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## Prozeß der öffentlichen Finanzen in Deutschland während der Weltwirtschaftskrise 1929—1933: Einleitung

von *Michiyoshi Oshima*

In den Jahren 1929—1933 erschütterte eine in solchen Ausmassen noch nicht erlebte Krise die ganze kapitalistische Welt. Unter allen Ländern war es Deutschland, das unter den politischen und wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen der Krise am schwersten zu leiden hatte. Aus dem Verlauf der Krise zu jener Zeit ist wohl anzunehmen, daß die Gestaltung der öffentlichen Finanzen die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung maßgebend bestimmte und dadurch alle Lebensgebiete entscheidend beeinflusste.

Mitten in der großen Finanznot Deutschlands, die einige Jahre unter trügerischer Scheinblüte verdeckt gewesen war und erst durch den Ausbruch der Krise ins Licht kam, mußte die Reichsfinanzpolitik sich der doppelten Aufgabe unterziehen, auf der einen Seite die wirtschaftliche Krise zu überwinden, und andererseits sich von der Reparationslast zu befreien. Der Staat war gezwungen, stärker regulierend in den Ablauf der privaten Marktwirtschaft einzugreifen, und die Ansprüche an die öffentliche Wirtschaft wurden von allen an Wirtschaftsnot leidenden Sektoren hervorgehoben. In dieser Situation wurde, durch die raschen Änderungen der politischen Kräftekonstellation verstärkt, über die Entscheidung der finanz- und wirtschaftspolitischen Maßnahmen mit ungewöhnlicher Heftigkeit gestritten, und zwar nicht nur innerhalb der Regierung und der Parteien, sondern auch zwischen der Regierung und den Interessengruppen, wobei die öffentliche Meinung als gesonderte Einflußgröße dazuzuzählen ist. Auf derartige Weise wandelte sich die Finanzpolitik, und an der letzten Phase der Krise wurde sie unter der Herrschaft Hitlers dahin geführt, die Arbeitsbeschaffungspolitik mit der Unterstützung vom Zentralbankkredite, nämlich die *Fiscal Policy*, zu betreiben. Hierin kann man eine neue Zusammensetzung der finanzpolitischen Funktionen erblicken.

Unsere Aufgabe sehen wir darin, die dynamische Entwicklung der öffentlichen Finanzen während der Weltwirtschaftskrise zu verfolgen, und damit eine Lücke in der deutschen Finanzgeschichte zu schließen. Darüber hinaus sollte dieser Versuch auch dazu beitragen, das Gefüge der neu ers-

chienenen *Fiscal Policy* in Deutschland übersichtlich zu machen. Dabei handelt es sich um die Methode. Die Strukturanalyse, die hauptsächlich das Gesamtgefüge der öffentlichen Finanzen sichtbar werden läßt, reicht für diesen Zweck nicht aus, weil sie den wechselvollsten Verlauf, wie man ihn in der Krisenzeit erlebte, nicht so sehr vollständig aufzuklären vermag. Unserer Forschung liegt vielmehr daran, den Prozeß der Willensbildung, und Durchführung der Finanzpolitik und die Wechselbeziehungen der Finanzfaktoren auf diesem Prozeß herauszuarbeiten. Unter dem Begriff Finanzfaktoren sind zu verstehen, einerseits das System der öffentlichen Einnahmen und Ausgaben, durch welches das finanzpolitische Bewegungsfeld maßgeblich begrenzt wird, und andererseits alle diejenigen, die an den Entscheidungen und der Durchführung der Finanzpolitik beteiligen, unter anderen die Regierung, die Zentralbank, das Parlament, die Parteien und die Interessengruppen.

Dazu noch ist zu bemerken, wie die Eigenart einzelner Finanzfaktoren und ihre Wechselbeziehungen historisch und soziologisch bestimmt worden waren. Der Entstehungsgeschichte der modernen Massen- und Integrationsparteien und der Interessengruppen lagen die weitere Entwicklung des Monopolkapitalismus seit der Jahrhundertwende und die ökonomisch-soziale Wandlung in der Nachkriegszeit zugrunde, und aus der neu eingetretenen Verbindung der Parteien und der Interessengruppen ergab sich der Strukturwandel der parlamentarischen Willensbildung. Ferner erlangte die Exekutive schon ein beträchtliches Übergewicht gegenüber der Legislative, dennoch innerhalb der Exekutive war die Haushaltsführung nicht einheitlich, sondern ihre Willensträger waren als polykratisch gekennzeichnet. Bei der Prozeßanalyse müssen diese Tatsachen in Betracht kommen.

### Robert Owen and William Godwin (III)

by *Atsushi Shirai*

Robert Owen became a socialist in 1817 from a mere enterpriser and wrote *Report to the Country of Lamark* in 1821 in which he made a fundamental criticism of capitalism. He showed a new communistic society

in which he said that the causes of distress were excessive production and monetary system. He suggested here, adoption of natural standard of value (labour), cultivation by spade and village of co-operation. In this report we find, first of all, characteristics of bourgeois as extension of *A New View of Society*. In other words, in this book, Owen asked for promotion of superior labour power for capital; rationalization for capital; enlargement of market; enlargement of employment for capital; and removing discontent among the labourers. Furthermore, in the method of analysis and criticism of capitalism, he did not criticize the nature of capital itself. He thought that the basis of contradiction was money and said that profit of labourers and that of capitalists will not oppose each other. The frame of his proposal is formed by ideal industrial capitalism of which high wages, enlargement of market and high profit are guaranteed.

