

## THE STEPS OF EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY TO ANSWER THE CHALLENGE OF THE EARLY 21st CENTURY

Dr. Tran Thi Dieu<sup>(\*)</sup>

Ngo Thi Ngoc Linh<sup>(\*\*)</sup>

***Abstract:** In this paper the authors analyze and evaluate the ways Social Democrats in Europe have dealt with challenges since the beginning of the 21st Century. The authors argue that the ways Europe's social democrats use to deal with their crises depend largely on whether they find the right balance between the internationalism historically inherent in the democratic movement society and the need to protect national identity. Thus, social democrats are forced to penetrate and dig up ideas not only from the ideological baggage of liberalism but also of conservatism.*

***Keywords:** Social Democracy, Europe, 21 Century, crisis, national identity.*

### 1. Introduction

The famous German sociologist, R.Dahrendorf, called the 20th century as “the century of social democracy”<sup>1</sup>. Yes, 20th-century social democracy had a strong impact on the aspect shaping of Western society. Some of its deserts/merits can be mentioned as it has more or less humanized the capitalist market system, introduced into this system some elements of social consensus and accommodation, and built a common welfare state. Moreover, social democratic values in general also strongly influence the direction of ideological credos of parties and other socio-political organizations. By the end of the 20th century, according to Dahrendorf, “we (almost) all had become social democrats”, while the

key ideas of the “social democratic century” - such as economic growth, Equality, labor, reason, state socialism, internationalism - became clear”<sup>2</sup>.

In the 1970s and the 1980s, the European Social Democrats fell into a state of crisis. On the one hand, the cause of that crisis is due to the fact that the social structure of Western European countries has a significant reduction in the proportion of the traditional working class - which is the most important social support and constituency of the country's social democrats, while the proportion of the new middle classes rapidly increased; on the other hand, a reason is the discrediting of socialist

---

<sup>(\*)</sup> Dr. Faculty of Philosophy, University of Social Sciences and Humanities, VNU Hanoi.

<sup>(\*\*)</sup> Thanh Do University, Hanoi, Vietnam.

thought as a result of the events that occurred in the years 1989 - 1991 of the socialist states in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe along with the strengthening of the position of the neo-liberals in the western countries. The crisis not only led to the erosion of the social democratic political culture but also shook the most important achievements of social democracy and the “fundamental instrument of social democratic policy” - the the general welfare state became increasingly bureaucratic. That undermined economic growth, adding to the living-off mood. Moreover, it is even more obvious that the Keynesian model is no longer suitable for the era of computerized information technology and the “knowledge economy”, which requires market actors to be as creative and dynamic as possible; the possibilities of the welfare state are clearly diminished in the process of globalization. In the context of free capital movement from one country to another, the Keynesian anti-cyclical crisis measures employed by social democrats within a country were no longer effective. Meanwhile, the necessity of maintaining the competitiveness of the national economy in the global world requires reducing taxes on corporate profits, making it impossible to maintain high levels of social security as before for the people.

Social democrats’ attempts to respond to these challenges have resulted in the emergence of a stronger market bias in Europe’s centre-left parties.

Theorists following this trend claim to modernize the ideological baggage of social democracy by adding elements of “sane liberalism”. They emphasized the advantage of the market economy, demanded the abandonment of large-scale redistribution projects of material wealth, and reduced state intervention in the economy.

### **2. New Social Democrats in Britain and Germany**

At the end of the last century, strong modernization movements were more or less evident in most European social democratic parties. The process of reforming the ideological platform has been very actively implemented in the British Labor Party (LP Labor Party) and the German Social Democratic Party (SDP). The labor ideology was vigorously promoted after Tony Blair, a young, energetic leader of the British labor party, entered power in 1994. Since 1998, the same process has taken place in the German SDP. As a result, in the Western social democracy movement, there were two main movements – “new” (modernization) and “old”. The first movement, associated with the names of British Prime Minister Tony Blair and German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, rejected many traditional social democratic concepts in favor of social freedom.

