Notes

Preface


1. Accounts of Enmity in Politics and Government

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).
7. Ibid.
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.


19. Ibid., p. 77.


2. **Competition, Antagonism, and Enmity**

1. Anonymous.


5. Graham Greene, screen play *The Third Man*, 1949.
8. Ibid., p. 22.
9. Ibid., p. xxxvi.
15. Ibid., p. 98.
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.
24. Ibid., p. 49.
30. Ibid., p. 57.
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.
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*.
42. Ibid., p. 295.
43. Ibid., p. 215.
45. Ibid., p. 83.
46. Ibid., pp. 67ff.


3. **Patterns of Enmity: Varieties of Narrative**


5. Ibid., pp. 127–8.


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.


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.


56. Ibid., pp. 152–3, 160.


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.


4. Contexts of Enmity Narratives

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.
19. Ibid., p. 164.
Notes


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


18. Though the various forms of lords of misrule, carnival, and ritualistic inversion of authority relations in church, state, and society, are an exception to this.


26. Ibid., pp. 18–19.


29. Ibid.


35. Ibid., pp. x, xi.


6. **Telling the Enmity Narrative**

9. Ibid., pp. 11–12, 28.
10. Ibid., p. 169.
15. Ibid., p. 108.
23. Ibid., p. 582.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid., pp. 513–59.


31. Ibid.


36. Ibid., p. 16.


42. Ibid., p. 132.

43. Ibid., p. 139.

44. Ibid., p. 160.

45. Ibid., p. 170.


47. Ibid., pp. 159 and 153–4.


50. Ibid., pp. 170–3.

51. Ibid., p. 194.

52. Ibid., pp. 184–222.


55. Ibid., p. 187.

56. Ibid., pp. 6–7.

57. Ibid., p. 94.

58. Ibid., p. 68.

59. Ibid., pp. 154–5.

60. Ibid., p. 156.

61. Ibid., p. 67.

62. Ibid.

7. Enemies of the People


8. **Demonisation: the Frenzy of Enmity**

1. Psalm 18, verse 37, *Book of Common Prayer*.


23. Ibid., p. 212.

9. *Narratives of Contention: Party Politics in Britain*

19. Ibid., p. 239.
22. Ibid., pp. 23, 34.
35. Ibid., p. 20.
37. Ibid.
38. See above, p. 48.
45. Ibid., p. 8.
47. Ibid., p. 14.
49. Ibid., p. 3.

10. Enmity Narratives, Politics, and Peacefulness

2. The Litany, in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, in its listing of the assistance needed by the various officers of government, has this, and this only, to say on behalf of the earthly responsibilities of the monarch.
12. Ibid., p. 57, n. 87.
13. Ibid., p. 90.
23. Ibid., p. 170.
29. See, for instance, the accounts of various forms of ‘protection’ against a communist menace described in Richard M. Fried, *The Russians are Coming! The Russians are Coming! Pageantry and Patriotism in Cold-War America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).


63. ‘It’s not the despair, Laura. I can stand the despair. It’s the hope.’ *Clockwise*, directed by Christopher Morahan, screen play by Michael Frayn, 1986.


65. It is not implausible to argue, as Michael S. Sherry has done, that the single greatest cause and justification of state expansion in all spheres in the twentieth century was war and the threat of war. Michael S. Sherry, *In the Shadow of War: the United States since the 1930s* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

I have not listed films, the atrical performances, the BBC news website or newspapers


