

# History of Peace in the West

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University for Peace



United Nations  
Educational, Scientific and  
Cultural Organization



UNESCO Chair "Peace, Solidarity  
and Intercultural Dialogue"  
Abat Oliba CEU University



PAZ SIN FRONTERAS





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## **Introduction**

In these times of insecurity and uncertainty, we must resist cynical efforts to divide communities and portray neighbours as 'the other'. Discrimination, racism and xenophobia diminish us all. It prevents people — and societies — from achieving their full potential. Together, let us stand up against bigotry and for human rights. Together, let us build bridges. Together, let us transform fear into hope.

In this common endeavor, art can become an important vehicle for each person, individually and in community with others, and groups of people to express their views, being the artistic creativity an important element for the development of vibrant cultures, which contributes to the functioning of societies.

The Declaration and Program of Action on a Culture of Peace recognizes that the adherence to the principles of freedom, justice, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, cooperation, pluralism, cultural diversity, dialogue and understanding at all levels of society and among nations is a vital element for the promotion of peace. These principles are promoted by the UNESCO Chair on Peace, Solidarity and Intercultural Dialogue of the Abat Oliba University CEU.

In this attempt, the role played by parents, teachers, politicians, intellectuals, those engaged in scientific, philosophical and creative and artistic activities is fundamental.

Taking into account that the Foundation Peace without Borders is a cultural and artistic movement, the publication of the book "The History of Peace in the West" is a positive step towards the recognition of cultural diversity and the artistic development of all peoples and nations of the world.

In this book we try to make a historical peace journey from the Ancient Greece and Rome to the modern times, through the living testimony of some well-known thinkers, artists and philosophers. In this way, this book promotes a broader exchange of knowledge and a better understanding of the cultural heritage of our humankind.

I greatly appreciate the support and firm commitment of the United Nations mandated University for Peace in the publication of this book, which is part of the noble objective of promoting education for peace through education, research and dissemination of knowledge.

Taking into account that art cannot be taken or left, and that artistic creation is absolutely necessary to live, as Oscar Wilde -an Irish playwright and novelist-, said, the protection of arts and culture results essential for the creation of open societies and the promotion of a culture of peace.

Miguel Bosé



### **The Obligation to Live in Peace in the Hittite Treaty**

More than three thousand years ago, Ramses II, the Egyptian pharaoh, and the Emperor Hattusilis III concluded one of the oldest peace treaties in the history of the world. The peace treaty ended the Egyptian-Hittite war that had lasted more than 80 years. The two ancient superpowers finally ended the war with the treaty in 1276 BC. While the treaty was not the first in the history of the world, it is the oldest known that was concluded between two independent states with equal power and status. A bronze replica of the treaty can be found at the United Nations building in New York, reflecting the milestone document. It is considered one of the first examples in diplomatic history.

The Egyptian-Hittite Treaty ended the long war between the two empires. At the center of the conflict was the land that both the Egyptians and the Hittite wanted to rule. The land is currently known as Syria, and the war shows the geopolitical value of the country even three centuries ago. For more than two centuries, the empires fought for supremacy over Syria. However, the conflict culminated with the Egyptian invasion on Syria of 1274 BC.

The treaty itself contains more than 20 principles and obligations for both sides, including an emerging right to peace. However, some of the key points are the following:

The Hittite Treaty clearly recognized in the silver tablet the obligation "to settle forever among them a good peace and a good fraternity. He is a brother to me and he is at peace with me; and I am a brother to him and I am forever at peace with him ... the country of Egypt and the country of Hatti will be forever in a state of peace and of fraternity as it is with us... peace and fraternity without leaving place among them to any enmity".

The linkage between the right to life and peace, which was set out in the Charter of the United Nations some thousand years later, was already introduced in the Hittite Treaty as follows: "Look, the country of Egypt and the country of Hatti live forever in peace and fraternity".

Another obligation was that neither side would attack the other, and this principle was in force till the end of time. Neither the Egyptians, nor the Hittite should or could occupy the land of the other nation. Apart from ending the war between the two empires, the treaty also forged an alliance between the two sides in future wars with a third enemy. The treaty also regulated whether prisoners from the one country could seek asylum in the other country.

## **The influence of the goddess Peace in the Greco-Roman Culture**

Eirene more commonly known in English as Peace was one of the Horae, the personification of peace. She was depicted in art as a beautiful young woman carrying a cornucopia, sceptre, and a torch or rhyton. She is said sometimes to be the daughter of Zeus and Themis.

She was particularly well regarded by the citizens of Athens. After a naval victory over Sparta in 375 BC, the Athenians established a cult for Peace, erecting altars to her. They held an annual state sacrifice to her after 371 BC to commemorate the Common Peace of that year and set up a votive statue in her honour in the Agora of Athens. The statue was executed in bronze by Cephisodotus the Elder, likely the father or uncle of the famous sculptor Praxiteles. It was acclaimed by the Athenians, who depicted it on vases and coins.

The reference to the figure of Eirene in the classic Greek literature has been a constant alongside its history. In particular, relevant writers, playwrights and poets have constantly referred to this symbol in their intellectual contributions to the Greek Civilization, namely: Hesiod, Homer, Pindar, Aeschylus, Euripides, Euphorion of Chalcis, Aristophanes and Diodorus Siculus.

Her Roman equivalent was Pax. Worship of Peace was organized as a goddess during the rule of Augustus. On the Campus Martius, she had a temple called the Ara Pacis and another temple on the Forum Pacis. She was depicted in art with olive branches, a cornucopia and a scepter. There was a festival in her honor on January 3. The daughter of Jupiter and Justice, Peace was often associated with spring.

Her statue at Athens stood by the side of that of Amphiaraus, carrying in its arms Plutus, the god of wealth, and another stood near that of Hestia in the Prytaneion. At Rome too, where peace (Pax) was worshipped, she had a magnificent temple, which was built by the emperor Vespasian. The figure of Eirene or Pax occurs only on coins, and she is there represented as a youthful female, holding in her left arm a cornucopia and in her right hand an olive branch or the staff of Hermes.

Ovid in his famous *Fasti* poem defined the goddess Pax as follows:

"Ring your coiffured hair with Actium's laurels, Pax (Peace); be present, and gentle the whole world. Let there be no enemies, no cause for triumph; you'll give our leaders more glory than war. Let the soldier bear arms only to smother arms, and fierce trumpets blast nothing but pomp.... Add your incense, priests, to the flames of Peace, let a white victim tumble with drenched brow. That the house which procures peace possess it always, ask gods propitious to pious prayers".

### **The message of Ulysses transmitted throughout history from Homer's Greece to our days**

The dominant culture in the Homeric Greece corresponded to a warrior society, whose highest praise was linked to the man of fortune and position that exhibited his value in defending the interests of his home both in war and peace.

The Homeric noble possessed the fortune that allowed them to use costly and effectively weapons to protect their own property or relatives. The Homeric hero could perform actions that demonstrated clearly that he was not a prudent, fair or temperate man. In this way, the Iliad takes us back to an era fundamentally dominated by the heroic ideal and, by its own theme. It offers us an image of the hero whose exclusive framework is the battlefield.

According to the Iliad, the price of victory is public fame and the charismatic prestige of the victor. It is necessary that honor be trumpeted by others, and once he won, it must be preserved. Then the fame of the warrior reaches the sky, like the walls of the Achaeans, the shield of Nestor or what Athena wants for Telemachus.

Ulysses, one of the heroes featured in the Iliad and the Odyssey, is not brave like the typical warrior, but is rather thoughtful and cultivated. This places him outside the context of the typical Iliadic hero. In this way, Ulysses embodies, better than any other hero of the Iliad, the spiritual evolvement which exists between the Iliad and the Odyssey.

As one of these nobles, whose main occupation is war, Ulysses describes himself once again as a respectful man. However, the challenge to Eurymachus, which we find in the Odyssey, reveals us a Ulysses who not only knows how to skew lives on the battlefield, but who has learned to plow the fertile land and to reap the peaceful ears of wheat. In art man shows the power of his intelligence, and Ulysses is intelligence.

The old commentators saw in Ulysses the most pious hero of the poems. Many details of his behavior in the Odyssey document reveal his piety. Even when he suffers, he really refrains from reproaching the gods. He never accuses them of envy, as the others do in the Odyssey.

Much closer to us than the heroes of the Iliad is Ulysses, for being the eternal ideal of Humanity, one of the few enduring Myths of the human spirit. From Homer to our days, the universal literature and philosophical tradition has been discovering in Ulysses the reflection of very diverse ideals.

In the famous dialogue between the goddess and Ulysses, when he finally reaches the shores of Ithaca, the goddess notes: "This is why I cannot

abandon you in your misfortunes, because you are civilized, intelligent and you know how to control you". Therefore, Ulysses represents the pious justice, intelligence and temperance, overcoming in this way the narrow ethical molds of a certain social class, which is linked to the noble warrior.

In the famous Platonic myth of the choice of destiny by souls, which is included in the Republic, the Aedo chooses the existence of the swan, the warrior the lion; Thersites prefer to be incarnated in a monkey and King Agamemnon in an eagle. On the other hand, Ulysses prefers to live the life, humble and modest, of a man.

In the new millennium, the Homeric character of Ulysses still represents the embodiment of the values of humanity, work, peace and piety. Throughout our long history of wars and conflicts, these ideals have continued to be transmitted from generation to generation through the eternal demigod Ulysses. Today more than ever, Homeric Greece is still engraved in the memory of our humankind.

### **Athenian humanism and the struggle for equality**

According to Plato's work, the sophist Hippias stressed the need to respect the principle of equality among all human beings as follows: "Gentlemen, I believe that we are all members of the same family, friends and companions; and not by a conventional law, but by nature"

According to Karl Popper, this way of thinking was linked to the Athenian movement against slavery, to which Euripides explained in the following expression: "The mere name of such issue brings embarrassment to the slave, who otherwise can be excellent in everything". He also says: "The natural law of man is equality."

And Alcidamas, disciple of Gorgias and contemporary of Plato, writes that "God has made all men free. Before nature no man is a slave". A similar point of view was expressed by Licofrón, member of the Gorgias' school: "The splendor that gives a noble birth is imaginary and its prerogatives are based on a simple word".

This egalitarian principle had been exposed by Pericles in the following sentence preserved by Thucydides:

"Our laws offer equal justice to all men, in their private quarrels, but that does not mean that the rights of merit are ignored. When a citizen is distinguished by his worth, he is preferred for public tasks, not as a privilege, but as recognition of their virtues ..."

