

## WORKSHEET LIBERALISM

### Overview:

**I.** The first part of this unit is about **RESEARCH**. In your group, complete the tasks below, using full sentences. For most of the tasks, you'll find *language boxes*, which will help you complete your answers. Usually, there are more words and phrases than you need for the specific tasks, but they might be useful some other time.

**II.** The next phase is called **SOURCE ANALYSIS**. Now, you should analyse **two historical sources** according to the tasks given.

**III.** As a next step, you should prepare a **PRESENTATION of 10-15 minutes**, containing the following:

- introduction: historical context
- main part: origin/ development, values and philosophy, political implementation<sup>1</sup>
- exemplary source analysis: present your analysis of the visual source (= election poster) to class
- conclusion: brief summary

Please prepare **slides** and a **HANDOUT**. The handout should be **one page** long and useful for your colleagues who didn't prepare your topic. It should cover the most important information you presented in class. However, instead of the visual source, you should include your analysis of the written source (= the quote).

### Quality criteria for the presentation, slides, and handout:

- structure: logical, all important parts covered
- content: correct, relevant, critical (source analysis)
- presentation skills: no reading → use key words, loud and clear
- visual support: appealing, correct, not overloaded, use of historical sources (pictures, graphs, text passages etc.) and identify them as sources (reference section)

**IV. FEEDBACK:** After the presentation, your group will provide feedback on one of the handouts (group B's) with the help of a feedback sheet.

**V. EDITING:** You edit and improve your own handout as suggested by your colleagues.

**I. RESEARCH:** Read **textbook p. 154** and **text A** and complete the tasks. If you need more information or other sources, you can also search the internet.

1) *Define* the term liberalism.

#### Components of a definition:

term = **broader category** + *specifics/ description* (+ further information/ limitations/ examples)

e.g., A cat is a **small animal** with *fur, four legs, a tail, and claws*, usually kept as a pet or for catching mice.

e.g., The term democracy refers to a **system of government**, in which power is either held by elected representatives or directly by the people themselves and which is based on the belief in freedom and equality between people.



*Liberalism is a political, economical, or social philosophy advocating freedom, individuality, competition, rationality, and separation of powers/ importance of opposition.*

OR

*Liberalism can be defined as a theory in economics emphasizing individual freedom and individuality and is usually based on free competition, the self-regulating market, and the separation of powers/ importance of opposition.*

- 2) Outline the development of (classical/political) **liberalism** by referring to relevant historical events and developments.



**Useful words to describe cause-and-effect and development:** *These phrases help you to express reasons and consequences and describe how and why something developed.*

lead to	in the course of	another important development/ factor	as a consequence
result in	eventually	in the light of	in particular
based on	therefore	due to	because of
			for this reason

*Classical (or political) liberalism is rooted in the Enlightenment movement. Based on the ideas of the enlightenment, and in particular the ideas of Hobbes and Locke, revolutionary action followed in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. Examples would be the Glorious Revolution in Britain (1688), the American Revolution (1775–83) or the French Revolution (1789).*

*In the light of these revolutions, liberals called for freedom of the individual and civil rights and as a consequence, they wanted to limit the power of the nobility and church and to hold the government accountable for their actions. Therefore, they advocated for periodic elections and separation of powers. Nevertheless, many liberals feared popular sovereignty because they didn't trust the common man to make reasonable choices. For this reason, suffrage was first limited to property owners before universal suffrage developed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century.*

- 3) Modern liberalism:
- Identify the time frame.
  - Explain the difference to classical liberalism.

**Language of comparison and relation:** *These phrases help you compare and/or explain how two things are similar, different, or connected.*



while	whereas	differ in	the difference is	in comparison to
	in contrast	different from	more/less than	compared to
similar	to share	in relation to	respectively	related
				distinct from
				both/ neither

*Modern liberal thought first started at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the social consequences of the Industrial revolution became more and more apparent. These ideas were further developed in the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, leading to the idea of social market economy.*

*Whereas both philosophies share values, such as individualism, rationality or personal freedom, they differ in their position towards market economy.*

*While modern liberalism argues that the government should interfere with and correct market economy, classical liberalism favours a completely free market economy. This means that, in comparison to modern*

liberalism, classical liberalism does not want the state to develop social welfare programmes or have companies run by the state. Modern liberals, in contrast, call for these actions to reduce the gap between rich and poor.

4) Briefly describe neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism is a political and economic philosophy of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century, which favours a return to the ideas of classical liberalism. In other words, neoliberals (like for example Margaret Thatcher or Ronald Reagan), wanted to deregulate market economy, aiming at a laissez-faire economic system. For that reason, social welfare programmes should be cut and privatizations of state-owned enterprises should be enforced.

5) Explain the relationship between classical economic liberalism and neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism is based on the ideas of classical economic liberalism, so they share many values, such as favouring laissez-faire economic systems or individuality. However, they differ in their historical context. While classical economic liberalism peaked in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, neoliberalism is an ideology that developed in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century as a reaction to economic crises. Therefore, it wants to reduce social welfare and advance global free trade – concepts that were unrealistic at the time of classical liberalism.

6) Summarize core values and central ideas of liberalism.

**Language of summarizing and organizing ideas:** These phrases help you summarize ideas, highlight what is most important and organize several points into a structure that helps your reader understand your summary better.

all	first of all	firstly/ secondly	in general	generally speaking	additionally
	furthermore	moreover	in essence	to sum up	closely
	connected to	another central idea	in other words	finally	



In essence, liberalism is an ideology that very much centres on freedom and the individual. Therefore, civil rights are very important, including the right to free speech, fair trials and religious freedom. Furthermore, liberalism is based on the concept of rationality. As such, it advocates the separation of church and state and is critical of authorial powers. Additionally, liberalism assumes that a free market is the best economic system.

## II. SOURCE ANALYSIS

### Language tips for source analyses:

1. When you need to *summarize*, make sure to convey the central message and do not yet interpret.
2. When you are asked to *describe*, do only describe what you see, do not yet interpret.
3. Try to work closely with the source and do not write about something unrelated to the source (unless it's explicitly stated in the task).
4. Always back up your interpretations, opinions, and judgments. Give reasons, examples and/ or refer to facts.
5. Distinguish between fact, opinion, or interpretation.
6. Use language to mark whether something is **fact**, *opinion*, or *interpretation*.

**e.g., we know from other sources/ historians seem to agree that/ it's a well-known fact that...**

*From my point of view/ I am of the opinion/ I believe, etc.*

Looking at this quote it seems that/ we assume/ this indicates that/ this could mean that...

→ Show that your answer is not the only interpretation! You can use modals like could or would or you could add adverbs/ adjectives like probably, possible etc.



A. Have a look at the following quote and complete the tasks below:

*"We cannot doubt that self-interest is the mainspring<sup>2</sup> of human nature. It must be clearly understood that this word is used here to designate<sup>3</sup> a universal, incontestable<sup>4</sup> fact, resulting from the nature of man, and not an adverse<sup>5</sup> judgment, as would be the word selfishness."*

Frédéric Bastiat, French politician and economist, 1801.<sup>6</sup>

a) *Summarize* the quote in your own words. Make sure to include the difference between self-interest and selfishness, according to Bastiat.

