

PERPETUAL

PEACE

PROJECT

~ 2022

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EVENT IN ENGLISH

9-10.NOV.2023

# SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

FACULTY OF ARTS,  
UNIVERSITY J. E. PURKYNE  
USTI NAD LABEM, CZECH  
REPUBLIC, EU  
ROOM A 313

9:30-19:00



**PROGRAM DAY 1****THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 2023****9:30-9:45****Opening****9:45-10:00****PLENARY FORUM****Re-Designing the Conditions of Universal Hospitality:  
Who is the Enemy?**

Kant's concept of perpetual peace introduces his utopian vision of permanent universal hospitality. Such understanding of peace does not describe any real human behavior but formulates its transcendently conditioned moral maxim. Kantian peace is an imaginary peace-to-come, a promise of a possible improvement of human coexistence in universal openness to otherness. As a promise, peace does not actually exist anywhere in the real world. As a moral maxim, it cannot be totally present in human behavior. However, precisely because of its expected potential presence, it is necessary opting for peace, tending to it, searching for it. Any declaration of total presence of peace on Earth would be totalitarian as it would abandon the promise to improve human sense of hospitality. If any government makes Kantian utopia of peace "come true", it risks stopping the promised perpetual evolution towards universal care and acceptance. By systematically construing an "enemy" related to the particular imposed version of peace, it would head towards a totalitarian "nightmare". The plenary forum will challenge this metaphysical risk incorporated in promises of perpetual peace – of projecting an "enemy". Any attempt to design peace should, therefore, providently include a reflection of this risk.

**10:00-11:00****KEYNOTE LECTURE 1****Michaela Fišerová (University J.E. Purkyně, Czech republic)  
The Aporetical Promise of Peace**

Kant's concept of perpetual peace is based on the transcendental promise of universal human friendship. The paper will explain the way this Kantian promise conditions political imagination. Kant understands the experience of the sublime as a state of overwhelmed imagination that cannot grasp otherness by reason. When facing the "unhuman", human reason defends itself by establishing the law of morals, which is based on the promise of peace. In a situation of war, the moral maxim of perpetual friendship is abandoned. Political imagination of war divides people on both sides of the conflict into friends and enemies. It transforms war enemy into alterity, into "unhuman": lives of people framed as friends sharing the same identity are grievable, while lives of people framed as alterity are not (Judith Butler, *Frames of War*). To construct the "unhuman" otherness, war censorship eliminates pictures that may trigger compassion with enemies' suffering, let them imagine as "human", and even reject the war as such. This censorship's awareness reveals a double bind of politically imaginable/unimaginable pictures, an aporia conditioning human friendship by the virtue of a peace-to-come (Jacques Derrida, *Politics of Friendship*), the moral promise to improve human coexistence in universal openness to otherness.

**PROGRAM DAY 1****THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 2023****11:00-11:10****Coffee break****11:10-11:20****WORKSHOPS**  
**Re-Imagining the Political**

Since the university is purportedly an "international institution," we propose to create different working groups composed of faculty and students, primarily from Central and Eastern Europe, who are charged with re-designing and re-imagining the future conditions of perpetual peace by employing Kant's original articles for perpetual peace as critical design problems.

**WORKSHOP 1**  
**SESSION****Moving Away from Kant's Perpetual Peace?**  
**Leader Martin Šimsa****11:20-11:50****David Peroutka**

(University J.E. Purkyně and Charles University, Czech republic)

**The defensive nature of just war**

The traditional doctrine of "just war" (in the sense of "ius ad bellum") has been enriched in modern times by an emphasis on the defensive character of any legal war. The Kantian idea of non-interference may inspire us to look critically at the way the notion of 'defence' is commonly expanded in our contemporary world.

**11:50-12:20****Sandra Zákutná (Prešov university, Slovakia)****The Role of Education in Kant's Project of Perpetual Peace**

Analogically to his cosmopolitan theory and the idea of perpetual peace, Kant refers to an outline of a theory of education as a noble ideal that does not have to be realized immediately but must not be considered chimerical. While the education of the individual is the object of pedagogy, according to Kant, the education of the human species can only be achieved in a cosmopolitan way. The paper aims to discuss how education relates to the idea of perpetual peace and whether Kant's theory could inspire us today.

**11:00-11:10****Coffee break**

**PROGRAM DAY 1****THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 2023****12:30 - 13:00****Peter Kyslan (Prešov university, Slovakia)  
Kant's hospitality from today's perspective**

Kant did not set specific limits, rules or principles of international law regulation that would be universally and voluntarily applicable, because many states and nations are based on different, even contradictory, legal elements and traditions. Kant proposes a clear and strict limitation of any international agreements to the condition of universal hospitality. What is hospitality? This paper will discuss the rights and duties of Kant's condition of hospitality and its possible update for the present.