The “new” social democracy differs from the “old” in two ways. First, it acknowledges the need to fundamentally re-examine leftist ideology in light of the changes taking place in the world (globalization, the emergence of the

“knowledge economy”, the lack of results of the welfare state...). Second, the new social democrats focus first on the results of attracting voters, and less on preserving the ideological purity of their doctrine. In the face of a dramatic decline in its traditional social base of the working class, it needs to win the support of other social classes as well<sup>3</sup>.

“New Labor” and “Third Way” are important concepts that Blair and his comrades incorporated into the ideology of the British LP. The term “New Labor” refers to the LP’s modernizing leadership’s rejection of many of the tenets of “traditional” organized laborism. This includes, among other things, the goal to increase taxes on income and companies, increase state control over the economy, and advocate for union rights. Blair and the leadership affirm that the Party remains loyal to social democratic values and goals, but chooses a new path more suitable for the modern world to achieve them.

“Third Way”, it is much different from the old third way of social democracy in the 50s and 60s of the last century, which is also opposed to “unjust capitalism - wasteful” and “soulless communist tyranny”<sup>4</sup>. “Third Way” of the new workers, according to Blair, is more right than the main axis that the old leftists (emphasis on state control, high taxes and protection of workers’ rights employed) has gone, and is more contrary to the new rightists (who often consider evil not only state intervention in the economy, but also the words themselves “society” and “collective

effort”) are going<sup>5</sup>. In other words, it is a crossroads between the Keynesian welfare state and neoliberalism.

Former leader of the German SDP (1999 - 2004), former chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (1998 - 2005) Schroeder also held a similar stance. Schroeder’s socio-political views, shaped before the 1998 Parliamentary election campaign, have been called the “New Midpoint”, or “New Center” (Neue Mitte). By doing so, the SDP shows its intention to attract to itself the new middle class – highly skilled workers, small and medium-sized entrepreneurs, freelancers... Therefore, the German SDP’s 1998 election program was, according to Schroeder, the most “marketable” of the party’s campaigns, including such points as the combination of supply and demand policies, supporting small and medium enterprises, reducing taxes for all businesses (both large corporations and small and medium enterprises), helping the unemployed according to the principle of “work instead of social assistance”<sup>6</sup>.

Thus, the new social democracy is different from the traditional social democracy in many ways. The “old” social democracy, while acknowledging the advantages of the market economy, advocates redistributing the wealth it creates for the sake of equality and social justice. The “new” social democracy, on the other hand, is more inclined to view social policies and social assistance as means of ensuring a more efficient functioning of the market economy.

## THE STEPS OF EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY TO ANSWER...

The state is the basic tool to implement traditional social democratic policy, while modernized social democracy views the market economy as the most important tool to achieve its goals.

The “new” social democracy also leaves the traditional character of democratic socialism. According to the German philosopher J. Habermas, within the workers’ movement from history “has formed the character of solidarity for “great social justice” against the individual character of a justice of results and achievements”<sup>7</sup>. Followers of the “third path”, put behind the mottos of cooperation - state, collective of the “old left”, to place greater emphasis on individual efforts and initiatives, public acumen job. It is also important to recognize the fact that modernized social democracy has denied the historical task of the social-democracy movement, such as abolishing labor alienation, transforming labor into a commodity.

In fact, the results of applying the “third way” ideology in the UK and Germany are very different, although the policies are quite similar. During the whole process (1997-2007) Blair was prime minister, the British economy grew by 2-3% annually, while inflation and unemployment remained relatively low. Schroeder’s attempt to lead the market-oriented innovation of the German SDP was much less successful. His attempts to reconstruct the social model of the Federal Republic of Germany were met with persistent right-wing opposition within the party

and trade unions. Schroeder’s social and labor market reforms aimed at reducing the role of the state in the economy were difficult and half-hearted, and many traditional rightists fled the party<sup>8</sup>. The crisis within the party and the decline in popularity of the German SDP ultimately led to the Party’s defeat in the 2005 parliamentary elections, ceding the power to form a government to other parties.

At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, the concept of a “third way” attracted widespread attention and discussion in European social democracies. To a certain extent, it spurred the renewal of social democratic ideology, the parties abandoning the egalitarian redistributive model. At the same time, the UK LP’s market-oriented “third way” is not supported by all centre-left parties. It is impossible to translate the “third way” into a universal modernization model for all of European social democracy because socialist movement traditions, left-wing political culture, the relationship between the social democratic party and trade unions, and social conditions in different European countries are all very diverse.