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Index

abortion, 110
action
  as meaningful or justified behaviour, 9–12, 62–3
  Weber on, 10
Afghanistan, 100
aggression
  and enmity, 8–11
Ahab, Captain, 123
Ahmad, Aijaz, 105
Aho, James, 65, 109
Al Quaida, 42, 61, 153–4
Alexsander Nevsky, 53, 69
All Blacks, 128
Americans, indigenous, 119, 125
animal rights campaign
  and terrorism in the UK, 55
antagonism
  competition, enmity, and
    demonisation, 5, 35–8
  within corporate bodies, 53–5
anti-abortion campaign
  and terrorism in the USA, 55
anti-Catholicism, 67, 75–6
anti-Christ conspiracy, 107
anti-communism, 6, 45, 62, 75–6, 87–90, 135, 140–1, 143, 153
anti-fascism, 81–2
anti-German campaigns, 97–9
anti-Muslim rhetoric, 39, 40–2, 45
anti-Semitism, 6, 38, 39, 63, 72, 111, 115, 118, 122, 126, 155, 170
anti-socialism, 6
appeasement, 67
Apprentice Boys, 15
Ashcroft, John, 50
Ashforth, Adam, 58
asylum seekers, 97, 142–3
Atkinson, Max, 83
atomic weapons, 95
Attlee, Clement, 137
Auschwitz, 118
Australians, indigenous, 119
‘Axis of Evil’, 82, 155
Baehr, Peter, 26
Bailey, F. G., 61
  Baldwin, Stanley, 140
Banda, Hastings, 85
Beck, Ulrich, 32
Beckett, Archbishop Thomas à, 146
Behringer, Wolfgang, 10–11, 41, 85, 87
Bell, Daniel, 76, 88, 89–90, 103–4
Bellamy, Richard, 26
Benin, 85
Beresford, Lord Charles, 97
Berlin blockade, 95
Bevan, Aneurin, 137
Bevin, Ernest, 54, 55
Bin Laden, Osama, 42, 71, 72
BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party), 111
blacklisting, in American film industry, 80
Blair, Tony, 94, 138–9
  and invasion of Iraq, 7
‘Blame it on the Rolling Stones’, 61–2
Blatchford, Robert, 136
Bluth, Christopher, 7
Böhler, Peter, 7
Boleyn, Anne, 86
bombings, London July 2005, 153–4
Boorman, John, 21
Borges, Jorge Luis, 16
Bottomley, Horatio, 97
Bradbury, Ray, 21
Brave New World, 21
Britain for the British, 136
Brixen, Bishop of, 85
Brown, George, 54–5
Brown, Robin, 100
Browning, Christopher, 38, 53, 73
Brownwell, Herbert, 89
Buchan, John, 166
Budenz, Louis, 88
Bulgaria, 39
Bull, Chris, 40, 111
Burton, Robert, 20
Buruma, Ian, 46, 61, 127
Bush, George W., 1, 71, 72, 82, 94, 121
and ‘Tom Cruise imitation’, 80
stigmatised for connection with Saudi royal family, 51

Cambodia, 119
Campbell, Peter, 19
Canning, George, 50
Canovan, Margaret, 110
capitalism, 40
and communism, 75
cartoons, 41, 69, 79
and demonisation, 119
Cavalcanti, Alberto, 81
Chamberlain, Joseph, 48
Charles I, 86
‘chattering classes’, 108, 143
China, 90–2, 95
Chips with Everything, 107
Christendom, 165, 170
Christian patriots, 109
Christian right, USA, 40, 76, 110, 163
Christian Science Monitor, 51
Christianity
contrasted with Sri Lankan Buddhism, 118
Christians
and Jews, 53
Church of Scotland
dissension in, 54
Churchill, Winston, 98, 140, 161
Cicero, 44
Civil War, English, 86
Clark, Stuart, 7, 11, 42–3, 66, 73, 85, 87, 94
class
rhetoric of, 135, 136
Clinton, Bill, 80
clothing, 103
coffee houses, ix
Cohen, Stanley, 65, 97, 111
Cold War, 13–14, 31, 32, 40, 51, 121,
133, 143, 149, 155, 163
and film, 80
Colonel Blimp, 108
Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, 62
communism, 40
and capitalism, 75
fear of, 162

communist government
collapse of in Russia and Eastern Europe in 1989, 141, 149–50
communitarianism, 133
competition
antagonism, enmity, and
demonisation, 5, 35–8
Conan Doyle, Arthur, 117
conflict resolution, 2–3
Congress of Industrial Organizations, 90
conservatism
after the ‘short twentieth century’, 133
alleged death of, 144
Conservative Party
and enmity by association, 132–5,
140–8
rhetorical style, 128–9
consistency
between belief and policy, 7, 123–4,
162
conspiracy, 105–6, 107–8, 112
Coser, Lewis, 22–3, 59
Cosin, John, Bishop of Durham, 48
Coulter, Ann, 17
Coward, Barry, 106
criminality
attribution of as a form of enmity
narrative, 76–7
Crosland, Anthony, 31–2, 49, 54–5
Crusades, 115
Cuban missile crisis, 152–3
Cultural Revolution, 78, 90–2, 126

