REFERENCES

- Adorno, T.W. (1983) *Prisms* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press).
- Anderson, P. (2006) 'The world made flesh', *New Left Review*, 39, pp. 132–9.
- Arendt, H. (1958) *The Human Condition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press).
- Ashby, W.R. (1956) *An Introduction to Cybernetics* (London: Chapman & Hall).
- Ashenden, S. (1998) 'Pluralism within the limits of reason alone? Habermas and the discursive negotiation of consensus', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 1, pp. 117–36.
- Aspinwall, M. and Schneider, G. (2001) 'Institutional research on the European Union: mapping the field', in M. Aspinwall and G. Schneider (eds), *The Rules of Integration: Institutionalist Approaches to the Study of Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press).
- Ballard, J.G. (1961) 'Practical genius', *Chemistry and Industry*, 20 May 1961.
- Ballard, J.G. (1962) 'Last of the Titans', *Chemistry and Industry*, 2 June 1962.
- Ballard, J.G. (1967) *The Wind from Nowhere* (London: Penguin).
- Ballard, J.G. (1996) *Cocaine Nights* (London: Flamingo).
- Ballard, J.G. (2000) *Super-Cannes* (London: Flamingo).
- Banchoff, T. and Smith, M.P. (1999) 'Introduction: conceptualising legitimacy in a contested polity', in T. Banchoff and M.P. Smith (eds), *Legitimacy and the European Union: The Contested Polity* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Beetham, D. and Lord, C. (1998) *Legitimacy and the European Union* (London and New York: Longman).
- Bell, D. (1996) *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (New York: BasicBooks).
- Bellamy, R. and Castiglione, D. (2000a) 'The uses of democracy: reflections on the European democratic deficit', in E.O. Eriksen and E.F. Fossum (eds), *Democracy in the European Union: Integration through Deliberation?* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Bellamy, R. and Castiglione, D. (2000b) 'The normative turn in European Union studies: legitimacy, identity, democracy', RUSEL Working Paper No. 38, Department of Politics, University of Exeter, July 2000.
- Bellamy, R. and Warleigh, A. (1998) 'From an ethics of integration to an ethics of participation: citizenship and the future of the European Union', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 27, pp. 447–70.
- Bey, H. (1994) *Immediatism* (Oakland, CA: AK Press).
- Blond, P. (2010) *Red Tory: How Left and Right have Broken Britain and How We can Fix It* (London: Faber & Faber).
- Blumenthal, S. (2003) *The Clinton Wars: An Insider's Account of the White House Years* (London: Viking).
- Brand, S. (1994) *How Buildings Learn: What Happens after They're Built* (Viking Press: New York).
- Burrow, J. (1991) 'Social Darwinism', in D. Miller, J. Coleman, W. Connolly and A. Ryan (eds), *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Caldwell, C. (2004) 'Europe draws back from 1968', *Financial Times*, 26 November 2004.
- Caporaso, J.A. (2000) *The European Union: Dilemmas of Regional Integration* (London: Westview).

- Carleheden, M. and Gabriëls, R. (1996) 'An interview with Jürgen Habermas', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 13(3), pp. 1–17.
- Castells, M. (1999) 'The unification of Europe: globalisation, identity, and the network state', in *End of Millenium*, Volume III of *The Information Age: Economy, Society, Culture* (UK: Blackwell).
- Checkel, J.T. (2001) 'Social construction and European integration', in T. Christiansen, K.E. Jørgensen and A. Wiener (eds), *The Social Construction of Europe* (London: Sage).
- Christiansen, T., Jørgensen, K.E. and Wiener, A. (2001) 'Introduction', in T. Christiansen, K.E. Jørgensen and A. Wiener (eds), *The Social Construction of Europe* (London: Sage).
- Chrysoschoou, D. (2000) 'Meta-theory and the study of the European Union: capturing the normative turn', *Journal of European Integration*, 22(2), pp. 123–44.
- Cilliers, P. (2000) *Complexity and Postmodernism: Understanding Complex Systems* (London: Routledge).
- Cohen, R.S. and Wartofsky, M.W. (1980) 'Editorial preface', in H.R. Maturana and F.J. Varela, *Autopoiesis and Cognition: The Realisation of the Living* (Netherlands: D. Reidel).
- Comite des Sages (1996) *For a Europe of Civic and Social Rights* (Office for Official Publications of the European Communities).
- Commission of the European Communities (2001) *European Governance*, White Paper, available at: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2001/com2001_0428en01.pdf (accessed 31 March 2011).
- Coudenhove-Kalergi, R. (1923) *Pan-Europa* (Wien: Pan-Europa-Verlag).
- Cram, L. (1997) *Policy-Making in the EU: Conceptual Lenses and the Integration Process* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Cram, L. (1998) 'Integration theory and the study of the European policy process', in J. Richardson (ed.), *European Union: Power and Policymaking* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Davis, D. (2009) 'I wouldn't trust Google with my personal info', *The Times*, 27 July 2009, available at: http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/columnists/guest_contributors/article6728116.ece (accessed 27 July 2009).
- Davis, M. (2004) 'Planet of slums', *New Left Review*, 26, pp. 5–34.
- Dawkins, R. (2006) *The God Delusion* (London: Bantam).
- d'Entrèves, M.P. (1996) 'Introduction', in M.P. d'Entrèves and S. Benhabib (eds), *Habermas and the Unfinished Project of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Diez, T. (2001) 'Speaking "Europe": the politics of integration discourse', in T. Christiansen, K.E. Jørgensen and A. Wiener (eds), *The Social Construction of Europe* (London: Sage).
- Durkheim, É. (1951) *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press).
- Duvenage, P. (2003) *Habermas and Aesthetics: The Limits of Communicative Reason* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Dyzenhaus, D. (2002) 'Hermann Heller: Introduction', in A.J. Jacobson and B. Schlink (eds), *Weimar: A Jurisprudence of Crisis* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press).
- Edwards, J. (2003) 'Evolutionary psychology and politics', *Economy and Society*, 32(2), pp. 280–98.
- Engelbrekt, K. (2002) 'Multiple asymmetries: the European Union's neo-Byzantine approach to Eastern enlargement', *Journal of International Politics*, 39(1), pp. 37–51, available at: www.statsvet.su.se/stv_hemsida/statsvetenskap_kjell_engelbrekt_right.htm (accessed 24 July 2005).
- Eriksen, E.O. (2005) 'Reflexive integration in Europe', in E.O. Eriksen (ed.), *Making the European Polity: Reflexive Integration in the EU* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Eriksen, E.O. (2009) *The Unfinished Democratisation of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

