The evolution of the concept of perpetual peace in the istory of political-legal thought

(La evolución del concepto de la paz perpetua en la historia del pensamiento político-jurídica)

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Abstract: The subject of this work is the question of the philosophical evolution and legal concept of perpetual peace throughout history. Its aim is also to show the importance of the issue to our broad understanding of the causative agents of development concepts for the rights of individuals, communities and human rights position in the surrounding world.

The views enunciated by philosophers, thinkers and authors of the law of nations constitute the base on which not only Euro-American culture is resisting but also our contemporary understanding of society, individual liberty and fundamental human rights. That is why so important to undertaken within the discourse on human rights is to show the historical, philosophical and legal genesis of such issues as the evolution of the theory of peaceful coexistence, collective security or religious tolerance and minority rights.

Presented in this work an analysis is not exhaustive. I assume that it is the task of presenting mainly the most important currents of thought and encourage t e reader to further study, while leaving sufficient space for own thoughts.

Resumen: El tema de este trabajo es la cuestión de la evolución filosófica y el concepto jurídico de la paz perpetua largo de la historia. Su objetivo es también   esentar la importancia de la cuestión a nuestro amplio conocimiento de los agentes causantes de los co   ptos de desarrollo de los derechos de los individuos, las comunidades y la posición de los derechos humanos en el mundo que le rodea.

Las opiniones enunciados por los filósofos, pensadores y autores del derecho de las naciones constituyen la base sobre la que no sólo la cultura euro-americana se resiste, sino también nuestra comprensión contemporánea de la sociedad, la libertad individual y los derechos humanos fundamentales. Por eso tan importante para emprendidas en el discurso sobre los derechos humanos es mostrar la génesis histórica, filosófica y jurídica de cuestiones tales c   a evolución de la teoría de la coexistencia pacífica, la seguridad colectiva o la tolerancia religiosa y los derechos de las minorías.

Presentado en este trabajo un análisis no es exhaustivo. Supongo que es la tarea de presentar sobre todo las corrientes más importantes del pensamiento y de estimular al lector a seguir estudiando, al tiempo que deja suficiente espacio para los pensamient s propios.

Keywords: Perpetual peace; History; Law; Politics

Palabras clave: La paz perpetua; Historia; Derecho; Política

Introduction

The phenomena of peace and war constitute the eternal and immanent elements of the history of mankind. It is assumed that they originate in the deeply rooted in the human nature lust for power, prestige and respect. That drive is characteristic of individuals, as well as entire nations, and often becomes apparent on the level of foreign policies of states. Waging wars or striving for peace e two basic instruments for countries thanks to which they pursue their vital inte ests. The rules of conduct adopted by states result from subjective and objective factors. Apart from the obvious one such as the country's position or the line-up in its closest environment, also ideological and consciousness related factors are of crucial importance here. According to contemporary realistic concepts, war is a normal means of execution of states' interests and exerting influence upon international environment. Liberal theo , as opposed to realistic concepts, highlight the necessity of cooperation among states and peaceful co-existence of nations. While analysing contemporary trends in thought on peace and war among nations, one should bear in mind that they are reminiscences of previous views on that matter, which are deeply rooted in the history of Euro ean philosophy.

Philosophers from different eras who observed the conduct, nature, and consequences of wars tended to show the possibilities f making and preserving peace. One may say that the thought on peace derives form the reflection on war, hence is secondary to it, nevertheless, they are inextricably linked to each other. The idea to build peace among states has developed since the ancient times. It is an eminent element of the political-legal thought, both due to its long-standing and extensive history, as well as because of its important repercussions for the contemporary social and political ife in internal, as well as international dimension[1]. When pondering over the phenomenon of peace, ancient thinkers based upon the historical expe ce of social groups they were part of. First contemplations on peaceful co-existence of nations emerged, almost simultaneously, in the Hellenic and Chinese civilisations[2]. Mo Ti, in Europe know as Micius (470 – 381 BC), is regarded as the first Chinese philosopher to create the concept of perpetual peace. Within the Hellenic civilisation, the discussion upon he peace among nations was started by Thucidides (460 - 395 BC). It seems that these two traditions had the most eminent impact in the creation and evolution the concept of peace, which developed parallel with each other in European and Asian cultural cles. Profound differences in the comprehension of the origin and social consequences of peace among nations in the European and Asian cultural circles are also reflected today. They are

proved by the lack of understanding within the Asian circle of sev   l contemporary pillars of Western world, such as human rights, individual freedom form collective constraint, or national minorities' and POW rights.

