

COSMOPOLITISM AND COEXISTENCE INTER-STATES IN KANT¹**COSMOPOLITISMO E COEXISTENCIA INTER-ESTADOS EM KANT****Thiago Alexandre Ribeiro Santana²**
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ABSTRACT: This paper aims at the reconstruction of the central theses developed by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant, the question of the interrelation between the States and the establishment of peace. For this purpose, the analysis part of the Kantian philosophy of history, in particular, the principles developed in the work *Zum ewigen Frieden*. The Kantian project aims at regulating the relation between States to avoid war and preserve the peace possibility.

KEYWORDS: States; Law; Cosmopolitism; Peace; Kant.

SUMMARY. 1. INTRODUCTION. 2. THE KANTIAN PEACE. 3. PRELIMINARY CONDITIONS FOR PEACE. 4. DEFINITIVE CONDITIONS FOR PEACE. 5. FINAL. 6. REFERENCES.

RESUMO: O presente texto tem como objetivo a reconstrução das teses centrais desenvolvidas pelo filósofo alemão Immanuel Kant, sobre a questão da inter-relação entre os Estados e a instituição da paz. Para tal finalidade, a análise parte da filosofia da história kantiana, em especial, dos princípios desenvolvidos na obra *Zum ewigen Frieden*. O projeto kantiano visa uma regulamentação da relação entre os Estados para evitar a guerra e conservar a possibilidade de paz.

PALAVRAS-CHAVES: Estados; Direito; Cosmopolitismo; Paz; Kant.

1. INTRODUCTION

The construction of a peaceful world scenario in which the States and the most varied political groups can establish dynamic relations transformationals of human evolutionary spectrum should be the primary objective of all institutional organizations that works in a political sphere of international relations. The

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composition of global relations institutionalized celebrated on the basis of a consistent program of pacification of the planetary network of coexistence is an essential condition for effective improvement of the human species.

The historical process of civilization, in general, is constituted in its various stages by the horrors of war and its disastrous consequences for the humanity. The war, besides its various conceptions, always was the expedient used by States to resolve by using force and extreme violence of all forms of demand and external conflicts. In the shadow of increasing wars and latent potential warlike and technological state of the orders in the modern world, developed particularly from the eighteenth century, a diverse range of theories from different shades that were engaged in an attempt to create technical arrangements and ideological necessary to guarantee an effective peace in the international order.

In this prospectus, the most illustrious and distinguished thinker is the German philosopher Immanuel Kant who in 1795 wrote an opuscle titled exquisite *Zum ewigen Frieden*, a project of philosophical-political nature which constitutes itself as a theoretical paradigm for boarding systemic theme of peace between States. According to the guidelines of Kantian thought, against a backdrop of barbarism and atrocities stemming from the war it is necessary to create and support of a dimension rationally organized according to juridical precepts that allows the peaceful coexistence of States and ensures the structural possibility of realization of summit the good political and human progress is at peace on a global scale.

2. THE KANTIAN PEACE

For the Kantian philosophy of history there is a rational assumption intricately in natural order which inevitably leads all human species to a continued progress and improvement of their existential condition regardless of the occurrence of certain destructive human actions, perpetrated by individually or collectives throughout the ages. The German thinker understands that the dense manifestation of reason imbricated in the structures of the historical process allows the human species to engineer an effective development plan for the moral faculties and of the juridical and political institutions.

Thus, the subject of universal history par excellence is the human race itself, and that progress is carried out *ad infinitum* while an idea of reason, Kant

observes the need to respect the liberties and especially to the establishment of a state of peace between men and between States. For the theoretical, the construction of peace depends on an intense process of regulation of conflicts arising between the external liberties, and this is only possible through juridical rules. Accordingly, Kant's political philosophy is structurally linked to the idea that only the base of a *corpus* juridical is possible to create the conditions for the suppression of war and establish peace.

