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Was There An Alternative? European Socialists facing Capitalism in the Long 1970s

Aurélie Andry

Abstract: This article examines Western European socialists' attempt to assert a 'socialist alternative' to a crumbling world order during the long 1970s. In Western Europe, the 1968 uprisings inaugurated a decade of intense social contestation, which coincided with the heyday of social democracy and, arguably, with a new leftward tendency within the socialist milieu. The 'crisis' of the long 1970s – with its multiple economic, energy social, political, international and cultural facets – challenged the foundations of the 'post-war consensus' and to some extent pushed socialists to question their commitment to capitalism. This article explores the period of consolidation and renewal that Western European social democracy experienced during the early 1970s, their increasing confidence that they could use the European Community as a tool to realise democratic socialism, the attempt to formulate a common socialist alternative for Europe, the leftward tendency that was characterizing European socialists at the time and even their hope (at least for some of them) to surpass capitalism. Focusing on the attempt of the socialist parties of the EC to adopt a common European socialist programme in view of the first direct elections of the European Parliament, it argues that despite their divergences, European socialists did thoroughly discuss and envisage an alternative to capitalism at a European and global level during the 1970s, an option that was abandoned by the 1980s.

Keywords: Social Europe, Crisis, of the 1970s, Capitalism, European Socialism, Social democracy, Mitterrand, Schmidt, European integration history

Introduction

At the beginning of the 1970s, Western European socialist parties formulated a project to build what they called a 'social Europe'.[i] The idea, in short, was to use the European Community (EC) as an instrument to foster social progress in order to turn Western Europe into a model of social progress for the World. This 'social Europe' project relied on far-reaching proposals to sustain a number of fundamental principles that included economic democratisation, wealth redistribution, improved working and living conditions, guarantee of the right to work, upward harmonisation of European social programmes and access to social protection for all. It intended to empower the EC in the social field and to increase social and economic coordination between its member states. This project was supported at the table of world leaders by the prominent West German social-democratic Chancellor Willy Brandt. Shortly after, the outbreak of the crisis of the 1970s and the exhaustion of the economic stability that had characterised the post-war era – the 'golden age' of regulated capitalism – opened a period of frantic searching for new alternatives in Western societies.

Far from nipping the idea of 'social Europe' in the bud, the crisis initially stimulated ambitious new proposals from European socialists and the broader European Left – a European Left that was by then stronger than ever. European socialists saw the crisis as an opportunity to reshape Western Europe along the lines of democratic socialism. They enthusiastically engaged

new transnational cooperation efforts and tried to put forward new proposals for a 'socialist alternative' for Europe and the world – an alternative that would rely on a new international order with a leading role for an autonomous Europe, a pacification of the East-West relations, a redistribution of wealth from the North to the South, and a new model of development for European societies. During these years, European socialism was characterised by a leftward tendency. The questions of workplace democracy, of the extension of the public sector, of workers' control, of social and economic planning and of a 'rupture' with capitalism were back on the table, and permeated discussions on the process of European integration. The question of an alliance of the European Left involving communists was open and hotly debated.

This paper explores the socialists' attempt to define a 'socialist alternative' at the European level during the long 1970s, and in particular their relation to the problem of capitalism. It first explains the changes that touched European social democracy during the decade, its electoral successes, ideological assertion and growing propensity to impact on European and world politics. It then discusses the leftward tendency that characterised social democracy in those years and argues that the question of a rupture with capitalism was not limited to its most 'radical' left-wing components. Focusing on the attempts to outline a common European socialist manifesto in view of the first elections of the European Parliament (EP), it then turns to showing the evolution of the socialists' plans during those years and assesses to what extent European socialists effectively formulated a viable alternative. Finally, the paper analyses how this short-lived 'anti-capitalist' stance lost ground within European socialist circles and argues that their failure to build an alliance of the Left for a clear, radical socialist alternative opened the way to the emergence of a new form of capitalism during the 1980s. As the introduction to this special issue pointed out, competing ideologies and economic doctrines coexisted throughout the history of European integration and contributed to varying degrees to shaping today's Europe; this article reveals the existence, during the 1970s, of a project for a 'social(ist) Europe' that could have challenged, to some extent, the capitalist nature of European integration and its subsequent 'neoliberal' turn.

Asserting a Socialist Alternative for Europe

The 1970s can probably be defined as the golden age of social democracy in Europe. In 1969, the electoral success of the Social Democratic Party SPD in West Germany and Brandt's accession to the chancellorship marked the beginning of a new era of confidence for social democrats. Brandt and his Swedish counterpart Olof Palme were joined in the pantheon of social-democratic leaders by the Austrian Social Democratik Party (SPÖ) Chancellor Bruno Kreisky in 1970, followed by the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA) Prime Minister Joop den Uyl in 1973 and the British Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson in 1974. In Norway and Denmark, social democrats won landslide victories in 1971. In Belgium, Ireland and Luxembourg, the socialists took part in several coalition governments during those years. Although France and Italy were immune to this impressive trend of success trend, the Left was growing there as well. In France, the 'Union of the Left' led by François Mitterrand just missed the presidency by a very small margin in 1974 (49.19%) against the liberal conservative Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, but continued its electoral rise. In the 1977 municipal elections the parties of the Left won their best historical results. In Italy, where socialists suffered from the competition of the most powerful communist party of the western world and where the authority of Christian democrats remained unchallenged throughout the decade, socialists nonetheless took part in several governments. Although the trend differed from one party to the other, in several countries like France, Sweden and West Germany socialists were also increasing their membership during the 1970s.[ii]

The long decade that followed the 'events' of 1968 was also characterised, as is well known, by a revival of social and workers' movements: labour and student mobilisations came hand in hand with a renewal of feminism, environmentalism, Marxism, anti-racist and anti-imperialist movements, which climaxed throughout Europe during those years. Social protest and popular impulse for political participation was more intense than it had ever been in the post-war era and led in most countries to a series of important victories. In Italy, for instance, although the Christian democrats remained in power throughout the decade, the 1970s saw the creation of factory, neighbourhood and school councils, the approval of the Workers' Statute, pension reform, the divorce and abortion laws, as well as important reforms of the health and education systems.[iii] This political shift to the left was perceptible throughout Western Europe, although it led to different results in every country.[iv]

The revival of working-class militancy, the rise of the student movement and of the so-called 'new Left' social movements and of the Marxist intellectual tradition in Western European universities posed many challenges to the 'old Left' and would transform the social democratic parties in the 1970s. The shop-floor militants and new Left activists raised new demands, such as increased democracy and self-determination and improved working and living conditions, that social democrats somehow needed to integrate into their own agenda. Thus, the question of workers' control and 'economic democracy' became particularly salient during these years. In 1970 already, the newly-elected Kreisky announced a new phase in the history of social democracy: that of "surpassing the welfare state" towards the "democratization of all life spheres" that the new generations were calling for.[v]

In a way, the challenge posed by the new social movements and by the political and economic changes of the 1970s were an opportunity for European socialists to add new strings to their bow in order to reassert themselves on the European political scene. As Michele Di Donato showed, the early 1970s saw a new "ideological offensive" launched by European socialists, who committed themselves to designing a new socialist alternative to both the conservatives of the West and to the communists of the East. This socialist alternative was built on a series of new ideas, personalities and achievements. It relied on the reassertion of the Socialist International (SI)'s role in the world, for which European social democrats were actively working. Three prominent leaders – Brandt, Kreisky, and Palme – met regularly during these years and were particularly active in promoting a new role for social democracy in highly important global themes such as détente, peace, development, and the North-South relations (a topic that had become hotly debated with the emergence of a union of Third World countries struggling for a global redistribution of power and wealth). The idea of a redefinition of the world order, and in particular of the North-South relations, was also advocated by the Dutch Prime Minister Joop Den Uyl, encouraged in that direction by the *Nieuw Links* ('new left') that had won over the majority of his party since 1969. At the same time, the German government was initiating a new rapprochement policy towards the East: The famous *Ostpolitik* that would earn Brandt a Nobel Price for Peace in 1971 and played an important role in establishing the reputation and confidence of social democrats, and in reinforcing the credibility of a socialist alternative in international relations. Finally, the idea of a socialist alternative relied on a new assertiveness towards the United States, whose leadership over the world was declining. Social democrats did not question the alliance with the dominant America but advocated a more autonomous and critical stance, in particular regarding the centrality of the US and the dollar in the international economic and monetary system. In sum, these years saw the affirmation of what Di Donato called "a new world vision of social democracy". [vi]

