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はしがき

—— “社畜” に、ましてや “国家畜” に成り下がらないために——

ヒレア・ベロック (Hilaire Belloc, 1870-1953) が警世の書、『奴隷の国家』を世に問うたのは、今から 100 年以上も前の 1912 年のことであった。それは第一次世界大戦もロシア革命も起こらないさきのことであったから、ベロックの慧眼には驚かされるばかりである。資本主義も社会主義も人間性の根本である自由を奪い、人間を隷属状態につなぐものだという本質を鋭い洞察力で見抜いた彼は、第三の道、「私有財産分配主義、あるいは分産主義」(Distributism) を推奨する。“社畜” として少数の資本家のために働くのではなく、社会主義的な社会で “国家畜” として官僚のために働くのでもない、まさに自分自身のために働く社会の実現を目指して、全員が生産手段を所有する自由人たるべきだと主張したのであった。格差社会が確立され、おどろおどろしい “社畜” なる言葉が普通に使われる今日の日本の若者が、自身の人生の “経営者” になるために考えてみるべき視点がこの本にはある。そのように確信し、原著からもっとも肝要だと思われる数章を選択して、大学の授業に合うよう便宜的に 15 節に分割、編集してみた。各章のタイトルはベロックのものであるが、小見出しは編者がつけたものであることをお断りしておく。開文社の安居洋一氏にはあえて現代社会にアンチテーゼを提出する英文教科書を出版する英断を下していただいた。編者として、氏のご理解に満腔の敬意と謝意を表するものである。

さて、日本は G7 のメンバー国である。先進国に数えられるにもかかわらず、今頃になってようやく「働き方改革」が政策課題になり、しかもその実態が労働の人間化というより、かえって雇用者に有利な変更になるのではないかという批判があるのだから、まずもってその滑稽さを笑うべきであろう。しかし笑って済ませるわけにはいかないのが労働の問題なのである。人間、

どのように働くかが、その人の実存と深くかかわる、まさに人生を左右するような価値の哲学の問題だからである。ベロックの哲学の最重要点は、人は働く「自由」を確保しなければならない、ということである。働く自由は働かない自由を承認する。他者の意思にしたがって働く社会は奴隷を認める社会である。日本には「滅私奉公」的労働意識が文化の奥底深く根ざし、それをほめそやす風潮すら存在する。「過労死」という言葉がそのまま外国に輸出されるほど一般化してしまったのは誠に悲しいことであるが、高校野球など、スポ根礼賛の背景にも、労働環境を悪化させる「ブラック体質」と同根の、「滅私」思想の因子が潜んでいるように感じられるのである。今こそ真の自由の確立のために、企業や国家の奴隷にならないために、各個人が自己存在の神秘を自覚しつつ、自己実現のための哲学を手にしなければならないのである。

しかるに現代日本では、保守層は個人よりも国家に軸足を置き、リベラル派は個人主義的価値を守ろうとして、国家・政府に福祉の増大を要求し、結局は国家に魂を売り渡しているかに見える。右も左も、個人よりも国家を優先させる国家主義がはびこる現状、「自由」なき社会をわれわれ自身が招来させているのではないかとさえ思われるのである。少数の金持ちと大多数の貧乏人が共存する社会の、豊かさのなかの貧困という新自由主義社会の課題にどのように立ち向かうべきか、本教科書を読みながら真剣に考えてみようではないか。以下、多少長くなるが、ベロックの思想背景について、編者の解説を加えておきたい。

*Introduction****The Subject of This Book***

This book is written to maintain and prove the following truth: That our free modern society in which the means of production are owned by a few being necessarily in unstable equilibrium, it is tending to reach a condition of stable equilibrium *by the establishment of compulsory labor legally enforceable upon those who do* 5 *not own the means of production for the advantage of those who do.* With this principle of compulsion applied against the non-owners there must also come a difference in their status; and in the eyes of society and of its positive law men will be divided into two sets: the first economically free and politically free, possessed of the means 10 of production, and securely confirmed in that possession; the second economically unfree and politically unfree, but at first secured by their very lack of freedom in certain necessities of life and in a minimum of well-being beneath which they shall not fall.

Society having reached such a condition would be released from 15 its present internal strains and would have taken on a form which would be stable: that is, capable of being indefinitely prolonged without change. In it would be resolved the various factors of instability which increasingly disturb that form of society called *Capitalist*, and men would be satisfied to accept, and to continue in, 20 such a settlement.

To such a stable society I shall give the title of the Servile State.

I shall not undertake to judge whether this approaching organization of our modern society be good or evil. I shall concern myself only with showing the necessary tendency toward it which has long existed and the recent social provisions which show that it has
5 actually begun.

This new state will be acceptable to those who desire consciously or by implication the reestablishment among us of a difference of status between possessor and non-possessor: it will be distasteful to those who regard such a distinction with ill favor or with dread.

10 My business will not be to enter into the discussion between these two types of modern thinkers, but to point out to each and to both that that which the one favors and the other would fly is upon them.

I shall prove my thesis in particular from the case of the industrial
15 society of Great Britain, including that small, alien, and exceptional corner of Ireland, which suffers or enjoys industrial conditions today.

I shall divide the matter thus:

(1) I shall lay down certain definitions.

(2) Next, I shall describe the institution of slavery and the Servile
20 State of which it is the basis, as these were in the ancient world.

I shall then:

(3) Sketch very briefly the process whereby that age-long institution of slavery was slowly dissolved during the Christian centuries, and whereby the resulting medieval system, based upon highly
25 divided property in the means of production, was

(4) wrecked in certain areas of Europe as it approached completion, and had substituted for it, in practice though not in legal theory,

a society based upon Capitalism.

(5) Next, I shall show how Capitalism was of its nature unstable, because its social realities were in conflict with all existing or possible systems of law, and because its effects in denying *sufficiency* and *security* were intolerable to men; how being thus *unstable*, it consequently presented a *problem* which demanded a solution: to wit, the establishment of some stable form of society whose law and social practice should correspond, and whose economic results, by providing *sufficiency and security*, should be tolerable to human nature.

(6) I shall next present the only three possible solutions:

(a) Collectivism, or the placing of the means of production in the hands of the political officers of the community.

(b) Property, or the reestablishment of a Distributive State in which the mass of citizens should severally own the means of production.

(c) Slavery, or a Servile State in which those who do not own the means of production shall be legally compelled to work for those who do, and shall receive in exchange a security of livelihood.

Now, seeing the distaste which the remains of our long Christian tradition have bred in us for directly advocating the third solution and boldly supporting the reestablishment of slavery, the first two alone are open to reformers: (1) a reaction towards a condition of well-divided property or the *Distributive State*; (2) an attempt to achieve the ideal *Collectivist State*.

(7) It can easily be shown that this second solution appeals most naturally and easily to a society already Capitalist on account of the

difficulty which such a society has to discover the energy, the will, and the vision requisite for the first solution.

(8) I shall next proceed to show how the pursuit of this ideal Collectivist State which is bred of Capitalism leads men acting upon a Capitalist society *not* towards the Collectivist State nor anything like it, but to that third utterly different thing—the *Servile State*.

(9) Recognizing that theoretical argument of this kind, though intellectually convincing, is not sufficient to the establishment of my thesis, I shall conclude by giving examples from modern English legislation, which examples prove that the Servile State is actually upon us.

Such is the scheme I design for this book.



ヒリア・ベロック