

SAN MIN CHU I

THE THREE PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE

by Dr. Sun Yat-sen

DOCTRINE OF NATIONALISM

- I. Race and Population
- II. The Political and Economic Forces
- III. The Nationalistic Spirit of the Chinese
- IV. Nationalism versus Cosmopolitanism
- V. Methodology of Nationalism
- VI. National Morale and World Tranquility



國父於民國 5 年在上海時留影。
Sun Yat-sen poses for a picture in Shanghai in 1916.

DR. SUN'S PREFACE

After publishing the three books, *Psychological Reconstruction*,¹ *Material Reconstruction*,² and *Social Reconstruction*,³ I had begun to write another one on *Political Reconstruction*³ in order to complete my series of "The Principles of Reconstruction." The field of the book, *Political Reconstruction*, was much larger than that of the other three; it included the Doctrine of Nationalism, the Doctrine of *Democracy*, the Doctrine of Livelihood,⁴ the Five-Power Constitution, Local Government, the Central Government, Foreign Policies and National Defense⁵—eight parts in all. I completed the *Doctrine of Nationalism* and a large part of the *Doctrine of Democracy* and the *Doctrine of Livelihood*. Materials for the other volumes were all ready. I could have written them without further preparation as soon as I had time. I expected to publish them together when I had finished them all. Unexpectedly the revolt of Chen Ch'iung-ming and the bombardment of Kuan Yin Hill on June 16, 1922, caused the destruction by fire of all my manuscripts—the product of several years of hard work—and the destruction also of several hundred volumes of Western books.

Now we are reorganizing the Kuomintang! Our comrades have resolved to struggle forward, and we are in crying need of the *San Min* Doctrine and the Five-Power Constitution for propaganda purposes. I have been lecturing on these subjects every Monday, and I have had Mr. Huang Ch'ang-ku take notes and Mr. Tsui Lu read the manuscript. In order to distribute these notes as soon as possible to our comrades, I have had the *Doctrine of Nationalism* printed as a separate monograph.

During the course of my lecturing, I have had neither sufficient time for preparation nor sufficient books for reference. For the most part I have spoken what I could remember from previous writings, but I had forgotten a great deal. Although I made many corrections before the notes went to press, this book is far inferior to the previous manuscript in the content of its thought, in the manner of presentation, and in the selection of illustrations. I hope, therefore, that my comrades will use this volume as the basis of a more elaborate, a more thorough, and a more accurate book; and use it for propagating our principles in the interest of our national welfare.

SUNWEN

Headquarters of the Generalissimo Canton, March 30, The Thirteenth Year of the Republic [1924]

¹ The book is also called, *The Philosophy of Sun Wen*, published in 1919.

² The book is also called, *The International Development of China*. The English text of the book was published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, in 1922.

³ The book is also called, *The Primer of Democracy*, published in 1917.

⁴ The collection of the first three parts is known as the *San Min* Doctrine.

⁵ Dr. Sun was never able to start writing the last five parts.

I. RACE AND POPULATION

LECTURE ONE

Delivered on January 27, 1924

DEAR FRIENDS : I am going to speak on the *San Min* Doctrine. This doctrine may be briefly described as a doctrine for the salvation of the nation. A doctrine is a thought, a faith, and a force. When one reasons on a certain thing, he first develops thoughts. After his thoughts are articulated, he creates a faith and thereby force is produced. A doctrine, therefore, begins with thought, is then vitalized by the creation of faith, and finally is established by the production of force.

The *San Min* Doctrine is a doctrine for the salvation of the nation in this sense—by promoting the recognition of China as the equal of other nations; by producing political equilibrium and economic justice in the country, it will fit China for perpetual existence in the world. If we come to the conclusion that the *San Min* Doctrine is the way of salvation for China, we may say that we believe in the *San Min* Doctrine. Such a belief will produce a force powerful enough to effect the salvation of the country.

DOCTRINE OF NATIONALISM

I shall first speak of the *Min Ts'u* Doctrine or the Doctrine of Nationalism. In the reorganization of the Kuo-mintang we have recognized the importance of publicity, that is, the wide propagation of our principles as the means of saving the country. Although in recent years intellectuals throughout the land have heard about the *San Min* Doctrine, there are not a few who do not comprehend its meaning. I shall, therefore, make a careful analysis, first, of the *Min Ts'u* Doctrine.

With Chinese social traditions in mind, the meaning of the *Min Ts'u* Doctrine may be briefly explained as the "doctrine of the national group." In the past, Chinese have emphasized the family relationship and kinship, and as a result we have had only the "doctrine of the family group," and the "doctrine of the clan group," but no such doctrine as that of the "national group" or nationalism.

Our lack of unity, which foreigners characterize as scattered sands, is caused by our lack of national consciousness. Among the Chinese people the family and kinship ties are very strong. Not infrequently people sacrifice their lives and homes for some affair of kinship; for instance, in Kwangtung, two clans may fight regardless of loss of life and property. On the other hand, our people hesitate to sacrifice themselves for a national cause. The spirit of unity has not extended beyond the family and clan relationships.

NATIONALITY AND NATION

What I am saying about nationalism being the doctrine of the national-group cannot be applied to foreign countries. In foreign countries there is a difference between

nationality and nation. For instance, in English the word “nation” has two meanings: either an ethnic group having common cultural and racial background, or a country under one government. These two meanings are widely different although they are expressed by the same word. In the Chinese language there are many words having two different meanings. For instance the expression, *she hui* (society), may either denote the collective phenomenon of human association or a particular social organization. The words “nation” and “nationality” are inseparably related, yet each of these words has certain limits; we ought to know what the distinction is.

Why can the statement that the doctrine of nationalism is the doctrine of the national group be properly applied to China only, not to foreign countries? In China since the days of Ching⁶ and Han,⁷ the country has been made up of one race; while in foreign countries, one race may form several states or one state may comprise several different races.

