

Remarks on Immanuel Kant's Theory on European Project

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Abstract

Nowadays dynamic and dramatic development of the European Union Countries (refugee's crises), is bringing into focus the role of the Union as a peace project. Hence, this project is not only subject of history books, but it is important as an active neighborhood policy, and an effort for stability beyond its borders. The aim of this paper is to estimate the projection of Immanuel Kant "perpetual peace theory" in the functioning of the European Union, in the context of ongoing development and its expansion. Kant's peace treaty is not "entering" to the condition of perpetual peace, but it takes in consideration the necessary steps to reach this goal. This paper analyses this treaty as a political peace guide, oriented by the theory of liberal democracy, elaborated on the works of Michael Doyle: "Liberalism and world Politics" (1986), etc. The analyses focuses on three final articles of Kant, which are presented in his philosophical treaty and are projected to the philosophy of the creation and development of the European Union, as a union of peace. This projection is not only part of institutions and international constitution, but also of the will of citizens of these liberal democratic states which are vital conditions for a Europe of Peace.

Keywords: peace, perpetual peace, European Union, peace treaty, Kant's theory, etc.

Introduction

The concept of "perpetual peace" of Immanuel Kant, 1795

In his treaty "Perpetual Peace", Immanuel Kant defines peace as setting to a war in which you are armed to disarm the enemy, you prepare for the war in order to avoid it, considering peace as a protection force, and at the same time as a positive force of freedom. Political peace between nations or peace at gun point, according to philosophic reflection of Fransuaze Prust (2004), takes the form of an alliance for peace. The alliance for peace at the same time differs from the contract, treaty of peace or the world republic. Kant specifies that the first distinction between the treaty of peace, which "seeks to end a launched war" and the alliance for peace stands the fact that the latest "tries to put an end to all wars". While the contract engages powers, which may tend to withdraw and spoil this act or this contract, the alliance "Match the Freedoms", brings together the existence of a state with another entity (another state), in order that the independence of the first guarantees the independence of the other.

On the other hand in a State of People, above nations, even if his way of governing would be Republican (i. e. the state as a world republic), it contradicts with the essence of politics: which is Freedom. Many nations would not be able to form a single state that is due to the eligibility to enjoy the reciprocal right of different nations. They will choose to stay without being merged into a single state because a state of nations "will have contradictions, since each state contains the ratio of the superior (the one who makes the law) with the inferior (the one who obeys the law, that in such circumstances it is thought to be people.)

A peace alliance (federation) is intended to preserve and guarantee the independence of States and to respect their boundaries, having as the main objective the prevention of war.

In 1795 Kant emphasized in the Treaty which we are referring to " If it happens that a strong and highlighted nation, manages to be self-established in a republic (which, by its nature, must lead us toward perpetual peace), then this will serve as the centre of the confederation for other countries, which will be connected here; and it will provide, in accordance with the idea of the people's right, a state of freedom among nations and in an insensitive manner, thanks to many connections of this kind, it will be spread more and more. "

Pursuing this idea, according to Proust (2004) Peace Alliance is a jewellery of combined motives, a multiple connections unity and verses, which can be approachable only in a proper place at a given time. They are the chance to "grab" something good, a chance to attract others to create a network, to establish a relationship and to begin the process of socialization. They create opportunities, not mergers; they are able to disseminate gradually the drawing of an eruptive mosaic or nests of peace.

Peace cannot survive without a federation of nations, in which the weaker member may require his rights and safeties, not for his power or annex, but for this great confederation, for the joint power and the annex of collective desire. (Kant 1784).

Kant's theory of perpetual peace and Federalization (Zum ewigen Frieden) in such a surprising way presents what is today The European Union.

Michael Doyle (1986) developed the theory of Kant by naming it "liberal peace".

Both authors stick a common argument: Liberal democracies do not declare war to each other.

In this paper we will seek to maintain this idea, trying to respond the question: Can we say that Kant's perpetual peace is being projected on the performance of the European peace project?

Used Methodology

The main aim of this study is to observe the projection of three articles of Kant's Treaty Perpetual peace, in the establishment and functioning of the European Union as a union of peace.

This goal implies the use of a research method based on bibliographic research and comparative analysis, to bring a critical overview of the theory of perpetual peace in liberal democracies, unions or federations as political organizations.