In the Pericles' own generation, this egalitarian and humanistic movement was represented by Euripides, Antiphon, Hippias and Herodotus. And in Plato's generation was represented by Alcidas, Licofron and Antisthenes, one of the most intimate friends of Socrates.

### **Describing peace by Thucydides**

The "History the Peloponnesian War" is a historical account of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC), which was fought between the Peloponnesian League (led by Sparta) and the Delian League (led by Athens). It was written by Thucydides, an Athenian historian. His account of the conflict is widely considered to be a classic and regarded as one of the earliest scholarly works of history. The **History** is divided into eight books. Woodrow Wilson read the **History** on his voyage across the Atlantic to the Versailles Peace Conference, which decided to create the League of Nations in 1919.

In its Book V, Thucydides advances the existence of a binding peace treaty signed by different Greek cities, even an initial right to peace, when he says that:

"The Athenians, Argives, Mantineans, and Eleans, acting for themselves and the allies in their respective empires, made a treaty for a hundred years.....The articles of the (peace) treaty, the oaths, and the alliance shall be inscribed on a stone pillar by the Athenians in the citadel, by the Argives in the market-place, in the temple of Apollo: by the Mantineans in the temple of Zeus, in the market-place: and a brazen pillar shall be erected jointly by them at the Olympic games now at hand. Should the above cities see good to make any addition in these articles, whatever all the above cities shall agree upon, after consulting together, shall be binding.

This treaty absolutely banned the recourse of war to settle disputes among empires, the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs and the prohibition of the use and threat of force. These principles were enshrined some centuries later in the Charter of the United Nations in 1945. Thucydides expressed these ideas as follows:

"The Athenians, Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans shall be allies for a hundred years upon the terms following: 1. It shall not be lawful to carry on war, either for the Argives, Eleans, Mantineans, and their allies, against the Athenians, or the allies in the Athenian empire: or for the Athenians and their allies against the Argives, Eleans, Mantineans, or their allies, in any way or means whatsoever; 2. If an enemy invades the country of the Athenians, the Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans shall go to the relief of Athens, according as the Athenians may require by message, in such way as they most effectually can, to the best of their power"

This peace treaty or alliance, which was inscribed on a stone pillar, was sworn by the Athenians and their allies, by the Argives, Mantineans, Eleans. Each state individually swore the oath most binding in his country over full-grown victims: the oath being as follows: "I stand by the alliance and its articles, justly, innocently, and sincerely, and I will not transgress the same in any way or means whatsoever"

Experts conclude that the long years of warfare had weakened the entire fabric of Greek civilization. The economic costs of the war were incalculable. Most of the principal Greek states suffered serious population declines as well, either directly from war losses or indirectly from the hardships caused by the war. Instead of peace and freedom, the destruction of the Athenian empire brought Greece as a civilization only continued strife and eventual conquest by Macedon. Greece thus paid a very high price for Athens' and Sparta's strategic shortsightedness at the beginning of the war.

### **Aristotle: a man of law, peace and dialogue**

Aristotle was an ancient Greek philosopher and scientist born in the city of Stagira, Chalkidice, on the northern periphery of Classical Greece. His writings cover many subjects – including physics, biology, zoology, metaphysics, logic, ethics, aesthetics, poetry, theater, music, rhetoric, psychology, linguistics, politics and government – and constitute the first comprehensive system of Western philosophy. Shortly after Plato died, Aristotle left Athens and, at the request of Philip II of Macedon, tutored Alexander the Great beginning in 343 BC.

Aristotle's views on physical science profoundly shaped medieval scholarship. Their influence extended from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages into the Renaissance. In metaphysics, Aristotelianism profoundly influenced Jewish and Islamic philosophical and theological thought during the Middle Ages. Aristotle was well known among medieval Muslim scholars, and has been revered as "The First Teacher".

Although Aristotle never wrote a treaty on peace, in his work we can find an important elaboration of the necessary elements, which contribute to create a state of civil peace, such as the need to promote friendship, dialogue, democracy, the rule of law and happiness.

In his book on "Politics", he emphasizes that the city is the natural space of man, which makes him a political or civil animal. In addition, he recognizes that those people whose are not integrated into the social life of the city are more inclined to war.

He also highlights in his book "Politics" that "... everything has been done for the service of man. For this reason, military art, in a certain way, is the art of

possessing". In this direction, Aristotle recognizes that the origin of war lies in the will of the powerful people to seize the assets from others.

### **Aeneas: the peace hero in the Ancient Rome**

The "Aeneid" is a Latin epic poem, written by Virgil between 29 and 19 BC, which tells the legendary story of Aeneas, a Trojan who travelled to Italy, where he became the ancestor of the Romans. It comprises 9,896 lines in dactylic hexameter. The first six of the poem's twelve books tell the story of Aeneas's wanderings from Troy to Italy, and the poem's second half tells of the Trojans' ultimately victorious war upon the Latins, under whose name Aeneas and his Trojan followers are destined to be subsumed.

The hero Aeneas was already known to Greco-Roman legend and myth, having been a character in the Iliad. The Aeneid is widely regarded as Virgil's masterpiece and one of the greatest works of Latin literature.

War is a theme which is common to both the Homeric and the Roman type of epic: the war which Aeneas fights has elements of both types. Aeneas is more a Roman than a Homeric character. He is invested in the Aeneid with the Roman qualities of fortitude, devotion to duty, and political sagacity. He uses his victory not to exact vengeance but to unite the Trojan and Latin peoples in a statesmanlike peace.

War in the Aeneid is a much grimmer business than in the Iliad; it has not the same vital energy and éclat as in Homer's portrayal; there is still the same pathos, but not the same verve. The fact is that Virgil was not a man of war and is describing war, not from life as does Homer, but from a distillation blended by his imagination from his reading of Greek poetry and history. Virgil in truth hated war. That is clear from the cruel realities that lie behind the idyllic fictions of the Eclogues or that emerge in early part of the Georgics, two works on which the civil wars of his youth have left a deep mark, partly in the sadness he feels at the destruction of human happiness and prosperity and at the desolation caused in the countryside, and partly in the welcome he gives to the young Octavian who appears as the divine liberator and the author of peace and restoration.

Virgil characterizes war by such epithets as *horridum*, *infandum*, *lacrimabile*, *crudele*, *triste*, and condemns it in one scathing and comprehensive phrase as "*scelerata insania belli*" (insane wickedness of war).

Aeneas loses no chance to be conciliatory or to create a predisposition for peace, as when he grants the truce to the Latins, or hands back the body of Lausus to his people, or offers to limit the general conflict by meeting Turnus in single combat on terms that guarantee the security of both peoples. This is the Aeneas who emerges as the hero of the poem.

Aeneas is no soldier of fortune, no mercenary. His sole purpose is to find the land promised by fate and to settle his followers there in a new city of Troy. In Book Seven the request which he makes by his ambassadors to King Latinus is utterly peaceful:

"From that sweeping deluge borne over so many vast oceans, we beg for our country's gods a small settlement, and a harmless shore, and water and air, which are open to all".

The whole emphasis of this early part of Book Seven is on peace. The Trojans beg for peace. Their envoys carry the emblems of peace, Latinus promises them peace and the ambassadors return to Aeneas as the bearers of peace.

### **Ataraxia as a means of happiness and peace according to Seneca**

The "De tranquillitate animi", known in English as "On the tranquility of the mind" is the seventh of Seneca's dialogues, which was written around 60 BC.

It deals with ataraxia, which is a term that comes from the Greek *ἀταραξία*, which means "absence of tranquility". It is the disposition of the mind proposed by the Epicureans, Stoics and skeptics. Ataraxia is tranquility, serenity and imperturbability in relation to the soul, reason and feelings.

Seneca's work has two parts: a first "In sapientem non cadere injuriam"; and the second "De constantia sapientis".

If we want to attain peace of mind, Seneca recommends an austere life, alien to excessive and useless luxury. He also advises to choose carefully our companies, because if we choose those that are corrupted, these will be extended to us. In addition, only reasoning and caution can create in human beings an idyllic atmosphere of peace.

Education in virtue is a vital element to achieve a greater serenity of the soul. According to Seneca, "... does good service to the state is not only he who brings forward candidates for public office, defends accused persons, and gives his vote on questions of peace and war, but he who encourages young men in well-doing, who supplies the present dearth of good teachers by instilling into their minds the principles of virtue, who seizes and holds back those who are rushing wildly in pursuit of riches and luxury".

In Seneca there is a call for the need of study: "If then you transfer to philosophy the time which you take away from the public service, you will not be a deserter or have refused to perform your proper task. A soldier is not merely one who stands in the ranks and defends the right or the left wing of the army, but he also who guards the gates—a service which, though less



dangerous, is no sinecure—who keeps watch, and takes charge of the arsenal: though all these are bloodless duties, yet they count as military service”.

It is recognized that through the study “you will acquire many friends, and all the best men will be attracted towards you: for virtue, in however obscure a position, cannot be hidden, but gives signs of its presence: anyone who is worthy will trace it out by its footsteps”

Therefore, “if we give up all society, turn our backs upon the whole human race, and live communing with ourselves alone, this solitude without any interesting occupation will lead to a want of something to do: we shall begin to build up and to pull down, to dam out the sea, to cause waters to flow through natural obstacles, and generally to make a bad disposal of the time which Nature has given us to spend”.

### **Precedent of the right to peace: Marsilio de Padua**

Marsilio of Padua (c.1275 - 1342-43) was an Italian philosopher, political thinker, doctor and theologian. He was born in Padua from a family of judges and notaries. He completed in the Faculty of Liberal Arts of the University of Paris where he was appointed as rector in 1313.

The work of Marsilio de Padua entitled “The Defender of the Peace” (1324) is considered the most important and original political treaty of the Middle Ages of the West and it has been said that it can serve not only as inspiration, but as a guide for contemporary political theory.

This treaty will be called “The Defender of the Peace”, because it deals with and explains the main causes for which civil peace or tranquility exists and is preserved, as well as the causes for which fight arises, is prevented and suppressed.

“The Defender of the Peace” is conceived as a theoretical contribution to peace, based on reasoning, and it can also be considered as a call for mobilization to restore peace, and even a call of support for the protector of peace, to consolidate it once it is achieved.

“The Defender of the Peace” begins with a few words of Casiodoro, who put tranquility as the political aspiration of any kingdom.

The peace of which Marsilio speaks is not so much the absence of external attacks, but that it must be understood as the domestic social order. Tranquility and unrest are not peace and war in the sense of the confrontation of some peoples against the others. The conflict that Marsilio proposes to consider and resolve refers to the domestic order or disorder and civil war.

