

# Rethinking **D** Social & Democracy

LONDON INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH  
SENATE HOUSE, MALET STREET, LONDON WC 1E 7HU  
15/16/17 APRIL 2004

## SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, CULTURE AND SOCIETY: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

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*Journal Socialist History*

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*Rethinking*  
**Social**  
*Democracy*

# CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

## THURSDAY 15 APRIL

- 10:30 – 11:30 **Registration**
- 11:30 – 13:00 **Plenary Session** chair **John Callaghan**  
**Tony Wright MP**, *British social democracy: then and now*  
**Norman Birnbaum**, *What became of the New Deal? Missing in action in US postwar politics*
- 13:00 – 14:00 **Lunch**
- 14:00 – 15:30 **1. Panel Session (Strand II)** chair **Antoine Capet**  
**Alexander Kan**, *Shifting attitudes of Nordic social democracy towards the revolutions and civil war in Russia 1917 – 1920*  
**Andrew Thorpe**, *Social democrats and liberal politics in Britain, 1918 – 1945*  
**Gidon Cohen**, *The limits of British Social Democracy: Labour Party relations with the ILP 1924 – 1946*
- 2. Panel Session (Strand I)** chair **Jim Sawyer**  
**Kevin Morgan**, *Labour's politics of housing 1918 – 1945*  
**Ken Worpole**, *Architecture, landscape and the social democratic sublime*
- 3. Panel Session (Strand III)** chair **David Burchell**  
**Aad Blok**, *The roots of the ideology of social engineering in Dutch social democracy: The influence of Jan Tinbergen's ideas on economic policy, the Optimal Economic Order and the role of the State (1930 – 1960)*  
**Stefan Nyzell**, *Political culture and popular protest: Rethinking social democracy and the case of the Swedish Model in the political culture of Sweden 1919 – 1939*
- 4. Panel Session (Strand III)** chair **David McKnight**  
**Paolo Borioni**, *Scandinavian welfare: Is there a social democratic model?*  
**Jenny Andersson**, *Swedish social democracy: From 'strong society' to 'third way'*  
**Christian Koller**, *The Social Democratic Party of Switzerland in its political system – an exemplary case?*
- 15:30 – 16:00 **Tea**
- 16:00 – 18:00 **5. Panel Session (Strand I)** chair **Andrew Scott**  
**Erol Kulahci**, *Social democracy and European integration since 1945 until nowadays: Towards 'traditional' or 'new' European social democracy?*  
**Maria Gussarsson**, *A Swedish social democratic picture of Europe*  
**Maria Garcia**, *European integration: A 'trader's club' or welfare society?*
- 6. Panel Session (Strand II)** chair **Ilaria Favretto**  
**Gareth Pritchard**, *Social democracy in post-war East Germany*  
**Gareth Dale**, *Social democracy and the East German uprising of 1953*  
**Stephen Hopkins**, *Dissent and the French Communist Party, 1977 – 1995: The embrace of social democracy?*  
**Silvio Pons**, *European Socialism, the Italian Left and the crisis of Communism*
- 18:30 – 21:00 **Public Meeting**  
Cruciform Theatre, UCL, Gower Street, London  
**Confirmed Speakers:** **Alan Milburn MP**, **Neal Lawson** (Compass & Renewal), **Joaquin Almunia** (Member of Spanish Parliament, PSOE), **Anna Coote** (King's Fund & Compass), **Marry Southcott** (Labour Campaign for Electoral Reform), chair **Stephen Twigg MP**