In Kant, the concept of organization of social and political relations at intra-state is conditioned to the idea of an original contract (*Ursprünglich Kontrakt*), so that the liberties are guaranteed and all social relations are regulated by juridical statutes. For the philosopher, only based on legal requirements you can get a rationally organized prevention and resolution of conflict and violence between humans, this because there is a juridical obligation to comply with the rules in the civil order (*status civilis*), given by constitution legal-rational originated. This juridical obligation arises from the practical reason and directs the regulatory principles of the normative procedures for the resolution of conflicts. The general criterion for sustaining the Kantian contractualism based on a platform of juridical structures is the cornerstone for the knowledge of his philosophical-political project of global peace.

According to the architecture of Kantian thought, the philosophical principle that establishes as the imperative the creating of a state civil juridical between men, should be *per analogiam* constitute as an route for the composition of a plan for coexistence between national States, aiming the end of the warlike resolution of conflicts and fostering a culture of peace. According to Kant maximum: "there must be no war" (*Es soll kein Krieg sein*). This is because, the war produces the annihilation and destruction of the substancials conditions of development of human gender, besides being an expedient contrary to reason. The fact is that when analyzing the History of an empiricist way, there is a long process of bloodshed and wars that have plagued various social groups, however, for Kant the historical process of humanity must be understood, *a priori*, as a struggle constant for freedom and peace, which support is the rational law. From the perspective of analysis of Rohden the *pax Kantian* establishing yourself:

(...) as a process of gradual introduction of law and, a practical point of view, as a task committed to each institution of the State. Therefore the establishment of a universal and durable peace is not only the ultimate goal of the Law of nations, but it is the end terminal of the whole Doctrine of law, concerning the rational relation of man with all the other⁴.

In terms of the Kantian philosophy, the human *unsocial sociability* must be overcome at all levels to allow the balanced and peaceful coexistence between the wills based on a general law of freedom, that is, a juridical law (*Rechtsgesetz*). For Kant, the peace must be understood as an supreme political end to be conquered by humanity. However, the German thinker observes that the establishment of universal peace can not depend on the arrangements arising from the games of power realized by governments, sectarian interests of specific political groups or sustain themselves under pacts and alliances which binding is only one moral criterion or religious. By articulating a theoretical project in which peace is elevated to the *status* of a juridical category, that is, understood as a synthetic product resulting from operation of the juridical-practical reason (*rechtlich-praktische Vernunft*) institutional relations between men and States, Kant overcame the ideas of the abbot of Saint-Pierre⁵ demonstrating that the mere agreement between national governments supported by a moral criterion is not sufficient to positive and guarantee a state of world peace. For the philosopher of Königsberg, the rational constitution of a global network of peaceful coexistence between States does not derive from an ethical criterion or philanthropic, but the Law (*Recht*).

The work *Zum ewigen Frieden* more than a philosophical-political project of great magnitude, represents a mark theoretic in the juridical international philosophy by establishing the principles of a juridical *corpus* of valid pluri-state that guides the composition of a federation of free and sovereign States, which republican form can avoid war and to extend the possibilities of universal peace. This work can be understood as the final vertex of the Kantian thought on the theme of freedom. The project aims to perpetual peace the supreme good of human specie⁶, so that its provisions engender a new world in which the

⁴ ROHDEN, Valério (org.). **Kant e a Instituição da Paz**. Porto Alegre: editora da UFRGS, 1997. p. 11.

⁵ SAINT-PIERRE, Abbé Castel de. **Projet pour Rendre la Paix Perpétuelle en Europe**. Paris: Garnier Frères, 1981.

⁶ As noted Salgado, there is a categorical difference between the supreme good of humanity and the supreme good of the individual. This division is in the kingdom of ends, for while the individual can not fully realize their morality given their condition of finitude, humanity thought *in*

autonomy of people and pacific human progress are guaranteed under the principles juridical and political the Kantian cosmopolitanism.