*Bastiat is of the opinion that if everyone aims to improve their own situation, society as a whole would benefit. He argues that self-interest inherent to human nature and is also the most powerful tool in that aspect. However, he adds that people often wrongfully describe self-interest negatively by regarding it as selfishness.*

b) *Explain* how this quote is related to liberalism.

*This quote is related to liberalism because liberal ideology very much centres on 'individuality' and argues that self-interest is the best way to ensure wealth and prosperity for the whole of society.*

c) Do you think that Bastiat can be considered a liberal? *Give reasons* for your judgment.

*Yes, he can be considered a liberal due to his conviction that self-interest is the best way to improve society as a whole, which is an idea developed by liberal thinkers.*

d) Do you agree with Bastiat? *Argue* your opinion.

*Individual answer, explanations are important though!*

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<sup>2</sup> Triebfeder

<sup>3</sup> bezeichnen

<sup>4</sup> unbestreitbar

<sup>5</sup> ablehnend

<sup>6</sup> Source: <http://traditionalliberalism.blogspot.co.at/p/economics-and-liberty-quotes.html>

B. Have a look at the following election poster and complete the tasks below:



a) *Describe* the poster. What do you see? Which colours are used? What does the text say? Is there anything unusual about this poster?

*This poster centres a woman, named Irmgard Griss (her name is indicated with a small caption). She smiles and wears grey clothes. The background is pink, which is also used for the text and the logo of the political party, the NEOS. There are two slogans, one saying: the alliance for freedom and responsibility and the other saying: because the perspective of the people counts. Furthermore, there is one word written in a mirror-inverted way, namely “rationality/ reason”.*

Source:

[https://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS\\_20170905\\_OTSO055/neos-neue-politik-fueroesterreich-bild](https://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20170905_OTSO055/neos-neue-politik-fueroesterreich-bild)

b) *Give possible reasons* for the stylistic choices you identified in a).

*The colours and the logo have been chosen so that voters immediately connect this poster to the NEOS party. The woman smiles to be appear likeable and the rather simple clothes could have been chosen to not distract from the message. The choice to present the word “reason” in a mirror inverted way seems to be connected to the slogan as they talk about perspective. Additionally, they might want to make the voters think about their poster and to draw attention.*

c) *Explain* in what ways this poster is related to liberalism.

*This poster is closely connected to liberalism because it refers to a couple of liberal core values, such as rationality, freedom, responsibility and the perspective of the people (as opposed to the perspective of the government).*

d) Do you think this is an effective election poster? *Argue* your opinion.

*Individual answer; explanations are important though!*

**III. Now, prepare your PRESENTATION, SLIDES, and HANDOUT!**

## WORKSHEET CONSERVATISM

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**IV. FEEDBACK:** After the presentation, your group will provide feedback on one of the handouts (group A's) with the help of a feedback sheet.

**V. EDITING:** You edit and improve your own handout as suggested by your colleagues.

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<sup>1</sup> Umsetzung, Anwendung

## I. RESEARCH

Read **textbook p. 156** and **text B** and complete the tasks. If you need more information or other sources, you can also search the internet.

1) Spot the *definitions* of conservatism in paragraph A and C.

Usually, definitions consist of the following parts: term = **broader category** + *specifics/ description* (+ further information/ limitations/ examples); e.g., A cat is a **small animal** with *fur, four legs, a tail, and claws*, usually kept as a pet or for catching mice.

a. Now, highlight these parts in the two definitions given in paragraph A and C, using different colours. → *see text*

b. Next, try to *define* Christian social teaching covering the three essential parts.

*Christian social teaching is a philosophy closely connected to conservatism and Catholicism, which values solidarity, subsidiarity, family, and human dignity.*

2) Paragraph E: Underline the words used when Burke's views are *reported*. Have a look at the phrases following the reporting verb – which type of words are mostly used? *See text; a lot of noun phrases*

Formal written English uses nouns more often than verbs, e.g., "development" rather than "develop". Changing a verb or other word into a noun is called **nominalisation** and is used to make a text dense and concise (= kurz und prägnant). Furthermore, when a verb is nominalised, it becomes a concept rather than an action. As a consequence, the text seems more abstract and more formal.

3) Paragraph F: Underline all words describing temporal development and all phrases used to order historical events. *See text*

4) Paragraph G: In this paragraph, there are many adverbs of frequency and manner. Underline all adverbs and other phrases that emphasise *tendencies* rather than 'universal truths'. *See text*

When describing groups, political parties etc., historians often include adverbs and other phrases to '**soften**' their texts and to make their **claims less absolute** (to show that they only present **tendencies**)

5) *Summarize* core values and central ideas of conservatism.

**Language of summarizing and organizing ideas:** *These phrases help you summarize ideas, highlight what is most important and organize several points into a structure that helps your reader understand your summary better.*

all	first of all	firstly/ secondly	in general	generally speaking	additionally
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*In general, conservatism values tradition and favours gradual, slow developments over radical change. Furthermore, it emphasizes the importance of family and religion. Additionally, conservatives advocate the preservation of personal wealth and private ownership. They also highlight the responsibility of the individual and therefore tend to treat criminals more strictly. Moreover, conservatives tend to be ethnocentric and nationalist. To sum up, conservatism is all about keeping things as they always have been.*

6) Summarize the principles of Christian social teaching using text B and the textbook p. 156.

*First of all, CST postulates that human beings are the living image of God and therefore this philosophy centres on the dignity of human beings. Furthermore, proponents of CST value solidarity, which means that people should support each other. However, they also argue that the best support is to help people to self-help. This principle is called subsidiarity. CST assumes that subsidiarity and solidarity lead to common good. Finally, CST highlights the importance of family.*

7) Explain the relationship between Christian social teaching and conservatism.

**Language of comparison and relation:** These phrases help you compare and/or explain how two things are similar, different, or connected.

while	whereas	differ in	the difference is	in comparison to
in contrast	different from	more/less than	compared to	distinct from
	in relation to	respectively	related	both/ neither
				similar
				to share



*While both ideologies share similar values such as tradition, family and religion, they differ in their economical views and their view on individualism. Whereas C advocate the preservation of personal wealth and private ownership as well as the responsibility of the individual, CST stresses the importance of community. In contrast to C, CST highlights solidarity and focuses on social issues.*

## II. SOURCE ANALYSIS

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Looking at this quote it seems that/ we assume/ this indicates that/ this could mean that...

→ Show that your answer is not the only interpretation! You can use modals like could or would or you could add adverbs/ adjectives like probably, possible etc.



A. Have a look at the following quote and complete tasks below:



“Conservatism is the policy of ‘make no change and consult your grandmother when in doubt’.”<sup>2</sup>

Woodrow Wilson (US-American president, 1856-1924)

- a. Which core value of conservatism does this quote refer to?

*This quote refers to the tradition and continuation as a core value of conservatism. It highlights that conservatism doesn't value change.*

- b. What do you suppose Wilson thinks of conservatism? Give reasons for your judgment.

