



PALGRAVE STUDIES IN THE
HISTORY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS



Moralizing Capitalism

Agents, Discourses and Practices
of Capitalism and Anti-Capitalism in
the Modern Age

Edited by
Stefan Berger
Alexandra Przyrembel

palgrave
macmillan

Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements

Series Editors
Stefan Berger
Institute for Social Movements
Ruhr University Bochum
Bochum, Germany

Holger Nehring
Contemporary European History
University of Stirling
Stirling, UK



INSTITUT FÜR
SOZIALE
BEWEGUNGEN

Around the world, social movements have become legitimate, yet contested, actors in local, national and global politics and civil society, yet we still know relatively little about their longer histories and the trajectories of their development. This series seeks to promote innovative historical research on the history of social movements in the modern period since around 1750. We bring together conceptually-informed studies that analyse labour movements, new social movements and other forms of protest from early modernity to the present. We conceive of 'social movements' in the broadest possible sense, encompassing social formations that lie between formal organisations and mere protest events. We also offer a home for studies that systematically explore the political, social, economic and cultural conditions in which social movements can emerge. We are especially interested in transnational and global perspectives on the history of social movements, and in studies that engage critically and creatively with political, social and sociological theories in order to make historically grounded arguments about social movements. This new series seeks to offer innovative historical work on social movements, while also helping to historicise the concept of 'social movement'. It hopes to revitalise the conversation between historians and historical sociologists in analysing what Charles Tilly has called the 'dynamics of contention'.

More information about this series at
<http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/14580>

Stefan Berger · Alexandra Przyrembel
Editors

Moralizing Capitalism

Agents, Discourses and Practices of Capitalism
and Anti-Capitalism in the Modern Age

palgrave
macmillan

Editors

Stefan Berger
Institute for Social Movements
Ruhr University Bochum
Bochum, Germany

Alexandra Przyrembel
Modern European History
University of Hagen
Hagen, Germany

Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements

ISBN 978-3-030-20564-5

ISBN 978-3-030-20565-2 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-20565-2>

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2019

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover credit: © Everett Collection Historical/Alamy Stock Photo

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

SERIES EDITORS' PREFACE

Around the world, social movements have become legitimate, yet contested, actors in local, national and global politics and civil society, yet we still know relatively less about their longer histories and the trajectories of their development. Our series reacts to what can be described as a recent boom in the history of social movements. We can observe a development from the crisis of labour history in the 1980s to the boom in research on social movements in the 2000s. The rise of historical interests in the development of civil society and the role of strong civil societies as well as non-governmental organisations in stabilizing democratically constituted polities has strengthened the interest in social movements as a constituent element of civil societies.

In different parts of the world, social movements continue to have a strong influence on contemporary politics. In Latin America, trade unions, labour parties and various left-of-centre civil society organisations have succeeded in supporting left-of-centre governments. In Europe, peace movements, ecological movements and alliances intent on campaigning against poverty and racial discrimination and discrimination on the basis of gender and sexual orientation have been able to set important political agendas for decades. In other parts of the world, including Africa, India and South East Asia, social movements have played a significant role in various forms of community building and community politics. The contemporary political relevance of social movements has undoubtedly contributed to a growing historical interest in the topic.

Contemporary historians are not only beginning to historicise these relatively recent political developments; they are also trying to relate them to a longer history of social movements, including traditional labour organisations, such as working-class parties and trade unions. In the *longue durée*, we recognise that social movements are by no means a recent phenomenon and are not even an exclusively modern phenomenon, although we realise that the onset of modernity emanating from Europe and North America across the wider world from the eighteenth century onwards marks an important departure point for the development of civil societies and social movements.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the dominance of national history over all other forms of history writing led to a thorough nationalisation of the historical sciences. Hence social movements have been examined traditionally within the framework of the nation state. Only during the last two decades have historians begun to question the validity of such methodological nationalism and to explore the development of social movements in comparative, connective and transnational perspective taking into account processes of transfer, reception and adaptation. Whilst our book series does not preclude work that is still being carried out within national frameworks (for, clearly, there is a place for such studies, given the historical importance of the nation state in history), it hopes to encourage comparative and transnational histories on social movements.

At the same time as historians have begun to research the history of those movements, a range of social theorists, from Jürgen Habermas to Pierre Bourdieu and from Slavoj Žižek to Alain Badiou as well as Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe to Miguel Abensour, to name but a few, have attempted to provide philosophical-cum-theoretical frameworks in which to place and contextualise the development of social movements. History has arguably been the most empirical of all the social and human sciences, but it will be necessary for historians to explore further to what extent these social theories can be helpful in guiding and framing the empirical work of the historian in making sense of the historical development of social movements. Hence the current series is also hoping to make a contribution to the ongoing dialogue between social theory and the history of social movements.