The subject matter of this thesis has been taken up over the centuries by the greatest philosophers, from Plato or Aristotle onwards. Great contribution into the development of the concept of peaceful co-existence among nations was made by, among others, Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam or Hugo Grotius, not to mention Immanuel Kant and his essay *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* written at the end of the 18th century. Although Kant's programme was not put into ef ct, just like most of the other concepts encouraging to eliminate wars and promote universal peace, it had a profound impact on the 20th century thought on the principles of co-existence of nations. Programmes for perpetual peace became the source of inspiration for the representatives of the 20th century liberal thought in international relations, who, like Woodrow Wilson - the greatest idealist of that time, believed that military conflicts might be eliminated by the codification of international law or the institutionalization of the principles of the international cooperation. However, enthusiasts such as Wilson and others did not anticipate that borders of countries delineated over a cup of tea will prove unstable and short-lived, similar to international institutions which were set up to secure them[3].

In this thesis, I would like to present the evolution of the concept of perpetual peace as based on the views of selected representatives of philosophical and political-legal thought. In order to do that, I shall study diff   nt views on that matter voiced by authors starting from ancient times up to the end of the 18th century. I shall acutely focus on Immanuel Kant's *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* due to its complementarity, as well as its significance in some of contemporary as   s of law and contemplations undertaken on its basis by some of social sciences. I would also like to dra   the reader's attention to programmes that are less frequently presented in the literature devoted to the concept of perpetual peace, which have recurred in the European thought since the end of the 13th century[4]. I believe they are worth presenting, due to some int resting institutional solutions they introduced. Also, the diagnosis of the mpact of the suggested solutions on social and political life of that time, or on the contemporary development of legal doctrine seems to be a very significant issue for discussion.

Antiquity and the Middle Ages with regard to the conce   of peace among the countries

Ancient thinkers, who observed wars of their time, pai   much attention to the necessity of securing peaceful relations among the countries. Such necessity proved more significant in the atomized world of Hellenic poleis. n Antiquity, there were no coherent concepts of securing perpetual and universal peace. However, the idea that any warfare should be eliminated was not entirely alien to many authors of hat time. Thucidides, in his *Melian Dialogue*, highlights the need to maintain the balance of power in Hellas, as well as claims that alliances to other's disadvantage do not serve peace. The author of the *History of the Peloponnesian War* underlines how important it is not to breach agreemen   made between countries, and to act fairly on the battlefield[5]. These features, however, were strange to the citizens of Athens who violated the agr   nt with the Melians and committed genocide of most of the inhabitants of the i and in order to maintain strategic balance between Athens and Sparta. Aristotle, in his *Nicomachean Ethics*, points that peace results from good and wise rule and just law. He claimed that trade and peaceful cooperation are a better form of relations among commu ities than waging wars against one another. This observation seems very acute with re   rd to the Hellenic world in the Classical era. In spite of the startling cultural, art   c or ideological development, the Greek reality abounded with innumerable instances of fratric dal and ruthless wars[6].

Another ancient civilization, apart from the Greek one, which developed the contemplation on the peaceful co-existence of political communities, was the Chinese civilisation in the ancient period. Significant dismem   rment of political centres, just like in Greece, was a source of constant conflicts with mainly territorial background. In Chinese world, the contemplation on peace has its roots in the trend which stood in opposition to continuous tribal conflicts and a peculiar "culture of conquest" which was started in ca. 8th century BC. Sun Tzu, in his work *Art of War* paradoxically, presents his very interesting opinion on peace. Master Sun recommends to settle conflicts by peaceful means, and to engage in wars only in extreme situations. He believed that war should be as shortest as possible and entail as least losses as possible, to the benefit of the civilians who are not directly engaged in it[7].

A similar stance was presented by Chinese philosopher and social thinker Mo Ti, know as Micius. His more developed concept interprets peace as a state of ascetic order based on love and mutual kindness among individuals, b t also among large communities. Micius claimed that world peace could be achieved provided that all people stood for justice, trust and could distinguish between good and   . To a large extent, these views were reminiscent of earlier views voiced by Confucius, who described the rules of conduct of individuals in pursuit of universal harmony. It seems that in these two main ancient

traditions, despite many significant differences in the concept of peace, one could also find several elements that are common for both of them. Worth mentioning are especially the highlighted necessity of harmony and bonding with othe communities, as well as just rule which would protect them against wars. Another element emphasized in both traditions relates to the importance of respecting concluded agreements and commitments[8].