For Marsilio, peace includes the concept of protection and security, but also the idea of community of destiny built around the "right", the good law or customary law. The antithesis of the situation of "right" is the declaration of hostility that implies violating the right and carries the duty to restore the injured right. In this vein, it is a concept of peace more legal and practical than philosophical.

This approach to peace or the search for tranquility through law, is elaborated by Marsilio in the following way:

"...Each of the brothers has to contribute to it, and much more the groups and communities among themselves, both for the affection of charity and for the bond or the right of human society".

The future right to peace is in line with the approach developed by Marsilio, by granting peace a purely functional role, which is destined to achieve civil happiness. This conception is contrary to the medieval tradition, which gave peace a fundamental ethical value. According to Marsilio, peace outlines the political order derived from the laws that regulate the life of the city and allow to forge a common destiny.

Peace does not mean only the absence of war, but also the rule of law. Thus Marsilio conceives the community as the place of exchange and identifies peace with which action and perfect communication between the parties is not impeded.

This theory of peace rests on a conception about the origin of law and government. The law and the right is prior to the ruler. For this reason all the righteous regimes contemplate their subjection to the rule of law.

The legislator, according to Marsilio, is the people. This thesis attributes to the people, in post-medieval language, the principle of sovereignty.

### **Making Peace a Utopia: Thomas More's Thought**

Thomas More (1478–1535) was an English lawyer, humanist and statesman. His friendship with the Dutch scholar Erasmus of Rotterdam was crucial to the development of his own ideas on literary studies, in particular the revival of Greek, and on the social possibilities of education.

In his most famous book, "Utopia", Thomas More imagines a perfect island nation where thousands live in peace and harmony, men and women are both educated, and all property is communal. "Utopia" is a Greek name of More's coining, from *ou-topos* ("no place"); a pun on *eu-topos* ("good place") is suggested in a prefatory poem. This vision of an ideal world is also a scathing

satire of Europe in the sixteenth century and has been hugely influential since publication, shaping utopian fiction even today.

Through dialogue and correspondence between the protagonist Raphael Hythloday and his friends and contemporaries, More explores the theories behind war, political disagreements, social quarrels, and wealth distribution and imagines the day-to-day lives of those citizens enjoying freedom from fear, oppression, violence, and suffering.

The opening of "Utopia" at once raises a fundamental issue: the relationship between imagination and experience. This merging of worlds, real and imaginary, prepares the reader for the Platonic tension between two cities—that of the philosopher's birth and the one which he creates with words. In each of the illustrative episodes which More includes in Book I, Raphael appeals to some imaginary land which can provide an alternative to the established order. In a sense, these episodes prepare us for his account of Utopia.

The central principle underlying the Utopians' way of life is that as much time as possible should be reserved for the cultivation of the mind, as it is in this that they consider true happiness can be found. This requirement is met by their extraordinary system of work in which all citizens must labour at some essential trade, but only for six hours a day; this more than meets their needs, but still leaves ample leisure for intellectual pursuits.

In this ideal world, More denounced in its Book II the existence of war as follows:

"They (utopians) detest war as a very brutal thing, and which, to the reproach of human nature, is more practiced by men than by any sort of beasts. They, in opposition to the sentiments of almost all other nations, think that there is nothing more inglorious than that glory that is gained by war..."

In accordance with this famous humanist, the problem of this world is that "for most princes apply themselves more to affairs of war than to the useful arts of peace". In this vein, Thomas More outlined that "it is better to avoid war through money or artifice, than to wage war with an abundance of human blood spilled".

### **Recognising the right to live in peace by Hugo Grotius**

Hugo Grotius (10 April 1583 – 28 August 1645) was a Dutch jurist. Along with the earlier works of Francisco de Vitoria and Alberico Gentili, Grotius laid the foundations for international law. He was one of the first to define expressly the idea of one society of states, governed not by force or warfare but by actual laws and mutual agreement to enforce those laws. As Hedley

Bull, former Professor of International Relations at the Australian National University declared in 1990: "The idea of international society which Grotius propounded was given concrete expression in the Peace of Westphalia, and Grotius may be considered the intellectual father of this first general peace settlement of modern times".

Living in the times of the Eighty Years' War between Spain and the Netherlands and the Thirty Years' War between Catholic and Protestant European nations, it is not surprising that Grotius was deeply concerned with matters of conflicts between nations and religions. His work "The Rights of War and Peace" of 1625 was a monumental effort to restrain such conflicts on the basis of a broad consensus. The work is divided into three books.

In his Book I about his conception of war and of natural justice, Grotius said that "to the above catalogue of those exempted from sharing in the calamities of war, may be added merchants, not only those residing for a time in the enemy's country, but even his natural-born, and regular subjects: artisans too, and all others are included; whose subsistence depends upon cultivating the arts of peace".

Grotius affirmed that the main objective of law is the preservation of peace within the society and consequently, he recognised the right of everyone to be protected from possible injuries as a means to pursuit peace: "Indeed all Men have naturally a Right to secure themselves from Injuries by Resistance, as we said before. But civil Society being instituted for the Preservation of Peace, there immediately arises a superior Right in the State over us and ours, so far as is necessary for that End".

In his Book II devoted to the causes which lead to war, Grotius openly denounced war and advocated for peace as follows: "Now War is a Matter of the weightiest importance, since it commonly brings many calamities, even upon the innocent, and therefore when there are Reasons on both sides of the question, we ought to incline to peace".

And in his Book III focused on the question of what rules govern the conduct of war, Grotius recognized the existence of the right to live in peace in the following terms: "The reasoning is the same in each case: a citizen who breaks the civil law for the sake of some immediate interest will thereby undermine his own and his descendants' permanent interests, and a nation which violates the laws of nature and nations will have renounced its right subsequently to live in peace". Additionally, he added that "there are laws of war just as there are of peace".

### **Right to Peace: from ideals to reality by Erasmus of Rotterdam**

Erasmus of Rotterdam was a renowned humanist scholar and theologian of the XV-XVI century. He is known as the "Prince of the Humanists" for his enormous contribution to the humanities in the world. In these centuries, the movement known as "Renaissance" was spread throughout Europe giving new approaches in all human areas, and Erasmus was the pre-eminent representative of this new intellectual and ethical advancement of humankind.

The modernity of that Europe to which Erasmus belonged is not only linked to the creation of the so-called Modern States; Modernity is also Renaissance and Humanism, it is Utopia and morality; it is Thomas Moro, Luis Vives and Cervantes.

As for peace, it should be recalled that Erasmus wrote his famous reflection entitled "The Complaint of Peace" in a time altered by the passage of the certainties of the Middle Ages to the doubts of the Renaissance, in which war as perceived in the past as a common practice accepted by all. In the sixteenth century, peace became a legal desideratum and war started to be seen as an exception.

In the sixteenth century, the doctrine of just war was openly criticized by Erasmus, who launched a demolishing attack against any type of justification of war.

In 1523, Hans Holbein the Younger painted the famous portrait of Erasmus of Rotterdam. Holbein's portraits played an important part in spreading the painter's reputation across Europe, as they and their copies were widely distributed. There are three main portrait types: a three-quarters view, probably of 1523, best-known from the National Gallery version; a profile view also from 1523, reading, as in the Louvre, and an older three-quarters view, perhaps c. 1530, in the Kunstmuseum Basel.

In his book "The Complaint of Peace", Erasmus said that the first and most important step towards peace is sincerely to desire it. Those people who once love peace in their hearts will eagerly seize every opportunity of establishing or recovering it.

He also denounced war and advocated for peace in the following terms: "Let the lovers of strife, and the promoters of bloodshed between nations, divided only by a name and a channel, rather reflect that this world, the whole of the planet called earth, is the common country of all who live and breathe upon it, if the title of one's country is allowed to be sufficient reason for unity among fellow-countrymen; and let them also remember that all men, however distinguished by political or accidental causes, are sprung from the

same parents, if consanguinity and affinity are allowed to be available to concord and peace”.

Erasmus continued saying that “in all countries the greater part of the people certainly detests war, and most devoutly wishes for peace. A very few of them indeed, whose unnatural happiness depends upon the public misery, may wish for war; but be it yours to decide, whether it is equitable or not, that the unprincipled selfishness of such wretches should have more weight than the anxious wishes of all good men united. You plainly see that hitherto nothing has been effectually done towards permanent peace by treaties. Now it is time to pursue different measures; to try the experiments of what a placable disposition and a mutual desire to do acts of friendship and kindness can accomplish in promoting national amity”.

In this sense, Erasmus openly called for the recognition of the right to peace when he said in his famous peace book that everyone should hear the voice of their Sovereign Lord, commanding them upon their duty, to seek peace and abolish war. People should also be persuaded that the world, wearied with its long continued calamities, demands peace, and has a right to insist on this immediate compliance.

### **Don Quixote: a peace idealist**

“Don Quixote”, which fully title of the book is “The history of the valorous and wittie Knight-Errant Don-Quixote of the Mancha” is a Spanish novel written by Miguel de Cervantes de Saavedra. Published in two volumes, in 1605 and 1615, Don Quixote is considered the most influential work of literature from the Spanish Golden Age and the entire Spanish literary canon. As an important book of modern Western literature, it regularly appears high on lists of the greatest works of fiction ever published.

It could be affirmed that in “Don Quixote” everything is included: freedom, dignity, nature, virtue, good, hope, friendship, gratitude, effort, action, adventure, imagination, truth, and above all, Justice and Peace.

Cervantes recalled that peace is the greatest boon that men can desire in this life. The first good news the world and mankind received was that which the angels announced on the night that was our day, when they sang in the air, ‘Glory to God in the highest, and peace on earth to men of good-will.

Dostoyevsky deeply admired this book. He himself emphasized in his Diary of a Writer that “there is no deeper or more vigorous invention than this. This book is the last and highest expression of human thought”.

It should not be forgotten that Cervantes is a cultivated man, a profound expert of the classics, and is, in definitive, a humanist influenced by Erasmus,

with a vision of life full of understanding, a world which turned its back on cosmopolitanism, and became more rigid and intolerant.

Along with Cervantes, there exist other thinkers of the Renaissance, qualified as utopian, such as Erasmus or Luis Vives, who reflected more on peace than on war.

The Cervantes's pacifist convictions stemming from Humanism are reflected in his famous discourse on Arms and Letters in which he openly condemns war in the following terms:

"Happy the blest ages that knew not the dread fury of those devilish engines of artillery, whose inventor I am persuaded is in hell receiving the reward of his diabolical invention, by which he made it easy for a base and cowardly arm to take the life of a gallant gentleman; and that, when he knows not how or whence, in the height of the ardour and enthusiasm that fire and animate brave hearts, there should come some random bullet, discharged perhaps by one who fled in terror at the flash when he fired off his accursed machine, which in an instant puts an end to the projects and cuts off the life of one who deserved to live for ages to come".