The British Empire is made up of the white race as the principal people, and the black people, the brown people, and others. The statement, then, that the nationality is the nation-group cannot be applied to Great Britain. For the same reason neither Hongkong nor India can be described as of English nationality. We all know that the English people belong to the Anglo-Saxon race, and most of the American people also belong to the Anglo-Saxon stock. In foreign countries, therefore, nation and nationality are two different things.

WANG TAG AND PA TAO

How can we discover the distinction between nation and nationality? The best way is to study the forces by means of which nation-groups and nationality-groups are formed. Briefly speaking, nationality-groups are formed by natural development, and nations are made by conquest. According to our own political philosophy, what our philosophers called *wang tao* (the rule of benevolent government) is the development of a group through natural and harmonious growth; and what they called *pa tao* (the rule of military force) is the expansion of a group through conquest.

The product of *wang tao* is nationality, and that of *pa tao* is a national state. Hongkong and India, which constitute a part of the British Empire, were acquired by the English through force. At present the British Empire has colonial possessions all over the world. It is a common saying that “the sun never sets on the British flag”; that is, within the twenty-four hours of the day wherever the sun may be shining, there are British possessions. In all the vast territory of the British Empire every piece of territory has been acquired by means of force.

Throughout history, force has been used for the formation of national states. On the other hand, nationality-groups are always brought about by natural causes without any compulsory action, for example, the hundreds of thousands of Chinese in Hongkong naturally form a nationality-group, and they cannot be changed by the British whatever forcible method they may use. Thus a group brought about by *wang tao* or natural forces is a nationality-group, and one created by *pa tao* or military forces is a nation-group. This is

⁶ The Ching dynasty lasted from 255 to 206 B.C.

⁷ The two Han dynasties lasted from 206 B.C. to 214 A.D.

the distinction.

FACTORS OF RACIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Now may I speak of the origin of nationality groups? Although man is a kind of animal, he is the highest and he is the highest and the most intelligent of all animals. There are five principal divisions of the human race; namely, the white race, the black race, the red race, the yellow race, and the brown race. Each race is subdivided into different stocks. For instance, the Asiatic people is differentiated into the famous Mongols, the Malays, the Japanese, the Manchus, the Chinese, and others.

Racial differentiations are due to natural causes, the principal being heredity. Our yellow skin is inherited from our ancestors, and this blood relationship determines our racial traits. The next biggest factor is occupation, which determines largely the acquired characteristics of a people. The Mongols were a nomadic people and their mode of life made them once very strong. During the Yuan⁸ dynasty they united China, conquered Central Asia, Arabia, and parts of Europe, almost subdued Japan, and almost unified Europe and Asia. Neither the Chinese during the days of Han and T'ang nor the Romans can be compared with them in military greatness and territorial expansion. They could travel afar because of their nomadic habits.

The third factor is language. Alien people can easily be assimilated by the Chinese if they know our language. On the other hand, we ourselves can easily be foreignized when we understand a foreign language. The power of assimilation is specially strong when two peoples have common racial heredity and common language.

The fourth factor is religion; namely, to worship common gods or believe in common cults. That religion promotes the long existence of a racial group is shown in the Jews, the Arabians, and the Hindus. Although they have lost their country, they are still recognized as powerful nationality groups. Many world-famous scholars like Marx and Einstein are Jews. Today many Jews are influential business men in England and America.

The fifth and last factor is folk-ways and traditions. When two peoples have similar folk-ways and traditions, they will naturally form one nationality group. If we study the various racial stocks in the world, we will find that their differentiation comes from these five factors; that is, heredity, means of livelihood, language, religion, and folk-ways. These five factors are products of natural evolution, not fruits of military conquests.

CHINA MADE OF ONE NATIONALITY

For historic reasons China must be saved. The development of Chinese nationalism will give our people a permanent place in the civilized world; so it is our duty to make effective the doctrine of nationalism. Although there are a little over ten millions of non-Chinese in China, including Mongols, Manchus, Tibetans, and Tartars, their number is small compared with the purely Chinese population, four hundred million in number, which has a common racial heredity, common religion, and common traditions and customs. It is one nationality! What is, then, our position in the world? In numbers we are the largest national group in the world, and our four thousand years of cultural background may be compared

⁸ Also known as the Mongol dynasty (1260-1368).

favorably with that of the West. Unfortunately, we lack national unity, and our country, which is weak as well as poor, is being reduced to an inferior position among the nations. The times are critical, for there is a danger of racial destruction. Unite the four hundred millions and save the nation through nationalism!

THE NATIONALISM OF BRITAIN

The nature of our crisis can best be visualized by comparing ourselves with the Powers. Before the Great War there were seven or eight mighty nations; Great Britain being the largest, Germany, Austria, and Russia the most militaristic, the United States the wealthiest, with Japan and Italy as newcomers. Three Powers collapsed after the war, and only Great Britain, France, Japan, and Italy are now considered first class Powers.

Among the Powers, Britain, America, France, and Russia have their national foundation in nationalism. The development of the British Empire began in England and Wales with a handful of the so-called Anglo-Saxons. The Anglo-Saxon people are a strong race and the nations they have founded are very powerful. One hundred years ago the population of the British Isles numbered twelve millions, and now it is thirty-eight millions; the present population is three times larger than the population of one hundred years ago!

THE JAPANESE NATIONALISM

Japan, too, was founded by one nationality group, and has never been conquered by outsiders since the beginning of her history. The population of Japan proper, exclusive of Korea and Formosa, is fifty-six millions. Although we do not know exactly the size of her population one hundred years ago, a reasonable calculation puts the increase of population at three hundred per cent. Before her Reformation, Japan was very weak, with a territory about the size of Szechuan and a smaller population. But the nationalistic spirit is very strong among the Japanese. By the adoption of science and modern civilization, they have made their country one of the most powerful in the world. We are different from the Japanese in the fact that we lack the nationalistic spirit. If we want to make China strong, Japan is a good example to follow.