3. PRELIMINARY CONDITIONS FOR PEACE

In establishing the supreme human good as the goal of his philosophical-political program, Kant endeavored to compose a sophisticated engineering juridical-scientific to support the axles of the work *Zum ewigen Frieden*. The objective of regulating institutionally in a interrelation between the States to avoid war and preserve the possibility of peace, took the German theorist to be established in the form of articles (*praeceptum iuris*) six preliminary conditions and three definitive conditions for the realization of a reality global pacified. The conditions preliminaries are about the end state of warlike and its preliminary character is derived from structural condition of uncertainty and insecurity in which the arrangements of international political law are being established. Already the definitive conditions represent the institutional apparatus needed to formalize a legal constitution in level transnational which purpose is to guarantee a stable and durable peace. In general, the categorical purpose of categorical preliminary articles is to allow that even under the conditions of the *status naturalis* the States can assign the peace treaty (*pactum pacis*) and realize their directives.

The first preliminary article is organized in this way: “No treaty of peace shall be regarded as valid, if made with the secret reservation of future war”⁷. The Kantian thinking is of significant relevance to the modern system of public international law when considering how an idea contrary to the juridical rationality of law and the principle of advertising the possibility that governments and States can establish peace treaties in the assumptions that later are not accomplished for contributing to peace in the world order. For a authentic peace treaty can not contain materials reserv (*reservatio mentalis*) or secret machinations and intentions to fight the enemy State in the near future. This

toto, that is, as a gender with all its properties, possesses fully able to realize its supreme good. (SALGADO, Joaquim Carlos. **A Idéia de Justiça em Kant**. Belo Horizonte: editora da UFMG, 1986. p. 333).

⁷ “Es soll kein Friedensschluß für einen solchen gelten, der mit dem geheimen Vorbehalt des Stoffs zu einem künftigen Kriege gemacht worden”. (KANT, Immanuel. *Zum ewigen Frieden*. In: WEISCHEDEL, Wilhelm (Hrsg). **Schriften zur Anthropologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Politik und Pädagogik**. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983. p. 196).

expedient is merely armistice, thus, temporary suspension state of warlike and is not a definitive condition for elimination of the war.

The second preliminary article deals with the purchase or annexation of one State by another. According to Kant: “No independent State (whether it be big or small) shall be acquired by another through inheritance, exchange, purchase or donation”⁸. The philosopher realize a critique of the concept of patrimonialist State comprising the state territory and all its institutional elements as good of a sovereign, thus, a property which domain belongs to the regent. For Kant the State is not a patrimony or a thing that can be negotiated, on the contrary, represents a partnership in a juridical sense, is a moral person. The idea of annexation or acquisition of state order is contrary to the Kantian thesis original contract, and according to Soraya Nour:

If it was common for States to be inherited or purchased, when peace treaties exchanged or divided, when royal marriages together or gifted, as if the prince were the owner of the State, Kant, the “Doctrine of Law”, differentiates the concepts of Regent and Sovereign. The Sovereign is the people, not the Regent – which may even be deposed by that⁹.

In the third preliminary article Kant says that: “Standing armies (*miles perpetuus*) shall be abolished in course of time”¹⁰. In this device we can consider that the German theorist actually disqualifies the war and all its material resources as rational means for resolving conflicts. The conception of peace achieved through war, or the constant preparation for war (*Si vis pacem, para bellum*) is contrary to Kantian philosophy. The increasing militarization of States and their constant readiness for war, creating a latent state of generalized threat which implies an arms race. This intense predisposition of national States to war is criticized by Kant because, as a rule, possibility a sense of defensive politics that leads the sovereign to believe that the citizens and all state resources are owned and can be consumed in battle by their unilateral interests. As yet, no one can speak of a peaceful global reality, because persisting a situation of aggression and conflict, the Kantian solution to

⁸ “Es soll kein für sich bestehender Staat (klein oder groß, das gilt hier gleichviel) von einem andern Staate durch Erbung, Tausch, Kauf oder Schenkung, erworben werden können”. (KANT, Immanuel. **Op. cit.** p. 197).

⁹ NOUR, Soraya. **À Paz Perpétua de Kant: Filosofia do Direito Internacional e das Relações Internacionais**. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2004. p. 31.