*He doesn't seem to think too highly of conservatism because this course of action is a ridiculous suggestion, especially coming from a president. Put like that, he makes fun of conservative policies who, from his point of view, follow a rather primitive and naive principle.*

*Also, Wilson is democrat, so this quote is not really surprising.*

- c. Argue whether you agree with this quote. Individual answer, but there should be reasons!

- B. Have a look at the British historical election poster<sup>3</sup> on the next page and complete the tasks below:

- a. Describe the poster. What do you see? What does the text say?

*There's a housewife smiling and baking. She wears an apron and a blouse and her hairdo is old-fashioned. There's a speech bubble, stating "it's a housewife's budget!". There are also several slogans, namely:*

- *cheaper shopping*
- *more sugar*
- *less tax*
- *keep things better*
- *vote conservative*

*The housewife is in black-and-white, while the rest is in light blue and dark red, which are also the colours of the British flag.*

- b. Explain how the slogan “keep things better” relates to conservative ideas.

*This slogan refers to a core value of conservatism since this ideology argues that keeping things the way they are is the best policy. In other words, this slogan refers to the importance of tradition and continuation.*

- c. Argue whether there are any other connections to conservative ideology.

*This poster depicts traditional gender and family roles which would be another connection to conservative ideology. Furthermore, it uses the colours of the British flag which could indicate ethnocentric, nationalist tendencies of conservative thought. Finally, it also proposes to cut taxes, which would be in line with conservative goals of free-market policies.*

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<sup>2</sup> Source: Woodrow Wilson. (1918). *Philosophy*. Retrieved from <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/WILS.html>

<sup>3</sup> Source: <https://www.conservativehome.com/thetorydiary/2011/12/dolequeuesanddemonsmatthew.html>

- d. When do you think this poster was produced? *Give reasons* for your estimation.

*The woman wears an apron and an old-fashioned blouse and has a rather old-fashioned hairdo. Also she embodies the 'typical housewife', baking and smiling. Therefore, the poster was probably produced in the 40s or 50s. However, as the print looks pretty modern and uses colours, I'd estimate that this poster was produced in the late 50s.*

*Solution: 1958*

- e. Which aspects of this poster would be problematic today? Again, *give reasons* for your judgement.

*The depiction of the housewife would definitely be problematic today because it is very stereotypical. Housekeeping should be equally shared and here it suggests that it is the duty of the wife (and that she's actually happy to do it).*



**III. Now, prepare your PRESENTATION, SLIDES, and HANDOUT!**

## TEXT B: CONSERVATISM

[http://www.philosophybasics.com/branch\\_conservatism.html](http://www.philosophybasics.com/branch_conservatism.html)

Written by Luke Mastin, *shortened and adapted version*

### Introduction

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A. The term "conservatism" is *derived from*<sup>1</sup> the Latin "conservare" (meaning to "protect" or "preserve") and from the French "conservateur". Conservatism (or conservatism) is **any political philosophy** that **favours tradition** (in the sense of various religious, cultural, or nationally-defined beliefs and customs) **instead of change**, and **is critical of proposals for radical social change**. Some Conservatives intend to preserve the *status quo*<sup>2</sup> or to reform society slowly, while others aim to return to the values of an earlier time.

B. Classical Conservatism does not reject change per se, but insists that changes be *organic*<sup>3</sup>, rather than revolutionary, arguing that any attempt to modify the complex web of human interactions that form human society purely for the sake of some doctrine or theory runs the risk of unintended consequences and/or of moral risks. As a general ideology, Conservatism is opposed to the ideals of Liberalism and Socialism.

C. Conservatism generally refers to **right-wing politics** which **advocate**<sup>4</sup> the **preservation**<sup>5</sup> of **personal wealth and private ownership** (Capitalism) and **emphasize responsibility and individualism**. Conservatives usually treat criminals more strictly, *tend to*<sup>6</sup> hold more orthodox religious views, and are often *ethnocentric*<sup>7</sup>.

D. Different cultures have different established values and, in consequence, Conservatives in different cultures have differing goals. Many forms of Conservatism *incorporate*<sup>8</sup> elements of other ideologies and philosophies (such as capitalism, nationalism, or Christian social teaching), and in turn, Conservatism has influence upon them.

### History of Conservatism

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E. The beginnings of Conservatism are usually traced to the reaction to the events surrounding the French Revolution of 1789. The Anglo-Irish philosopher Edmund Burke is often considered the father of Conservatism in Anglo-American circles. He forcefully argued against the French Revolution and feared the consequences of radically abolishing<sup>9</sup> structures and institutions that had developed over hundreds of years. Instead, he stressed the value of inherited<sup>10</sup> institutions and customs, including the development of the state (built on the wisdom of many generations), gradual, slow progress through experience, and the continuation of other important shared institutions such as the family and the Church. After the French Revolution, Austrian statesman Prince Metternich *enforced*<sup>11</sup> antirevolutionary, hierarchical, conservative policies within the

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<sup>1</sup> entstammen, abgeleitet von

<sup>2</sup> momentaner Zustand

<sup>3</sup> In this context: inherent (verwurzelte, von Natur aus zugehörig),

<sup>4</sup> verfechten, befürworten

<sup>5</sup> Erhalt, Bewahrung

<sup>6</sup> neigen zu

<sup>7</sup> believing that the people, customs (=Bräuche, Gewohnheiten), and traditions of your own race or nationality are better than those of other races

<sup>8</sup> eingliedern, enthalten

<sup>9</sup> abschaffen, beseitigen

<sup>10</sup> geerbt, übernommen

<sup>11</sup> durchsetzen, vollziehen, verstärken

Habsburg Empire and also throughout Europe by forming alliances and convincing other European politicians to enforce similar policies.

F. In Great Britain, Conservatism has been *embodied*<sup>12</sup> by the Tory Party, which generally reflected the attitudes of a *rural*<sup>13</sup> land-owning class. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a new coalition of traditional landowners and industrialists *constituted*<sup>14</sup> the new British Conservative Party. At the same time, Benjamin Disraeli (1804 - 1881) gave the new party a political ideology, advocating a return to an idealised view of a communal or organic society, in which everyone had duties and responsibilities towards other people or groups ("One Nation" Conservatism). In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the British Conservative Party developed into a modern mass organization. In the 1980s, under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher, there was a dramatic shift in the ideological direction of British Conservatism, with a strong movement towards free-market economic policies and neoliberal ideology.

G. In other parts of Europe, mainstream Conservatism is often represented by the Christian Democratic parties, which have their origins largely in Catholic parties of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. They generally support market-oriented policies, the European Union and a strong defence, and usually gain<sup>15</sup> support from the business community and white-collar professionals. Typically, their views on social issues, like concepts of family or the role of women, are traditional but tend to be more liberal than American Conservatives, the Republican Party, for example.

