

The Theory of Power and its Link to Human Behavior

Bertrand Russell versus Yasuma Takata

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Abstract. This paper deals with the theory of power in human behavior, with focus on the similarity and difference between the two giants, Bertrand Russell and Yasuma Takata. While Russell was a British philosopher and social critic, Takata was a Japanese sociologist and economist. Although they respectively lived at the western and eastern ends of the vast Euro-Asian Continent, it was of much interest to see that they were both basically liberal and creative scientists, thus being persons with penetrating eyes on a variety of socio-economic problems in the world. On the one hand, the open-minded Russell was fond of using his pet "common sense approach" to Social Power, stressing the critical difference between boundless desire for power and limited desire for wealth. On the other hand, the scholarly Takata selected to employ his favorite "high-brow approach" to Power Theory, whence stressing his main proposition that "Power Matters". I believe that in spite of minor differences, those two approaches were clearly nice complements and reinforcing each other. We live in the 21st century and look forward to going beyond Russell and Takata.

I. Bertrand Russell as an Idolized Scientist: Common Sense versus Highbrow

Bertrand Russell (1872-1970) was known as one of the most distinguished philosophers in the twentieth century, being interested in so many field including mathematics, ethics, metaphysics, education, and even peace movements. In personal perspective, his influence on my way of life has been extensive and important until today. Specifically, the following two books have greatly affected me since I was a high school student. ¹⁾

(1) Bertrand Russell (1930) *The Conquest of Happiness*, George Allen & Unwin, London.

(2) Bertrand Russell (1938) *Power: A New Social Analysis*, George Allen & Unwin, London.

Although those two books were published even before I was born in Osaka, reading of the books impressed me very much as a young high school boy, and has constantly given great impact on my academic life. Honestly speaking, when I began to read the book (1), the title itself gave a sort of shock to me. I then wondered whether or not happiness could be an object to be "conquered". As a young man of the Orient, happiness should rather be an item to be longed for, but not to be conquered. Perhaps, it is in this subtle point that the West fundamentally differs from the East. Apart from such a psychological barrier, however, I was largely enjoyed Russell's book on happiness.

It seemed to me that the two books were twin books. First of all, both of them were published in the 1930s, namely in the period of the Great Depression in which all the people around the world were wandering about from place to place in order to seek decent and happy life under the shadow of huge political power. Second, both books were not voluminous works but rather compact ones. Third, they were both very well written and seemed to very high in literary merit. Forth, they discussed their respective subjects very extensively over a variety of fields rather than deeply penetratingly into a limited number of topics. In order to understand those common features of the books, it would be quite useful for us to take a careful look at the contents of Russell (1930) on happiness as was seen in Table 1.

**Table 1 Bertrand Russell 's Common Sense Book:
The Conquest of Happiness, London, 1930 ,**

The Outline of the Contents

PART ONE CAUSES OF UNHAPPINESS

Chapter I	What Makes People Unhappy?
Chapter II	Byronic Unhappiness
Chapter III	Competition
Chapter IV	Boredom and Excitement
Chapter V	Fatigue
Chapter VI	Envy
Chapter VII	The Sense of Sin
Chapter VIII	Persecution Mania
Chapter IX	Fear of Public Opinion

PART TWO CAUSES OF HAPPINESS

Chapter X	Is Happiness Still Possible ?
Chapter XI	Zest
Chapter XII	Affection
Chapter XIII	The Family
Chapter XIV	Work
Chapter XV	Impersonal Interests
Chapter XVI	Effort and Resignation
Chapter XVII	The Happy Man

When I was a high school student in Osaka, I had a chance to carefully read Russell (1930). As soon as the book was opened, the following remark at the very beginning of Preface gave an indescribable charm of the author's honesty and sincerity for the reader.

This book is not addressed to highbrows, or to those who regard a practical problem merely

as something to be talked about. No profound philosophy or deep erudition will be found in the following pages. I have aimed only putting together some remarks which are inspired by what I hope is common sense. All that I claim for the recipes offered to the reader is that they are such as confirmed by own experience and observation, and that they have increased my own happiness whenever I have acted in accordance with them. On this ground I venture to hope that some among those multitudes of men and women who suffer unhappiness without it, may find their situation diagnosed and a method of escape suggested. It is in the belief that many people who are unhappy could become happy by well-directed effect that I have written this book.

(Russell, 1938, Preface, the first page)

So, this million seller of Russell (1938) was not originally addressed to highbrows or those people who claimed to be academic intellectuals, but rather to those who we might call ordinary men in the street. He did not always trust in many highbrow's opinions about fundamental questions concerning happiness, justice, power and so on. Although he himself was born as Lord, a member of the high class in England, and thus generally regarded as a highbrow, it was quite ironical that he did not trust much about the highbrow ways of doing and thinking. He seemed to be very fond of the phrase "common sense", thus constantly using it against the phrase "highbrow" throughout his long career as was easily seen in the title of Russell (1959). Honestly speaking, it seemed that as was to be expected, his academic position occasionally had to wavered between "common sense" and "highbrow".