## FRIDAY 16 APRIL

- 9:30 – 11:00 **Plenary Session** chair **Ilaria Favretto**  
**Donald Sassoon**, *100 years of European social democracy*  
**Marcel van der Linden**, *A case of lost identity? A long view on social democracy worldwide*
- 11:00 – 11:30 **Coffee**
- 11:30 – 13:00 **7. Panel Session (Strand I)** chair **Stefan Berger**  
**Ben Jackson**, *Justice and solidarity: Egalitarian political thought on the British Left, 1945 – 1964*  
**Jeremy Nuttall**, *Big ideas and little ideas in British social democracy since 1931*  
**Antoine Capet**, *G.D.H. Cole's social democracy between idealism and pragmatism*
- 8. Panel Session (Strand I)** chair **Erol Kulahci**  
**Holger Nehring**, *The protests against nuclear weapons in Britain and West Germany (1957 – 1964) and social democratic traditions*  
**Vassilis Fouskas**, *The global Leviathan and the New Left*  
**Andrea Romano**, *Europe, the US and the use of force as seen by the British and the Italian Left (1998 – 2003)*
- 9. Panel Session (Strand I)** chair **Joe Bailey**  
**Andrew Flinn**, *British Labour and youth cultures, 1945 – 1960*  
**Andrew Pakes**, *Participation and involvement in local party structures: A case study of Southgate Labour Party*  
**Steven Fielding**, *Social democrats and the 1960s 'cultural revolution': Coming to terms with 'individualism', Labour in 1960s Britain*
- 13:00 – 14:00 **Lunch**
- 14:00 – 15:30 **10. Panel Session (Strand I)** chair **Neal Lawson**  
**Paolo Pombeni**, *Social democracy and affluence in the 1960s*  
**John Callaghan**, *Post-material values*  
**Andrew Scott**, *The modernization of Australian social democracy*
- 11. Panel Session (Strand I)** chair **Andrew Pearmain**  
**Lawrence Black**, *Labour's cultural turns in 1960s Britain*  
**Geoff Andrews**, *Social democracy, culture and dissent: The case of the BBC 1963 – 1967*  
**Giulia Guazzaloca**, *Politics and television in Italy: The response of the left-wing parties (1954 – 1975)*
- 15:30 – 16:00 **Tea**
- 16:00 – 18:00 **12. Panel Session (Strand III)** chair **Paul Auerbach**  
**David Purdy**, *Socializing capitalism: Mixed economy or balanced society?*  
**Jim Sawyer**, *Whither capitalism?*  
**Mike Rustin**, *Rethinking Audit Culture*
- 13. Panel Session (Strand III)** chair **Kevin Morgan**  
**David Burchell**, *From consensus to crises of conscience: The rise and fall of Australian Labor, 1983 – 2001*  
**Andrew Pearmain**, *"Eurocommunism", Gramsci and the politics of New Labour*  
**David McKnight**, *Rethinking Right and Left*
- 14. Panel Session (Strand II)** chair **Willie Thompson**  
**Nina Fishman**, *European social democracy and the class struggle, 1945 – 1968: An examination in changes in the political balance of power in Italy, West Germany, France and Britain*

Evening  
**Xavier Garcia**, *The Socialist Party and the working class in France: The two orphans of social democracy*  
**Stefan Berger**, *Communism, social democracy and the Democracy Gap*  
**Conference Dinner**

## SATURDAY 17 APRIL

9:15 – 10:15 **Plenary Session** chair **Andrew Flinn**  
**Detlev Albers**, *Rethinking Europe and social democracy*

10:15 – 10:45 **Coffee**

10:45 – 12:45 **15. Panel Session (Strand III)** chair **Kevin Morgan**  
**Francesca Traldi**, *Social-democratic ideologies: The role of ideas and intellectuals in the SPD during the last fifty years*  
**Inese Sviestina**, *Intellectuals and the State: The role of ideas of intellectuals in the founding of new society*  
**Kjell Östberg**, *Swedish social democracy and intellectuals in the 1960s*  
**Oleksandr Svyetlov**, *Friedrich Ebert Foundation: Dynamics of development*