¹⁰ “Stehende Heere (*miles perpetuus*) sollen mit der Zeit ganz aufhören”. (KANT, Immanuel. Zum ewigen Frieden. In: WEISCHEDEL, Wilhelm (Hrsg). **Schriften zur Anthropologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Politik und Pädagogik**. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983. p. 197).

the question of internal and external security of States is the formation of periodic armies composed of citizen volunteers.

The fourth preliminary article provides that: “No national debts shall be contracted in connection with external affairs the State”¹¹. For Kant the constitution of public debts is a normal procedure and unsuspecting when the financial capital fostered has finally the productive development of the country. The problem for the philosopher is the formulation of economic politics toward the war and armament enterprises, thus, when States establish mechanisms for the recruitment of the wealth produced internally by the nation and intended for the benefit and sustenance of wars. The creation of an international financial system that is aimed at efficiency in operations release credit for the war is severely condemned by the German theorist who saw in this as an insidious and ingenious creation of the English people.

The fifth preliminary article prescribes the following terms: “No State shall violently interfere with the constitution and administration of another”¹². According to the Kantian thought, the notion of State corresponds to the idea of a *moral person*, composed of a civil order regulated by juridical laws that has autonomy institutionally guaranteed. Accordingly, all form of intervention in the constitution or in the affairs of a sovereign and independent state order should be prohibited, because, this expedient is against the rules of international law. Even in serious blooded situations of internal conflict or popular uprisings State sovereignty must be respected. For Kant, all foreign intervention represents an injury to the right of people to give the best civil constitution. He believes that only in extreme situations is possible to articulate an intervention to restore the order, for example, in the case of internal conflict lead to total anarchy, and as Bobbio explains: “(...) anarchy is no longer a State, however, is the absence of any form of State”¹³.

In the sixth and final preliminary article Kant analysis the regulatory actions between States when it triggered a war. According to the author: “No State at war with another shall countenance such modes of hostility as would

¹¹ “Es sollen keine Staatsschulden in Beziehung auf äußere Staatshändel gemacht werden”. (KANT, Immanuel. **Op. cit.** p. 198).

¹² “Kein Staat soll sich in die Verfassung und Regierung eines andern Staats gewalttätig einmischen”. (KANT, Immanuel. **Op. cit.** p. 199).

¹³ BOBBIO, Norberto. **Direito e Estado no Pensamento de Emanuel Kant**. 2. ed. Tradução de Alfredo Fait. São Paulo: Mandarim, 2000. p. 257.

make mutual confidence impossible in a subsequent state of peace (...)”¹⁴. The Kantian thinking is based on the principle of reciprocity to justify the idea that even during the war should stand the slightest confidence in the *modus* of thinking of the enemy, thus avoiding the dishonest dealings inhuman. It is reprehensible to encourage the use of spies, mercenaries and betrayers, because such stratagems besides being the means to lead a war of extermination or a punitive war, will become unviable any future confidence between States to negotiate peace.

For the program Kantian philosophical-political, there is a rational requirement that as long as the warlike *status naturalis* between nations there is a minimum of rules that allow States finish acts of war and transact a peace process. The *Doctrine of Law* Kant performs an intense criticism of the classical law of nations¹⁵ which inquiry support the notion of just war (*bellum iustum*). For the philosopher the idea of a right to war is a *contradictio in adjecto*, that is because the war itself is a state of absence of rights, he said: “the right in war is precisely that in which, in the law of nations, is more difficult to make himself a simple concept and think a law in this state without a law without contradicting yourself”¹⁶. In Kant, the rational assumptions of law of nations do not allow one to formalize the justify the right of war. In light of the legal principles of Kantian contractualism the States should establish reciprocal relations war to suppress the current state of nature to which they meet and form a global network which format must be of the juridical communities.