- Eriksen, E.O. and Fossum, E.F. (2000) 'Post-national integration', in E.O. Eriksen and E.F. Fossum (eds), *Democracy in the European Union: Integration through Deliberation?* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Eurobarometer (2002) 57, Spring 2002, available at: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb57/eb57_en.pdf (accessed 25 May 2005).
- European Commission (2001) *European Governance: A White Paper*, COM(2001) 428 (Luxembourg: Office of Official Publications of the European Communities).
- European Parliament and Council of Ministers (1995) 'Directive of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 October 1995 on the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data', *Official Journal of the European Communities*, No. L 281/31, 23 November 1995, available at: http://ec.europa.eu/justice/policies/privacy/docs/95-46-ce/dir1995-46_part1_en.pdf (accessed 25 May 2005).
- Fidler, S. and Baker, G. (2003) 'America's democratic imperialists', *Financial Times*, 5 March 2003.
- Fink, J., Lewis, G. and Clarke, J. (eds) (2001) *Rethinking European Welfare: Transformations of Europe and Social Policy* (London: Sage).
- Foucault, M. (1990) 'Critical theory/intellectual history', in L. Kritzman (ed.), *Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings of Michel Foucault, 1977–1984* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Fukuyama, F. (1989) 'The end of history?', *The National Interest*, Summer, pp. 3–18.
- Geyer, R. (2000) *Exploring European Social Policy* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Geyer, R. (2003) 'European integration, the problem of complexity and the revision of theory', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 41, pp. 15–35.
- Gibson, W. (1984) *Neuromancer* (New York: Ace Books).
- Giddens, A. (1998) *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Giddens, A. and Hutton, W. (2000) 'Fighting back', in A. Giddens and W. Hutton (eds), *On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism* (London: Jonathan Cape).
- Glazov, J. (2003) 'Frontpage interview: Christopher Hitchens', *FrontPageMag.Com*, 10 December 2003, available at: <http://97.74.65.51/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=15054> (accessed 22 May 2010).
- Goff, J. (1992) *The Last Days of the Most Hidden Man* (Kindle Edition: Amazon Media).
- Goff, J. (2008) 'What price privacy?', *Philosophy Now*, 66 (March/April), pp. 6–7.
- Golding, W. (1961) *The Inheritors* (London: Faber & Faber).
- Golding, W. (1986) *Lord of the Flies* (London: Faber & Faber).
- Goodhart, D. (2004) 'Too diverse?', *Prospect*, February 2004.
- Goodrick-Clarke, N. (2002) *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism, and the Politics of Identity* (New York University Press).
- Gorz, A. (1980) *Adieux au prolétariat: Au-delà du socialisme* (Paris: Éditions Galilée). Tr. as (1982) *Farewell to the Working Class: An Essay on Post-Industrial Socialism* (London: Pluto Press).
- Gorz, A. (1981) 'Nine theses for a future left', *Telos*, 48, pp. 91–8.
- Gray, J. (1998) *False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism* (London: Granta Books).
- Gray, J. (2002) *Straw Dogs: Thoughts on Humans and Other Animals* (London: Granta Books).
- Gray, J. (2003) *Al Qaeda and What It Means to be Modern* (London: Faber & Faber).
- Gray, J. (2004a) *Heresies: Against Progress and Other Illusions* (London: Granta Books).
- Gray, J. (2004b) 'Ethically engineered', *Times Literary Supplement*, 16 January 2004.
- Gray, J. (2007) *Black Mass: Apocalyptic Religion and the Death of Utopia* (London: Allen Lane).
- Gray, J. (2010) 'Progressive, like the 1980s', *London Review of Books*, 21 October 2010.

- Grewal, S.S. (2001) 'The paradox of integration: Habermas and the unfinished project of European Union', *Politics*, 21(2), pp. 114–23.
- Grewal, S.S. (2005) 'A cosmopolitan Europe by constitutional means? Assessing the theoretical foundations of Habermas' political prescriptions', *Journal of European Integration*, 27(2), pp. 191–215.
- Grewal, S.S. (2010) 'Habermas, law and European social policy: a rejoinder to Murphy', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17(2), pp. 282–98.
- Griffin, R.D. (1993) *The Nature of Fascism* (London: Routledge).
- Haas, E.B. (1958) *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces 1950–1957* (California: Stanford University Press).
- Haas, E.B. (1964) *Beyond the Nation-State: Functionalism and International Organisation* (California: Stanford University Press).
- Haas, E.B. (1975) *The Obsolescence of Regional Integration Theory*, Berkeley: University of California, Institute of International Studies, Research Series No. 25.
- Haas, E.B. (2001) 'Does constructivism subsume neo-functionalism?', in T. Christiansen, K.E. Jørgensen and A. Wiener (eds), *The Social Construction of Europe* (London: Sage).
- Habermas, J. (1962) *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit – Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Neuwied/Berlin: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag). Tr. as (1989) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press).
- Habermas, J. (1973) 'What does a crisis mean today? Legitimation problems in late capitalism', *Social Research*, 40, pp. 643–67.
- Habermas, J. (1973) *Legitimationsprobleme im Spätkapitalismus* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp). Tr. as (1975) *Legitimation Crisis* (Boston: Beacon Press).
- Habermas, J. (1981) *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns*, Zwei Bände (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp). Tr. as *The Theory of Communicative Action*, (1984) volume 1 and (1987) volume 2 (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1981a) 'New social movements', *Telos*, 49, pp. 33–7.
- Habermas, J. (1981b) 'Modernity versus postmodernity', *New German Critique*, 22, pp. 3–14.
- Habermas, J. (1985) *Die neue Unübersichtlichkeit* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp). Tr. as (1989) *The New Conservatism* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1985) *Der Philosophische Diskurs der Moderne* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp). Tr. as (1990) *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1986a) 'Political experience and the renewal of Marxist theory', in Peter Dews (ed.), *Autonomy and Solidarity* (London: Verso).
- Habermas, J. (1986b) 'Conservatism and capitalist crisis', in Peter Dews (ed.), *Autonomy and Solidarity* (London: Verso).
- Habermas, J. (1986c) 'The dialectics of rationalisation', in Peter Dews (ed.), *Autonomy and Solidarity* (London: Verso).
- Habermas, J. (1986d) 'Conservative politics, work, socialism and Utopia today', in Peter Dews (ed.), *Autonomy and Solidarity* (London: Verso).
- Habermas, J. (1990a) 'What does socialism mean today? The rectifying revolution and the need for new thinking on the left', *New Left Review*, 183, pp. 3–21.
- Habermas, J. (1990b) *On the Logic of the Social Sciences* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1992) *Faktizität und Geltung* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp). Tr. as (1996) *Between Facts and Norms* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1992a) 'Citizenship and national identity: some reflections on the future of Europe', *Praxis International*, 12(1), pp. 1–19.
- Habermas, J. (1994a) 'The normative deficits of unification', in *The Past as Future: Jürgen Habermas Interviewed by Michael Haller* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1994b) 'Neoconservative cultural criticism in the United States and West