This series seeks to promote innovative historical research on the history of social movements in the modern period since around 1750. We bring together conceptually-informed studies that analyse labour

movements, new social movements and other forms of protest from early modernity to the present. With this series, we seek to revive, within the context of historiographical developments since the 1970s, a conversation between historians on the one hand and sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists on the other.

Unlike most of the concepts and theories developed by social scientists, we do not see social movements as directly linked, *a priori*, to processes of social and cultural change and therefore do not adhere to a view that distinguishes between old (labour) and new (middle-class) social movements. Instead, we want to establish the concept 'social movement' as a heuristic device that allows historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to investigate social and political protests in novel settings. Our aim is to historicise notions of social and political activism in order to highlight different notions of political and social protest on both left and right.

Hence, we conceive of 'social movements' in the broadest possible sense, encompassing social formations that lie between formal organisations and mere protest events. But we also include processes of social and cultural change more generally in our understanding of social movements: this goes back to nineteenth-century understandings of 'social movement' as processes of social and cultural change more generally. We also offer a home for studies that systematically explore the political, social, economic and cultural conditions in which social movements can emerge. We are especially interested in transnational and global perspectives on the history of social movements, and in studies that engage critically and creatively with political, social and sociological theories in order to make historically grounded arguments about social movements. In short, this series seeks to offer innovative historical work on social movements, while also helping to historicise the concept of 'social movement'. It also hopes to revitalise the conversation between historians and historical sociologists in analysing what Charles Tilly has called the 'dynamics of contention'.

A European Youth Revolt is asking the question whether the diverse urban protest movements of the 1980s can be summed up under the label of a youth revolt. Highlighting the internationalism of these networks of social movements in the 1980s, this volume edited by Andresen and Steen is seeking to identify a number of characteristics that united a set of highly diverse movements which were nevertheless often seen, also by contemporary observers, as belonging together and forming one movement. Thus, these social movements were often characterised

by an emphasis on subjectivity ('the personal is the political') and a desire to act within local contexts. Dismissive of formal politics and political parties, the movements sought to create autonomous political spaces of their own. Certain movements within the movement especially the house occupation movement obtained a prominent place and sometimes became the public face of the movement which was, however, always broader than squatting. Overall, the volume is underlining the European-wide repercussions of these protest movements that even found echoes behind the iron curtain.

The diverse contributions in this volume are united by their desire to highlight how ideas and practices transgressed national boundaries and how transnational protest networks emerged in the 1980s. Uniting the fields of culture and politics, the volume puts a spotlight on protest politics that was often strongly intertwined with youth politics and frequently had the hallmarks of a new youth movement. Europe, youth, revolt and the 1980s are the four pillars in this book that uphold an edifice of scholarly investigation that is tantalisingly fresh and demonstrates the vitality of transdisciplinary research between social science and contemporary history. It is an edifice with many rooms, many of which are designed quite differently. There is sometimes little unity in the phenomena that all find a place in this house and the overview of its many inhabitants is sometimes quite kaleidoscopic. Nevertheless the editors have been successful in assembling a volume that has an inner unity and showcases 1980s social and political protest as having common roots, strategies and self-understandings.

Moralizing Capitalism: Agents, Discourses and Practices of Capitalism and Anti-Capitalism in the Modern Age introduces questions of morality to the booming field of the history of capitalism. In many studies capitalism still appears predominantly as an economic system that has to be analysed, above all, with the toolbox of the economic historian using economic benchmarks. Within the framework of political economy, political processes influencing economic decision-making has also been analysed in great detail. However, the contributions assembled in this volume analyse capitalism through the lens of cultural and intellectual history asking about moral values and their impact on the development of capitalism and its critics. The articles deal predominantly with ideas and cultural practices and their influence on economic, social and political processes. The agency of diverse actors, who were either opposed to capitalism or defended it are being put centre-stage.

The editors have divided the book into four parts. The first one examines capitalism as knowledge system that can be taught and evaluated on the basis of specific moral criteria. Thus, criticisms of wealth accumulation stand next to moral and religious justifications of capitalism. The second part of the book examines aspects of political economy and the impact of questions of morality on this field. Here we encounter notions of fair taxation, ideas of combining capitalist practice with humanistic endeavour, and thoughts about turning multinational companies into morally responsible citizens. The third part of this volume investigates the ethics of capitalists, in particular those working for the stock exchange and merchants confronted with bankruptcy. Finally, the book also takes an in-depth view at social movements and their problematisation of capitalist practices. Here issues of morality were very much to the fore. Thus we encounter Catholic critiques of economic justice in the US, ideas about 'shameful profiteering' underpinning anti-capitalist movements, attempts to achieve fairer systems of trade, and changing ideas of morality associated with the boom years of capitalism after the Second World War. Overall, this volume provides tantalising glimpses of a history of capitalism that takes seriously the toolbox of the new cultural history that has also increasingly influenced traditional forms of history writing, including economic, social and political history. In this sense the volume makes a contribution to a reconceptualised history of capitalism that takes as starting point an understanding of capitalism as a cultural system that, like an octopus, expanded into all spheres of life and cannot be reduced to economics alone.

