Contents

1. The Normative Dialogue of International Society 1
   Two Conversations of World Politics 1
   The Political Conversation of Humankind 10
   Basic Norms of the Global Covenant: Procedural 16
   Basic Norms of the Global Covenant: Prudential 19
   Unity in Diversity 22

I. Theory and History of International Society

2. International Human Relations 29
   Prologue 29
   Seven Faces of International Human Activity 31

3. Recovering the Classical Approach 44
   Retrieving the Human Sciences 44
   Classics for Studying International Society 58
   Bringing Values back into View 62
   The Window-Dressing Critique 67
   The Classical Approach and Social Science 71

4. The Classical Approach as a Craft Discipline 77
   Normative Inquiry into World Politics 77
   International Relations as a Craft Discipline 91

5. The Political Theory of International Societas 97
   The Social Elements of International Relations 97
   The Constitutional Framework of International Society 102
   The Auxilliary Framework of International Society 105
   International System and International Society 113
   Prudential Association and Procedural Association 116
   Ideals in International Law 122
### Contents

6. The Situational Ethics of Independent Statecraft 130
   - States and Statespeople 130
   - Standards and Circumstances 134
   - Power and Responsibility 137
   - Situational Ethics 143
   - Political Virtue in International Relations 149

7. The Pluralist Architecture of World Politics 156
   - Before Sovereignty 156
   - The Pluralist Moment 162
   - A \textit{Societas} of Sovereign States 165
   - Plural Responsibilities of Independent Statecraft 169
   - Normative Pluralism in World Politics 178

II. Practices and Problems of Contemporary International Society

8. Security in a Pluralist World 185
   - The Value of Security 185
   - Security in Political Theory 188
   - Confusing and Deconfusing Security 193
   - Security in Classical International Theory 196
   - International Security as a Great Power Responsibility 201
   - Protected Jurisdictions and Insecure Populations 205
   - Human Security in a World of States 210

9. Justifying Conventional War 216
   - Eight Thoughts on War as a Human Activity 216
   - Resorting to War 219
   - Attacking the Social Base 223
   - Citizens as Combatants once Removed 229
   - Restraint in Battle 232
   - Unlevel Battlefields 241
   - Distributive and Corrective Justice 244
   - A Constitutional War? 246

10. Armed Intervention for Humanity 249
    - The \textit{Jus ad Bellum} of Intervention 249
    - Intervention during the Cold War 254
Contents

Intervention in Iraq 260
Intervention in Somalia 263
Intervention in Bosnia 268
Humanitarian War: Kosovo 277
Expanding *Jus ad Bellum*? 287

11. Failed States and International Trusteeship 294

Sovereignty Can Be Dangerous 294
International Society as a Benevolent Association 297
Reverting to International Trusteeship? 301
The Responsibility of Sovereignty 308

12. International Boundaries as a Planetary Institution 316

What are International Boundaries? 316
Juridical Insiders and Sociological Outsiders 321
The Principle of *Uti Possidetis juris* 325
Redrawing International Boundaries by Force 328
Justifying Juridical Statehood 331

13. Democracy and International Community 336

Community in World Politics 336
World Political Community 338
Regional Political Community: Europe 345
Expanding Western Political Community 350
‘The Doctrine of International Community’ 355
Making Converts to Democracy World-Wide 360
The Hubris of the West? 366

III. Value and Future of International Society

14. Alternatives to International *Societas*? 371

Beyond Non-Intervention? 371
Beyond the Ethics of Statecraft? 374
Another Grotian Moment? 378
A Global Civic Ethic? 385
After International Society: Universalism or Relativism? 390

15. Justifying the Global Covenant 400

Human Diversity and Human Imperfection 400
Contents

Global Political Ethics 406
Westphalia Evolving 419

Bibliography 427

Index 451