- Germany', in Shierry Weber NicholSEN (ed.), *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historians' Debate* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1994c) 'The new obscurity: the crisis of the welfare state and the exhaustion of utopian energies', in Shierry Weber NicholSEN (ed.), *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historians' Debate* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1994d) 'Historical consciousness and post-traditional identity: the federal republic's orientation to the West', in Shierry Weber NicholSEN (ed.), *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historians' Debate* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1994e) 'Modern and postmodern architecture', in Shierry Weber NicholSEN (ed.), *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historians' Debate* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1994f) 'The horrors of autonomy: Carl Schmitt in English', in Shierry Weber NicholSEN (ed.), *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historians' Debate* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1995) *The Theory of Communicative Action, Volume II: The Critique of Functionalist Reason* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1996a) 'Modernity: an unfinished project', in M.P. d'Entrèves and S. Benhabib (eds), *Habermas and the Unfinished Project of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1996b) *Postmetaphysical Thinking: Philosophical Essays* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press).
- Habermas, J. (1997a) *The Theory of Communicative Action, Volume I: Reason and the Rationalisation of Society* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1997b) 'Reply to Grimm', in P. Gowan and P. Anderson (eds), *The Question of Europe* (London: Verso).
- Habermas, J. (1998) *Die postnationale Konstellation – Politische Essays* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp). Tr. as (2001) *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1998a) *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1998b) *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions toward a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1998c) 'There are alternatives', *New Left Review*, 231, pp. 3–12.
- Habermas, J. (1998d) *A Berlin Republic: Writings on Germany* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (1998e) 'Learning by disaster? A diagnostic look back on the short 20th century', *Constellations*, 5(3), pp. 307–20.
- Habermas, J. (1998f) 'The European nation-state: on the past and future of sovereignty and citizenship', *Public Culture*, 10(2), pp. 397–416.
- Habermas, J. (1999a) 'The European nation-state and the pressures of globalisation', *New Left Review*, 235, pp. 46–59.
- Habermas, J. (1999b) *The Inclusion of the Other: Studies in Political Theory* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press).
- Habermas, J. (2000) 'Beyond the nation-state?: on some consequences of economic globalisation', in E.O. Eriksen and E.F. Fossum (eds), *Democracy in the European Union: Integration through Deliberation?* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Habermas, J. (2001a) 'A constitution for Europe?', *New Left Review*, 11, pp. 5–26.
- Habermas, J. (2001b) *On the Pragmatics of Social Interaction: Preliminary Studies in the Theory of Communicative Action* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press).
- Habermas, J. (2001c) *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays* (Cambridge: Polity Press).
- Habermas, J. (2002) 'Letter to America', *The Nation*, December 2002, available at: <http://www.thenation.com/doc.mhtml?i=20021216&s=habermas> (accessed 24 May 2003).