Bochum, Germany
Stirling, UK

Stefan Berger
Holger Nehring

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The history of capitalism is booming. This was also reflected in the reactions we received to our call for papers. In March 2016 we organized the conference “Moralizing Capitalism: Agents, Discourses and Practices of Capitalism and its Opponents in the Modern Age”. Our aim was to link economic historical perspectives with cultural questions. In particular we wanted to explore to what extent morality mattered in criticism and justifications of capitalism. In the course of the three days, a variety of different topics were discussed: from the history of slavery, one of the classic themes of the history of capitalism, to theoretical approaches to case studies on waste disposal or labor relations in India. We thank all the participants of the conference for the lively exchange at the conference. Special thanks go to Prof. Dr. Jürgen Kocka (Berlin), who set central impulses with his opening remarks on the history of capitalism. We wish to thank our authors for their patience in going through several rounds of revisions in the aftermath of the conference to arrive at what we hope to be a coherent volume.

We also have to thank our research assistants Stefan Braun, Alexander Dufft and Claudia Scheel for helping us to organize the conference. Furthermore a special thank you goes to the team of the study center Berlin (FernUniversität in Hagen) where the conference took place. The FernUniversität in Hagen also supported the conference financially. All in all, the three days in Berlin turned out to be both intellectually stimulating and enjoyable.

Many colleagues were involved in making this book. Especially we have to thank Dr. David Kelly (Western Sydney University, Australia), who proofread the manuscript with patience and sensitivity. Claudia Scheel and Alessandra Exter have been very supportive in helping to finalize the manuscript. At Palgrave Molly Beck, Oliver Dyer and Maeve Sinnott have been, as usual, exemplary editors.

Last but not least, we would like to express our gratitude to the Thyssen Stiftung for its generous financial support of the conference “Moralizing Capitalism” and for the copy-editing of this volume. Without this generous support, it would not have been possible to produce this sustained reflection on the interrelation between capitalism and morality from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries.



CONTENTS

- 1 Introduction: Moralizing Capitalism: Agents, Discourses and Practices of Capitalism and Anti-capitalism in the Modern Age** 1
Stefan Berger and Alexandra Przyrembel

Part I History of Knowledge

- 2 Teaching Capitalism: The Popularization of Economic Knowledge in Britain and Germany (1800–1850)** 29
Sandra Maß
- 3 Moralizing Wealth: German Debates About Capitalism and Jews in the Early Twentieth Century** 59
Alexandra Przyrembel
- 4 The Moral Foundation of Modern Capitalism: Towards a Historical Reconsideration of Max Weber’s ‘Protestant Ethic’** 79
Thomas Sokoll

Part II Capitalism and the Political

- 5 'We Only Want to Pay What Is Fair': Capital, Morals, and Taxes in Canada 1867–1917 111
Elsbeth Heaman
- 6 Humanizing Capitalism: The Educational Mission of the Ford Foundation in West Germany and the United States (1945–1960) 135
Wim de Jong
- 7 'Corporate Citizens' at the United Nations: The 1973 GEP Hearings and the New Spirit of Multinational Business 159
Christian Olaf Christiansen

Part III Ethics and Merchants

- 8 Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde: Commercial Honour at the New York Stock Exchange During the Progressive Era 187
Boris Gehlen
- 9 Bankruptcy and Morality in a Capitalist Market Economy: The Case of Mid-Nineteenth-Century France 205
Jürgen Finger

Part IV Social Movements and Moral Concerns

- 10 US Catholicism and Economic Justice: 1919–1929 233
Giulia D'Alessio

11	The Discourse Against ‘Shameful Profiteering’ in Greece 1914–1925: Notions of Exploitation, Anticapitalist Morality and the Concept of Moral Economy	251
	Nikos Potamianos	
12	Dilemmas of Moral Markets: Conflicting Narratives in the West German Fair Trade Movement	267
	Benjamin Möckel	
13	Economic Boom, Workers’ Literature, and Morality in the West Germany of the 1960s and Early 1970s	293
	Sibylle Marti	
	Index	315

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Stefan Berger is Professor of Social History and Director of the Institute for Social Movements at Ruhr University Bochum. He is also Executive Chair of the Foundation History of the Ruhr and an Honorary Professor at Cardiff University in the UK. He has published widely on the history of deindustrialization, industrial heritage, memory studies, the history of historiography, nationalism, and labour movement history. His most recent publications are a special issue, co-edited with Steven High, on de-industrialization by the North American journal *Labor* 19:1 (2019) as well as a special issue on German labour history by the British journal *German History* 32:2 (2019).

