

Notes

Preface

1. Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: the Emergence of the British Coffee House* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 170.

1. Accounts of Enmity in Politics and Government

1. W. H. Auden, *In Memory of W. B. Yeats, III*, in Philip Larkin (ed.), *The Oxford Book of Twentieth Century English Verse* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 419.
2. George W. Bush, *Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People, September 21st 2001*, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>, accessed 1 February 2006.
3. By 2002 there were at least five journals devoted not just to the study, but also, either wholly or in part, to the resolution, of conflict: *The Carozo/Online Journal of Conflict Resolution* (1998); *Peace, Conflict, Development* (2002); *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (1978); *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (1999); *International Journal of Conflict Management* (1997).
4. The Second Epistle General of Peter, *Holy Bible*, 1611 Authorised Version, Chapter 5, verse 8.
5. Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996).
6. 3 June 1986, Quoted National Council for Civil Liberties, *Stonehenge. A Report into the Civil Liberties Implications of the Events Relating to the Convoys of Summer 1985 and 1986* (London: National Council for Civil Liberties, 1986), p. 1.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Holy Bible*, 1611 Authorised Version, The Gospel According to St Luke, chapter 18, verse 11.
9. Siân Nicholas, *The Echo of War: Home Front Propaganda and the Wartime BBC, 1939–49* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 180.
10. I once speculated, entirely unseriously, that Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* might be considered black propaganda in the manner of Swift's *A Modest Proposal* or Defoe's *The Shortest Way with Dissenters*. Had this been, not a piece of imaginative humour, but a true historical account, it would not have affected the public reception and impact of the work. Rodney Barker, 'Shelf Life', *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 28 February 1992.
11. Stephen Tomkins, *John Wesley: a Biography* (Oxford: Lion Hudson, 2003), p. 58.
12. Paul Hoggett, 'A Reply to Christopher Bluth', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 7, 4, November (2005), p. 603.
13. Paul Hoggett, 'Iraq: Blair's Mission Impossible', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 7, 3, August (2005), p. 418.
14. Christoph Bluth, ' "Iraq: Blair's Mission Impossible": a Rejoinder to Paul Hoggett', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 7, 4, November (2005), pp. 598–602.
15. Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, 2 vols (London: University of California Press, 1978), p. 952.

16. Magnali Christi, *Americana OR The Ecclesiastical History of New England* ([1702] New York: Russell & Russell, 1967, volume 2, p. 558), quoted in David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust: the Conquest of the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 114.
17. Kristen Renwick Monroe, 'Identity and Choice', in Kenneth R. Hoover (ed.), *The Future of Identity: Centennial Reflections on the Legacy of Erik Erikson* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2004), p. 82.
18. Wolfgang Behringer, *Witches and Witch-hunts: a Global History* (Cambridge: Polity, 2004), p. 74.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
20. Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: the Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. vii.
21. William Shakespeare, *Othello*, Act 1, Scene 3 (London: Methuen, 1965 edn).
22. Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: the Short Twentieth Century 1914–1991* (London: Michael Joseph, 1994), p. 4.
23. Pippa Norris, Montague Kern, and Marion Just, 'Framing Terrorism', in Pippa Norris, Montague Kern, and Marion Just (eds), *Framing Terrorism: the News Media, the Government and the Public* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 15.
24. There is a considerable literature on the psychology of enmity, which falls outside the scope of this discussion. It can be approached, for instance, via Ofer Zur, 'The Love of Hating: the Psychology of Enmity', *History of European Ideas*, 13, 4 (1991), pp. 345–69, or Catarina Kinnvall, 'Globalization, Identity, and the Search for Chosen Traumas', in Kenneth R. Hoover (ed.), *The Future of Identity: Centennial Reflections on the Legacy of Erik Erikson* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2004). I have not dealt with any of this literature. The body of work is immense, and a book such as Joseph H. Berke, Stella Pierides, Andrea Sabbadini (eds), *Even Paranooids Have Enemies: New Perspectives on Paranoia and Persecution* (London & New York: Routledge, 1998) is no more than an initial toehold on the mass of coverage. The discussion ranges from broad accounts of collective psychology to studies of small group or individual action where it can be observed that 'sharing a dislike of a third party with a nonintimate may be a particularly powerful bonding agent in the formative phases of friendship' (Jennifer K. Bosson, Amber B. Johnson, and Kate Niederhoffer, 'Interpersonal Chemistry Through Negativity: Bonding by Sharing Negative Attitudes about Others', *Personal Relationships*, 13, 2, June (2006), pp. 135–50, p. 140.
25. Anne H. Coulter, *Treason: Liberal Treachery from the Cold War to the War on Terrorism* (New York: Crown Forum, 2003), p. 1.