The period of European Middle Ages, which abounded wit religious wars and territorial dismemberment, resulted in a more in-depth philosophical and political-legal study on the issue of peace among the countries. First complete (in the functional meaning of that notion) concepts of perpetual peace emerged at the close of the period. French philosopher and lawyer - Pierre Dubois, who lived at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, is regarded as the first author of such a programme for perpetual peace. In his treatise *De recuperatione terrae sanctae*, he voted that a universal peace be made among the Christian countries, armed conflicts eliminated, and a y disputes settled by peaceful means. He also called for establishing a federation of Christian countries and a special conciliation tribunal, which would be an institutionalized centre securing peace in Europe. The Pope would serve as body of appeal. Dubois believed that establishing such confederation of countries would help to maintain peace in Europe and liberate the   y Land[9].

Another programme for maintaining peace in Europe was   livered by George of Podebrady – a king of Bohemia. It was an idea to establish a special international organisation which would ensure safety in Europe. The concept was based on founding an anti-Turkish association of European monarchs which was to ncompass Bohemia, France, Poland, Burgundy, and Venice. There was a possibility to expand the association by other countries later on. Like in Dubois' programme, the leadership would belong to France. However, by contrast with Dubois' concept, the Bohemian king's plan assumed the predominance of nation-states, and it did not refer to earlier universalistic programmes, which main objective was to create a world state[10].

While discussing the medieval concepts of peaceful rel   ns among the countries, it is worth to mention the concept of maintaining peace thanks to religious tolerance towards pagans. Polish scientist - Paulus Vladimiri, in his *Treatise on the Power of the Pope and the Emperor Respecting Infidels* of 1415, condemned converting pagans to Christianity by force and looting their lands by the knights of the Teutonic Order. Paulus Vladimiri felt very strongly against wars and highlighted the fact that converting pagans by force violates fundamental commandments of faith. His teachings reverberated through entire Europe of that time, and nowadays, Paulus Vladimiri is regarded s one of the forerunners of the

principle of religious tolerance and peaceful co-existence among nations. According to many experts proclaimed in Krakow concepts could also ave a significant impact on the views of the first thinkers in their writings defendin he rights of Indians[11].

Renaissance concepts of peaceful relations among states

The philosophical and political-legal contemplation over the issue of international peace during the Renaissance was greatly influenced by general ideological and cultural changes of that period. The end of 3-century long crusades and a humanistic turn in philosophy and culture were to bring an essent redefinition of many views on peace. Desacralization of social life, including wars, helped the rulers to understand that that their relations with other states were not determined to end at battlefields, and that they could cooperate on independent terms. The decline of the traditional role of the Pope also added to the change of attitude towards peace and war in the Renaissance. A treaty concluded between France and the Ottoman Empire in 1535, was a significant breakthrough, as it was the first official document drawn up by and between Catholic and Muslim rulers.

In the first half of the 16th century, Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam was the foremost advocate for the idea of universal peace in Europe. He established a division of wars into justified and unjust ones. This order, subse ently modified by Hugo Grotius, entered the canons of law and was valid for hundreds of years on. Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam called for quitting all kinds of wars, except for defensive ones and compulsory arbitration among states[12]. The concept of peace proposed by Erasmus in his famous work *Complaint of Peace* (written in 1516) was a remarkable for those times combination of rational humanism and Christian concepts of liberty.

Elements of the concept of peaceful co-existence of countries can be traced even in the works of Niccolò Machiavelli – the precursor of political realism. He wrote that rulers could influence the increase of the morality of societies by enacting good laws, an this in turn would facilitate the increase of safety[13].

The plan of Maximilien de Béthune, Duke of Sully calle *Grand Design* is regarded as one of the most interesting ideas of ensuring universal peace in Europe. Formed in 1662, the conception was frequently attribut d to Henry IV of France. Its main assumption was to achieve universal peace by establishing European Council – a body which would serve as a plenary authority consisting of 70 delegates, i.e. the representatives of the member countries. Due to his premature death, Henry IV did not

manage to put his ambitious plan into effect, however, many of its points are still valid. These are, among others, those relating to the balance of power in Europe or founding a permanent arbitration body, which would settle any kin   dispute[14].

