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# The Theory of Endogenous Development in “Yōgaron”

— An Aspect in the Thought of Edward Carpenter and Ishikawa Sanshirō (I) —

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## 「養芽論」における内発的发展論

— エドワード・カーペンターと石川三四郎の思想的接点をめぐって (I) —

稲 田 敦 子

本稿は、エドワード・カーペンターと石川三四郎の思想的接点としての内発的发展論を、これまで看過されていた石川の「養芽論」を中心にして検討したものである。石川のこの論稿は、極めて厳しい時代状況の中で、「内発的发展」の道筋をつけるべく、「人間的自然」の全体性の回復を、「本来的自然」との調和的状态において成立させる方法を求めようとしたものである。

エドワード・カーペンターは、20世紀初頭のイギリスで、社会的調和論の実践をめざした組織である Fellowship of the New Life の中心的存在としてその活動を担いながら、彼独自の “new life” の展望を求め、普遍的価値と関わる主体形成および社会倫理の問題を模索していった。そこに内包されていた彼の危機意識には、社会状況に対するものと、その状況下における個人倫理と社会倫理が極めて不均衡なままに二極化していくことに対するものとがあった。

1915年に渡英した石川三四郎は、カーペンターとの思想的交流を深めることにより、大きな影響を受けたが、特にカーペンターの “Spiritual Democracy” は、石川独自の「土民生活」思想を展開する契機となったものである。このことはさらに、新しい変革主体を軸とした共同体の再編成の可能性を求め、創造的自由を実在化すべく「複式網状組織」の実践の試みにいたることとなった。石川の「養芽論」は、カーペンターによる社会的調和論を内実化しようとしたものであり、本稿では、この論稿を手がかりとして、カーペンターとの思想的接点の検討を課題とする。

## Introduction

The age of hope and of crisis in flux is that much more strongly reflected, not just in the area of thought, but in the actions, of Edward Carpenter trapped as it was in the fetters of narrow tradition and set foot on a new continent in his search for a land of experiment. In the new

**Key words;** Edward Carpenter, Ishikawa Sanshirō, Endogenous Development, Theory of Social Harmony, Criticism of Modern Civilization

world, "Fellowship of the New Life," he felt a freshness of the unknown that could never have been experienced and it is not hard to imagine, he partook directly in the new intellectual climate and moved toward freer thought and bolder methods.

Carpenter was not reticent about his philosophy or about the image of human nature derived from it<sup>(1)</sup>. Quite explicitly Carpenter refused to separate the human race from the rest of nature. Rather the whole universe was an expression of a purposive mystical entity. Humanity's role in this scheme was both prodigal son and saviour inside nature and yet at the same time capable of viewing it from the outside, human experience was to be the agency through which the connectedness of things was to be celebrated and the shattered wholeness of the cosmos to be reintegrated.

Carpenter was keenly aware that nature was entering a critical state, and he questioned the one-dimensional nature of this ideal of progress in the forward thrust of modernization<sup>(2)</sup>. The age in which he lived was one in which could have begun to form over the optimism previously felt about qualitative progress in the reality of human life compared to the acceleration of forward progress in civilization's size.

It was a time when the change in the paradigm of our existence from an open to a closed thread was beginning to remove the ideal of progress from the stage. Humanistic nature lost its absolute character and had been removed from the human feelings of an existence in reality and the human as absolute and there was no longer any opportunity to put the brakes on these feelings even within the self.

This idea of Carpenter had major effects on the thought of Ishikawa Sanshiro, who searched for a method that will enhance the path and that method is direct interaction with nature by making it an intrinsic part of the production site. In his criticism of modern capitalism, Ishikawa does not use the word "nature" simply as a term in contradistinction with "civilization." He sought to open the path to liberation for those who are under the control of the present system.

A brief criticism entitled *Yogaron* by its author Ishikawa Sanshiro was published in a 1924 edition of the journal *Yorozuchoho*. In this article, Ishikawa firmly warned about losing sight of fundamentals and basic purposes and several times quotes Tanaka Shozo, "political movements are going on all right, but at the same time, people are dying."<sup>(3)</sup> In addition to his criticism of modern capitalist civilization, Ishikawa was a pioneer in elaborating the issues of environmental ethics in the modern era. Despite the flood of phrases that we hear today like "coexistence with nature," the issues of environmental ethics lie at the core of our very existence and it is important for us to constantly and seriously question the ethics of our way of life. This paper seeks to

examine how Ishikawa's awareness of the issues of environmental ethics were formed.

