NOTES

Introduction

1 Lauren Collins, 'Banksy was here', *The New Yorker*, 7 May 2007.
2 This trinity is explained below, and in more detail in Chapter 1.
3 The book is focused mainly on the European Union (set up in 1992) and its predecessor the European Economic Communities (set up in 1951 and in 1957). It includes also other European forums, the first one being the Organisation of European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) created in 1948.
4 Erik Jones, 'Towards a theory of disintegration', in *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25, 3, 2018, 440–451; John Gillingham, *The EU: An Obituary*, Verso Books, 2018; Ben Rosamond, 'Theorising the EU in crisis: De-Europeanisation as disintegration', in *Global Discourse,* 9, 1, 2019, 31–44.
5 Such a claim is fairly commonplace for a historian. To take a recent example, Emma Rotschild states in the introduction to her famous book on acid rain: 'without past knowledge of how societies have dealt with environmental pollution, we have little chance of improving upon these efforts . . . An important caveat: . . . no historical period will ever be a perfect laboratory to model how the future will unfold . . .. With that said, we have no better options'. Emma Rothschild, *Poisonous Skies. Acid Rain and the Globalization of Pollution*, Chicago University Press, 2019, 5.
6 Three major monographs have already connected the two albeit somewhat differently, notably on the late 1940s and the 1950s: Ernst B. Haas, *Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950–1957*, University of Notre Dame Press, 2020 [1958]; Alan Milward, *The Rescue of the Nation-State*, Routledge, 1992; on the years between 1955 and 1992, but without recourse to archival documents: Andrew Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*, Cornell University Press, 1998. For a more general perspective, see: Harold James, *Europe Contested. From the Kaiser to Brexit*, Routledge, 2019. Edited volumes have tackled this issue using a more multiperspectival approach. See, for example, Aurélie Andry, Emmanuel Mourlon-Druol, Haakon Ikonomou and Quentin Jouan (eds.), *Rethinking European Integration History in Light of Capitalism*, Routledge, 2022. See the last section of this introduction for further detail on the historiography.
7 See below in Footnotes 48 and 49; on varieties of capitalism: Peter A. Hall, David Soskice (eds.), *Varieties of Capitalism. The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage,* Oxford University Press, 2001. On international political economy: Kevin O'Rourke, 'Economic history and contemporary challenges to

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globalization', *Journal of Economic History*, 79, 2, 2019, 356–382; Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, Harvard University Press, 2014.

8 Among the most incisive books in this field, with a logical focus on the UN and the US (and the anti-US reaction): Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea,* Allen Lane, 2012 (the EU is mostly covered in pages 406–415); Sandrine Kott, *A World More Equal. An Internationalist Perspective on the Cold War*, Columbia University Press, 2024. See also: Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (eds.), *Internationalisms: A Twentieth Century History*, Cambridge University Press, 2017.

9 On European integration and international organisations: Lorenzo Mechi, Guia Migani and Francesco Petrini (eds.), *Networks of Global Governance: International Organisations and European Integration in a Historical Perspective*, Cambridge Scholar Publishing, 2014; Garavini Giuliano, *After Empires European Integration, Decolonization, and the Challenge from the Global South 1957–1986*, Oxford University Press, 2012; Emmanuel Mourlon-Druol and Federico Romero, *International Summitry and Global Governance. The Rise of the G7 and the European Council, 1974–1991*, Routledge, 2018.

10 Jürgen Kocka, *Capitalism and Its Critics: A Long-Term View*, Leibniz Information Centre for Economics, 2018, 72–73; Jürgen Kocka, *Capitalism: A Short History*, Princeton University Press, 2016.

11 Jürgen Kocka has also used the term 'industrial capitalism', which began in the eighteenth century in Great Britain, and in the nineteenth elsewhere. See the seminal article: E. P. Thompson, 'Time, Work Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism', in *Past & Present*, 38, 1967, 56–97.