**13:00 - 13:30****Martin Šimsa (University J.E. Purkyně, Czech republic)  
Perpetual Democratic Peace?**

Is it possible to apply Kant's conditions for perpetual peace to contemporary liberal democracy, when they were designed for Kantian republicanism and when Kant did not recognize democracy? Is it true, that democratic states do not wage war, as Masaryk and other democratic theoretists believed? Which points of Kant, Masaryk and Habermas's project of perpetual peace might be valid today?

**13:30 - 15:00****Lunch****WORKSHOP 2  
SESSION****Peace as a Powerful Paradox  
Leader Cristina Maria Vendra****15:00 - 15:30****Cristina Maria Vendra (University J.E. Purkyně, Czech republic)  
Enlarging the Scope of Peace: the Embodied Struggle for  
Survival as a Path for a Peaceful Eco-Hospitality**

Rather than being limited to the interpersonal, cultural, social, religious and political spheres of human existence, in times of ecological crisis peace arises as a problem concerning the unhealthy relationship between the human and the natural world. In Western philosophical tradition, the prevalent anthropocentric viewpoint, according to which human settings are superior to the rest of the animal kingdom, has led to justify the vision of the natural world as a subordinate dimension to be used in order to satisfy human ends. Blinded by their thirst for power and control over nature considered as a source of exploitable resources human beings have forgotten their fundamental belonging to the Earth. With the tools provided by Paul Ricoeur's early phenomenology of embodiment, the aim of my presentation is to discuss the notion of ecological peace as complementary with that of ecological hospitality.

**PROGRAM DAY 1****THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 2023****15:30 - 16:00****Dominik Klucsár (Slovak Academy of Sciences, Slovakia)  
Perpetual Tension: Rebellion and its Limits**

The goal of this presentation is to examine rebellion as a philosophical problem in relation to the idea of perpetual peace. Proceeding from Bakunin, I want to argue that the human instinct for rebellion may not be reconcilable with this idea. I will continue with Camus's theory of rebellion in *L'homme Révolté*, to argue that perhaps the only way to achieve lasting peace is through perpetual tension.

**16:00 - 16:15****Coffee break****16:15 - 16:45****Jaroslava Vydrová (Slovak Academy of Sciences, Slovakia)  
Refracted life of a human being. The situation of the refugee**

The place of the human being in society is constantly subject to new configurations and challenges that affect how we live as social beings, citizens, employees of institutions, but also as parents, friends, relatives, and how we actualize ourselves (become who we are) in our relationships with others. Also the refugee or immigrant finds himself or herself in this situatedness and relationality, facing nonetheless the non-transferable experience of insecurity, loss of home, loss of relatives, as well as new animosities. In this context, we want to return to Helmuth Plessner, who himself was forced to leave Germany traveling first to Turkey and then emigrating to the Netherlands. He speaks of man as a double who manifests himself in a public role and hides intimacy in the personal sphere, appearing and at the same time veiling himself in roles. How is this possibility given or, conversely, negated in the case of refugees? We will trace Plessner's political anthropology as a genealogy of political life, which emerges from the constitution of the human being. And here he is particularly concerned with the political-diplomatic constant in human behaviour showing "the Political" in relation to how human life is "refracted".

**16:45 - 17:15****Peter Šajda (Slovak Academy of Sciences, Slovakia)  
Working for Peace during Conflict: Political and Existential Ways of Limiting Enmity**

Carl Schmitt presented the distinction friend/enemy as a foundational criterion of the political sphere. Simultaneously he pointed out that the political enemy differs from the personal enemy in a number of aspects. According to Schmitt, existential ways of limiting personal enmity cannot be used productively to limit political enmity. He highlighted, however, political ways of limiting enmity. I will explore these proposing existential elements that can be incorporated into the process of limiting political enmity. In this way I will pursue a path Schmitt considered unproductive. I hope to highlight how peace can be promoted in the midst of a conflict – in both political and existential ways.

**PROGRAM DAY 1****THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 2023**

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**17:15-17:30****Coffee break**

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**17:30-18:30****SPECIAL GUEST LECTURE****Alex Taek-Gwang Lee** (Kyung Hee University, Seoul, South Korea)**Revisiting the D.M.Z.**

Like the Russo-Ukrainian War, which began in 2014, the Korean War is still ongoing; more than half a century after the ceasefire, Korea remains uneasily divided along the 38th parallel. In late-February, 2012, Gregg Lambert, one of the original co-founders of the Perpetual Peace Project, traveled to the border of North Korea with Taek-Gwang Lee, the eminent Korean public intellectual and cultural theorist, to engage a conversation on the concept of perpetual peace on the memorial site of the former Communist party headquarters. After reviewing the video of this past conversation, Professor Lee will reflect on the current war in the context of contemporary geopolitics.hospitality.