However, we cannot just say without doubt that Owen's idea is that of bourgeois. He further progressed and reached definite communism. Here, if we compare the idea of Owen to that of Godwin, following ideas are in common: denial of self interest in utopia, cutting down labour hours and labour of all people, denial of division of labour, reform of humanity and indefinite view of progress.

The difference between the two are that Owen insists existence of exchange according to labour, and stresses uniformity and co-operation, etc. As for co-operation, externally, it is quite the opposite to anarchism but what Godwin stresses is the benefit of the whole and the spirits of the two have things in common. Also, Village of Co-operation which Owen suggests is identical with the small society in the transition period which Godwin suggests. It is a simple society which the political power and economical power is actually reduced. Therefore, the essential differences between Godwin and Owen are:

- 1) Appeal to the private monetary profit of capitalists in actualizing utopia and expectation of management by capitalists.
- 2) Projection capitalism in utopia, namely, exchange of goods and strong survival of wage and profit system.
- 3) Lack of criticism against State power. Expectation of intervention by State.

Consequently, all these attribute to Owen's bourgeois-like characteristics. Godwin was a man of meditation of desk theory and Owen was a practical capitalist who was up-to-the-minute in the industrial revolution. Nothing

could be done about this difference in environment. However, aside from this point, Owen's utopia was most near to that of Godwin, although there were other influences of Ricardo, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, etc.

Perhaps, for Owen, Godwin's society of liberty, equality, communism and society of indefinite progress was the ultimate vision. However, as he was a practical man, he worked over his plan from capitalist's and manager's sense. This is his Village of Co-operation. In this sense, it is the result of bourgeois calculation and at the same time, it has the other phase of complete communism. This utopia was a projected pure capitalistic image to Godwin's ideal and was formed overlappingly. Thus we can understand that although Owen was a big capitalist, pictured simple village of co-operation centering agriculture; that his tie with labour movement was only for a short period; that he was attacked from both bourgeois economics and anarchism and that many of his supporters were found among small bourgeoisie.

## Theoretical Structure of Rousseau's "Du Contrat Social" and Capitalism (I)

by Hiroyuki Noji

This article consist of four chapters. The writer intends to emphasis following points in each chapter.

1. In France, the eighteenth century was the century of bourgeois revolution, and the philosophes of french enlightenment were thinkers of the bourgeoisie.

They represented development of capitalistic productive forces as development of civilization, and thought that the development of civilization was equal to advancement of mankind and humanity. In contrast with them, Rousseau alone persisted that development of the civilization, namely capitalistic productive forces, had nothing to do with the advancement of the humanity. Among eighteenth century philosophes, Rousseau's view of humanity and human history is characterized by this assertion.

2. Rousseau's concept of "l'état de nature" has dual meanings. On the one hand, it means a state in which man must be. It is Rousseau's norm or ideal. In the other it implies obviously original state of mankind,

a state to which mankind can never return again.

For this reason, Rousseau can be regarded as not only the thinker of the natural law, but also the thinker of the history. Rousseau's concept of "nature" suggests us an age of transition, transition from eighteenth century to nineteenth century, from century of natural law to century of history.

3. The most important part in "Du Contrat Social" is its first book. We can find there Rousseau's fundamental idea about formation of human society. Rousseau declares that men was born as liberal beings. In order to preserve themselves, these liberal men composed a community by mutual contract. At this moment, mankind moved from natural state to civil state, and then acquired three civil rights, "la liberté civile", "la propriété", and "l'égalité légitime". Then the writer considers that Rousseau's reasonings and their theoretical structures about social contract are correspond to the categories of the commodity exchange formulized by Karl Marx.

4. Rousseau thought, the relation between commodities were the original or essential relations upon which laws of mankind had to be based. People who exchange commodities ought to be, from the start, liberal, equal, and guaranteed their proprietorship, because exchange of commodities cannot be forced by any feudal power or authority. Rousseau asserted that the principles of commodity exchange had to take the place of the rules of feudal authorities.

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## Remarks on the Method and Object of Socio-economic Ideo-historical Study on Japan

*by Akira Tanaka*

The main purpose of this thesis is to re-evaluate Prof. Masao Maruyama's method of political ideo-history and to re-examine its effect and limit in applying it to the ideo-historical study on Japan.

In Chapter I, to present an outlook of the function and structure of thought in contemporary history, we shall take up the theory of state monopoly capitalism brought forth by Lenin on the eve of the October Revolution.

In Chapter II we shall examine, basing upon the view of a Weberian,

the significance and limitation of Prof. Maruyama's theory on Japanese spiritual structure which is one of the attempts to grasp the total structure of thought referred to in Chapter I.

The author's task in Chapter III is, by studying Karl Marx's theory of understructure and superstructure, to set forth the concept of thought which will be the criterion in making a methodological comparison between Max Weber's religio-sociology and Prof. Maruyama's political ideo-history.

In Chapter IV we shall re-evaluate the conception of "state and its thought" in Prof. Maruyama's ideo-history by comparing it with "the ethos of religion" which is to be the methodological conception in Weber's religio-sociological study. Thus we conclude that, if Prof. Maruyama's methodological conception of political ideo-history should grasp comprehensively the social structure as in the case of Weber's religio-sociology, Marx's concept of state must be brought into the methodology of ideo-history, without this there is no better way of understanding the spiritual structure of modern state in Japan which had been expressed by Fukuzawa in the transitional period from feudalism to capitalism.