and peace cannot be an end to a war. War can be a means to peace and peace can be an end to war. All this is not only logically possible but also is practically quite realistic.

All societies consist of different institutions and organizations and the state occupies the central position among them. All states do have their own governments through which they control, regulate and co-ordinate different phases of their social life. All governments do have certain social, moral, economic, political and national responsibilities towards their own people and nation. Governments are the final authorities to decide all the matter pertaining to national prosperity, integrity, sovereignty and security of their countries. Since governments are the final authorities to decide whether war should be fought or not, therefore it is they who can be held to be morally responsible for the consequences of war. Military soldiers cannot be held to be responsible for the consequences of war because they do not decide on their own to

fight a war. They only carry out their professional duties assigned to them by their military officers and military officers act according to the guidelines given to them by the authorities of their government concerned. Military officers and soldiers can be held to be morally responsible only if they do not carry out their professional duties assigned to them sincerely and honestly. If they do not carry out their professional duties sincerely and honestly, they are guilty of violating their professional moral duties. But when they do their professional duties sincerely and honestly for the good cause of nation, they cannot be held to be morally guilty for the consequences of war. We cannot hold each and every citizen of a country morally responsible for the failure of the authorities of government. If we hold each and every citizen of a country morally responsible for the act committed by the authorities of government, we commit a mistake. Because someone can be held to be morally responsible only on the ground of what he or she does or does not do at his or her own free will and not on the ground of what others do or do not do. If at all we can hold each and every citizen of a country morally responsible, we can hold only if they do not participate with their government in the fighting of a just war or prevent its government from fighting of an unjust war. Even if we admit for the sake of argument that not only the authorities of government but also the citizens of country are morally responsible for the consequences of war directly and indirectly, we cannot hold all of them to be morally responsible in the same degree. The authorities of government are definitely morally more responsible than that of an ordinary citizen of a country for the consequences of war

because it is the authorities of government who take decisions pertaining to war and not an ordinary citizen.

We cannot uproot the problems caused by war just by making more and more advancement in science and technology. Because the problems caused by war are not the problems of science and technology. They are the problems of human attitudes and relations. Science and technology can make a nation more powerful. They can help a country to produce more and more dangerous weapons. But they cannot uproot the causes of the problems of war; nor can they give guarantee for peace and harmony between the nations. To govern human attitudes and relations in harmonious manner, all international societies will have to evolve together certain peace preserving policies based on the philosophy of mutual co-existence, co-respect, co-operation, respect for integrity, sovereignty and security of all nations, fair dealing, non-interference, non-discrimination and common well-beings. If conflict occurs between the interests of two countries, they have to settle their conflict through mutual understanding and dialogue by following morally good overriding reasons. But all this is possible only when all nations do have genuine feelings towards humanity as whole and co-ordinates their interests in a rational manner. To cultivate genuine feelings towards humanity as whole every nation will have to rise above caste, creed, colour, region, race and nation centric interests. They will have to develop the mutual feeling of love and brotherhood among themselves by sacrificing their selfish interests. If distrust exists between the two nations and one nation treats another nation as its enemy, then both the nations cannot rest in peace. War is bound to occur between them sooner or later if they do not

control their selfish interests. The reason is this because if they take into account only their own selfish interests and do not bother about the interest of another nations, they will keep on doing some immoral things to safe-guard their selfish interests and we cannot stop them. In fact, a war does not takes place between the two countries when they follow the righteous path to settle their disputes. It takes place when both the countries or one of the countries adopt immoral path to fulfil their greeds and nation-centric interests at the cost of the interest of another country. If all countries bother only about their own nation-centric interests, they will choose only those means which will maximize their expected interest even if they are not morally permissible. While the fact is that all countries do have certain moral responsibilities not only towards their own nations but also towards other nations being countries of human world. Every human being by virtue of being human does have certain moral obligations towards other human beings of the societies irrespective of their caste, colour, creed and nation which he or she is supposed to carry out through life. So is the case with nations too because all nations are composed of individual human beings. That is why all nations also do have certain moral responsibilities not only towards themselves but also towards other nations which they can fulfil only when they transcends their nation-centric interests and not otherwise. It is a moral responsibility of all nations to avoid war as far as possible. If it is not possible for them to avoid war because of the rigid immoral view of the other nations concerned, they should not try to win war by practicing immoralities against the enemy country. If it is not possible for them to win a righteous war by avoiding immoralities, they should try their best to reduce immoralities to the minimum. If a country reduces immoralities

to the minimum to win just war, it cannot be said to be doing something to win war which is not morally permissible because in certain cases it is morally justified to violate certain general principle of morality when morally good overriding reasons are available. For example, "Telling the truth" no doubt is a general principle of morality. But sometimes in certain conditions it is morally justified to violate it by telling a lie, i.e., to save the life of innocent people. So is the case with war too. "No fighting of war" no doubt is a general principle of morality. But in certain cases, it is morally justified when a country cannot avoid it to restore justice. But when any country fights just war, it should always try its best to reduce harm to the minimum. If it does so, it cannot be held to be morally accountable for the damages caused by war. A country which does not participate in unjust war but instigates another country to fight unjust war is also equally morally responsible for the damages caused by war. A country which does not fight unjust war; nor does it instigate any other country which fights unjust war but does not extend its support to a country which fights just war is also morally accountable for the damages caused by war. The reason is that because all countries do have certain moral responsibilities being countries of human world not only towards themselves but also towards other countries. If they do not do what they are morally supposed to do or do what they are not morally supposed to do, they are morally accountable in either case to the world of human beings because morality is a network of all human beings. Global peace is not just a moral responsibility of any one particular country. It is a moral responsibility of all countries of the world. We can attain and maintain it only when we organize our interests in harmonious and rational manner by avoiding our conflicts and not otherwise.

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