Other European social democratic parties (Swedish Social Democratic Workers’ Party, Dutch Labor Party...) followed the path of partial marketization of their ideological program directions. The shift to the political center of these parties in the late 20th and early 21st centuries is explained not only by the ideological influence of the “third way”,

but also by the aforementioned claims of the political parties. globalization and the “new economy”. In general, the late 20th century - early 21st century social democratic ideology has been enriched by liberal elements; During these years “European social democracy had a historic marriage with neo-liberalism, with the result that the market economy had penetrated areas that had previously seemed completely immune to market influences, such as culture, education, social protection”<sup>9</sup>. In the early twenty-first century the term “socialism” (or “democratic socialism”) has practically disappeared from the vocabulary of European social democracy. The meaning of its political activity is now reduced to the formation of “good” or “civilized” capitalism as opposed to “robbery”, “sick”, “wild” capitalism.

### **3. Social democracy and the global economic crisis**

The evolution of European social democracy towards social liberalism lasted until the onset of the 2008 global economic crisis. The acute financial crisis posed the question to social democrats: So what is the alternative (alternative) to neoliberalism? Their plans are not convincing. The crisis of global neoliberal capitalism, even if it is unconventional, not only did not give social democrats a substantial additional voter base, it even weakened the support of social democrats voter support for a range of centre-left parties. They were unsuccessful in the 2009 European Parliament elections (losing about 25% of the votes compared to

the previous election); The Spanish socialist workers’ parties and the Greek socialist party also failed over the next few years. The average number of voters supporting the social-democratic parties of Western Europe in the 2007-2013 period compared with the 2000-2006 period decreased by 4.7%<sup>10</sup>.

The global economic crisis has markedly affected social democratic ideology. It is quite common in the left and center left circles that the world financial crisis is essentially a crisis of neoliberal capitalism and the neoliberal model of globalization; The crisis further affirms the correctness of the fundamental notions of social democracy about the necessity of political regulation of economic processes. “The predominance of market radicalism and neoliberalism... has gradually come to an end” – is the opinion of a close adviser of the German SDP. The global financial crisis has disrupted the right-wing group of social democracy. European social democrats again turned around their traditional attitudes and values, the criticism of capitalism and the concept of “socialism” also returned to the line of social democracy. As the solution to neo-conservatism, the program introduced “new socialism”, in which the first place was given to the people, not to the market<sup>11</sup>.

In another European socialist party document – Minutes of Principles (2011) – the causes of the global crisis are explained as follows: “Market forces driven by financial and bottomless greed is taking power and trying to remove

## THE STEPS OF EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY TO ANSWER...

democratic control over it. These forces serve the interests of the privileged few. Conservatives and neoliberals have deepened economic, geographical and social inequalities, pushing their values – short and easy profit, freedom defying all the rules, That’s what led to the great crisis”<sup>12</sup> .

The social-democratic literature, the statements of many of the leaders and theorists of those parties, are all scathingly critical (using the term Max Weber here) of mercantile-reckless capitalism, and defend rational-effective capitalism. Social democrats argue that large-scale shady financial tricks, the inflating of financial “bubbles”, not only damage the real economic sector, but also run counter to values. their basic values. “Financial markets are not ends in themselves, but means: they must perform important functions to make the real economic sector more efficient”<sup>13</sup>

While resisting conservative tactics of non-intervention in market processes, European social democrats persisted in holding to the need for active industrial policy. The Council of European Socialists’ 2013 resolution, which was adopted in Sofia, stressed the importance of putting European industrial policy into practice through long-term strategic planning and industrial strategy, enables the prediction of trends in the economy, industry, employment, and technologies. From the point of view of European socialists, a comprehensive industrial development strategy should take into account the potential of each

region and of each economic sector. All of the documents from the Party of European Socialists call for the creation of new jobs in industries with a strong potential for innovation, such as transportation, waste management, and the use of renewable energy sources , biotechnology, tourism, and information and communication technology<sup>14</sup> .