The new vision for a socialist alternative has to be also understood against the backdrop of a new dynamic for European institutions after the December 1969 Hague Summit that announced a 'relaunch' of the European integration process along the lines of 'completion', 'deepening' and 'widening' of the EC.[vii] With the new perspectives of enlargement to countries

– the UK and Denmark in particular – where the Left was strong, with the commitment to develop common European social and regional policies and to influence the definition of the world order through the development of a common foreign policy and of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), it seemed increasingly plausible that the EC could become a powerful and useful tool to reinforce social democracy in Europe. This new confidence was both the condition and the result of the 'European turn' that most left-wing parties had undergone by the early- to mid-1970s. With the notable exception of the British Labour Party – which campaigned against joining the EC on the terms negotiated by Edward Heath's government in the early 1970s and remained split on the issue even after the 1975 referendum – and of the Greek Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), most West European socialist parties were now strongly on board the EC. Meanwhile, the fall of the authoritarian regimes in southern Europe between 1974 and 1976 created new opportunities for socialists in Spain, Portugal and Greece, and with those countries' application to join the EC, would soon increase the European Left's hopes to weigh more decisively in Europe and on the EC.[viii]

The possibility of a socialist alternative was made more tangible by the evolution of Western communist parties, which were undergoing important changes at the time. The mid-1970s indeed saw a rising or continued strength of communist parties in some important Western European countries – in particular in Italy, but also in France, Spain and Portugal – and their alliance in a new political project: 'Eurocommunism'.[ix] The Italian Communist Party (PCI) was the main promoter of this project, which climaxed in the mid-1970s. Under the leadership of Enrico Berlinguer, General Secretary since 1972 and one of the most popular politicians in Italian history, the PCI renewed its efforts to increase cooperation between Western European communist parties and to bring them around to the idea of a 'third way' between social-democracy and Soviet communism. Increasingly, 'Europe' became one of the core points of reference of the PCI's international outlook; by adopting a new strategy and working inside the national and European institutional framework, the party believed it would contribute to the progression of a new socialism in Western Europe.[x] The EC was an important point of debate between the parties and an important – although contentious – aspect of Eurocommunism. The PCI worked to convince the other parties, especially the reluctant French Communist Party (PCF), to engage on the same European policy as it did and presented the EC as the test case on which all Western European communist parties needed to constructively converge.[xi] The joint declarations issued between 1975 and 1977 by the PCI, the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) and the PCF explicitly indicated the intent of Western European communist parties to seal a large progressive and democratic alliance to allow new orientations to be taken both at the national and the European levels.[xii] In the communist parties' view, "[t]he development of solid, lasting co-operation among communists and socialists constitute[d] the basis for this broad alliance", which should aim at isolating the forces of social conservatism and reaction and should include communists, socialists, social democrats, or even Christian democrats.[xiii] Against this changing background, the prospect of an alliance of the Left for a socialist alternative in Europe became – at least in theory – increasingly plausible.

Furthermore, the economic crisis of the 1970s, epitomized by the October 1973 'oil shock', was understood by many on the Left as an opportunity for the advent of a socialist alternative in Europe. Richard Nixon's decision to suspend the convertibility of the US dollar into gold, the end of the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates, growing monetary instability, increasing prices of oil and other raw materials, increased competition from foreign markets, the 1974-75 economic recession and the combined emergence of inflation and employment all seemed to signal the exhaustion of the conditions that had underpinned the West's development during the '*Trente Glorieuses*'.[xiv] Many saw in these events the symptoms of a serious crisis that struck the capitalist system as a whole. The crisis that shook the Western economy exacerbated monetary, political, and social disorders in Western Europe – strikes and

social unrest continued to be widespread throughout the 1970s – therefore reinforcing the confidence of the Left. Meeting in December 1973 in Schlagenbad, Brandt, Kreisky and Palme discussed how the oil crisis could reinforce European social democracy, pave the way for an expansion of the energy sector and public transportation network, and open new possibilities for economic planning and wealth redistribution.[xv]

Furthermore, the crisis of the 1970s, by emphasising the interconnectedness of European and global economies and by exacerbating the relevance of economic issues, contributed to bringing social democrats to try and formulate jointly a socialist alternative to the model of 'welfare capitalism' that had characterised the post-war era. Increasingly in those years, the very question of the relation to capitalism was reopened as part of a leftward tendency perceptible in Western European socialist spheres.

European Social Democracy Turns Left?

Within European social democracy, different currents had of course always coexisted. During the 1970s, the parties of the social democratic milieu underwent significant changes, among which the strengthening and radicalization of the left-leaning currents was particularly noteworthy. New, radical tendencies were at work in all social democratic parties. The 'old Left' was permeated by the ideological thrust that came from the European movements of 1968 – in particular through an influx of newly recruited members in the parties' youth sections.

John Callaghan has studied in detail the leftward tendency that characterized social democracy during those years. In France, the explosion of discontent which began in May 1968 signalled the emergence of a left-radicalism that strongly influenced left-wing parties and unions in the following decade. Following the *Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière* (SFIO) launching of an internal reorganization process and opening itself up to new components of the Left at the end of the 1960s, the famous Epinay Congress of 1971 marked a stark shift to the left for French socialism. The new united Parti Socialiste (PS) led by the newly named party secretary François Mitterrand adopted a decisively radical rhetoric and notoriously warned that "one who is not willing to break (…) with capitalist society, that person, I say, cannot be a member of the Socialist Party". The new leadership of the party advocated increased public intervention in the economy and extension of public ownership to the banking and financial sector as well as strategic industries. Under the growing influence of Jean-Pierre Chevènement's left-leaning *Centre d'Etudes, de Recherche et d'Education Socialistes* (CERES), it took over several demands of the 'new Left', such as self-management ('*autogestion*'), conceived as a counterpart to increased statist measures, or control of multinational companies. At Epinay, the French socialists also chose a strategy of alliance with the communists, the so-called 'Union of the Left' that would translate into the co-signature of the 'Common Programme' in 1972.[xvi]

In West Germany too, the leftward tendency was perceptible. Under the influence of the radical *Ausserparlamentarische Opposition* (APO), and following the adhesion of a number of students and leaders of the new movements, the *Jusos*, the young socialists of the SPD, underwent a remarkable radicalisation. By 1969, they adopted a starkly critical position on the 1959 Bad Godesberg programme that had marked the SPD's abandoning of a class-party perspective, on the party's Grand Coalition strategy and on many of its political positions. The *Jusos* often used a Marxist vocabulary, defined themselves as supporters of "socialism, feminism and internationalism", insisted on turning the SPD again into a "workers' party", pressed for mass social mobilization, advocated anti-capitalist structural reforms and worked to hegemonize their views within the party. Even at the local and at the parliamentary level, the Left was getting more assertive.[xvii]