The rise of Japan has broken down the traditional belief on the part of the white people that only white nations can be strong and progressive, and has inspired other Oriental peoples with the confidence that they can also rise up to match the Europeans and Americans. Before her Reformation, Japan was as weak as Annam or Burmah. During the recent Washington Conference she was considered one of the "Big Five," and she practically had a monopolistic control over the settlement of Far Eastern questions.

Races differ from one another in the color of the skin, but they possess equal instinctive ability. Since the rise of the Japanese, the Caucasians dare not look down upon other Asiatic peoples. Thus the power of Japan not only enables the Japanese to enjoy the privileges of a first class nation, but enhances the international position of other Asiatic peoples. It used to be the general belief that the Asiatics could not do what the Europeans could do. Because the Japanese have learned so well from Europe, and because we know we Chinese can do as well as the Japanese, we see the possibility of doing as well as the Europeans.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

During the Great War, revolution broke out in Russia and thereby a new form of socialist state replaced the old autocracy. The Russians belong to the Slav race. In one hundred years their number has increased four times, from forty millions to one hundred and sixty millions, and their national strength has increased correspondingly.

During the last century Russia was the mightiest nation in the world. Not only Japan and China, but Britain and Germany also, were afraid of her. Her territorial possessions covered half of both Europe and Asia and all were acquired by means of conquest. Lest Russia should annex China, and then proceed to conquer the world, England and Japan entered into an alliance. A great change in world politics was brought about by the defeat of Russia by Japan, which resulted in the elimination of Russian influence in Korea and South Manchuria, the wreck of the Russian policy of world domination, and the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the Far East.

Another great change was brought about by the Revolution of 1917: it was the complete turnover of a great military autocracy into a new socialistic state. During the last six years internal reforms have been instituted in Russia and a new policy of peace has replaced the old militarism. The Russians have set out as pioneers in the movement for helping the oppressed by curbing the strong.

Now again the big Powers are alarmed by Russia; they are more afraid of her than ever, and with good reason; for the new policy of Russia will destroy not only Russian imperialism, but world imperialism; it will destroy not only world imperialism, but also the entire capitalistic system of the nations. In name, the political powers of modern states are controlled by their respective governments; but in reality, they are manipulated by private capitalists. The new policy of Russia, I believe, will breakdown this monopoly; and so all capitalists of the world are much alarmed. The world is facing a serious crisis; and as a result of this crisis, great changes will take place.

THE REAL CLASS WAR

International wars have been fought very frequently among the nations of Europe; the last one was the famous "World War," in which Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria (the Entente) were on one side, and Great Britain, France, Russia, Japan, Italy, the United States, and other allies were on the other. They fought for four years and they did not stop fighting until their human and material resources were nearly exhausted.

Now the social prophets of the world are saying that in race friction lies the grave danger of another world war. The next world war, they say, will be a racial war, a war between the white nations and the yellow nations. My personal observation does not make me think so. Another war is inevitable, but it will be a class war of interracial character. The Whites will fight with the Whites and Yellow people with Yellow. It will be a war between the oppressed and the oppressors, and a war between right and might.

Since the Russian Revolution, the Slav doctrine of international justice, that is, to help the weak and curb the strong, has been enthusiastically received by the smaller states of Europe, particularly by Turkey. Before the War, Turkey was so weak and poor that she was almost unable to maintain herself and the Europeans called her "the sick man of the Near East." During the War she sided with Germany and was defeated by the Allies. When the Powers planned to partition Turkey, Russia alone was indignant. She helped Turkey to fight back

the Greeks and to cancel the unequal treaties. At length, Turkey was saved from destruction. Today even though she has not yet become a first class power, Turkey is recognized among the nations as a second or third class power, and this was due to the assistance of Russia. It is certain, then, that from now on the oppressed nations, irrespective of ethnic and political differences, will unite to fight against the imperialistic nations.

During the first part of the European (World) War, Russia joined Britain and France to fight against German imperialism. After great losses of lives and property, she withdrew from the front and started an internal revolution. Why? Because the Russian people realized that their suffering would not end until they had overthrown the ancient system of autocracy and oppression. Since the Revolution, they have put in practice their socialistic policies.

The capitalistic nations opposed the Russian policy, and intervened in Russia, but they were fought back by the Soviets. When intervention failed, they adopted measures of passive resistance: severance of economic relations with Russia and the non-recognition of the Soviet government. (Great Britain has now formally recognized the Soviet government.)

The main cause of this conflict is the fundamental difference in policies between Russia and the Big Powers. The Powers favor imperialism and put might above right. Russia preaches that right must be put above might. I should say, therefore, that the next world war will be one between right and might, irrespective of racial differences.

Since the War, Germany has become an oppressed nation. In Asia, with the exception of Japan, all nations are under the control of the mighty. They all have a common cause of complaint and will naturally unite to battle against the imperialistic nations. So in the future those members of the white race who are interested in international justice will unite with members of the yellow race who have similar convictions. At the same time, members of the yellow race who believe in the power of might will unite with those of the white race holding the same belief. After these combinations are effected, a great war will be inevitable. Such will be the nature of the future war!

GERMANY, FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES

One hundred years ago, Germany had a population of twenty-four millions. Although the population has been reduced by the war, Germany still has sixty millions ; that is, her population has increased two and a half times in a century. The Germans belong to the Teutonic race, and are closely akin to the English. They are a very intelligent people, and their country has been very strong. By the Great War, their militarism was overthrown and they now naturally have to stand for justice and right instead of might.