## I. Awareness of environmental ethics

The major opportunity through which Ishikawa developed his awareness of the problems of environmental ethics is also the starting point of environmental hazards in modern Japan, the operation of the Ashio copper mine and its resulting copper poisoning. With the problem becoming more and more serious, he had an extremely important chance meeting with Tanaka Shozo, a man whose entire life was devoted to publicizing the situation of contamination from the Ashio copper mines.

Ishikawa's first visit to Yanaka-mura was on March 31, 1906. Kato Ansei showed Ishikawa, Henmi Onokichi and others around the village. At the time, he said "I was unable to keep quiet on the journey coming back from the top of the dike, so I made a speech and then we took leave of each other."<sup>(4)</sup> His second visit was the next month, on the 28th of April, one day before residents of Yanaka-mura would be forced, under orders from the prefectural governor, to destroy the temporary dike they had built. In such a severe situation, Ishikawa was greatly astounded to see Tanaka Shozo participating in the building of the dike with the Yanaka villagers. Industrialization was moving forward at the same time, production was becoming more efficient, and the capitalistic modernization policy that called for the pursuit of profits was bringing the ultimate destruction of nature so that before their very eyes the basis for the livelihood of the local people was being torn out root and branch.

Tanaka Shozo's diary entries for September 1891, which can still be viewed today, carry for the first time the words "copper poisoning" as well as "Tables of mud analyses." The copper poisoning was part of the enormous damage caused by the great flood of August 23, 1890. The damage from this flood, the worst in 50 years, was totally different from any ordinary flood. It was the first time that the waters had carried such widespread copper contamination from the Ashio mines. Prior to that the farmers and fisherman along the banks of the Watarase River saw fish strangely dead, but the large-scale destruction brought by the flood of August 1890 provided the motivation for the drive to find the cause of the damage.

Always before that flood waters brought down rich mulch and soil from upstream regions which is very good fertilizer for farm crops. But because these flood waters contained copper tailings they had the opposite effect and greatly damaged farm produce. Once the rice plants were submerged under this water they rotted and no harvest able grain appeared. The damage

was a big blow to all industries in the region, for the river basin was also home to Tochigi prefecture's silkworm culture and the copper contained in the water caused the mulberry trees to wither and die and without mulberry leaves the silkworm cannot live. A large area of almost 250,000 acres of paddy and dry field in the Watarase River region was damaged in the two subsequent floods of 1896. A 25-centimeter thick layer of contaminated soil covered the paddies and fields. All that remained were yellow, blighted crops in decimated fields. Flood itself is a natural disaster, but it was man-made disaster that expanded the damage to this extent. Not only did the process of producing copper emit mine pollution, the need to obtain charcoal for ore smelting led to large-scale deforestation and the smoke from the mines killed thousands of trees; both of which were factors making the flood even worse.

The villagers could no longer fish, their fields would yield no crops, in fact, the very basis of life had been torn from them. Ishikawa said, "Man is born from the soil and returns to the soil. Land is the birthplace of mankind. Isn't this adherence to land basic to man's nature? ... When the money economy began to rule over the children of the soil, Greece went into turmoil and Rome fell. Scholars unable to interpret the mind of the people are unqualified to discuss the agrarian economy. How can one call this the economy of a nation?" He harshly criticized the industrial capital that had caused this destruction of nature saying, "Humankind is not a tool of the economy."<sup>(5)</sup>

A copper poisoning inspection group was set up on July 21, 1900. This group was organized to examine the areas damaged, to clarify the realities of the copper poisoning problem and the consider policies in aid of those who had been harmed by it. Such groups as the Women's Association to Aid Mine Poisoned Areas and Student's Association to Aid the Mine-Poisoned became quite active.

One activity of the many different groups was the series of Shinkigen (New Era) lectures to which Ishikawa invited Tanaka Shozo to speak. The Shinkigen company held big meetings of speakers at the Hongo Central Hall in Tokyo to examine the Yanaka-mura issue and get these opinions out to as wide a segment of the public as possible. Their magazine, *Shinkigen*, was a frequent forum for the issues of mine poisoning.

