Table of Contents

Lis	st of Abbreviations	XV
	Introduction PART I INTERWAR: A PRE-HISTORY OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION	1
	Authoritarian Liberalism in Late Weimar	25
	1. Introduction	25
	2. Authoritarian liberalism in late Weimar	26
	3. Toleration by the Social Democrats: a crisis of representation	30
	4. Fascist dictatorship: the end of the political5. A cult of violence	36 41
		71
2.	Beyond Weimar: The Long Crisis of Liberalism, the Political Economy of	4.4
	the Interwar Conjuncture, and the Foundations of Neo-liberalism 1. Introduction	44
	1. Introduction	44
	2. A liberal constitution in crisis: three models of constitutional self-defence	17
	Valaan's Dura Thaanu of I am	49
	Calmaine Almaluta Camptitution	51
	Heller's social democratic state	54
	3. Karl Polanyi and the political economy of the interwar conjuncture	58
	4. The foundations of neo-liberalism	65
	PART II POST-WAR EUROPE: THE RECONSTITUTION OF INTER-STATE, STATE-SOCIETY AND SOCIAL RELATIONS	
3	Restraining State Sovereignty: Imagining a 'European Germany'	81
0.	1 Introduction	81
	2 A cemi-covereign state at the heart of Furone	82
	3. The supranational compromise	87
4.	De-democratization of the Political Constitution	95
	1. Introduction	95
	2. Demobilization of the masses and the decline of parliamentarism	97
	3. Sovereignty of the law	102
	4. Constitutionalization of the European Treaties	110

5.	The Material Constitution: Ordoliberalism, Neoliberalism, and the	
	Deradicalization of Political Opposition	118
	1. Introduction	118
	2. The economic constitution and ordoliberalism	119
	3. An economic constitution writ large and the transition to neo-	
	liberalism	125
	4. Political deradicalization	133
	PART III THE ROAD FROM MAASTRICHT TO LISBON: CONSTITUTIONAL MOVEMENTS AND COUNTER-MOVEMENTS	
6.	Restraining State Sovereignty or the Return of the German Question?	147
	1. Introduction	147
	2. Differentiated integration and the 'new intergovernmentalism'	148
	3. The return of the German question	154
	4. Enlargement of the Union: stark utopia, stark asymmetries	158
7.	The Post-sovereign Constitution or the Return of Sovereignty?	163
	1. Introduction	163
	2. Post-sovereign constitutionalism	165
	3. The return of sovereignty claims	168
	4. Excavating the dialectic: an authoritarian constitutionalism	174
8.	The Material Constitution: There is no Alternative or is There?	178
	1. Introduction	178
	2. Economic and Monetary Union	179
	3. Deepening and widening of market liberal ideology	186
	4. Decline of traditional mass parties and the emergence of social	
	resentment	195
	PART IV EURO CRISIS: THE UNFINISHED CONJUNCTURE	
9.	Authoritarian Liberalism Writ Large: the Spectre of a 'German Europe'	211
	1. Introduction	211
	2. The Lisbon Treaty: a geo-constitutional fudge	212
	3. Euro crisis: the end of the democratic federal dream	215
	4. The emergence of semi-hegemony in a 'German Europe'	223
0.	The New Constitutionalism and its Discontents	230
	1. Introduction	230
	2. The globalization of European constitutional discourse	231
	3. Who is the guardian of the European Constitution?	237
	4. The new constitutionalists	242
	5. From Habermasian federalism to Schmittian federation	244

TABLE OF CONTENTS	Xiii
11. The Material Constitution in Crisis: Telos, Nomos, and Demos	249
1. Introduction	249
2. Economic liberalism and the telos of irreversibility	251
3. Austerity: narrative and nomos	257
4. The erosion of the demos	262
Conclusion	
Bibliography	

Index

xiii

321