Although he attempts to approach the discourse of those who defend arms as a means of defending law, finally he denounces this practice:

"To this arms make answer that without them laws cannot be maintained, for by arms states are defended, kingdoms preserved, cities protected, roads made safe, seas cleared of pirates; and, in short, if it were not for them, states, kingdoms, monarchies, cities, ways by sea and land would be exposed to the violence and confusion which war brings with it, so long as it lasts and is free to make use of its privileges and powers. And then it is plain that whatever costs most is valued and deserves to be valued most. To attain to eminence in letters costs a man time, watching, hunger, nakedness, headaches, indigestions, and other things of the sort, some of which I have already referred to. But for a man to come in the ordinary course of things to be a good soldier costs him all the student suffers..."

In his book, Cervantes tries to idealize a past world where there was no rivalry among human beings as the main cause of conflicts in the world. In his chapter on What befell "Don Quixote" with certain goatherds, Cervantes dreams in a golden age in where harmony and peace reigned over the earth.

"Happy the age, happy the time, to which the ancients gave the name of golden, not because in that fortunate age the gold so coveted in this our iron one was gained without toil, but because they that lived in it knew not the two words "mine" and "thine!"

On this matter, Cervantes illustrates in his famous sonnet, included in the Chapter on the priest and the barber, the need to pursue friendship among human beings as follows:

When heavenward, holy Friendship, thou didst go  
soaring to seek thy home beyond the sky,  
and take thy seat among the saints on high,  
it was thy will to leave on earth below  
thy semblance, and upon it to bestow  
thy veil, wherewith at times hypocrisy,  
parading in thy share, deceives the eye,  
and makes its vileness bright as virtue show.  
Friendship, return to us, or force the cheat  
that wears it now, thy livery to restore,  
by aid whereof sincerity is slain.  
if thou wilt not unmask thy counterfeit,  
this earth will be the prey of strife once more,  
as when primaeval discord held its reign.

### **Peace according to Rousseau**

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (28 June 1712 – 2 July 1778) was a Francophone philosopher, writer and composer from the 18th century. His political philosophy influenced the Enlightenment in France and throughout Europe, as well as in the French Revolution and the development of the modern political and educational thought.

The German writers Goethe, Schiller and Herder have affirmed that Rousseau's writings inspired them. Herder considered Rousseau as his "guide," and Schiller compared Rousseau to Socrates. Goethe, in 1787, declared: "Emilio and his feelings had a universal influence on every cultivated mind." Other writers who received his influence were Leopardi in Italy; Pushkin and Tolstoy in Russia; Wordsworth, Southey, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley and Keats in England; and Hawthorne and Thoreau in America.

The interest of the philosopher in matters of peace and war was always a constant throughout his work. In his "Discourse on the origin of inequality among mankind" of 1755, the philosopher Rousseau emphasizes that the origin of war should be sought in the eternal conflict in where the strongest always tries to impose on the weakest. This situation has led to a constant state of war in the world, causing the ruin of humanity.

"Between the title of the strongest and that of the first occupier, there arose perpetual conflicts, which never ended but in battles and bloodshed. The new-born state of society thus gave rise to a horrible state of war; men thus



harassed and depraved were no longer capable of retracing their steps or renouncing the fatal acquisitions they had made, but, labouring by the abuse of the faculties which do them honour, merely to their own confusion, brought themselves to the brink of ruin"

However, as Rousseau added in his work "The Social Contract" of 1762, the strongest is never strong enough to be always the master unless he transforms strength into right, and obedience into duty. Hence 'the right of the strongest'—a phrase that one might think is meant ironically, but is actually laid down as a basic truth".

Therefore, war exists neither in the so-called state of nature nor in our present social state. It should be considered a phenomenon contrary to reason and law.

"War is constituted by a relation between things, not between persons; and because the state of war can't arise out of simple personal relations but only out of thing-relations, there can't be a private war (a war of man against man) in the state of nature, where there is no ownership, or in the state of society, where everything is under the authority of the laws".

Rousseau laments the great number of crimes, wars, murders, miseries and horrors inflicted on the world since its very origin, due to the lack of solidarity and cooperation among human beings:

"That's why the first-occupier right, which is so weak in the state of nature, claims the respect of every man in civil society. What a man respects in this right is not so much what belongs to someone else as what doesn't belong to him"

In this same line, Rousseau believes that it would be vital to adopt regulations of justice and peace which were binding for all people. He also made a call so that all human beings should concentrate their strength in the conquest of the eternal principles:

"No doubt there is a universal justice emanating from reason alone, but this justice can be admitted among us only if it is mutual. In the absence of natural sanctions...the laws of justice are ineffective among men... Agreements and laws are needed to join rights to duties and relate justice to its object. In the state of nature where everything is common, I don't owe anything to someone to whom I haven't promised anything; I recognize as belonging to others only what is of no use to me. It's not like that in the state of society, where all rights are fixed by law".

According to Rousseau, the conquest of peace is the result of an education based on non-violence, altruism, disinterest and philanthropy. In his book "Emile" of 1762, the philosopher highlights the following:

"In a word, Emile has every virtue which affects himself. To have the social virtues as well, he only needs to know the relations which make them necessarily; and this knowledge his mind is ready to receive. He considers himself independently of others, and is satisfied when others do not think of him at all. He exacts nothing from others, and never thinks of owing anything to them. He is alone in human society, and depends solely upon himself. He has the best right of all to be independent, for he is all that any one can be at his age. He has no errors but such as a human being must have; no vices but those from which no one can warrant himself exempt. He has a sound constitution, active limbs, a fair and unprejudiced mind, a heart free and without passions. Self-love, the first and most natural of all, has scarcely manifested itself at all. Without disturbing any one's peace of mind he has led a happy, contented life, as free as nature will allow".

### **Making peace, justice and freedom a fundamental right of all individuals and peoples in accordance to Friedrich Schiller**

Friedrich Schiller (Marbach am Neckar, 10 November 1759 - Weimar, 9 May 1805) was a German poet, playwright, philosopher and historian. He is considered, along with Goethe, the most important playwright of Germany, as well as one of the central figures of the classicism of Weimar.

Schiller's work was not only enthusiastically received in Germany, but also in other European countries, for example in Italy, as well as in the Russia of the Czars. For many people Schiller was the poet of freedom, as he succeeded in bringing to the readers the ideals of the eighteenth-century, such as reason and humanity. He emphasized that the fundamental law of the realm of the beauty represented through the art is to give freedom through freedom.

Peace is deeply embodied in the whole work of the poet Schiller. According to the Spanish philosopher Menéndez Pelayo, the famous poem of 430 verses known as "The Song of the Bell" represents the most human and the most lyrical of all German songs, and perhaps the masterpiece of the modern lyric poetry. This poetic composition not only became a symbol of brotherhood among human beings, but also inspired the pacifist movements which began to be introduced in Europe in the s. XIX century. Schiller defined peace as follows:

Oh, blessed peace,  
Oh, Concord sweet,  
Hover, oh hover,

With kindly sway,  
Over this town of ours, I pray!  
Oh, may it never dawn, the day,  
When grim War's ruthless crew  
Shall riot this calm valley through!  
When the heavens which evening's mellow red  
Colours with hues so fair,  
Are all aflame with the ghastly glare  
Of blazing towns, and the havoc dread  
Of villages burning there!

In his philosophical essay known as the "Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man", Schiller says that "as soon as light dawns in man, there is no longer night outside of him; as soon as there is peace within him the storm lulls throughout the universe, and the contending forces of nature find rest within prescribed limits".

However, the play and poetic work on which the poet deeply developed the notion of peace was "William Tell". The art of sound and music never left Schiller indifferent. The romantic poet strongly supported both the traditional German songs and the greatest musicians of the Italian romantic opera. In this way, the first scene of William Tell contains suggestive musical rubrics. Additionally, in the central scene of the play, the third of the fourth act, the poet composes a moment of complex dramatic-musical irony, inspired by Puccini.

Stauffacher, one of the protagonists of the Tell's work, emphasizes on the meaning that the notion of peace has for human beings the following "To scare this valley's long unbroken peace, if we, a feeble shepherd race, shall dare Him to the fight, that lords it o'er the world".

For Schiller peace based on freedom and justice is not only a pure aspiration of humanity, but is even considered as an innate right which should be enjoyed by all human beings. In the Tell's work, Walter Furst emphasizes that this right is the radiance of the noonday sun. Stauffacher also points out that this right is radiant.

On the origin of this right, Stauffacher outlines that: "when the oppressed for justice looks in vain, when his sore burden may no more be borne, with fearless heart he makes appeal to Heaven. And thence brings down his everlasting rights, which there abide indestructible as are the stars.... Our dearest treasures call to us for aid against violence".

Schiller openly denounces that the conquest of this right must be carried out in a violent manner. In the Tell's work, Rosselmann says that "Bethink

ye well, before ye draw the sword. Some peaceful compromise may yet be made; speak but one word". In regards to this particular issue, Reding adds that "Were it not well to make one last attempt, and lay our grievances before the throne, Ere we unsheath the sword? Force is at best a fearful thing e'en in a righteous cause". At the end of the work, Walter Furst praises that peace and freedom have been reached in the land of Switzerland without violence: "Oh! Well for you, you have not stain'd with blood our spotless victory!"

In accordance to Schiller, the fundamental purpose of the exercise of this right is the survival of human race. Thus, in the famous scene of the apple laying on the head of a child, Attinghausen says that "from this boy's head, whereon the apple lay, your new and better liberty shall spring; the old is crumbling down--the times are changing-- and from the ruins blooms a fairer life". However, as indicated by Stauffacher, the alliance of free human beings living in peace is not new:

"'Tis no new league that here we now contract; but one fathers framed, in ancient times, We purpose to renew! For know, confederates: though mountain ridge and lake divide our bounds, and each Canton by its own laws is ruled; yet are we but one race, born of one blood, and all are children of one common home".

Under the influence of this same poetic dream, Rosselmann, another protagonists of the Tell's work, adds that "A band of brothers true we swear to be, never to part in danger or in death!"

As also said by the fisher about William Tell, "he was the only man that dared to raise his voice in favour of the people's rights". And Reding added that "I cannot lay my hands upon the books; but by yon everlasting stars I swear, never to swerve from justice and the right".