Russell (1930) was published just after the Great Depression took place around the world. Many men in the street lost their jobs and were at the nadir of their fortunes. They were so eager to find a helpful way out of such a miserable state of repression. So, the publication of a handy guidebook for good luck and happiness seemed to be regarded as a manna from the Heaven by many people. Not only that, it could also serve as an excellent output for every sincere researchers around the world.

Let me take a close look again at Table 1. Note that Russell (1930) consisted of two parts — Part One and Part Two. Part One discussed causes of unhappiness, and Part Two causes of happiness. It was really intriguing that discussion on unhappiness was put forward before discussion on happiness. Such apparently opposite order seemed to be understandable because unhappiness had a more appealing power to a human mind than happiness.

Chapter 1 was addressed to the straight question what made people unhappy. Surely, there existed so many possible causes of unhappiness. In Chapter II through

Chapter IX, Russell pointed out that the following eight causes were very critical among them: They were Byronic unhappiness, competition, boredom and excitement, fatigue, envy, the sense of sin, persecution mania and fear of public opinion. Speaking of my young days, I witnessed the untimely death of two promising friends suffering from Byronic unhappiness. ²⁾

As an economics professor, I would like to focus only on several factors here. First of all, reading many typical textbooks of microeconomics and general equilibrium theory, we found that the bad impact of competition on unhappiness was often underestimated and even neglected. In economic theory in which the concept of competition represented one of key concepts, the relation between the degree of competition and the state of people's happiness should have been worth of serious investigation. In reality, however, people had the general tendency that inconvenient truths were easily ignored and even completely out of question. In fact, the apparently optimistic proposition that any competitive equilibrium implied Pareto optimality and vice versa, was almost unquestionably taught at many American universities in the 1960s and the 1970s. ³⁾

Chapter III was one of the most interesting chapters, starting with the following impressive paragraph.

If you ask any man in America, or any man in business in England, what it is that most interferes his enjoyment of existence, he will say: 'The struggle for life.' He will say this in all sincerity, he will believe it

(Russell, 1930, page 35)

First of all, it was quite remarkable to see that Russell did not write the general expression "any man in England" but employed the more restrictive expression "any man in business in England", implying that any non-business man would act entirely differently from any business man. Here, we would clearly understand the fundamental difference between America and England. This would also demonstrate Russell's preference for an Englishman's lifestyle over an American's one. In fact, at this point, Russell firmly asserted that "the struggle for life" had nothing to do with any man's enjoyment of existence.

It was true that Russell acknowledged the necessity of the minimum amount of competition in a human society. However, he rejected the dominance of excess competition among ordinary men in the street. He paraphrased this important point in the following way.

The root of the trouble springs from too much emphasis upon competitive success as the main source of happiness. What I maintain is that can only be one ingredient in happiness, and is too dearly purchased if all the other ingredients have been sacrificed to obtain it.

(Russell, 1930, page 39)

To Russell's lament, such emphasis on competitive success as the main source of happiness had a bad tendency of self multiplication. To be worse, it was closely related to the decay of civilized standards in a modern society. He pointed it out that people appeared to have become incapable of enjoying the more intellectual pleasures, thus excessively cultivating the will at the expense of the senses and the intellect. In conclusion, he remarked as follows.

Competition considered as the main thing in life is too grim, too tenacious, too much a matter of taut muscles and intent will, to make a possible basis of life for one or two generations at most. After that length of time it must produce nervous fatigue, various phenomena of escape, a pursuit of pleasures of pleasures as tense and as difficult as work (since relaxing has become impossible), and in the end a disappointment of the stock through sterility.

(Russell, 1930, page 43)

In this regard, Russell was a very passionate writer, firmly condemning an intent will to make competition as a basis of life. He instead proposed the reader to have sane and quiet enjoyment in a balanced ideal of life. His position on the relation between competition and happiness recalled me the famous economist Frank Knight's argument on the ethics of competition in Knight (1935). It was recalled that, in the 1930s, the ethical foundation of a competitive economy was discussed so enthusiastically among many philosophers and social scientists. ⁴⁾

Now, I would like to move to Part II in which the causes of happiness was systematically discussed by Russell. Whether or not happiness was still possible was his fundamental question. The modest expression "still possible" instead of the straight expression "possible" was employed here demonstrated fundamental difficulty of pursuing happiness in daily life. According to Russell, the following six factors were closely related to happiness: they were zest, affection, the family, work, impersonal interests, and finally effort and resignation. ⁵⁾

Here again, he made use of his favorite "common sense approach" in revealing the secret of happiness as follows.