- Habermas, J. (2003a) 'Interpreting the fall of a monument', *Constellations*, 10(3), pp. 364–70.
- Habermas, J. (2003b) 'A dialogue with Jürgen Habermas', in G. Borradori (ed.), *Philosophy in a Time of Terror: Dialogues with Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago).
- Habermas, J. (2004) 'America and the world: a conversation with Jürgen Habermas', *Logos*, 3(3).
- Habermas, J. (2005) 'The illusory "Leftist No": adopting the constitution to strengthen Europe's power to act', in *signandsight*, May 2005, available at: <http://www.signandsight.com/features/163.html> (accessed 25 May 2005). This article was originally published in French in the *Nouvel Observateur*, 7 May 2005.
- Habermas, J. (2008a) 'And the wheels stopped turning', *Spiegel Online International*, available at: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,560549,00.html> (accessed 13 October 2008).
- Habermas, J. (2008b) 'Der Hermann Heller der frühen Bundesrepublik Wolfgang Abendroth zum 100. Geburtstag', in *Ach, Europa. Kleine politische Schriften XI* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag).
- Habermas, J. (2008c) 'Religion in the public sphere', available at: http://www.sandiego.edu/pdf/pdf_library/habermaslecture031105_c939cceb2ab087bdfc6df291ec0fc3fa.PDF (accessed 8 May 2010).
- Habermas, J. (2009) *Europe: The Faltering Project* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. and Derrida, J. (2003) 'February 15th, or what binds Europeans together: a plea for a common foreign policy, beginning in the core of Europe', *Constellations*, 10(3), pp. 291–7.
- Habermas, J. and Ratzinger, J. (2006) *The Dialectics of Secularisation: On Reason and Religion* (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius).
- Hardt, M. and Negri, A. (2000) *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Hatoyama, Y. (2009) 'My political philosophy', *Financial Times*, 13 August 2009.
- Hawken, P., Lovins, A. and Lovins, L. (1999) *Natural Capitalism: The Next Industrial Revolution* (London: Earthscan Publications).
- Heidegger, M. (1977) *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays* (New York: Harper & Row).
- Heinsohn, G. (2008) *Söhne und Weltmacht: Terror im Aufstieg und Fall der Nationen* (Munich: Piper).
- Heller, H. (2002) 'Political democracy and social homogeneity', in A.J. Jacobson and B. Schlink (eds), *Weimar: A Jurisprudence of Crisis* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press).
- Hervier, J. (1995) *The Details of Time: Conversations with Jünger* (New York: Marsilio Publishers).
- Hesse, H. (1943) *Das Glasperlenspiel* (Zürich: Fretz & Wasmuth). Tr. as (1973) *The Glass Bead Game* (London: Penguin).
- Heylighen, F. and Joslyn, C. (2001) 'Cybernetics and second-order cybernetics', in R.A. Meyers (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Physical Science and Technology* (New York: Academic Press).
- Hitchens, C. (2007) *God Is Not Great: How Religion Poisons Everything* (New York: Twelve Books).
- Hix, S. (1994) 'The study of the European Community: the challenge to comparative politics', *West European Politics*, 17(1), pp. 1–30.
- Hix, S. (1998) 'The study of the European Union II: the "new governance" agenda and its rival', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 5, pp. 38–65.
- Hix, S. (1999) *The Political System of the European Union* (London: Palgrave).
- Hobbes, T. (2000) *Leviathan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

- Hoffman, S. (1995) 'Obstinate or obsolete? France, European integration and the fate of the nation state', in S. Hoffman, *The European Sisyphus: Essays on Europe 1964–1994* (Oxford: Westview Press).
- Hollis, M. and Smith, S. (1991) *Explaining and Understanding International Relations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Holub, R.C. (2006) *Jürgen Habermas: Critic in the Public Sphere* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Honneth, A. (2005) 'Reification: a recognition-theoretical view', *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*, March 2005, available at: http://www.tannerlectures.utah.edu/lectures/documents/Honneth_2006.pdf (accessed 2 February 2011).
- Hooghe, L. and Marks, G. (2001) *Multi-Level Governance and European Integration* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield).
- Horkheimer, M. and Adorno, T.W. (2002) *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments* (California: Stanford University Press).
- Houellebecq, M. (1998) *Les particules élémentaires* (Paris: Flammarion). Tr. as (2001) *Atomised* (London: Vintage).
- Houellebecq, M. (2001) *Plateforme* (Paris: Flammarion). Tr. as (2003) *Platform* (London: Vintage).
- Houellebecq, M. (2001a) *Atomised* (London: Vintage).
- Huntington, S. (1996) *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of the World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster).
- Hussey, A. (2002) 'The pornographer's manifesto', *New Statesman*, 19 August 2002, available at: <http://www.newstatesman.com/200208190026> (accessed 23 May 2010).
- Joerges, C. (2003) 'Europe as GroBraun? Shifting legal conceptualisations of the integration project', in C. Joerges and N.S. Ghaleigh (eds), *Darker Legacies of Law in Europe: The Shadow of National Socialism and Fascism over Europe and its Legal Traditions* (Oxford: Hart).
- Joerges, C. (2004) 'What is left of the European Economic Constitution?', *EUI Working Paper (Law)*, 04/13, available at: <http://cadmus.eui.eu/dspace/bitstream/1814/2828/1/law04-13.pdf> (accessed 15 March 2010).
- Joerges, C. and Castiglione, D. (2005) 'Working through "Bitter Experiences" towards constitutionalisation: a critique of the disregard for history in European constitutional theory: are those that forget the past doomed to repeat its mistakes? A comment on Christian Joerges', *EUI Working Paper*, Law No. 2005/14, Department of Law, European University Institute, available at: <http://cadmus.iue.it/dspace/bitstream/>
- Johnson, J. (2004) 'Caste out', *Financial Times*, 17 December 2004.
- Josipovici, G. (2010) 'Modernism still matters', *New Statesman*, 6 September 2010, available at: <http://www.newstatesman.com/books/2010/09/writers-english-modernism> (accessed 6 November 2010).
- Jospin, L. (2002) 'My vision of Europe and globalisation', in F. Michel (ed.), *My Vision of Europe and Globalisation: Lionel Jospin* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Judt, T. (2005) *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (New York: Penguin).
- Jünger, E. (1939) *Auf den Marmorklippen* (Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt). Tr. as (1970) *On the Marble Cliffs* (London: Penguin).
- Jünger, E. (1977) *Eumeswil* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta).
- Jünger, E. (1993) *Aladdin's Problem* (London: Quartet Books).
- Kadrey, R. and Stefanac, S. (1997) 'J.G. Ballard on William S. Burroughs' naked truth', *Salon*, September 1997, available at: <http://www.salon.com/sept97/wsb970902.html>.
- Kagan, R. (2003) *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York: Knopf).
- Kaiser, W. (2007) *Christian Democracy and the Origins of the European Union* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

