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GENEALOGY OF EUROPEAN UNION – TANDEM OF GERMAN AND FRENCH PHILOSOPHY FROM PERPETUAL PEACE SKETCHES OF KANT AND ROUSSEAU

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INTRODUCTION

On 16 May 1949, Robert Schuman delivered a speech commemorating the establishment of the European Community system in accordance with Europe's post-war reconciliation policies. Schuman was a fervent proponent of policies and initiatives that would protect the continent and the world from ongoing devastation in the altered geopolitical landscape of the post-World War II era. He believed that the European spirit, characterised by both reason and experience, must be the ultimate driving force in its own preservation. However, the most interesting remarks were those dedicated to the individuals who, in Schuman's words, were responsible for this crucial moment of European unity. He declared that audacious minds such as Dante, Erasmus, Abbé de Saint-Pierre, Rousseau, Kant and Proudhon were integral parts of an already created framework designed to end wars and establish eternal peace among men. He stated that these abstract outlines were 'both ingenious and generous' (Robert Schuman European Center, 1999). While Dante, Erasmus and Proudhon were prominent figures in European cultural and intellectual heritage, Saint-Pierre, Rousseau and Kant were directly involved in the intellectual discourse regarding *Perpetual Peace* and its origins in the form of a European federation. Furthermore, the Duke of Sully and Leibniz were directly associated with the same intellectual tradition of the Enlightenment, which encompassed the three aforementioned thinkers. They all shared the idea of establishing

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a European federation (each using a unique title) to guarantee permanent peace among people. The ideological design and architecture of European integration after the First and Second World Wars were fundamentally influenced by the *Perpetual Peace* doctrine, which represented one of the earliest iterations of a distinctly continental strand of liberal theory. In the contemporary European Union, this philosophical tradition is not merely a secondary factor in the interpretation of policies, the encounter with geopolitical obstacles, or the pursuit of integration objectives. The primary objective of this work is to examine and evaluate the concept of *Perpetual Peace* from the perspective of its primary authors. Second, the work will illustrate the relevance of the doctrine's analysis in relation to the Franco-German political and intellectual tandem, as well as the EU's operation as a supranational entity.

PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPT OF *PERPETUAL PEACE*

Historically, the European continent has frequently been depicted as a site of constant conflict and power struggle among nations, a form of competition that fostered their growth and ascension towards dominance over others. The tradition of war as a cultural horizon and its manifestation came into conflict with questions of intellectual righteousness and the scarcity of genuine providence in reason that accumulated during the period known as the Enlightenment. From this intellectual environment arose two prominent figures who dedicated themselves to the theoretical articulation of the idea of permanent peace between the nations of Europe – the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the German philosopher Immanuel Kant. Despite this, the initial concept of a federal Europe as a single collective entity had been voiced by numerous intellectuals, including Maximilien de Béthune Sully, Gottfried Leibniz, and Charles Saint-Pierre (Roldan, 2011). However, it was not taken seriously until the theme was revived by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who penned his abstract of Saint-Pierre's vision and accompanied it with his own critique, also known as the *Plan for Perpetual Peace* (1761). Soon after, influenced by Rousseau's vision of *Perpetual Peace*, Immanuel Kant published his work *To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* in 1795. Among other sketches, the work featured a complex structural design that, under Kant's theoretical consideration, could lead to the establishment of *Perpetual Peace*. Kant's work holds unique value because it culminated the vision of federalism through direct assertions in list form, very similar to how Marx arranged his preconditions of social revolution in the *Communist Manifesto* (1848).

It is essential to assume that the liberal school of thought, in its political character, was not originally a natural component of European culture but rather emerged from an internal breakdown and, over time, underwent a gradual transformation. This is

evident from the works of prominent French thinkers and politicians, such as Sully, who proposed a Christian union of monarchs under a general European council consisting of 70 delegates, and Saint-Pierre, who proposed a federal Europe without mentioning Christianity as a core component of unification (Terminski, 2011). After the Thirty Years' War, general attitudes towards the religious tenets of Christianity were dominated by deduction and logical pragmatism. The principal guidelines expressed by Rousseau and Kant were the first to be put forward as a scheme by which wars could be terminated. This contributed to the general assertion that reason is inherent in liberalism.