As symbolized by the phrases "collapse of the country," and "people who are destroying Japan" that frequently appear in his *Shinkigen* articles, Ishikawa's criticism is directed against a government policy that single-mindedly backed industrial capital in its pursuit of profits to build a prosperous nation while destroying its natural resources. It was a protest against the

national and Tochigi prefectural governments' fraudulent move to shift mine-poisoning from a problem that the Furukawa mining company was responsible for to one of Watarase River flood control and to implement an atrocious program that ran roughshod over the local farmer's desires in order to forcibly remove those who remained.

## II. The ethics of land

What power could control the poisoning and other problems created by the excesses of industrialization? It was a question as to whether the system alone had the ability to control these poisons. Modern capital did not have the capability of retarding its own overall progress and it would have been even more difficult for an individual to be able to stop it. The opportunity would be found when the ethics of how we lived came into question. It is not that no such attempts were made but those who sought to hold back the deleterious aspects of industrialization were working against the major trends of the time. The efforts were like a flowing underground rivulet, small but incessant. Though it did not become a main trend, the power to retard environmental damage was in a seedling stage at that time. Part of that flow was the formation of Ishikawa Sanshiro's philosophy, the subject of this paper.

During the late 1940s, Aldo Leopold (1887-1948) presented a discussion about the ethics of land. In his book *I Can Hear The Song of The Wild* (Shinrin Shobo 1986) he examined the subject of land and gave serious consideration to the best ways to supervise wild animals and forests.

Up to this time, there had been discussions of the ethics of how one individual relates to another or how an individual relates to the society he or she lives in but Leopold pointed out that ethical discussion had to consider how these things related to the land.

What he means by land is not land mankind holds in property, territory or real estate, but the very soil itself. It is the place where millions of different microorganisms live, where the plants grow and the animals thrive. It is land that is the circuit and path of the energy that makes life possible.

He saw everything that lives in and on the land together and thought of it as a community of common destiny, what he called the "land community." He continued to ask himself such questions as what was the best way for all the members of the community including human beings to interact with each other and what are the duties and obligations that have been consigned to humanity to act on behalf of the health of the land community, and to those ends he pushed for-

ward with his "ethics of land." The basic mode of existence for all living things, they live together in mutual bond, is the land community and the path to rediscovering and restoring healthy relations between man and nature is the ethic of land.

Against the backdrop of industrialization in Europe and North America stands the view of nature as mechanism and this view is also one that lends heavy credence to the notion of human subjectivity or independence. From this arises the belief that man stands in some divine position over nature. This brought on the enormous destruction of nature but it also developed the idea of protecting nature.

Industrialization in the West, environmental destruction which is the logical outcome of it and the move to solve those problems all arise from the same root. However, since the Meiji era and more so since its defeat in World War II, Japan has moved rapidly forward on its program of industrialization. But, this was a grafted hybrid, something that did not exist originally in Japanese tradition. And, for that reason, the background of contemporary problems of environmental destruction is quite different for Japan and for the West. In Ishikawa, we see a departure from the traditional view of nature in Japan.

### **III. The Japanese view of nature and Ando Shoeki**

Lets us first take an overall look, although an extremely generalized one, of the traditional view of nature in Japan as a stage prior to examining the continuity and discontinuity of that traditional view in Ishikawa's ideas. The Japanese view is one of nature deeply affecting the human psychology and spirit, acting almost like a kind of religious savior. An important factor working on the people's spiritual life and first making them aware of nature occurred during the Asuka era with the dramatic impact of the cultures of continental Asia — China and Korea. However, although sparked by contact with continental Chinese culture, the customs of everyday life that drew the mind deeply toward to the serenity of nature and focused attention on the mountains and waters were already and are factors in the Japanese view of nature.

