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(白井 厚作成)

Social Policies and Labour Force Policies in the Period  
 of State Monopoly Capitalism, Centering Around  
 the Legal Measures on Workers' Damage Aid  
 and Retirement Allowance Reserve Savings

by Kanae Iida

The state monopoly capitalism is not essentially different from monopoly capitalism. Briefly stated, it sprang up in the early years of the twentieth century; its significance as control power was heightened through World War I and came to assume the most advanced form of monopoly capitalism in the panic of 1929. Thus the panic of 1929 can be said to have been the decisive moment in the sway of monopoly capitalism.

Any discussion in the past on the relationship between state and monopoly in state monopoly capitalism dealt only such phases as the accumulation of capital, the formation of monopoly financial capital and their relationship to state authorities. The approach of this sort, however, often resulted in a formalistic comprehension of the subject, and failed to see the manysided relationship between the formation of monopoly financial capital and the state authorities, naturally giving opportunity for labour—the counter factor against capital—to strengthen itself quantitatively and qualitatively, and to bring about an inevitable and close tie between labour and socialism.

With this relationship as a medium, labour spared no effort to substantiate and enlarge its force by calling out to the whole of the labour class.

As a concrete example for this movement, we recall the case of Russia. In the midst of the successful revolution and in the tentative peace enjoyed in the latter half of 1920's, the labour class and some intellectuals heightened their interest in and inclination toward socialism, as the vanguard not only in economic field but in the cause of socialist politics.

The ideological radicalism of the working class following the extreme impoverishment and the seriousness of a chronic unemployment compelled the controlling class to set up a large-scale system of policies to cope with labour. On the other hand, there came into being the nationalistic or Fascist movement to check such a political attempt, awakening the rightists to come forward in labour movement. More concretely expressed, there developed the economic policies that were definitely different from those adopted prior to the panic of 1929.

In other words, the economic policies then were the counter-measures against the panics caused by the inflation policy due to the controlled currency system and the increase in the expenses for various social policies and military purpose. They were the instruments, that is, they were the measures trying to take care of the cycle between prosperity and panic, the

phenomenon peculiar in the monopoly stage of capitalism. They consist of the labor force policy which is a direct grasp of labour force, and a wage policy. As a typical example of this measure, we can cite the policy of Nazist Germany and the New Deal of the United States of America.

In the state monopoly capitalism like this, how Japan maneuvered herself is the next question which naturally incite our interest. In this work, the writer tries to clarify the characteristics of the Japanese social policies by studying the legal measures on workers' damage aid and the retirement allowance reserve savings.

### The Position of Mary Wollstonecraft in the History of Female Emancipation

by Atsushi Shirai

Female emancipation may be defined tentatively as seeking the following rights:

1. Legal rights: the acquisition of civil rights such as the equality of sexes in law, especially the acquisition of franchise;
2. Economic rights: the right to work, the removal of sex discrimination in occupation, equal pay for equal work regardless of sex, the advancement into professional technical work, the economic independence of woman;
3. The educational and the cultural rights: the reform in female education, the advancement to higher educational institution, the development of talent by such means as co-education, the participation in cultural enjoyment and creative work;
4. Freedom of marriage and divorce: free love, the secularization of marriage, the liberation from the yoke of religious and paternal family system.

Looking over the feminists who appeared before Wollstonecraft, we may first of all mention Fénelon who advocated the education of women, emphasizing the importance of developing their talent and working ability. But he made no reference to their emancipation.

Next, we turn to Jean-Jaques Rousseau, whom Wollstonecraft criticized hard. Everybody knows that Rousseau stood for the freedom and equality of man. Coming to woman, however, he requested that she should be subordinated to man, ever submissive and serving, and be dedicated to household affairs and child care. Harboring the small-producer or peasant psychology,

he firmly adhered to patriarchy, never giving thought to such a thing as the freedom of woman, the enlargement of her rights and her emancipation from household drudgeries. It was indeed up to Wollstonecraft that these mistakes be fought against and shaken off.

Then we come to Edmund Burke. Viewing the matter from the standpoint of a ruling class, he held that woman should be ever delicate, elegant and pleasing to man.

From under this sort of man dominant philosophy of life, there emerged such feminists as Claude Halvétius and D'Holbach. Following them, Condorcet appeared requesting the female suffrage in the midst of the turmoil of the French Revolution and the equal opportunity for education. What Condorcet stood for, however, was the equality of sexes based on the natural right, having a savor of the principle, "a good wife and wise mother for men."

At the same time, the practical role played by woman in society came to be recognized and was enlarged. An important chance in this turn of event was the significance of "salon" in which females were very active, opening the way for the emancipation of women, having them criticize feudalism and the family system, and thus exercising a large ideological influence in the enlightenment of intellectuals.

With the backing of the lowly stationed women who had been oppressed in the ancient regime and had struggled in the French Revolution, Olympe de Gouges announced the "Declaration des droites de la femme", and made the first request in the cause of female suffrage. Some political groups and newspapers by women, as well as some organized movements for female emancipation came into being when the French Revolution was on.

Encouraged by the ideological development in female emancipation, stimulated by the industrial advance of female as a result of the Industrial Revolution of England and the rise of radical thought in general, Wollstonecraft first of all launched out on the education of woman. On the basis of the experience she had in this field, she wrote the *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* in 1787. Following this she published *A Vindication of the Rights of men* in 1790. This was a counter essay against the Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 1790.