In a century the population of the United States has increased from nine millions to more than one hundred millions : an increase of over one thousand per cent. While the increase of population in other countries is principally due to births, the increased population of the United States comes in large part from immigration, chiefly from Europe. The composition of the American population is far more heterogeneous than that of any other nation in the world because it contains emigrants from different nations. These peoples, however, are soon melted into one great nationality through cultural assimilation as well as biological amalgamation and they lose the identity of their original racial characteristics. This new nationality is the so-called "American." Because America has an independent nationality, she becomes a powerful independent nation.

The French belong to the Latin race. Besides France, the Latins have founded nation-groups in Europe in Spain, Portugal, and Italy; in the Americas in Mexico, Peru, Chile, Columbia, Brazil, Argentine, and certain smaller states in Central America. The North Americans call these Latins in the Americas "Latin Americans." The population of France has increased very slowly. In a century it has increased only twenty-five per cent—from thirty million to thirty-nine million.

CHINA'S POPULATION AND HER FUTURE

Now let us compare nation with nation as to the rate of increase of the population. In one hundred years, America increased ten times, England three times, Japan three times, Russia four times, Germany two and a half times, and France by only one-fourth. This increase is partly due to a decrease of death rate through the development of public health and medical science, and partly due to an expansion of food supply and livelihood through industrialization. What is the significance for China of such rapid growth in the world's population?

We shall be alarmed if we compare the growth of our population with that of the rest of the Powers. For instance, the United States has increased her population from nine million to one hundred million during the last hundred years; at the same rate of increase the population would be one billion after another hundred years. We often boast that our people are unconquerable; for in the past the Mongols and the Manchus have been gradually absorbed by the Chinese even though they once conquered the Chinese and ruled the country. For the same reason, it is believed that even though the Japanese and white peoples were to dominate this nation for a while, they would eventually be absorbed by the Chinese.

Such a prediction is too optimistic. When the Manchus conquered China, they numbered only a little over one million people; their number was very small in comparison with the size of the Chinese population. On the other hand, suppose a century from now the United States has a population of one billion—two and a half times more than our population. If the Americans, then, were to rule China, our people would easily be assimilated because there would be only four Chinese to every ten Americans. During the reign of Ch'ien Lung, almost two hundred years ago, it was established that China had a population of four hundred million. Today our population is still four hundred million; one hundred years later, it may still be four hundred million.

THE LESSON FROM FRANCE

In France the increase of population is being encouraged by government legislation, because the country lacks young people. Prizes are given to those who have three children or more. On the birth of twins a government subsidy is given. Penalties are imposed upon unmarried men over the age of thirty, and on unmarried women over the age of twenty. These measures have prevented decrease of population in France, though no great increase has been brought about by them.

Originally France was an agricultural country, and the people were well-to-do and happy. Then the French were greatly influenced by the doctrine of Malthus who warned the world that the population, through its geometrical growth, could outrun the food supply, which increased arithmetically. As a consequence Frenchmen preferred to remain single, and

women would avoid the birth of children, not only through natural control, but by using artificial means. This was detrimental to France. One hundred years ago the population of France was larger than that of any other nation in Europe. Today France is feeling the effect of a stationary population and is fearing that it may ultimately lead to racial suicide. She is, therefore, doing all she can to save the situation.

What is really the size of our population? Without expecting an increase as rapid as that of Japan and England, we must admit that we ought to have increased to five hundred million since the days of Ch'ien Lung. Mr. W. W. Rockhill, formerly American Minister at Peking and a recognized authority on Chinese population, came to the conclusion after careful investigation, that the population of China is about three hundred million. If that is true, our population has decreased by one-fourth since the days of Ch'ien Lung. Even if we estimate the present population at four hundred million, it is fearful to think that one hundred years from now our population may be still four hundred million while that of other nations will have increased several times.

THE DESTINY OF CHINA

At present Japan has a population of sixty million. A century from now it will have increased to two hundred and forty million. Inasmuch as the country is small, Japan is already trying to promote the emigration of the surplus population to other countries; but America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and other white areas have closed their doors to the yellow people by adopting measures for the exclusion of Japanese. Japan has finally effected the opening of Korea and Manchuria for her surplus population. Knowing the difficulties of Japan, and because Japanese emigration to China does not concern them directly, the Powers have acquiesced in Japanese demands on China.

One hundred years from now the world's population will have increased several times. France and Germany realize their large loss of population during the Great War, and they are trying to make it up by all kinds of encouragement of childbirths; presently, as a result, their population will increase two or three times. Today in China we already feel the pressure of overpopulation. Someone describes the late war as a "struggle for the sunshine," because the fundamental cause of the war was a fighting for the control of temperate and tropic lands on the part of the European Powers which are largely located in cold regions. China occupies one of the most favorable spots on the earth with very rich natural resources. The reason that the Powers have not come to annex China is that their population is as yet too small in comparison with that of China.

Suppose that our population does not increase during the next hundred years and that theirs grows several times larger; they may easily conquer our people, for their number will be much larger than ours. Then not only our country will be partitioned by the Powers, but our nationality group will be absorbed by other nationality groups just as the Mongols and the Manchus have been absorbed by us. We absorbed the Mongols and the Manchus because of our greater numbers, and so the Powers will absorb us because their number will be greater than ours. This is what I mean by racial destruction!

II. THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FORCES

LECTURE TWO

Delivered on February 3, 1924

Many nations in the course of history have risen or fallen because of increase or decrease of their population; this is the so-called natural force. At times the natural pressure has been so strong that powerful nationality groups have failed to resist and have been completely destroyed. The Chinese people are a very old race. Our recorded history dates back four thousand years, and we have existed at least five or six thousand years. In spite of the many calamities due to natural pressure during these centuries Heaven not only has not destroyed us, but has made us a great people with a growing population and a progressive civilization.

