Notes

Preface to the Paperback edition: Global Theory Revisited

7. For my own reflections on interpretation in political thought, see G. Browning A History of Modern Political Thought: An Introduction (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016)

1 Introduction


8. In *Of Grammatology* Derrida observes that an author can always say, ‘more, less, or something other than what he would mean or want to say.’ J. Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore, Maryland, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 144


10. The thinking of Kant, Hegel and Marx has permeated subsequent theoretical discourse. Aspects of their impact are so fundamental that they are seldom focused upon. For instance, Kant’s critical review of metaphysics establishes a critical standpoint that remains of importance in all critical thinking, and Marx’s critique of capital influences all subsequent critical discourse on capitalism.


13. See M. Hardt and A. Negri *Empire*.


17. See A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*.
18. For a Kantian-inspired account of the possibilities of deepening forms of cosmopolitanism and improvements to democratic institutions, see D. Held, *Cosmopolitanism: Issues and Realities* (Cambridge UK and Malden MA, Polity Press, 2010).
21. See J. Habermas, ‘Kant’s idea of perpetual peace with the benefit of two hundred years’ hindsight’ and D. Held, ‘Cosmopolitan democracy and the global order: the new agenda in, in J. Bohman and M. Lutz-Bachman (eds) *Perpetual Peace; Essays on Kant’s Cosmopolitan Ideal*.


28. Ibid., p.9

29. See B. Axford, ‘In at the death? Reflections on Justin Rosenberg’s “post-mortem” on globalization’, *Globalizations*, vol. 4, No. 2, June 2007. In this review article Axford critiques Rosenberg’s critique for relying on a problematic Marxist perspective and for abstracting from the complexity and variety of studies of globalisation, such as the focus on networks and relational scales in P. Dicken, P. Kelly and H. Yeung, ‘Chains and networks, territories and scales: towards a relational framework for analyzing the global economy’ *Global Networks* 1, 2001. This review is considered and thoughtful, though questions remain about large-scale theories of globalisation as well as about Rosenberg’s own standpoint.

2 Kant: Cosmopolitan Reason, Progress and Global Responsibility

1. The introductory essay, ‘Kant’s cosmopolitan ideal in “Toward perpetual peace”: Historical reconstructions’ by J. Bohman and M. Lutz-Bachman in their edited volume *Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant’s Cosmopolitan Ideal* sets out the significance and contemporary relevance of Kant’s political theory. See J. Bohman and M. Lutz-Bachman (eds), *Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant’s Cosmopolitan Ideal* (Cambridge MA, MIT Press, 1997).

2. The extent to which a turn towards Kant is at the same time a turn away from Hegel and Marx and historicised or postmodern accounts of social and political life is evident in Cavallar’s *Kant and the Theory and Practice of International Right*, where he portrays Kant as a historical and practical theorist but still separates him sharply from postmodernism and Hegel and Marx by dint of his commitment to reason. See G. Cavallar, *Kant and the Theory and Practice of International Right* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1999).


5. The later Habermas aims to continue the Enlightenment inheritance by repudiating postmodernism and mature Hegelianism and by developing Kantian cosmopolitanism in the context of globalisation. Held develops in tandem theories of cosmopolitanism and globalisation, where he signals the significance of Kant. See D. Held, ‘Cosmopolitan democracy and the global order: A new agenda’, and J. Habermas, ‘Kant's idea of perpetual peace, with the benefit of two hundred years hindsight’ in J. Bohman and M. Lutz-Bachman (eds), *Perpetual Peace – Essays on Kant’s Cosmopolitan Ideal*