Kant Treaty and the opinion of Michael Doyle will guide the analysis of this paper, to present some arguments that identify EU as a union of peace.

Michael Doyle is clearly positioned on his political opinion as a supporter of liberal democratic theories.

In the elaboration of his thesis he has also referred to Emmanuel Kant's "Perpetual Peace" Treaty and its Articles, taking in consideration some recommendations and justified conditions in achieving eternal peace.

This paper will focus on the articles of Kant's Treaty, in the analysis of Doyle on these articles and their projection on some aspects of the performance of the Union.

The paper is composed by some theoretical sections and subsections, their analyses which will tend to give an answer to the question: Is the EU a peace projection according to Kant?

Some words on the theory of liberal democracies elaborated by Michael Doyle

Liberal peace theory of Doyle described in his article "Liberalism and World Politics" (1986) will be the theory which will parallel Kant's Articles of perpetual peace. In this article, Doyle confirms that Kant's political views, as a liberal republican on the establishment of state and peace federation, are a mirror of what America is today. He emphasizes that the political theory of Kant's Perpetual Peace is a good model to follow by the liberal democracies. Doyle supports this thesis on the evidence of liberal regimes that have existed from 1700-1982. After analyzing these evidences he highlights some

conclusions that seal his opinion as liberal democrat. "Liberal democracies are peaceful. . . even if there can be found tendencies to fight. Liberal states have created a separate peace, and as Kant argues, it should be, but on the other hand, they express liberal causes for aggression and Kant fears that they could be identified.

Some Doyle's records show that even when the involvement in wars have started due to protection of the liberal democracy principles, the end often has not been pleasant, and this for Doyle is a deviation from the Kant's concept and theory.

Referring to John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens (2014), we can say that the theory of liberal democracies does not consider army or even the war as a natural tool for the solution of difficult situations in international relations, as in fact it is considered by realists.

Cooperation and consensus between governments on laws, principles, common norms and international rules are the foundations and the essence of the construction and function of internal and foreign policies of these entities.

Some history of the European Union from the point of view of his contributors

Herman Van Rompuy, the first President of the European Council, in his speech before the Nobel committee in Oslo on December 10th, 2012, said: "Of course, peace might have come to Europe without the Union. Maybe. We will never know. But it would never have been of the same quality. A lasting peace, not a frosty cease-fire... what it makes it so special, is reconciliation.... which goes beyond forgiving and forgetting, or simply turning the page".

In his message we can reveal the philosophy of establishment, functioning and a long and difficult road to fulfil the goal: a union, a core of peace.

Winston Churchill for a long time supported the idea of the European Union as a way to put an end to its collapse. He supports the plan for a "European Federal Union" in an article of Saturday Evening Post of February 15, 1930: "European nations, when united, when they would be federal or partly federal, when would be aware of their continent, will constitute an incomparable body. . . We see nothing except good and we hope to have a rich European Union".

In a series of speeches and articles between 1946 and 1948 he articulated in details his vision. The starting point was his speech in Zurich on September 19, 1946.

Churchill appealed for a Europe based on a partnership between France and Germany. His speech in Zurich had a great impact.

In 1984 Liggins wrote, "Suddenly, in the last weeks of September, 1946, almost a year after the idea was nearly abandoned, United States of Europe came out in the headlines of newspapers again, thanks to the speech of a well-known man. Politicians found themselves in their offices forced or able to think twice that this demand for a European union was not "a lament" by any nostalgic member of the Resistance, but one of the three leaders of the winning alliances, which reinforced the movement for European Union. It led to the creation of the European Movement, as in a large cathedral, which gathers all its members, including here federalists, in support of European unity.

The first success was the call for the creation of the European Council. However, this was a disappointing experience for the federalists.

Jean Monnet and the First Supranational Community.

Jean Monnet had seen to the European Council the failure of federalists view. He believed that the right way to be followed should have a specific need and would find a solution within the power of institutions. In fact it meant the use of federalist principles to create a supranational body. This approach was rejected by federalists who wanted a full and immediate constitution. The main difference between him and federalists was the speed and methodology of this approach rather than its objectives.

Monnet persuaded Robert Schuman, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to undertake a new initiative and to create a supranational organization to deal with the problems of coal and steel industry, as well as, the necessary regeneration of German industrial power.