### **Beethoven and Schiller, living testimonies of peace and dialogue**

As well defined by the School of Culture of Peace in Barcelona, in classical music there are numerous examples, from the Renaissance to the present day, of composers who decided to respond musically to the conflicts that have occurred in the world, or in their own countries, using music as a voice for peace. Among these fine works of art, the Symphony No. 9 in D minor, Opus 125, also known as "Choral", written by the German composer Ludwig van Beethoven, should be recalled. This is one of the most transcendental, important and popular works of music and art. Its latest part of the symphony is a surprising choral finale, which has become a symbol of freedom and peace.

The work marked an important development in 19th century music. Beethoven set to music the German poet Friedrich von Schiller's "An die

Freude" (Ode to joy). It was the first time that the human voice was included in a symphonic work.

The symphony was first performed in Vienna on May 7, 1824. Its influence ever since has extended far beyond the field of music. The work has inspired poets, writers, and visual artists, and it has provoked aesthetic and philosophical argument and discussion. Above all, the symphony has at all times proclaimed to people of good will its message of joy and the global brotherhood of humanity. Composers influenced by the work have included Schubert, Berlioz, Brahms, Wagner, Bruckner, Mahler, and many others.

The original score of the symphony was added to the UNESCO Memory of the World register in 2001, where it joins other outstanding monuments to the spiritual heritage of mankind.

In the current world whipped by conflicts and wars, both Beethoven and Schiller still represent the living and present testimony of the commitment of human beings to the supreme values of peace, dialogue and solidarity. As the Chorus solemnly expressed:

Joy, beautiful spark of divinity,  
Daughter from Elysium,  
We enter, drunk with fire,  
Heavenly One, thy sanctuary!  
Your magics join again  
What custom strictly divided;  
All people become brothers,  
Where your gentle wing abides.

### **Let us make perpetual peace a universal right by Immanuel Kant**

Immanuel Kant (22 April 1724 – 12 February 1804) was a German philosopher who is considered a central figure in modern philosophy. Kant's influence on Western thought has been profound. Over and above his influence on specific thinkers, Kant changed the framework within which philosophical inquiry has been carried out. He accomplished a paradigm shift: very little philosophy is now carried out in the style of pre-Kantian philosophy. This shift consists in several closely related innovations that have become axiomatic, in philosophy itself and in the social sciences and humanities.

He had an influence on Reinhold, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel and Novalis during the 1780s and 1790s. The school of thinking known as German Idealism developed from his writings.

The idea of perpetual peace was first suggested in the 18th century, when Charles-Irénée Castel de Saint-Pierre published his essay "Project for

Perpetual Peace". However, the idea did not become well known until the late 18th century. The term perpetual peace became acknowledged when Kant published his 1795 essay "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch".

Perpetual peace has had significant influence upon modern politics. Perpetual peace has been the foundation for peace and conflict studies, a relatively newly laid field which started in Europe around the 1950s and 1960s. In addition, this thought helped to put the basis for the later creation of the League of Nations in 1919 after the First World War.

Kant said in his book on Perpetual Peace that peoples or nations regarded as States, may be judged like individual men. Now men living in a state of Nature independent of external laws, by their very contiguity to each other, give occasion to mutual injury or lesion. Every people, for the sake of its own security, thus may and ought to demand from any other, that it shall enter along with it into a constitution, similar to the Civil Constitution, in which the Right of each shall be secured. This would give rise to an International Federation of the Peoples.

For the word 'Right' would otherwise never enter into the vocabulary of States desirous to go to war with each other, he added, unless it were merely to make a jest of it, in the manner of the Gallic prince who declared that 'it is the prerogative of the strong to make the weak obey them.'

Kant also added that the means by which States prosecute their Rights at present can never be by a form of process — as if there were an external tribunal, — but can only be by War; but even the favorable issue of war in victory will not decide a matter of Right. A treaty of Peace may, indeed, put an end to a particular war, yet not to the general condition of war, in which a pretext can always be found for new hostilities. Nor can such a pretext under these circumstances be regarded as 'unjust;' for in that state of society, every nation is the judge of its own cause. At the same time, the position which, according to the Right of nature, holds of men in a lawless condition that 'they ought to advance out of that condition,' cannot according to the Right of Nations be directly applied to States; because as States they have already within themselves a legal Constitution and have thus outgrown the coercive Right of others to bring them under a wider legal constitution according to conceptions of Right.

In accordance with Kant, reason is on the throne of the highest moral law giving power, absolutely condemns War as a mode of Right, and, on the contrary, makes the state of Peace an immediate duty. But the state of Peace cannot be founded or secured without a compact of the Nations with each other. Hence there must be a compact of a special kind which may be called a Pacific Federation (*foedus pacificum*), and which would be distinguished

from a mere treaty or Compact of Peace (*pactum pacis*), in that the latter merely puts an end to one war, whereas the former would seek to put an end to all wars forever.

Consequently, the notion of a Right to go to war, cannot be properly conceived as an element in the Right of Nations. Instead of the positive idea of a Universal Republic — if all is not to be lost — we shall have as result only the negative surrogate of a Federation of the States averting war, subsisting in an external union, and always extending itself over the world. And thus the current of those inclinations and passions of men which are antagonistic to Right and productive of war, may be checked, although there will still be a danger of their breaking out betimes.

And finally, in regards to the recognition of perpetual peace as a right, Kant said that the idea of a Cosmo-political Right of the whole Human Race, is no fantastic or overstrained mode of representing Right, but is a necessary completion of the unwritten Code which carries national and international Right to a consummation in the Public Right of Mankind. Thus the whole system leads to the conclusion of a Perpetual Peace among the Nations. And it is only under the conditions now laid down that men may flatter themselves with the belief, that they are making a continual approach to its realization.

### **Freedom, tolerance and peace as a right in accordance with Voltaire**

Voltaire (November 21, 1694-May 30, 1778) was a French writer, historian, philosopher and lawyer and one of the main representatives of the Enlightenment, period which emphasized the power of human reason, science and respect for humanity. In 1746 Voltaire was appointed member of the French Academy in which he occupied the seat number 33.

His morality was based on the belief of freedom of thought and respect for all individuals. He did believe that literature should deal with the problems of its time. These views made Voltaire a key figure in the philosophical movement of the eighteenth century, which was represented by writers of the famous French Encyclopedia. His defense of a literature committed to social problems makes Voltaire a predecessor among the writers of twentieth-century, such as Jean-Paul Sartre and other French existentialists.

In his famous book known as "Treatise on Tolerance" of 1763, Voltaire invites to promote tolerance among religions, attacking religious fanaticism. The French philosopher defends in his Treatise the freedom of religion and also criticizes the religious wars as a violent and barbaric practice.

In this work he states that "for a government to have the right to punish the Edition: current; Page: errors of men it is necessary that their errors must take

the form of crime; they do not take the form of crime unless they disturbed society; they disturb society when they engender fanaticism; hence men must avoid fanaticism in order to deserve toleration”.

On whether intolerance should be considered a human right, Voltaire clearly says that the natural right is that which belongs to all human beings. The human right should be based on this natural right, and the great principle of both is: Do not unto others what you would that they do not unto you. Now, in virtue of this principle, one man cannot say to another: “Believe what I believe, and what thou canst not believe, or thou shalt perish”. Therefore, Voltaire reaffirms the following:

“The supposed right of intolerance is absurd and barbaric. It is the right of the tiger; nay, it is far Edition: current; Page: worse, for tigers do but tear in order to have food, while we rend each other for paragraphs”.

Therefore, Voltaire advocated in his famous “Philosophical Letters” for the notion of the right to freedom as a real means to promote religious tolerance and a peaceful civil society.

### **Key figures of the French history advocate for the right to peace**

On 20 June 1789, the members of the French Estates-General for the Third Estate, who had begun to call themselves the National Assembly, took the Tennis Court Oath.

The Oath signified for the first time that French citizens formally stood in opposition to Louis XVI. In this context, Constituent Assembly approved on 22 May 1790 the “Decree of Declaration of Peace in the World” by which declared in its Article 1 that the right to peace belongs to the nation. Some days before, Jérôme Pétion de Villeneuve, Deputy and Mayor of Paris, presented on 17 May 1790 this draft decree on the right to peace.

This historical moment was painted by Jacques-Louis David, who later became a deputy in the National Convent in 1792, in his painting known as “Serment du Jeu de Paume”. This piece of art, which is now in the Musée national du Château de Versailles, was considered the forerunner of the changes occurred after 1789. All the deputies are shown looking at Bailly, Chairman of the Assembly, as a device to show their unanimous support of him.

Another important personage painted by David is the Comte Mirabeau, who was famous for delivering on 20 May 1790 an important statement supporting the right to peace and the peaceful settlement of disputes among all nations through the respect of public law.



### **Peace is also poetry: Coleridge's poetic vision**

Samuel Taylor Coleridge (21 October 1772 – 25 July 1834) was an English poet, literary critic, philosopher and theologian who, with his friend William Wordsworth, was a founder of the Romantic Movement in England. His critical work, especially on William Shakespeare, was highly influential, and he helped introduce German idealist philosophy to English-speaking culture.

His poetic contribution to the cause of peace was decisive for the movement of the English Romanticism. The denunciation of war as something evil for all humankind was a constant in all his work. In his poem known as "And war still violates the unfinished works of peace" Coleridge says:

"Then War and all its dread vicissitudes  
Pleasingly agitate their stagnant hearts;  
Its hopes, its fears, its victories, its defeats,  
Inspid royalty's keen condiment!  
Therefore uninjured and unprofited,  
(Victims at once and executioners)  
The congregated husbandmen lay waste  
The vineyard and the harvest. As along  
The Bothnic coast, or southward of the Line...."

In this same poem, the poet recognizes that the times of peace have always been short throughout history and that war has dominated the fate of humankind during the last centuries. However, he believes that in the end peace will prevail over war.

"And hence, for times and seasons bloody and dark,  
Short Peace shall skin the wounds of causeless War,  
And War, his strained sinews knit anew,  
Still violate the unfinished works of Peace.  
But yonder look! for more demands thy view!  
He said: and straightway from the opposite Isle  
A vapour sailed, as when a cloud, exhaled  
From Egypt's fields that steam hot pestilence,  
Travels the sky for many a trackless league,  
Till o'er some death-doomed land, distant in vain,  
It broods incumbent. Forthwith from the plain,  
Facing the Isle, a brighter cloud arose,  
And steered its course which way the vapour went".

In his famous poem "Fire, Famine and Slaughter: a War Eclogue", Coleridge poetically evokes the dialogue between gunfire, hunger which strikes

humanity in the context of war, and finally, the humanitarian consequences of conflicts at the level of human victims.