2. Competition, Antagonism, and Enmity

1. Anonymous.
2. Carl Schmitt, *Glossarium: Aufzeichnungen der Jahre 1947–51*, ed. Eberhard Freiherr von Medem (Berlin: Duncker & Humboldt, 1991) quoted in Mark Lilla, *The Reckless Mind: Intellectuals in Politics* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2001), p. 57.
3. Kurt Vonnegut, *Cat's Cradle* (1963, London: Penguin, 1965), p. 111.
4. Peter Campbell, 'Conspiracy and Political Practice from the *ancien régime* to the French Revolution', in Barry Coward and Julian Swann (eds), *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theory in Early Modern Europe: From the Waldensians to the French Revolution* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 198.

5. Graham Greene, screen play *The Third Man*, 1949.
6. Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy, The First Partition*, ed. Holbrook Jackson (New York: Vintage, 1977), pp. 243–4, quoted in Gwyneth Lewis, *Sunbathing in the Rain* (London: Flamingo, 2002), p. 61.
7. Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, edited with an introduction by Duncan Forbes (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966 [1767]), p. 178.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
9. *Ibid.*, p. xxxvi.
10. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), p. 20.
11. Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World*, repr. with 1946 foreword (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1950 [1932]).
12. Ray Bradbury, *Fahrenheit 451* (London: Rupert Hart-Davies, 1954).
13. George Simmel, *Conflict & the Web of Group-Affiliations*, translated by Kurt H. Wolff & Reinhard Bendix (New York: Free Press, 1964), p. 15.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
16. Lewis A. Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1956), p. 105.
17. David J. Finlay, Ole R. Holsti, and Richard R. Fagen, *Enemies in Politics* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967), p. 7.
18. Jan-Werner Müller, *A Dangerous Mind: Carl Schmitt in Post-war European Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 10.
19. Giovanni Sartori, 'The Essence of the Political in Carl Schmitt', *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 1, 1, January (1989), p. 65. But an alternative criticism would be that Schmitt did not use the description internally, but only appeared to do so. The criticism is then not that Schmitt applied his definition to what is normally thought of as politics, but that his description had nothing to say about such politics.
20. Vilho Harle, *The Enemy with a Thousand Faces: the Tradition of the Other in Western Political Thought* (London: Praeger, 2000), p. 136.
21. Chantal Mouffe (ed.), *The Challenge of Carl Schmitt* (London: Verso, 1999), pp. 4–5. An attempt to resolve this problem by suggesting that Schmitt envisaged 'secondary politics' occurring, without enmity, within the polis, is made by Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, 'The Concept of the Political: a Key to Understanding Carl Schmitt's Constitutional Theory', in David Dyzenhaus (ed.), *Law as Politics: Carl Schmitt's Critique of Liberalism* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1998). The same argument is employed in Gopal Balakrishnan, *The Enemy: an Intellectual Portrait of Carl Schmitt* (London: Verso, 2000), p. 110.
22. A focus which has characterised some of the interesting recent work on Schmitt and those on whom he drew, or who engaged with his work. See for instance Duncan Kelly, *The State of the Political: Conceptions of Politics and the State in the Thought of Max Weber, Carl Schmitt and Franz Neumann* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
23. Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, translated and introduced by George Schwab, with a new foreword by Tracy B. Strong (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1996 [1932]), p. 27.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
25. George Schwab, *The Challenge of the Exception: an Introduction to the Political Ideas of Carl Schmitt between 1921 and 1936* (Berlin: Greenwood Press, 2nd edition 1970), pp. 53–4.
26. Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, p. 32.