### **Christian/ Catholic Social Teaching**

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Written by SUSAN RAKOCZY, *shortened and adapted version*,

<https://www.opendemocracy.net/transformation/susan-rakoczy/best-kept-secret-of-catholic-church—its-social-teachings>

H. Christian Social Teaching is closely connected to Conservatism. These are core principles in the Catholic Church's social teaching:

- the dignity of the human person since humans are the living image of God
- the *pursuit*<sup>16</sup> of the common good
- the importance of family
- the value of solidarity: people should work together and support each other
- the value of subsidiarity: help for self-help. Each of these principles has been *elaborated*<sup>17</sup> in *papal encyclicals*<sup>18</sup> and other documents such as those of the Second Vatican Council.

I. Papal encyclicals: At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, pope Leo XIII supported labour unions to ease social problems resulting from the Industrial Revolution. Forty years later, Pius XI addressed the social issues of the Great Depression. He spoke of the need for a "living *wage*<sup>19</sup>," sufficient for every family to live in dignity. During World War II Pius XII spoke out strongly against the war, and his successor John XXIII laid out principles for world peace.

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<sup>12</sup> verkörpern

<sup>13</sup> ländlich

<sup>14</sup> ausmachen, bilden

<sup>15</sup> gewinnen, zunehmen

<sup>16</sup> Streben

<sup>17</sup> erarbeitet

<sup>18</sup> Päpstliche Enzyklika

<sup>19</sup> Lohn

## WORKSHEET COMMUNISM – MARXISM – SOCIALISM

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**IV. FEEDBACK:** After the presentation, your group will provide feedback on one of the handouts (group D's) with the help of a feedback sheet.

**V. EDITING:** You edit and improve your own handout as suggested by your colleagues.

### I. RESEARCH

Read **textbook p. 158-159** and **text C** and complete the tasks. If you need more information or other sources, you can also search the internet.

1) Fill in the gaps: *definition* of Marxism

Usually, definitions consist of the following parts: term = **broader category** + *specifics/ description* (+ further information/ limitations/ examples); e.g., A cat is a **small animal** with *fur, four legs, a tail, and claws*, usually kept as a pet or for catching mice.




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<sup>1</sup> Umsetzung, Anwendung



One reason **would be** the exploitative nature of capitalism. **Because/ As** workers were treated badly ever since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, they **would** certainly recognize this injustice and unite, **resulting in** a revolution, which **would lead to** an overthrow of the ruling class.

**Therefore**, Marx **assumed** that proletariat rule was a logical, inevitable step (and final goal) in the course of human history. This **assumption was based on** his view that all of human history **could be interpreted** as a pattern of class struggle, slowly moving towards communism.

**Useful words to describe reasons and cause-effect relations:** *These phrases help you to express reasons and consequences and describe how and why something developed.*

lead to	consequently	result in/ resulting in	eventually	cause
	rooted in	as	therefore	due to
	because (of)			
for several reasons	one reason	was based on	as a result	another factor



This 'ideal' description of a communist revolution from a Marxist perspective hasn't happened yet and definitely didn't happen while Marx was still alive. As a consequence, what we've written here is only *hypothetical*. Highlight all words and phrase that indicate the **hypothetical** character of the gap-fill text.

5) *Explain* the relation/ difference between Marxism, communism, and socialism (as Marx understood these concepts). Remember the phrases in the language boxes!

*While Marxism is a philosophical theory/ doctrine, communism is an economic, political, and social system. In other words, Marxism deals with theoretical ideas, such as materialism, alienation, and class struggle whereas communism refers to a system based on equal distribution of wealth and central planning; a system that follows the communist revolution of the proletariat.*

*The difference between communism and socialism, according to Marx, is that socialism is a lower form of communism. In other words, both are political and social systems, but the extent of communist ideology differs. He explained that socialism, basically, could be a way to move towards a truly communist state.*

## II. SOURCE ANALYSIS

### Language tips for source analyses:

1. When you need to *summarize*, make sure to convey the central message and do not yet interpret.
2. When you are asked to *describe*, do only describe what you see, do not yet interpret.
3. Try to work closely with the source and do not write about something unrelated to the source (unless it's explicitly stated in the task).
4. Always back up your interpretations, opinions, and judgments. Give reasons, examples and/ or refer to facts.
5. Distinguish between fact, opinion, or interpretation.
6. Use language to mark whether something is **fact**, *opinion*, or interpretation.

**e.g., we know from other sources/ historians seem to agree that/ it's a well-known fact that...**

*From my point of view/ I am of the opinion/ I believe, etc.*

Looking at this quote it seems that/ we assume/ this indicates that/ this could mean that...

→ Show that your answer is not the only interpretation! You can use modals like could or would or you could add adverbs/ adjectives like probably, possible etc.



- A. Below, you'll find a quote taken from George Orwell's book *Animal Farm*<sup>3</sup>.

*"All animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others."*

*Animal Farm*, p. 112

- a. Explain how this quote might relate to communism.

*Communism, theoretically, is based on the idea that everyone gets an equal share and there's no hierarchy/ everyone has the same rights and duties. As a consequence, there's no need for competition. However, this idea is challenged/ questioned by this quote. According to this quote, absolute equality is not possible.*

- b. Which aspect of communism is criticised here?

*The quote criticizes the feasibility of communism. The quote suggests that there will always be differences in power and wealth, even if a society is equal in theory.*

- c. Argue whether this criticism is justified. Based on what you've read so far, do you think that an equal society without property as suggested by Marx could work?

*Individual answer*

- B. Have a look at this flyer<sup>4</sup> (1911) and complete the following tasks below:

- a. Describe the flyer. What do you see? Which colours are used? What does the text say?

*On this flyer, there's a pyramid of people. At the bottom, there are many people carrying the pyramid. Some of them look like they're in pain and one girl is even lying on the ground. These people wear rather simple clothes and carry tools and a red flag. Here the text says, "we feed all" and "we work for all". On the next level, there are fewer people and they are dining at a table. They wear fancy clothes and look cheerful. The text says "we eat for you". On the next level, there are 5 soldiers, two canons and some of the soldiers carry guns. Here, the text says "we shoot at you". Above them, there are three priests. They carry books and crosses and look like they're preaching. The text here says, "we fool you". Above them, there are three people. One seems to be king as he's wearing a crown. The other two look like politicians; one is wearing ribbon. Here the text says, "we rule you". At the top, there's a bag of cash along with the word "capitalism".*

*Right below the whole pyramid, it says "pyramid of capitalist system", and at the corner there's information on the production, but it's unreadable. It definitely says "industrial worker", "industrial unionism", and "published in English", but the fine print is not readable.*

- b. Which central ideas of Marxism does this flyer point out?

*This flyer addresses Marxist criticism of capitalism. It shows how the majority of people are exploited by a few powerful, rich people who want to accumulate as much money as possible while others suffer. It also addresses Marxist criticism of religion.*

- c. Argue which political and economic system the artist possibly favours.