12 Sarah Bauerle Danzman, and Sophie Meunier, 'The EU's geoeconomic turn: From policy laggard to institutional innovator', in *JCMS,* 62, 4, 2024, 1097–1115; Sophie Meunier, and Kalypso Nicolaidis, 'The geopoliticization of European trade and investment policy', in *JCMS*, 57, 2019, 103–113; Milan Babić, Adam D. Dixon, and Imogen T. Liu (eds.), *The Political Economy of Geoeconomics: Europe in a Changing World*, Palgrave, 2022; Robert D. Blackwill and Jennifer M. Harris, *War by Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft*, Harvard University Press, 2016; Daniel W. Drezner, Henry Farrell, and Abraham L. Newman (eds.), *The Uses and Abuses of Weaponized Interdependence*, Brookings Institution Press, 2021; on deglobalisation: O'Rourke, 'Economic history'; Kathleen R. McNamara, 'Transforming Europe? The EU's industrial policy and geopolitical turn', in *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2023, 1–26; 'Special report: Homeland Economics', *The Economist*, 2 October 2023; Luuk van Middelaar, 'Brexit as the European Union's "Machiavellian moment"', *Common Market Law Review*, 55, 3, 2018, 3–28; on 'statecraft' see also Draghi report: *The Future of European Competitiveness: Report by Mario Draghi*, 2024, 3.

13 Eric Helleiner, *The Neomercantilists: A Global Intellectual History*, Cornell University Press, 2021.

14 On this 'economic lawfare': Cornelia Woll, in *Corporate Crime and Punishment: The Politics of Negotiated Justice in Global Market*, Princeton University Press, 2023; see also: Nicholas Mulder, *The Economic Weapon: The Rise of Sanctions as a Tool of Modern War*, University Press 2022; Christopher R. W. Dietrich (ed.), *Diplomacy and Capitalism: The Political Economy of US Foreign Relations*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022.

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15 Fabio Buffone, Tibur Ergen, Manolis Kalaitzake, 'No strings attached: Corporate welfare, state intervention, and the issue of conditionality', in *Competition & Change*, 27, 2, 2023, 253–276.
16 On the construction of markets: Polayni, *The Great Transformation*, 141; Alec Stone Sweet, Wayne Sandholtz, and Neil Fligstein (eds.), *The Institutionalization of Europe*, Oxford University Press, 2001; Bernard Jullien and Andy Smith (eds.), *The EU's Government of Industries: Markets, Institutions and Politics*, Routledge, 2015.
17 See Chapter 10. Kathleen McNamara has defined industrial policy as 'the use of public powers to actively shape markets for the interests and values of a bounded political community'. It is a break from 'neoliberal market governance', which was 'framed as neutral'. 'Today's EU industrial policy, in contrast, makes politically explicit the distributional choices over the sectors and activities being privileged'; McNamara, 'Transforming Europe?'.
18 See Chapter 3 on Keynes, and Chapter 8 on Hayek.
19 See Chapter 2 and: Jeffrey Checkel and Peter Katzenstein (eds.), *European Identity*, Cambridge University Press, 2009; Aline Sierp, *History, Memory, and Trans-European Identity: Unifying Divisions*, Routledge, 2014; Viktoria Kaina, Pawel Karolewski, and Sebastian Kühn (eds.), *European Identity Revisited: New Approaches and Recent Empirical Evidence*, Routledge, 2016; Robert Frank, 'Cultural, memorial and reference sphere, public sphere and European democracy, in Wilfried Loth (ed.), *Experiencing Europe*, Nomos, 2009, 152–168; Hartmut Kaelble, *The European Public Sphere*, Max Weber Lecture, EUI, 2007.
20 While the transparency of the EU should be improved (see the 2022 Qatargate scandal and the role of lobbying), it is certainly greater than in most countries in the world, including many of its own member states.
21 On member states' differences: Hussein Kassim and Adriaan Schout (ed.), *National Government Narratives of the EU: 'Official Stories' of Belonging*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2025.
22 On the impact of EU trade regulations, see Chapters 6 and 10; Anu Bradford, *The Brussels Effect: How the European Union Rules the World*, Oxford University Press, 2020.
23 For the broader institutional argument, see Chapter 2 on European institutions.
24 To borrow the vocabulary of Andrew Moravcsik, member states have engaged in interstate bargaining based on asymmetrical interdependence. They accept institutional delegation in order to ensure credible commitments. See: Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe*; Milward, *Rescue;* Christopher Bickerton, Dermot Hodson, and Uwe Puetter (eds.), *The New Intergovernmentalism: States and Supranational Actors in the Post-Maastricht Era*, Oxford University Press, 2015; Luuk van Middelaar, *The Passage to Europe: How a Continent Became a Union*, Yale University Press, 2013.
25 The dates mentioned are those for Spinelli's terms in office, first as European Commissioner (1970–1976), later as a member of the Italian Parliament (1976–1983), and finally as a member of the European Parliament (1979–1986). Andrew Glencross and Alexandre Trechsel, *EU Federalism and Constitutionalism: The Legacy of Altiero Spinelli*, Lexington books, 2010.
26 In her speech from 21 May 1980, Thatcher asserted: 'There is no real alternative [to neoliberal policies]'; Jan-Werner Müller, *What Is Populism?* University of