It is widely acknowledged that the concept of the state of nature was introduced into academic discourse by the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes in his renowned work *Leviathan* (1651). Hobbes posited that a man in the state of nature is a bloodthirsty individual devoid of virtue, and that the only thing preventing him from perpetual chaos is a sense of fear. This fear forces him to make decisions about his own safety, which ultimately lead to socialisation and rule-following. Jean-Jacques Rousseau expressed his disapproval of such a depiction in his *Discourse on the Origins of Inequality Among Men* (1755), wherein he articulated a fundamentally divergent perspective. Rousseau believed that men, regardless of their nature and instincts, could be truly happy and free, despite all the brutality and savagery often attributed to them. According to Rousseau (1755, p. 35), a man who transcends the concepts of private property and the institutions designed to uphold them, and articulates his reasoning correctly, would therefore create proper faculties, virtues and laws. The primary notion introduced by Rousseau was that the classes, particularly the aristocracy, in the general social order were utterly disassociated from the populace, a theme that pervaded later French political thought during the revolution. Rousseau (1755, p. 4) stated that he would love to be born in a country where the people and the Sovereign have the same interests; otherwise, he preferred tempered democratic rule. This becomes evident when Rousseau wrote his critique of Saint-Pierre's *Project for Perpetual Peace*, where his primary motive may be evaluated as a moral maxim implying the abolition of the traditional aristocratic rule established over centuries in Europe as a prerequisite for establishing perpetual peace. In his essay *The State of War*, Rousseau (1917, p. 127) precisely claimed that 'As individuals, we live in the civil state, under the control of the Law; as nations, each is in the state of nature.' He was suggesting that genuine human consciousness is subverted by inaccurate institutions designed and supported by state regimes and the ruling class in the international political system for their own gain.

It is exceedingly challenging to present Immanuel Kant in a singular work, as he authored a substantial number of texts on the subject of human nature, ranging from anthropology to ethics, which differ according to the evolution of his philosophical beliefs. Notwithstanding this, Kant possessed a fundamental component of his philosophy: he derived his foundation from English empiricism, from which he adapted

the continental-deductive method that reflected his perceptions. His fundamental work, *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), aimed to resolve the dispute between empiricists and rationalists, wherein Kant elucidated that the empiricists were correct in their hypothesis. Kant (2017, p. 4) himself stated that David Hume, the famous English empiricist, woke him from a dogmatic slumber. To obtain a better comprehension of the relation between English empiricism and the figure of Immanuel Kant, who is more closely associated with the continental philosophical tradition, it is worth considering Kant's position expressed in his essay *Idea for a History with a Cosmopolitan Intent* (1784). Immanuel Kant (1983, p. 30) asserts that reason is the sole force capable of transcending natural instincts to establish new laws and objectives. He assumes that nature will sow discord among men to direct them away from stagnation and everyday comfort through antagonism as a source of development, from which humans, because of their cleverness, will ultimately find a solution (1983, pp. 31–32). Kant, utilising the analogy of Thomas Hobbes, reaffirms that a human being, despite his inherent nature, will ultimately opt to establish a legal-based order. However, unlike Hobbes, who proclaimed that the outcome of this is human fear of death, for Kant the consequence is the manifestation of reason itself, which elevates humanity to a civil state owing to accrued experience and the demand for peace (Nakhimovsky, 2011, p. 43). Immanuel Kant used the same logic in his assumptions about relations between states and societies.

Therefore, it can be understood that *Erfahrungswelt* – or, in translation, experience – plays an imperative part in the derivatives from which the reflection of the conscious mind is developed, which will deductively create the conditions for establishing the laws upon which civil society will function. From his own epistemological analysis, the noted scholar of Neo-Kantianism and English empiricism, Andrew Seth, wrote that this experience, or *Erfahrungswelt*, comes from *vacuo* as it has no locus, and it continues in the evolution of human personality (Seth, 1893, p. 299). From the conversion of the human being into a civil state and the establishment of a state of peace, Kant proposes that the extent of one's experience reveals the level of rationality required for the establishment of a proper state of peace. Another specialist in liberal theory, Isaac Nakhimovsky (2011, p. 177), complements the above-mentioned assertions in the sphere of international relations (IR) between states, citing Kant's argument that the real 'guarantee of a new treaty system' will be the natural historical process.