In the UK, the left wing of the Labour Party had been growing since the mid-1960s and managed to gain particular influence within the party's National Executive Committee (NEC) and policy-making committees by the mid-1970s. An 'Alternative Economic Strategy' emerged that centred on reflation policy, wealth redistribution, public ownership of key firms and financial institutions, workplace democracy, economic planning and industrial reconversion, control over multinational companies, capital flows and trade exchanges. This new thrust was supported in particular by the rank-and-file of the party, the Trade Unions Congress (TUC) and the many trade unions affiliated to the Labour Party, the left-leaning 'Tribune group' of Labour MPs and various groups affiliated to the party, who were increasingly critical regarding the party's commitment to the revisionist model of Keynesian social democracy, and were putting the fight for the control of the means of production and for economic planning back on the agenda.[xviii] A leading figure of the Labour Left was Tony Benn who, together with the economist Stuart Holland, promoted this new economic policy even through the channel of the SI – which they criticized for its acceptance of liberal capitalism – and advocated new forms of cooperation between communist and socialist forces willing to attempt a programme of socialist transformation.[xix]

In Greece, after the fall of the military regime in 1975, the growing socialist party PASOK distinguished itself by its plain Marxist vocabulary; whereas in Spain the socialists defined their ideology as Marxist as late as 1977. In Sweden, between 1968 and 1976 the social democrats, with the support of the unions, were challenging the power of private capital and seeking to extend economic democracy through a series of reforms such as the Security of Employment Act of 1975, the Joint Regulation of Working Life Act in 1976, and the 1976 Meidner Plan, a wage-earner fund proposal. In the Netherlands, the PvdA was also becoming more radical under the influence of new Left and became much more incisive on gender and environment issues, and the need to transform capitalism.[xx]

These new, more 'radical' components of the social-democratic milieu of course coexisted with other currents to their right. Michele Di Donato argued that one can identify three distinct tendencies within European socialism during of the 1970s. Contrary to the 'radical' components, a 'mainstream' element defended the social-democratic (revisionist) tradition and insisted on maintaining autonomy *vis-à-vis* the communists. This 'mainstream' group, according to Di Donato, could itself be divided into two subcategories: those who, like Brandt, Kreisky and Palme, followed the lines of the social-democratic 'ideological offensive' described above; and those who instead were undergoing a shift to the right, like Helmut Schimdt (who succeeded to Brandt to the German chancellery in 1974) and James Callaghan (Foreign Secretary in Harold Wilson's Labour government from 1974 to 1976, then Prime Minister until the electoral defeat of 1979). The former saw the crisis as an opportunity to establish the socialist alternative and embraced the idea of a new economic model consonant to the Third World's demands for a new international economic order that would initiate a redistribution of wealth and power from the North to the South. On the contrary, Schmidt was much more prone to restoring the West's role in the international economic order and to encouraging increasing liberalisation of global markets, in strong alliance with the US and with Giscard d'Estaing's France. He in fact reduced development aid towards developing countries and backed the US effort to block the Third World's proposals within the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).[xxi]

The lines between these different currents were not however so clear-cut, and a close look at the debates within the international and European socialist circles reveals that the questions raised by the 'radical' socialists were extensively discussed in every party. Economic democracy and workers' control, economic planning and the extension of the public sector, the need to control multinationals and the financial sector, the claims for a new international economic order and for a democratization – or a rejection – of the European integration process.

Even the opening towards the communist forces of the West and the intent to build an alliance of socialist and communist forces was not purely confined to the left wing of the SI.[xxii] There was a simple reason to this: during the 1970s European socialist parties were confronted not only with the demands arising from the new movements but also, especially after 1973, to a changing economic context in which they had to formulate new solutions. Since the Second World War, European socialists had come to terms with a model of "managed capitalism" that had relied on constant new investment and economic growth and had supported full employment and growing welfare states. It had afforded social democracy a key role, since the development of the welfare states and of workers' rights had played an important role in stabilizing capitalism. The crisis of the 1970s was a crisis of this particular model of regulated capitalism; by challenging the bases of this broadly Keynesian post-war settlement, 'stagflation' and growing unemployment challenged the model that social-democratic parties had been building upon. The crisis therefore initially brought European socialists to engage with a new struggle for the reorganisation of capitalist relations and for an extension of democracy.[xxiii] The question of suppressing capitalism, which had become redundant in the vision of most West European reformist socialists in the post-war era, suddenly resurfaced as a vital question.

The positions of some of the leading figures of the Dutch PvdA are a case in point. Sicco Mansholt, a salient figure of European social democracy and a European Commissioner for Agriculture who had provoked strong protests by farmers with his architecture of the CAP, would in those years cause great surprise as he started explicitly advocating a rupture with capitalism.[xxiv] Between 1968 and 1973, at the end of his career, Mansholt turned increasingly towards far-left ideas, his tone became more radical, and he became used to quoting radical eft-wing intellectuals like Herbert Marcuse as intellectual reference points. In 1971, he was deeply shaken by the highly explosive report *Limits to Growth,* ordered by the Club of Rome, which attracted global public attention for its alarming assessment of some of the consequences of growth such as pollution, famine, and on the unrestrained conduct of multinationals. The report suggested that at the then current pace of growth, most of the world's natural resources would run out within ten to thirty years.[xxv] Mansholt then basically started fervently preaching 'zero growth'; by 1971 he reached the conclusion that capitalism was simply unable to come up with the proper solutions for larger world issues and argued on several occasions that a 'second Marx' was needed to solve the present problems of the world; he became particularly sensitive to the cause of the Third World, advocated a reversal of growth in rich countries to the advantage of poor countries and a better world division of labour.[xxvi] In short, he advocated a 'new Socialism' that could no longer restrict itself to correcting capitalism. In January 1972, he declared on a Dutch TV broadcast, "I am coming to the conclusion that a solution to the great problems of our times can no longer be reached within the Capitalist system".[xxvii]

Mansholt actively promoted these ideas when he became President of the Commission between 1972 and 1973 and urged his colleagues to work out a new policy agenda for the European Communities. He attracted much media and political attention, especially among the youth, and engaged into public debates with important figures of the intellectual Left such as Marcuse himself.[xxviii] He played a particularly relevant role in trying to turn the European Community (EC) into a privileged partner for the Third World.[xxix] His positions were also intensively discussed – and met with more or less enthusiasm – in transnational socialist networks. Among the socialist parties of the EC, which organised several meetings to discuss Mansholt's letter and its reactions, it gave rise to fundamental discussions about the viability of the capitalist system and the need to adopt a 'socialist action programme' to face the new world challenges. The participants of these meetings sometimes showed almost euphoric enthusiasm for Mansholt's new ideas and the perspectives that were opening for social democracy.[xxx] Wrapping up an exchange of views in May 1972 between Mansholt, the Bureau of the socialist parties of the EC and the Socialist Group of the European Parliament (SGEP), for instance, the

president of the SGEP Francis Vals exclaimed: "*Les socialistes peuvent jouer là le rôle historique de notre génération*".[xxxi] In the SI however, Mansholt's ideas, especially the 'zero growth' concept, received mixed reactions.[xxxii]

In short, with 1968 and the persistence of social and political movements during the 1970s, with the emergence of the Third Worldist movement and the outbreak of the economic crisis, a new 'anti-capitalist' sensibility seemed to spread in the European Left. The impact of this new 'common sense' varied according to each national and local situation, but it was not restricted to the young and 'radical' components of social democracy. The very question of the relationship that social democracy should entertain with capitalism was back on the table. The convergence of left-wing forces on the objective of surpassing capitalism, with the thrust of social and workers' movements, no longer seemed like a complete utopia. It remained unclear however how such a convergence could happen. The decision of the December 1974 European Paris Summit to organise the first direct elections of the European Parliament (EP) 'in or after 1978' provided an opportunity for West European socialists to engage in a serious debate on the economic nature of the socialist alternative and try to tackle the problem.

A common European Socialist Programme: Contesting Capitalism?