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Pennsylvania Press, 2017; Erik Jones, 'Populism in Europe', in *SAIS Review of International Affairs,* 27, 1, 2007, 37–47.

27 Samuel Moyn, *Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World*, Harvard University Press, 2018; On Europe, see for example an analysis of the popular vote on Brexit, which is explained by cultural, educational, and economic issues: Sasha O. Becker, Thiemmo Fetzer, and Dennis Novy, 'Who voted for Brexit? A comprehensive district-level analysis', in *Economic Policy*, 32, 92, 2017, 601–650.

28 These three values echo the Preamble to the United States Constitution, which evokes 'Liberty', 'the general Welfare', and 'the common defense', as well as the motto of the French state since 1880: 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity'.

29 The call to fuse these approaches is widely shared among historians: Patricia Clavin, 'Defining transnationalism', in *Contemporary European History*, 14, 4, 2005, 421–439; Kiran Klaus Patel, 'An emperor without clothes? The debate about transnational history twenty-five years on', in *Histoire@Politique*, 26, May 2016, 191–206; David Reynolds, 'From the transatlantic to the transnational: Reflections on the changing shape of international history', in *Diplomacy & Statecraft,* 24, 1, 2013, 134–148.

30 Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, Beacon Press, 1985 [1944],135 on the 'birth of the liberal creed' and the 'evangelical fervour' of its supporters. See also: Peter A. Hall (ed.), *The Political Power of Economic Ideas: Keynesianism across Nations*, Princeton University Press, 1989. On European integration history: Craig Parsons, 'Ideas and power: Four intersections and how to show them', in *Journal of European Public Policy,* 23, 3, 2016, 44–463.

31 John Maynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money,* Macmillan, 1936, 379. Strikingly, Keynes himself was both a theorist and a practitioner, notably a currency trader: Olivier Accominotti, David Chambers, and James Morrison, 'The speculative consequences of the peace', in Patricia Clavin and al. (eds.), *Keynes's Economic Consequences of the Peace after 100 Years: Polemics and Policy*, Cambridge University Press, 2024.

32 Giovanni Capoccia, 'Critical Junctures', in Orfeo Fioretos, Tulia Falleti, Adam Sheingate (eds.), *Oxford Handbook on Historical Institutionalism*, Oxford University Press, 2016, 95–108.

33 For example, on the limitations of the archives for the Court of Justice of the European Union, see: Fernanda Nicola, 'Waiting for the Barbarians: Inside the Archive of the ECJ', in Claire Kilpatrick, and Joanne Scott (eds.), *New Legal Approaches to Studying the Court of Justice: Revisiting Law in Context*, Oxford University Press, 2020; Veera Fritz, 'Judge Biographies as a Methodology to Grasp the Dynamics inside the CJEU and Its Relationship with EU Member States', in Michael Rask Madsen, Fernanda Nicola, and Antoine Vauchez (eds.), *Researching the European Court of Justice: Methodological Shifts and Law's Embeddedness*, Cambridge University Press, 2022, 209–234.

34 Kiran Klaus Patel, 'Provincializing European Union: Co-operation and integration in Europe in a historical perspective', in *Contemporary European History*, 22, 4, 2013, 649–673.

35 Frederick Cooper, 'Provincializing France', in Ann Laura Stoler, Carole McGranahan, and Peter C. Perdue (eds.), *Imperial formations,* Currey, 2007, 341–377.