DEMOCRATIC PEACE THEORY AND NON-INTERVENTION DOCTRINE

Returning to the central theme of this work, which pertains to the written literature on *Perpetual Peace*, it is imperative to examine the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and emphasise the primary themes outlined by him in order to demonstrate the parallels

with Kant's remarks. As noted earlier, Rousseau showed interest in the imaginative potential of the *Perpetual Peace* project when he was requested to republish a completed version of the proposed project authored by Charles Saint-Pierre. In addition to the abstract, he also composed his critique of the project, which eventually attracted the attention of the German philosopher Immanuel Kant.

Following the end of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1713, Charles Saint-Pierre proposed the idea of a European federation, a union between the monarchs of Europe and their respective states intended to eliminate the endless conflicts across the European continent. Saint-Pierre believed that Europe and its nations should be united under the authority of uniform law, religion, commerce, government, and manners (Rousseau, 1761, p. 4).¹ He also expressed frustration that any treaty of peace did not directly lead to the end of conflict and was executed only by the rival parties; as Saint-Pierre claimed, they resembled 'transit truces rather than real peace', and Europe as a whole remained in a constant state of war. The same view was also shared by J.J. Rousseau (1761, p. 9). Both Saint-Pierre and Kant were among the pioneers who introduced the initial iteration of mutual interdependence theory, or neofunctionalism, as part of liberal discourse (Kauppi and Viotti, 2020, pp. 69–70). According to the definition provided by the liberal scholar Scott Burchill (Burchill *et al.*, 2013, p. 66), these theories are based on the premise that the greater the integration of member states in institutional, economic, and other systems, the greater the likelihood of establishing robust ties and preventing subsequent causes of conflict. As Charles Saint-Pierre argued, for a lasting federation of Europe and an equal distribution of power among states, they must be placed in such mutual dependence that no single party can overbear another, as derived from the 'Constitution of Europe' (Rousseau, 2005, p. 36).

Rousseau's response to the work of Abbé de Saint-Pierre was harsh yet empathetic. On the one hand, he criticised the fact that, had such a remarkable idea coincided with the desires of all the peoples of Europe, the sovereigns would have taken it into consideration at once; instead, the proposal was decisively ignored (Rousseau, 1917, p. 94). On the other hand, Rousseau did not deny the appeal of the idea and tended to believe that the main problem lay in Henry IV's pursuit of personal interests rather than the actual public interest (Rousseau, 1917, p. 107). As mentioned earlier, a form of resentment towards the ruling class based on the notion of wealth is present between the lines of Rousseau's philosophical reflections and is a central theme of his major works. His fundamental proposal for establishing lasting peace in Europe was a revolution

¹ The extracted passage was taken from the English version of the work of Abbe Saint-Pierre that was originally published in London by request of M. Cooper, as part of the work done by J.J. Rousseau, who presented the work of the French statesman with his own introduction and further polemics.

that would eliminate all aspects of the old social and political order (Rousseau, 1917, p. 112).