- Keegan, W. (1993) *The Spectre of Capitalism: The Future of the World Economy after the Fall of Communism* (New York: Vintage).
- Kirino, N. (2004) *Out* (London: Vintage).
- Kirino, N. (2008) *Grotesque* (London: Vintage).
- Lange, P. (1992) 'The politics of the social dimension', in A. Sbragia (ed.), *Euro-Politics* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution).
- Latour, B. (1993) *We Have Never Been Modern* (New York: Harvester & Wheatsheaf).
- Leibfried, S. (2005) 'Social policy: left to the judges and the markets?', in H. Wallace and W. Wallace (eds), *Policy-Making in the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Leibfried, S. (2010) 'Social policy: left to the judges and the markets?', in H. Wallace, M.A. Pollack and A.R. Young (eds), *Policy-Making in the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Leibfried, S. and Pierson, P. (1995a) 'Multitiered institutions and the making of social policy', in S. Leibfried and P. Pierson (eds), *European Social Policy: Between Fragmentation and Integration* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution).
- Leibfried, S. and Pierson, P. (1995b) 'Semisovereign welfare states: social policy in a multi-tiered Europe', in S. Leibfried and P. Pierson (eds), *European Social Policy: Between Fragmentation and Integration* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution).
- Leibfried, S. and Pierson, P. (1995c) 'The dynamics of social policy integration', in S. Leibfried and P. Pierson (eds), *European Social Policy: Between Fragmentation and Integration* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution).
- Leibfried, S. and Pierson, P. (2000) 'Social policy', in H. Wallace and W. Wallace (eds), *Policy-Making in the European Union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Leonard, M. (2005) 'Europe and VISA: separated at birth?', *The Globalist*, 1 April 2005, available at: <http://www.theglobalist.com/StoryId.aspx?StoryId=4463> (accessed 13 May 2010).
- Lévy, B. (2007) 'Europe is possible', in *signandsight*, April 2007, available at: <http://www.signandsight.com/features/1305.html> (accessed 23 May 2010).
- Lewin, M. (1975) *Political Undercurrents in Soviet Economic Debates* (London: Pluto Press).
- Lovelock, J. (2007) *The Revenge of Gaia* (London: Penguin).
- Luke, T. (2006) 'Alterity or antimodernism: a response to Versluis', *Telos*, 137, pp. 131–42.
- Luhmann, N. (1995) *Social Systems* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).
- Machiavelli, N. (1970) *The Prince* (London: Penguin).
- MacIntyre, A. (1963) 'Going into Europe', *Encounter*, 20, p. 65.
- Majone, G. (1992) 'The European Community between social policy and social regulation', *EUI Working Papers*, 92/27.
- Majone, G. (1995) 'The development of social regulation in the European Community', *EUI Working Papers*, 95/2.
- Majone, G. (1996) *Regulating Europe* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Marcus, G. (1989) *Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century* (London: Secker & Warburg).
- Maturana, H.R. (1978) 'Cognition', in P.M. Hejl, K.K. Wolfram and R. Gerhard (eds), *Wahrnehmung und Kommunikation* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang).
- Maturana, H.R. and Varela, F.J. (1980) *Autopoiesis and Cognition: The Realisation of the Living* (Netherlands: D. Reidel).
- Matušítk, M.B. (2001) *Jürgen Habermas: A Philosophical-Political Profile* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield).
- Mazey, S. (1996) 'The development of the European idea: from sectoral integration to political union', in J. Richardson (ed.), *European Union: Power and Policymaking* (London and New York: Routledge).
- McCarthy, M. (1970) *The Writing on the Wall and Other Literary Essays* (London: Lowe and Brydone).

- McCarthy, T. (1978) *The Critical Theory of Jürgen Habermas* (London: Hutchinson).
- McCarthy, T. (1997) 'Translator's introduction', in J. Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action, Volume I: Reason and the Rationalisation of Society* (Cambridge: Polity).
- McCormick, J.P. (2007) *Weber, Habermas, and Transformations of the European State: Constitutional, Social, and Supranational Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- McLuhan, M. (1964) 'Notes on Burroughs', *The Nation*, 28 December 1964, pp. 517–19.
- Medina, E. (2006) 'Designing freedom, regulating a nation: socialist cybernetics in Allende's Chile', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 38, pp. 571–606.
- Menand, L. (2002) 'What comes naturally: does evolution explain who we are?', *The New Yorker*, 25 November 2002, available at: http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2002/11/25/021125crbo_books (accessed 18 February 2010).
- Mendieta, E. (2002) 'Introduction', in J. Habermas, *Religion and Rationality: Essays on Reason, God, and Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Micklethwait, J. and Wooldridge, A. (2004) *The Right Nation: Why America is Different* (London: Allen Lane).
- Milward, A.S. (2000) *The European Rescue of the Nation-State* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Mingers, J. (1995) *Self-Producing Systems: Implications and Applications of Autopoiesis* (New York and London: Plenum Press).
- Mitterrand, F. (1995) 'Geburtsstagsrede für Ernst Jünger: Hier ist ein Freier Mensch', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 29 March 1995.
- Moravcsik, A. (1991) 'Negotiating the Single European Act', in R.O. Keohane and S. Hoffman (eds), *The New European Community: Decision Making and Institutional Change* (Boulder, CO: Westview).
- Moravcsik, A. (1993) 'Preferences and power in the European Community: a liberal inter-governmental approach', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31, pp. 473–524.
- Moravcsik, A. (2001) 'Constructivism and European integration: a critique', in T. Christiansen, K.E. Jørgensen and A. Wiener (eds), *The Social Construction of Europe* (London: Sage).
- Moravcsik, A. (2002) 'In defence of the 'democratic deficit': reassessing legitimacy in the European Union', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40(4), pp. 603–24.
- Moravcsik, A. (2005) 'A category error', *Prospect*, July 2005.
- Müller, J.W. (2001) 'Portrait: Jürgen Habermas', *Prospect*, March 2001.
- Münchau, W. (2004) 'Bush II could be good for Europe', *Financial Times*, 7 November 2004.
- Münchau, W. (2010) 'Why Greece will default', *Financial Times*, 7 April 2010.
- Murphy, M. (2005) 'Between facts, norms and a post-national constellation: Habermas, law and European social policy', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 12, pp. 143–56.
- Murray, N. (1989) 'Anti-racists and other demons: the press and ideology in Thatcher's Britain', in *Racism and the Press in Thatcher's Britain* (London: Institute of Race Relations).
- Neunreither, K. (1994) 'The democratic deficit of the European Union: towards closer cooperation between the European Parliament and the National Parliaments', *Government and Opposition*, 29, pp. 299–314.
- Nietzsche, F. (1990) *Beyond Good and Evil: Prelude to a Philosophy of the Future* (London: Penguin).
- Obradovic, D. (1996) 'Policy legitimacy and the EU', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34, pp. 191–221.
- Offe, C. (2000) 'The democratic welfare state in an integrating Europe', in M.T. Greven and L.W. Pauly (eds), *Democracy Beyond the State? The European Dilemma and the Emerging Global Order* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield).