8. I. Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*.


10. I. Kant, ‘The metaphysics of morals’, in *Kant’s Political Writings*, p. 134.

11. Ibid., p.132.

12. Ibid., p. 137.

13. Ibid., p.171.


16. I. Kant, ‘An answer to the question: “What is Enlightenment?”’ in *Kant’s Political Writings*.


18. Ibid., p. 54.

19. Ibid., p. 85).

20. Ibid., p. 91.

21. Ibid., p. 94.

22. Ibid., pp. 92–98.

23. Ibid., particularly pp. 11 and 4.


25. See I. Kant, ‘An answer to the question: “What is Enlightenment?”’

26. See D. Held, ‘Cosmopolitan democracy and the global order: A new agenda’, and J. Habermas, ‘Kant’s idea of perpetual peace with the benefit of two hundred years hindsight.’
27. See D. Held, ‘Cosmopolitan democracy and the global order: A new agenda’, and J. Habermas, ‘Kant’s idea of perpetual peace with the benefit of two hundred years hindsight.’


30. Ibid., p. 357.


34. See G. Cavallar, Kant and the Theory and Practice of International Right.


43. Hutchings traces the influences of Kant’s thought on Habermas, Foucault, Arendt and Lyotard as well as exploring its impact on contemporary international relations theory and feminism. Her message is that Kant cannot be pigeon-holed easily, for his thought aims to recognise and resolve its own limits. K. Hutchings, Kant, Critique and Politics (London and New York, Routledge, 1996).


45. H. Arendt, Lectures on Kant’s Political Philosophy (Brighton, Harvester Press, 1982).

46. In his later work on ethics and politics, Derrida invokes Kant’s notion of a regulative idea to guide conduct, to imagine a way of aligning conduct
with what is assumed to be right and proper without a fixed rule or idea to guide it. There is no exhaustion of possible ways of acting and yet we must act and the Kantian assumption of a regulative idea is tempting for Derrida. See his discussion in the interview, ‘Autoimmunity: Real and symbolic suicides – a dialogue with Jacques Derrida’ in G. Borradori (ed.) Philosophy in a Time of Terror – Dialogues with Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida (Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 2003), pp. 134–135.

3 Hegel: Global Theory and Recognition


8. See D. Held et al., Global Transformations; D. Held, Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance, chs 1 and 2.


10. See M. Hardt and A. Negri, Empire.


21. Ibid.
25. Ibid., pp. 322–323.
27. Ibid., p. 212.
29. Ibid., p. 212.
30. Ibid., p. 214.
31. Ibid., p. 212.
32. Ibid., pp. 214–215.
33. Ibid., pp. 216–223.
34. See D.Held et al., *Global Transformations*.
35. See M. Hardt and A. Negri, *Empire*.

4 Marx and Modernity

2. Ibid., pp. 300–330.
3. Ibid., pp. 351–352.
4. Ibid., pp. 327–328.
5. Ibid., pp. 328–329.
6. Ibid., pp. 370–400.


19. Miller provides an informed and informative account of how there is a discrepancy between Marx’s generalised statements about the course of history and his detailed accounts of historical change. See R. Miller, *Analyzing Marx: Morality, Power and History* (Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 1984).

20. For a strong statement seemingly supporting a technological theory of history see K. Marx, *The Holy Family*. See also *The German Ideology* where there are countervailing statements. On the one hand Marx and Engels appear to separate forces of production from relations of production or forms of social intercourse and assign causal priority to the former. On the other hand, they envisage relations of production/forms of social intercourse as themselves constituting forces of production. They also indicate that all elements of social life may be seen as interacting with one another. K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, p. 43.


22. For analysis of Marx’s relations to young Hegelians and how these relations shape the expression of Marx and Engels’ views on a variety of subjects, see *The German Ideology*; see also G.K. Browning, ‘*The German Ideology: The theory of history and the history of theory*’ *History of Political Thought*, xiv(3), 1993).


32. Ibid., p. 216.

33. Ibid., p. 261.

34. Ibid., p. 301.

35. Ibid., p. 270.


37. See ibid., ‘Communism is the act of positing as the negation of the negation...’ p. 358.


41. For the classic text in the dishing of communism after the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, see F. Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (London, Hamish Hamilton, 1992).

