

# Solidarity in Europe

*The History of an Idea*

Steinar Stjerne

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

# Contents

<i>List of tables</i>	<i>page</i>	<i>vm</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>		x
<i>List of abbreviations</i>		xii
Introduction: to study the idea of solidarity		1
The study of ideas		3
The contribution of this book		8
Method and material: parties and programmes		10
Aspects of solidarity		16
Previous research		19
Guidance for the reader		21

## **Part I Three traditions of solidarity**

1	Solidarity in classic social theory	25
	Prelude: from fraternity to Charles Fourier and Pierre Leroux	26
	Comte: time, continuity and interdependence	30
	Durkheim: social norms and shared values	33
	Max Weber: solidarity in social relations	37
	The discourse in the development of social theory in the early days of sociology	39
2	Politics: solidarity from Marx to Bernstein	42
	Marxism: Karl Marx	43
	The road to revisionism and social democratic theory: Karl Kautsky	47
	Revisionist theories of solidarity: Eduard Bernstein and Ernst Wigforss	49
	Austro-Marxism: a third alternative?	52
	Leninism	53
	Anarchism: Bakunin	57
	Conclusion: Marxist, Leninist and social democratic solidarity	58

## Contents

3	Religion: solidarity in Catholicism and Protestantism	60
	Catholicism	62
	Protestantism	75
	Conclusion: concepts of solidarity in social theory, socialist theory and religion	85

## Part II The idea of solidarity in politics in Western Europe

4	European variations of solidarity discourses in social democracy	93
	The First International	96
	Germany: a model, but a late-comer	97
	Discourses on solidarity in Scandinavian social democracy	109
	United Kingdom: an anomaly of European social democracy?	132
	Solidarity in Southern European socialism	144
	A preliminary conclusion: three clusters of solidarity discourses	163
5	A comparative perspective on social democratic solidarity	165
	Periodisation of solidarity discourses	165
	The transitional phase of socialist solidarity	169
	The introduction of a social democratic concept	170
	The foundation and the objective	184
	The collective and the individual	186
	The establishment of a language of solidarity	189
	The challenges of the 1980s	192
	A period of ideological and political uncertainty	193
	Discussion: structural and political context variables	194
	A history of differences and convergence	196
	Conclusion: the modern concept of solidarity	199
6	The great challenger: the Christian democratic idea of solidarity	203
	Germany: Zentrum and CDU	205
	Italy: Christian democracy from birth to hegemony to dissolution	217
	Norway: Christian politics from pietism to Christian democracy	230
	Conclusion: Christian democratic vs. social democratic solidarity	239
7	The languages of modern social democratic and Christian democratic solidarity	245
	The modern social democratic language	245
	The Christian democratic language	248
	Competing languages?	250
	Convergence, but still differences	251
	The advantages of a language of solidarity	252
	Some problems	257
	Social democratic and Christian democratic solidarity in the twenty-first century	259

Contents	vii
Two excursions: Marxist-Leninist and fascist solidarity	265
Marxist-Leninist solidarity	265
Fascism: solidarity with the nation - against other nationalities and ethnic groups	278

### **Part III The present precariousness of solidarity**

9	Solidarity in modern social philosophy and Christian ethics	287
	Modern social theory	288
	Socialist, left-wing and critical theory	299
	Modern Catholic and Protestant theology on solidarity	311
	Conclusion	317
10	Epilogue: hope and challenges - individualisation, consumerism and globalisation	327
	First concern: the class foundation of solidarity	327
	Second concern: individualism	333
	Third concern: consumerism	336
	Fourth concern: does the welfare state undermine solidarity?	338
	Fifth concern: the ambiguous phenomenon of globalisation	342
	Parties or social movements as carriers of solidarity?	344
	Global citizenship - global ethics?	348
	<i>References</i>	
	<i>Documents</i>	353
	<i>Literature</i>	363
	<i>Index</i>	384