The inclination arose among the people to regard the mountains and fields as the place to escape the world of sadness. This was not merely a conceptual orientation, for people would actually cast aside their ordinary lives and go off to hide away in some far corner of the mountains so that by confronting nature and denying ordinary existence, they would seek to uplift nature. worldly affairs are set in contrast with mountains and rivers and one can see the influence of Chinese thought that connects Taoist thinking on natural surroundings and seclusion

with the Confucian view of nature. Although the Chinese view may emphasize the superiority of nature, "from within, it considers human society to be of much greater importance" and is not unconditionally slanted toward nature. Thus, at first glance, Chinese thought seems to assign superiority to nature, to make it stand above human beings, but seen more closely, it transforms itself into a utilitarian view that sees nature as a simple method or expedient. This point makes the Chinese view qualitatively different from the Japanese view that finds a joy and meek obedience in the allure of nature.

The aesthetic practices of Buddhism in which one forsakes the world and goes into the mountains, is closely connected with the Japanese orientation toward mountain and field. The life of seclusion in forest and mountain is at first taught as a method of searching for truth but is eventually regarded as the superior mode of life. However, leaving behind the conflicts that are such a part of human society and entering the world of nature does nothing to solve the problems of human society. This thus becomes a search for a new way of accepting those conflicts as they are rather than turning one's back on reality.

In the middle age, the view of nature became much more diversified. The Asuka era view of nature, one of delight in communing with the beauties of nature, changed, as the doctrine of Chu-tzu established a philosophical and scientific view of nature. This provided a philosophical view that combined inner nature, outer nature and transcendental nature and gave a major stimulus to the thinking of natural science. On the dimension of human social and political action it also provides, in the writings of Ogyu Sorai, a transition in political ideology from nature to action. Residing within it are many large problems that seek to be innovative political doctrine. Although its main tendency is toward realism in literature and the graphic arts it also has an idealization and an ideation of nature. But more than that the reason it departed from the traditional view of nature, is provided by Ando Shoeki in his *Shizenyo* [World of nature].

According to Shoeki, nature is the cause of the self, it has neither beginning nor end. The world has no beginning and end, no up or down, no distinction between upper and lower classes; it is merely nature. All the material things in the universe, the world and its people have a relative existence, they are complementary to each other and because of that they act mutually upon each other. He calls these characteristics "alternateness." The mutual interaction occurring between all things that is induced by this alternateness, places nature in a constant forward and backward motion. The ideal society depicted by Shoeki is one in which people neither govern nor are governed, in which everyone is a direct object of nature's cultivation. When human beings live in nature and are directly cultivated by it and are in a state in which they neither



rule nor are ruled, they are people in the true meaning of the word. This "world of nature" stands in juxtaposition to the world of law that was the reality of the feudal society at that time.

The period in which Shoeki was active was one in which the conflicts of the shogunate system were becoming apparent — what had heretofore been unshakable began to show signs of unsteadiness. Rather than seeking escape from the world of sadness, the reality of humankind, he looked directly into it and accepted the conflicts. By placing himself in the middle of those conflicts, he built a new trend informed with the perspective of reform rather than affirmation of the status quo. The traditional view of nature contained a premise that one could accept a life filled with the conflicts of reality by doing works or making a determination that would overcome the sufferings of life through self-discipline, ascetic training and practices leading toward enlightenment. This has both a passive stance toward affirming the status quo and a positive aspect of making one's self live in reality. This is set against a backdrop of gaining salvation from the world beyond rather than this one and nature is what makes that other world work. However, this overcoming of the self, objectifies the self of reality and all conflicts of society and cuts off the uniformity of nature and one's awareness, resulting in an affirmation of the status quo that is accompanied by a departure from time that refers neither to the manipulation of, nor progress in, reality.

We can see in Shoeki a positive channel in the main flow of the traditional view of nature, one that accepts all conflict through direct observation and that looks directly at the basis of human reality. The theories of direct cultivation espoused by Shoeki state that nature is regulated by an eternal, active body with no beginning and no end. This activity is not acted on by any other power. All existence within the natural universe is relative existence, and the separate entities act mutually through mutual complementarity. Shoeki calls this mutual interaction "active truth." It performs the actions of self in the natural universe, and in it, productive activities in land are the central fact of life. This shows the way in which humans stand in contradistinction, the basic relative existence, as well as a new view of society that comprises monogamy and equality between the sexes.