**16. Panel Session (Strand III)** chair **Andrew Thorpe**  
**Ilaria Favretto**, *New Left, new pasts? The Italian Left's politics of memory since 1945*  
**Mark Hearn**, *'Inspirational Reinvention': A historical perspective on narratives of Australian social democratic identity and citizenship*  
**Marzia Maccaferri**, *Interpreting affluence: Italian and English intellectuals and new approaches to social democracy, 1958 – 1968*  
**Lauren Bouvet**, *The French left in the 60s and 70s: Between revolution and post-materialism*

**17. Panel Session (Strand II)** chair **Geoffrey Goodman**  
**Stefano Agnoletto**, *The trade union and the aid society (patronati) as actors in the construction of the Italian model of universal welfare*  
**Rainer Zoll**, *Perspectives of trade unionism – the difficulties of learning organisations*  
**Marco Simoni**, *Renegotiating the marriage: European social democratic parties and trade unions (1980 – 2000)*

12:45 – 13:30 **Lunch**

13:30 – 15:30 **Plenary Session** chair **Nina Fishman**  
**David Marquand**, *Prospects of social democracy until 21<sup>st</sup> century*  
**Duncan Tanner**, *The prospects for social democratic history: Or why people, institutions and ideas matter*

CONFERENCE ENDS

# STRAND I

## Theme 1: SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

### **9. Panel Session: Youth and participation** chair **Joe Bailey**

**Andrew Flinn**, *British Labour and youth cultures, 1945 – 1960*

**Andrew Pakes**, *Participation and involvement in local party structures: A case study of Southgate Labour Party*

**Steven Fielding**, *Social democrats and the 1960s 'cultural revolution': Coming to terms with 'individualism', Labour in 1960s Britain*

### **10. Panel Session: Social democracy and affluence** chair **Neal Lawson**

**Paolo Pombeni**, *Social democracy and affluence in the 1960s*

**John Callaghan**, *Post-material values*

**Andrew Scott**, *The modernization of Australian social democracy*

### **11. Panel Session: Social democracy and cultural politics** chair **Andrew Pearmain**

**Lawrence Black**, *Labour's cultural turns in 1960s Britain*

**Geoff Andrews**, *Social democracy, culture and dissent: The case of the BBC 1963 – 1967*

**Giulia Guazzaloca**, *Politics and television in Italy: The response of the left-wing parties (1954 – 1975)*

## Theme 2: SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, JUSTICE AND SOLIDARITY

### **2. Panel Session** chair **Jim Sawyer**

**Kevin Morgan**, *Labour's politics of housing 1918 – 1945*

**Ken Worpole**, *Architecture, landscape and the social democratic sublime*

### **7. Panel Session** chair **Stefan Berger**

**Ben Jackson**, *Justice and solidarity: Egalitarian political thought on the British Left, 1945 – 1964*

**Jeremy Nuttall**, *Big ideas and little ideas in British social democracy since 1931*

**Antoine Capet**, *G.D.H. Cole's social democracy between idealism and pragmatism*

## Theme 3: SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, THE NATION AND INTERNATIONALISM

### **5. Panel Session: Europe** chair **Andrew Scott**

**Erol Kulahci**, *Social democracy and European integration since 1945 until nowadays: Towards 'traditional' or 'new' European social democracy?*

**Maria Gussarsson**, *A Swedish social democratic picture of Europe*

**Maria Jesús García**, *European integration: A 'trader's club' or welfare society?*

### **8. Panel Session: Social Democracy, the nation and internationalism** chair **Erol Kulahci**

**Holger Nehring**, *The protests against nuclear weapons in Britain and West Germany (1957 – 1964) and social democratic traditions*

**Vassilis K. Fouskas**, *The global Leviathan and the New Left*

**Andrea Romano**, *Europe, the US and the use of force as seen by the British and the Italian Left (1998 – 2003)*

## STRAND II

### Theme 1: SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND ITS RELATIONS WITH OTHER POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