Another, widely discussed 17th-century universalistic conception for bringing perpetual peace was announced by a French monk Émeric   rucé. He proposed establishing a commonwealth of nations which would include, as well as those of Europe, the nations of Asia and Africa, namely India, Persia,   hina, the Ottoman Empire, and Ethiopia. He called for a permanent assembly of the re   sentatives of monarchs and a mediatory body to arbitrate disputes. Crucé highlighted a   the need of broadmindedness in the sphere of religious tolerance.

A dynamic concept of peace by Hugo Grotius was a theoretic concept which profoundly formed the foundations of contemporary law. Grotius believed that war could only be waged in order to restore peace. He also claim   that wars could be utterly eliminated by codification of nations' laws and establ hing supranational tribunals and judicial institutions[15].

Deliberations about peace were an eminent part of *Leviathan*, a work of Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes believed peace could only be achieved by concluding social contract by individuals with a sovereign. According to Hobbes, people are prone to disagreements, and this feature is a deeply rooted part of human nature. Hobbes lists competition, distrust, and lust for kudos as main fact s which determine wars, as people attack one another mainly to acquire fame, profit, or o ensure safety for themselves. However, he makes a point that affection originates in people the need of peace, whereas their sense helps them execute it. That is the reason   hy people enter into a social contract because only firm state authority can guarantee social peacefulness. A *sine qua non* for maintaining peace is, according to Hobbes, respecting the agreements Here is an adequate passage form his work: "*From that law of nature by which we are obliged to transfer to another such rights as, being retained, hi der the peace of mankind, there followeth a third; which is this: that men perform their covenants made*". The conception of Hobbes aroused many polemics expressed by other political thinkers of that time, and frequently was a source of formulation of conceptions   ressly oppositionist to it[16].

An overview of 17th-century conceptions of perpetual peace would not be complete without the presentation of the idea of William Penn – the leader of Quakers. In his *An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe by the Establishment of an European Dyet, Parliament or Estates* published in 1693, Penn proposed establishing "Parliament of Europe" - a common European government and an arbitration tribu al.

These institutions, apart from arms control, would also be responsible for punishment of European states resistant to cooperation. Penn pointed out that war, thought profitable for the wining party, is not as cost-effective for both countries as peaceful co-existence attained by such methods as trade[17].

Reflection upon peace among countries in 18th century

The 18th century is a very prominent stage in historical evolution of the reflection upon peace. Maintaining lasting peace among countries   a subject of studies of great thinkers of the Enlightenment, such as: Charles-Louis de Montesquieu, Jean Jacques Rousseau, or Immanuel Kant. There were also many programmes for perpetual peace which were based on a very close cooperation of countr   y means of institutions they proposed to establish. A programme for perpetual peace delivered by abbot Charles Francois Castel de Saint-Pierre, announced in 1713, was a very interesting one. The programme included a statute of European union, which   uld be a confederation of monarchs. A membership of the institution would be obligatory. The author also proposed establishing a sort of European senate with official seat in St   sbourg or Dijon. Peace and safety would be guaranteed by union army of five thousand soldiers[18].

Baron de Montesquieu's writings present a very note-worthy outlook on peace and acceptable by law wars. He believed that peace is a natural state and the onl   ustified wars are "just wars," i.e. wars in defence of one's na ion or country. Montesquieu pointed out the inconsistency of aggressive war with the principle of a state's sovereignty and the rule to respect agreements[19]. Montesquieu looks on the balance of power of Europe   a essential consequence of continuing the tradition of eternal peace, in opposition to the Asian practice of force and war as a source of social   elopment.