- Outhwaite, W. (1996) 'General introduction', in W. Outhwaite (ed.), *The Habermas Reader* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Padoa-Schioppa, T. (2010) 'Euro remains on the right side of history', *Financial Times*, 13 May 2010.
- Parry, R. (1995) 'Redefining the welfare state', in J. Hayward and E.C. Page (eds), *Governing the New Europe* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Parsons, T. (1937) *The Structure of Social Action* (New York: McGraw-Hill).
- Parsons, T. (1999) 'Christianity and modern industrial society', in B.S. Turner (ed.), *The Talcott Parsons Reader* (UK: Blackwell).
- Peel, Q. (2004a) 'Europe steals Washington's diplomatic clothes', *Financial Times*, 10 February 2004.
- Peel, Q. (2004b) 'Euroscepticism spreads to the west', *Financial Times*, 2 December 2004.
- Petit, C. (1993) *Robinson* (London: Jonathan Cape).
- Pinker, S. (2002) *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature* (London: Allen Lane).
- Polanyi, K. (1944) *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart).
- Puchala, D. (1972) 'Of blind men, elephants, and international integration', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, (10)3, pp. 267–84.
- Reck-Malleczewen, F. (2000) *Diary of a Man in Despair* (London: Duck Editions).
- Rees, M. (2003) *Our Final Century: Will the Human Race Survive the Twenty-First Century?* (Harlow, UK: Heinemann).
- Rosamond, B. (2000) *Theories of European Integration* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave).
- Ross, G. (1995) *Jacques Delors and European Integration* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Sandholtz, W. and Zysman, J. (1989) '1992: recasting the European bargain', *World Politics*, 42, pp. 95–128.
- Sassen, S. (2001) *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Scharpf, F. (1998) 'Negative and positive integration in the political economy of European welfare states', in G. Marks, F.W. Scharpf, P. Schmitter and W. Steeck (eds), *Governance in the European Union* (London: Sage).
- Scharpf, F. (1999) *Governing in Europe: Effective and Democratic?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Schlesinger, P. and Kevin, D. (2000) 'Can the European Union become a sphere of publics?', in E.O. Eriksen and E.F. Fossum (eds), *Democracy in the European Union: Integration through Deliberation?* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Schmitter, P.C. (1998a) 'Examining the present Euro-polity with the help of past theories', in G. Marks, F.W. Scharpf, P. Schmitter and W. Steeck (eds), *Governance in the European Union* (London: Sage).
- Schmitter, P.C. (1998b) 'Imagining the future of the Euro-polity with the help of new concepts', in G. Marks, F.W. Scharpf, P. Schmitter and W. Steeck (eds), *Governance in the European Union* (London: Sage).
- Schmitter, P.C. (2000) *How to Democratize the European Union ... And Why Bother?* (Lanham: Roman & Littlefield).
- Schmitter, P.C. (2002) 'Neo-neo-functionalism: déjà vu, all over again?', European University Institute, unpublished paper, available at: <http://www.iue.it/SPS/People/Faculty/CurrentProfessors/PDFFiles/SchmitterPDFfiles/Neoneofunctionalism.pdf> (accessed 13 August 2004).
- Schuller, F. (2006) 'Foreword', in J. Habermas and J. Ratzinger, *The Dialectics of Secularisation: On Reason and Religion* (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius).
- Shaw, J. (2001) 'Postnational constitutionalism in the European Union', in T.

- Christiansen, K.E. Jørgensen and A. Wiener (eds), *The Social Construction of Europe* (London: Sage).
- Shiller, R. (2003) *The New Financial Order: Risk in the 21st Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Shortt, R. (2010) 'So far and yet so near', *The Tablet*, 11 September 2010.
- Siedentop, L. (2000) *Democracy in Europe* (London: Penguin).
- Siedentop, L. (2005) 'A crisis of legitimacy', *Prospect*, July 2005.
- Singer, D. (1961) 'The level-of-analysis problem in international relations', in K. Knorr and S. Verba (eds), *The International System* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
- Sinkin, R. (2004) 'The EU and US: from cooperation to rivalry', *Journal of European Integration*, 26(1), pp. 93–100.
- Smith, M.P. (1999) 'EU Legitimacy and the "defensive" reaction to the single European market', in T. Banchoff and M.P. Smith (eds), *Legitimacy and the European Union: The Contested Polity* (London and New York: Routledge).
- Sokal, A. and Bricmont, J. (1997) *Impostures intellectuelles* (Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob). Tr. as (1998) *Intellectual Impostures* (London: Profile Books).
- Sontag, S. (1964) 'Notes on "Camp"', *Partisan Review*, 31(4), pp. 515–530.
- Spengler, O. (1918) *Der Untergang des Abendlandes, Gestalt und Wirklichkeit* (Munich: C.H. Beck Verlag). Tr. as (1926) *The Decline of the West, Volume 1: Form and Actuality* (New York: Knopf).
- Spengler (2009) 'Overcoming ethnicity', *Asia Times Online*, 6 January 2009, available at: http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Front_Page/KA06Aa01.html (accessed 9 May 2010).
- Steiner, G. (1970) 'Introduction', in E. Jünger, *On the Marble Cliffs* (London: Penguin).
- Streeck, W. (1998) 'Neo-voluntarism: a new European social policy regime?', in G. Marks, F.W. Scharpf, P. Schmitter and W. Streeck (eds), *Governance in the European Union* (London: Sage).
- Streeck, W. and Schmitter, P.C. (1991) 'From national corporatism to transnational pluralism: organised interests in the Single European Market', *Politics and Society*, 19(2), pp. 133–65.
- Therborn, G. (1997) 'Europe in the twenty-first century: the world's Scandinavia', in P. Gowan and P. Anderson (eds), *The Question of Europe* (London: Verso).
- Therborn, G. (2009) 'NATO's demographer', *New Left Review*, 56, available at: <http://www.newleftreview.org/?view=2775> (accessed 23 May 2010).
- Time (1943) 'One Europe', 29 November 1943, available at: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,791166-1,00.html> (accessed 25 May 2005).
- Trenz, H. and de Wilde, P. (2009) 'Denouncing European integration: Euroscepticism as a reactive identity formation', *RECON Online Working Paper Series*, 2009/10, available at: http://www.reconproject.eu/main.php/RECON_wp_0910.pdf?fileitem=16662597 (accessed 23 May 2010).
- van Kranenburg, R. (1999) 'Whose Gramsci? Right-wing Gramscism', *International Gramsci Society Newsletter*, 9, pp. 14–18, available at: <http://www.internationalgramscisociety.org/igns/index.html> (accessed 3 May 2010).
- Versluis, A. (2006) 'Antimodernism', *Telos*, 137, pp. 96–130.
- Virilio, P. (1977) *Vitesse et Politique* (Paris: Éditions Galilée). Tr. as (1986) *Speed and Politics: An Essay on Dromology* (US: Semiotext).
- Wakefield, M. 'Empire of the slum', *Spectator*, 18 August 2001, available at: <http://www.spectator.co.uk/essays/9221/empire-of-the-slum.thtml> (accessed 22 May 2010).
- Weizman, E. (2006) 'Walking through walls: soldiers as architects in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict', *Radical Philosophy*, 136, pp. 8–22.
- White, S.K. (1990) *The Recent Work of Jürgen Habermas: Reason, Justice and Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