Daily Express, 97
Daily Mail, 97
Daily Telegraph, 51–2
danger
as justification for government, 8, 18
Darwin, Charles, 15–16
Davies, Owen, 87
Delanty, Gerald, 164
Delrio, Martin, 50
democracy, 124–5
demonisation, 57–8, 114ff.
and competition, antagonism, &
enmity, 5, 35–8, 114–17
and righteousness, 117–19
leaders’ and popular, 122–4
location and context, 124–6
Index 209

persistence of, 120–2
self-perpetuation of, 120–2
use and meaning of, 119–20
Deng Xiaoping, 91
Dharmapala, Anagarika, 118
Dickens, Charles, 47
Dies, Martin, 62
Diet, 103
Dilthey, Wilhelm, 162–3
discourse theory, 10
Donald, Stephanie, 78
dragons, ix
Dulles, John Foster, 153

Ebola virus, 120
Edelman, Murray, 31, 45, 59
compared with Schmitt, 31
compared with Simmel, 31
Eisenhower, President Dwight D., 89, 93, 94, 95
Eisenstein, Sergei, 15, 53, 81, 92
electronic communication, 12
Elizabeth I, 86
Elmer, Peter, 66, 86, 99
enemies
above, 48–9
below, 47–8
compared with opponents, 31
depicted as outside the polity, 46–50
parallel, 46–7
Engels, Friedrich, 142
Enlightenment, 126
enmity
and aggression, 8–11
and competition, antagonism, and
demonisation, 5, 35–8
and government, 44–5
and party politics, 130–3
as contingent, 19, 30–2, 156–9
as contrived or constructed, 22–3, 31,
38–43, 60
as desirable, 19–21
as inherent in political life, 19, 22–8
as justification for government, 8,
18–19, 31, 32, 173
as transcendent or avoidable, 19,
28–30
by association, 50–3
Carl Schmitt on, 13
contrasted with politics, 13

history of, 12–4
parallax, 61
politics without enmity, 167–70
synthetic view of, 33–4
taxonomy of narratives, 44–58
towards non-human threats or
challenges, 167–8
various forms of its expression, 14–15

enmity narratives
and aggression, 8–10, 11
and gender, 68
and identity, 4–7, 8, 13
and political parties, 49–50, 52
as political bluff, 49
dangers of 151–4
domestic threats, 75–7
foreign perils, 74–5
functions of, 59–60, 119–20
in democracies compared with
despotisms, 161
likely circumstances and narrators,
159–63
location and context, 64–7, 159–63
medium of expression, 68–9
public and private expression and
function, 62–4
reciprocal character of, 71–7, 78, 81–2
spontaneous or popular, 60, 61, 67,
83–4, 92–9, 110–11
use of by governments, rulers, and
leaders, 60–1, 67–8, 74, 77–8,
79–81, 83, 92–9
Enzensberger, Hans Magnus, 57, 123
Epstein, David, 37
‘ethnic cleansing’, 124–6, 156, 169
eugenics, 117
European Union, 143, 164
Evans, Harriet, 78
ever
in demonisation rhetoric, 57–8
‘extraordinary rendition’, 156
Eyedema, President Gnassingbe of Togo,
160

