



*Punish and The History of Sexuality* (Vol. 1); there is also reference to the importance of studying political events and a return to empiricism in political thought.

Hannah Arendt stands as the only woman in the text, and while Roy T. Tsao does justice to her work, it is unfortunate that once again her affair with Heidegger is mentioned. Once again the theme of ideology is covered by Tsao's analysis of Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism*; Arendt's thesis is that a Totalitarian 'movement' is one in which all government functions are subordinated 'to the momentary aims of the movement's all-embracing ideology...and the attraction of the movements lay in those masses' longing to escape from human reality into the sheer fiction of ideology' (p. 171). As Carver and Martin point out, 'Unlike the Anglo-American tradition of thought, with which they are commonly contrasted, Continental ideas are routinely derided for being too "poetic", needlessly convoluted and hence dangerously removed from "common sense"' (p. 3). Of course brilliant scholars such as Arendt in *Life of the Mind* describe poetry as a 'sign of genius' and she also makes the point that common sense is on the opposing side of a war between it and reason. Thus 'If we enter into their spirit and consider their enduring value or contemporary resonances, we may find ourselves transformed, or at very least *informed*, in a way we hadn't expected' (p. 3), the book certainly reaches this goal. This was not only a highly informative and engaging read that has provided me with fresh perspectives on old friends and introduced me to new ones, it was also an exciting page turning journey through thought. I would recommend that those with an interest in political theory or political philosophy consider *Palgrave Advances in Continental Political Thought*.

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### **Justice Beyond Borders**

Simon Caney

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The book has two purposes: to present a cosmopolitan global political theory and to critique three rival theoretical approaches (realism, nationalism and the society-of-states tradition). Caney meets both purposes by examining six central



issues of controversy: universalism, civil and political justice, distributive justice, political structures, just war and humanitarian intervention. In each case he argues for cosmopolitan solutions to the moral and theoretical problems raised and refutes arguments offered by the rival traditions.

Caney devotes a chapter to each of his six issues. Chapter 2 reassesses the debate between moral relativists and moral universalists. After rejecting some common objections to relativism, Caney presents his own argument for universalism which refers us to properties that he deems are shared by all human beings, such as basic needs. He then claims that if there are valid moral principles concerning these properties — which he assumes there are — then they must apply universally, since it is logical to suppose that ‘valid moral principles apply to all those who are similar in a morally relevant way’ (p. 36).

Chapter 3 argues for an extensive list of civil and political human rights. In so doing it confronts two groups of doubters: those that deny there are any human rights and those, such as Rawls, who argue for a more minimal list than the full liberal package. Caney finds the former group motivated by unfounded fears: that rights impose uniformity or engender selfishness. The latter group he deems guilty of two counts of illogic. First, failing to show why foreigners should not be entitled to the same rights that citizens of liberal states are entitled to. Second, failing to recognize the connections between the minimal rights they argue for and the more extensive rights they argue against.

Chapter 4 contends that global distributive justice demands the application of four principles: subsistence rights, equality of opportunity, equal pay for equal work and priority for the worst off. Caney’s argument is once again founded on a consistency claim: principles applying domestically should apply globally unless there is good reason to maintain a double standard. He explores arguments defending a double standard made by realists and nationalists and finds them wanting.

Chapter 5 argues for cosmopolitan institutions such as a directly elected second assembly at the UN, reformed financial institutions and a strengthened International Court of Justice. Such institutions, he claims, are demanded both on democratic — or what he calls ‘rights-based’ — grounds of giving people a voice in decisions that affect their ability to exercise their rights and the ‘instrumental’ grounds of realizing the principles of justice set out in the previous two chapters (pp. 158–159). Caney goes on to argue, against society-of-states theorists, that the state system cannot act as an adequate alternative to cosmopolitan institutions and, against nationalists, that many of the claims made for national self-determination are too strong.

Chapter 6 argues for a just war theory based on the concept of individual rights. A just cause for war is the defence of a political regime that respects its citizens rights or at least does a better job than the attacking regime would do in its place. Caney thus rejects Walzer’s account of *jus ad bellum* that ties just



cause to the right of states to self-government. One criticism Caney makes of Walzer is that his principles of *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello* fail to logically relate. By contrast Caney argues that principles of *jus in bello* should be based upon the same concern for individual rights that motivate his principles of *jus ad bellum*. It is out of respect for the rights of non-combatants that Caney argues they should not ordinarily be targeted. However since Caney's theory of rights is consequentialist he (controversially) permits the targeting of non-combatants when necessary 'to protect the rights of a larger group of non-combatants' (p. 214).

Chapter 7 makes an argument for humanitarian intervention also based on individual rights. A just intervention, Caney claims, will defend individual rights against states that, having failed to respect their citizens' rights, 'lack moral standing' (p. 234). He confronts standard arguments against humanitarian intervention — for instance, that it violates self-government and destroys international stability — but accepts the need for a number of preconditions before a state has a *moral*, let alone *legal*, right to intervene.

Cosmopolitans are often criticized for utopianism. Perhaps there is no more reason to fault cosmopolitans for holding high ideals than there is to fault political practice for failing to realize them. Nevertheless one pleasing aspect of Caney's work is he makes cosmopolitan policies seem genuine possibilities. He does so by engaging with the sorts of empirical debates normative philosophers rarely touch. For instance, using the example of the Tobin tax, Caney disputes the claim that every state need cooperate with liberal practices for progress to nevertheless be made (p. 138). On a related point: Caney's attention to international relations literature makes *Justice Beyond Borders* a book for IR scholars, as much as for political theorists.

Some might complain that the book tries to cover too many topics. Caney anticipates this criticism and in defence points to the extent to which his topics interrelate (pp. 20–21). In any case the criticism would only be apt if the quality of the book's content suffered as a result of its breadth. This is plainly not the case. The book is rich in detail and insight. Caney moves systematically through the material sorting bad arguments from good while formulating each with impressive clarity.

Indeed, the book's comprehensiveness is actually its primary virtue. Even in the case of familiar arguments, we learn so much simply from Caney's careful positioning of each point within an overall structure. It is like finally being handed a map of the theoretical landscape. And since few landscapes are as crowded or complex as global political theory, *Justice Beyond Borders* is a map I do not advise anyone addressing this subject to go without.

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