The ideas of Shoeki remained completely buried until their rediscovery by Kano Ryokichi in 1899, which he examined in *Shizen Shin'eido* [The True Way in which Nature Operates]. Kano and Watanabe Taiju made the ideas of Shoeki even more well known and E. H. Norman in 1950 gave a more steadfast famous to the image. Ishikawa mentions Shoeki in his autobiography: "Ando Shoeki was several centuries ahead of Jean Jacques Rousseau of France. This sounds like a startling fact at first glance, but it is one tool that allows us to imagine the wide-ranging

intellectual ferment of the European renaissance. This is shown by the rapid dissemination of the Dutch interpretation of naturalism in Ando Shoeki's Japan. The Netherlands had by then extricated itself from the restrictions of Spain's religious authority, and it was a time when the powerful ideas of natural life were moving forward throughout the world. That added fuel to the fire of the thinking of Japanese progressives who had already been influenced by it." He also points out that the thought of Shoeki may seem like a temporary floating bubble that soon disappears from the mind, but that is merely a superficial view of his thinking for it is thoroughly secreted at the foundations of the worlds of Japanese philosophy and letters.

#### IV. Endogenous Development in "Yogaron"

Ishikawa becomes part of that flow by further developing, in *Domin Seikatsu* [Life of the People of the Soil] and *Yogaron*, the problem of the natural world that Shoeki expounds upon. Ishikawa's intentions in examining nature and trying to find positive meaning in it can be summed up under the following three headings: 1) criticism of modern civilization in relation to its mechanization of nature; 2) criticism of evolution as an accepted progressive historical view; and 3) opportunities for new internal reform<sup>(6)</sup>.

What Ishikawa considers problematical in regard to the first point is "the idea that nature is to be conquered." The idea of conquering nature drives a wedge between mankind and nature and because of that, human beings forget that they are the children of nature. This creates the emptiness in the minds and hearts of modern man. This idea can also be seen in the greater productive power that modern society has over ancient society in the overall view of history and the fact that modern society continues to move forward in its conquest of nature. However, the development of machine industry, a necessary condition for progress in modern thinking, centralizes industry, throws large numbers of people into poverty and destroys the natural life of the human race. It creates many kinds of abnormalities, instability and pathological situations in social organization, and uses large amounts of labor ineffectively in an unnaturally designed and centralized industrial setup. The idea of conquering nature leads to the conquering of markets and in turn to the conquest of people throughout the world and eventually to world war. In such wars, articles that have useful purpose and were created through countless years of study and sacrifice are turned to the annihilation of many millions of people, they waste labor, and they destroy true artistic qualities. That is the logical conclusion of civilization and progress.

As used by Ishikawa, the word "civilization" may easily be supplanted by the words "modern

capitalism." But, in his criticism of modern capitalism, he does not use the word "nature" simply as a term in contradistinction with "civilization."<sup>(7)</sup> When Ishikawa talks about a "return to nature,"<sup>(8)</sup> he is not riding the currents of restoration, but is aiming for modern capitalistic society to be overcome, he seeks to open the path to liberation for those who are under the control of the capitalist system. But, a major feature of Ishikawa is the search for a method that will enhance this path, and that method is direct interaction with nature by making it an intrinsic part of the production site.

On the second point, Ishikawa's criticism of theories of evolution are involved with the problems that are connected to his historical awareness. I have discussed the details of this in another paper, but suffice it to say that Ishikawa is criticizing not biological evolution but the social evolution (Social Darwinism) as espoused by Spencer and others and of the effect that these theories have on political, social, religious and moral movements. This is a criticism directed basically at the progressivist view of history. Ranking Ishikawa's critique with the intellectual trends of the time, we find it to be part of the rising doubt about the progressivist view of history that began to take root after World War I and the attempt to reexamine the dominant view of history that centered on Western Europe. Ishikawa was influenced by this trend during his sojourn in Europe, when he saw at first hand the tragedies brought on by progress. From that he gained sustenance for a stronger critique against Social Darwinism.