The secret of happiness is this: let your interests be as wide as possible, and let your reactions to the things and persons that interest you be as far as possible friendly rather than hostile.

(Russell, 1930, page 121)

There was the following maxim: "Easier said than done". Russell's advice was simple and straight, but seemed to be fairly hard to follow. A man in the street tended to narrow his interests to favorite fields and easily got upset whenever something unexpected happened. Therefore, as Russell stressed, happiness probably had to be conquered rather than waited patiently. In this respect, he eloquently remarked at the near end of the book.

Happiness is not except in very rare cases, something that droops into the mouth, like a ripe fruit, by the mere operation of fortunate circumstances. That is why I had called the book *The Conquest of Happiness*. For in a world so full of avoidable and unavoidable misfortunes, of illness and psychological tangles, of struggle and poverty and ill will, the man or woman who is to be happy must find ways of coping with the multitudinous causes of happiness by which each individual is assailed."

(Russell, 1930, pages 177-178)

Russell stressed to say that happiness should an intentional achievement rather than a unintentional gift from the heaven. He also added that an extra mount of achievement effort was necessary for resignation. At this point, it seemed to understand why happiness must be conquered, never happening to be given by chance.

At the final chapter, Russell solemnly discussed what kind of man in this world could be claimed to be "the happy man". His definition seemed to be very strict and even too demanding to a man in the street. In this connection, he made the following concluding remark.

All unhappiness depends upon some kind of disintegration or lack of integration; there is some kind of integration within the self through lack of coordination between the conscious and the unconscious mind: there is lack of integration between the self and society where the two are not knit together by the force of objective interests and affections. The happy man is the man who does not suffer from either of these failures of unity, whose personality is neither divided against itself nor pitted against the world. Such a man feels himself a citizen of the universe, enjoying freely the spectacle that it offers and the joys that it affords

It is in such profound instinct union with the stream of life that the greatest joy is to be found.

(Russell, 1930, page 191 or the very last page)

Here, I myself wondered whether I was the happy man or the unhappy man. Honestly speaking, I was inclined to put myself in a middle position: In fact, I seemed to be "a man hanging in midair". Here came the more realistic question how the solid fundamentalist Russell could deal with an average man walking on the "middle path". Besides, the majority of people including myself seemed to belong to the group of such middle path walkers. Is it still possible that such a "middle walker" finds happiness? To be strangely enough, the headstrong Russell remained to be constantly silent for this realistic yet critical question, thus unfortunately letting the reader of such a nice book feel something lacking.

In the next chapter or Chapter II, Russell's position on the Theory of Power will be carefully investigated. Chapter III will turn to another remarkable Theory of Power in comparison with the Japanese guru Yasuma Takata. The similarities and differences between Russell and Takata are also examined from many points of view. The final remarks will be made in Chapter IV

II. Bertrand Russell on Power Theory: Another Common Sense Approach

2-1. Boundless Human Desires versus Bounded Desires of Animals

Bertrand Russell published so many books and papers in the stormy 1930s. Among those publications, there were a number of best-selling "common sense books" including Russell (1930) on Happiness, Russell (1935) on Idleness, and Russell (1938) on Power. Here, I would like to closely examine his contribution to the Theory of Power since its analysis was clear and sharp, thus having important implications even today. Moreover, since so-called "justice by power" rather than "justice by law" revived in the politico-economic world in recent years, the reexamination of Russell's Power Theory was of much more practical value than ever before. ⁶⁾

As was seen in Table 2, Russell (1938) was a rather compact yet quite extensive book. I could add to say that it was a new and even challenging book in the vast academic world. The subtitle of the book was read as "a new social analysis". The most interesting question would be how and to what degree the book offered the reader a new and challenging view against many old and traditional assertions in the world.

**Table 2 Bertrand Russell's Common Sense Book:
Power : A New Social Analysis, London, 1938**

The Outline of the Contents

Chapter 1	The Impulse to Power
Chapter 2	Leaders and Followers
Chapter 3	The Form of Power
Chapter 4	Priestly Power
Chapter 5	Kingly Power
Chapter 6	Naked Power
Chapter 7	Revolutionary Power
Chapter 8	Economic Power
Chapter 9	Power over Opinions
Chapter 10	Creeds as Sources of Power
Chapter 11	The Biology of Organizations
Chapter 12	Powers and Forms of Governments
Chapter 13	Organizations and the Individual
Chapter 14	Competition
Chapter 15	Power and Moral Codes
Chapter 16	Power Philosophies
Chapter 17	The Ethics of Power
Chapter 18	The Taming of Power

Before directly getting into the core of Power Theory per se, Russell began his analysis by taking a close look at the critical difference between human desires for power and those of animals. In this connection, it was very important for the reader to take a close look at his opening paragraph as follows.