The global economic crisis has caused European social democrats to revert to Keynesianism as well as reject the notion of the virtue of limited market regulation (found in the “third way” and “third way” viewpoints), but also led them to reuse Keynesianism. As economic analysts of the German SDP note, “after many long years of implementing a liberal economic policy, today is partly due to the financial market crisis that began in 2007, which once again resounded calls for state intervention in the corrupt market economy. Here many have turned to Keynes again... the topicality of Keynesian arguments is no accident, for his main work *The General Theory of Employment, Income and Money* - was the offspring of the Great Depression. The world economic crisis of the 1930s was similar to the current situation”<sup>15</sup> .

The banking-financial crisis first put an end to the dominance of the British LP “new branch of labor”. Even Blair’s successor, Gordon Braun, leader of the British government and LP in 2007, was forced to use Keynesian stimulant prescriptions to overcome the stagnation. The one who replaced Braun as LP leader after the Party’s defeat in

the 2010 elections, Edvard Miliband, strayed even further from the principles of “new labor” and of the “third way”. He claimed that “new workers put markets and business above all wellbeing and downplayed inequality, naively trusting in the boundless possibilities of free markets and globalization. Miliband criticized the “new workers but also because the ‘governance’ style of management had led to the alienation of the labor government from the ‘broadly progressive majority’ of the British people<sup>16</sup> .

Miliband’s revision of the legacy of “new labor” has gone in many directions. First, the new leader brought back to the LP’s agenda the social-democratic critique of capitalism. Next, he acknowledged the need for the state to play a more significant role in the British economy, boosting its competitiveness and stimulating economic growth. Miliband suggests using some of the methods from the Keynesian toolkit and criticizes the draconian economic policy implemented by the Cameron government – spending less on social needs in order to reduce the budget deficit. Miliband is even more concerned than “new workers” with the issue of narrowing social inequality.

Miliband also took the view of “responsible capitalism” and contrasted it with “predatory” capitalism. The hallmarks of “wild” capitalism, he says, are the obesity of the financial sector and the overwhelming size of short-term financial transactions. Thus, Miliband advocated for the growth of efficient

capitalism, which was sensible and constrained the scope of action of rash, far-flung merchant capitalism, much like the continental social democrats. Leave the “new labor” concepts behind. Moreover, the “New Workers” are all disciples of globalization, cosmopolitanism and excessively liberal immigration policy. Miliband, which was influenced by the social conservative ideas of “old workers”, was very worried about preserving British identity. He even claimed that the Blair government made a mistake by opening up the labor market to workers from Eastern European countries who had just joined the EU.

After the Party’s defeat in the 2015 Parliamentary elections, the Party proceeded to elect a leader and the victory belonged to “hard-left” Jeremy Corbyn, who turned the party back to its socialist roots. Participating in the vote is not only LPs and trade unionists associated with the Party, but also those who are sympathetic to the party (to vote these people just need to contribute £3 to the party fund and show loyalty to its values and goals). The voting results are explained first of all by the fact that the majority of voters are young people who are nonconformist, loyal to the socialist traditions of the LP, are members of leftist groups difference. Voting for Corbyn, they both opposed the socio-economic line of “new workers” and Blair’s foreign policy and opposed the technocratic management style inherent in “new laborers”.

In 2016, the British LP again

## THE STEPS OF EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY TO ANSWER...

conducted a leader election, once again Jeremy Corbyn won. Corbyn's only opponent in this election is O. Xmit - also the leftist of the LP and even a supporter of the socialist revolution by parliamentary way. Thus, the struggle for the leadership position of the Party in 2016 that took place between two left-wing representatives of the Party is the clearest proof of how far the LP has moved away from the market-oriented motto of "new labor".

The German SDP, after its defeat in the 2005 elections, for the next few years did not abandon the principles of the "new midpoint" and the "third way". In contrast, the SDP leadership has always emphasized that it is the reforms led by Schroeder (abandoning labor market regulation, reducing business taxes, limiting social expenditures) that have allowed to protect the economy. Germany avoided the worst consequences of the 2008 global crisis. Critics, loyal to "old" social-democratic views, proved that the Party modernized by Schroeder had become a representative represent the primary interests of the new middle classes, not of the traditional working class or of the unemployed or semi-employed, and as such, are no longer the "people's party"<sup>17</sup>.