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36 Antonio Varsori, *La cenerentola d'Europa. L'Italia e l'Integrazione Europea dal 1947 a Oggi*, Rubbetino, 2010; Antonio Varsori and Benedetto Zaccaria (eds.), *Italy in the International System from Détente to the End of the Cold War: The Underrated Ally*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018; for examples in the archives of political leaders disregarding the importance of Italy, see: BR-NA, PREM19/133, steering brief, 22 November 1979; AAPD/1983, doc. 338, note on a Kohl–Thatcher meeting of 9 November 1983; AAPD/1984, doc. 29, note on a Kohl–Mitterrand meeting of 2 February 1984; James Baker archives (Princeton USA), box 111, folder 6, note for James Baker, 30 June 1992.

37 Many examples are provided in this book, notably of the usual suspects (i.e. the Benelux states of Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands) but also of Ireland, Greece, Scandinavian as well as Central and Eastern European states.

38 Philipp Ther, *Europe since 1989. A History*, Princeton University Press, 2017; Ferenc Laczo and Vera Scepanovic, 'Eastern Europe in the history of European integration: From the periphery to the centre?', in Brigitte Leucht, Katja Seidel, and Laurent Warlouzet (eds.), *Reinventing Europe. The History of the European Union, 1945 to the Present*, Bloomsbury, 2023, 281–298.

39 Andy Smith, 'Why European Commissioners matter', in *JCMS*, 41, 2003, 137–155; Mark Pollack, *The Engines of European Integration. Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the European Union,* Oxford University Press, 2003; Hussein Kassim and Brigid Laffan, 'The Juncker Presidency: The political commission in practice', in *JCMS*, 57, 1, 2019, 49–61; Frédéric Mérand, *The Political Commissioner: A European Ethnography*, Oxford University Press, 2021; Michelle Cini and Nieves Pérez-Solórzano, *European Union Politics*, Oxford University Press, 2022.

40 See Chapter 2 and: Karen Alter, *The European Court's Political Power: Selected Essays*, Oxford University Press, 2009; Antoine Vauchez, *Brokering Europe. Euro-Lawyers and the Making of a Transnational Polity*, Cambridge University Press, 2015; Fernanda Nicola and Bill Davies (eds.), *EU Law Stories. Contextual and Critical Histories of European Jurisprudence*, Cambridge University Press, 2017; Billy Davies and Morten Rasmussen, 'Introduction: Towards a new history of European law', in *Contemporary European History*, 21, 3, 2012, 305–318; Peter Lindseth, *Power and Legitimacy: Reconciling Europe and the Nation-State*, Oxford University Press, 2010. For a critical approach: Morten Rasmussen and Dorte Sindbjerg Martinsen, 'EU constitutionalisation revisited: Redressing a central assumption in European studies', in *European Law Journal,* 2019, 1–22. On the history of the European Parliament, see recently: Mechtild Roos, *The Parliamentary Roots of European Social Policy: Turning Talk into Power*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2021; and: Berthold Rittberger, 'The creation and empowerment of the European Parliament', in *JCMS*, 41, 2, 2003, 203–225; Yves Mény (ed.), *Building Parliament: 50 Years of European Parliament History 1958–2008*, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2009.

41 Pepper Culpepper considers that business tends to have more influence on policy-making regarding topics that are technical: Pepper Culpepper, *Quiet Politics and Business Power: Corporate Control in Europe and Japan*, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

42 On the dynamism of the field: Sven Beckert, 'The new history of capitalism', in Jürgen Kocka and Marcel van der Linden (eds.), *Capitalism. The Reemergence of a Historical Concept*, Bloomsbury, 2016, 235–249.

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43 To name but just four classics: Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*; Piketty, *Capital;* Joseph Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents Revisited: Anti-globalization in the Era of Trump*, Norton & Company, 2018; Dani Rodrik, *The Globalisation Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy?,* Norton & Company, 2012.

44 Kevin O'Rourke, 'Globalisation', in Jeffery Jenkins and Jared Rubin (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Historical Political Economy*, Oxford University Press, 2024; Michael Huberman, *Odd Couple. International Trade and Labor Standards in History*, Yale University Press, 2012.

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46 Helleiner, *The Neomercantilists*; Mariana Mazzucato, *The Entrepreneurial State: Debunking Public vs. Private Sector Myths*, Anthem Press, 2013; Fred Block, 'Swimming against the current: The rise of a hidden developmental state in the United States', *Politics & Society*, 36, 2, 2008, 169–206.

47 See Chapter 1 on the notion of an efficient industrial policy, based on: Reka Juhasz, Nathan J. Lane, and Dani Rodrik, *The New Economics of Industrial Policy*, NBER working paper 31538, 2023.