Fagen, Richard, 23, 38–9, 153
Fahrenheit 451, 21
Fairclough, Norman, 133
family and family life, 143–4
fascism, 81–2
Feeney, Mark, 80
feminism, 68
Ferdinand and Isabella, 124
Ferguson, Adam, 20–1, 157, 172
compared with Hegel, 29, 30, 32
compared with Schmitt, 25
compared with Simmel, 22–2
compared with Ulrich Beck, 32
film, 79–81
and demonisation, 119
in Nazi Germany, 79–80
Finlay, David, 23, 38–9, 153
First World War, 97
foes, 114–17
distinguished from enemies by
Schmitt, 24–5, 115
‘folk devils’, 5, 65, 111
Folk Devils and Moral Panics, 65, 111
Fonda, Jane, 51
Forbes, Duncan, 20
forgery, 6–7
France
nation-building in, 126
Freeden, Michael, 68
French Revolution 1789, 19, 42, 47, 93,
103, 109
Freud, Sigmund, 61
Friedlander, Saul, 126
Friedman, Stanton, 107
Fukuyama, Francis, 149
Fuller, Samuel, 81
Gallagher, John, 40, 111
Gallagher, Tom, 65, 159
Galloway, George, 51–2
Galtieri, General Leopoldo, 134
Gandhi, Mahatma, 10
gay and lesbian movement, USA, 40, 76
 gays, 155
Geertz, Clifford, 150
gender, 169
general elections, United Kingdom
1900, 136
1910, 136
1918, 137
1945, 140
1964, 142
1966, 142
1974, 140–1, 142
1979, 142
1983, 141
1992, 142
1997, 133, 137–9, 142
2001, 139, 143
Germany, 28, 32, 39, 156
nation-building in, 126
Glaser, Paul Michael, 21
Glasgow, 65, 67
global democracy, 158, 167, 168, 170–1
Globe, The, 97, 99
Goebbels, Joseph, 79
Goldberg, Robert, 107–8
Gordon Riots, 37–8
Gray, John, 170
Great Wall of China, 46
Greece, 124
‘Greek Conspiracy’, Sydney Australia, 151
Greene, Graham, 21
Greenfeld, Liah, 125
Guilty Men, 52
Guise, François de, 45
Gujerat, 111
Hagerty, James, 89
Hague, William, 143
Haka, 128
Halliday, Fred, 40
Halperin, Sandra, 171
Hamza al-Masari, Abu, 76–7
handshakes, ix
Harle, Vilho, 23
Harrington, Sir John, 49
hate speech, 156
‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’, 134, 139–40
Hawthorn, Geoffrey, 159
Hegel, G. W. F., 29–30, 167–9
and liberal views of enmity, 32
compared with Schmitt, 29, 158
compared with Simmel, 29
compared with Ferguson, 29, 32
on recognition and identity, 29–30, 166
on war and identity, 29–30, 62–3
Henry II, 146
Henry VIII, 86, 124
Hensher, Philip, 155
Hindu nationalism, 163
Hitchcock, Alfred, 81
Hitler, Adolf, 38, 72, 115, 122, 161
in British propaganda posters, 78
Hizbu'llah, 120
Hobbes, Thomas, 8, 123, 173
and Schmitt, 28
Hobsbawm, Eric, 13
Hofstadter, Richard, 57, 119, 121, 165
Hoggett, Paul, 7
Holocaust, 156
Holsti, Oli, 23, 38–9, 153
Holy Land, 115
homosexuals
and Christian persecution, 170
and Nazi persecution, 118, 119
Hopkins, Matthew, 85
hostis and inimicus, 24, 44
Huguenots
stigmatised, 52–3, 75
humour
and enmity narratives, 74
Huntington, Samuel, 21, 150
Hurd, Douglas
and New Age Travellers, 5
Hussein, Sadam, 6, 161
Hutu, 119
Huxley, Aldous, 21
Huysmans, Jeff, 152
hydrogen bomb, 96
Ickes, Harold, 62
Idaho, 109
ideal types
and historical events and situations, 49–50, 54–5, 57, 69–70, 71, 84, 102
of described enemies, 46–7, 58
of enmity and contention, 33, 38, 43, 44, 69
identity
and enmity, 4–7
and finity, exclusion, or closure, 164–7
immigrants and immigration, 97, 141, 142–3
Indonesians, 126
inimicus and hostis, 24, 37, 44
Innsbruck, 85
International Labour Organisation, 171
International Monetary Fund, 89
internet, 82
Invasion of the Body Snatchers, 81, 117
IRA, 116
Iraq, 6
invasion of, 7, 61, 161
Tony Blair and, 7