In 1792 she published *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. This was the very thing which presented the systematic thought on female emancipation for the first time in the history of human race. According to the definition of female emancipation given at the beginning of this book, Wollstonecraft is considered to be the first woman suffragist in England demanding the legal rights, the first female thinker requesting the economic independence, the first proponent for co-education in higher education and for the democratic educational system. Concerning the married life, she stood for the emancipation of woman from home ties and she was very critical of the legal formality in marriage as a pioneer advocate for free love.

Wollstonecraft's direct influence was not very great, but the general tendency for female emancipation was gradually gaining upward in and after the 19th century.

Influenced by Wollstonecraft's outcry for the economic independence of woman, William

Thompson held the view in his practical program that female emancipation would be attained by a cooperatively unionized society.

Flora Tristan was the first female sociologist theorizer and leader in the female emancipation movement of workers. She looked upon the economic independence of woman as an issue of the working class. In other words, she was one step advanced than Wollstonecraft.

John S. Mill exercised a great influence in advocating the sex equality in law, especially in suffrage, but he was after all loitered within the bourgeois thinking.

Looking back on the long history of female emancipation thought, Wollstonecraft was the protagonist practically for all the rights described at the beginning of this paper, and the systematizer of female emancipation thoughts in the earliest period of their coming into limelight. She is very important as she proposed a variety of the problems covering a wide range of the subject. Especially her thoughts are significant as they were derived from all sorts of her severe experience that were subjectively participated.

## The Critique of Money by "Early Marx"

by Hiroyuki Noji

The philosophy of Marx in his early days and that in his later days can be taken as the two distinct types of thought. The concept of money which makes the basic idea of his *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* is exactly the contact point of these two types of his thought.

According to this work, he considers money as representing materialized and substantialized human or social relations, functioning as an independent existence and exerting an external coercive force, and thus dictating human relations and the ways of life. In other words, Marx takes money as a philosophical entity so long as it concerns with the relations of man in one way, while on the other he conceives money as an object of economic science, which is materialized and substantialized with the laws of its own, for example, the law of demand and supply. Really, with the publishing of his *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, Marx may be said to have made a fresh advance toward political economy.

Even the "Early Marx" seems to have had some thought of "critique of money". As can be seen in the preceding discussion, however, his "critique of money" was more of philosophical

nature, an apriori approach to the problem: it was not a criticism of the monetary relationship that holds a logic of its own.

In this article, the author deals with the critique of money by "Early Marx", especially *Zur Judenfrage* and the *Ökonomisch-philosophische Manuskripte*.

Marx started his critique with his application of the Feuerbach's method of critique on religion in general, and the Hegel's philosophy. Feuerbach's method of criticizing religion has its pivot in the thought: "It is not God that made man, but it is man who made God." Thus Marx raised the questions: "What sort of human being created Judaism?" and "What kind of God is it that Judaism worships?" And he replied: "It was a human being of civil society that created Judaism, and the so-called God in Judaism is money."

Here we perceive an admixture of the money critique considered in terms of religious and philosophical critique with the human and social relationship critique. Here political economy is not established as an independent science, in other words, the critique on society is not separated from the critique of "Idee".

Examining the *Ökonomisch-philosophische Manuskripte*, we find the methodological peculiarity of this work to be in "alienation". More concretely put, this alienation issue of "human essentials" takes such actual forms as the power-control relationship between capital and wage-labor, or the class conflict.

Discussing the same problem of the alienation of human essentials in the third *Manuskripte*, Marx refers to the "division of labor", "exchange" and "money". These three are the alienation forms of human essentials.

So, the author tries in this article to clarify how the two concepts—"class" and "division of labor"—which appear quite consistently in the thought of Later Marx are connected with each other, and how they are related in the works of his early days.

## R. Hilferding's System of Political Economy

—A Note—

by Hiroyasu Iida

Hilferding's system of political economy is a direct inheritance from "Das Kapital". His "system of money market" is a theoretical grasp of the "capitalistic money market" of the 20th century as an integral part of theoretical system of "Das Kapital".

It is important, however, to know that his theory is not only an inheritance of Marxian

methodology, but it is also a recognition of his theory as something which is historically conditioned.

It is true that Hilferding approached the imperialism primarily as a theoretical object of study, but we must be aware that he took it neither as a question of formal theorizing nor as a purely practical issue; his attitude was to grasp it both in its theoretical and practical phases that are well coordinated.

This essay aims at attacking the hitherto prevalent one-sided comprehension in Japan of Hilferding's system of political economy, and clarifying the pedigree of economic theories.

### Economic Thought of Jean Jaurès

by Mitsuyoshi Murata

Jean Jaurès who was an excellent statesman, educationist and journalist in modern France, was at the same time a supreme socialist thinker. Versatile as he was ideologically, here is studied his economic thought.

Jean Jaurès was not an economic theorist. He was not interested in theorizing on economics; he indoctrinated it ethically and historically, as he is generally called an "economic doctrinaire". He was after all a "collectivist".

He claimed that his collectivism was highly French in tradition in contrast to Marxism. In aim, he was very idealistic, but in its actual execution, he was inclined very practical.

The form of ownership, which he assumed to be taken in the collectivist society, is the means by which to restore the concept of ownership that has degraded into an epicurianism to its original mission to let individuals enjoy an independent life. Its characteristic was to grant the supreme ownership right to the state, and the lower type of ownership to the individuals or to the group of workers.

He considered collectivism as a necessary condition for the realization of individual freedom and social justice, and took it as the most perfect and dynamic form of communism to be attained in history. Thus he aspired for the advent of collectivism and the downfall of the capitalism which impedes its coming.

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