Christian Olaf Christiansen is Associate Professor at Aarhus University, Institute for Culture and Society. Christian is an intellectual historian working with twentieth century economic and political thought in an American and global context. He currently works a comparative intellectual history of two approaches to reducing global poverty during post-war globalization: socio-economic human rights and market/business-based ideas for poverty reduction. Starting in 2019, Christian will be the research leader on the project “An Intellectual History of Global Inequality, 1960–2015”, investigating the relationship between geographic location and the intellectual history of inequality. Publications include *Progressive Business: An Intellectual History of the Role of Business in Society* (Oxford University Press, 2015) and *Global Inequality: New Historical Perspectives* (Palgrave, 2019). In 2015, Christian was awarded

the Sapere Aude: DFF Young Research Talent grant by the Danish Council for Independent Research, and in 2018 he was awarded the Sapere Aude: DFF Research Leader by the Independent Research Fund Denmark.

Giulia D'Alessio obtained her Ph.D. in Contemporary History from the University of Rome La Sapienza with a dissertation entitled *Holy See and United States during the pontificate of Pius XI: Catholic Social Doctrine, the Great Depression and the New Deal*. She has been Visiting Researcher at the History Department of Georgetown University (Washington, DC), Banca d'Italia Postdoctoral Fellow at FSCIRE (Fondazione per le Scienze Religiose Giovanni XXIII, Bologna), adjunct (Contemporary History) at the University of Rome la Sapienza and collaborated as a book reviewer with "La Civiltà Cattolica". Her main research interests include USA–Vatican relations, Catholic Social Doctrine, American Catholic Social Thought. She has published articles and book chapters on these topics. Among others: 'Stati Uniti, Chiesa cattolica e questione sociale', in *Diplomazia senza eserciti*, eds. Emma Fattorini, Rome, Carocci, 2013; 'Il dialogo fra Stati Uniti e Santa Sede negli anni Trenta. Tre figure di mediazione Cicognani, Pacelli, Spellman', in Pettinaroli Laura (ed.), *Le gouvernement pontifical sous Pie XI. Pratiques romaines et gestion de l'universel*, Rome, Ecole française de Rome, 2013; 'United States and Vatican 1936–1939: from Eugenio Pacelli's visit to the U.S. to Myron Taylor's Mission to the Holy See', in C. R. Gallagher, D. I. Kertzer, A. Melloni (Eds.), *Pius XI and the Americas: Proceedings of the Brown University Conference*, LIT Verlag, Berlin, Münster-Wien-Zurich-London 2012; *Dialogo e rapporti diplomatici fra Stati Uniti e Santa Sede dagli anni Trenta alla seconda guerra mondiale*, "L'Osservatore Romano", pp. 4–5, 15 January, 2011; *Santa Sede, Stati Uniti e cattolicesimo americano negli anni di Pio XI* in A. Guasco, R. Perin (eds.), *Pius XI Keywords*, LIT Verlag, Berlin- Münster- Wien-Zurich-London 2010.

Wim de Jong is a postdoctoral researcher at the Open Universiteit Nederland. He has published on the history of democracy and citizenship education in the Netherlands, the history of freedom of education, history of electoral culture, and the role of social science experts in democratic politics. His most recent publication is on apathy and antipolitics in the post-war Netherlands, 'Partizipationsunterlassung, Antipolitik und Apathie als *repertoires of democracy*: die Niederlande im europäischen Kontext (1945–1990)', in: Theo Jung (ed.), *Zwischen Handeln*

und Nicht-Handeln. Unterlassungspraktiken in der europäischen Moderne (Frankfurt/New York: Campus 2019) pp. 64–100 and Mapping the Demos: The Scientisation of the Political, Electoral Research and Dutch Political Parties, c. 1900–1980’, *Contemporary European History* (2017) nr. 1, pp. 111–138, with Harm Kaal.

Jürgen Finger is head of the Department of contemporary history at the German Historical Institute in Paris. He published on the history of National Socialism, post-war trials, business history, the history of social norms and French social history. His recent publications include articles about life spheres of the rich in Nazi Germany (in: Gajek/Kurr/Seegers, *Reichtum in Deutschland*, Wallstein publisher, 2019, 77–97) and speculative practices of John and Jane Doe on the gray financial market of Belle Époque Paris (*Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 56 (2019), 139–168).

Boris Gehlen is Associate Professor (‘Privatdozent’) of Economic and Social History at Bonn University and Researcher at the Institute for Contemporary History Munich-Berlin. His main research areas are financial and business history. His most recent publications are Corporate Law and Corporate Control in West Germany after 1945 (*Business History*, published online (<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00076791.2017.1319939>) and a paper on Regulation and admission practices at the Berlin Stock Exchange (*Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 2018/1).