In his Declaration of May 9, 1950 Schuman proposed: "The coal and steel agreement should immediately provide a common foundation for economic development as a first step toward the federation of Europe, bringing together basic products and institutionalizing a High Authority, whose decisions will connect France, Germany and other member countries. This proposal will lead to the establishment of the first concrete European federation so important for the maintenance of peace."

To move forward with this idea, on June 20th, 1950 France organised an inter-governmental conference (ICC) conducted by Monnet. The main aim of this conference was not to charge the new organization with traditional visions of inter-governmental agencies, but to emphasize the unanimity, executive or national financial contributions of the representative states.

After the Coal and Steel Community was established, Monnet described it as follows:

"Today, six parliaments (France, Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries) have decided after a thoughtful discussion and by majority of votes to establish the First European Community which becomes part of their national independence and brings them together toward a common interest".

Spinelli supported Monnet in the preparation of his speech on August 10, 1952, that presented the creation of a new organization in which:

"The sovereign powers delegated to common institutions are implemented by a number of organisms which are the first structures of federal Europe, where can be found a control and balance system which ensures the democratic performance of all decisions".

However this first step toward integration was interrupted in 1954, when efforts to create a European Defence Community (EDC) failed. At this time it seemed that KEQCC will fail too.

The conference of Messina (Sicily) in June 1955 gave new hope for the creation of a European Union. As a result of this conference it was created a committee, with the purpose of elaborating a report on a European Common Market. It was conducted under the auspices of Mr. Spaak, the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs. The committee completed its work in April 1956, when he presented two draft projects: A project was to create a common market and the other project was to establish an atomic energy community.

This led to the signing of the two famous "Treaties of Rome", in March 1957. The first one established the European Economic Community (EEC) and the second treaty created the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). Treaties came into force by January 1, 1958.

In 1958, it was established the European Association of Free Trade (EFTA) after refusing the membership of: United Kingdom, Denmark, Austria, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Iceland.

These countries became known as "the seven externals" as opposed to "six internals" of EEC. Great Britain and Denmark stayed in EFTA until 1973, the year in which they become part of EU (formerly EEC) and it was also planned the inclusion of the latest EFTA members in EU.

This process is known as the first expansion of the European project that increased the number of members from six to eight. It also marked a new era in European integration, the EU begin to implement regional policies for the financial support of the Community's poorest countries and regions in order to ensure a sustainable infrastructure.

In 1981 Greece joined the EU, followed by Spain and Portugal in 1986. In 1995, Austria, Finland and Sweden joined the European Union, which was officially created in 1993, when the Maastricht Treaty was signed. In 1999 the Amsterdam

Treaty was signed. These two treaties created the three pillars structure in which governments can cooperate and achieve goals: to ensure peace, prosperity and stability for their people.

In 2004 occurred the biggest round of enlargement when the European Union expanded in countries of the former Soviet Union, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia and the island states of Cyprus and Malta. In 2007 Romania and Bulgaria joined the European Union, to be followed by Croatia in 2013, and now the number of member states is 28.

Perpetual peace on the European project

Immanuel Kant's theses and Michael Doyle

The main theses of Kant's treaty is the "peaceful liberal union" which means that liberal states do not go to war with each other and that the union of liberal states will spread gradually to other states, making them liberal and eventually perpetual peace will be achieved because the liberal states do not go to war against another liberal state.

Kant believed that these three important (determinant) articles would ensure perpetual peace. These articles should be accepted by all nations, and when it happens perpetual peace will be achieved. Before defining these three articles Kant said that it was necessary that these countries should know six precursory articles (preconditions) that would provide confidence among states that are still in anarchy, i. e. in a state of war. These six preconditions are:

1. "No Treaty of Peace Shall Be Held Valid in Which There Is Tacitly Reserved Matter for a Future War"
2. "No Independent States, Large or Small, Shall Come under the Dominion of another State by Inheritance, Exchange, Purchase, or Donation" This provision is designed to determine the rate of "territorial integrity".
3. "Standing Armies shall in Time Be Totally Abolished"
4. "National Debts Shall Not Be Contracted with a View to the External Friction of States"
5. "No State Shall by Force Interfere with the Constitution or Government of Another State". In addition to and to support the second provision, this provision guarantees "political independence". Both principles highlight the modern equality of sovereignty.
6. "No State Shall, *during War*, Permit Such Acts of Hostility Which Would Make Mutual Confidence in the Subsequent Peace Impossible: Such Are the *Employment of Assassins* (precursors), Prisoners (venefici), Breach of Capitulation, and Incitement to Treason (perduellio) in the Opposing State"

These provisions are intended to build trust and mutual respect, required for the establishment of a true peace. Doyle directs his analysis focusing on the above mentioned articles that define perpetual peace.