48 Hall and Soskice (eds.), *Varieties of Capitalism*; David Hope and David Soskice, 'Growth models, varieties of capitalism, and macroeconomics', in *Politics & Society*, 44, 2, 2016, 209–22.

49 Bob Hancké, Martin Rhodes, and Mark Thatcher (eds.), *Beyond Varieties of Capitalism: Conflict, Contradictions, and Complementarities in the European Economy*, Oxford University Press, 2007; Sven Steinmo, *The Evolution of Modern States: Sweden, Japan, and the United States*, Cambridge University Press, 2010; Orfeo Fioretos, *Creative Reconstructions. Multilateralism and European Varieties of Capitalism after 1950*, Cornell University Press, 2011; Kathleen Thelen, *Varieties of Liberalization: The New Politics of Social Solidarity,* Cambridge University Press, 2014; Lucio Baccaro and Harry Jonas Pontusson, 'Rethinking comparative political economy: The growth model perspective', in *Politics & Society,* 44, 2, 175–207.

50 Notable exceptions include: Vivien Schmidt and Mark Thatcher (eds.), *Resilient Liberalism in Europe's Political Economy*, Cambridge University Press, 2013; Manuela Moschella, Lucia Quaglia, and Aneta Spendzharova (eds.), *European Political Economy: Theoretical Approaches and Policy Issues*, Oxford University Press, 2023; Joachim Becker, Johannes Jäger, 'Integration in crisis: A regulationist perspective on the interaction of European varieties of capitalism', *Competition & Change*, 16, 3, 2012, 169–187.

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51 This book was influenced by Peter Gourevitch's approach, which differentiates between five types of economic policy: classical liberalism, socialisation and planning, demand stimulus, protectionism, and mercantilism: Peter Gourevitch, *Politics and Hard times: Comparative Responses to International Economic Crises*, Cornell University Press, 1986.

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55 On 'Europeanisation', see: Theofanis Exadaktylos and Claudio Radaelli, 'Europeanisation', in Kennet Lynggaard, Ian Manners, and Karl Löfgren (eds.), *Research Methods in European Union Studies*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, 206–218.

56 See Chapter 2 on the European political system. The book will build on inspiring recent monographs that have covered some of this book's topics: Grace Ballor, *Enterprise and Integration: Big Business and the Making of the Single European Market*, Cambridge University Press, 2025; Piers Ludlow, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s: Negotiating the Gaullist Challenge*, Routledge, 2006; Kiran Klaus Patel, *Project Europe: A History*, Cambridge University Press, 2020; Emmanuel Mourlon-Druol, *Federal Anathema: How European Policymakers Shelved Economic Union in the Making of the Euro*, Cornell University Press, 2025.

57 See Chapter 2. Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe;* van Middelaar, *The passage to Europe*; Bickerton, Hodson and Puetter (eds.), *The New Intergovernmentalism*; Sebastian Rosato, *Europe United: Power Politics and the Making of the European Community*, Cornell University Press, 2011; Ulrich Krotz and Joachim Schild, *Shaping Europe: France, Germany, and Embedded Bilateralism from the Elysee Treaty to Twenty-First Century Politics,* Oxford University Press, 2015.

58 See Footnote 40. On transnational networks: Wolfram Kaiser, Brigitte Leucht, and Morten Rasmussen (eds.), *The History of the European Union. Origins of a Trans- and Supranational Polity, 1950–1972*, Routledge, 2009; for a detailed history of the European Commission, see the three volumes of *The European Commission. History and Memories of an Institution*s (1958–72, 1973–86 and 1986–2000) available on the 'Publications Office of the EU' website; on supranational institutions, see above.

59 To name but a few: Perry Anderson, *Ever Closer Union? Europe in the West*, Verso Books, 2021; Alan W. Cafruny and Magnus Ryner (eds.), *A Ruined Fortress? Neoliberal Hegemony and Transformation in Europe*, Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, 2003; John Gillingham, *European integration, 1950–2003: Superstate or New Market Economy?* Cambridge University Press, 2003; Dieter Plehwe, Bernhard Walpen, and Gisela Neunhöffer (eds.), *Neoliberal Hegemony. A Global Critique*, Routledge, 2006; Hagen Schulz-Forberg and Bo Strath, *The Political History of European Integration: The Hypocrisy of Democracy-through-Market,* Routledge, 2010; Wolfgang Streeck, *Buying Time: The Delayed Crisis of*

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Democratic Capitalism, Verso, 2017. See also Fritz Scharpf's argument, which is discussed in Chapter 2.