Elsbeth Heaman is a professor of history at McGill University in Montreal. The author of several books on the Canadian state, taxation, and exhibitions, she is currently completing a new project on civilization, history, and conservative politics in Canada.

Sibylle Marti is a lecturer in modern European history at the FernUniversität in Hagen, Germany. Her dissertation deals with the history of radiation research and radiation protection in Cold War Switzerland. Recently, she co-edited a volume on the imaginary of the Cold War. Her postdoctoral research project funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) explores the history of informal labour in the twentieth century.

Sandra Maß is Professor of Nineteenth Century Transnational History at Ruhr University Bochum. She is co-editor of “L’Homme. Europäische Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft”. Her recent publications include: *Kinderstube des Kapitalismus? Monetäre Erziehung im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin/Boston 2018 [Publications of the

German Historical Institute; 75]; Useful knowledge. Monetary education of children and the moralization of productivity in the nineteenth Century, in: Bänziger, Peter-Paul; Suter, Mischa (eds.): *Histories of Productivity: Genealogical Perspectives on the Body and Modern Economy*. London: Routledge 2017, pp. 74–91; Ed. with Margareth Lanzinger and Claudia Opitz, *Ökonomien* (Economies), special issue of *L'Homme*. Europäische Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft 1, 2016.

Benjamin Möckel is Assistant Professor at the University of Cologne. Currently, he is a fellow at the Oxford Centre for European History. He has published on the history of generations, post-war memory in East and West Germany, consumer history and popular culture in post-war Europe. His most recent publications include: The Material Culture of Human Rights. Consumer Products, Boycotts, and the Transformation of Human Rights Activism in the 1970s and 1980s, in: *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity* 6 (2018) 1, S.76–104, and: Humanitarianism on Stage: Live Aid and the Origins of Humanitarian Pop Music, in: Joachim Häberlen/Mark Keck-Szajbel/Kate Mahoney (Hg.), *The Politics of Authenticity. Countercultures and Radical Movements Across the Iron Curtain, 1968–1989* (Berghahn, 2019).

Nikos Potamianos is an assistant researcher at the Institute for Mediterranean Studies—Foundation for Research and Technology-Hellas, based in Rethymno, Greece. He is member of the academic board in the journal *Ta Istorika*. He has published widely on the contemporary social and political history of Greece, focusing on labour history, the lower middle class of shopkeepers and artisans, populism and radicalism. His new book is about the social history of the carnival of Athens in 1800–1940 (Cretan University Press, forthcoming). He is currently working on the concept of moral economy and its potential for historical research.

Alexandra Przyrembel is Professor of Modern European History in Hagen. She has published on the history of antisemitism, of sexuality, history of emotions, history of knowledge and most recently on the history of memory studies. Her most recent publications are a book chapter on emotions and National Socialism and an edited volume on sites of memory (Emotions and National Socialism, in: *A Companion to Nazi Germany*, New York (2018); Erinnerungsorte im Bild, Bielefeld 2019). Most recently, she also participated in a roundtable on New Directions in the history of knowledge and postcolonial history (Trajectories 29 (2018)).

Thomas Sokoll is Professor of Early Modern History at the University of Hagen. His research interests include historical demography, historical anthropology, the comparative study of structure and change in pre-modern Europe 700 BC–1850, the social and cultural history of poverty and the industrialisation in Britain. His most recent publications are concerned with Max Weber's theory of modern capitalism and its historical reception.

ABBREVIATIONS

A3WH	Aktion Dritte Welt Handel
AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations
AG3WL	Arbeitsgemeinschaft Dritte Welt Läden
ASWSP	Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik
CDU	Christian Democratic Union of Germany
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
ECA	Economic Cooperation Administration
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
EEC	European Economic Community
EPA	European Productivity Agency
EU	European Union
FAE	Fund for Adult Education
FDR	Franklin Delano Roosevelt
G77	Group of 77
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GEP	Group of Eminent Persons
GEPA	Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Partnerschaft mit der Dritten Welt mbh
NCWC	National Catholic Welfare Council
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NYSE	New York Stock Exchange
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PE	Protestant Ethic

RN	<i>Rerum Novarum</i>
SPD	Social Democratic Party of Germany
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
US(A)	United States (of America)
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1	Weber's PE: Composition of text/structure of argument (1904–1905/1920)	83
Table 4.2	Weber's PE: Fields of discourse, reception and transmission (1850–2016)	95
Table 8.1	Offences and maximum penalties as listed in the Constitution of 1902	200



CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Moralizing Capitalism: Agents, Discourses and Practices of Capitalism and Anti- capitalism in the Modern Age

Stefan Berger and Alexandra Przyrembel

‘MORALIZING CAPITALISM’? CONCEPT AND IDEA

The book ‘Moralizing Capitalism’ ties in with the current research interest in the history of capitalism and chooses a very specific perspective: it is interested in the relationship between morality and capitalism. But what actually are moral sentiments, and how did they change over time? What is to be understood by ‘capitalist morality’ and what role do moral beliefs play for the implementation and consolidation of capitalism?