Between men and other animals there are various differences, some intellectual, some emotional. One of the chief emotional differences is that some human desires, unlike those of animals, are

essentially boundless and incapable of complete satisfaction.

(Russell, 1938, page 7)

Russell pointed it out that human desires were apt to be boundless and incapable of complete satisfaction. By contrast, the activities of animals were basically inspired by the primary need of survival and reproduction, thus never exceeding what these needs made imperative. Although there existed were so many desires of man, the chief ones were the desires for power and glory. As human history told us, the desires for power produced more desires, which in turn produced much more desires, making the unlimited growth of power seeking. Russell sharply pointed it out, however, that the majority of economics streams were forgetful of those unlimited explosion of power seeking. In this respect, Russell made the following persuasive remark.

The orthodox economists, as well as Marx, who in this respect agreed with them, were mistaken in supposing that economic self-interest could be taken as the fundamental motive in the social sciences. The desire for commodities, when separated from power and glory, is finite, and can be fully satisfied by a moderate competence. When a moderate degree of comfort is assured, both individuals and communities will pursue power rather than wealth; they may seek wealth in order to secure an increase of power, but in the former case as in the latter their fundamental motive is not economic.

(Russell, 1938, page 9)

As Russell noticed, the desire for assets and wealth was at most finite no matter how large it was, so that it could be fully compensated at last. In contrast, the desire for power and glory was really unlimited and boundless, whence never being compensated by any economic means. We had to understand that love of power was the cause of activities which were important in social affairs in both ancient and modern times. Consequently, Russell concluded that the most basic concept was nothing but Power. In this respect, Russell made the following important remark.

In the course of the book, I shall be concerned to prove that the fundamental concept in social science is Power in the same sense in which Energy is the fundamental concept in physics.

(Russell, 1938, page 9)

What is the most fundamental concept in physics? Probably, a national scientist

would reply that it must be Energy. Then, what is the most basic concept in social science? No doubt, it must be Power. Those two answers are quite natural, and should be rightly maintained. Considering the fact that Russell himself was an all-round scientist, being extremely good at mathematics, philosophy, natural sciences, politics and social sciences, I do think that Russell's idea of Power as the key concept in social science must be respected by all means. This was exactly the reason why his Power Book was bravely subtitled *A New Social Analysis*.

At a much later date, when the well-established scientist Russell wrote his long autobiography, namely Russell (1951), he nostalgically recalled the significance of Power Book, namely Russell (1938), as one of his young and ambitious products in the turbulent 1930s in the following fashion.

My next piece of work was *Power: A New Social Analysis*. In this book I maintained that a sphere for freedom is still desirable even in a socialist state, but this sphere has to be defined afresh and not in liberal terms. This doctrine I still hold. The thesis of this book seems to me important, and I hoped that it would attract more attention than it has done. It was intended as a refutation both of Marx and of the classical economists, not on a point of detail, but on the fundamental assumptions that they shared. I argued that power, rather than wealth, should be the basic concept in social theory, and that social justice should consist in equalization of power to the greatest practicable degree.

(Russell, 1938, pp. 289-290)

Russell's Power Book was primarily intended as a complete refutation of the two streams of economists which dominated the then current academic world. One of them was the stream of orthodox or classical economists à la Alfred Marshall, the leader of the Cambridge School. Another was the radical or specialist represented by Karl Marx, the stream of more radical or socialist economists represented by Karl Marx. Against those two streams, Bertrand Russell was a brave person of heroic prowess in the sense that he dared to choose a Third Way in which Power, rather than either Wealth or Labor, should be the fundamental concept in social sciences.

It was in such a Third Way position that the British gentleman Russell seemed to be similar to the Japanese scholar Yasuma Takata. However, as will be discussed later, Takata did not like Russell's common sense approach at all, so that their academic interactions seemed to be minimal. Although Britain and Japan were geometrically foreign countries, those two distinguished scholars should have been two of a kind. There was no reason whatever why they could not respect each other as fellow social

scientists. Alas, the historical act did not proceed as intended. Russell was no more than Russell, and so was Takata. In spite of their apparent differences, however, I firmly believed that there should have existed some solid bridges between the two distinguished scholars. In short, they should have been fellow researchers. ⁷⁾

2-2. The Forms of Power

After regarding the love of power as the most basic human desire, Russell turned his attention to various forms of power. As was seen in Table 2 above, he enumerated the following thirteen factors: They were (1) leaders and followers, (2) priestly and kingly powers, (3) naked power, (4) revolutionary power, (5) economic power, (6) power over public opinions, (7) creeds as sources of power, (8) powers and forms of organizations, (9) power relations between the individual and organizations, (10) competition and power, (11) power and moral codes, (12) power philosophies, finally (13) the ethics and taming of power. While there were so many topics to be discussed, it was regrettable for me to select only several factors only.