The idea of universal peace can also be found in Jean Jacques Rousseau'   reatises. The author of *The Social Contract* related the attainment of perpetual peace with armed overthrow of despotic authority imposed on people. How   , he believed that perpetual peace is illusory and impossible to achieve, because rulers usually make use of wars to promote their own interests. Rousseau included some original ideas for attainment of lasting peace in his treatises *Judgement on perpetual peace* (1756) and *A Project for Perpetual Peace* (1761). In the aforementioned works, Rousseau engaged in polemics with abbot's de Saint-Pierre concept of perpetual peace, and also presented   is own reflections upon the subject. The author of *The Social Contract* appears as a supporter of establishing a federation of countries in Europe, and assumes the appointment of

European plenary body, as well as a permanent internat nal tribunal to arbitrate any disputes among states. He suggests that an armed sanction against sovereigns who do not abide by the tribunal's regulations be legal and acceptable. Althoug fairly sceptical towards the idea that perpetual peace is possible to last, Rousseau believed that his conceptions on that matter could be put into effect. Despite his aversion to wars, Rousseau undoubtedly did not believe they could be utterly eliminate   he contemporary science of international relations regards Rousseau as ne of the precursors of a doctrine on lawfulness and acceptability of humanitarian intervention (together with Hugo Grotius)[20].

Immanuel Kant's *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* (1795)

The programme for perpetual peace by Immanuel Kant is a peculiar study, both because of its structure and its contents. One could say that, in a way, the work breaks with the convention of programmes of this kind created in the Enlightenment.   single chapter of this thesis is devoted to this conception, ue to its exceptional nature and its prominent influence on development of later social-political thought. The historical context of the work's creation is also worth noting.

The subject of peace had emerged in earlier writings of Kant in the 1750's and 1760's. In these works, Kant interprets peace as a gif and also presents three indispensable conditions for attaining perpetual peace. According to him, these are: the union of nations, social contract and upbringing. These concepts are further developed in his work *Idea For A Universal History With A Cosmopolitan Purpose* of 1784. The philosophical treatise *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*, written eleven years later, is a synthesis of centuries of philosophical reflections on that subject, but also a conclusion of Kant's personal contemplations with regard to the mechanisms securing international peace[21].

Kant's work, to a large extent, becomes a part of a more in-depth reflection on the nature of international life that was commenced in the decade of the French Revolution. Incidentally, the very notion "international" was used, for the first time, by Jeremy Bentham - an English advocate of utilitarianism, only six years prior to Kant's *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*. The structure of the text in a form of a treaty poses a very interesting subject for analysis. The first part consists of six "preliminary" and three "definitive" articles. There are also two annexes, the second of   h consists of confidential clauses. Moreover, a text describing the role of philosophers in the process of

attaining perpetual peace constitutes an integral part of the treaty. Undoubtedly, the general conclusion of that fragment presents Kant's strong belief that philosophers are responsible for maintaining peace among nations.

The form of the first part of the Treaty resembles simple and concise international treaties of that period. The first article excludes the possibility to enter into any treaties with a future war in mind. "*No secret treaty of peace shall be held valid in which there is tacitly reserved matter for a future war*". The second article relates to an important problem of the state's sovereignty in the international arena. Kant writes that no state (neither large nor small) shall be conquered by her. This concept made Kant a precursor of the principle of sovereign equality among nations organized into states, widely accepted as late as 250 years later by the United Nations Charter. Next article concisely reads: "*Standing armies shall in time be totally abolished*". It proves the author's pacifist stance, but the phrase "in time" tells about his belief that the execution of the article would be difficult. The fourth article introduces a ban on i   rring debts for wars, as he believed that states could only raise loans in order to improve the general economic situation of the country, and not to reinforce their militant capabilit . Article number five points out that state authorities of one country should not interfere   h internal affairs of other states. Similar to the principle of sovereign equality among states, this aspect of Kant's conception was generally recognised in 1945 in the United Nations Charter. In the last preliminary article, Kant stands out against acts of hostility committed by states, that could harm the future peace. Such acts are, among others: as   nations, breaching of truce, fomenting, or using poisons. Kant's instructions can be regarded as a prototype of later international conventions, and may be also called with the use of a contemporary notion – a development of means of mutual trust and safety[22].