The Platform adopted in 2007 at the Hamburg Congress of the SDP also reflected the compromise between the "old" and "new" social democrats, the traditionalists and the modern ones. The Platform affirms: "The end of Soviet-model state socialism does not refute the idea of democratic socialism, but rather

affirms more clearly the orientation of the social democrats to the values of the Soviet Union basic. Democratic socialism for us is still a vision of a free, just and united society, whose realization remains a constant task for us. Our operating principle – is social democracy"<sup>18</sup>.

The global financial crisis forced the German social democrats to somewhat re-examine the market positions of the Schroeder-style "new midpoint". The SDP 2009 campaign platform is closer to traditional social democratic concepts, with a clear social bias, for example, there are 205 times the words "social issues" and "social justice" association" mentioned in the 59 pages of the Platform. In the election platform, the Party demands free education, sets a minimum wage, and protects trade union rights<sup>19</sup>. However, the "left-wing turn" did not save the German social democrats from defeat in the 2009 parliamentary elections, when the SDP received only 28% of the vote. An overview of the future is attractive to the masses"<sup>20</sup>.

Features of the speeches of the leaders and theorists of German social democracy in 2010 were criticisms of "sham capitalism" and "bubble economy", appeals for regulation. financial markets and enacted a special tax on securities and financial speculation. Instead of "economic austerity" measures are investment proposals aimed at ensuring economic growth and adding jobs. Besides, SDP always emphasizes its loyalty to the

idea of fairness. For example, the 2017 Parliamentary Platform is titled “It’s Time for Great Justice”; “Equality – the key premise of economic innovation and progress”<sup>21</sup> .

Nevertheless, during the 2017 campaign, the social democrats once more failed to persuade the majority of voters with a number of fresh, compelling ideas: “in principle, at one point Willi Brandt presented voters with a New Eastern policy, or Schroeder with the reform program “Agenda-2010,” which has since ensured the competitiveness of the economy of the Federal Republic of Germany, its rival Merkel [Martin Schulz, leader of the SPD] is far behind”<sup>22</sup> . The SPD’s inability to overcome a severe ideological crisis to gain a new identity has become one of the factors that contributed to the party’s low number of votes in the September 2017 Parliamentary elections (20.5%).

Thus, European social democracy is standing at a crossroads. First, in the context of globalization and the “new economy”, social democracy is unlikely to return to the Keynesian model of state distribution. Second, while trying to improve the competitiveness of the national economy, social democrats will be forced to campaign towards social liberalism. On the third side, the radical marketization of social democratic programs has led to the loss of center-left parties of the “utopia-hope” that continues to promote many social democrats. And this can lead to intra-party crises, divisions, and left-wing members to leave the party, as

well as possibly to the achievement of politicians like J. Corbyn and B. Hamon. In fact, no social democratic party can completely reject the notions of a post-capitalist, freer and more united society that would give all equal opportunities to self-actualization without the fear of being threatened with the loss of one’s own identity. Reconciling fundamental social democratic values with the demands of efficiency and economic rationality is clearly not straightforward.

The spiritual crisis of European social democracy is also associated with the situation that among its theorists at present there are no thinkers of sufficient magnitude (of the caliber of K. Kautsky or E. Bernstein). Nor does it have in its ranks sharp leaders capable of carrying out in the center-left parties “the ideological replacement of the old system”. The result, as noted, is that social democrats are unable to provide voters with some fresh, distinctively vivid ideas, which still characterizes them as “the absence of a responsive agenda” meet the challenges of the times and appeal to ordinary citizens”<sup>23</sup> .

#### 4. Conclusion

Europe’s social democrats’ prospects for overcoming its current crisis depend largely on whether it finds the right balance between the internationalism historically inherent in the democratic movement society and the need to protect national identity. Center-leftists must also realize that, contrary to the universal conceptions of socialist

## THE STEPS OF EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY TO ANSWER...

theorists of bygone eras, ethnic, sectarian, and cultural identities retain their meanings myself in the present world. Thus, social democrats are forced to penetrate and dig up ideas not only from the ideological baggage of liberalism but also of conservatism. In

our opinion, British “green laborism” within its framework took place a creative synthesis of early laborist ideas, communism, Christian socialism and social conservatism, is showing the social democrat the path along which it will achieve innovation.