Today we are still one of the most intelligent races in the world. For this reason many believe that our race will never perish whatever calamities may befall us. Personally I do not believe in such a philosophy. China might survive if natural force were the only force at work. But there are human forces which are more powerful than natural forces in the shaping of history. Two of the mightiest human forces are the political and the economic. China has already felt the impact of these two forces.

THE NATURAL FORCE

Two dynasties, the Yuan and the Tsing, in the history of China, have been founded by foreigners. Although China lost her political independence during these two periods, ethnologically speaking, the racial integrity of the Chinese people was not affected, because the conquering races, which were small in number, were absorbed into our greater population. Our relation to the Powers today is radically different! As already indicated, the Powers have increased their own population very rapidly during the last hundred years.

Suppose that the rate of increase during the past century is true also of the next hundred years; at the end of another century our people will have no chance to compete with the Powers no matter what other natural forces may favor them. We shall become a minor race, for the Americans, at their present rate, will have increased to a billion, and Britain, Germany, Russia, and Japan may have a population three or four times larger than at present. This one natural force alone may be fatal to our racial existence. In addition, we must reckon with the pressure from economic and political forces which are even more powerful than the factor of natural force.

Though natural force is a slow worker, it can surely destroy even a powerful race. The Red Indians are a good example. Two or three centuries ago they alone occupied the vast American continents, their number was large and their civilization was quite advanced. Not long after the white people first invaded the Western Hemisphere, the Indians had decreased in number; now they are rapidly disappearing. Under the present circumstances, China may survive for another hundred years, if natural pressure is the only one she must

resist. Should economic and political forces both add to the pressure upon China, she can hardly survive another ten years. The next ten years, therefore, will be the crisis which will decide the life or death of our nationality; they will decide the future history of our people. If we succeed in solving the problem of economic and political pressure during the next decade, our people will survive; otherwise we shall perish. The position of China today is extremely dangerous, for we are surrounded by the pressure of natural and economic as well as of political factors.

THE POLITICAL FORCE

China has suffered political pressure from the Westerners for one hundred years. One hundred years ago, even though under Manchu conquerors, we were very strong. The British, when they annexed India, not only would not annex China, but were afraid that China would interfere with their affairs in India. Since then we have lost many territories, the latest of which are: Weihaiwei, Port Arthur, Dairen, Tsingtao, Kowloon, and Kwanchowan. After the Great War, the Powers restored Tsingtao to China and promised Weihaiwei also. Some time ago the Powers contemplated the partition of China, because they thought that China would not be able to resist; each Power got some Concessions along the coast as a foothold for the final partition. When the revolution broke out, the Powers gave up the idea of partition, because they realized that the Chinese people would promptly rise up against it. When the Powers were trying to partition China, the antirevolution-ists in China declared that revolution would hasten the danger of partition. Not only did this not take place, but the Revolution compelled the foreigners to give up their ambition to partition the country.

Going a step farther in the history of our diplomatic failures; we lost Korea, Formosa and Peng Fu to Japan after the Sino-Japanese War; Annam to France, and Burmah to Britain after the Sino-Franco War, in spite of the fact that in the Sino-Franco War, China was victorious. A few days before our great victory in Chennankwan and Liang-shan over the French forces, the Manchu government, ignorant of the actual military situation, signed a peace treaty with France and ceded her the kingdom of Annam. That the victor paid an indemnity and ceded territory to the loser was unique in history. Once the mistake was made, the Powers discovered that China could be easily coerced, and Britain took away Burmah.

Previous to these events, the Russians had taken away a large portion of territory north of the Amur and Ussuri rivers. In addition, the Riu Kiu Islands, Siam, Borneo, Sarawak, Java, Ceylon, Nepal, and Bhutan, were once tributary states to China. During the days of her greatness, the influence of China was far reaching. She was the mistress of Asia and was the only nation powerful enough to gain imperial control in the continent.

Today there appears to be some suspicion that the Chinese imperialism of those days may yet revive. For instance, at the last Kuomintang Congress at Canton several delegates were sent from Mongolia to see if the Southern Government were imperialistic. When these delegates learned that it was our policy to help the weak or minor nations against the oppressive mighty Powers, they were most enthusiastic about co-operating with us. I am sure all other small states share the same enthusiasm. At present the European Powers are using their imperialistic and economic weapons to

weaken China, and so our territory is getting smaller and smaller.

ECONOMIC DOMINATION

Since the Revolution of 1911, the Powers have realized that it would not be by any means an easy task to conquer China by political force. They now realize that if the Chinese people could overthrow the Manchu rule, they would also revolt against the political domination of foreign Powers, and that such a revolt would bring disaster only to the foreigners themselves. For this reason the Powers have given up the idea of political domination of China, but have substituted for it schemes of economic invasion.

Although friction between China and foreign Powers was temporarily averted through their refraining from the application of political force in China, the Powers failed to avoid friction among themselves over European questions, and as a result the Balkan question in time developed into the Great War. The Powers have suffered tremendous losses and the fall of Germany and Austria is a warning.

No change, however, has as yet been effected in their imperialistic policies, and the imperialism of England, France, and of Italy continues to operate in full force. The United States, too, has forsaken its Monroe Doctrine and joined the European Powers in taking concerted action. It is true that after the European War the Powers ceased to practice their imperialistic policies in Europe for the time being, but their tactics in China have been more aggressive than ever. For instance, a few days ago twenty or more warships were dispatched to Canton by the Powers to make a demonstration with a view toward intimidating the Canton government. In fact, economic invasion is far more dangerous than political invasion. While the latter is visible and can be recognized at once, the former is not visible and as a consequence usually is not noticed. For instance, the dispatching of more than twenty warships by the Powers to Canton to make a demonstration aroused at once the public indignation of the people both at Canton and throughout the country. On the other hand, no one has as yet protested against the economic oppression which the foreign Powers have imposed upon our people for several decades.