4. DEFINITIVE CONDITIONS FOR PEACE

¹⁴ “Es soll sich kein Staat im Kriege mit einem andern solche Feindseligkeiten erlauben, welche das wechselseitige Zutrauen im künftigen Frieden unmöglich machen müssen (...)”. (KANT, Immanuel. *Zum ewigen Frieden*. In: WEISCHEDEL, Wilhelm (Hrsg). **Schriften zur Anthropologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Politik und Pädagogik**. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983. p. 200).

¹⁵ According to Kersting: “the Kantian theory of global social annihilates all the theoretical support of just war. Those defenders of natural law, who spent many arguments from Cicero and Augustine on the acceptable conditions of war and disciplining acts of warlike, are to him, ‘all miserable comforters’ that does not serve to avoid a war, because they are always consulted by governments as producers and suppliers of the causes for war”. (KERSTING, Wolfgang. *Hobbes, Kant, a Paz Universal e a Guerra contra o Iraque*. **Revista Kant e-Prints**. Campinas, SP, v. 3, n. 2, 2004. p. 4-5).

¹⁶ “Das Recht im Kriege ist gerade das im Völkerrecht, wobei die meiste Schwierigkeit ist, um sich auch nur einen Begriff davon zu machen, und ein Gesetz in diesem gesetzlosen Zustande zu denken, ohne sich selbst zu widersprechen”. (KANT, Immanuel. *Die Metaphysik der Sitten*. In: WEISCHEDEL, Wilhelm (Hrsg). **Schriften zur Ethik und Religionsphilosophie**. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983. p. 470).

In the Kantian thought the idea of perpetual peace is understood as the supreme political good of human specie and elapses of a systemic process of juridical gradual regulamentation of the conditions for the intra-state and the level of inter-state relations. For Kant, it is an imperative of reason that men understand and articulate a global political constellation governed by a peace program that reaches all segments of institutionalized relations, avoiding wars and violent confrontations. Therefore, the German philosopher postulate that States must leave the natural state (*exeundum e statu naturali*) which is a state of war and conceive a community of peace and security, in which all conflicts are resolved by rational procedures for the universal character basis of a system of juridical rules.

In this sense, it should be understood that the preliminary conditions for regulating acts between States seeking the arrangement of a peace treaty is a contingent mechanism and provisional definitive abolition of wars. In the reason of this, for Kant, only when States form an integrated juridical community it will be possible to talk in a state of permanent peace. For the mere suspension of hostilities does not guarantee security and juridical certain that rights are respected, and that people will not be treated each as enemies other. According with the principles of Kantian rational law only through the formalization of a legal *corpus* it is possible to establish and guarantee a state of peace. As Nour analysis:

You can only have security in a juridic state; in this, I treat as an enemy just that prejudice me in fact, while the other in the state of nature in "prejudices" me only because I was threatened by the absence of laws in your state (even without prejudicing me in the fact). The state of nature, therefore, is a state of absence of law (status justitia vacuus)¹⁷.

For Kant, a peaceful and secure global network can only be built when the relation of coexistence between States is established on a platform of juridical structures that *a priori* respect the external liberties and the sovereignty of nations. In the second section of the work *Zum ewigen Frieden* are disposed three definitive articles for humanity to compose a new world order. The assumption that found these articles is based on the following criteria: "all

¹⁷ NOUR, Soraya. *À Paz Perpétua de Kant: Filosofia do Direito Internacional e das Relações Internacionais*. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2004. p. 38.

persons who may act reciprocally on each other must belong to some civil constitution”¹⁸. Thus, according to a formal criterion of constitution legal-rational, Kantian contractualism operates a radicalization of institutional relations at all levels of public law, so that the thinker articulates a juridical formula that deals with civic relations constituted in the state order (*Staatsbürgerrecht*), the relations established between the States (*Völkerrecht*), and also the relations between individuals conceived as world citizens and the States (*Weltbürgerrecht*). For Kant, the three definitive articles are articulated under the principle of reciprocity implies that the fact that all rational beings and all the political institutions of the terrestrial globe form a complex web of interactions and reciprocal influences, which move towards progress and formation of a stable and peaceful international order.