Islam, 115
Islamism, 40–2, 82, 163
Israel, 53, 120
Ivan the Terrible, 53
Jackson Committee (President’s Committee on International Information Activities), 95
Jackson, Richard, 96–7
James I, 86
James, William, 170
Jenkins, Roy, 55
Jericho, 119–20
Jerusalem, 115
Jesuits, 39
Jesus, 10, 115
Jew Süss, 79
Jewison, Norman, 21
Jews
and Christians, 53
John Bull, 97
José I, King of Portugal, 39
Joshua, Book of, 119
Juergensmeyer, Mark, 71
Just, Marion, 13
Kant, Immanuel
and Hegel, 30
Kazan, Elia, 106
Keane, John, 171
Kepel, Giles, 156
Kérékiou, Mathieu, 85
Kern, Montague, 13
King, Martin Luther, 104, 139
Kitchener, Horatio Herbert, 97, 98
Knight, Mark, 36–7
Koonz, Claudia, 118
Korean War, 65, 95
Kosovo, 100
Kramer, Heinrich, 85
Kristofferson, Kris, 61
Kropotkin, Peter, 168
Kruschev, Nikita, 153
Labour Party
1918 Constitution, 135
and enmity by association, 132–40, 144–8
Labour Representation Committee, 136
Lancastrian dynasty, 160
Larner, Christina, 85, 110
Laski, Harold, 171
Lasswell, Harold, 74
Lausanne, Treaty of, 124
Lawrence, Stephen, 139
Lawson, Neal, 134
Laxer, Gordon, 171
Le Queux, William, 112
League of Nations, 171
LeGof, Jacques, 58, 60, 170
Lend-lease, 153
Lenin, V. I., 8
Levinson, Barry, 61
League of Nations, 171
LeGof, Jacques, 58, 60, 170
Lend-lease, 153
Lenin, V. I., 8
 compared with Schmitt, 26
Liberalism
 before 1914 compared with Labour
 after 1989, 137, 145
Leven, Anatole, 163
Liu Sahoqi, 91
Liverpool, 67
Lloyd George, David, 98, 145
Locke, John, 167
Lords, House of, 136
Lost World, The, 117
Louis, Joe, 44
Louis XIV, 103
Lowe, David, 72
Lubavitch, 156
Lusitania, 98
lynchings, 101
MacDonald, Ramsay, 136, 137
Mackintosh, Charles Rennie, 111
Macky, John, ix
Madison, James, 62
Malawi, 85
Malcolm X, 104
Malleus Malificarum, 10–11
Man Friday, 166
Mandela, Nelson, 139
Mann, Heinrich, 39
Mann, Michael, 93–4, 111–12, 124–6, 159, 169
Mao Zedong, 90–2, 94
Martin Chuzzlewit, 47
Marx, Karl, 59, 142, 155
Marxism, 153
Mather, Cotton, 9
Matthäus, Jürgen, 38, 53, 73
Maxton, James, 137
McCarthy, Joseph, 45, 48, 51, 76, 87–90, 93, 99, 103–4, 109, 121, 153
 and enmity by association, 51
McNamara, Robert, 152–3
Mére, Poltrot de, 45
MIS, 116, 154
Michels, Robert, 112
Miliband, David, 134
Miller, David, 165
Miners, 1984–5 dispute, 48, 142
Modi, Narendra, 111
Mods and Rockers, 65
Mohammed, Elijah, 104
Molitor, Ulrich, 11
Monroe, Kristen Renwick, 9, 114
Montagu, Ivor, 108
Moore, Michael, 165–6
Moore, Sir Thomas, 166–7
Moral assessment
 not attempted, 15
Morrison, Herbert, 54, 55
Mouffe, Chantal, 23, 170
Müller, Jan-Werner, 23, 25–6, 158, 171
Mundt, Karl E., 93
Murrow, Edward R., 45
Muslims
 and enmity by association, 51
Napoleon Bonaparte, 93
Narrative and rhetoric
 and other dimensions of political action, 16, 17, 35–43, 49, 55–6, 64, 70, 156–9
Narratives of contention, 5, 35–8, 69
Possible functions of, 59–60
Nation of Islam, 104
Nationalism, 105, 150
Native Americans
 massacres of, 9
Nazism, 38, 39, 73, 79–80, 114, 117, 119
 and demonisation, 117, 118
 and film 79–80
persecution and murder of homosexuals, 118, 119
persecution and murder of Jews, 9–10, 38, 39, 72, 118, 119, 122
persecution and murder of Roma, 118, 119
Neo-conservatism, 6
Netherlands, 126
Neumann, Franz L., 152
New Age Travellers, 5
‘New Labour’, 133–4, 137–40, 144–8
‘New Right’, 134
New Zealand, 128
Nicholas, Siân, 6
Index