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**19:00****Dinner**

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**PROGRAM DAY 2****FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 2023****9:30-10:30****SPECIAL GUEST LECTURE****Jiří Chotaš** (Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic)**Kant and Hegel on War and Peace**

Kant treats the subject of war and peace in his *Metaphysics of Morals* (1797) from the perspective of theory of natural law. In the context of international relations, states as moral entities find themselves in a state of nature and wage wars against one another. Kant formulates certain limitations which states under such conditions ought to observe. He suggests that they should abandon the state of nature and create a union of states that would promote peace. Hegel deals with war and peace in his *Elements of the Philosophy of Right* (1820) from the perspective of *Realpolitik*. He, too, is convinced that states are sovereign and that they address mutual conflicts by wars. War is an undesirable state of affairs but even within it, certain limitations should apply. He is convinced that modern wars are more 'humane' than pre-modern ones. All in all, Hegel analyses the significance of wars for strengthening civic duties better than Kant does and he is critical of the idea that unions of states would actually be peaceful. Ultimately, although Kant and Hegel have different starting points, their views on peace and war in many respects coincide.

**10:30-10:40****Coffee break****10:40-11:40****KEYNOTE LECTURE 2****Krzysztof Skonieczny** (University of Warsaw, Poland)**War, Peace and "Human Nature." Remarks on a Limit of Political Imagination**

"A state of Peace among men who live side by side with each other, is not the natural state. The state of Nature is rather a state of War" — with these words from the *Perpetual Peace* essay (along with the claim that an "inclination" to war "seems to be implanted in human nature") Kant situates himself in a long line of thinkers who claimed that war stems more or less directly from human nature. The pervasiveness of this belief means one of two things. Either it is true, in which case peace among human beings is virtually impossible, or — and this is theoretically more interesting, but only slightly more optimistic — it is a severe limit of our political imagination that needs to be thoroughly analyzed and will be difficult to overcome. For Kant himself, as the readers of his essay know very well, Nature plays an ambivalent role, in the end leading human beings towards peace despite their inclination to war — but today, it seems, such a providential vision of nature is untenable. In my talk, therefore, after commenting shortly on the Kantian idea of human nature and its relationship to war and peace, I will move on to more recent perspectives — Freudian psychoanalysis and contemporary evolutionary psychology, both of which present variations on the "war is natural" argument. In addition to a critique of the arguments presented within those perspectives — especially the link between war and individual aggression — I will try to end by suggesting ways to overcome the belief in the naturalness of war.

## PROGRAM DAY 2

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 2023



11:40-11:50

**Coffee break**WORKSHOP 3  
SESSION**leader Petr Kouba (Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic)  
Lacking Conditions for Peace**

12:20-12:50

**Iwona Janicka (Aarhus University, Denmark)  
Coarticulations: Towards a Politics of Cohabitation**

Articulation is an increasingly important term in discussions of multispecies relations, threatening even to supplant the field's previous emphasis on representation. In this paper, I propose the term 'coarticulation' that describes a process of mutual intelligibility between a human and a nonhuman and of rendering each other capable in new ways. This article argues that the concept of 'coarticulation' offers a way to enrich our understanding of our human-nonhuman relations and to give ontological consistency to various types of nonhumans that matter to us. It draws on pragmatist ecology of practices, ecofeminism and anarchism to think about politics with nonhumans: a politics of cohabitation.

12:20-12:50

**Petr Agha (Charles University, Czech Republic)  
The European Union at Crossroads: The Ukraine Conflict,  
Technocracy, and National States**

This contribution focuses on exploring the impact of the conflict in Ukraine on the internal dynamics of the European Union. Specifically, it will investigate how this war has influenced the relationships between the center and the periphery within the EU. Furthermore, we will inquire whether the Ukraine conflict has bolstered the viability of national state ideals in the European context, or if it has instead reinforced the post-political nature of the European project.

It will endeavor to analyze whether the EU has become more technocratic and centralized in response to the events in Ukraine and how these changes have affected its citizens and member states. Additionally, it will examine whether the conflict has brought about new challenges and opportunities for European integration and how these factors have manifested in the political and societal context of the EU.