In the second part of the Treaty, called "definitive articles", Kant reviews mechanisms which help to secure the already attained state of peace. The first article points out that republican form of government can secu e universal peace. According to Kant, only republican system may guarantee lasting pea   ng countries, as peace can only be achieved by states which are governed justly,   ere fundamental rights and people's freedom are respected. Another "definitive" article describes functional fundaments of nations' rights and the rules of peacefu co-existence of states. Here Kant voices his opinion that to ensure the aforementioned state of peace, a federation of states should be established. This kind of institutionalized   peration would protect freedom, sovereignty, and the right of nations to self-determination. Unlike many earlier thinkers, Kant definitely rejected the idea of creating a universal world state. Kant believed that only

a union of sovereign republican states could lead to f ture universal peace. By entering such union, states could put into effect their ideals of sovereignty, justice, and self-determination in universal order. The third and last definitive article is more abstract in its nature. It is related to international cooperation and co-existence among nations. The philosopher stresses every man's right to make use of the Earth's benef ctions. Also, he highlights the necessity for establishing close rappor   h other people in the surrounding world. These rules are called by Kant as general conditions of "universal hospitability". Article three presents the role of members of communities in the construction of peaceful co-existence among nations. This is also supported by Kant's condemnation of any form of colonialism and the attempts of stronger states to dominate over the weaker ones[23].

The second part of Immanuel Kant's work on perpetual peace constitutes a deeper philosophical reflection upon the indispensabil   of establishing and maintaining universal peace in the world. Kant, in this part of his contemplation, expresses his belief that universal and lasting peace is inevitable. He claims that wars will be eventually eliminated as a result of irreversible historical proc   s. Such view proves that Kant adopted an optimistic outlook on the development of future international order. On that understanding, the last part of Kant's work is worth special attention. This fragment is called the "secret clause", and the author listed here a number of instructions for philosophers, who should promote and popularize the co cept of universal and perpetual peace. In Kant's opinion, philosophers can promulgate he idea of perpetual peace in the world only if they can express their views without any constraint and negative pressure on the part of authorities.

Concluding remarks

People's perennial dreams of perpetual and universal peace have for centuries been a source of inspiration for the representatives of the political-legal thought. The reflection on the necessity to build peaceful foundations of co-existence among nations emerged as early as in the Greek world and, in the course of time, developed into great programmes for establishing perpetual peace among nations. This matter was taken up by great philosophers like Aristotle, Rousseau or Kant. Medieval and Renaissance rulers investigated it for more practical reasons - they were trying to create an international order on foundations that would be more favourable for them. Some of the authors who dwelled on that matter were dreamers and visionaries. These we e for instance Émeric Crucé and Tommaso Campanella – the author of *The City of the Sun*. Most of the pacifist thinkers,

however, shared the opinion that establishing perpetua peace would be difficult and protracted. An example of such view is presented by Im uel Kant in his *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*. Despite his enlightened belief in people's pursuit of peaceful life, the philosopher draws his readers' atte on to the fact that a complete elimination of wars would not happen in a foreseeable uture. An almost 20-year long period of Napoleonic wars, which commenced as soon as hree years after Kant's death, irrefutably proved that establishing lasting peace in urope is much more remote than what the philosopher expected. Subsequent European history confirms our conviction how difficult it is to attain universal peace. Most of the pacifist thinkers express their view that establishing perpetual peace in the world is inevitabl and indispensable, whereas, such philosophers as Hobbes or Sun Tzu highlight the necessity of protection against permanent wars with the use of efficient institutions. The experiences of the 19th-century pacifist congresses or the failure of the League of Nations with its institutional and normative infrastructure prove the fact that putting forward theses on the inevitability of universal peace is rather utopian than reasonable. One should bear in mind, however, that dreams are a source of progress, and sometimes can ins e people to do great things.

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Notes

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[1] The basic premise of all the community aspiration to peace is to consolidate its own security and increasing the efficiency of inter-group cooperation. It is characterized by all of society from the earliest times.Society rigorously separated the original rights and obligations of members of the community from that of residing in their territory foreigners. Separation of this kind usually caused considerations religious and cultural (taboo), but the main motivation was the fear of the stranger as a source of danger. As far as strengthening the bonds of trade (barter) and cooperation (tribal alliances) in the commu ities of this kind developed by generally accepted rules of coexistence (hospitality, eciprocity, etc.) and strive to consolidate ties of peace, see. Arie M., Kacowicz, *Stable peace among nations*, p. 27-42 and Kurt Raaflaub, *War and peace in the ancient world*, p. 144-146; Horace Alexander, *Justice Among Nations*, p. 15.