The social democrats' new ideological assertion came hand in hand with renewed efforts to achieve greater transnational coordination and to define a common political line at European level. Convinced that Western Europe had a leading role to play in designing a new world order and that the EC was the appropriate instrument for this endeavour, several leading social-democratic figures like Mansholt were actively advocating the creation of a new 'progressive' or 'socialist' European party.[xxxiii] Recent research has highlighted the growing levels of formal and informal cooperation of European social democrats during the 1970s and discussed to what extent they were able to further influence European and EC policies.[xxxiv] In April 1974, the socialist parties of the EC had enhanced their cooperation with the inauguration of the Confederation of Socialist Parties of the EC (CSPEC), whose new officers – President Wilhelm Dröscher, vice-presidents Sicco Mansholt, Robert Pontillon and Ivar Nørgaard – enjoyed a much more prestigious stature than their predecessors. The new rules of procedure introduced majority voting for some decisions and opened possibilities for the adoption of binding decisions.[xxxv] This was meant to mark a new start in the parties' transnational cooperation and to reinforce the socialist parties' political influence in the Community. Actually, the institutional improvements enabled by the reform were limited. As Christian Salm argues however, despite evident difficulties in improving formal cooperation throughout the 1970s – the first Congress of the CSPEC only took place in 1979 – informal cooperation increased significantly during the second half of the decade, at EC level and beyond. In November 1974, the first party leaders' summit of socialist parties of the EC was held in The Hague, inaugurating a routine of summit meetings.[xxxvi]

Meanwhile, European socialists worked on defining common political lines. In the early 1970s, they had started to formulate their project to build a 'social Europe'. The idea, as mentioned earlier, was to use the EC as an instrument to make Western Europe the most advanced 'model' of social progress in the world. This project was enthusiastically supported by Brandt himself at the table of the European Council, in particular during the October 1972 Paris summit, and it was at the heart of a pioneering programmatic document adopted by the socialist parties of the EC in Bonn in April 1973: 'For a Social Europe'.[xxxvii] This 'social Europe' project entailed both more supranational competences at EC level and increased transnational social and economic coordination of governments at EC level. It included broad proposals regarding the right to work; 'humanisation' of the environment; a 'Charter of fundamental social principles' ensuring access to social protection for all; increased social planning at

European level; income security and wealth redistribution (through directing investment, progressive taxation, asset-building policies, income-maintaining benefits); economic planning, economic democratization; and greater control over multinationals.[xxxviii]

In November 1974, the bureau of the new CSPEC then proposed the drafting of a broad 'Common Programme'; it was later decided that this programme would be the basis of a common election manifesto for the European elections. The upcoming election of the EP was deemed a historic turn: it would confer a new democratic legitimacy to an Assembly that had already gained enhanced budgetary powers in recent years.[xxxix] At a time when socialist parties – and the European Left more broadly – virtually dominated the EC, this was no point of detail. After 1975, when the British Labour Party put an end to its EC boycott and sent a delegation of 18 deputies to the EP, the Socialist Group became the largest European group with 66 members (out of 198, a third of the total number of Members of the European Parliament (MEPs)).[xl] Concomitantly, the Communists were also increasing their cooperation and presence in the EC institutions, especially after the PCI and the PCF were finally able to send delegations to the EP for the first time (in 1969 and 1973 respectively). In October 1973, the Communist and Allies Group of the EP had been officially created with fourteen members.[xli] By 1977 the socialists would be leaders or coalition partners in six out of nine governments of the EC – which could mean a majority at the table of the European Council. European socialists were also counting some important members in the European executive during those years: as Mansholt would be succeeded in the following years by Henk Vredeling, Antonio Giolotti, Claude Cheysson and Roy Jenkins who, in 1977, would take the head of the European Commission.[xlii] With the notable exception of the British Labour Party (and the Greek PASOK), European Socialists generally came to believe that the predominant position of the Left in European institutions was a crucial strategic tool to achieve a socialist EC; some argued that an alliance of the Left should be favoured against the threat of a coalition of centre-right parties.[xliii]

The work on the first European election manifesto – the 'Common European Socialist Programme' – began on an optimistic note under Mansholt's lead. However, it soon became clear that the undertaking would not be as easy as the leaders initially hoped. The CSPEC created a working group headed by Dröscher in February 1975; then suspended its work in December; then created a Steering Committee still chaired by Dröscher in January 1976 to coordinate the activities of four sub-parties: on economic policy (chaired by Michel Rocard, French PS), social policy (chaired by Lionello Levi Sandri, Italian PSI), democracy and institutions (chaired by Schelto Patijn, PvdA), and external relations (Bruno Friedrich, SPD). All member parties appointed delegates for each working group, meeting for the first time in April 1976.[xliv] The working parties submitted their reports in mid-1977, after which a single draft election manifesto was adopted and circulated to the national parties for them to submit amendments by the end of November 1977. The idea was to incorporate amendments and then agree on a final version to be adopted at a Congress of EC socialist parties to be held in March 1978, which should be put to European voters at the time of the first direct elections to the EP. This was a most ambitious plan considering the Socialists' rather weak past record in outlining a common European policy programme.

A closer look at the topics discussed in the working parties and the issues that arose from these discussions is useful to understand the outcome of this difficult undertaking. The themes initially debated were vast and reflected the ambition to imagine a Socialist programme for Europe that would entail a complete redefinition of European cooperation along socialist lines. The discussion included issues such as: capitalism and market economy, influence of the state, investment control, economic crisis and unemployment, control of multinationals, technological development and industrial policy, bureaucratisation and alienation, worker participation and self-determination, equality and fairness of the distribution of wealth, minimum incomes and pension systems, regional problems, energy problems, environmental

questions, health policy, relations with the Third World and wealth redistribution, foreign and defence policies (role of NATO), etc.[xlv] Unsurprisingly, Mansholt, who would be one of the most active participants in the drafting of the common European Socialist Programme, raised the crucial question as early as the second meeting of the initial working party, on 24 September 1975:

> Sicco MANSHOLT felt that the question of principle then arose as to whether European Socialists wanted to continue seeking partial solutions within a capitalist system or to establish a new political basis. DRÖSCHER emphasized that the SPD could not go beyond the Godesberg Programme.[xlvi]

Although several members of the CSPEC – including the German SPD members – were not prepared to challenge their commitment to 'market economy', the question of the very essence of socialism and of overcoming capitalism remained a topic of heated debate among European socialists throughout the discussions on the common programme and for the entire second half of the 1970s.

In a way, the 27-page draft election manifesto, adopted unanimously by the bureau of the CSPEC on 6 June 1977, was an updated and expanded version of the social Europe project that had been debated and matured by the socialists since the early 1970s.[xlvii] It included three sections: 'democracy and institutions', 'economic and social policy', and 'external policy'. Economic and social questions constituted the bulk of the programme. One thing was made explicit from the outset: "it is only at European level that the conditions for the survival, development and fulfilment of our peoples and the conditions for a fairer distribution of the world's wealth can be established". European socialists advocated greater coordination between European countries, the realisation of new common policies, and the adoption of common positions regarding the energy crisis and the international monetary system. To surpass the construction of a merely business-oriented Europe, in the economic and social sphere European socialists advocated resetting the EC to support the broad principles of full employment, economic stability, a fairer distribution of income and wealth, an effective and democratic economic structure, economic democracy, improved social security, better working and living conditions, and improved educational opportunities. In the other fields, they promoted a democratisation of the EC institutions, a commitment to *détente*, peace and a new international economic order favouring the development of the Third World.