CHINA A SUB-COLONY OF ALL POWERS

This economic force has reduced China to the position of a colony of all the imperialistic Powers! Yet we still try in vain to console ourselves by saying that our country is only a semi-colony of the Powers. In fact, the present position of our country is inferior to that of a regular colony or of a dependent state. We all know that Korea is a dependency of Japan and Annam a dependency of France. We often despise the Koreans and Annamites as "slaves without a country" but we are blind to the fact that we stand in a worse position than the Koreans and Annamites.

We understand that China is a semi-colony in the general sense of the term. But whose colony is it after all? The answer is: China is the colony of all the treaty Powers. All those countries having treaty relations with China are the masters of China. China is the colony not only of one Power, but of different Powers. Our people are not only the slaves of one master, but of several masters. Which is better, to be the slave of one country or to be the slave of many countries? Let me illustrate the situation in the case of flood or famine relief. When a nation (such as Korea or Annam) is the slave of one nation, the master Power

considers it its unshirkable duty to remit funds to relieve the calamities of the slave; and the slave would also consider the master nation in duty bound to furnish relief.

The case is different in China. During the great famine in North China a few years ago, none of our master Powers considered it their duty to furnish relief. When the foreigners in China started a drive for funds to relieve the sufferers, our people thought this was an act of extraordinary generosity on the part of the Powers, and never thought for a moment that the Powers were in duty bound to give relief. This explains the fact that the relations between China and the Powers fall short of those between a master and a slave; and we can see that China's position is inferior to that of Korea and Annam. Therefore it is not an exaggeration to say that to be the slave of one country is far better than to be the slave of many countries.

Thus to call China a semi-colony is not correct. In fact, China is a *ts'u chi ming ti* or "sub-colony." The word *ts'u* or "sub" comes from chemistry. There is a chemical element called *lin* or phosphorus. Any compound of phosphorous in its highest valence is called "phosphoric"; that in its lower valence is called *ya lin* or "phosphorous." *Ts'u ya lin* or "hypophosphorous" is still inferior to *ya lin*. In officialdom, the *ts'u chang* is the "vice-minister." Our people are realizing that to be a semi-colony is a national disgrace; but our case is worse than that; our country is in the position of a sub-colony, a position which is inferior to an ordinary colony such as Korea or Annam.

THE CASE OF TARIFF CONTROL

The dispute between the Canton government and the Powers over the customs surplus is significant. Since the customs surplus is ours, why should there be a controversy about it? The reason is: our customs have been seized by the Powers. Formerly our country followed the policy of seclusion, and did not have the so-called "customs." England's request for commercial intercourse with China was flatly refused. By a combination of political intrigue and economic pressure, England succeeded subsequently in breaking open China's door, and British troops occupied Canton. Finding later that they could not get a permanent foothold in Canton, the British gave up that city and demanded the cession of Hongkong and the payment of indemnities. As the Chinese government was not well provided with ready funds at that time the customs were pledged to England as security, and on England was conferred the right to collect the duties.

The Manchu government thought that it would take a long time to pay off the indemnities. On the contrary, the British, having got hold of the customs, collected the whole amount of the indemnities within a few years. It was not until then that the Manchu Emperor realized that the Manchu officials who were formerly placed in charge of the collection of duties had misappropriated the funds. For the sake of greater revenues the customs houses of the whole country were then handed over to Britishers for management, and British were appointed Customs Commissioners.

Inasmuch as the different Powers all have commercial interests in China, a scramble started among the Powers for the control of the Customs. England finally had to give in and an arrangement was reached whereby positions in the Customs Service were to be distributed in proportion to the commercial interests of the different countries in China. Up to the present the Customs houses have all been in the hands of the foreigners. Every negotiation of treaties between China and the Powers has resulted in a loss to China. Today the tariff rates in China are fixed by the foreigners without any right on the part of China to

make any change. Inasmuch as our own tariff is not controlled by ourselves, the Canton government had to quarrel with the Powers for the Customs Surplus.

PROTECTIVE TARIFF

What means do nations use to resist economic pressure from outside? Just as they build fortresses along the coast to guard against foreign attack, the nations ordinarily set up tariff barriers to prevent invasion by the economic forces of other countries. The protective tariff is in fact a boycott of foreign goods by means of high customs duties with the object of protecting home industries.

The United States was originally an agricultural country, and was naturally in an unfavorable position for competition with the industrialized European countries. As a way of protecting her own industry and commerce, she adopted the policy of a protective tariff. The method is to levy an import duty of fifty or sixty, sometimes eighty, or even as high as one hundred dollars for each hundred dollars' worth of imported goods. In this way foreign goods must be sold at a very high price, and can only compete unfavorably with native products which are free from heavy taxation.

The conditions in China are different. Before we had commercial intercourse with foreign countries, we consumed exclusively our own products. The ancient saying that "Man ploughed and women wove" indicates that agriculture and the textile industry long ago were highly developed in China. Recently, imported cloth, which is only lightly taxed at the Customs, is sold at a lower price than the Chinese fabric, and now people all use foreign cloth. The Chinese textile industry is thus crushed by foreign competition. Many people have lost their employment; and pauperism prevails in the country. This is one of the examples of the pressure of economic force.

Although we still have a handicraft textile industry, in our modern mills we have to use foreign raw materials and foreign machines. We have indeed many modern mills in Shanghai and other cities, but they are in a very unfavorable position for competition with foreign mills, owing to the fact that the Customs are controlled by the foreigners, and that the Chinese manufactured cloth is taxed more heavily than the foreign cloth. What is worse, the Chinese cloth, when transported to the interior, is heavily taxed at the likin stations, while the foreign cloth is exempted from likin.

