

Contents

List of Tables	x
List of Figures	xii
Acknowledgements	xiii
List of Abbreviations	xv
Introduction	xix
Book One Expansion	I
PART ONE The Hard Road to Political Power	3
1 The Establishment of Socialism Before 1914	5
2 From War to War (1914-40)	27
The War /27 The Birth of Modern Communism /31	
The Socialists: Nordic Success and Spanish Failure /41	
The German Social Democrats /48 The Popular Front	
in France /52 The Failure of the British Labour Party /56	
3 Thwarted Alternatives	60
The 'Neo-Socialist' Planners /60 Austro-Marxism and	
Otto Bauer /70 Italian Communism and Gramsci /73	
4 The War, Resistance and Its Aftermath: The Rise and	
Fall of West European Communism 1939-48	83
Book Two Consolidation	113
PART TWO The Construction of Welfare Socialism 1945-50	115
5 The Socialists After 1945	117
6 Building Social Capitalism 1945-50	137
The Welfare State /137 Controlling Capitalism:	
Nationalization and Economic Planning /150	
7 External Constraints: A Socialist Foreign Policy?	167

PART THREE	Towards Revisionism 1950-60	187
8	The Golden Age of Capitalism	189
9	Between Neutralism and Atlanticism	209
10	The Foundations of Revisionism	241
PART FOUR	The Perplexing Sixties: 'Something in the Air'	275
11	The Return of the Left	277
	Prosperity /277 Elections /281 Opposition /285 In Power /310	
12	The Establishment of a Foreign Policy Consensus	323
PART FIVE	The Great Contestation	355
13	The Revival of Working-class Militancy 1960-73	357
14	The Revival of Ideology and the Student Contestation	383
15	The Revival of Feminism	407
	Book Three Crisis	441
PART SIX	The End of the Great Capitalist Boom 1973-89	443
16	The Crisis and the Left: An Overview	445
	The End of the Golden Age of Capitalism /445 The Vicissitudes of the Left /461	
17	Social Democracy in Small Countries: Austria, Sweden, Holland and Belgium	469
	Austria /470 Sweden /479 Holland /487 Belgium /491	
18	Germany and Britain: SPD and Labour in Power	497
19	The French Experiment	534
20	The Failure of Italian Communism	572
21	The End of Authoritarian Regimes in Western	

CONTENTS

ix

Europe: Portugal, Spain and Greece 594

Economic Preconditions /594 The *Revolução* in Portugal /607

The *Ruptura Negociada* in Spain /616 The Greek *Allaghi* /627

PART SEVEN The Great Crisis of Socialism 645

22 Workers, Women and Greens 647

Only the Workers? /647 Fewer Workers /651 Working

Women /657 Sex Equality /665 The 'New Politics' /670

The Greens /674 The Presence of Women /679

23 The 1980s: Radicalism in its Last Redoubt 691

Rise and Fall of the Labour Party Left /692 The Swedish

Wage-earners Funds /706 The New Politics of the SPD /713

24 The New Revisionism 730

Epilogue 755

Notes 778

Bibliography 887

Index 944