- White, S.K. (1997) 'Reason, modernity and democracy', in S.K. White (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Habermas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Wiener, N. (1948) *Cybernetics, or the Study of Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press).
- Wolin, R. (1993) 'Introduction: total mobilisation', in R. Wolin (ed.), *The Heidegger Controversy: A Critical Reader* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press).
- Wolin, R. (1994) 'Introduction', in Shierry Weber Nicholsen (ed.), *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historians' Debate* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Wright, L. (2007) *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda's Road to 9/11* (London: Penguin).
- Zielonka, J. (2000) *Enlargement and the Finality of European Integration*, Harvard Law School, available at: www.jeanmonnetprogram.org/papers/00/00F0801.rtf (accessed 24 July 2005).
- Zolo, D. (1992) *Democracy and Complexity: A Realist Approach* (Cambridge: Polity).

Preface to the second edition

- Arendt, H. (1951) *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company).
- Bailey, C. (2016) 'Democracy as Ideal and Practice: Historicizing *The Crisis of the European Union*', in G.M. Genna, T.O. Haakenson and I.W. Wilson (eds), *Jürgen Habermas and the European Economic Crisis: Cosmopolitanism Reconsidered* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge).
- Ballard, J.G. (2006) *Kingdom Come* (London: Fourth Estate).
- BBC News (2018) 'France Gilets Jaunes: Macron promises divide protest leaders', *BBC News: Europe*, 11 December 2018, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-46522628> (accessed 12 December 2018).
- Bolaño, R. (2004) *2666* (Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama). Tr. as (2009) *2666* (London: Picador).
- Chakraborty, A. (2016) 'Wolfgang Streeck: the German economist calling time on capitalism', *The Guardian*, 9 December 2016, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/dec/09/wolfgang-streeck-the-german-economist-calling-time-on-capitalism> (accessed 11 December 2018).
- Eurointelligence (2018) 'A further move in Warsaw to submit to the ECJ's authority', *Eurointelligence Professional Daily Morning Briefing*, 31 October 2018, available at: <https://www.eurointelligence.com/public/briefings/2018-10-31.html> (accessed 12 December 2018).
- Genna, G.M. and Wilson, I.W. (2016) 'Introduction: Europe at the Crossroads', in G.M. Genna, T.O. Haakenson and I.W. Wilson (eds), *Jürgen Habermas and the European Economic Crisis: Cosmopolitanism Reconsidered* (Abingdon and New York: Routledge).
- Gray, J. (2016) 'The strange death of liberal politics', *New Statesman*, 5 July 2016, available at: <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2016/07/strange-death-liberal-politics> (accessed 11 December 2018).
- Habermas, J. (1968) *Erkenntnis und Interesse* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag). Tr. as (1978) *Knowledge and Human Interests* (London: Heinemann).
- Habermas, J. (2003) *The Future of Human Nature* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (2013) *Im Sog der Technokratie* (Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag). Tr. as (2015) *The Lure of Technocracy* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (2013a) Erasmus Prize acceptance speech, available at: <http://www.erasmus-prijs.org/prijswinnaars?itemid=53AFB450-04FC-1371-9AE18BB1978B2677&lang=en&mode=detail> (accessed 12 December 2018).