First of all, the distinction between leaders and followers was important in the real world. Historically speaking, while only the limited number of people could become strong leaders like Napoleon, Lenin, and Hitler, many people with less abilities had to be content with subordinate followers. Note that at the bottom of those high ranked followers, there could exist the great number of the most subordinate followers. Thus, a sort of power structure — the top class, the middle class, and the bottom class — were apt to be formulated in the real society. In history, we often witnessed the age of turbulence in which the low supplanted the high-and-might.

Next, I would like to focus on economic power which had a markedly increasing tendency in modern times. In this connection, Russell draw a sharp line between "economics as a separate science" and "economics as a mere guide". No doubt, such a distinction was already quite important in the age of Russell. According to his opinion, economics taken as an independent or separate science was too rigid and fictional, thus being fairly unreal and even unrealizable. Besides, economics taken as a guide or a rule of policy making had little factual grounding, thus possibly guiding people to mistaken conclusions. So, he firmly believed that economics should be taken neither as a separate science nor a guide in practice. He instead found a sort of third way with utmost effort. It was power and nothing else that mattered most in economics. In his words, he gave the following conclusion to the general reader.

Economics as a separate science is unrealistic, and misleading as taken as a guide in practice. It is one element — a very important element, it is true — in a wider study, the science of power . . . (Russell, 1938, page 92)

III. Yasuma Takata on Another Theory of Power: A High-Brow Approach

3-1. Yasuma Takata as a Determined Scholar with Great Ambition

Yasuma Takata was well-known as a determined scholar with great ambition and strong determination. Although he unduly suffered from the purge of public service personnel initiated by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in 1946, he could come back to the Professorship at Kyoto University after six years of absence. As the saying goes, where there is a will, there is a way. No doubt, Takata was no less than the faithful performer of such maxim.

While Bertrand Russell (1872-1970) was a noble son of the all-mighty British Empire at the Western End of the Eurasian World, Yasuma Takata (1883-1972) was a self-respected person of the newly rising Japanese Empire at the opposite Eastern End of the Eurasia. So, although their birth places and academic backgrounds were geographically quite remote, it should have been an academic miracle that both of them could be regarded as the good contemporaries who made remarkably great contributions to the New Field of Power Theory.

Takata was always proud of saying that he was born in 1883, i.e. the memorial year in which the two other great social scientists, John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) and Joseph Alois Schumpeter (1883-1950), were also born. Besides, Russell was only eleven years older than the notable trio of Keynes-Schumpeter-Takata. ⁸⁾

Takata's Power Theory was well-represented by the following three books.

- (1) Takata, Y. (1941a) *Essays in Power Theory*, (in Japanese), Nihon Hyoron Publishers, Tokyo.
(Preface, pp. i - ix; Main Text, pp. 1-370 ; No Index)
- (2) Takata, Y. (1959) *Power Theory* (in Japanese), Yuhikaku Publishers, Tokyo.
(Preface, pp. i - iv; Main Text, pp. 1-370 ; No Index)
- (3) Takata, Y. (translated by Anthony, D.W.) (1995) *Power Theory of Economics*,
Macmillan Press, U.K. [(1) & (2) abridged and combined, published posthumously]
(Preface, pp. i - vii; Part I , Analysis of Power, pp. 1- 70; Part II , Power Theory of
Economics, pp. 71-191; Index, pp. 193-199)

Book (1) was no more than the mere collection of journal papers on power by the young man Takata. Book (2) reached the highest degree of perfection, representing the established scholar Takata's most important work on Power Theory. More than thirty years later, by the recommendation of Takata's once favorite disciple Michio Morishima, who was himself the leading disciple of Takata, those two books were bravely combined and translated into Book (3) by Douglas W. Anthony. Such a translation work seemed to be so hard and even painful that the final product was forced to be downsized to less than half. Besides, the orders of Books (1) and (2) were reversed in Book (3), whence the more systematic Book (2) was deservedly placed first as Part I of the translation Book (3).⁹⁾

Moreover, in Book (3), the editor Morishima kindly intervened to write a special introduction "Forward: Yasuma Takata (1883-1971)", implying that Takata's original "Preface" was to be completely vanished. I should say that such editorial change produced unexpected complications in the purely academic relationship between the two big scientists, Russell and Takata. In the times of Takata, there existed very few books on Power Theory available. While lamenting such a poor state of publication on his favorite subject, he made the following intriguing remark.

As far as the theoretical analysis of social power was concerned, to my [Takata's] regret, there existed very few publications before the Second World War. To my knowledge, there were only two exceptions for such a general tendency: Namely, they were (1) Friedlich Freiherr von Wieser, *The Law of Power*, 1926, and (2) Bertrand Russell, *Power*, 1938. As for Book (1), I myself was able to learn some essential points. As for Book (2), however, I could learn only very few lessons because of the following reasons. Firstly, Russell himself was not originally social scientist. And secondly, no matter how rich his historical approach appeared, his social theory per se was so poor that it gave me only few lessons. Besides, even Wieser's Book (1) on Power was no longer a systematic main study, thus being regarded only as a side study based on mere intuitions.