<sup>3</sup> *Animal Farm* is an allegorical (=sinnbildhaft), dystopian, and satirical novella published in 1945. The story is about a group of animals on a farm that rise up in rebellion against their human master, only to find themselves continuing to have issues with power struggles and abuses of power. (compare [http://www.softschools.com/literature/summary/animal\\_farm/animal\\_farm\\_chapters\\_1\\_3\\_summary/](http://www.softschools.com/literature/summary/animal_farm/animal_farm_chapters_1_3_summary/))

<sup>4</sup> Source: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pyramid\\_of\\_Capitalist\\_System.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pyramid_of_Capitalist_System.jpg)



On this flyer we find many central ideas of Marxism and very harsh criticism of capitalism. Therefore, the artist is probably a Marxist/ communist himself.

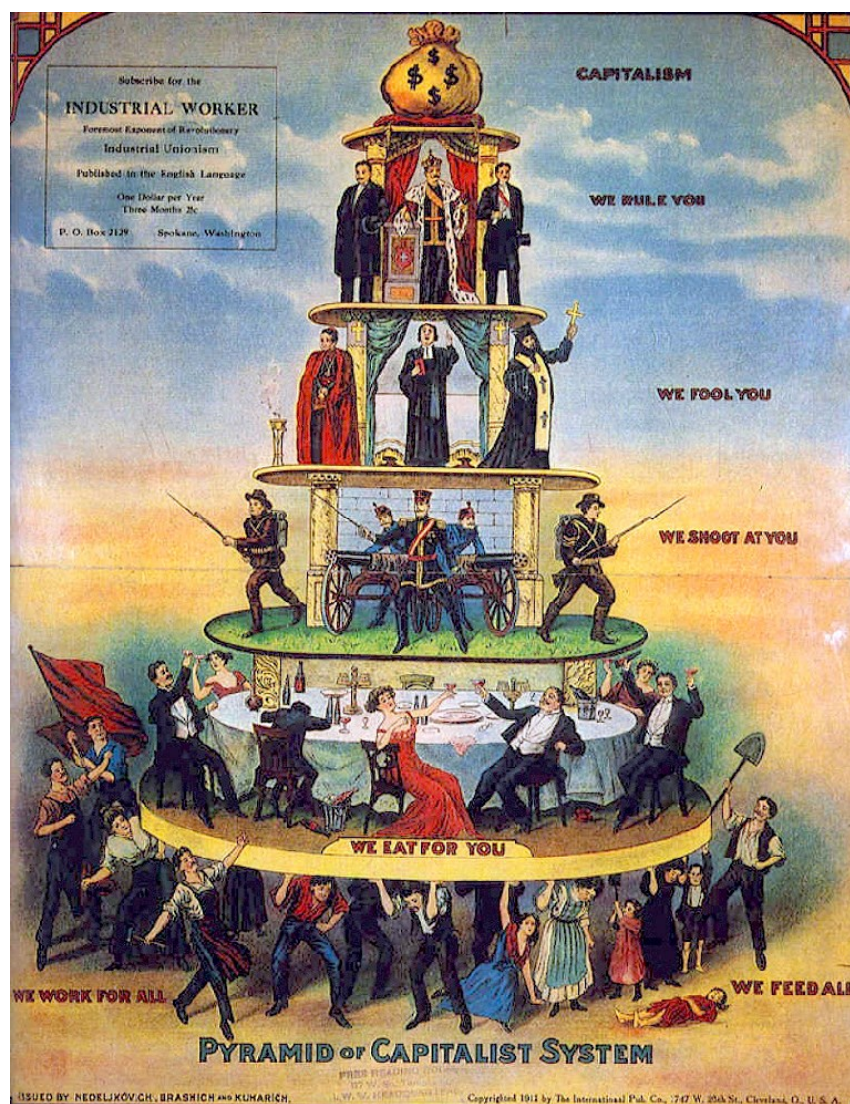
d. Explain possible intentions for producing this cartoon.

This flyer criticizes capitalism harshly. It wants to illustrate how the majority of people are exploited and that the current system is very unfair. It seems that the artist wants to make people aware of that and motivate them to do something against it. As it says "industrial unionism" in the top corner, it could also be intended to inspire people to unionize.

e. Which emotions do you think this illustration intends to evoke<sup>5</sup>?

I think this illustration wants to evoke anger because angry people are more likely to change the current system.

f. Do you think this flyer was successful considering the purposes (that you've mentioned in d. and e.)? Argue your opinion. Individual answer



III. Now, prepare your **PRESENTATION, SLIDES, and HANDOUT!**

<sup>5</sup> auslösen, hervorrufen

## TEXT C: MARXISM – COMMUNISM – SOCIALISM

### MARXISM

<https://classroom.synonym.com/summary-of-karl-marxs-ideas-12083675.html>

Written by: Harrison Pennybaker

*Shortened and adapted version*

**A.** Marxism is a doctrine developed by Karl Marx (as well as by Friedrich Engels) in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Marx, a German journalist and philosopher, wrote at a time during which the excesses of the new Industrial Revolution were most prominent, and his ideas revolutionized thinking about capitalism and its relation to business, individuals, states and the environment.

**B. Materialism:** The motivating idea behind Marx's philosophy was the idea of materialism. Materialists believe that it is the material conditions of the world, for instance, the structure of the economy and the distribution of wealth, that give rise to ideas such as who "should" lead and "deserves" to earn what they earn. This idea is contrary to idealism, which states that it is ideas that give rise to material reality.

**C. Exploitation<sup>1</sup>:** Marx believed that the real danger of capitalism was that it exploited workers. According to Marx, capitalists exploit labourers by paying them less than what their work is worth. He further explained that this difference of payment and value was the basis of the capitalists' profits, which were *magnified<sup>2</sup>* by creating unacceptable and unfair working conditions for labourers. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, theorists in the Marxist tradition have developed his theory to explore how capitalism also exploits the planet and its natural resources.

**D. Alienation<sup>3</sup>:** Marx argued that workers were alienated in several ways. Marx highlighted four elements from which worker were alienated: the product, the act of producing, himself and others. The main idea behind alienation is that one of the effects of the workers' exploitation by the capitalist is that he is not able to live as he otherwise naturally would. This alienation is a kind of separation or removal from how life "naturally" should be. Capitalism, for Marx, is a *perversion<sup>4</sup>* that separates man from what he makes and how he makes it as well as from how he would otherwise "naturally" be as a human and how he would relate to others.

**E. Revolution:** Marx believed that, eventually, workers would unite and overthrow the capitalist ruling class. He thought that the *bourgeois<sup>5</sup>*-capitalist ruling structure would *give way<sup>6</sup>* to a revolution led by workers who would replace the order with a fairer system. Marx did not exactly call this "communism," and the "communist" states that *emerged<sup>7</sup>* after Marx -- the Soviet Union, North Korea, the People's Republic of China -- did not resemble what Marx was talking about (see Communism, next page). Marx sought a radically democratic order based on collective decision-making and the shared used of the means of production -- that is, the land, labour, and capital that goes in to production.