#### **1. Panel Session: Social democracy and its rivals (Inter-war years)** chair **Antoine Capet**

**Alexander Kan**, *Shifting attitudes of Nordic social democracy towards the revolutions and civil war in Russia 1917 – 1920*

**Andrew Thorpe**, *Social democrats and liberal politics in Britain, 1918 – 1945*

**Gidon Cohen**, *The limits of British Social Democracy: Labour Party relations with the ILP 1924 – 1946*

#### **6. Panel Session: Social democracy and its rivals (Post-war years)** chair **Ilaria Favretto**

**Gareth Pritchard**, *Social democracy in post-war East Germany*

**Gareth Dale**, *Social democracy and the East German uprising of 1953*

**Stephen Hopkins**, *Dissent and the French Communist Party, 1977 – 1995: The embrace of social democracy?*

**Silvio Pons**, *European Socialism, the Italian Left and the crisis of Communism*

#### **17. Panel Session: Social democracy and the trade union movement** chair **Geoffrey Goodman**

**Stefano Agnoletto**, *The trade union and the aid society (patronati) as actors in the construction of the Italian model of universal welfare*

**Rainer Zoll**, *Perspectives of trade unionism – the difficulties of learning organisations*

**Marco Simoni**, *Renegotiating the marriage: European social democratic parties and trade unions (1980 – 2000)*

### Theme 2: SOCIAL DEMOCRACY: FORMS OF REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION

#### **14. Panel Session** chair **Willie Thompson**

**Nina Fishman**, *European social democracy and the class struggle, 1945 – 1968: An examination in changes in the political balance of power in Italy, West Germany, France and Britain*

**Xavier Garcia**, *The Socialist Party and the working class in France: The two orphans of social democracy*

**Stefan Berger**, *Communism, social democracy and the Democracy Gap*

## STRAND III

### Theme 1: SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, INTELLECTUALS AND IDEAS

#### **15. Panel Session** chair **Ben Jackson**

**Francesca Traldi**, *Social-democratic ideologies: The role of ideas and intellectuals in the SPD during the last fifty years*

**Inese Sviestina**, *Intellectuals and the State: The role of ideas of intellectuals in the founding of new society*

**Kjell Östberg**, *Swedish social democracy and intellectuals in the 1960s*

**Oleksandr Svyetlov**, *Friedrich Ebert Foundation: Dynamics of development*

### Theme 2: REINVENTING SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

#### **3. Panel Session: Inter-war years** chair **David Burchell**

**Aad Blok**, *The roots of the ideology of social engineering in Dutch social democracy: The influence of Jan Tinbergen's ideas on economic policy, the Optimal Economic Order and the role of the State (1930 – 1960)*

**Stefan Nyzell**, *Political culture and popular protest: Rethinking social democracy and the case of the Swedish Model in the political culture of Sweden 1919 – 1939*

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**Paolo Borioni**, *Scandinavian welfare: Is there a social democratic model?*

**Jenny Andersson**, *Swedish social democracy: From 'strong society' to 'third way'*

**Christian Koller**, *The Social Democratic Party of Switzerland in its political system – an exemplary case?*

#### **12. Panel Session: Post-war years 3** chair **Paul Auerbach**

**David Purdy**, *Socializing capitalism: Mixed economy or balanced society?*

**Jim Sawyer**, *Whither capitalism?*

**Mike Rustin**, *Rethinking Audit Culture*

#### **13. Panel Session: Post-war years 2** chair **Kevin Morgan**

**David Burchell**, *From consensus to crises of conscience: The rise and fall of Australian Labor, 1983 – 2001*

**Andrew Pearmain**, *"Eurocommunism", Gramsci and the politics of New Labour*

**David McKnight**, *Rethinking Right and Left*

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**Marzia Maccaferri**, *Interpreting affluence: Italian and English intellectuals and new approaches to social democracy, 1958 – 1968*

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**This programme may become subject to last minute changes**