Nixon, Richard, 80
Noakes, Lucy, 169
Norris, Pippa, 13
Northcliffe press, 98
Northern Ireland, 15, 52, 72, 127, 141–2, 156

Observer, 137
Oldcastle’s Rebellion, 160
One Nation conservatism, 128–9
opponents compared with enemies, 31
opposition compared with government in parliamentary political rhetoric, 134–5, 136, 147

Orientalism, 31
Orwell, George
and cultivated or imaginary enemies, 121, 173
and enmity by association, 50
and populism, 104
and Richard Rorty, 31
compared with Carl Schmitt, 27
1984, 121
on patriotism and nationalism, 105
Othello, 12
Ottoman Turks, 60

Panayi, Panikos, 97–8
Pareto, Vilfredo, 102
Parkin, Frank, 165
patriotism, 76, 146
Patton, 80
Pentagon, September 2001 attack on, 96, 153, 161
Pequot War, 9
Peron, Eva, 102
Petain, Marshall Philippe, 76
Peter, First Epistle General of, 4
Petri, Elio, 21
Pharaohs, 63
Pickup on South Street, 81
Pierson, Stanley, 136
pogroms, 111, 126
political parties
and enmity by association, 130–5
and rhetoric, 129–30
polytheism contrasted with Sri Lankan Buddhism, 118
populism, 48–9, 101–13
anarchic, 113
and Conservative Party, 144
class, 108–9
and conspiracy, 105–6
ethnic and racial, 109–10
leaders’ and popular, 110–11
and nationalism, 105, 109
paradoxes of, 106–8, 111–13
status, 108
Portillo, Michael, 142
postcards, 74
posters, 69, 72, 77–9
and demonisation, 119
British in First World War, 74
in the Soviet Union, 77
Powell, Ellis T., 97
Prins, Gwyn, 168
printing press, 12
Progressive Party, USA, 90
propaganda
British in Second World War, 6, 39, 61
Protestants
and Roman Catholics, 75
Protocols of the Elders of Zion, 6
Psychological Strategy Board (USA), 96–7
psychology
not employed in the present book, 16
Ptolemy, 124
Qin Emperor, of China, 46
racial purity, concept of, 122
racist narrative, 63
Rashid, Mahir Hassan, 161
Rayner, Jeremy, 62
recognition
Hegel on, 29
Red Guards, 91
Reeves, Thomas C., 88
Reifenstahl, Leni, 80, 92
relative deprivation
compared with relative threat or relative fear, 67
religion, 143–4, 147, 150, 163–4
and demonisation, 57–8, 116–17
Renmin Ribao, 91
rhetoric and narrative
   and other forms of political action, 16, 17, 35–43, 49, 55–6, 64
riots, 102
risk assessment, 15–16
Roberts, Penny, 75
Robespierre, Maximilien, 47
Robin, Corey, 94
Robinson Crusoe, 166
Rogin, Michael, 116
Rollerball, 21
Roma, 97, 118, 124, 155
Roman Catholic Church, 171
Roman Catholics
   and Protestants, 75
   stigmatised, 52
Roman Republic, 37
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 62
Rorty, Richard, 31
Roswell phenomenon, 107–8
RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary), 116
Runciman, David, 28
Runciman, W. G., 67
Running Man, 21
Russia, 42
Russian Revolution, 13, 77, 133, 145
Rwanda, 119

Saad-Gorayeb, Amal, 119–20
Saboteur, 81
Said, Edward, 31
Saint Luke, Gospel, 5–6
Sartori, Giovanni, 23, 57
SAS (Special Air Service), 116
Saudi Arabia, 51, 61, 115
Scargill, Arther, 134
Schell, Jonathan, 169
Schmeling, Max, 44
Schmitt, Carl, 23–8, 59, 63, 69, 70, 145, 157–8, 167–9, 171
   and conservative views of enmity, 32
   and enmity, 13
   and Hobbes, 28
   and Simmel, 22, 27–8
   compared with Edelman, 31
   compared with Ferguson, 25
   compared with Hegel, 29, 158
   compared with Lenin, 26
   compared with George Orwell, 27
   distinction between hostis and inimicus, 24, 37, 44
   distinguishes between enemies and foes, 24–5, 115
   use of term ‘political’, 23–4, 25–6
Schwab, George, 24–5, 57, 115
Scotland, 85, 110, 126
   nationalism in, 143
Scruton, Roger, 47–8, 130
seamen’s strike 1966, 105–6
Shakespeare, William, 2, 12
Shapin, Steven, 5
Shaw, Tony, 80
Shiv Sena, 45
‘short twentieth century’, 133, 135, 149, 172
Siegel, Don, 81, 117
Simmel, George, 22–3, 59, 63, 168, 170, 173
   and Schmitt, 22, 27–8
   compared with Edelman, 31
   compared with Ferguson, 22–3
   compared with Hegel, 29
   on relation between narrative and other dimensions of action, 64
   on religious dissension, 54
Simplicissimus, 41
sincerity, 6–7, 42–3, 59, 62, 63, 86–7
slavery, 125
Smith, Harold M. P., 99
socialism, 32
   after the ‘short twentieth century’, 133
   alleged death of, 144
Sombart, Werner, 46
Sorel, Georges, 59
Southampton Plot, 160
Spain, 170
Spee, Admiral Graf von, 63
Spencer, Herbert, 173
Sri Lanka, 118
SS (Schutzstaffel), 117
St George, ix
St Just, Louis de, 103
stakeholding, 133
Stalin, Joseph, 47, 53, 72, 90, 161
Stears, John, 85
Stibbe, Matthew, 63
Stonehenge, 5
Stravinsky, Igor, 111
*Suffragette*, 97
Swann, Julian, 106
Swift, Jonathan, 36