### REFERENCES

- 1 Dahrendorf R. 1983. *Die Chancen der Krise: Über die Zukunft des Liberalismus*. 2. Aufl., Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 240 s. 6
- 2 Dahrendorf R. 1983. *Die Chancen der Krise: Über die Zukunft des Liberalismus*. 2. Aufl., Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 240 s 16
- 3 Giddens A. 2002. *Where Now for New Labour?* Cambridge, Polity Press, 96, p.11.
- 4 The World Today – The Socialist Perspective. Declaration Adopted by the Council of the Socialist International. Oslo, 2–4 June, 1962. *Socialist International Information*, 1962, no. 24-25, pp. 354-361.
- 5 Блэр Т. The New Policy for the New Century, *Gosudarstvennaya sluzhba za rubezhom* [Public Service Abroad]. Moscow, 2000, no. 4, pp. 4-8.];
- 6 Мацонашвили Т. Н., *Social Democratic Party of Germany before Election of 1998*, Moscow, INION RAS, 1998. 43 pp.28-35.
- 7 Habermas J., 2008. *Split West*, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo “Ves' mir”, 192, p. 47.
- 8 The essence of these reforms was presented in the *Agenda 2010* (adopted in 2003) and was realized through the Hartz IV laws reforming the social sector and labor market (in 2005).
- 9 Bailey D., de Waele J.-M., Escalona F., Vieira M., eds. 2014. *European Social Democracy During the Global Economic Crisis: Renovation or Resignation?* Manchester, Manchester University Press, p. 122.
- 10 Bailey D., de Waele J.-M., Escalona F., Vieira M., eds. 2014, *European Social Democracy During the Global Economic Crisis: Renovation or Resignation?* Manchester, Manchester University Press, p. 6.
- 11 *Election Manifesto of the Party of European Socialists*. Institut “Spravedlivyi mir”. Moscow, Klyuch-C, 2009. 32 p. (In Russ.)] Available at: [http://www.spravmir.ru/images/stories/library/07\\_manifest.pdf](http://www.spravmir.ru/images/stories/library/07_manifest.pdf) ; p. 16

- 12 *Declaration of Principles of the Party of European Socialists*] Available at: <http://www.socialistinfo.ru/socialXXI/988.html>.
- 13 *Social Democratic Principles towards a New Financial Architecture*. Available at: <http://www.socialistinternational.org/viewArticle.cfm?ArticlePageID=1315>; pp. 6, 8
- 14 *A European Industrial Policy for Growth and Employment*. Available at: [https://www.pes.eu/export/sites/default/Downloads/Policy-Documents/Economy/pescouncil2013resolutionindustrialpolicy\\_adopted\\_sofia\\_en.pdf\\_796425246.pdf](https://www.pes.eu/export/sites/default/Downloads/Policy-Documents/Economy/pescouncil2013resolutionindustrialpolicy_adopted_sofia_en.pdf_796425246.pdf).
- 15 Faurt S... *Course of Social Democracy. Part 2. Economics and Social Democracy*, Moscow, ROSSPEN, 2012. pp. 29, 37.
- 16 Bailey D., de Waele J.-M., Escalona F., Vieira M., eds. 2014. *European Social Democracy During the Global Economic Crisis: Renovation or Resignation?* Manchester, Manchester University Press, p.108.
- 17 Bailey D., de Waele J.-M., Escalona F., Vieira M., eds. 2014. *European Social Democracy During the Global Economic Crisis: Renovation or Resignation?* Manchester, Manchester University Press, p. 146.
- 18 *Hamburger Programm: Das Grundsatzprogramm der SPD*. Available at: <https://www.spd.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/>
- 19 Григорьев Е. Е. *Steinmeier Applied for the Chancellor Office*. *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 21.04.2009. Available at: [http://www.ng.ru/world/2009-04-21/7\\_germany.html](http://www.ng.ru/world/2009-04-21/7_germany.html).
- 20 Boll F., Woyke M. “Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit”. *Sozialdemokratie ohne Utopie? Neue Gesellschaft/Frankfurter Hefte*, 2009, no. 3, ss. 31-33
- 21 *Zeit für mehr Gerechtigkeit: Unser Regierungsprogramm für Deutschland*. Available at: [https://www.spd.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/Regierungsprogramm/SPD\\_Regierungsprogramm\\_BTW\\_2017\\_A5\\_RZ\\_WEB.pdf](https://www.spd.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/Regierungsprogramm/SPD_Regierungsprogramm_BTW_2017_A5_RZ_WEB.pdf) (accessed 27.02.2018). s. 18
- 22 Григорьев Е. Е. “Brandt’s Grandchildren” Lack Ideas and Courage, *Nezavisimaya gazeta*, 05.10.2017. Available at: [http://www.ng.ru/columnist/2017-10-05/7\\_7088\\_frg.html?id\\_user=Y](http://www.ng.ru/columnist/2017-10-05/7_7088_frg.html?id_user=Y).
- 23 Арбатова Н. К. *In the EU Countries the Deserving Opposition Should Appear*. *NG-Dipkur'er*, 26.02.2018. Available at: [http://www.ng.ru/dipkur'er/2018-02-26/9\\_7179\\_opposition.html](http://www.ng.ru/dipkur'er/2018-02-26/9_7179_opposition.html).
- 24 Dahrendorf R. *Die Chancen der Krise: Über die Zukunft des Liberalismus*. 2. Aufl., Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1983. 240 p.