S. Berger (✉)
Institute for Social Movements,
Ruhr University Bochum, Bochum, Germany
e-mail: Stefan.Berger@ruhr-uni-bochum.de

A. Przyrembel
Modern European History,
University of Hagen, Hagen, Germany
e-mail: alexandra.przyrembel@fernuni-hagen.de

© The Author(s) 2019
S. Berger and A. Przyrembel (eds.), *Moralizing Capitalism*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-20565-2_1

To what extent did social movements opposed to capitalism establish an independent ‘moral economy’? And what moral arguments did entrepreneurs use to legitimize ‘morally’ their decisions, some of which might have threatened social peace?

While the history of capitalism is flourishing,¹ the interconnections between ‘morality’ and capitalism have hardly been addressed so far. In 1971 E. P. Thompson used the concept of ‘moral economy’ to understand the moral values of social groups that revolted against industrialization. In his essay ‘The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century’, he rejected the assumption of economic historians that in the eighteenth-century uprisings of hunger were caused by deprivation. Instead, Thompson claimed that such revolts were based on ‘consistent traditional views of social norms and obligations, of the proper economic functions of several parties within the community, which, taken together, can be said to constitute the moral economy of the poor’.² As the author notes ironically in a later essay, in which he responds to his critics, the concept moral economy ‘has long forgotten its paternity’.³ What Thompson alludes to is that the concept of the ‘moral economy’ wandered from the eighteenth century to modern history to explain various historical phenomena. Since the publication of Thompson’s essay historians with different research interests have taken up his concept. William G. Reddy for example understands moral economy as ‘a set of values and moral standards that were violated by technical and commercial change’.⁴ Recently, anthropologists such as Didier Fassin have applied the concept of ‘morality’ and ‘moral sentiments’ to different fields that represent challenges (i.e. migration politics, humanitarian aid, the making of punishment) for contemporary society. Fassin provides a very broad

¹Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A New History of Global Capitalism* (London: Allen Lane, 2014); Jürgen Kocka and Marcel van der Linden, eds., *Capitalism: The Reemergence of a Historical Concept* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016).

²E. P. Thompson, ‘The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century’, *Past & Present* 50 (1971): 76–136.

³E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London: Merlin Press, 1991), 351.

⁴William M. Reddy, *The Rise of Market Culture: The Textile Trade and French Society, 1750–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 331–333, for a critical comment, see Thompson, *Customs*, 340f.; Lorraine Daston, ‘Moral Economy of Science’, *Osiris: Constructing Knowledge in the History of Science* 10 (1995): 2–24.

definition of how morality shapes the social order understanding moral economy as the production of moral feelings, emotions and values, norms and obligations by also considering their impact on social relations.⁵

The concept of morality itself, as well as moral values (e.g. justice, fairness, honour), has changed over time. For example, the idea that morality is used as a concept to explain social order is closely intertwined with the history of knowledge, particularly with the writings of Émile Durkheim.⁶ Moral movements have also shaped the understanding of morality and moral values. These organizations covered a broad social spectrum. They operated at both the local and transnational levels.⁷ In their *Communist Manifesto* (1848) Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels polemized against those activities fostered by ‘economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, improvers of the condition of the working class, organizers of charity, members of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, temperance fanatics, hole-and-corner reformers of every imaginable kind’.⁸ Many of these associations fought a cultural war to prevent a decline in values. Others, such as the anti-slavery movement which is central to the history of capitalism in the nineteenth century, committed themselves to the universalization of human rights.⁹ The exact history of these movements and smaller associations is not of interest here.¹⁰ However, the above mentioned social movements introduced

⁵Didier Fassin, ‘Les économies morales revisitées’, *Annales HSS* 64 (2009): 1237–1266, 1257; see also Didier Fassin, ‘Introduction: Toward a Critical Moral Anthropology’, in *A Companion to Moral Anthropology*, ed. Didier Fassin (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 1–15.

⁶Émile Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1974).

⁷For the transnational interlocking of these movements, see already Francis S. L. Lyons, *Internationalism in Europe, 1815–1914* (Leydon: AW Sythoff, 1963).

⁸Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*, From the English Edition, ed. Friedrich Engels, Downloaded October 16, 2018.

⁹Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, 6th ed. (London: Deutsch, 1983 [1944]).