27. Jan-Werner Müller, *A Dangerous Mind: Carl Schmitt in Post-war European Thought*, p. 246.
28. Richard Bellamy and Peter Baehr, 'Carl Schmitt and the Contradictions of Liberal Democracy', *European Journal of Political Research*, 23, 2 (1993), p. 179.
29. Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, p. 35.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
31. Another criticism of Schmitt, first raised by the SS, of Hegelianism (Joseph W. Bendersky, *Carl Schmitt: Theorist for the Reich* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 220–40) is misplaced. Hegel's account of the slave/master relationship and of recognition demands that identification involve a recognition by another of equal status. Conversely Schmitt's conception of the polity is of a self-defining entity for which the existence of others may mark its distinctiveness, but for which acknowledgment by equals is unnecessary.
32. 'The Lion and the Unicorn', in George Orwell, *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, ed. Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, 4 vols (Harmondsworth: Penguin (1970 Penguin edn) 1968), *Volume II. My Country Right or Left 1940–1943*, p. 118.
33. Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, p. 27.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
35. 'Words such as state, republic, society, class, as well as sovereignty, constitutional state, absolutism, dictatorship, economic planning, neutral or total state, and so on, are incomprehensible if one does not know exactly who is to be affected, combated, refuted, or negated by such a term.' Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, pp. 30–1. George Schwab, *The Challenge of the Exception: an Introduction to the Political Ideas of Carl Schmitt between 1921 and 1936*, pp. 25–7.
36. David Runciman, 'History of Political Thought: the State of the Discipline', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 3, 1, April (2001), pp. 84–104.
37. Schmitt's writings, far more than Simmel's, have enjoyed a growth of interest. There is a useful discussion in Jan-Werner Müller, *A Dangerous Mind: Carl Schmitt in Post-war European Thought*.
38. G. W. F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, translated with notes by T. M. Knox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 213.
39. Charles Taylor, *Hegel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp. 153–7. Alexandre Kojève, *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel: Lectures on the Phenomenology of Spirit*, assembled by Raymond Queneau; edited by Allan Bloom; translated from the French by James H. Nichols, Jr. (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1980).
40. G. W. F. Hegel, *Political Writings*, translated by T. M. Knox with an introductory essay by Z. A. Pelcznski (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 143–4, quoted in Shlomo Avineri, *Hegel's Theory of the Modern State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 41.
41. G. W. F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, p. 297.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 295.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
44. Murray Edelman, *Constructing the Political Spectacle* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 76.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 67ff.
47. Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978 (1995 Penguin edition)).

48. Richard Rorty, *Contingency, Irony and Solidarity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 190.
49. George Orwell, *1984* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1949).
50. C. A. R. Crosland, *The Future of Socialism* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1956), p. 100.
51. E. P. Thompson, 'The Ends of Cold War', *New Left Review*, 182 (1990), pp. 139–46.
52. Ulrich Beck, *Democracy Without Enemies*, translated by Mark Ritter (Malden, MA: Polity, 1998), p. 150.

3. Patterns of Enmity: Varieties of Narrative

1. Lewis Carroll, *Through the Looking Glass and What Alice Found There* (London: Collins, 1954 [1872]), p. 152.
2. Quoted in Mark Knight, 'Faults on Both Sides: the Conspiracies of Party Politics under the Later Stuarts', in Barry Coward and Julian Swann (eds), *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theory in Early Modern Europe: From the Waldensians to the French Revolution* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 157.
3. Mark Knight, 'Faults on Both Sides: the Conspiracies of Party Politics under the Later Stuarts', p. 155.
4. David F. Epstein, *Personal Enmity in Roman Politics, 218–43 BC*. (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p. 1.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 127–8.
6. Lord George Gordon, 'Innocence Vindicated, and the Intrigues of Popery and its Abettors Displayed' (1783), quoted by Colin Haydon, "'Popery at St. James's": the Conspiracy Theses of William Payne, Thomas Hollis, and Lord George Gordon', in Coward and Swann (eds), *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theory in Early Modern Europe: From the Waldensians to the French Revolution*, p. 186.
7. Christopher Browning and Jürgen Matthäus, *The Origins of the Final Solution: the Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy 1939–42* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), p. 10.
8. Chris Sparks points out that the fear of terrorism is frequently disproportionate to the objective threat. Chris Sparks, 'Liberalism, Terrorism and the Politics of Fear', *Politics*, 23, 3, September (2003), p. 205. But the relationships are more complex than that.
9. David J. Finlay, Ole R. Holsti, and Richard R. Fagen, *Enemies in Politics* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967), p. 7.
10. Barry Coward and Julian Swann, 'Introduction', in Coward and Swann (eds), *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theory in Early Modern Europe: From the Waldensians to the French Revolution*, p. 7.
11. Siân Nicholas, *The Echo of War: Home Front Propaganda and the Wartime BBC, 1939–49* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 149.
12. Heinrich Mann, 1933, quoted in Matthew Stibbe, *German Anglophobia and the Great War, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 2.
13. Matthew Stibbe, *German Anglophobia and the Great War, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 11–12.
14. Fred Halliday, *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation: Religion and Politics in the Middle East*, 2nd edition (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003), p. 171.
15. John Gallagher and Chris Bull, *Perfect Enemies: the Religious Right, the Gay Movement, and the Politics of the 1990s* (New York: Crown Publishers Inc., 1996).
16. *Ibid.*, p. 265.