Were European socialists merely advocating a coordination of European economies along Keynesian lines or were they leaning towards more 'radical' solutions in order to get out of the crisis – a solution that would encroach on the capitalist structure of Western European societies? The manifesto remained so ambiguous on most points that it was actually hard to tell. Regarding the critical questions of the extension of the public sector, of economic planning and economic democracy, it was somehow running with the hares and hunting with the hounds. Far from envisaging clear coordinated social and economic planning at European level, the text recognised that different measures may be required in individual Member States:

> the magnitude of the problems with which some of them have to contend may lead them to use economic planning techniques and possibly to extend the area of state influence. To create an efficient and effective industrial structure planning systems must, where appropriate, be devised to mobilise capital for the development of cooperative and private undertakings, to facilitate cooperation on development projects between the private and the public sector, and, where necessary, to promote direct investment in production undertakings by public institutions. When applying such measures, Socialists will adhere to Community law and ensure that the market

> continues to function properly. It is extremely important to achieve structural balance among undertakings and this involves promoting small and medium-sized firms. Supervision over firms in dominant market positions and of concentrations of undertakings must be extended at Community level to prevent the development of monopolies and to ensure compliance with the rules of competition and price formation.[xlviii]

In other words, economic planning and nationalisations may be used by socialists in government – although it was specified, in line with the concerns that the new social movements had brought to the fore, that "stronger state planning requires democratic control and decentralisation". There was however a clear commitment to a 'mixed economy' model and no consensus on the need to extend nationalisations or 'Europeanisations' of industries and of the banking system. The need for greater control of private investments and of multinational companies was advocated but remained limited and vague. Regarding economic democracy, which was still emphasised as one of the backbones of a 'socialist Europe', the same ambiguity prevailed: the manifesto proposed an *à la carte* menu for the participation of the workers in the economic direction of enterprises , whether it was in the form of "worker representation on the management bodies of public and private firms, joint management on an equal basis, the extension of the negotiating powers of unions in all sectors of the firms' activity, or worker control".

Beside these cautious suggestions, the socialist manifesto put forward a set of proposals that belonged to what could be considered a renewed 'Keynesian' approach: it insisted on the need to favour "humane growth" by investing in collective needs such as health, welfare services, culture and education, by promoting energy research and development, and investing on developing industry, trade and the service sector. This, combined with an unprecise 'considerable' shortening of working hours and extension of annual holidays and targeted professional training, would help redeem growth and restore full employment. The most ambitious proposals were perhaps the ones that regarded cooperation with developing countries (for instance the concrete proposal to devote 1% of the GNP of EC countries to development aid).

It could be contended however that with this manifesto, European socialists at least left the door open for 'social Europe' to go one step beyond a broadly Keynesian model of 'welfare capitalism'. Some of the proposals were indeed advocating – or at least envisaged – the adoption of policies that could have attacked some of the principles of the then prevailing capitalist framework: the ones regarding the extension of the public sector, economic planning and workers' control in particular, but also some proposals regarding the redistribution of income and wealth in Europe (implementing strongly progressive fiscal policies, increasing taxes on large fortunes, imposing a more progressive distribution of the burden of taxes and social security distribution, fighting tax evasion, encouraging workers' savings, realising greater transparency regarding incomes in all sectors of society). This 'social Europe' therefore tended towards more than simply transposing to the EC level the same Keynesian policies that had characterised the 'postwar compromise' in West European countries – it envisaged a coordinated action to increase control over multinationals, policies to carry out a redistribution of wealth within Western Europe and towards the 'global South', and the extension of economic democracy.

In any case, by the beginning of 1978 the manifesto was in disarray, as most national parties objected to the wording of the manifesto. The SPD and the PvdA alone had together proposed over sixty amendments; and many national parties had already drafted their own programmes for the elections.[xlix] The bureau engaged efforts on preparing a revised version of the programme, but a political commitment by party leaders appeared necessary to solve the

problem. In June 1978 in a summit meeting in Brussels, the socialist party leaders of the 'Nine' signed a 31-points 'Political Declaration' on the basis of a text prepared by the bureau of the CSPEC, and presented it to a crowd of European journalists.[l] The declaration was a watered-down version of the election manifesto; it was intended to be a general framework of basic principles to guide the parties' European policy instead of a binding common programme. As most commentators were quick to point out, the 'Political Declaration' was not much more than a vague summary of socialist principles with hardly any concrete proposals for a common policy. To solve this problem, the bureau was charged to draft another document in view of the upcoming elections, an 'Appeal to the Electorate' that was presented and adopted at the 10th Congress of the CSPEC in Brussels in January 1979: a series of joint proposals that the parties committed "to defend in each country and in the European Parliament".[li] Both the 'Declaration' and the 'Appeal' contained the same ambiguity as the manifesto in their approach to the questions that had been at the heart of the heated discussions within European socialist circles since the late 1960s: the question of capitalism remained unresolved and would still be open for several years. During the Congress, with the exception of the agreement of all parties to promote a reduction of working time to 35 weekly hours, divergences between the parties were hard to reconcile. In the following years, European socialists' inability to decide and agree on a clear line and the outcome of their internal power struggle ultimately determined the fate of their socialist alternative.

Persisting Divisions among the European Left: The Lost Opportunity

The divergences that existed at that stage within social democracy had actually been taking the shape, to some extent, of a power struggle. Gradually, the 'radical' wing of the family would end up rallying to a more 'moderate' stance and would progressively abandon its claims to break with capitalism. The conflict that had opposed Mitterrand against Schmidt during the 1970s would eventually turn to the advantage of the latter. Mitterrand's attempt to federate socialist parties of 'Southern Europe' and to hegemonize his line within the socialist movement in the mid-1970s turned out to be a failure. The 'first Conference of the socialist parties of Southern Europe' organised in Paris on 24 and 25 January 1976 by the Parti Socialiste (PS) had intended to unite socialists from Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Belgium and Luxembourg around the ideas of self-management, democratic economic planning, extension of the public sector, and alliances with communists.[lii] By doing so, Mitterrand quite explicitly attempted to assert his conception of socialism in Europe in order to reassert his party's position within the SI and to shift the balance in his favour, to the detriment of the SPD. But Mitterrand had underestimated the work that Northern social democrats, especially the German SPD, were carrying out to influence Iberian and Italian socialists at the time and to bring them around to a more 'moderate' (and anti-communist) stance.[liii]

The question of the relations with communists that had for many years been subject to heated disputes within socialist circles, and that conditioned the possibility of an alliance of the Left for a socialist alternative in Europe, also ended with a victory for the anti-communist stance. The leadership of the German SPD, especially its most moderate figures like Schmidt, had been particularly opposed to any form of collaboration with communist forces. It had actively worked to repress, internally, the *Jusos'* stark interest for Western European communist forces (especially for the PCI), and even supported in West Germany the adoption of the *Radikalenernass*, a decree that discriminated left-wing 'radicals' in their access to public services and that provoked indignation inside the European Left.[liv] Despite the 1972 decision of the Bureau of the SI to allow its members to decide freely on how to arrange their bilateral relations with communist forces, within the SI, the CSPEC and the SGEP, the question remained intensely debated throughout the decade.[lv] At the Elsinore Summit of socialist party

leaders in 1976, which took place just a few days before the PS' 'Southern European' conference, the question created visible tension.[lvi] Recent research has highlighted the role of US diplomacy in determining the closing down of social democrats towards the 'communist question', and the role that the US, UK, French and German governments played in blocking the progress of communist forces in Western and Southern Europe.[lvii] Towards the end of the decade, the electoral regression of communist forces, the loss of impetus of the 'Eurocommunist' project and the progression of the 'anti-communist' stance within social democracy gradually converged to deny the possibility of an alliance of the European Left for a 'radical' socialist alternative.