[2] Development of the concept of perpetual peace was a v common result of the consequences of armed conflict, in particular the tendency to maintain the balance of power, neutrality and aceful coexistence. Just as often, however, it was associated with more general ilosophical reflection on the fate of individuals in a hostile world that surrounds it, which underlies the f forms of cooperation in the field of human rights (Proxenia Greek-and Roman *ius gentium*, Geoffrey Stern, *The structure of international society: An introduction to the study of International relations*, p. 334-338

[3] David Long and Peter Colin Wilson, *Thinkers of the twenty years' crisis: inter-war idealism reassessed*, Anne Rice Pierce, *Woodrow Wilson and Harry Truman: Mission and power in merican foreign policy*, p.114-117, David Long and Brian C. Schmidt, *Imperialism and internationalism in the discipline of international relations*, p. 4.

[4] A particular development of scientific thought on the issue of perpetual peace, we can date the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, s e. Henry Whaeton, *Histoire des progrès du droit des gens en Europe, depuis la paix de Westphalie jusqu'au Congrès de Vienne: Avec un précis historique du droit des gens Européen avant la paix de Westphalie*, p. 196.

[5] Michael Palmer, *Love of Glory and the Common Good. Aspects of the Pol al Thought of Thucydides, p. 132, Crane, Gregory, Thucidides and the ancient simpli ity. The limits of political realism*, p. 237-241, Jonathan J. Price, *Thucidides and internal war*, p. 195; Jean Allain, *International Law in the Middle East: Closer to power than justice*, p. 21.

[6] Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, p. 28-40.

[7] Edward Newman, Ramesh Thakur and John Triman, *Multilateralism under Challenge: Power, International Order, and Structural Change*, p. 182, Sun Tzu, *The Art Of War*, p. 19-22, Chris Bellamy, *Knights in the white armour. The new art of war and peace*, Chicago: Hutchinson, 1996, Thomas W. Smith, *History and International Relations*, p. 226-230.

[8] Youlan Feng and Derk Bodde, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, p. 76-81, Jonathan Clements, *Confucius*, p. 241.

[9] Jean Pajus, *Pierre Dubois and His International Freedom*, p. 27-46, Marc Blincoe, *Pierre Dubois: Crusade and politics in early fourteenth century France*, p. 31-38, Johan Galtung, *Europe in the making*, p. 22-25.

[10] Charles Henry Alexandrowicz, *Grotian society papers: Studies in the history of the aw of nations*, p. 104.

[11] In his writings also tackled the problems of international law, tolerance and the organization of the state. One of the leading supporters of conciliarism. He took part in the Council of Constance (1414-1418), where he played with the *Treatise on the Power of the Pope and the Emperor Resp cting Infidels* (lat. *Tractatus de potestate et papa Imperatoris respectu infidelium*), which put the argument about the possibility of peaceful coexistence of christians and pagans, see: Stanislaus E. Belch, P*aulus Vladimiri and his doctrine concerming international law and politics*, p. 9-21.

[12] David Cortright, *Peace: A history of movements and ideas*, p. 195,

[13] Raymond Aron, *Peace & War. A Theory of International Relations*, p. 167-181, *Johan Huizinga, Erasmus and the age of reformation*, p. 186.

[14] Mery Anne Perkins, *Christedom and European identity. The legacy of a grand narrative since 1789*, p. 78.

[15] Hugo Grotius, *Prolegomena to the Law of War and Peace*, p. 16-44, Hugo Grotius, *The Law of War and Peace. De Jure Belli Ac Pacis Libri Tres*, p. 22-77.

[16] Thomas Hobbes *Leviathan*, p. 15, Clifford Waters Brown, *Hobbes and Kant peace and war*, p. 7-10.

[17] John Moretta, *William Penn and the Quaker Legacy*, p. 27.

[18] Benjamin B. Ferencz, *Enforcing international law: A way world peace: A docu entary history and analysis*, p. 716.

[19] Rebecca Kingston, *Montesquieu and the Parliament of Bordeaux*, p. 205.

[20] Clifford Orwin and Nathan Tarcov, *The legacy of Rousseau*, p. 221.

[21] Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace*, p. 57; James Bohman, Matthias Lutz-Bachmann, *Perpetual Peace. Essays on Kant`s cosmopolitan ideal*, p. 157-179.

[22] Jeffrie G. Murphy, *Kant. The philosophy of right*, p. 126.

[23] Peter Botsman, *The great constitutional swindle. A citizen's view of the Australian Constitution*, p. 219-231, Roger Scruton, *Kant. A very short introduction*, p. 17-22.