17. Jonathan Fox and Sandler Shmuel suggest that whilst liberal democratic pluralism discourages discrimination against ethnic minorities, religious groups can have beliefs which challenge liberal pluralism, and are thus more of a threat to liberal democracy which is secular, than to semi-democracies which are not necessarily so. Jonathan Fox and Sandler Shmuel, 'Regime Types and Discrimination against Ethnoreligious Minorities: a Cross-Sectional Analysis of the Autocracy-Democracy Continuum', *Political Studies*, 51, 3, October (2003), pp. 469–89.
18. Halliday, *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation: Religion and Politics in the Middle East*, pp. 109–10.
19. Reproduced in Stibbe, *German Anglophobia and the Great War, 1914–1918*, p. 43.
20. Wolfgang Behringer, *Witches and Witch-hunts: a Global History* (Cambridge: Polity, 2004).
21. Wolfgang Behringer, 'Detecting the Ultimate Conspiracy, or how Waldensians became Witches', in Coward and Swann (eds), *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theory in Early Modern Europe: From the Waldensians to the French Revolution*, p. 22.
22. Stibbe, *German Anglophobia and the Great War, 1914–1918*, p. 11.
23. Stuart Clark, 'Introduction', in Stuart Clark (ed.), *Languages of Witchcraft: Narrative, Ideology and Meaning in Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 10.
24. Quoted by Epstein, *Personal Enmity in Roman Politics, 218–43 BC*, p. 27.
25. David Margolick, *Beyond Glory: Joe Louis vs. Max Schmeling, and a World on the Brink* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), p. 158.
26. Stuart Carroll, 'Vengeance and Conspiracy During the French Wars of Religion', in Coward and Swann (eds), *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theory in Early Modern Europe: From the Waldensians to the French Revolution*, p. 73.
27. Thomas C. Reeves, *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy: a Biography* (New York: Stein and Day, 1982), p. 589.
28. *International Herald Tribune*, 14–15 August 1993, quoted in Halliday, *Islam and the Myth of Confrontation: Religion and Politics in the Middle East*, p. 176.
29. Ian Buruma, 'The Indiscreet Charm of Tyranny', *New York Review of Books*, 52, 8, 12 May (2005), p. 35.
30. Quoted in Stibbe, *German Anglophobia and the Great War, 1914–1918*, p. 12.
31. Munro Price, 'The "Foreign Plot" and the French Revolution: a Reappraisal', in Coward and Swann (eds), *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theory in Early Modern Europe: From the Waldensians to the French Revolution*.
32. *Yorkshire Post*, 28 July 1984, quoted in John Campbell, *Margaret Thatcher. Volume II: the Iron Lady* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2003), p. 361.
33. Roger Scruton, *The Meaning of Conservatism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980), p. 18.
34. Jason Peacey, 'The Paranoid Prelate: Archbishop Laud and the Puritan Plot', in Coward and Swann (eds), *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theory in Early Modern Europe: From the Waldensians to the French Revolution*, p. 113.
35. Speech to the Senate on 20 February 1950, in Joseph McCarthy, *Major Speeches and Debates of Senator Joe McCarthy Delivered in the United States Senate, 1950–1951* (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1951), p. 8, quoted in Seymour J. Mandelbaum, *The Social Setting of Intolerance: the Know-Nothings, the Red Scare, and McCarthyism* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1964), pp. 142–3.
36. Sir John Harington, *Epigrams* (1618), book 4, number 5, quoted in Angela Partington (ed.), *The Dictionary of Quotations*, 4th edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 326, 12.
37. C. A. R. Crosland, *The Conservative Enemy* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962).