Doyle has based his theory of liberal peace on Kant's "Perpetual Peace". He agrees with the conclusions of Kant that the state of peace cannot be included in the state of nature (between people that stay close to each other and enemies who create a constant dangerous situation), so peace should be institutionalized, and have a legal framework.

Articles defining the perpetual peace

The first article of perpetual peace: The Civil Constitution of Every State Should Be Republican"

Three principles should apply for a republican constitution, (1) principles of the freedom of the members of a society, (2) principles of dependence of all upon a single common legislation, (3) by the law of their equality (as citizens).

According to Kant the republican constitution is therefore the only form of constitution which resembles to an original contract, that he admits is the original basis of every form of civil constitution.

Republican constitution is also clear as it is based on pure concept of law and moreover it has the possibility of achieving perpetual peace. This is because it is necessary that every citizen approves when the war should be declared. For every citizen it is natural to be doubtful on a declaration of war because war means that the citizen himself would be involved in war, would pay for it and even more would borrow money to pay the burden of a war that in fact does not have an end because the threat of war continues.

When constitution is not Republican is very easy for a country to go to war because the sovereign is not part of the state, but its owner, and the war did not cause him any burden (as it would do with its citizens).

Second article of perpetual peace - "The Law of Nations shall be *founded on* a Federation of Free States"

It is necessary for each country to have security and therefore they should enter into a federation of nations, which has a constitution similar to their own. This would be a league of nations, but it would not have to be a state consisting of nations as it would be contradictory, since a state implies the relation of a superior (legislating) to an inferior (obeying), i. e. , the people, and many nations in one state would then constitute only one nation.

The need for a comprehensive agreement will be necessary, otherwise achieving perpetual peace would be impossible. Kant pointed out that it would have been a federation of peace that would be distinguished from a treaty of peace (*pactum pacis*) by the fact that the latter terminates only one war, while the former seeks to make an end of all wars forever. Kant emphasized that this federation would not aim to resemble to a state in the meaning of take over and exercise power; instead it should seek to maintain and ensure the freedom of the states within the federation.

Kant stressed that: A league of peace (federation) is intended to preserve and guarantee the independence of States and respect their boundaries, having as its goal to prevent war.

"For if fortune directs that a powerful and enlightened people can make itself a republic, (which by its nature must be inclined to perpetual peace), this gives a fulcrum to the federation with other states so that they may adhere to it and thus secures freedom under the idea of the law of nations. By more and more such associations, the federation may be gradually extended."

It would be necessary for people to accept a legislative and executive supreme and a legal force to solve conflicts peacefully, not to have wars and therefore also stresses the idea that states should recognize these organizations in conflict resolution between them if they want to avoid war.

"But this power should not be an international state, because countries will have to give up their liberties but the best model would be a federation (social civic alliance) which will be gradually expanded and maybe one day includes the entire world.

According to Doyle, Kant does not develop an organizational system because he doesn't believe that institutionalization is necessary. Instead he finds it sufficient with a non-aggression pact, or perhaps a security agreement, elaborated based on the cosmopolitan law to be presented below.

Third definitive article for a perpetual peace - The Law of World Citizenship Shall Be Limited to Conditions of Universal Hospitality.

The third and final article describes a cosmopolitan law which would function in the framework of a union of peace. This does not mean philanthropy, but the right. Hospitality, in its most appropriate form, appears in the foreign rights for not being treated as an enemy as soon as he arrives in another territory. According to Doyle, foreigners have the right not to be treated with hostility when they visit a union of peace. A foreigner cannot pretend a permanent residence, but only permission as a visitor, which does not threaten in any way the people he is visiting. Kant also stresses that liberal states will create a union of peace between them, but they will not remain at war with the non-republics.