(Takata, 1959, Preface, page iii)

Takata's comment on Russell was overall so critical, and sometimes seemed to be unnecessarily harsh. I was in general agreement with Takata who claimed that, in strict terms, the mathematician-philosopher Russell himself should not be classified as a social scientist. I was sure, however, that even a non-social scientist, or perhaps because of it, everyman should be qualified to say something wise or even sharp for any

socio-economic problem. Whether or not Russell himself was a social scientist did not matter at all from the beginning.

At this point, I should say that although Book (3), i.e. the combined English translation of Books (2) and (1) was the product of apparently painful works by a hard-working translator, it was quite regrettable to say that the translation was far from perfect in the sense that it overall did the unnecessary reorganization of the original text and sometimes totally omitted Takata's unique yet lengthy footnotes. As a result, some of Takata's detailed intensive discussions were drastically shortened and even omitted. In short, Takata was a rather old-fashioned Japanese writer under strong influence of Pre-modern German culture. I myself felt sympathy for the translator's difficult job of making a solid bridge between three different cultures, i.e. German, English and Japanese cultures. Regrettably, I should add to say that F. F. von Wieser's work on Power has been long forgotten in modern times. I look forward to seeing the safe return of Wieser and his German friends in the near future. ¹⁰⁾

3-2. Takata on Power Theory: Its Comparison with Russell

Yasuma Takata was clearly a superstar in the Japanese academic world. It was so regrettable, however, that his fame and influences were limited to Japan and Far East. Although Takata often referred to Russell, Russell never paid attention to Takata's massive amount of papers and books. Correcting such a one-way traffic was surely one of my main aims in this paper.

While Takata wrote so many books and papers throughout his long career, it was no exaggeration to say that his main work on Power came down to one book, namely Power Theory (1959). Unfortunately, since it was written by Japanese, its outstanding achievement was hardly known to the Western World. Now, the course of things has been changing, thus proceeding towards the right direction. ¹¹⁾

We are now in a position to reexamine Takata's Power Theory and compare it with Russell's analysis discussed in the last section. To this end, let us take a close look at the outline of contents of the Takata Theory. Fortunately or unfortunately, there were two different kind of such an outline. One of them was quite recently made by myself, being demonstrated in Table 3. It was nothing but my straightforward translation of the original book of Takata (1959). Another was made by Douglas D. Anthony in 1995, with Michio Morishima's Preface added, being shown in Table 4. It was a skillful translation with some necessary revisions and even bold omissions done on the basis of very complicated Takata original with no index. Comparison of Tables 3 and 4 would

immediately tell us that Table 3 was more complicated and more faithful to the original than Table 4.

As was easily expected, Takata Yasuma was a sociologist born and bred, centering around Social and External Powers. He started his academic career by his intensive studies in Power Theory at Kyoto University, and later taught social sciences at many universities including Osaka University, University of Tokyo, Osaka Prefecture University, and Ryukoku University. Once I myself could attend his unique lecture entitled "Power Matters in Social Sciences" at a certain big private university in Osaka. This lecture was planned at the time when highly mathematical economics dominated the Japanese academic world. So, in spite of his fame and impassioned speech, there were fewer attendants than expected and the responses of the audience were not so friendly except enthusiastic fans of his theory.

Takata sensei looked a bit sad but spoke his Power Theory rather cheerfully. His following speech at the last moment was quite impressive, thus still remaining in my heart even today. To my regret, the exact date was forgotten now.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I might look physically very old for all of you. However, I myself was mentally much younger than you might expect. Almost all textbooks may tell you that the price of any good is determined by the intersection of supply and demand curves. Well, young guys, this should not be a correct story. I do believe that it is power that matters in social sciences. I should say that the price of any good, in particular the wage of labor, should instead be decided by the interaction of people's social powers and market's supply-demand conditions. Please do not overestimate the routine contents of any economic text. Keep your eyes wide-open beyond the traditional texts. I repeat that it is Power that matters. Thank you so much.

(Yasuma Takata, sometime in the early 1960s)

Such a straight talk by the great man Takata sounded like a swan song to all of us. In an instant, all the audience became silent. Then, after thirty seconds or so, they stood up straight and applauded his farewell performance.