It is reasonable to argue that Kant's *To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* (1795), written thirty years after Rousseau's work, was the ultimate apotheosis that concluded the comprehensive debate surrounding the *Perpetual Peace* discourse. Unlike his counterparts, Immanuel Kant (1983, p. 109) put forward specific instructions to establish perpetual peace between peoples. Among them were calls for the annulment and end of debts between states (material or otherwise), as these would provoke further discord; non-interference in the affairs of other states and their constitutional order, suggesting that changes should occur from within; and the prevention of war from escalating to the point of total annihilation by one or all parties, thus paving the way for further mutual trust and the abolishment of standing armies. For Kant, it was fundamental that all institutional structuring be modelled on republicanism, thereby refraining from war, as every subject would eventually become a citizen with full rights granted by law. However, he also labelled democracy a despotic rule, as the execution of orders would fall upon the majority and the general will would contradict both itself and the maxim of freedom (Kant, 1983, pp. 113–114). In addition, Kant (1983, p. 125) proposed that commerce is the most reliable tool for making peace among all, both as a means of achieving this goal and as a deterrent that creates dependency between states. It is also possible to interpret that, for Kant, the first formulated iteration of democratic peace theory ought to possess a global and universal character, considering that for those who did not have a republican model of the state, such a system would be perceived by others as a potential threat to coexistence, as those states would remain in a state of nature (Kant, 1983, p. 112). In his work *Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals* (1785), the German philosopher emphasised an important aspect of his philosophy: moral maxims, or in other words, subjective laws derived from obligation that can be tested morally by the *categorical imperative*, which itself arises from reason. Kant sought to establish a universal law among men, created from *supreme morality – maxims* that would serve as universal obligations and duties (Kant, 2019, p. 17). With such groundwork, Immanuel Kant (1983, p. 139) postulated that 'All maxims that require publicity (in order not to fail in their end) agree with both politics and morality.' His philosophical position regarding the general order is straightforward: morality serves as law when applied to states with public authority, and state conduct should obey obligations prescribed by morality rather than by purpose or interest (Kaposy *et al.*, 2018, p. 176; Franceschet, 2002, p. 12). Today's liberal IR theory primarily focuses on the examination of morality in law and government through liberalisation, decentralisation, and public action (Gismondi, 2008, p. 191).

Returning to *Perpetual Peace*, the German philosopher advocated that, in order to establish a lawful order with a despotic but republican form of government, it is

preferable to wait for better times, as there is a constant sense of threat among neighbouring states (Kant, 1983, p. 129). He also expressed one of the first iterations of the liberal doctrine of non-interference, extrapolated to sovereign states and later codified in the international legal order, including in the charters of the UN and the League of Nations (Wu, 2023). Nevertheless, as with Rousseau, the German philosopher stated explicitly that, in order to establish an internal *state of right* (another term for *civil state*), such an order would be established only by the use of force (Kant, 1983, p. 128). Notwithstanding this, the fear that peace might fail to be established among nations leads to the idea that, in order to refrain from the risks of war – which could lead to the eradication of everything – it is easier to sacrifice something while leaving a chance for the continuation of duty. Kant (1983, p. 128) considered this from the moral standpoint of a decision-making politician who is centred on his primary duty, even if it appears to be a full-fledged sacrifice.

From all the works written on *Perpetual Peace*, one may ask a fundamental question: is everything articulated within this strand of continental philosophy concerned solely with the European continent and the creation of a united European federation? When looking at the stances of Sully to Rousseau, the answer appears clear, as they offered their proposals for the unification of Europe precisely in a chain of responses from one author to another. Abbé Saint-Pierre himself began his work by proclaiming that there is nothing more delightful than peace among the nations of Europe, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (2005, p. 27) echoed this sentiment in his critique. There is no doubt that Pierre and Rousseau spoke of the same objective – the scheme for a European federation – with the distinction that Pierre favoured forming a federation by securing peace between monarchs and aristocratic republics, while Jean-Jacques Rousseau preferred a federation of peoples. Regarding Immanuel Kant's response, although he reacted directly to the works of these two figures, he did not use titles such as 'European Federation', nor did he simply refer to Europe as a continent where peace had to be established. Instead, Kant named his supranational institution a 'League of Peace', whose task was to protect the freedoms of its members and to refrain from possessing any coercive power over them (1983, p. 117). This has been a point of debate among academics, as some have associated the 'League of Peace' with later institutions such as the League of Nations or the United Nations. In another work, *Groundwork for the Metaphysics of Morals* (1785), Kant employed a different term – the 'Kingdom of Ends' – with essentially the same reasoning as the one found in his *Perpetual Peace* sketch (2019, p. 46). This can also be interpreted through the fact that, from Kant's point of view, Europe – through France – had to undergo a revolution of change, after which the Germans would create a model for all mankind, which may explain Kant's political language and the terminology he used in his works. Another point is that many scholars do not accept the view that Kant wrote exclusively about the creation of unified

statehood, but rather that he was writing on how to end any war in any state (Salikov, 2015, p. 71). This view is rejected here, as noted previously; Kant specifically addressed the proposals for a unified federative union made by both Pierre and Rousseau, rather than merely creating entirely new foundations for discourse while focusing only on possible measures to end wars. It would be less logical to formulate outlines for future unification in the same text and cite both authors if his intention were limited solely to the latter.