Three articles of perpetual peace in the European project.

The purpose of this paper is to justify and argue the liberal peace theory in the European Union.

Many long violent conflicts have ended when the two countries are converted to liberal democracy and liberal peace area has expanded, emphasizes Doyle, in "Liberalism and World Politics".

According to him something rare, as an empirical law is observed in international relations - or at least something similar to a law, that is the non-existence war between liberal democracies.

To justify the above mentioned idea it is necessary to apply and design this theoretical basis on the functioning of the European Union.

To achieve the perpetual peace, three provisions treated above should be applied in a state or in this case in the European Union.

The first article of the Civil Constitution, the second one that is Federation of Free States and the third one that of Universal Hospitality.

The first article defines that the constitution should be republican; this means that it will be designed on the principles of freedom, dependence and equality. If we project these principles in the European Union, we notice a number of cases in which the European Union uses these principles. In 1990 it was signed the "Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union". This document is based on liberal principles of freedom, dependence and equality. In its introduction it is stated that:

"Conscious of its spiritual and moral heritage, the Union is founded on the indivisible, universal values of human dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity; it is based on the principles of democracy and the rule of law. It places the individual at the heart of its activities, by establishing the citizenship of the Union and by creating an area of freedom, security and justice."

This passage clearly indicates that the basic ideas of the European Union are similar to the first article of Kant. On December 2009 with the entry into force of the Treaty of Lisbon the Charter took legal status, which means that now it has a binding effect on treaties. Its aim was to make the fundamental citizens rights clear to everyone.

Another example of the commitment of the EU to the liberal principles is the Copenhagen criteria, which were negotiated at the Copenhagen Summit in 1993. Member states should adopt the criteria set out in this document. The criteria are as follows:

Political: stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, respect for and protection of minorities.

Economic: the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union;

Acceptance of Community legislation: the ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union.

The political criteria must be met by the applicant country before the beginning of negotiations.

One of the Copenhagen criteria which emphasizes that countries which apply must have a functioning market economy, is also a criteria in the first article of Kant.

The second article states that it is necessary for a state to have security and Kant believes that the best way to achieve it is a Federation of Nations or a Union of Peace. The European Union is exactly a Union of Peace; in fact the union was created to provide peace in Europe. After the end of World War II, France was trying to keep Germany "under control" as the responsible country that caused the Second World War. However it was very difficult because British and Americans were looking for the revival of the German economy. The Frenchman Jean Monnet created what would be known as Schuman Plan, this led to the creation of the ECSC, which had as its main objective the creation of a High Authority that

would control industries which had realised the arms race before and during the war. This High Authority would hamper an arm race, ensuring peace in Europe. In this case EU goes beyond Kant's idea of a union of peace, which main goal was to ensure peace and being a non-aggressor pact. The EU exceeds this idea; it has been developed into a political union and with a diversity of policies.

By quoting again Kant we can try to make another projection on the development and expansion of the EU.

“can be proved that this idea of federation, which should gradually spread to all states and thus lead to perpetual peace. For if fortune directs that a powerful and enlightened people can make itself a republic, which by its nature must be inclined to perpetual peace, this gives a fulcrum to the federation with other states so that they may adhere to it and thus secure freedom under the idea of the law of nations. By more and more such associations, the federation may be gradually extended.”

The EU began ECSC with the participation of six countries and gradually expanded into a great union with 28 member countries and a population of about 500 million. While the EU is expanding it has become increasingly clear that further development requires diversification of policies in many other areas not only peace and security. Kant has declared that the Union of Peace (Federation of nations) should not resemble to a state and therefore it should only focus on safety issues.

But he also emphasizes, as mentioned before, that this federation or the union of peace must have a market economy, which in fact contradicts his statement limited to a union of peace that focuses only on security issues. In order to have a labour market it is necessary to have market regulatory bases such as to avoid trade barriers in the form of duty or technical trade barriers, different standards, etc. To achieve free trade, it is necessary to have extensive legislation and standardization otherwise the market will not function.

The EU has created the internal market in which "The aim is to guarantee the free movement of goods, capital, services and people between the EU Member States, creating an "internal market" in which does not exist traditional barriers of exchanges, services and persons.