Table 3 Yasuma Takata's High Brow Book: The Theory of Power, Kyoto, 1959)
(The Outline below Translated by Yasuhiro Sakai)

The Outline of the Contents

Part I The Analysis of Power

- Chapter 1 The Essence of Power
- Chapter 2 The Implications of Power
- Chapter 3 The Forms of Power
- Chapter 4 The Forms of Power Continued

Part II The Relation of Power Forms

- Chapter 5 The Combination and Transformation of Powers
- Chapter 6 The Law of Power Acceleration

Part III The Theory of Power Structure

- Chapter 7 The Distribution of Power: Intentional Distribution
- Chapter 8 The Distribution of Power Continued: Unintentional Distribution
- Chapter 9 The Power Structure of the Whole Society

Part IV The Theory of Power Change

- Chapter 10 The Change of Group and Form in Control
- Chapter 11 The Circulation between Classes
- Chapter 12 The Change of Class Organization

Part V Concluding Remarks

- Chapter 13 The Impact of Power in the World
 - Chapter 14 Power and Concept
 - Chapter 15 Power and Economy
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Remark. Translated by Yasuhiro Sakai himself

Table 4 Yasuma Takata (1995), Analysis of Power (Condensedly Translated by Douglas W. Anthony, and Contained as Part I of Power Theory of Economics, Macmillan Press, London.)

The Outline of the Contents

Chapter 1 Social Power

1-1 The Meaning of Social Power

1-2 Internal and External Power

Chapter 2 Forms of Power

2-1 Six Occupations and Six Concrete Powers

2-2 The Prestige of the Nobility

2-3 Constituents of the Power of the Nobility

2-4 The Rise and Fall of the Power of Military Families and the Limits to Their Power's Extent

2-5 The Power of the Bureaucracy

2-6 Religious Power and Intellectual Power

2-7 The Power of the Rich

2-8 The Formation of the Power of Economic Groups

2-9 Leadership Power in Group Movements

2-10 'Wild Growing' Powers lacking Any Special Group

2-11 The Purely Unconscious Distribution of Power

Chapter 3 Power and the Economy

3-1 Does Economics Determine Politics?

3-2 An Economy Ruled by Power

3-3 Contemporary Production Relations and Innate Social Status

3-4 The Law of Correspondence between Social Status and Wages

3-5 Freedom and Control in the Economy

Remark. The straightforward translation the Japanese original should be **The Theory of Power, Yukikaku Publishers, Tokyo, 1959.**

So many years have passed after his death. Whenever I read again Takata's book on Power Theory, I recalled his final "swan song" performance mentioned above.

Surely, he was one of pioneers of Power Theory in the world. We also kept in mind, however, that he also became an ordinary man with a feeling akin to jealousy when he walked out of his study. So, it might sometimes happen that he had the temptation of underestimating similar works of his contemporaries including Bertrand Russell. Anyway, we were all a sort of green-eyed monsters. And, so many years have passed since then. We are now in a better position to judge between "very good" and "not so good" when we carefully compare Russell and Takata.

The confident man Takata began to discuss the New Theory of Power by giving the definition of Power in the following way.

What is social power? In answer it can be said that it is the potential to be obeyed by others. The significance of this definition will become apparent if we compare it with other definitions. Let me first explain what is meant by 'being obeyed'. When one person is obeyed by others, his own sense of superiority is satisfied or, to use Nietzsche's expression, we can say that his desire for power is satisfied. Power may thus be said to be the ability to be obeyed.

(Due to translation, Takata, 1995, pp. 3-4; By the original, Takata, 1959, pp. 2-3)

In this quotation, Takata employed the name of the famous German philosopher Friedrich W. Nietzsche (1844-1900) who became almost forgotten after the Second World War. Takata seemed to be the son of the German Culture rather than the British Culture. Here, we might see the secret of the reason why Takata underestimated the work of the British gentleman Bertrand Russell.

According to Takata, Power should be defined as "the ability to be obeyed by others". This definition sounded a sort of common sense, no way appealing to high brows or intellectuals. Historically speaking, in all human societies, only a few persons could become the "selected group of leaders" possessing the special ability, called "Power", which was to be faithfully obeyed by followers. Such a dominance-submission relationship in human society also attracted Bertrand Russell very much. Indeed, Russell, being contemporary with Takata, did the following sharp historical observation.

After anarchy, the mutual first step is despotism, because this is facilitated by the instinctive mechanisms of domination and submission; this has been illustrated in the family, in the State, and in business. Equal cooperation is much more difficult than despotism, and much less in line with instinct,"

(Russell (1938) , page 17)

According to Russell's historical observation, the equal distribution of power between any two persons was a rare phenomenon: In fact, the leader-follower relationship was more commonly observed almost everywhere. I was sure that Takata also agreed with Russell regarding such a unequal distribution of power.

IV. Russell and Takata as Complements, and Beyond

In the above, I have extensively discussed how and to what degree Power Theory has been related to the development of economic science. In historical perspective, there existed two academic giants: namely, Bertrand Russell as the Western Giant and Yasuma Takata as the Oriental Giant. It was truly the main purpose of this paper for me to build a right bridge between those two superstars.