The premise for understanding the third point, that nature equals "The Way" lies in the movement from society, to The Way, to nature. The Way is something universal, something that encompasses both The Way Of Heaven and The Way of Mankind. "The substantive expression of independence and the absolute character of life that are seen in The Way, deny the artificial-governing state."<sup>(9)</sup> It seeks the formation of a small, self-sufficient society with the hamlet as the local governing unit. In this sense, Ishikawa understands that nature equals The Way, and nature must be part of the doctrine of relationships between human beings and all other things. From that arises the opportunity for internal reform of the doctrine and with Ishikawa's unique awareness of darkness within the self, the task is one of liberating the self from the darkness it is caught in and denouncing the negative aspects of modern capitalistic civilization, which is the externalization of darkness. When we consider the relationship between nature and The Way, the individual is a member of the universal community, subject to the rules of nature, and the rule of living the good life could become one of abandoning the individual and living as part of the whole. This mode of being would be extremely suitable to that found in Japanese custom, but Ishikawa draws a conclusion that is completely the opposite, seeing it as a means of

internal reform of the self.

The problem of subject in Ishikawa is intimately connected with the problems of sin that are brought on by a substantive awareness of the internal self that comes about through a meeting with the Absolute as in Christianity, and the orientation toward self reform as a liberation cannot be ignored. Moving the awareness of darkness that accompanies the experience of self in Ishikawa forward logically turns it into a Christian awareness of sin. There is room for doubt as to how great that awareness had deepened in later philosophical journeys, whether their was a liberation from this sin, which arises through his encounter with Christianity. But it should be pointed out that at the foundation is an awareness that the life of truth cannot be lived without an internal reform of self based on an awareness of darkness.

Ishikawa thinks of nature as soil, and when he emphasizes direct interaction with the soil it is done so against the backdrop of this awareness. When he says that the return to nature is the return to self, we see an orientation toward the establishment of an eternally reformed subject as constant self reform. Set against the traditional Japanese view of nature, this shows that Ishikawa's view of nature is unique.

The above three points make Ishikawa's view of nature understood. But since the modern era, others in addition to Ishikawa have made similar criticisms on points one and two. Though the details may be different, they have criticized progressivism in developmental stages and the negative aspects of modern civilization brought on by capitalistic society. However, the third point is unique to Ishikawa's *Yogaron* and *Domin Seikatsu* and it flows through Japanese intellectual foundations to surface as a new issue in modern industrial society.

#### Footnotes

- (1) Carpenter's publishing of "Civilization — Its causes and cure" in 1889, was a way ahead of its times in its criticism of the rationale of Social Darwinism. He harshly criticizes the rigidity caused by the concentration of organization and authority, but rather than emphasizing this critique is much more interested in the growth of a new humanity created out of respect toward work and human beings that will open up a hole in the present situation and searches for what that should be like. He was determined to promote life's internal creative powers as the life of the community and the awakening and growth of that awareness was moving forward as a medium interacting with nature.
- (2) Edward Carpenter, *Civilization: Its Cause and Cure*, London, 1889 pp. 10-11
- (3) *Tanaka Shozo Zenshu*, vol. 9, "Diary 1912. 4. 23" Iwanamishoten 1979
- (4) *Ishikawa Sanshiro Chosakushu*, vol. 7 Seidosha 1977 p. 14
- (5) *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23
- (6) Ishikawa Sanshiro "Yogaron", *Yorozuchoho* 1924 p. 2

- (7) Ibid., p. 3
- (8) Ibid., p. 4
- (9) Mitsuo Nakata, "'Do' no Kannen", Todaihihakushiso kenkyukai ed. *Hikakushiso zasshi* vol. 3 pp. 87-88
- (10) c.f. Carpenter's concept of complete recovery is not a simple utopian concept of crisis recovery, it is a means of critically dealing with the realities of statism and absolutism and all of its philosophical underpinnings. It takes fact as fact and is a product of nature and reason that is supported by a psychology that is in line with and does not depart from the facts. Carpenter's practicality lies in the establishment of a total recovery of humanistic nature in a state harmonious with societal nature. The social reformation that guarantees that recovery is then put into practice using a cooperative thought that incorporates nature as its base.

This theory of a cooperative society removes the state, a superficiality standing in an artificial, ruling position, and makes most important the way in which the natural and life dimensions that are based on the human being exist. In reality, the state that rules all social relationships based on its superiority is, originally, nothing more than an entity that takes care of one of the functions in socially organic relationships. Therefore, this is a theory of social harmony that reduces the ruling characteristics of the state itself into those of a one function entity and creates cooperative relationships above them.

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