38. Behringer, *Witches and Witch-hunts: a Global History*, p. 173.
39. Quoted in Richard Jackson, *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, Politics and Counter-Terrorism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 170.
40. George Canning, 'On the Jacobin', in *New Morality* (London, 1821), 1: 113, quoted in Partington (ed.), *The Dictionary of Quotations*, 178, 4.
41. George Orwell, 'The Lion and the Unicorn' (1941), *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, ed. Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, 4 vols (Harmondsworth: Penguin (1970 Penguin edn) 1968), p. 95.
42. Quoted in Robert Alan Goldberg, *Enemies Within: the Culture of Conspiracy in Modern America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 31.
43. By the end of the twentieth century such attacks, like political messages as a whole, could be transmitted with speed and ease via the internet. <http://urbanlegends.about.com/library/weekly/aa110399.htm>, accessed 27 May 2006. The evidence, and narratives, of such phenomena are frequently elusive. See, for instance, Mary Hershberger, *Jane Fonda's War: a Political Biography of an Anti-War Icon* (New York: New Press, 2005); Rick Perlstein, 'Operation Barbarella', *London Review of Books*, 27, 2, 17 November (2005), pp. 3–6.
44. Craig Unger, *House of Bush, House of Saud: the Secret Relationship Between the World's Two Most Powerful Dynasties* (London: Gibson Square, 2004).
45. *The Independent*, 19 March 2004.
46. Simon Haxey, *Tory M.P.* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1939), p. 245.
47. 'Cato', *Guilty Men* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1940).
48. Penny Roberts, 'Huguenot Conspiracies, Real and Imagined in Sixteenth Century France', in Coward and Swann (eds), *Conspiracies and Conspiracy Theory in Early Modern Europe: From the Waldensians to the French Revolution*, p. 57.
49. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
50. Idith Zertal, *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 192.
51. Browning and Matthäus, *The Origins of the Final Solution: the Evolution of Nazi Jewish Policy 1939–42*, pp. 1–2.
52. Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: the Trail of Political Islam*, translated by Anthony F. Roberts (London: Tauris, 2002).
53. George Simmel, *Conflict & the Web of Group-Affiliations*, translated by Kurt H. Wolff and Reinhard Bendix (New York: Free Press, 1964), p. 43.
54. Tom Gallagher, *Glasgow: the Uneasy Peace* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 17.
55. Giles Radice, *Friends and Rivals: Crosland, Jenkins and Healey* (London: Abacus, 2003), p. 132.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 152–3, 160.
57. Bernard Donoughue and G. W. Jones, *Herbert Morrison: Portrait of a Politician* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973).
58. Though as with any generalisation, there are exceptions, and particular circumstances require particular description. For some versions of Islam, conversion or lapse out of one's faith is deserving of death.
59. Hans Magnus Enzensberger, *Raids and Reconstructions: Essays in Politics, Crime and Culture* (London: Pluto Press, 1973), p. 61.
60. George Schwab, *The Challenge of the Exception: an Introduction to the Political Ideas of Carl Schmitt between 1921 and 1936*, 2nd edition (Berlin: Greenwood Press, 1970), pp. 53–4.

61. Giovanni Sartori, 'The Essence of the Political in Carl Schmitt', *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 1, 1, January (1989), pp. 63–75.
62. Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics and other Essays* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1996).
63. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490–1700* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), pp. 244–6, 420–1, and passim.
64. Quoted in Behringer, *Witches and Witch-hunts: a Global History*, p. 46.
65. Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Europe*, translated by Janet Lloyd (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), p. 84.