It was not an easy job for me to be serve as a fair referee in such an academic fight. On the one hand, Russell never referred to Takata, who was long and unduly neglected in the Western World. On the other hand, Takata did refer to Russell, but unfairly underestimated his work.

As a sort of fair referee, I was sure that there were so many common grounds between Russell and Takata. According to Russell, there existed two different ways of writing books: They were the "common sense approach" taken for general readers, and the "high brow approach" adopted for special intellectuals. While Russell employed the first approach, Takata used the second approach. It was true that those two approaches were distinct depending on whether profound philosophy and highly technical terms were employed or not. As far as I myself read both Russell's books and Takata's books, however, the distinction between the two authors were rather minor and could be neglected. I myself rather felt that whereas Russell was a British-type clear-cut writer, Takata distinguished himself as a traditional German-type complicated writer.

Summing up, Russell's Power Theory was established by a humanistic and balanced approach on the basis of his own experience and observation. His writing style was plain and lucid, thus acquiring a great number of readers worldwide. In contrast, Takata's Power Theory was built on the accumulation of many philosophical knowledge, whence influencing a limited number of intellectuals. In spite of those differences, both of them exerted all their energies for establishing New Theory of Power. In my opinion, both of them could be regarded as nice complements rather than opposing substitutes, thus becoming both sides of the same coin.

So many years have passed since the death of both giants, Russell and Takata. We now live in the new 21st century. I sincerely look forward to going beyond them, thus seeing the arrival of the second Russell, the second Takata, and hopefully the organic union of Russell and Takata. ¹²⁾

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Footnotes

1) Bertrand Russell was known as one of the most productive and dynamic authors in the twenty century. He wrote more than sixty books and two thousand articles in unbelievably many fields including philosophy, natural sciences, social sciences, and history. A small portion of them was indicated by Russell (1903, 1930, 1935, 1938, 1946, 1951, 1959). His three volume autobiography, namely Russell (1951-1969), demonstrated what a honest and sincere person he really was. It recalled me the following famous phrase of Shakespeare: All's well that ends well.

2) In hindsight, such unfortunate death of my friends, Yasumasa Goto and Kenji Hayashi, seemed to give me a great impetus to continue my graduate studies at the University of Rochester. The kind gentleman Goto came from Ibaraki and later studied advanced mathematics at science department. The eloquent samurai Hayashi came from Yamaguchi, being absorbed in advanced monetary theory. After attending the combined farewell party for both Goto and Hayashi, I was so lucky that I could soon turn a misfortune into a blessing. For greater details, see Iyemoto, Misaki and others (1966).

3) For this point, see Arrow and Hahn (1971) and McKenzie (1959). A less technical presentation using graphs was given in Sakai (2019). Chapter 7, Springer.

4) For much details, see Knight (1935). I was greatly influenced by the following short remark by him. "The competitive system, viewed simply as a want-satisfying mechanism, falls far short of our highest ideals". (Knight, 1935, page 49)

5) In the 1930s, Russell wrote another common sense book entitled *In Praise of Idleness* in which doing nothing was highly praised. See Russell (1935). He was no doubt a champion of best sellers.

6) For an instance, the recent American President Donald Trump seemed to pursue such a power

by means of military power and imposition of huge tariff around the world, thus neglecting the solid governance of international law. Perhaps, he was one of the most power-loving presidents in American history.

7) For the Third Way Economics, see Fukuda (2011).

8) See Takata (1950). His strong love for power theory was shown in the following sentence. "Although Keynes and I were born in the same year and have done in the same field, namely social sciences, we had entirely different opinions. How and to what extent my power theory is different from Keynes's power theory must be a very interesting question to ask. Well, which doctrine should be correct as a theory of economics, Keynes or Takata? Let me say that the future history will decide it. This is truly my real motive of writing this book." (Takata, 1950, Preface, page 1)

9) After learning much from Takata sensei, Morishima himself became a superstar economist representing Japan. Takata was cited together with Walrus, Marx, Keynes, Schumpeter, Hicks and several others as one of greatest economists in world history. For details, see Morishima (1994, 1995, 2001).

10) For details, see Wieser (1926).

11) Takata's power theory was closely related to his unique studies in class theory (see Takata (1925, 1934)). To understand his life and work, Takata (1941) was quite instructive. Fortunately, Takata's power theory of economics was further developed by Kitano (1960, 2005), Mukai (1965) and their followers. The Japanese association of socio-economics seemed to be greatly influenced by the towering tower Yasuma Takata. Besides, my recent paper, i.e. Sakai (2025), was also affected by Takata's work on Sociology and Power Theory. As the saying goes, human life is short, but science will be eternal.

12) Tachibanaki (2016) attempted to build a new approach to happiness and power on the basis of a divided society of contemporary Japan. For this point, also see Sakai (2025).