The third and final article is that of Universal Hospitality. This article stipulates that a foreigner should find hospitality when visiting the Union of Peace. EU members can travel freely and work wherever they want within the Union Countries. But, people outside the EU wishing to visit it do not have the same rights. Kant notes that visitors should have the right to enable communication or trade agreements with the residents of Pacific Union. He does not make it clear what exactly is meant by this, but an interpretation could be that the foreigner should not be prevented in any way when he wants to do business in EU. This is what it happens, although there are obvious customs duties, when someone wants to bring goods into the EU.

The interpretation of what Kant meant with the cosmopolitan right (according to Doyle) led to the conclusion that the third article about the free market is not met.

But, if Doyle and his followers are mistrustful in the fulfilment of the third article about free trade, I think that recent events such as the refugee crisis shed light on the projection that we are analyzing.

The fact is the hospitality and generosity of the governments and societies of the EU toward refugees, "foreigners" according to Kant. Even though, it is going through controversies and problems, again it is a clear projection of "hospitality" (a term defined in this article) on the activities of the Union in relation to the possibilities offered toward "foreigners" in their extreme need for security and accommodation.

The undertaken policies for permanent residence, are not expressing generosity and hospitality but beyond that, EU countries and people are donating and helping the families in need.

In the framework of these policies the Union shows that the right of freedom, peace and prosperity is a model that even individuals outside the union have the opportunity to experience.

So the third article of Kant goes beyond "universal hospitality, or the right for temporary residence", it creates opportunities for the "foreigners" by providing the right to permanent residence within the territory of states composing the "federation of peace".

The third article about the "cosmopolitan right and conditions of hospitality" towards "foreigners", especially refugees from unsafe countries are attempts that overcome and go further Kant's definitions.

Conclusions

In this paper we tried to bring attention on Kant's theory of perpetual peace, and its projection in the context of ongoing development and expansion of European Union.

To achieve this goal we used three final articles of Kant:

The Civil Constitution should be republican. In December 2009, the European Union gives legal status to the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union in Lisbon Treaty. When Kant wrote that the constitution should be republican he was thinking of it as a state or federation. The European Union is functioning as a union of peace and its organizational form resembles to a state. The Charter is not a constitution of state, but gives certain rights to every Union citizen, regardless of which country they come from.

The second criterion that is the economic criteria (which means that the state must have a functional market economy) corresponds to the first article of Kant, which states that it is necessary a functional market economy. In this way we can say that the first article is completed.

The second article is about the union of peace that provides security to its members. The European Union was created as a union of security, but this is different from what Kant had imagined.

After the World War II, Europe was in chaos, and especially France who feared that Germany could be a threat not only for France but for the whole Europe. Jean Monnet presented Schuman Plan and the ECSC was established, with the main aim to control the arms industries that carried out a weapon race before and during the war. Kant stated in his philosophical treaties that a union or federation of peace would provide security against an external force, but in case of European Union the threat came from within the Union. But, however, the EU carried out the same purpose: to ensure peace. Today the European Union is still in the strong line of ensuring security and this can be noticed in the expansion of 2004. This expansion was realised not only with regard to political and economic goals, but also because the EU wanted to guarantee that the former Soviet Union countries did not constitute a threat if they, for example, would return to dictatorships. Copenhagen criteria assure democracy and this is used as a tool to reverse Eastern European countries in liberal democracy, a process that is still in progress in some countries.

The third article is the cosmopolitan right. This article is more fragile to compare with the European Union project; however, the free movement of people within the union is achieved. This can and should be considered as a major step when compared to the historical heritage of Europe.

During the Cold War, a wall was built to keep people divided between East and West Berlin. Changes are drastic and people of the European Union can now move freely between the 28 member states, there is also the abolition of visa restrictions for some EU candidate countries such as Albania, Macedonia, Serbia, etc. The problem occurs when people outside the EU or Europe want to move to Europe to sell goods and this may be a reason that the third article is not considered fulfilled. But the concern, and the solution of refugee crisis especially at the beginning of the civil war in Syria is a fact that speaks not only for a projection of the third article, but it exceeds the conditions provided in it. The union attempts to transmit and donate values that derive from liberal democracies are very clear.

As a conclusion it should be noted that

The theory of perpetual peace is achieved in the case of EU, perhaps not exactly what Kant has written but certainly it is peace.

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