According to the poet, the origin of the war must be sought in the mistrust and the existing enmity between the human beings. This situation of confrontation causes the outbreak and complete destruction of social peace, generating a deep torment on all those people who suffer directly the consequences of this unreason. In his poem "From all sides rush the thirsty brood of War!", Coleridge says the following:

"Mistrust and Enmity have burst the bands  
Of social peace: and listening Treachery lurks  
With pious fraud to snare a brother's life;  
And childless widows o'er the groaning land  
Wail numberless and orphans weep for bread!  
Thee to defend, dear Saviour of Mankind!  
Thee, Lamb of God! Thee, blameless Prince of Peace!  
From all sides rush the thirsty brood of War!"

Coleridge defines war in his poem "The demon War and its attendants, maniac Suicide and giant Murder" as a state of utter madness, insanity and foolishness of the human race, provoked by utterly crazed and paranoid spirits:

"But soon a deep precursive sound moaned hollow:  
Black rose the clouds, and now (as in a dream)  
Their reddening shapes, transformed to warrior-hosts,  
Coursed o'er the sky, and battled in mid-air.  
Nor did not the large blood-drops fall from heaven  
Portentous! while aloft were seen to float,  
Like hideous features looming on the mist,  
Wan stains of ominous light! Resigned, yet sad,  
The fair Form bowed her olive-crowned brow,  
Then o'er the plain with oft reverted eye  
Fled till a place of tombs she reached, and there  
Within a ruined sepulchre obscure  
Found hiding-place".

Despite the grave consequences of the war, Coleridge firmly believes in peace as the natural state of humanity. War is a serious illness of the soul that needs to be expelled from our lives thanks to the unceasing efforts of all those Princes of Peace distributed throughout the world:

"Peace, peace on earth! the Prince of Peace is born.

Thou Mother of the Prince of Peace,  
Poor, simple, and of low estate!  
That strife should vanish, battle cease,  
Oh, why should this thy soul elate?  
Sweet music's loudest note, the poet's story, –  
Did'st thou ne'er love to hear of fame and glory?

And is not war a youthful king,  
A stately hero clad in mail?  
Beneath his footsteps laurels spring..."

But, in according to Coleridge: where could this desired peace be finally found?

In his famous poem "Domestic peace", the poet dreams on peace in the following way:

"Tell me, on what holy ground  
May Domestic Peace be found--  
Halcyon Daughter of the skies!  
Far on fearful wings she flies,  
From the pomp of sceptered State,  
From the Rebel's noisy hate,  
In a cottaged vale She dwells  
Listening to the Sabbath bells!  
Still around her steps are seen  
Spotless Honour's meeker mien,  
Love, the sire of pleasing fears,  
Sorrow smiling through her tears,  
And conscious of the past employ  
Memory, bosom-spring of joy".

### **Reflection on War and Peace by Leo Tolstoy**

"War and Peace" is a novel written by the Russian author Leo Tolstoy, which is regarded as a central work of world literature and one of Tolstoy's finest literary achievements.

The novel chronicles the history of the French invasion of Russia and the impact of the Napoleonic era on Tsarist society through the stories of five Russian aristocratic families. The novel was first published in its entirety in 1869.

Tolstoy said that "War and Peace" is "not a novel, even less is it a poem, and still less a historical chronicle". Large sections, especially the later chapters, are a philosophical reflection on the notion of peace and war. The Encyclopedia

Britannica states: "It can be argued that no single English novel attains the universality of the Russian writer Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace*".

Tolstoy recognizes the material and human consequences of war and conflict on the well-being of humanity as follows:

"After the burning of Smolensk a war began which did not follow any previous traditions of war. The burning of towns and villages, the retreats after battles, the blow dealt at Borodino and the renewed retreat, the burning of Moscow, the capture of marauders, the seizure of transports, and the guerrilla war were all departures from the rules".

In regards to the causes which provoke wars, Tolstoy reminds the long debate among historians on this matter. He concludes that the real cause of conflicts always stems from human beings and never from a supernatural or divine force.

"The historians, in accord with the old habit of acknowledging divine intervention in human affairs, want to see the cause of events in the expression of the will of someone endowed with power, but that supposition is not confirmed either by reason or by experience....Without admitting divine intervention in the affairs of humanity we cannot regard 'power' as the cause of events. Power, from the standpoint of experience, is merely the relation that exists between the expression of someone's will and the execution of that will by others. To explain the conditions of that relationship we must first establish a conception of the expression of will, referring it to man and not to the Deity".

Consequently, Tolstoy emphasizes that war is always caused by the will of a man or of several men.

"With the present complex forms of political and social life in Europe can any event that is not prescribed, decreed, or ordered by monarchs, ministers, parliaments, or newspapers be imagined? Is there any collective action which cannot find its justification in political unity, in patriotism, in the balance of power, or in civilization? So that every event that occurs inevitably coincides with some expressed wish and, receiving a justification, presents itself as the result of the will of one man or of several men".

Tolstoy continued his reflection posing the question about the reasons which leads man to be directly involved in war and to kill other human beings in a conflict situation. Prince Andrew confessed that his life on the earth does not like.

'Well, why are you going to the war?' asked Pierre. 'What for? I don't know. I must. Besides that I am going...' He paused. 'I am going because the life I am leading here does not suit me!'

However, historians recognize that activity of States with the other Nations is expressed in wars, and that the increase or decrease in the strength of the nation depends on the success or defeat of an army. Tolstoy stresses that the final objective of war is to submit the enemy:

"All historians agree that the external activity of states and nations in their conflicts with one another is expressed in wars and that as a direct result of greater or less success in war the political strength of states and nations increases or decreases. Strange as may be the historical account of how some king or emperor, having quarreled with another, collects an army, fights his enemy's army, gains a victory by killing three, five, or ten thousand men, and subjugates a kingdom and an entire nation of several millions, all the facts of history (as far as we know it) confirm the truth of the statement that the greater or lesser success of one army against another is the cause, or at least an essential indication, of an increase or decrease in the strength of the nation- even though it is unintelligible why the defeat of an army- a hundredth part of a nation- should oblige that whole nation to submit".

The first step to create a more peaceful world is to really desire peace and to reject humiliation of the enemy, as well as, war as a means to settle any type of dispute.

"I do not wish to utilize the fortunes of war to humiliate an honored monarch. 'Boyars,' I will say to them, 'I do not desire war, I desire the peace and welfare of all my subjects.' However, I know their presence will inspire me, and I shall speak to them as I always do: clearly, impressively, and majestically".

Despite of difficulties to end with war, Tolstoy strongly believes in the perpetual peace.

"That abbe is very interesting but he does not see the thing in the right light.... In my opinion perpetual peace is possible but- I do not know how to express it... not by a balance of political power..."

In the book, there is a scene in which two enemies involuntary encounter face to face in the field of battle, and immediately both soldiers discover that they are children of the same humanity. This real feeling is the only way to eliminate war over the earth.

"Apart from conditions of war and law, that looks established human relations between the two men. At that moment an immense number of things passed dimly through both their minds, and they realized that they were both children of humanity and were brothers".

### **Victor Hugo: a visionary of the right to peace**

Victor Hugo (1802-1885) was a French poet, novelist, and dramatist of the Romantic Movement. Hugo is considered to be one of the greatest and best-known French writers of all time. Outside of France, his most famous works are the novels “Les Misérables”, 1862, and “The Hunchback of Notre-Dame”, 1831.

Many of his works have inspired music, both during his lifetime and after his death. He is buried in the Panthéon in Paris. His legacy has been honored in many ways, including his portrait being placed on French currency.

Victor Hugo was also a convinced pacifist. In fact, he chaired the Peace Congress held in Paris from 22 to 24 August 1849. This Congress was part of a series of international meetings of representatives from peace societies from throughout the world held in various places in Europe from 1843 to 1853. The proceedings of the Paris international congress were published by Charles Gilpin. William Wells Brown was invited to speak against slavery.

Hugo introduced the concept of the United States of Europe, the recognition of peace as a right and the obligation of States to disarm. In his famous speech delivered in the Peace International Congress, Victor Hugo conceived peace not only as part of law, which origin should be embodied in the natural rights, but also as final destiny of humanity:

“But the divine law is not one of war - it is peace. Men have commenced in conflict, as the creation did in chaos. Whence do they proceed? From wars—that is evident. But whither do they go? To peace—that is equally evident”.

In his resounding speech, Victor Hugo also advocated for the establishment of an Assembly aimed at settling disputes peacefully and laying down arms. In this Assembly, human beings could actively exercise peace as a duty and right through the promotion of dialogue and cooperation, he added.

“An assembly—an assembly in which you shall all live—an assembly which shall be, as it were, the soul of all—a supreme and popular council, which shall decide, judge, resolve everything—which shall make the sword fall from every hand, and excite the love of justice in every heart—which shall say to each, “ Here terminates your right, there commences your duty. Lay down your arms!”

In this line, Victor Hugo also outlined that “the education of people is no longer of the violent kind; it is now assuming the peaceful kind”.

The final purpose of his vision was “...to restore the historic unity of people, and enlist this unity in the cause of the civilization of peace to enlarge the

sphere of civilization, to set a good example to people who are still in a state of barbarism, to substitute the system of arbitration for that of battles and, in a word, and all is comprised in this to make justice pronounce the last word that the old world used to pronounce by force”.

### **Sculpture for Peace: the Celestial Sphere by Manship**

Paul Howard Manship (December 24, 1885 – January 28, 1966) was an American sculptor. He consistently created mythological pieces in a classical style, and was a major force in the Art Deco movement. He is well known for his large public commissions, including the iconic Prometheus in Rockefeller Center. He is also credited for designing the modern rendition of New York City's official seal.

The grounds of the Palais des Nations (seat of the United Nations Office at Geneva) contain many fine objects donated by Member States. The Celestial Sphere (also known as the Armillary Sphere) in the Ariana Park of the Palais des Nations is the best-known of these. The huge - over four meter diameter - Celestial Sphere is the chef d'oeuvre of the American sculptor Paul Manship. It was donated by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation to what was then the League of Nations building. Known also as the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Sphere of the Palais des Nations it is today a symbol of Geneva International and of Geneva as the centre of dialogue and peace.

The Sphere is supported upon the backs of four tortoises, taken from his models for the gates to the New York Bronx Zoo, which in turn rest upon a stepped socle bearing a cast representation of the Chinese "celestial sea" (Hai Shui Jiang Ya). The tortoises may therefore be thought to represent the Chinese tortoise of immortality (Ao) - an auspicious symbol from Tang times on. Other Zodiac signs come from the world's major civilizations, both past and present.