¹⁰Jessica Piley, Robert Kramm, and Harald Fischer-Tiné, eds., *Global Anti-vice Activism, 1890–1950: Fighting Drinks, Drugs, and ‘Immorality’* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). For an overview see also Alexandra Przyrembel, ‘From Cultural Wars to the Crisis of Humanity: Moral Movements in the Modern Age’, in *The History of Social Movements in Global Perspective: A Survey*, ed. Stefan Berger and Holger Nehring (Palgrave studies in the History of Social Movements, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 355–383.

moral categories into the public debate and maintained the discussion on moral values in various discursive contexts. Following this observation, we will explore further in this volume how the critique of capitalism was linked with ‘moral’ arguments and taken up by ‘moral’ social movements.

Already in 2001, the sociologists Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello pointed out that the critique of capitalism is a central, possibly constitutive element of capitalism. In their book *Le nouvel esprit de capitalisme* (2001) they argue that anti-capitalist movements actually legitimize the economic order they seek to undermine.¹¹ The critique of capitalism has indeed accompanied the implementation of capitalism since the nineteenth century. In his recent essays, Jürgen Kocka underlined the importance of critique as cultural practices in various works since the French socialist Louis Blanc (1811–1882) coined the term ‘capitalism’ in 1850.¹²

In this book, we want to take up these ideas. We argue that the critique of capitalism in the nineteenth and twentieth century is structured by a set of moral values which is constantly (re)-negotiated by social movements, entrepreneurs and above all the state. The interpretation of capitalism can be seen as ‘Promethean event for it at once marked the acme of humanity’s command over nature as well as the deluge which then ensued’.¹³ If this is correct, then a morally legitimized or framed critique of capitalism moves between two poles: on the one hand, criticism of capitalism is ignited by the success of capitalism, even though it does not ‘harm’ capitalism as an economic system. On the other hand, it is ignited by experiences of crisis. It is no coincidence that capitalism and its history has been examined again with new ferocity since the global financial and economic crisis of 2007.

¹¹Luc Boltanski, and Ève Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism* (London: Verso, 2007 [in French 2001]).

¹²Louis Blanc, *Organisation du Travail*, 9th ed. (Paris, 1850). In earlier editions of the book the concept capitalism cannot be found; see Jürgen Kocka, ‘Schöpferische Zerstörung: Joseph Schumpeter über Kapitalismus’, *Mittelweg* 36, no. 6 (2017): 45–54, 1. For a broad introduction see Jürgen Kocka, *Capitalism: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

¹³Michael Zamkin, and Gary J. Konrblith, ‘Introduction: An American Revolutionary Tradition’, in *Capitalism Takes Command: The Social Transformation of Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Michael Zakim and Gary J. Kornblith (Chicago: 2012), 1–12, 3.

A NEW HISTORY OF CAPITALISM?

Histories of capitalism have been proliferating ever since the financial crisis starting in 2007. It prompted a renewed critical interest in an economic system that had won the Cold War around 1990, when its ‘really existing’ alternative, state socialism, collapsed in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. After the end of the Cold War, the triumphalism of the capitalist West is best represented by Francis Fukuyama’s best-selling *The End of History and the Last Man*, first published in 1992.¹⁴ In the 1990s, the rivalries of two economic systems seemed settled—with little interest in histories of capitalism, and, at best, occasional questions about how to live with capitalism.¹⁵ When this changed, the new histories of capitalism had to relate themselves to a century and a half of research on capitalism.¹⁶

Some of the new interest was accompanied by new scenarios of decline, where the crisis was seen as the beginning of the end of capitalism.¹⁷ Such predictive histories followed a long tradition of critiques of capitalism. These critiques have historically followed two paths: on the one hand, we have a fundamental critique aimed at transforming capitalism. These critics tended to stress the exploitative and alienating features of capitalist systems. On the other hand, reformist critiques aimed at making capitalism better and improving it.¹⁸ Capitalism transformed itself many times under the impact of diverse forms of critique and its

¹⁴Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (London: Penguin, 1992).

¹⁵Will Hutton and Antony Giddens, eds., *On the Edge: Living with Global Capitalism* (London: Vintage, 2001).

¹⁶Reviews discussing the recent flurry of publications in the field include Friedrich Lenger, ‘Die neue Kapitalismusgeschichte. Ein Forschungsbericht als Einleitung’, *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 56 (2016): 1–36; Jürgen Kocka and Marcel van der Linden, eds., *Capitalism: The Reemergence of a Historical Concept* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

¹⁷See, for example, Immanuel Wallerstein, Randall Collins, Michael Mann, Georgi Derluguian, and Craig Calhoun, *Does Capitalism Have a Future?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Elmar Altvater, *Das Ende des Kapitalismus, wie wir ihn kennen. Eine radikale Kapitalismuskritik* (Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 2011); and Wolfgang Streeck, ‘Wie wird der Kapitalismus enden?’, *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik* 60, no. 3 (2015): 99–111.