PERPETUAL PEACE DISCOURSE IN MODERN POLITICS

Following the comprehensive theoretical overview, it is vital to address the second inquiry: the degree to which the discourse regarding *Perpetual Peace* has left an imprint on the European political dimension, and the extent to which individuals involved in European integration processes genuinely rely on the frameworks established by Kant and Rousseau. There are several ways to substantiate this hypothesis. One of them is the fact that, throughout the history of European integration, numerous prominent political figures have publicly demonstrated their affection, devotion, and commitment to the concepts expressed by both political philosophers. Kantianism has long dominated political-philosophical discourse in Germany and has proved itself to be the main engine of continental liberalism, a trend that triumphed in the intellectual milieu after two devastating total wars. At the conclusion of the First World War, Paul Löbe, the future president of the Reichstag from the SPD, and the Austrian Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi exchanged thoughts on the future world order. They envisioned a European state model that corresponded to the idea of an absolute rule of law, repeatedly mentioning Kant throughout their discussion (European University Institute, 1926). Willy Brandt, in his lecture upon receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1971, stated that the very practice of war should be eliminated, not merely limited, and further embraced Kant and his concept of *Perpetual Peace* in his speech (Brandt, 1971). Similarly, in 1990, Chancellor Helmut Kohl frequently quoted Kant during a CSCE summit anticipating the end of the Cold War (Taz, 1990). Even without considering the quantitative implications of direct quotes that mention the German philosopher and his *Perpetual Peace* notion, it is evident that Kant is far from being in the shadows when it comes to the liberal-intellectual foundations of modern Germany. From recent examples, particular attention has been drawn to the cases of Olaf Scholz, former Chancellor of Germany from the SPD, and Emmanuel Macron, the current president of France, both of whom devoted notable attention to Kant and Rousseau and their depiction of eternal European peace. Scholz delivered a lecture on the 300th birthday anniversary of Kant, stating that no matter how slim the volume of the sketch *Perpetual*

Peace is, he wished once more to highlight the ideal reflections that still provide orientation and confidence today. During the lecture, Scholz publicly criticised Vladimir Putin, president of the Russian Federation, for appropriating Kant's intellectual heritage and using his ideas as a justification for the conflict in Ukraine (Die Bundesregierung, 2024). At the early stage of the war in Ukraine in 2022, Emmanuel Macron visited Pope Francis on the occasion of promoting international peace. When exchanging gifts, Pope Francis presented his collection of works and a bronze medallion representing Saint Peter and the colonnade, while Macron offered him a French edition of Kant's *To Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* (1795) (Lubov, 2022). The visit can be understood as a dialogue between secular and Christian perspectives on peace in Europe at the outset of the war on its borders, unified by one concrete aim: ending the conflict. Another meeting of equal significance was the joint appearance of Macron and Scholz at the 60th anniversary of the signing of the Élysée Treaty between Germany and France. In his address, the German Chancellor emphasised the significance of the Franco-German tandem and the importance of security in European continent. He noted that the Peace Project of Europe began with reconciliation between France and Germany, and that one of the primary values of the friendship between the two countries is Kant's concept of the rule of law and Rousseau's notion that sovereignty is anchored in the people (Die Bundesregierung, 2023).