In fact, the efforts of socialist parties to increase cooperation and agree on a common programme in view of the first European elections at least in part contributed to the deterioration of the alliance between the French socialists and communists, whose union was experiencing great difficulties by 1977. The common programme adopted by the CSPEC in June 1977 was perceived by the PCF as treason to the common programme of the Left. It raised serious controversy between the two parties. The communist press underlined the 'social-democratic' orientation of the programme and its incompatibility with the *Programme Commun.*[lviii] Comparing the two common programmes, *L'Humanité* argued that they conflicted on every aspect of foreign, social and economic policy and attacked the common programme of the European socialists as making allegiance to the interests of capital – putting the public sector at the service of the private sector, reproducing the employers' arguments and demands, confiscating economic democratisation from the workers to entrust it to the technocratic organs of Brussels.[lix] It highlighted the differences in the position adopted by the PS in the April 1973 Bonn theses 'For a Social Europe' compared to the 1977 common programme – in particular regarding nationalisations and self-management, two highly sensitive issues for the PS-PCF alliance. The PS, naturally, denied these accusations.[lx]

However, the French socialists did at the same time operate a rapprochement with their ally-rivals of the SPD. During the first half of the decade, Mitterrand had been openly hostile to the SPD that he considered the emblem of the 'old' social democracy that had chosen compromise over rupture towards the capitalist system. Christelle Flandre highlighted the ideological gulf which separated the two parties during the 1970s, epitomised in the expression "Epinay against Bad Godesberg".[lxi] Nevertheless, after a series of meetings between Mitterrand and Brandt in 1976, the two parties established joint working groups to reach common positions on important issues in particular regarding Europe, development policy and economic and social policy. This culminated in a common declaration released by Brandt and Mitterrand in February 1978.[lxii] The rapprochement between the two men increased the possibilities of a consensus of European socialists on a common European line – a year before the first EP elections. By the same token, it decreased the possibility of an alliance of socialist and communist forces at the European level. There was a clear tension in Mitterrand's strategy of working on both fronts, with communists and with social democrats, at the European level.

The search for consensus therefore contributed to leading socialist parties progressively abandoning the more radical stance that they had adopted in relation to capitalism and the EC in the early 1970s. Yet, divergences persisted among European socialists, and the ambiguities of the 'Appeal to the Electorate' hardly helped make a convincing case for a socialist alternative for Europe. In June 1979, the first direct elections of the EP marked a setback for the socialist and social-democratic parties of the EC. The SGEP remained the largest group in the assembly, with 113 seats out of 410, but high representation of the European People's Party (EPP, the Christian democrats, 107 seats), the European Democrats (ED, including British and Danish Conservative Parties, 64 seats) and the Liberal and Democratic Group (LD, 40 seats) significantly undermined their position. While they used to hold a third of the seats in the old parliament, in the new directly-elected European Parliament, European socialists only held 27%

of the new seats. The Communist and Allies Group won 44 seats, 24 of which belonged to the PCI.

Meanwhile, in West Germany and in the UK, socialist-led governments were turning gradually rightwards. In the UK, although the majority of the Labour Party rejected austerity policies, from March 1976 the new right-leaning Labour leader Callaghan ignored the Alternative Economic Strategy. After a run on the sterling that led to heavy borrowing from the IMF, and later constrained by an alliance with the Liberals, Callaghan chose to favour deflation policy, undertook cuts in public spending and abandoned his priority on full employment. In West Germany, against 'stagflation', Schmidt was increasingly critical towards Keynesian formulas, keen to abandon deficit spending policies and to adopt economic 'rigour'. After the second oil crisis in 1979 in particular, he called for economic and financial discipline, harping on the need for balanced budgets to prevent excessive currency fluctuations and inflation. Contrary to what most social democrats had advocated during the decade, he supported the Bundesbank's stance in favour of an all-out fight against inflation through control of the money supply. Schmidt had long distanced himself from the ongoing leftward tendency in the Socialist International and appeared much more straightforwardly liberal than his predecessor; he had never approved his party's strategy when they condemned international capitalism and advocated state intervention, regulatory control over private enterprise, and cooperation with developing countries.[lxiii] In the two countries, the social democrats in government adopted new priorities designed to restore growth: policies aimed at fighting inflation by containing wages, restraining public spending, encouraging private investment, adopting a new 'monetarist' doctrine, and so on.[lxiv] By the early 1980s, at the level of the EC, the short-lived dominance of social-democratic forces was coming to a close. In 1979, Margaret Thatcher took office as Prime Minister in the UK and would ensure, together with her counterpart Ronald Reagan in the US, the international hegemonizing of the new deflationary and 'monetarist' doctrine.

The historic victory of the French Socialists in 1981 did not end this trend. When the French government proposed a memorandum to relaunch Europe based on most the socialists' proposals just after coming to power, Schmidt ignored it just as much as Thatcher. In March 1983 already, after a series of devaluations and in order to be allowed to stay in the European Monetary System (EMS), the French government renounced its efforts to build 'socialism in one country' and affected a radical change of economic policy: deflationary policy, budget restrictions, reversal of nationalisations, and partial financial deregulation. Jacques Delors, then Minister of Economics and future president of the European Commission, took the lead in this new austerity policy. The ideological renunciations of the French PS after it came to power – best exemplified by this so-called "*tournant de la rigueur*" – signalled in a way the end of European social democracy's leftwing golden age, or at least the beginning of its transition into what Jean-Pierre Garnier and Louis Javoner would presciently term in a 1986 pamphlet "*La deuxième droite"* (The second Right).[lxv] After this setback, in Greece and in Spain, where the socialists formed a government in 1981 and 1982 respectively, budgetary rigour, monetary stability and sound public finances prevailed over the objective of full employment. By 1983, the Bennite current of the Labour Party was receding, and so were the left factions in all other European parties until they had become practically inexistent by the 1990s.[lxvi]

Conclusion: Renouncing Socialist Europe

In the following years, European socialists' failure to formulate a real socialist alternative for Europe and to exert decisive influence on European policy-making in those years would have important consequences. In a 1978 report of the Confederation of socialist parties of the EC's working group on Employment chaired by Joop den Uyl, the conclusion stated:

> There is a final, fundamental problem that must be faced by Socialists. In recent years social democrats have come to take for granted that steady growth and full employment were attainable in a capitalist economy. They have sought merely to tame capitalism by bringing it under greater public control and making it accept the growing burdens of the welfare state. There is now increasing evidence that this policy is reaching a dead end. With labour costs increasing and profits declining in many industries, we can no longer rely on the private accumulation of capital to fuel the expansion and create the jobs we need. Private investment is seeking increasingly to escape the burdens of the welfare state by concentrating on the industrial rationalisation which dispenses with labour or by diverting its resources overseas where greater profits can be made with lower labour costs. Socialists therefore face a choice. On the one hand they can rely on the profit motive which can only operate effectively by abandoning the traditional social democratic goals of full employment and higher public expenditure, or they can supplant the private accumulation of capital by far greater state control (and workers' control) over the investment process than they have so far contemplated. It is this problem which should now engage the attention of Socialists.[lxvii]

This almost prophetic analysis of the historical choice they were facing shows just how lucid European socialists were about the situation. In the following years, as is well known, they would choose to renew their commitment to a capitalist economic model and would abandon not just the 'radical' claims for rupture, but also the traditional social democratic goals of full employment and higher standards of welfare state.

By the 1980s and up until today, the new slogan vulgarized by Margaret Thatcher to justify her anti-popular reforms – There is No Alternative – would become symptomatic of the forcefulness of the new conventional wisdom. According to this emerging, often called 'neoliberal' wisdom, 'globalisation' would be an unstoppable force leading towards increasing global competition that inevitably imposed wage restriction, flexibilization of the labour market, public sector cuts, privatisation, welfare state reform, and limitation of redistributive policies. In a way, the radical-leftist French economist and philosopher Frédéric Lordon encapsulates the problem faced by European socialists when he provocatively declares that he agrees with Thatcher: "It is true, there is no alternative *within the structural frame that we currently live in*". Indeed – he explains – within a framework characterised by free movement of capital, free trade, liberalisation of direct investments, and the policy "orthodoxy" of balanced budgets and deflationary policies, it is not possible to carry out a series of socialist policies without taking extremely severe macroeconomic risks. The only alternative would be to reset the entire framework.[lxviii]

In the 1970s and 1980s, however, there were alternatives within reach. One of them could have built upon the 'social Europe' plan that European socialists tried to formulate during these years. As this contribution shows, the Western European Left was much more engaged in formulating and coordinating new answers to the crisis of the 1970s than is usually assumed by historians. To be sure, their failure to impose their socialist alternative back then was less due to their incapacity to think of solutions to the demise of the so-called 'Keynesian' consensus than to their difficulty to actually agree on the right answer and to impose it at the supranational level. The French socialists' renunciation of their policy programme after 1983 did not just signal the failure of 'socialism in one country' – it also painfully revealed European socialists' failure to use the European Community to implement a 'social Europe' based on redistribution, equality, social and economic planning and 'democracy in all spheres of life'.[lxix] It marked their acceptance of another kind of 'social Europe': one whose function was to accompany and "humanise" the market. The 'social Europe' promoted by Delors during his time at the head of

the European Commission, which was conceived as a counterpart to the liberalization trend of the Single European Act and the Economic and Monetary Union, corresponded to this latter conception.