- Habermas, J. (2014) 'Internet and Public Sphere: What the Web Can't Do', *Reset DOC*, 24 July 2014, available at: <https://www.resetdoc.org/story/internet-and-public-sphere-what-the-web-cant-do/> (accessed 12 December 2018).
- Habermas, J. (2015a) *The Lure of Technocracy* (Cambridge: Polity).
- Habermas, J. (2015b) 'Why Angela Merkel Is Wrong On Greece', *Social Europe*, 25 June 2015, available at: <https://www.socialeurope.eu/why-angela-merkels-is-wrong-on-greece> (accessed 12 December 2018).
- Habermas, J. (2015c) Interview with Philip Oltermann, *The Guardian*, 16 July 2015, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/16/jurgen-habermas-eu-greece-debt-deal> (accessed 12 December 2018).
- Habermas, J. (2015d) 'Critique and communication: Philosophy's missions', *Eurozine*, 16 October 2015, available at: <https://www.eurozine.com/critique-and-communication-philosophys-missions/?pdf> (accessed 12 December 2018).
- Habermas, J. (2015e) 'The Paris Attack And Its Aftermath', *Social Europe*, 26 November 2015, available at: <https://www.socialeurope.eu/habermas-paris-attack> (accessed 12 December 2018).
- Habermas, J. (2016a) 'The players resign – Core Europe to the rescue: a conversation with Jürgen Habermas about Brexit and the EU crisis', *Zeit Online*, 12 July 2016, available at: <https://www.zeit.de/kultur/2016-07/juergen-habermas-brexit-eu-crisis-english> (accessed 11 December 2018).
- Habermas, J. (2016b) 'For A Democratic Polarisation: How To Pull The Ground From Under Right-wing Populism', *Social Europe*, 17 November 2016, available at: <https://www.socialeurope.eu/democratic-polarisation-pull-ground-right-wing-populism> (accessed 12 December 2018).
- Habermas, J. (2017a) 'Citizen and State Equality in a Supranational Political Community: Degressive Proportionality and the *Pouvoir Constituant Mixte*', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 55(2), pp. 171–182.
- Habermas, J. (2017b) 'Why The Necessary Cooperation Does Not Happen: Introduction To A Conversation Between Emmanuel Macron and Sigmar Gabriel on Europe's Future', *Social Europe*, 20 March 2017, available at: <https://www.socialeurope.eu/pulling-cart-mire-renewed-case-european-solidarity> (accessed 12 December 2018).
- Habermas, J. (2017c) 'What Macron Means for Europe: "How Much Will the Germans Have to Pay"', *Spiegel Online*, 26 October 2017, available at: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/juergen-habermas-on-the-european-vision-of-emmanuel-macron-a-1174721.html> (accessed 12 December 2018).
- Habermas, J. (2018a) 'For God's sake, spare us governing philosophers!', *El País*, 25 May 2018, available at: https://elpais.com/elpais/2018/05/07/inenglish/1525683618_145760.html (accessed 12 December 2018).
- Habermas, J. (2018b) 'Are We Still Good Europeans?', *Zeit Online*, 6 July 2018, available at: <https://www.zeit.de/kultur/2018-07/european-union-germany-challenges-loyalty-solidarity> (accessed 12 December 2018).
- Habermas, J. (2018c) '“New” Perspectives For Europe', *Social Europe*, 22 October 2018, available at: <https://www.socialeurope.eu/new-perspectives-for-europe> (accessed 13 December 2018).
- Houellebecq, M. (1991) *H.P. Lovecraft : Contre le monde, contre la vie* (Monaco: Éditions du Rocher).
- Houellebecq, M. (1998) *Les particules élémentaires* (Paris: Flammarion). Tr. as (2001) *Atomised* (London: Vintage).
- Houellebecq, M. (2015) *Soumission* (Paris: Flammarion).
- Humphreys, J. (2017) 'Paul Ricoeur: The philosopher behind Emmanuel Macron', *The Irish Times*, 30 May 2017, available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/>

- paul-ricoeur-the-philosopher-behind-emmanuel-macron-1.3094792 (accessed 13 December 2018).
- Kriss, S. (2017) 'The Sad Truth About Milo Yiannopoulos', *Vice*, 22 February 2017, available at: https://www.vice.com/en_uk/article/bmpjvv/the-sad-truth-about-milo-yiannopoulos (accessed 13 December 2018).
- Lyotard, J.-F. (1979) *La Condition postmoderne: Rapport sur le savoir* (Paris: Minuit). Tr. as (1984) *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (Minneapolis, MN: Minnesota University Press).
- Macron, E. (2017) 'We Need to Develop Political Heroism', *Spiegel Online*, 13 October 2017, available at: <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/interview-with-french-president-emmanuel-macron-a-1172745.html> (accessed 11 December 2018).
- Macron, E. (2018) Televised speech on the *gilets jaunes* protests, *L'Obs*, 10 December 2018, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L9S_WF_YlKM (accessed 13 December 2018).
- McLemee, S. (2011) 'From Culture War to Shooting War', *Inside Higher Ed*, 10 August 2011, available at: <https://www.insidehighered.com/views/2011/08/10/culture-war-shooting-war> (accessed 13 December 2018).
- Outhwaite, W. (2017) 'Preface', in W. Outhwaite (ed.), *Brexit: Sociological Responses* (London and New York: Anthem Press).
- Schmitt, C. (1922) *Politische Theologie: Vier Kapitel zur Lehre von der Souveränität* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot). Tr. as (1985) *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press).
- Sloterdijk, P. (2016) 'Vom Unbehagen der Demokratie', *Die Zeit*, 24 November 2016.
- Steiner, G. (1964) 'A Note on Günter Grass', in (1969) *Language and Silence: Essays 1958–1966* (London: Pelican).
- Streeck, W. (2014) 'Small State Nostalgia? The Currency Union, Germany, and Europe: A Reply to Jürgen Habermas', *Constellations*, 21(2), pp. 213–221.
- Streeck, W. (2017) 'What about capitalism? Jürgen Habermas's project of a European democracy', *European Political Science*, 16(2), pp. 246–253.
- Tuymans, L. (2016) A discussion of the work of James Ensor, *Financial Times*, 28 October 2016, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vQPmtvmA8-8> (accessed 11 December 2018).
- Varoufakis, Y. (2017) 'Macron came to Greece's aid during our crisis. The French left should back him', *The Guardian*, 4 May 2017, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/may/04/macron-greece-french-left-marine-le-pen-yanis-varoufakis> (accessed 13 December 2018).
- Varoufakis, Y. (2018) 'Our plan to revive Europe can succeed where Macron and Piketty failed', *The Guardian*, 13 December 2018, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/dec/13/plan-europe-macron-piketty-green-new-deal-britain> (accessed 18 December 2018).
- Zuboff, S. (2019) 'Facebook, Google and a dark age of surveillance capitalism', *Financial Times*, 25 January 2019, available at: <https://www.ft.com/content/7fafec06-1ea2-11e9-b126-46fc3ad87c65> (accessed 19 April 2019).