Tabligh, 156
television, 119
Templeton, Viscount, 99
*Tenth Victim, The*, 21
terrorism
and party rhetoric, 141–2, 145
depiction of, 1
Thackeray, Bal, 45
Thatcher, Margaret
and ‘enemies within’, 47–8, 142
and Monster Raving Loony Party, 74
and need for enemies and antagonists, 128–9, 134
and New Age Travellers, 5
and ‘New Labour’, 133
and private and public enmity narratives, 63
theatre, 79
theocracy, 40
theory
and interpretation, 15–16, 43
*Third Man, The*, 19–20
Third Reich, 38
Third Way, 133
Thomas, Keith, 151
Thompson, E. P., 32
*Three Guineas*, 169
Tolkien, J. R. R., 67
Toolis, Kevin, 116
Tories, 36–7
*Tory MP*, 52
totalitarianism, 90
trade unions, 141–2, 171
*Traitor Class, The*, 108
traitors, 56–7
treason, 56–7, 123
*Triumph of the Will*, 80
Truman, Harry S., 89, 95
Turkey, 124
twenty-first century
and optimism and pessimism, 149–51
and search for new enemies, 154–5
and uncertainty, 13–14
Tyrone, 116

Uccello, Paolo, ix
unilateralism, 51
USA, 31
and civic nationalism, 125
USSR, 31, 39, 95

Vichy Government, 76
Viel-Castel, Comte Horace de, 103
Viet Cong, 153
Vietnam War, 51, 152–3
*Viva Zapata!*, 106–7
Vonnegut, Kurt, 18

*Wag the Dog*, 61
Wahhabist Islam, 54
Waiter, German, 98
Waldensians, 41
Wales
nationalism in, 143
Wallace, Henry, 90
*Wandering Jew, The*, 79
Wang, Shaoguang, 92
war
and identity, Hegel on, 29–30
‘war on terror’, 13–14, 50, 96, 97, 121, 153–5, 173
Watson, F. E., 83–4
Wayne, John, 80
‘weapons of mass destruction’, 6, 7
Weber, Max
ideal types, 129
on action, 10, 64
on authority, 66
on conflict, 170
on exclusion and closure, 165
on secrecy in government, 7, 62
Wells, H. G., 168
*Went the Day Well?*, 81
Wesker, Arnold, 107
Wesley, John, 87
Wheeling, West Virginia, 87
Whigs, 36–7
White, Arnold, 97
White, Harry Dexter, 89
Wilde, Oscar, 172
Wilkin, Bucky, 61
Wilson, Harold, 105–6
Wimmer, Andreas, 124–6, 159, 169
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Windsor, house of</th>
<th>Woolf, Virginia</th>
<th>World Trade Center, September 2001 attack on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>68, 169</td>
<td>96, 153, 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>witch hunts</td>
<td>41, 50, 58, 84–7, 99 101, 111, 115, 121, 122, 126–7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>witchcraft</td>
<td>7, 10–11, 41, 42–3, 66, 73, 84–7, 132, 140, 159</td>
<td>Zapata, Emiliano, 106–7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>witches</td>
<td>41, 115</td>
<td>Zardoz, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Wizard of Oz, The</em></td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Zeppelins, 97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, Ellen Meiksins</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>‘Zinoviev Letter’, 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>