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<sup>1</sup> Ausnutzung

<sup>2</sup> vergrößert

<sup>3</sup> Entfremdung

<sup>4</sup> the changing of something so that it is not what it was or should be

<sup>5</sup> bürgerlich

<sup>6</sup> Platz machen, für etwas weichen

<sup>7</sup> entstehen, hervorgehen

## COMMUNISM – SOCIALISM

<https://classroom.synonym.com/defining-characteristics-communism-5222.html>

Written by: Charles Hopper

*Shortened and adapted version*

F. Communism is an economic and political ideology expressed in *the Communist Manifesto* by German philosophers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Although communism came to be transformed by later influences of historical figures, from Vladimir Lenin to Mao Zedong, some of its most essential characteristics remained (somewhat) the same.

**G. Class Struggle:** Central to communist ideology is the idea that human history is *intertwined*<sup>8</sup> with economics and *class struggle*<sup>9</sup>. It begins with primitive communist societies, where all members depend equally on whatever the society produces. Private land ownership has no meaning and individuals are entirely free. Eventually, society evolves to a point where wealthy individuals, called the bourgeoisie, own all property and the *means of production*<sup>10</sup>. Workers, called the proletariat, are enslaved through wages. Over time, they *inevitably*<sup>11</sup> recognize their *plight*<sup>12</sup> and rise up in an international movement to overthrow the bourgeoisie.

**H. Ending Private Ownership of Property and the Means of Production:** Communism can never exist with private ownership of property and in order to achieve a classless society, all citizens work cooperatively. The Communist phrase of "From each according to his ability; to each according to his need," means that a person's contribution to production has no effect on their access to what society produces. In this way, there is no need for competition and private property. Since the workers control the means of production, all share equally in the benefit of success or the consequences of failure.

**I. Communism through Socialism:** Even though Marx considered Socialism to be a lower form of communism, he argued that Socialism might be a way to *alter*<sup>13</sup> society into a truly communist state. In a socialized system, the state controls all of the *public utility*<sup>14</sup> and major economic systems. Banks and all social services are *nationalized*<sup>15</sup>. With careful centralized planning, a purely communist society that no longer needs money, trade, profits or wages evolves. Marx believed personal security would end psychological stress that resulted from feelings of isolation and powerlessness over one's destiny and inequality.

### J. Marxist-Leninist Communism

Marx believed class warfare and the ultimate evolution of a communist society was an inevitable process within industrialized societies. By the early 20th century, however, communists like Lenin believed the process required revolutionary impulse. Industrialists and monarchies needed to be overthrown and replaced with socialist governments. Political opposition and religion were seen as threats, and thus in most communist nations religion is repressed<sup>16</sup> and only the Communist party rules. *Enforced*<sup>17</sup> patriotism and loyalty is an expressed goal in communist countries, where the fate and happiness of the individual is inextricably linked to that of the state.

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<sup>8</sup> verflochten, miteinander verknüpft

<sup>9</sup> Klassenkampf

<sup>10</sup> Produktionsmittel

<sup>11</sup> unvermeidbar

<sup>12</sup> Notlage, Zwangslage

<sup>13</sup> change

<sup>14</sup> öffentliche Versorgung

<sup>15</sup> verstaatlicht

<sup>16</sup> unterdrückt

<sup>17</sup> erzwungen, verstärkt

## WORKSHEET CAPITALISM

### Overview:

**I.** The first part of this unit is about **RESEARCH**. In your group, complete the tasks below, using full sentences. For most of the tasks, you'll find *language boxes*, which will help you complete your answers. Usually, there are more words and phrases than you need for the specific tasks, but they might be useful some other time.

**II.** The next phase is called **SOURCE ANALYSIS**. Now, you should analyse **two historical sources** according to the tasks given.

**III.** As a next step, you should prepare a **PRESENTATION of 10-15 minutes**, containing the following:

- introduction: historical context
- main part: origin/ development, values and philosophy, political implementation<sup>1</sup>
- exemplary source analysis: present your analysis of the visual source (= illustration) to class
- conclusion: brief summary

Please prepare **slides** and a **HANDOUT**. The handout should be **one page** long and useful for your colleagues who didn't prepare your topic. It should cover the most important information you presented in class. However, instead of the visual source, you should include your analysis of the written source (= the quote).

### Quality criteria for the presentation, slides, and handout:

- structure: logical, all important parts covered
- content: correct, relevant, critical (source analysis)
- presentation skills: no reading → use key words, loud and clear
- visual support: appealing, correct, not overloaded, use of historical sources (pictures, graphs, text passages etc.) and identify them as sources (reference section)

**IV. FEEDBACK:** After the presentation, your group will provide feedback on one of the handouts (group C's) with the help of a feedback sheet.

**V. EDITING:** You edit and improve your own handout as suggested by your colleagues.

**I. RESEARCH:** Read **textbook p. 160f** and **text D** and complete the tasks. If you need more information or other sources, you can also search the internet.

1) Look at the *definition* of capitalism in paragraph A.

Usually, definitions consist of the following parts: term = **broader category** + *specifics/ description* (+ further information/ limitations/ examples); e.g. A cat is a **small animal** with *fur, four legs, a tail, and claws*, usually kept as a pet or for catching mice.




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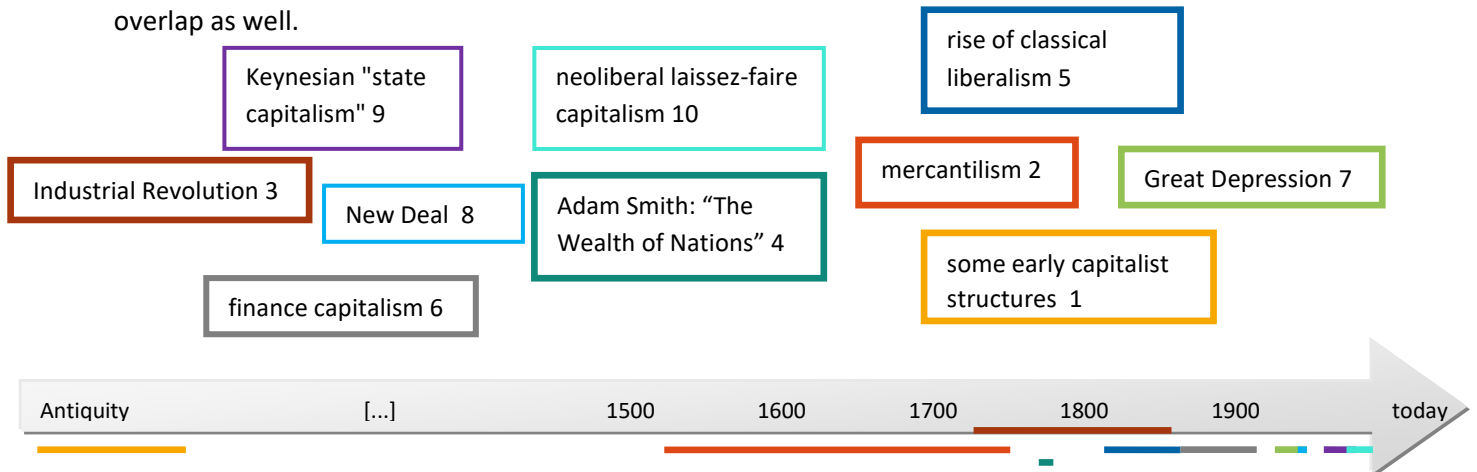
<sup>1</sup> Umsetzung, Anwendung

Now, highlight these parts in the definition given in paragraph A, using different colours.