Manship described this sphere in the following words:

“The representation of the heavenly constellations is derived from Babylonia and Assyria: the Greeks and Latins added their names and gave the constellations a local significance in some cases and I have adhered as closely as possible to the ancient forms. Thus the star, Aldebaran, which represents the eye of Taurus, dictates the character of the design, as is also the case of Regulus, Leo's Heart, and so with all the constellations. The forms and attitudes of the figures have been made to correspond firstly with the positions and the meanings of the emblems themselves. After that the inter-relationship of the constellations was designed to create a harmonious ensemble”.

The installation of the sphere took place in September 1939. There was no ceremony, no celebration: it was the beginning of the Second World War. Here there is an excerpt from the Wilson Foundation about this inauguration:

“A total silence, a complete solitude; the great ceremony foreseen at the time of the Twentieth Assembly would not take place. Only a few visitors who passed by, and a handful of Americans, particularly interested, watched how the Italians install the great sphere, symbol of universal harmony, in the place of honor”.

Today the Celestial Sphere stands in the Palais des Nations. It serves as a vivid reminder that despite all cultural and religious differences we are inhabitants of one and the same planet of the galaxy, the earth. The time has come to think in terms of Pax Universalis rather than of other Paxes, and one of the contributors to a Pax Universalis is an action-oriented dialogue, based on common human values and the ideals of the United Nations.

### **Science for Peace: the Einstein's contribution**

Albert Einstein (14 March 1879 – 18 April 1955) was a German-born theoretical physicist. He developed the theory of relativity, one of the two pillars of modern physics. Einstein's work is also known for its influence on the philosophy of science. Einstein is best known by the general public for his mass-energy equivalence formula  $E = mc^2$ . He received the 1921 Nobel Prize in Physics "for his services to theoretical physics, and especially for his discovery of the law of the photoelectric effect", a pivotal step in the evolution of quantum theory.

Albert Einstein had two public passions. One was his work: he was a dedicated and ground-breaking scientist. The other was peace, to which he was committed all his life. Until his death, and despite poor health, Einstein spent all energy on peace campaigns.

He said that “my pacifism is an instinctive feeling, a feeling that possesses me because the murder of men is abhorrent. My attitude is not derived from intellectual theory but is based on my deepest antipathy to every kind of cruelty and hatred”.

For Einstein, “Science is a powerful instrument. How it is used, whether it is a blessing or a curse to mankind, depends on mankind and not on the instrument. A knife is useful, but it can also kill”. In 1922, Einstein wrote an article in a pacifist handbook, in which he said that “whoever cherishes the values of culture cannot fail to be a pacifist....The natural scientist responds to pacifist aims because of the universal nature of his subject and his dependence on international co-operation. The development of technology has made the economies of the world interdependent, so every war has world-wide effects”.



In the context of the First World War, a prominent German pacifist released in 1914 the 'Manifesto to Europeans', which challenged militarism and 'this barbarous war' and called for peaceful European unity against it. 'Educated people in all countries should use their influence to bring about a peace treaty that will not carry the seeds of future wars.' Only three other people were brave enough to sign this peace manifesto; one of them was Einstein.

After the War, Einstein highlighted the importance of the League of Nations in the following terms: "when we realise the significance of the world's interdependence, we will be able to gather the energy and goodwill needed to create an organisation that will make war impossible". He, together with other famous intellectuals, such as Marie Curie, was invited to become a member of the League's Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, aiming to mobilise international intelligentsia to work for peace.

On the League of Nations' 10th anniversary in 1930 he said, 'I am rarely enthusiastic about what the League has accomplished, or not accomplished, but I am always thankful that it exists'.

In 1928 Einstein began to make public his own support for 'absolute refusal of military service'. With other international pacifists, he signed a manifesto against military conscription.

In a letter to the New York Times in 1945, Einstein quoted recent words of Franklin Roosevelt: 'We are faced with the pre-eminent fact that if civilisation is to survive we must cultivate the science of human relationship - the ability of peoples of all kinds to live together and work together in the same world, at peace'. Einstein continued saying, 'we have learned, and paid an awful price to learn, that living and working together can be done in one way only - under law. Unless it prevails, and unless by common struggle we are capable of new ways of thinking, mankind is doomed'.

As to the creation of the United Nations, Einstein outlined that "just as we use our reason to build a dam to hold a river in check, we must now build institutions to restrain the fears and suspicions and greeds which move people and their rulers....We do not have to wait a million years to use our ability to reason. We can and must use it now, or human society will sink into a new and terrible dark age".

In 1955 Bertrand Russell and Einstein prepared a public declaration about the dangers of nuclear war and suggested that nuclear weapons should be renounced. 'We have to learn to think in a new way.... We have to learn to ask ourselves what steps can be taken to prevent a military contest disastrous to everyone'. This was one of the last public peace actions led by Einstein.

The idea of creating a World Academy of Art and Science (WAAS) was echoed in the 1950s by leading scientists who were concerned about the

potential for misuse of scientific discoveries. They included Albert Einstein, J. Robert Oppenheimer, and Joseph Rotblat; Bertrand Russell, philosopher and pacifist; Joseph Needham, a co-founder of UNESCO; Lord Boyd Orr, the First Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organization or George Brock Chisholm, the First Director General of the World Health Organization. The spirit of the academy can be expressed in the words of Albert Einstein: "The creations of our mind shall be a blessing and not a curse to mankind".

### **Describing the horror of war by Vicente Blasco Ibáñez**

Vicente Blasco Ibáñez (29 January 1867 – 28 January 1928) was a journalist, politician and best-selling Spanish novelist in various genres whose most widespread and lasting fame in the English-speaking world is from Hollywood films adapted from his works. Throughout 2017, different activities are being organized in Spain to commemorate the 150 Anniversary of his birth.

Their works show the influence of Naturalism which he would most likely have assimilated through reading Émile Zola. His greatest personal success probably came from the novel "Los cuatro jinetes del Apocalipsis (The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse)" (1916), which tells a tangled tale of the French and German sons-in-law of an Argentinian land-owner who find themselves fighting on opposite sides in the First World War.

Its 1918 English translation by Charlotte Brewster Jordan became the best-selling novel in the U.S in 1919 according to Publishers Weekly, who hailed it as "a superbly human story told by a genius". The novel was included in the list of 100 best novels of the twentieth century published in Spain.

In the novel, Tchernoff, one of the protagonists, describes the beast of the Apocalypse, and the four horsemen who precede it: Plague (or Conquest), War, Famine, and Death. At the end of the novel, when Marcelo Desnoyers, protagonist, is at the grave of his son Julio, he said that "there was no justice; the world was ruled by blind chance," and he has a vision of the four horsemen, threatening to trample the earth once more: "All the rest was a dream. The four horsemen were the reality..."

Part I of the novel ends with the statement, "The agony of humanity, under the brutal sweep of the four horsemen, was already begun!". In particular, Vicente Blasco expressed the effects of war on human beings as follows:

"And the furious cavalcade was passing like a hurricane over the immense assemblage of human beings. The heavens showed above their heads, a livid, dark-edged cloud from the west. Horrible monsters and deformities were swarming in spirals above the furious horde, like a repulsive escort. Poor Humanity, crazed with fear, was fleeing in all directions on hearing the thundering pace of the Plague, War, Hunger and Death. Men and women,

young and old, were knocking each other down and falling to the ground overwhelmed by terror, astonishment and desperation. And the white horse, the red, the black and the pale, were crushing all with their relentless, iron tread--the athletic man was hearing the crashing of his broken ribs, the nursing babe was writhing at its mother's breast, and the aged and feeble were closing their eyes forever with a childlike sob".

In the current situation of international affairs, in which war and conflicts still disrupt the life of humanity, the Fundación Paz sin Fronteras wants to recall the Vicente Blasco's description on this painful and lethal phenomenon. Regrettably, in the XXI century the four horsemen still continue desolating course over the heads of terrified humanity and envenoming the wounded soldiers on the battlefield.

### **Guernica Meaning: analysis and interpretation of painting by Pablo Picasso**

"Guernica" (1937) by artist Pablo Picasso is one of the most famous paintings of all time. Like so many famous works of art, the meaning of Picasso's "Guernica" is not immediately clear and left wide open to analysis and interpretation. What is the meaning of Guernica?

A careful analysis and interpretation of the painting reveals the importance of Spain, war, and most of all bullfighting in Picasso's "Guernica".

As Picasso's quote suggests, "Guernica" is primarily a war painting, offering a visual account of the devastating and chaotic impact of war on both men and women, in this case specifically on civilian life and communities. Picasso completed the painting of Guernica in 1937, a time of widespread political unrest not just in Spain, but worldwide.

World War II would begin just a couple years later and would further decimate the European continent as a whole. In "Guernica", we see several victims of the bombing. A figure sprawled supine in the foreground of the painting appears to be a corpse and is framed on both sides by living victims with their heads thrown back, wailing in agony. The figure to the left is a mother clutching a baby who appears to have died during the bombing.

The chaos caused by Europe's political instability is evident in Guernica's composition, with humans and animals jumbled together into a background of broken hard-edged geometric shapes, reminiscent of Cubism. In the mostly monochromatic painting Guernica the predominant "color" is mostly black, reminiscent perhaps of death itself. Picasso's Guernica is most likely influenced by another Spanish artist, Francisco de Goya, who often painted not only war paintings, but also bullfighting art.

Humans and animals are on an equal footing in Picasso's "Guernica", with the artist perhaps illustrating not only the simultaneous brutalization and dehumanization of humanity during wartime, but also the base, animalistic response that all living things, animals and humans, share in the face of fear and death.

"Guernica" can be classified as a "war painting," but the painting also features many symbols -including a bull, horse, and a man with a sword- that would fit well into traditional bullfighting art.

Rather than depicting a victorious matador bowing to the crowds before a slaughtered bull, in "Guernica" the bull remains stoically standing to the left side of the painting while the matador lays dead in the foreground, the sword or spear he might have used to slaughter the bull broken off in his hand. Like the fallen matador, his horse is also dying and anguished. Only the bull remains peaceful in "Guernica".

"Guernica" is an iconic piece of modern artwork that has not only commemorated an isolated event, but also represents the horrors of war and the healing nature of art.

### **Philosophy at the service of peace: Jean Paul Sartre**

Jean Paul Sartre (21 June 1905 – 15 April 1980) is one of the more prominent post-war writers and dramatists who have arisen on the Continent. As a young man he studied under the philosophers Husserl and Heidegger, and now has come to be regarded as the foremost exponent of the philosophical trend known as "Existentialism." His philosophical view is best summarized in his work "Existentialism and Humanism."