The first article provides that: “The civil constitution in every State shall be republican”¹⁹. The republican form of organization of state order for the philosopher is the best solution for the administration of public affairs. The republican constitution is founded on the idea of reason pure concept of law and organically structured under the conditions of freedom and civic equality guaranteed by a juridical system applies to all. The Republic organizes society based on a representative political power and controlled by legal criteria for a public justice. Republicanism is in full compliance with the idea of original contract and allows for comprehensive approach to the pacification of internal and external relations of States. The constitution of the state orders under a republican form inhibits the promotion of wars and more effectively enables the establishment of a peaceful global organization, this is because, the republican system expresses the sovereign will and consent of citizens, who are precisely those who directly suffer all the evils and burdens that war brings to the nation. According to Heck: “only just when States organize their relations by means of juridical precepts and give each other a republican constitution becomes possible lasting peace between them”²⁰. In *Der Streit der Fakultäten* Kant confirms that the republican form must be a universal frame of state structures, so that those non-government Republicans should at least follow the spirit of

¹⁸ “Alle Menschen, die auf einander wechselseitig einfließen können, müssen zu irgend einer bürgerlichen Verfassung gehören”. (KANT, Immanuel. Zum ewigen Frieden. In: WEISCHEDER, Wilhelm (Hrsg). **Schriften zur Anthropologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Politik und Pädagogik**. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983. p. 203).

¹⁹ “Die bürgerliche Verfassung in jedem Staate soll republikanisch sein”. (KANT, Immanuel. **Op. cit.** p. 204).

²⁰ HECK, José Nicolau. Contratualismo e Sumo Bem Político: Um Estudo Preliminar sobre a Pax Kantiana. **Revista Kant e-Prints**. Campinas, SP, v. 2, n. 6, 2003. p. 29.

republicanism. This notion is essential for the effective understanding of nations and for the composition of a peaceful alliance worldwide.

In the second article says that: “The law of nations must be based on a federation of free States”²¹. Unlike the classical conception of law of nations that justified the war as a solution to the conflicts arising from relations between States, the Kantian conception part of a support juridical-rational. According to Kant, even the some way as the violence of the state of nature between men has been supplanted by means of agreements and contracts, to forge structure juridical-formal State, *per analogiam* the violence and the wars that caused the *status naturalis* exists between States should be supplanted by the idea juridical-contractual. To the extent that the external liberties and rights are not institutionally regulamentaded by legal rules, each one becomes a judge of himself, and in this situation all hostilities are resolved by war. According to Kant: “In the natural state of the States the right of war (to hostilities) is the way in which a State, by its own force, claims his right against another State, when he believes that this has prejudiced”²². To escape of this situation of war or latent propensity for destruction, Kant proposes the way of originating contract that States constitute multilateral alliances that create a league of peace (*foedus pacificum*) that will have as objective to develop an international politics to end in definitive all wars. The league of peace contrived between States does not create a world republic or even a world State that would absorb and nullify the sovereign autonomy of the nations, by contrary, as Cavallar examines the philosophy of Kant articulates a federation of free States and peaceful that does not admit hierarchies or degrees of subordination between them²³. The idea of federation according to Kantian thought constitute a cosmopolitan order of free and sovereign States governed by juridical and political pluralism that aims to suppress all acts of warlike and weaving a state of global peace.

²¹ “Das Völkerrecht soll auf einen Föderalismus freier Staaten gegründet sein”. (KANT, Immanuel. Zum ewigen Frieden. In: WEISCHEDEL, Wilhelm (Hrsg). **Schriften zur Anthropologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Politik und Pädagogik**. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983. p. 209).

²² “Im natürlichen Zustande der Staaten ist das Recht zum Kriege (zu Hostilitäten) die erlaubte Art, wodurch ein Staat sein Recht gegen einen anderen Staat verfolgt, nämlich, wenn er von diesem sich lädiert glaubt, durch eigene Gewalt”. (KANT, Immanuel. Die Metaphysik der Sitten. In: WEISCHEDEL, Wilhelm (Hrsg). **Schriften zur Ethik und Religionsphilosophie**. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983. p. 469).