¹⁸Werner Plumpe, ‘Debatten über die Gestaltbarkeit des Kapitalismus, 1900–1938’, *Kapitalismus und Zivilgesellschaft, special issue of Forschungs journal Soziale Bewegungen* 29, no. 3 (2016), ed. Frank Adloff and Jürgen Kocka, 164–181.

ability to change its shape and content as a response to criticism belongs to its most remarkable characteristics. This changeability led to manifold ambiguities and multiplicities of capitalisms which make the phenomenon notoriously difficult to define.¹⁹ Undoubtedly private property has been crucial, as have been markets and competition. Decentralized decision-making over economic processes, the accumulation of capital and the importance of investments have also been vital ingredients of capitalism. But the fact that capitalism is best understood as a process that is changing over time, partly due to critiques of capitalism, makes it difficult to come up with ‘one size fits all’ definitions.

Another characteristic of the renewed interest in the histories of capitalism is that capitalism is no longer of interest exclusively to economic historians. Political historians, social historians, cultural historians and historians of knowledge and science have all contributed in important ways to debates on the history of capitalism, as capitalism is seen to have impacted not just on the economic, but also the social, cultural and political spheres.²⁰ Consumption histories and the histories of the ‘fiscal-military state’ belong centrally to the history of capitalism.²¹ Capitalism has arguably been the most important structure giving order to modern societies, not just in the realm of the economy, but also in its cultural, social and political realms. Actors of capitalism, discourses on capitalism and knowledge production in and through capitalism all need to be studied to gain a better understanding of how capitalism as an ‘essentially contested concept’ has worked over the centuries.²² With Jens Beckert, it makes sense to understand capitalism as

¹⁹Peter A. Hall and David Soskice, *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

²⁰Nancy Fraser, ‘Behind Marx’s Hidden Abode. For an Expanded Conception of Capitalism’, *New Left Review* 86 (2014): 55–72; Hartmut Berghoff and Jakob Vogel, eds., *Wirtschaftsgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte. Dimensionen eines Perspektivenwechsels* (Frankfurt: Campus, 2004).

²¹Peer Vries, *State, Economy and the Great Divergence: Great Britain and China, 1680s–1850s* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behaviour and the Household Economy, 1650s to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); and Christof Dejung, *Die Fäden des globalen Marktes. Eine Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte des Welthandels am Beispiel der Handelsfirma Gebrüder Volkart, 1851–1999* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2013).

²²On ‘essentially contested concepts’ see W. B. Gallie, ‘Essentially Contested Concepts’, *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 56 (1955–1956): 167–198.

a ‘system of expectations’ that, for some, successfully opened up horizons of a better future time and again in modern history, while for others it was producing the preconditions for its own demise and downfall.²³ Any historicization of capitalism will thus also have to start from its future-orientation.²⁴

Furthermore, the renewed interest in the history of capitalism has been accompanied by the rise in popularity of global history. Hence the development of capitalism is increasingly discussed in its global perspectives. If capitalism emerged in Europe and if Europe can, to some extent, be seen as the continent of capitalism, it expanded and became a global phenomenon that only made sense when viewed in its global contexts.²⁵ Major studies have emphasized the importance of the slave trade for the development of capitalism.²⁶ Export markets, trade and the ability to import cheap raw materials were all crucial in explaining Britain’s comparative advantage vis-à-vis the Netherlands which ultimately led to Britain becoming the first workshop of the world. War and violence have been crucial means of establishing a global capitalism.²⁷ Commodity chains have almost become a separate research field within studies on capitalism—all focussing on the importance of trade in shaping capitalism.²⁸

If the literature on capitalism has been growing almost exponentially over the last ten years and if capitalism is increasingly discussed in its global ramifications, there has been relatively little attention paid to the way in which both criticism and justifications of capitalism have been related to questions of morality. The current volume wants to

²³Jens Beckert, ‘Capitalism as a System of Expectations: Towards a Sociological Micro-Foundation of Political Economy’, *Politics and Society* 41, no. 3 (2013): 323–350; idem, *Imagined Futures: Fictional Expectations and Capitalist Dynamics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

²⁴Thomas Welskopp, ‘Zukunft bewirtschaften. Überlegungen zu einer praxistheoretisch informierten Historisierung des Kapitalismus’, *Praktiken des Kapitalismus, special issue of Mittelweg* 36, no. 1 (2017), ed. Sören Brandes and Malte Zierenberg, 81–97.

²⁵Peter Kramper, ‘Warum Europa? Konturen einer globalgeschichtlichen Forschungskontroverse’, *Neue Politische Literature* 54 (2009): 9–46.

²⁶Joseph E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

²⁷Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Vintage Books, 2014).

²⁸Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present*, 4th ed. (London: Routledge, 2017).