→ see text

## 2) Reporting historical development:

Here are key steps in the historical development of capitalism. Bring them in the right order by indicating where they would be on the timeline. Please be aware that sometimes two boxes could overlap as well.



Now, try to concisely<sup>2</sup> report this development, using the terms from the boxes above as well as the linking words below:

**Useful words to describe cause-and-effect and development:** *These phrases help you to express reasons and consequences and describe how and why something developed.*

lead to	in the course of	another important development/ factor	as a consequence	result in
eventually	in the light of	in particular	based on	therefore
	due to	because of	subsequently	

By using the terms from the boxes above the timeline, you've written in a **nominal style**, meaning that you used nouns rather than verbs. This is a very common strategy for formal, written English, especially in history when we talk about concepts rather than individual actions.

*Capitalist ideas are rooted in Antiquity when some early capitalist structures were already present. However, capitalism mainly developed in the modern era. First, mercantilism was dominant in Europe in the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century. Adam Smith was somewhat critical of mercantilism and wrote down his ideas of a free market in "the Wealth of Nations". Another important development in the history of capitalism was the Industrial Revolution. As a consequence of Smith's ideas and industrialisation, classical liberalism was on the rise. Then, in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, capitalism developed into finance capitalism. Now, huge amounts of capital belonged to a small number of rich financiers and eventually, economic crises became a recurrent problem. The Great Depression of the 1930s in particular affected most of the capitalist world. For this reason, the state started to play an increasingly important role in capitalist systems. One example would be the New Deal in the US. Keynesian "state capitalism" is the peak of this development. However, especially in the 1980s, capitalism made a turn to its roots and neoliberal laissez-faire capitalism became dominant.*

<sup>2</sup> kurz, prägnant



3) Now, have a look again at the text - paragraph B to D - and

- underline all core values and central ideas of capitalism. → see text
- summarize these in a short text, using any of the linking devices from the language box below.

**Language of summarizing and organizing ideas:** These phrases help you summarize ideas, highlight what is most important and organize several points into a structure that helps your reader understand your summary better.

all	first of all	firstly/ secondly	in general	generally speaking	additionally
	furthermore	moreover	in essence	to sum up	closely
	connected to	another central idea	in other words	finally	



*In essence, capitalism shares many values with liberalism. For example, both ideologies regard self-interest as the best driving force for the good of society. Furthermore, both value market economy, free trade, and competition. Closely connected to this is the idea of the invisible hand of the market by Adam Smith. In other words, capitalists assume that the market is the fairest distributor of wealth. Another central idea is the law of comparative advantage by Ricardo. This idea explains that as long as everyone offered goods with different relative goods, everybody participating in this economic system would benefit.*

4) Explain the relation/ difference between classical and Keynesian capitalism, by using some phrases from the box below (there are a lot more phrases than you need - but they might be useful some other time)

**Language of comparison and relation:** These phrases help you compare and/or explain how two things are similar, different, or connected.

while	whereas	differ in	the difference is	in comparison to
in contrast	different from	more/less than	compared to	distinct from
	in relation to	respectively	related	similar
				to share
				both/ neither



*Both ideologies follow certain capitalist principles, such as the importance of competition and having a market economy. However, they differ in one main assumption: While classical "pure" laissez-faire capitalism rejects any interference of the government with the market, Keynesian capitalism argues that it is necessary for the state to interfere and correct the market so that wealth can be distributed more evenly.*

5) Have a look at the criticism of capitalism - paragraph G to I - and

- underline all verbs that are used to report the views of critical voices.
- compare paragraph G and H: In which paragraph does the author seem to be sceptical about the views of the critics? Why do you think so? Underline the passages that show that the author does not share the view of the critics.

*It seems that the author doesn't really agree with the critics in paragraph I. Here the author uses many modal verbs and doubtful reporting verbs like "claim" while the other two paragraphs are written in a more neutral matter-of-fact style.*

## II. SOURCE ANALYSIS

### Language tips for source analyses:

1. When you need to *summarize*, make sure to convey the central message and do not yet interpret.
2. When you are asked to *describe*, do only describe what you see, do not yet interpret.
3. Try to work closely with the source and do not write about something unrelated to the source (unless it's explicitly stated in the task).
4. Always back up your interpretations, opinions, and judgments. Give reasons, examples and/ or refer to facts.
5. Distinguish between fact, opinion, or interpretation.
6. Use language to mark whether something is **fact**, *opinion*, or *interpretation*.



**e.g., we know from other sources/ historians seem to agree that/ it's a well-known fact that...**

*From my point of view/ I am of the opinion/ I believe, etc.*

Looking at this quote it seems that/ we assume/ this indicates that/ this could mean that...

→ Show that your answer is not the only interpretation! You can use modals like could or would or you could add adverbs/ adjectives like probably, possible etc.

- A. Have a look at the following quote and complete tasks below:

*“Capitalism demands the best of every man – his rationality – and rewards him accordingly. It leaves every man free to choose the work he likes, to specialize in it, to trade his product for the products of others, and to go as far on the road of achievement as his ability and ambition will carry him.”<sup>3</sup>*

Ayn Rand (Russian-American writer, 1905-1982)

- a. *Summarize* the quote in your own words.

*In a capitalist system, everybody is free to choose their career and everybody has a fair chance to succeed and achieve something as long as they choose wisely and work hard. In other words, hard work pays off in a capitalist system.*

- b. Do you think that Rand is a supporter of capitalism? *Give reasons* for your judgment.

*Yes, it seems that Ayn Rand very much supports capitalism because she describes a very idealistic picture of this ideology. Her words and the message are very positive as the quote gives the impression that capitalism is a system which provides the best opportunities for everybody as long as they are ambitious, skilled, and make clever choices. Moreover, she doesn't address any potential pitfalls and she argues that it's completely up to every individual to make the most of oneself.*

- c. Which central idea(s) of capitalist thinking does Rand refer to?

*This quote refers to the idea of self-interest as the best way to improve oneself and society as a whole. It also addresses the advantage of free trade.*

- d. *Argue* whether you agree with this quote.

*Individual answer*

<sup>3</sup> Rand, Ayn. (1961). For the New Intellectual. Retrieved from <https://www.working-minds.com/ARquotes.htm>

B. Have a look at this illustration<sup>4</sup> and complete the tasks below:



a. Describe the picture. What do you see?

*There's a man who pushes a globe into a chipper. The chipper spits out dollar notes. The man is wearing a suit, is bald, has empty eyes and has a somewhat maniac look on his face. The picture mainly uses tones of green and yellow.*

b. Explain how this picture might be related to capitalism. Which aspect does it refer to?

*This illustration criticizes the exploitative nature of capitalism. The world, in this picture, is literally destroyed for the purpose of making money. It also shows how people are responsible for destroying the planet and how obsessed and ruthless (some) people are when it comes to making money. These are all aspects of capitalism which have often been criticized.*

c. Explain why this cartoon was produced.