4. Contexts of Enmity Narratives

1. Lewis A. Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1956), pp. 34–5.
2. Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Europe*, translated by Janet Lloyd (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), p. 197.
3. Victor Fleming, *The Wizard of Oz*, 1939.
4. Ian Buruma, 'The Indiscreet Charm of Tyranny', *New York Review of Books*, 52, 8, 12 May (2005), p. 37.
5. Frederick George Bailey, *The Need for Enemies: a Bestiary of Political Forms* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), p. xii.
6. January 1941, INF 1/251, quoted by Marion Yass, *This is Your War: Home Front Propaganda in the Second World War* (London: HMSO, 1983), p. 43.
7. Barry Levinson, *Wag the Dog*, 1997.
8. Jeremy Rayner, 'Philosophy into Dogma: the Revival of Cultural Conservatism', *British Journal of Political Science*, 16, 4, October (1986), p. 472.
9. Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes*. Vol.2, *The Inside Struggle, 1936–1939* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1955), p. 574.
10. 'Political Reflections' quoted by Emma Rothschild, 'Empire Beware!', *New York Review of Books*, 51, 5, 25 March (2004), p. 37.
11. G. W. F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, translated with notes by T. M. Knox (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 297.
12. Robert K. Massie, *Castles of Steel: Britain, Germany, and the Winning of the Great War at Sea* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), p. 237.
13. See above, pp. 22, 27–8 and George Simmel, *Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations*, translated by Kurt H. Wolff and Reinhard Bendix (New York: Free Press, 1964), p. 98.
14. Matthew Stibbe, *German Anglophobia and the Great War, 1914–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
15. Edward Pearce, 'Times and Tides', *History Today*, September (1996), p. 6.
16. I am grateful to Shelley Deane for pointing out to me this example. The footstool is that portrayed as occupied by Amenhotep II 1448–1420 BC.
17. Simmel, *Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations*, p. 34.
18. Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: the Creation of the Mods and Rockers*, 3rd edn (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 162.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
20. James A. Aho, *This Thing of Darkness: a Sociology of the Enemy* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), pp. 83–104.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 88–91.
22. Tom Gallagher, *Glasgow: the Uneasy Peace* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 135.

23. Peter Elmer, 'Towards a Politics of Witchcraft in Early Modern England', in Stuart Clark (ed.), *Languages of Witchcraft: Narrative, Ideology and Meaning in Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), pp. 115–16.
24. Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: the Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 596.
25. W. G. Runciman, *Relative Deprivation and Social Justice: a Study of Attitudes to Social Inequality in Twentieth-Century England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966).
26. Gallagher, *Glasgow: the Uneasy Peace*, pp. 36–7.
27. Virginia Woolf, *Three Guineas* (London: Hogarth Press, 1938, repr. London: Penguin, 1993). Sheila Rowbotham, Lyn Segal, and Hilary Wainwright, *Beyond the Fragments* (London: Merlin Press, 1979).
28. The SCUM Manifesto ('Society for Cutting Up Men') was however not representative. Valerie Solanas, *SCUM Manifesto* (London: Olympia Press, 1971).
29. Michael Freedon, *Ideologies and Political Theory: a Conceptual Approach* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 27.
30. The image appears many times in the Bible, and as the first verse of Psalm 110 in the Authorised Version, is part of the liturgy of the Anglican, and of other, churches.

5. The Language and Imagery of Enmity

1. T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land*, 30, in Michael Roberts (ed.), *The Faber Book of Modern Verse* (London: Faber, 1960), p. 109.
2. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html>, accessed 1 February 2006.
3. PBS Frontline website, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/who/interview.html>, accessed 1 February 2006.
4. Mark Juergensmeyer, 'Religious Terror and Global War', in Craig Calhoun, Paul Price, and Ashley Timmer (eds), *Understanding September 11* (New York: New Press, 2002), p. 29, quoted by Lisa Anderson, 'Shock and Awe: Interpretations of the Events of September 11', *World Politics*, 56, 2, January (2004), p. 315.
5. Alan Bairner, 'The Battlefield of Ideas: the Legitimation of Political Violence in Northern Ireland', *European Journal of Political Research*, 14 (1986), p. 643.
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