## THE STEPS OF EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY TO ANSWER...

- 25 Giddens A. *Where Now for New Labour?* Cambridge, Polity Press, 2002. 96 p
- 26 *The World Today – The Socialist Perspective. Declaration Adopted by the Council of the Socialist International.* Oslo, 2–4 June, 1962. *Socialist International Information*, 1962, no. 24-25, pp. 354-361.
- 27 Блэр Т. *The New Policy for the New Century*, Gosudarstvennaya sluzhba za rubezhom [Public Service Abroad]. Moscow, 2000, no. 4, pp. 4-8.]
- 28 Мадонашвили Т. Н., *Social Democratic Party of Germany before Election of 1998*, Moscow, INION RAS, 1998. 43 p.
29. Habermas J., *Split West*, Moscow, Izdatel'stvo "Ves' mir", 2008. 192 p.
- 30 Bailey D., de Waele J.-M., Escalona F., Vieira M., eds. *European Social Democracy During the Global Economic Crisis: Renovation or Resignation?* Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2014. 304 p
- 31 *Election Manifesto of the Party of European Socialists.* Institut "Spravedlivyi mir". Moscow, Klyuch-C, 2009. 32 p. (In Russ.]) Available at: [http://www.spravmir.ru/images/stories/library/07\\_manifest.pdf](http://www.spravmir.ru/images/stories/library/07_manifest.pdf)
- 32 *Declaration of Principles of the Party of European Socialists]* Available at: <http://www.socialistinfo.ru/socialXXI/988.html>
- 33 *Social Democratic Principles towards a New Financial Architecture.* Available at: <http://www.socialistinternational.org/viewArticle.cfm?ArticlePageID=1315>
- 34 *A European Industrial Policy for Growth and Employment.* Available at: [https://www.pes.eu/export/sites/default/Downloads/Policy-Documents/Economy/pescouncil2013resolutionindustrialpolicy\\_adopted\\_sofia\\_en.pdf\\_796425246.pdf](https://www.pes.eu/export/sites/default/Downloads/Policy-Documents/Economy/pescouncil2013resolutionindustrialpolicy_adopted_sofia_en.pdf_796425246.pdf)
- 35 *Hamburger Programm: Das Grundsatzprogramm der SPD.* Available at: [https://www.spd.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/Beschluesse/Grundsatzprogramme/hamburger\\_programm.pdf](https://www.spd.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/Beschluesse/Grundsatzprogramme/hamburger_programm.pdf)
- 36 *Zeit für mehr Gerechtigkeit: Unser Regierungsprogramm für Deutschland.* Available at: [https://www.spd.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/Regierungsprogramm/SPD\\_Regierungsprogramm\\_BTW\\_2017\\_A5\\_RZ\\_WEB.pdf](https://www.spd.de/fileadmin/Dokumente/Regierungsprogramm/SPD_Regierungsprogramm_BTW_2017_A5_RZ_WEB.pdf) (accessed 27.02.2018).