42. Amongst other examples of this transformation in tone, see the opening chapter in A. Negri, *Goodbye Mr. Socialism*. Negri in conversation with Raf Scelsi and translated from the Italian by Peter Thomas (New York, Seven Stories Press, 2008).


44. In the *Grundrisse* Marx qualifies his materialism by observing that social reality is relational and hence is to be grasped by the use of concepts. See

45. A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*.


49. Ibid., pp. 85–86.

50. Ibid., pp. 32–33.

51. Ibid., p. 107.

5 Global Theory: Transformation


2. Ibid., p.172.


6. Ibid., p. 4.

7. Ibid. p. 4.


10. Ibid., p. 21.

11. Ibid., p. 64.

12. Ibid., p. 64.

13. Ibid., pp. 72 and 76.


19. Ibid., p. 10.
23. Ibid., p. 79.
25. Ibid., p. 492.
30. Ibid., p. 170.
31. Ibid., p. 63.
35. Ibid., p. 55.
36. Ibid., p. 98.
43. Ibid., p. 170.
50. Ibid., p. 59.
51. Ibid., pp. 54–56.
57. See M. Hardt and A. Negri, *Multitude-War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (London and New York, Penguin Press, 2004). In this book and elsewhere Hardt and Negri repudiate expressly their links with dialectical predecessors while operating with arguments that can be termed dialectical.

6 Global Cosmopolitanism

8. Ibid., p. 216.
9. Ibid., p. 216.
25. Ibid., pp. 1–25.
26. Ibid., p. 5.
30. Ibid., pp. 21–22.
31. Ibid., p. 27.
33. S. Benhabib, ‘Another cosmopolitanism’, p. 45.
34. Ibid., p. 71.
42. Ibid., p. 266.
43. Ibid., p. 268.
46. Ibid. p. 116.

7 Radical Global Theory

11. Ibid., p. xvi
12. Ibid., p. 446
14. Ibid., p. 246
15. Ibid., p. 243
18. Ibid., p. 355
19. Ibid., p. 356
21. Ibid., p. 4
34. A. Negri, *Empire and Beyond*, p. 66
35. See M. Hardt and A. Negri, *Commonwealth*, pp. 119–131
36. Ibid., p. 224
37. M. Hardt and A. Negri, *Multitude – War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*
38. See M. Hardt and A. Negri, *Empire*, pp. 393–415
40. M. Hardt and A. Negri, *Empire*
41. Ibid.
43. M. Hardt and A. Negri, *Multitude – War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*, p 60
44. A. Negri, *Empire and Beyond*, pp. 126–127
49. M. Hardt and A. Negri, *Empire* p. 59
52. M. Hardt and A. Negri, *Multitude – War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* p. 146
56. K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology*, p. 56
58. M. Hardt and A. Negri, *Empire* p. 44
59. Ibid., p. 49
60. Ibid., p. 44
61. Ibid., xiii
63. M. Hardt and A. Negri, *Empire* p. 65
64. Ibid., p. 44
70. M. Hardt and A. Negri, *Empire*, p. 13
71. Ibid., p. 38
72. Ibid., p. 25
73. M. Hardt and A. Negri, *Commonwealth*, p. 172
75. K. Marx, *Grundrisse*, ch. 1
77. T. Carver, ‘Less Than Full Marx…’, *Political Theory*, vol. 34, Number 2, June, 2006, p. 351

8 Conclusion: Deconstructing Modern and Global Theory


6. Ibid., p. 45.

7. Ibid., p. 40.

8. Ibid., p. 97.

9. Ibid., p.105.


17. Ibid., p. viii.


20. For an interesting critique of Hegel, which focuses upon his dismissal of traditional or primitive cultures, see W. Conklin, *Hegel’s Laws – The Legitimacy of a Modern Legal Order* (Stanford CA, Stanford University Press, 2008).


27. See, J. Derrida, *Specters of Marx*.


32. Ibid. p. 97.


35. Ibid.


41. See ibid., chapter 2 for an incisive and critical discussion of Derrida’s reading of Kant, Hegel and Marx.


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