On 12-19 December 1952, Sartre delivered the opening statement at the Vienna Congress of the Peoples for Peace, in which he said that "our first duty is to dig out the beautiful word Peace from the mud into which it has been thrown and to clean it up a bit. No! No peace in terror, not in humiliation, not in bondage. No peace at any price.... We say that we have chosen the chance for Peace and that we wish to show that such a chance exists and to seek out what must be done so that it shall not pass us by". He added that "peace is not a permanent condition that is bestowed upon us one fine day like a good conduct certificate, but a long term construction project to be carried out on a world-wide basis and demanding the collaboration of all the world's peoples".

In this vein, Prof. David Lethbridge outlined that for Sartre, there was no question of creating a new international body, or of trying to substitute a new organization to replace the United Nations, but to set in motion a resolution, a set of popular demands, that could be effectively communicated with the

various governments in the nations from which the delegates had come: a people's unity was key.

In his famous statement delivered in Vienna, Sartre took the occasion to describe what, for him, was of central importance in the Congress he had so recently attended: it was peace. "We not only made known our desire for peace to our Governments, we have been **making peace**. We brought about a unique experience of friendship amongst men. ... If there was hope at Vienna it was because, all of a sudden, we saw what peace could be and has never yet been: concord ... I bear witness therefore that the Vienna Congress is and will remain, despite all the calumnies, an historic event. ... I bear witness that Peace, of which I saw the first seed, is something more than the mere absence of war, and that it could be a new honor and a new bond between men. The seed, we saw it at Vienna: it is for us ... not to let it be crushed".

In his pacifist vision of the world he openly denounced the use of nuclear weapons for its devastating effects over the population. In the World Peace Council Congress, held in Berlin, in May 1954, Sartre delivered a statement entitled "Weapon against History", in which he stated the following:

"Whereas previously wars of aggression required "millions of men to kill millions of men," with the development of atomic and hydrogen bombs "war becomes detached from mankind. It is no longer restrained by the masses ... today atomic war is in the hands of a few wealthy men and their mercenaries." Nuclear war "could be launched tomorrow by a few cabinet ministers against the will and interests of the nation."

In the context of the World Assembly for Peace, held in Helsinki on 23-29 June 1955, Sartre delivered the final speech of the Conference before two thousand delegates from sixty-five countries. He took this opportunity to stress the importance of the Vienna and Helsinki Congress in the pursuit of peace as follows:

"Vienna has borne its fruits: at the Helsinki Congress all sectors, all opinions, all parties are represented." And, a little later, "all the groups who have sent delegates to Helsinki have stressed one essential aspect of the peace which we are trying to create: it is a peace desired **by the peoples**. Not in the first instance by elites, but foremost by the masses".

Sartre reaffirmed the linkage between peace and freedom by saying that "**our** peace can only have one meaning: it is possible for all nations and all men to muster their own destiny; in a word it is freedom. There, it seems to me, is the common meaning of our undertaking: we want to construct peace by freedom and give freedom back to the peoples through peace".

Finally, Sartre stressed in this Congress that instead of emphasizing what separates us, humankind should try and show what unites us. Because our unity does exist.

In 1962, Jean-Paul Sartre explained his refusal to accept the Nobel Prize for Literature in a statement made to the Swedish Press, which appeared in *Le Monde* in a French translation. He said that this attitude is based on his conception of the writer's enterprise.

"A writer who adopts political, social, or literary positions must act only with the means that are his own—that is, the written word. All the honors he may receive expose his readers to a pressure I do not consider desirable. If I sign myself Jean-Paul Sartre it is not the same thing as if I sign myself Jean-Paul Sartre, Nobel Prizewinner".

### **Ortega y Gasset: the great visionary of the right to peace**

Ortega y Gasset is considered one of the Spanish philosophers of the first half of the twentieth century who has more influenced both in Spain and abroad. With a literary style, full of metaphors and witty phrases, he tried to do philosophy in a language close to that of Don Quixote. This style allowed him to reach the general public.

In July 1938 he wrote in the journal "The Nineteenth Century" of London the famous reflection entitled "Concerning pacifism...", in which he explained in a brilliant manner the ethical and legal bases upon which world peace should be built.

Based on this long aspiration of humankind, Ortega y Gasset stated that peace is the right as form of relationship among peoples. He added that pacifism seemed to suppose that such right existed, and that only the passions and instincts of violence induced us to ignore it. However, this is gravely opposed to the truth, he concluded.

According to this philosopher, in order that law or a branch of law can exist, it is necessary the following conditions: 1. That certain human beings, specially inspired, discover certain ideas or principles of law; 2. That propaganda and expansion of these ideas over the whole collectivity, or group, in question takes place; 3. That dissemination of these ideas becomes sufficiently dominant to consolidate these in form of "public opinion".

He ended by saying, that only then, it is possible to fully speak about the term of right or legal norm. He added that it does not matter that there should be no legislator and no judges. If those ideas really dominate the human mind they will inevitably act as instances of conduct to which it is possible to refer. This is the true substance of a right and law.

Building on this vision of peace, la Fundación Paz sin Fronteras has succeeded, along with other civil society organizations and governments, to adopt a Declaration on the Right to Peace on 19 December 2016. This historic milestone for pacifism has been inspired by the Ortega y Gasset's thought. It occurred few months before the beginning of the Second World War when he dreamed that one day peace could be recognized as a universal right.

However, now that peace has already been declared by the United Nations as a right, Paz Sin Fronteras' aspiration is to continue making possible the Ortega y Gasset's vision through the expansion of this right throughout the world. The main aspiration is that one day this right can become an intrinsic part of the world public opinion and that, consequently, all the governments of the world support this right as a means of progressively eliminating wars and conflicts over the earth.

### **Towards a global ethic based on peace and dialogue**

Hans Küng (Switzerland, March 19, 1928) is a Swiss theologian and one of the most prolific writers on peace and religion in the world. He is Professor Emeritus of the Ecumenical Theology at the University of Tübingen since 1996. Since 1995 he is founder and president of the Foundation for Global Ethics. This organization basically promotes interreligious dialogue as the basis for initiating processes which lead to world peace. Its motto is: "There will be no world peace without peace among religions, there will be no peace among religions without dialogue among religions".

In his famous book "Project of a global ethic" of 1991, he emphasizes that after the two world wars, humanity is facing the change from the modern to the postmodern paradigm, in which the values of imagination or sensitivity are prevailing.

According to this author, the message for the Third Millennium could be expressed as follows: responsibility of the global community with respect to its own future. Responsibility with our common destiny and environment, and also with the future world. Therefore, human beings should exploit their human potentialities, for the sake of a human society and a healthy ecosystem, basically changing our action in the world.

He also says that wars in no way belong to human nature, they are not innate, but acquired, and, therefore, these should be replaced by peaceful and non-violent conflict regulations. In the atomic age, a war between atomic powers would be suicidal.

The author adds that to conquer peace in the world, Law needs a moral foundation. It is not useful that diverse States and organizations enact new rules, if a great part of citizens do not think to accept them. How can we create a world order without an ethical spirit for all humankind?

A contemporary ethic requires contact between the natural and all human sciences: psychology, sociology, social criticism, biology, the history of culture and philosophical anthropology, among others.

In this context, Küng emphasizes that "the opening to dialogue is definitely a virtue of the peace attitude. Its deeply human character is further accentuated by its failure throughout history. When negotiations break down, wars break out, in both the private and public sphere. When the dialogue fails, repressions begin, the iron law of the strongest prevails. Whoever dialogues does not shoot ... Whoever prefers the dialogue must have strength and courage to maintain it and to respect, when necessary, the other's point of view".

This dialogue should be based on the respect of human dignity, the theologian adds. This human dignity requires rationality and maturity, freedom of conscience and religion, and above all, respect for all human rights promulgated throughout history.

### **Freedom as a purpose of humankind according to Fukuyama**

On 19 December 2016, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Right to Peace. Article 2 recognizes that the conquest of freedom is not only an intrinsic part of the right to peace, but a means to build peace within and between societies.

The inclusion of this principle derived from human dignity responds to the idea transmitted, among others, by Francis Fukuyama, who in his book "The end of history and the last man" confirmed that the most serious and systematic attempts to write Universal Histories saw the central issue in history as the development of Freedom.

Kant suggested that history would have an end point, that is to say, a final purpose that was implied in man's current potentialities and which made the whole of history intelligible. This end point was the realization of human freedom, for "a society in which freedom under external laws is associated in the highest degree with irresistible power, i.e., a perfectly just civic constitution, is the highest problem Nature assigns to the human race."

Hegel also outlined that the History of the world is none other than the progress of the consciousness of Freedom. The unfolding of Universal History could be understood as the growth of the equality of human freedom, summed up in Hegel's epigram that "the Eastern nations knew that one was free; the Greek and Roman world only that some are free; while we know that all men absolutely (man as man) are free.



Is freedom possible? In the cycle of Tanner lectures on human values, held at the Stanford University in 1981, the jurist Charles Fried elaborated the idea that absolute freedom could not triumph over earth until there exist a full distributive justice among all human beings.

It is for this reason that Article 2 of the Declaration on the Right to Peace advocates for the concept of freedom from fear and want.

Fukuyama ends his famous book with the following metaphor about humanity's progress towards freedom:

"... mankind will come to seem like a long wagon train strung out along a road. Some wagons will be pulling into town sharply and crisply, while others will be bivouacked back in the desert, or else stuck in ruts in the final pass over the mountains.... But the great majority of wagons will be making the slow journey into town, and most will eventually arrive there. The wagons are all similar to one another: while they are painted different colors and are constructed of varied materials, each has four wheels and is drawn by horses, while inside sits a family hoping and praying that their journey will be a safe one. The apparent differences in the situations of the wagons will not be seen as reflecting permanent and necessary differences between the people riding in the wagons, but simply a product of their different positions along the road".



In these times of insecurity and uncertainty, we must resist cynical efforts to divide communities and portray neighbours as 'the other'. Discrimination, racism and xenophobia diminish us all. It prevents people — and societies — from achieving their full potential. Together, let us stand up against bigotry and for human rights. Together, let us build bridges. Together, let us transform fear into hope.

The Declaration and Program of Action on a Culture of Peace recognizes that the adherence to the principles of freedom, justice, democracy, tolerance, solidarity, cooperation, pluralism, cultural diversity, dialogue and understanding at all levels of society and among nations is a vital element for the promotion of peace.

In this book we try to make a historical peace journey from the Ancient Greece and Rome to the modern times, through the living testimony of some well-known thinkers, artists and philosophers. In this way, this book promotes a broader exchange of knowledge and a better understanding of the cultural heritage of our humankind.

Miguel Bosé

"If you want Peace, prepare Peace"  
Rodrigo Carazo Odio.



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