During the War the Chinese mills earned big profits, sometimes over one hundred per cent, because foreign manufacturers could not export to China. As a result, many Chinese capitalists such as those in Shanghai, sprang up and native industries flourished. As soon as the War was over, our markets were once more filled with foreign goods, and native products were driven out by the imported goods. Chinese mills lost money, and our money market became at once very tight.

A TARIFF AGAINST HOME INDUSTRIES

Our tariff system not only gives no protection to home industries, but it protects foreign industries in China at the expense of the native products. In setting up tariff barriers against home industries for the benefit of foreign goods we are digging trenches for the enemies to attack our own men. Whereas political force is visible and apparent even to ignorant people, economic force, on the other hand, is invisible, and may even force us to bring pressure against ourselves.

Since China was opened for foreign commerce, our trade balance has always been unfavorable. During the last ten years our balance amounted only to \$200,000,000 per year in favor of foreign imports. In 1921 the unfavorable balance was brought up to \$500,000,000, two and a half times larger than that of ten years ago. At this rate of increase, ten years from now our imports will exceed our exports by \$1,250,000,000. In other words, ten years from now China will have to pay an annual tribute of \$1,250,000,000 to foreign Powers in trade alone. What a terrible sum!

FOREIGN BANKS IN CHINA

Foreign banks are another example of the foreign economic invasion of China. Today the Chinese people do not trust Chinese banks, but have confidence in foreign banks. For instance, the foreign banks in the city of Canton command the confidence of the Chinese people, and the Chinese banks do not. Some years ago the notes of the Kwangtung Provincial Bank could be circulated here, and now no one accepts such notes. We have to use silver. The credit of the Chinese banknotes has been inferior to that of foreign banknotes, and now the credit of Chinese silver is inferior to foreign banknotes, for the people in Canton, for instance, prefer to take foreign banknotes to Chinese silver dollars. This is also true in Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow, and other treaty ports. The fundamental cause of all this is that we have been poisoned by the economic pressure of the foreigners.

We always think that the foreigners are rich. We are blind to the fact, however, that they originally did not have any money, that they bought our goods by means of a sheet of paper. When the foreigners printed several million sheets of paper, we believed in them and such paper turned into gold. The foreigners now have actually become rich. Each banknote they print costs them only a few cents. By a sheer mechanical process a few cents are transformed into a dollar, or ten dollars, or one hundred dollars. Therefore, the foreigners spend a little money to print tens of millions of dollars of banknotes; and use them to buy tens of millions of dollars' worth of our goods. Friends, what a loss to us! Why can we not follow their magic plan and get rich? Because we are poisoned by foreign economic force: we believe in foreigners, and not in ourselves. When we ourselves print a lot of paper, we do not accept it as money!

OUR LOSS THROUGH EXCHANGE

In addition to the issue of banknotes, foreign and domestic exchange is another source of profit to foreign banks. We remit our money to other cities or to foreign countries usually through foreign banks. When you buy a draft to be drawn at another city on a foreign bank, besides the commission of one-half of one per cent charged, the bank usually gets a profit of two to three per cent by discounting the money at both places.

Suppose you buy a draft of \$10,000 from a Canton bank, drawn on Shanghai,—the bank will charge you \$50.00 for the commission. Besides, in quoting to you the exchange rate, the bank will freely fix the Canton dollar at its lowest price, and the Shanghai tael at the highest mark. In this way, the bank will get a profit of at least one hundred, perhaps two hundred dollars per ten thousand dollars. In cashing the draft at Shanghai, the Shanghai bank will pay the drawee not in taels, but in dollars. In changing taels into dollars the bank will fix the dollar at its highest figure, and the tael at its lowest price. Again, the bank will make a profit of one to two hundred dollars. We, therefore, have to lose at least two to three

hundred dollars each time we change ten thousand dollars from Canton money to Shanghai currency. Accordingly, the entire sum of ten thousand dollars will disappear if we keep changing it back and forth thirty or more times. We have to suffer such a great loss because we have been poisoned by the foreigners' economic intrigues.

IMMENSE PROFITS FROM DEPOSITS

Besides profits from the issue of notes and from exchange, foreign banks make immense gains on deposits. Our people always prefer to deposit their money in the foreign banks, because they are foreign banks, regardless of their credit and the very low rate of interest they pay. On the other hand, they will not trust any bank which bears a Chinese name and is managed by Chinese; they will not even inquire the amount of its capital or the very reasonable interest offered.

During the Revolution of 1911, lest the revolutionists should confiscate their property, the Manchu nobles and high officials deposited their money and jewels in foreign banks without any interest. They felt safe as soon as their money and jewels were in the custody of the foreigners. When Peking heard the news that the imperial forces were crushed by the revolutionists in Wuchang and Hankow, the foreign banks in the Legation quarter were so filled with precious jewels and money deposits that there was no space left. Instead of giving interest on the deposits, the bank charged very high rent for the deposits. The depositors were very willing to pay whatever amount the bank asked, so long as the latter consented to accept the deposits. It was calculated that Chinese deposits in foreign banks then amounted to approximately two billion dollars.

Since then the depositing has not been decreased; big militarists, such as Feng Kuo-chang, Wang Chuan-yuan, Li Shun, and Tsao K'un, who had embezzled tens of millions of dollars from public funds, deposited their money in the foreign banks. They thought that as long as the money was deposited in foreign banks, their children and descendants would enjoy their ill-gotten wealth. These two billions of dollars deposits in foreign banks bear a very low rate of interest, at most four or five per cent. In turn the banks lend this money to Chinese merchants at a much higher rate of interest—from a minimum rate of seven or eight per cent to over ten per cent. In this way, the foreign banks make a profit of tens of millions every year by using Chinese capital through only a little labor in business routine. At the same time we have to lose this same amount of money simply because we put our money in foreign banks.