In this case, it can be understood that the figure of Kant is not merely an important part of liberal thinking, but in some sense represents the driving force of the Franco-German engine. Relying on Kant, Germany has, in the long term, strategically sought to return as a full-fledged player freed from the limitations of political conscience. In reality, such a turn not only compelled Germany in the 20th and 21st centuries to be one of the founding nations of European unification, but also granted it the right to participate in the first ranks of European integration dynamics. One indication of this belief may be found in an article by the well-known left-wing politician and economist Yanis Varoufakis. He posited that the 'Kantianisation' of Germany itself may have been the factor contributing to its moral behaviour at the onset of the Migrant Crisis in 2015, which contrasted markedly with the policies of other countries (Varoufakis, 2015). This phenomenon can be viewed as the converse of rhetoric asserting that any peace is more sacred than war. Scholz consistently exhibited reluctance to offer support for Ukraine's defence during the initial years of the conflict (Oltermann, 2022). He was among the first of the most notable opinion-makers in Europe to publicly emphasise his calls to Vladimir Putin, urging him to end the war and support peace enforcement (Hueske, 2024). The above demonstrates the transfer of an intellectual-based tandem into the empirical political realm of bilateral and multilateral engagements between the two states.

Following one question, another inevitably emerges: is there a modern discourse about *Perpetual Peace* in a practical sense, reflected in foreign policy outside

Germany – or, more broadly, outside the borders of the Franco-German tandem? The response is complex, as the European Union is not a mere union of Germany and France, but rather a community of 25 other small or medium-sized nations. Following the same methodology, several examples can be included. On 10 October 2022, Josep Borrell, EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, delivered a speech at the annual EU Ambassadors' Conference. Borrell (Riet and Klaver, 2023, pp. 1523–1524) stated that 'Our fight is to try to explain that democracy, freedom, political freedom is not something that can be exchanged by economic prosperity or social cohesion. Both things have to go together. Otherwise, our model will perish, will not be able to survive in this world. We are too much Kantians and not enough Hobbesians.' These words can be interpreted to mean that the issue in understanding the largest conflict since the Second World War lies in the fact that, in recent decades, the EU has been organised around entirely different goals, purposes, and values. As a result, it finds itself torn between two sides when confronted with the conduct of war, and those governing the EU are not accustomed to the realities of violence and warfare. Another possible connotation touches on a dilemma at the very core of the European Union. If the EU is indeed a European federation built on a practical basis, envisioned abstractly by Pierre, Rousseau, and Kant, then the contemporary situation becomes more transparent.

Security and defence issues were raised repeatedly even before the war in Ukraine, beginning with the failure to create a separate European Defence Community (EDC) in 1952, following France's withdrawal and procedural obstacles in Italy. Despite approval of the EDC in Germany, more than half of SPD members rejected and criticised the idea of European forces (Kanter, 1970, pp. 221–222). The common view was that, for France, the main issues regarding the EDC concerned the abolishment of the French national army and the perceived threat of German militarisation (Goormaghtigh, 1956). The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) also met a difficult fate. Despite their evolution from the second pillar of the Maastricht Treaty to the Treaty of Lisbon (TFEU), CFSP/CSDP do not fall under the general rule of EU competences outlined by Article 3 of the TFEU and remain highly intergovernmental and cautious in action (Wessel and Hertog, 2012). In this context, the implication of *Perpetual Peace* can be seen in the complex legal construction of the EU, particularly in the national–supranational management of the Union, which does not adequately define a delicate position concerning security and acts of war. European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen and Josep Borrell advocated reforms within the CFSP to adapt the qualified majority voting (QMV) system as the basis for a single voice, a proposal regarded as controversial by representatives of several member states (Navarra and Jančová, 2023). Nevertheless, these reforms do not directly advance the concept of strong militarisation at the statehood level; however,

they may more effectively strengthen normative force as a tool – a dilemma that again traces back to Kantianism. Although these developments form part of the struggle for the federalisation of Europe, it cannot be dismissed that many of these political processes are also linked to the inherent possibility that the very idea of militarism and conflict is inorganic to the nature of the organisation upon whose ideas it is centred.