12:50-13:00

**Coffee break**



**PROGRAM DAY 2****FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 2023****13:00 - 13:30****Jan Bierhanzl (Czech Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic)  
Nonviolence and the Possibilities of a New Political Imaginary  
in Wartime**

This paper presents ethical arguments against the legitimacy of violent self-defense, as formulated by Judith Butler in her book *The Force of Nonviolence*. Her critique of self-defense is based on the premise that we are all part of a living and socially interwoven self, and that violence against others is always in this sense also violence against the self. Butler responds to the objection of the unrealistic nature of making this claim in a world full of violence by pointing to a new political imaginary that steps away from reality as it is presently constituted, with its structural violence and pervasive inequalities. I will ask the question of the transferability of this ethical claim grounded in the new political imaginary to the present political reality of war. Is it possible to transfer this radical demand for non-violence from the relations of individuals and communities to the level of international relations without committing epistemic imperialism or epistemically unjust pacifism?

**13:30 - 14:00****Vít Pokorný (University J.E. Purkyně, Czech republic)  
Cosmopolitanism and Globalization - Appadurai's Perspective  
on Cosmopolitanism**

According to Kant, cosmopolitanism is synonymous with the geographical expansion, or globalization of the highest form of human capacities - the establishment of freedom under external law and perpetual peace. In my contribution, I would like to explore the complex relationship between cosmopolitanism and globalization. Based on my reading of A. Appadurai and M. Al Askari I will attempt to answer the following questions: Does the cosmopolitan ideal need to be global and in what sense? Is it possible to construct a geographically, socially, and politically equalizing form of globalization to realize the cosmopolitan ideal? Or does globalization rather lead to conflict and violence, to new inequalities and violations of freedom? Are there any current effects of globalization that might help to "reveal a glimmer of cosmopolitan hope" (Al Askari)? Allows information society for a possibility to create new multiplicities within the global interconnection with others? Or, do new media instead fuel a dangerous process of global homogenization?

**14 - 15:30****Lunch**

## PROGRAM DAY 2

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 2023

WORKSHOP 4  
SESSION**Leader Adam Nocek****Notes from the Field: On Designing Perpetual Peace Pedagogy**

15:30-17:00

**Adam Nocek** (Arizona State University, USA) and **Gabriela Baka** (Owls Department, Poland)

This workshop is a mix of performance lecture and co-design experiment. Working across diverse disciplinary, institutional, and national contexts, and with a wide range of media, participants gain insight into what Perpetual Peace Pedagogy means today and in the future. Moving seamlessly between fiction, philosophy, and critical pedagogy, the workshop immerses participants in a design experiment where the boundaries between “what is” and “what could be” are no longer distinct, and it’s no longer clear whether this pedagogy might already exist.

17:00-17:15

**Coffee break**

17:15-18:15

**KEYNOTE LECTURE 3****Gregg Lambert** (Syracuse University, USA, co-founder of the Perpetual Peace Project)**“Who is the Real Enemy?”**

For the purposes of this lecture, in attempting to establish the concrete determination of the “enemy-concept” within the Kantian system, I will restrict my analysis to the causal root of existential “enmity,” the cause of which is either the external situation of territorial insecurity, or an intense feeling of hatred toward a stranger who is determined as a potential enemy (hostis). As I discussed in the previous lecture for this new phase of the Perpetual Peace Project, which I gave in Prague in March under the title “An Old Question Raised Again: Is Politics merely the Continuation of War?” it was actually Lenin who sharpened and intensified the existential threat represented by the concrete determination of the enemy (hostis) that is found in civil society itself, first in the personage of the class enemy, and later on, the “common enemy” represented by the alliance of bourgeoisie-aristocratic states in the last stage of Western Imperialism. As also discussed, it was this concrete determination of the enemy-concept that greatly concerned Schmitt in his later Theory of the Partisan, since it often leads to an idea of Humanitarian right to define the enemy as a monstrous and inhuman threat to the species, which justifies the all too frequent use of racism as the cause that guides the war of destruction [Vernichtungskrieg] or war of extermination [Ausrottungskrieg], or generally, bellum internecinum. Kant had already defined the cause of this kind of extreme war by the presence of an irremediable form of enmity caused by the existence of one who is determined as an “unjust enemy” (der Feind). Thus, my lecture will primarily address the sixth and final preliminary article outlining the juridical condition that must precede any future establishment of peaceful relations between nations under the stipulation that “no state shall, during war, permit such acts of hostility which would make mutual confidence in a subsequent peace impossible”; for this reason, a war of extermination, “and the use of all means leading to it” (e.g., racism, genocide, rape warfare, etc.) ... “must be absolutely abolished.”

**PROGRAM DAY 2****FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 2023**

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**18:15-18:30****Coffee break**

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**18:30-19:00****Round table on Perpetual Peace Project, plans for future collaboration**

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**19:00****Closing**

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ON 24 FEBRUARY 2022, RUSSIA INVADED UKRAINE IN A MAJOR  
ESCALATION OF THE RUSSO-UKRAINIAN WAR, WHICH BEGAN IN 2014

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