As Sassoon put it, with the crisis of the 1970s "a new political conflict ensued between social democrats and conservatives. The previous combat between the two – in the 1950s and 1960s – had centred round the distribution of the surplus. In the 1970s and 1980s, the new 'positional warfare' – to use Gramsci's expression – was over the role of the state in the reorganization of capitalist relations. The Left tried to extend the prevailing regulatory regime even further. The Right advocated a substantial retrenchment of the state and the liberalization of a market expanded by privatization".[lxx] Most historians and social scientists now agree that neoliberalism only pretends to be about liberalization and less state intervention, but in fact requires active state, legal and institutional intervention to 'encase' the market: to shelter it from the risks of mass democracy with the goal to achieve a complete protection of private capital rights.[lxxi] Europe – and in particular the European Community – was one of the decisive battlefields where this combat took place. The failure to realise their 'social Europe' contributed to forcing socialists to abandon their ideological premises and come to terms with the new 'neoliberal' consensus.

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[i] Throughout the paper, the terms 'socialist' and 'social democratic' are generally used as synonyms when referring to the parties that adhered to the Socialist International, the Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community, and the Socialist Group of the European Parliament. The term 'European Left' generally refers to the broader milieu of parties and trade unions – including communist ones – that belonged to the institutional Left throughout Western Europe.

[ii] Padgett and Paterson, *A History of Social Democracy in Postwar Europe*, 90–94; Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism*, 461–68.

[iii] See Crainz, *Il Paese Mancato*.

[iv] About the political shift to the left, see also Garavini, *After Empires*, 122–27.

[v] Di Donato, *I Comunisti Italiani e La Sinistra Europea*, 87.

[vi] Di Donato, 85–94 here page 88. On the positions of European social democrats regarding the question of North -South relations during those years, see Garavini, *After Empires*, 122–61.

[vii] See for instance Harst, *Beyond the Customs Union*; Guasconi, *L'Europa Tra Continuità E Cambiamento*.

[viii] For an account of the fall of dictatorial regimes in Spain, Portugal and Greece and their relevance for the European Left, see Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism*, chap. 21.

[ix] For an overview of Eurocommunism during the 1970s, see Pons, 'The Rise and Fall of Eurocommunism'; Balampanidēs, *Eurocommunism*. On the evolution of the PCF and PCI from the 1960s to the 1980s, see also Di Maggio, *Alla Ricerca Della Terza via Al Socialismo*.

[x] Maggiorani and Ferrari, *L'Europa Da Togliatti a Berlinguer*, 212–33. Although the Italian, French and Spanish communist parties were at the spearhead of the movement, other communist parties adopted the slogan – in Finland, Belgium, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Austria among others.

[xi] PCI member Giorgio Amendola was particularly active in convincing the other communist parties of the necessity to work for a democratic transformation of the EC, through the development of alliances with the communist, socialist and Christian-democratic forces, see Maggiorani and Ferrari, 60–62. See also Amendola's speeches in Communist and Allies Group of the European Parliament, *I Comunisti Italiani e l'Europa*, 49–52.

[xii] The declarations are reproduced in the appendix of Lange and Vannicelli, *The Communist Parties of Italy, France, and Spain*, 357–61.

[xiii] *Ibid*, 359-360.

[xiv] On the oil shock and its impact on Western Europe, see for instance Bini, Garavini, and Romero, *Oil Shock*; Eichengreen, *The European Economy Since 1945*, 246–56.

[xv] See Garavini, *After Empires*, 171–72.

[xvi] See Callaghan, *The Retreat of Social Democracy*, 62–68; Padgett and Paterson, *A History of Social Democracy in Postwar Europe*, 83–84. On French socialists during these years, see also Hatzfeld, 'Une révolution culturelle du parti socialiste dans les années 1970 ?'; Bell and Criddle, *The French Socialist Party: The Emergence of a Party of Government*.

[xvii] Callaghan, *The Retreat of Social Democracy*, 72–77; Padgett and Paterson, *A History of Social Democracy in Postwar Europe*, 1991, 74–81; 86–88; in general see Braunthal, *The German Social Democrats since 1969*.
[xviii] Hannah and McDonnell, *A Party with Socialists in It*, 122–63; Callaghan, *The Retreat of Social Democracy*, 55–62; Seyd, *The Rise and Fall of the Labour Left*.
[xix] For example in Anthony Wedgwood 'Tony' Benn, "In Praise of Workers' Control", *Socialist Affairs*, January 1971; Stuart Holland, "Social Democracy and Eurocommunism", *Socialist Affairs*, November/December 1978. See also Holland, *The Socialist Challenge*, 344.
[xx] Callaghan, *The Retreat of Social Democracy*, 54–82.
[xxi] Di Donato, *I Comunisti Italiani e La Sinistra Europea*, chap. 4. On Schmidt's attitude toward development policy, see Salm, *Transnational Socialist Networks in the 1970s*, 2016; on the US offensive against the 'New International Economic Order', see Bair, 'Taking Aim at the New International Economic Order'.
[xxii] On this aspect see Andry, '"Social Europe" in the Long 1970s', 170–77; 235–41. Besides, some of the elements of Berlinguer's geopolitical outlook – promoting an autonomous Western Europe, East-West détente and North-South dialogue, and supporting the Non-Aligned movement – was in line with the social-democrats' mainstream 'ideological offensive'; a rapprochement between the PCI and European social-democratic forces was in fact perceptible during the 1970s. Relations between Italian communists and several European socialist leaders – among them Palme, Mitterrand, and Brandt himself – grew closer during this period. See Lussana, 'Il Confronto Con Le Socialdemocrazie e La Ricerca Di Un Nuovo Socialismo Nell'ultimo Berlinguer'; Maggiorani and Ferrari, *L'Europa Da Togliatti a Berlinguer*, 53–75.
[xxiii] Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism*, 445–48.
[xxiv] Mansholt was one of the main supporters and architects of the CAP. In 1968 he launched the so-called 'Mansholt Plan' for a restructuring of European agriculture, which scattered strong farmers protests that reached their peak in the streets of Brussels on 23 March 1971, when one of the demonstrating farmers was killed in clashes with the police. See Merriënboer, *Mansholt*, 2011 chapter 13.
[xxv] Merriënboer, *Mansholt*, 2011, 329; Meadows et al., *The Limits to Growth*, 9–16.
[xxvi] Johan Van Marriënboer, "Sicco Mansholt and 'Limits to Growth'" Hiepel, *Europe in a Globalising World*, 319–42. See also Mansholt's autobiography entitled 'The Crisis', in which he explained his views. Mansholt and Delaunay, *La Crise*.
[xxvii] Johan van Merriënboer, 'Sicco Mansholt and "Limits to Growth"', 327.
[xxviii] Mansholt's letter got a lot of international publicity in all European mainstream press and television media between January and March 1971. See Reboul, Pass, and Thill, *La Lettre Mansholt: Réactions et Commentaires*. Merriënboer, 'Sicco Mansholt and "Limits to Growth"', 334.
[xxix] Garavini, *After Empires*, 141–52.
[xxx] HAEU, GSPE-054-FR, 'Réunion exceptionnelle du groupe socialiste et du Bureau des partis socialistes de la Communauté européenne - Exposé de Sicco L. Mansholt' Bruxelles, 29 mai 1972.
[xxxi] HAEU, GSPE-053, 'Projet de procès-verbal, réunion exceptionnelle du groupe socialiste et du bureau des partis socialistes de la Communauté européenne', Bruxelles, 29 mai 1972, here page 303. The Luxembourger MEP Astrid Lulling and president of the SGEP Francis Vals expressed particular enthusiasm for Mansholt's ideas.
[xxxii] IISH, SI 263, 'Report of the 12th Congress of the Socialist International held in Vienna 26-29 June 1972'. During the Congress, Ivar Norgaard, the Danish Minister for foreign trade and EEC Affairs declared that 'zero growth' was unrealistic and undesirable, while Joan Lestor, Member of the National Executive Committee of the British LP, expressed strong skepticism towards Mansholt's ideas.
[xxxiii] HAEU, GSPE-053, 'Les socialistes en Europe doivent gagner en influence' (statement by Sicco Mansholt published in *Het Parool*, 3 January 1972).
[xxxiv] Salm, *Transnational Socialist Networks in the 1970s*, 2016; Steinnes, 'The European Turn and "Social Europe": Northern European Social Democracy 1950-85'; Andry, '"Social Europe" in the Long 1970s'.
[xxxv] Hix and Lesse, *Shaping a Vision*, 22–25.
[xxxvi] On the strengthening of informal transnational socialist party cooperation during the 1970s and the emergence and growing influence of party leaders' summits since the 1970s, see in particular Salm, *Transnational Socialist Networks in the 1970s*, 2016, 11–42.
[xxxvii] HAEU, GSPE-131, 'Pour une Europe Sociale', 26-27 April 1972 (20 pages). The document listed the theses into seven categories: 'Fundamental principles of social policy in Europe', 'Right to work', 'Humanisation of the environment', 'Social security in Europe', 'Democratisation of the economy in Europe', 'Social guideline of the income policy', and 'Perspectives'.
[xxxviii] For a detailed analysis of the Bonn theses 'For a Social Europe', see Andry, '"Social Europe" in the Long 1970s', 164–72.
[xxxix] On the evolution of the EP powers, see for instance Priestley, *Six Battles That Shaped Europe's Parliament*; Mény, *Building Parliament*.