However, this methodology and the manner of establishing a hypothesis regarding the ascension of the EU and the projects of eternal peace have their weak spots and limitations. As noted earlier, aside from the Franco-German tandem and the European intellectual environment, or certain parts of the EU bureaucracy, very little can be directly associated with the figure of Kant, Rousseau, or even the naming of *Eternal Peace* in contemporary European Union affairs. Jan Zielonka (2025), for instance, posits that contemporary political figures in Europe who identify as centre-left or left no longer associate themselves with, nor refer to philosophers such as Kant, Rousseau, or Adam Smith because they did not develop practical instructions or countermeasures pertaining to resistance in the implementation of their expressed concepts. If the earliest steps of European integration were indeed supported by theorist–statesmen and idealists who likely believed in the sincerity of Kant’s or Rousseau’s words, today – as Jürgen Habermas assessed – the project of the European Union is no longer solely a matter for the elites, but increasingly lies in the hands of the public (Bonde, 2011, p. 161). It is also connected to the fact that the concept of *Perpetual Peace* does not reside solely in the state affairs of the countries that founded the discourse, nor only in its end product, the European Union (or European federation). Rather, it is a principle present at every political level and must undergo a much more comprehensive examination.

Perhaps the doctrines of democratic peace, the rule of law, and commerce are the most notable borrowed elements in the context of *Perpetual Peace* principles when analysing the nature of the European Union as a supranational political entity. As mentioned in the first part of the work, Kantian republicanism became one of the cornerstones of the theory of democratic peace. Immanuel Kant’s selected criteria for securing peace through each state’s institutional structure suggest that broader participation of the collective will eventually prevents private intentions from initiating warfare or acts harmful to citizens. One of the main pioneers of the theory of democratic peace, Michael Doyle, relied on Kant’s interpretation of eternal peace when formulating his theory (Russett *et al.*, 1995, p. 180). Analysing the success of Western European countries in maintaining peace, Doyle confirmed Kant’s claims regarding democratic systems and regimes with a republican form of government. He also deduced that the stability democratic regimes display towards each other in the international system encourages other countries to pursue mutual respect, fair competition, and consensus (Layne, 1994, p. 9). This has an apparent implication, as all 27 members of the European Union have democratic and republican systems of government, even though

some are constitutional monarchies or display democratic deficits, such as modern Hungary. Although Kant was an opponent of broad democracy, the same cannot be said of Rousseau, who essentially postulated a more egalitarian model of federation. The rule of law is another fundamental pillar of the EU.

All philosophers who engaged in the discussion of *Perpetual Peace*, from Sully to Kant, perceived a unified, strict federative rule of legalism as the foundation for a union of European states. Political scholars such as Habermas have examined how the constitutionalisation of law and the expansion of legal procedures, helped cosmopolitan entities such as the EU and the UN promote peace and stability, a development reflected in the evolution of EU legislative competences through the treaties (Staring, 2011, pp. 8–9). Examining the terminology and notions that Kant expressed in his project, it is evident that much of what he postulated about republican rule and the rule of law parallels contemporary EU structures (Salikov, 2015, p. 76). Western European countries have consistently recognised the parallelism of domestic law with signed conventions such as the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, despite the absence of universal institutions capable of restricting states' arbitrary resolution of legal cases. This parallelism was subsequently used as a foundation for developing the legal principles of the rule of law in the incorporation between the Treaties and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (Cuyvers, 2017, pp. 217–218).

Commerce, as the last aspect, is probably the main principle concerning the modern relevance of Kant's eternal peace model in relation to the EU, since Kant identified commerce and the market as the primary elements for initiating eternal peace. This is particularly significant in light of the initial conflicts that arose during the integration process between Konrad Adenauer and Jean Monnet. For instance, Karim Patel (2020, pp. 27–28) noted that Jean Monnet's initial desire was to create a basis for integration through Euratom rather than through the market, the model adopted by Konrad Adenauer. The formalisation of each of these aspects through the Copenhagen criteria and Article 49 of the Maastricht Treaty made all three elements even more fundamental and relevant. This proved significant in preparing for further enlargements, which formally became requirements for joining the broader European community and for democratic expansion (Grabbe, 2004, p. 74).