*The main aim of this cartoon seems to be to criticize the exploitative nature of capitalism and make people realize that they are destroying their own planet – and all just because of money.*

d. Which emotions do you think this illustration intends to evoke<sup>5</sup>?

*I think this illustration wants to make people aware of their own responsibility when it comes to saving the planet. It might also evoke anger, especially if they are already aware of this situation but they feel like that others don't care and are greedy at the expense of everybody else.*

e. Do you think this flyer was successful considering the purposes (that you've mentioned in c. and d.)? Argue your opinion. *Individual answer*

III. Now, prepare your **PRESENTATION, SLIDES, and HANDOUT!**

<sup>4</sup> Cutts, Steve. (2015). Recycling. Retrieved from <https://stevecutts.wordpress.com>

<sup>5</sup> auslösen, hervorrufen



## TEXT D: CAPITALISM

[https://www.philosophybasics.com/branch\\_capitalism.html](https://www.philosophybasics.com/branch_capitalism.html)

*Shortened and adapted version*

### Definition

A. Capitalism is the economic and social system in which the means of production<sup>1</sup> are predominantly privately owned and operated for profit, and distribution and exchange are situated in a market economy. It is usually considered to involve the right of individuals and corporations to trade (using money) in goods, services, labour and land.

### History of Capitalism

B. Although some features of Capitalist organization existed in the ancient world (e.g. the early Roman Empire), Capitalist economic practices were gradually institutionalized in England between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, and then spread throughout Europe and across political and cultural borders. With the emergence of modern nation-states in the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, mercantilism (the economic theory that the prosperity<sup>2</sup> of a nation depends upon its capital, or economic assets<sup>3</sup>, as represented by gold and silver, and that the volume of the world economy and international trade is unchangeable, encouraging a protectionist<sup>4</sup> role of governments) became dominant in Europe. The classical tradition in Capitalist economic thought emerged in Britain in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, with Adam Smith (1723 - 1790) and David Ricardo (1772 - 1823). Important contributions to the theory of property are found in the earlier work of John Locke, who argued that the right to private property was a natural right.

C. Adam Smith's criticism of the mercantile system in his "The Wealth of Nations" of 1776 is often considered the beginning of classical political economy. Smith came up with a set of concepts that remain strongly associated with Capitalism today, particularly his theory of the "invisible hand" of the market, through which the pursuit<sup>5</sup> of individual self-interest unintentionally produces a collective good for society. He criticized monopolies, tariffs, duties, and other state-enforced restrictions of his time, and he believed that the market is the fairest and most efficient arbitrator<sup>6</sup> of resources. David Ricardo developed the law of comparative advantage (which explains how trade can benefit all parties involved as long as they produce goods with different relative costs) and advocated<sup>7</sup> free trade, which is a cornerstone of capitalist thinking.

D. As a result of industrialization and the teachings of Smith and Ricardo, laissez-faire Capitalism gained favour over<sup>8</sup> mercantilism in Britain in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Capitalism in Britain embraced Liberalism, competition and the development of a market economy, which then spread rapidly throughout much of the western world. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the control and direction of large areas of industry came into the hands of financiers, and the processes of production became subordinated<sup>9</sup> to the accumulation<sup>10</sup> of money profits in a financial system (sometimes known as "finance capitalism"). Late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Capitalism was

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<sup>1</sup> Produktionsmittel

<sup>2</sup> Wohlstand, wirtschaftlicher Erfolg

<sup>3</sup> Vermögen, Anlagegut

<sup>4</sup> protecting a country's own economy by taxing foreign imported goods

<sup>5</sup> Streben

<sup>6</sup> Vermittler, Schlichter

<sup>7</sup> befürwortet, vertreten

<sup>8</sup> eine Sache einer anderen vorziehen

<sup>9</sup> untergeordnet

<sup>10</sup> Anhäufung

marked by the concentration of capital into large monopolistic or *oligopolistic*<sup>11</sup> holdings by banks and financiers, and by the growth of large corporations.

E. During the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Capitalism set itself in opposition to Socialist, Marxist and Communist thought, and to the whole concept of centrally-planned economies. But, by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, economic depressions and "boom and bust" business cycles had become a *recurring*<sup>12</sup> problem. In particular, the Long Depression of the 1870s and 1880s and the Great Depression of the 1930s *affected*<sup>13</sup> almost the entire capitalist world.

F. In response, the state began to play an increasingly prominent role in the capitalistic system throughout much of the world, exemplified by the New Deal of American President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882 - 1945). Mixed economies (containing both privately-owned and state-owned enterprises, and with a mix of market economy and planned economy characteristics) and the interventionist Keynesian economics of British economist John Maynard Keynes (1883 - 1946) became the norm. Keynesian economics aim for full employment and to achieve that, the government needs to interfere with free market economy. After the long post-war boom, during which the Keynesian "state capitalism" was *in the ascendant*<sup>14</sup>, a new push towards laissez-faire Capitalism and Liberalism was *advocated* by the economists Friedrich Hayek (1899 - 1992) and Milton Friedman (1912 - 2006), and *championed*<sup>15</sup> by conservative leaders like Ronald Reagan (1911 - 2004) and Margaret Thatcher (1925 - 2013) in the 1970s (→ Neoliberalism).

### Criticisms of Capitalism

Capitalism has met with strong opposition throughout its history, both from the left and the right. For example:

- G. Profit and exploitation: **Critics of Capitalism view** the system as inherently exploitative because the owners of capital only pay labour for the cost of survival (food, shelter, clothing, etc) while *expropriating*<sup>16</sup> the excess (i.e. surplus value). **They further explain** that since capitalists control the means of production (e.g. factories, businesses, machinery) and workers control only their labour, the worker is naturally forced into allowing their labour to be exploited. In other words, **it is argued** that the worker is not paid according to the true worth of his labour but according to what the employer is willing to pay.
- H. Unequal distribution of wealth and income: Some *assert*<sup>17</sup> that inequality and concentration of wealth **might** be a problem deeply rooted in Capitalism, and argue that this inequality is unfair, or even immoral, and **may** lead to social problems (such as higher crime rates) that **could** affect both poor and rich. It is further **claimed** that the capitalist system **may** also favour those who already possess greater resources.
- I. Sustainability and the environment: **Some question** the sustainability of an economic system that insists on continued strong economic growth, requires increasingly greater amounts of natural resources and energy, and promotes environmentally irresponsible consumption and production. They argue that many aspects of the environment have been severely degraded since the industrial revolution. The globalization of production, which is an integral part of the functioning of modern Capitalism, also produces significant pollution and waste of resources.

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<sup>11</sup> Oligopoly refers to a market situation in which there are only few producers who consequently greatly influence and control the market

<sup>12</sup> wiederkehrend

<sup>13</sup> beeinflussen, betreffen

<sup>14</sup> im Aufwind

<sup>15</sup> verteidigt, vertreten

<sup>16</sup> enteignen

<sup>17</sup> behaupten, verfechten