[xl] In July 1976, there were 18 British deputies, 17 German, 8 French, 7 Italians, 5 Dutch, 4 Belgian, 3 Danish, 2 Irish and 2 Luxembourg deputies. HAEU, GSPE-060-EN, 'Background information on the SGEP, 9 July 1976: detailed composition and organisation of SG as of July 1976'.
[xli] It counted fifteen members in July 1975 and seventeen in September 1977 (9 PCI; 4 PCF; 1 Danish Socialistisk Folkeparti and 3 '*indipendenti di sinistra'* elected on the PCI lists), and after the first direct elections it would rise to 44 MEPs out of 410. European Parliament, *I Comunisti Al Parlamento Europeo*.
[xlii] Roy Jenkins was a leading figure of the Labour Right who was in sharp opposition to the leftward shift of the Labour Party and its rejection of the EC during the 1970s and early 1980s and would found, when returning to UK politics in 1981, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) on a decisively more pro-EC and social-liberal line. On his role at the head of the European Commission, see Ludlow, *Roy Jenkins and the European Commission Presidency, 1976 –1980 At the Heart of Europe*.
[xliii] HAEU, GSPE-059-EN, 'Information Document. Predominant position of the Socialist Group. Articles of the London *Times* of 10 October 1975'.
[xliv] IISH, CSPEC-18, 'Elaboration of a Socialist European Platform' (not dated). Other participants to the Social Policy sub-group included Jacques Delors and Ernest Glinne. See also Hix and Lesse, *Shaping a Vision*, 25–27.
[xlv] IISH, CSPEC-18, 'Socialist Programme working party, Draft report on the meeting on 24 September 1975 of the working party on a European Socialist Programme'.
[xlvi] *Ibid*, here page 4.
[xlvii] IISH, CSPEC-19, 'Draft election manifesto of the CSPEC' (27 pages) adopted by the Bureau of the CSPEC on 6 June 1977.
[xlviii] *Ibid*, here pages 12-13.
[xlix] Hix and Lesse, *Shaping a Vision*, 25–32.
[l] IISH, CSPEC 18, 'Party-leaders Conference 23-24 June 1978 Brussels' and IISH, CSPEC 18, 'Political Declaration'. All EC socialist party leaders attended the summit and signed the political declaration except for the leader of the British Labour Party, Callaghan. That is even though the British Labour Party had joined – first as an observer – the CSPEC after the 1975 referendum and had supported for the first time the idea of a common electoral manifesto prior to the leaders' summit. The Spanish and Portuguese leaders also attended the summit.
[li] IISH, CSPEC-8, 'Appeal to the electorate', 10th Congress of the CSPEC, Brussels 10-12 January 1979, here page 2.
[lii] HAEU, GSPE-138, 'Conférence des partis socialistes d'Europe du Sud, Paris, 24-25 janvier 1976'.
[liii] Granadino, *Democratic Socialism or Social Democracy?*; Bernardini, 'La SPD e il socialismo democratico europeo negli anni '70'; Di Donato, 'Un Socialismo per l'Europa Del Sud?'
[liv] Callaghan, *The Retreat of Social Democracy*, 74–79; in general see Braunthal, *The German Social Democrats since 1969*.
[lv] Since the early 1970s, the question of cooperation with communists in the EP was a recurring point of debate in the SGEP. See for instance HAEU, GSPE-053, 'Minutes of the extraordinary meeting of the Bureau and the SGEP on 29 May 1972', 285-305.
[lvi] IISH, SI-348, 'Party Leaders' Conferences, Elsinore (Denmark), 19 January 1976, press cuttings'.
[lvii] See for instance Basosi and Bernardini, 'The Puerto Rico Summit of 1976 and the End of Eurocommunism'; Varsori, 'Puerto Rico (1976)'; Varsori, 'Crisis and Stabilization in Southern Europe during the 1970s: Western Strategy, European Instruments'.
[lviii] HAEU, GSPE-140, 'Nous, partis sociaux démocrates de la CEE…', *L'Humanité*, 4 July 1977.
[lix] 'Le vrai "programme commun" du PS?', *L'Humanité*, 28 October 1977.
[lx] HAEU, GSPE-140, 'Arguments et Documents', 'Argumentaire', 'Résolution du Comité Directeur du PS du 8 Octobre 1977'.
[lxi] Flandre, *Socialisme Ou Social-Démocratie?*
[lxii] HAEU, GSPE-140, 'Rencontre bilatérale PS-SPD', 3 February 1978.
[lxiii] See in general Braunthal, *The German Social Democrats since 1969*; Soell, *Helmut Schmidt*; Spohr, *The Global Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and the Reshaping of the International Order*.
[lxiv] See Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism*, 1996, 497–533.
[lxv] Garnier and Janover, *La deuxième droite*.
[lxvi] Callaghan, 'Social Democracy in Transition'.
[lxvii] IISH, CSPEC-21, 'Draft report of the working Group "Employment"', 7 October 1978, here page 58.
[lxviii] **"**Frédéric Lordon à HEC Débats - Conférence - Présidentielles 2017, Nuit Debout, Capitalisme", available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9JwBlI0xf_k (last accessed 20 April 2019).
[lxix] The reasons for the defeat of a certain model of 'social Europe' during the 1970s are extensively discussed in Andry, '"Social Europe" in the Long 1970s', see in particular the conclusions.
[lxx] Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism*, 446.
[lxxi] Slobodian, *Globalists*; see also Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*; Stiegler, *'Il faut s'adapter'. Sur un nouvel impératif politique*.

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