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the *Perpetual Peace* discourse, founded on the theoretical correspondence between French and German philosophers of the Enlightenment, continues to be a primary source for understanding the European Union as a collective political entity that espouses the principles of democracy, the rule of law, and the free market. The

very idea of the *Perpetual Peace* project aligns with the European Union's established objectives and institutional framework, and the *Perpetual Peace* discourse is not only the intellectual heritage of the two nations but also the foundation of their bilateral relations, a source of reflection within their foreign policy, and a component of the engine that represents their initial and contemporary contributions to the foundations of European integration processes. Despite the abstract and utopian nature of the European Federation project, formulated by numerous intellectuals, it continues to serve as a model of hope for the unification of Europe into a single federal supranational entity, accessible to all who adhere to norms, freedoms, and peace. And even though the ideas written almost 300 years ago are, for many, no longer relevant or appear outdated, it is difficult to claim that anything in the academic literature reflects the reality of today's Europe in such a comprehensive manner. The intellectual perspective presented by both French and German elites as part of their ideological heritage remains directly relevant to the continued study of the relationship between *Perpetual Peace* and the EU and may further enrich the depth of reasoning regarding the parallels between theoretical ideas and hypothetical applied knowledge in the form of existing statehood models.

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GENEALOGY OF EUROPEAN UNION – TANDEM OF GERMAN AND FRENCH PHILOSOPHY FROM PERPETUAL PEACE SKETCHES OF KANT AND ROUSSEAU

Abstract

The subject of this article centres on the theme of philosophical discourse regarding a possible European Federation reflected in the *Perpetual Peace* sketches of the German philosopher Immanuel Kant and the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Moving beyond the hypothetical possibilities and frameworks of eternal peace posed by Enlightenment theorists, the article develops into an analysis of the practical execution of these ideas, applying them to a supranational entity such as the European Union. Another crucial point of the work is attributed to the Franco-German engine, owing to the fact that the philosophical discourse was initiated and concluded by prominent intellectuals from these two nations. The spirit of this intellectual tandem is present on various levels as an integral component of both domestic and foreign policy, as well as a primary contributor to the processes of European integration, particularly in translating the theoretical implications of the idea of eternal peace into reality. This article extracts the primary principles of the theoretical foundations of *Perpetual Peace* and assesses their correspondence and relevance to the nature of the European Union by defining the intellectual tandem as a framework for further methodological approach.

Keywords: Perpetual Peace, European Federation, European Union, Franco-German engine, state of nature, rule of law, democratic peace, moral maxims, CFSP, CSDP

GENEALOGIA UNII EUROPEJSKIEJ – TANDEM FILOZOFII NIEMIECKIEJ I FRANCUSKIEJ POCZĄWSZY OD „WIECZYSTEGO POKOJU” W SZKICACH KANTA I ROUSSEAU

Streszczenie

Artykuł koncentruje się na dyskursie filozoficznym dotyczącym możliwej Federacji Europejskiej, odzwierciedlonym w szkicach Wiecznego pokoju autorstwa niemieckiego filozofa Immanuela Kanta oraz francuskiego filozofa Jeana-Jacques’a Rousseau. Wykraczając poza hipotetyczne możliwości i ramy wiecznego pokoju sformułowane

przez teoretyków Oświecenia, tekst rozwija się w analizę praktycznej realizacji tych idei, odnosząc je do podmiotu ponadnarodowego, jakim jest Unia Europejska. Istotnym punktem jest również tandem francusko-niemiecki, ponieważ to wybitni myśliciele z tych dwóch narodów zainicjowali i zwięźlili omawiany dyskurs filozoficzny. Duch tej intelektualnej współpracy jest obecny na wielu poziomach jako integralny element polityki wewnętrznej i zagranicznej, a zarazem jako jeden z głównych czynników przyczyniających się do procesów integracji europejskiej, zwłaszcza w przekładaniu teoretycznych implikacji idei wiecznego pokoju na praktykę. Artykuł wyodrębnia podstawowe zasady leżące u podstaw teorii Wiecznego pokoju i ocenia ich zgodność oraz znaczenie dla natury Unii Europejskiej, definiując tandem intelektualny jako ramę metodologiczną dla przyszłej analizy.

Słowa kluczowe: wieczny pokój, Federacja Europejska, francusko-niemiecki motor integracji, stan natury, praworządność, pokój demokratyczny, maksymy moralne, WPZiB, WPBiO