60 To put this debate in perspective, see: Michele Di Donato, 'The European Social Democrats: Neoliberalism or internationalism?', in Michele Di Donato, Silvio Pons (ed.), *European Integration and the Global Financial Crisis Looking back on the Maastricht Years, 1980s–1990s*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2023, 139–160.

61 Stephanie Lee Mudge, 'What is neoliberalism?', in *Socio-economic Review,* 6, 2008, 703–731; Quinn Slobodian, *Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism*, Harvard University Press, 2018.

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63 Neil Rollings and Laurent Warlouzet (eds.), 'Business history and European integration: How EEC competition policy affected companies' strategies', in Special issue of *Business History,* 62, 5, 2020, 717–742.

64 Bastiaan van Apeldoorn, *Transnational Capitalism and the Struggle over European Integration*, Routledge, 2002. See more recently: Benjamin Bürbaumer, 'TNC competitiveness in the formation of the Single Market: The role of European business revisited', in *New Political Economy*, 26, 4, 2020, 631–645.

65 See Chapters 4 and 9. On the historical literature regarding trade unions: Aurélie Andry, *Social Europe: The Road Not Taken: The Left and European Integration in the Long 1970s*, Oxford University Press, 2022; Andrea Ciampani and Pierre Tilly, *National Trade Unions and the ETUC: A History of Unity and Diversity*, ETUI, 2017; Christophe Degryse and Pierre Tilly, *1973–2013: 40 Years of History of the European Trade Union Confederation*, ETUC, 2013; Roos, *The Parliamentary Roots*; Sigfrido Ramírez Pérez, 'European Trade Unions from the Single European Act to Maastricht: 1985–1992', in *Studi storici,* 62, 1, 2021, 211–245.

Chapter 1

1 Max Weber, Essais sur la théorie de la science. Premier essai: 'L'objectivité de la connaissance dans les sciences et la politique sociale', *Plon*, 1965.

2 Marc Bloch, *Apologie pour l'histoire ou Métier d'historien,* Dunod, 2020 [1949], 233–237. Bloch also called on historians to be more rigorous in their definition of concepts, and did not reject what he referred to as the effort of 'nomenclature'.

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3 This trinity is of course not the same as the Christian one ('Trinity, in Christian doctrine, [means] the unity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as three persons in one Godhead' according to the *Britannica Encyclopedia*), or the three orders of medieval society – those who fight, those who pray, and those who labour – which relates to the trifunctional hypothesis of Georges Dumézil concerning Indo-European people.
4 Frank Bösch, 'Krisenkinder. Neoliberale, die Grünen und der Wandel des Politischen in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren', in Frank Bösch, Thomas Hertfelder, Gabriele Metlzer (eds.), *Grenzen des Neoliberalismus. Der Wandel des Liberalismus im späten 20. Jahrhundert*, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2021, 39–60.
5 Giovanni Gozzini, 'Italian Communism', in Norman Naimark, Silvio Pons, and Sophie Quinn-Judge (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Communism*, Cambridge University Press, 2017, 597–600.
6 Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, 141; Neil Fligstein, *The Architecture of Markets*, Princeton University Press, 2001.
7 Paul Pierson, *Dismantling the Welfare State? Reagan, Thatcher and the Politics of Retrenchment*, Cambridge University Press, 1994.
8 The facts cited hereafter are from the following reference works: Adam Tooze, *The Wages of Destruction: Formation and Ruin of the Nazi Economy*, Allen Lane, 2006; and Tim Schanetzky, *Kanonen statt Butter. Wirtschaft und Konsum im Dritten Reich*, Beck, 2015.
9 'TechnoMAGA', *The Economist*, 23 November 2024.
10 Emma Rothschild, *Economic Sentiments: Adam Smith, Condorcet and the Enlightenment*, Harvard University Press, 2001; on Adam Smith see also: Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, 111: 'wealth was to him merely an aspect of the life in community, to the purposes of which it remained subordinate'.
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Chapter 9

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Conclusion

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