²³ CAVALLAR, Georg. A Sistemática da parte Jusfilosófica do Projeto Kantiano à Paz Perpétua. In: ROHDEN, Valério (org.). **Kant e a Instituição da Paz**. Porto Alegre: editora da UFRGS, 1997. p. 89.

The third definite article requires that: “The cosmopolitan right should be limited to conditions of universal hospitality”²⁴. In this device, the philosopher from Königsberg presents a new and sophisticated juridical figure in the legal system of rational law, cosmopolitan right (*ius cosmopolitanicum*). The theoretical background of cosmopolitan right part of the conceptual matrix of the human being is not just a bearer of political rights recognized regionally, as in the case of state law or the law of nations, it is recognized as a citizen of the world, thus, the individual is recognized as a member of a cosmopolitan society. This idea assumes that Kant is a spherical planet and that according to juridical reason all external liberties must coexist in mutual respect, then, all have the same original right to live in, visit and negotiate in any region the globe. The Thinker said: “This of reason idea why a universal community peaceful, though not friendly, of all people on Earth who can establish relations that affect them, is not a philanthropic principle (ethical), but a juridical principle”²⁵. The cosmopolitan right emphasizes the duty of reciprocity and tolerance between of all people and organizations to the extent that prejudice to a right in any place on Earth represents an attack on humanity itself. The Kantian critique in relation to prejudice to the cosmopolitan right is the issue of unfair hospitality, which occurs when an foreigner aims to colonize and establish a empire in the land of another people. For Kant, all forms of colonialism and conquest by force the territories of others, besides being an act contrary to reason contractualist is a cause for the outbreak of wars and battles, so, it should be suppressed. The Kantian cosmopolitanism is based on the rational principle that to all individuals and juridicals persons, must be recognized due to a universal citizenship rights originated arising from the cosmopolitan society made up of all the people governed by universal laws build the future in light of a peaceful progress.

5. FINAL

²⁴ “Das Weltbürgerrecht soll auf Bedingungen der allgemeinen Hospitalität eingeschränkt sein”. (KANT, Immanuel. Zum ewigen Frieden. In: WEISCHEDEL, Wilhelm (Hrsg). **Schriften zur Anthropologie, Geschichtsphilosophie, Politik und Pädagogik**. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983. p. 213).

²⁵ “Diese Vernunftidee einer friedlichen, wenn gleich noch nicht freundschaftlichen, durchgängigen Gemeinschaft aller Völker auf Erden, die untereinander in wirksame Verhältnisse kommen können, ist nicht etwa philanthropisch (ethisch), sondern ein rechtliches Prinzip”. (KANT, Immanuel. Die Metaphysik der Sitten. In: WEISCHEDEL, Wilhelm (Hrsg). **Schriften zur Ethik und Religionsphilosophie**. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983. p. 475).

It is an inexorable fact that the evolutionary process of humanity has produced several significant results for the maintenance of planetary life, so that the sophisticated products of science and technology are the most representative elements of the cultural evolution of people. However, this evolution over the cruelty and barbarism of war were always present. You could say that humans are the only species with full capacity to promote its total extinction. In this age, where people live the idea of coexistence in an interactive global village created by the resources of science and technology multiespecialized, where the humanitarian speeches are a constant tone, can not forget that the carnage of wars persist and that the destructive power States is more atomically. In this respect, to articulate a politics of pacification of the world order is a fundamental assumption to think about the progress of their own species. For Kant, the idea of human progress is an imperative of reason that allows the improvement of customs and juridical and political institutions. The Kantian project streamlines so full all the dimensions and arrangements needed to make an efficient and consistent global network pacified. The formal support of a worldwide organization governed by the understanding between people, is a permanent cosmopolitan federation of republican States standing in which the liberties and rights of national or transnational are secured by a platform of juridicals structures that eliminate wars and allow universalize peace in relations between people and state organizations. For the Kantian cosmopolitanism for the supreme good political of human race is the condition of perpetual peace.

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