We prefer to put our money in foreign banks because we believe that foreign banks are secure while the Chinese banks are not secure. Are foreign banks always secure? No! Le Banque Industrielle de Chine failed! Chinese deposits have not been returned. Is this a foreign bank? Is the foreign bank always secure? If the foreign banks are not always secure, why are our people willing to deposit their money in foreign banks at a terrible loss every year? Because we have been poisoned by the foreign economic force. At present foreign banks in China squeeze out of this country at least one hundred million dollars every year from the three items mentioned above, namely, issuance of banknotes, conduct of exchange, and deposits.

FOREIGN TRANSPORTATION

Foreign transportation is also a great loss to China. At present, not only international

transportation but intra-national transportation is dominated by foreigners. For instance, Japanese shipping is highly developed in China. At first, there was only one Japanese line in China, namely, the Nippon Yusen Kaisha. Later the T.K.K. line, the O.S.K. line and the N.K.K. line inaugurated active service not only in interior China but around the world. Japanese shipping owes much of its prosperity to government subsidy and the support of political force. The government subsidizes private shipping because shipping has a powerful influence in the economic struggle of the nations.

Take the case of freight lines. Cargo from Europe to Nagasaki or Yokohama must pass Shanghai, and yet the freight rates between Shanghai and Europe are very much higher than those between the Japanese ports and Europe. This is possible because China has no ships to compete with Japanese ships. What is the significance of it? European goods can be sold to Japan at lower prices than in China. Conversely, Chinese merchants have to pay more for the freight than their Japanese competitors whose merchandise has to travel even a longer distance. As a consequence, the Chinese merchants have to suffer a loss of ten million dollars per one hundred million dollars of goods. At present, our exports amount to over a billion dollars every year. Accordingly we lose at least one hundred million dollars to foreign international shipping.

LAND TAX, LAND RENT, AND THE INCREMENT OF LAND VALUE

What the foreigners get from taxes, land rent, and the increment of land values in the Concessions and our ceded territories represents an immense amount of money. For instance, the taxes paid to the foreigners by the Chinese residents in the Concessions in Shanghai, Tientsin, and Hankow and those in Hongkong, Formosa, and Dairen amount to more than two hundred million dollars every year. In Formosa, the Japanese government used to receive a revenue of twenty million dollars every year, and now the amount has increased to one hundred million dollars. The revenue of the Hongkong government from taxes has increased from a few millions to thirty millions in a few years. And the increase in the future promises to be even greater!

As to land rent, there are of course Chinese landowners as well as foreign landowners in the Concessions and ceded territories. Although there are no statistics comparing the amount of the land rent received by the foreigners and by the Chinese respectively, it is very evident that the amount of land rent is at least ten times larger than the amount of revenue from land tax. Furthermore, the value of the land in the Concessions and ceded territories is increasing very rapidly. Inasmuch as the foreigners are holding a monopoly of all economic resources, they must also have a monopoly of the land increment. They can buy the land at a very low price and sell it at a higher price- From these three items, namely, the land tax, land rent, and the increment of land value, the Chinese lose at least four to five hundred millions of dollars every year.

BUSINESS AND SPECULATION

Foreign merchants and corporations in China by virtue of their special treaty privileges have practically a monopoly of all lines of trade and industry, and the amount of our loss is incalculable. For instance, the South Manchurian Railway Company receives a net profit of fifty million dollars each year. The gains of all foreign companies in China must total

hundreds of millions.

Furthermore, the foreigners understand our weakness, and know that we are fond of gambling, so they take away tens of millions from us in speculative business, such as the Marks speculation. In addition to the loss incurred through the operation of the economic force, there are losses through political force. For instance, after the Sino-Japanese War our country paid an indemnity of 250,000,000 taels; and for the Boxer Uprising, we have been paying an indemnity of 900,000,000 taels. Such loss is, however, very insignificant in comparison with the losses to us through economic force, for the latter is permanent while the former is only temporary. Besides, our loss of many dependencies and the maltreatment of our emigrants abroad cannot be assessed in dollars and cents.

The oppression we suffer from the economic domination of the Powers is detrimental indeed!

Let us consider the different items together. First, we lose almost \$500,000,000 every year from excessive imports. Secondly, foreign banks take away each year about \$100,000,000 from issuance of banknotes, conduct of exchange, and deposits. Thirdly, our losses through the foreign monopoly of transportation facilities amount to about \$100,000,000. Fourthly, taxes, land rent, and the increment of land value in the Concessions and ceded territories inflict on us a loss of nearly \$500,000,000. Fifthly, special business in China takes away from us at least \$100,000,000. Lastly, foreign speculators make an annual profit in China of tens of millions. The total losses from these six items amount to at least \$1,200,000,000 dollars every year. This figure must increase if we do not take constructive steps to prevent the economic domination of foreigners in China. Otherwise China and the Chinese people will be crushed completely!

A TERRIBLE TRIBUTE

When China was very powerful, we considered it a very great honor when the smaller states presented to us articles of tribute which were valued at but little over a million dollars. When our people were forced to send tribute to the Tartars during the Sung dynasty, we considered it one of the most disgraceful events in our history. Then the tribute amounted to only about \$1,000,000 each year. Now we are giving a tribute to the Powers of \$1,200,000,000 every year, or \$12,000,000,000 in every ten years. No one considers such an unusually large tribute a national disgrace, because economic oppression is not visible. On the other hand, suppose that we were to have an additional income of \$1,200,000,000 each year, we would be able to do a great many more things, and our society would be much more progressive. Because we lose this amount every year through the operation of foreign economic force, the means of existence is being taken away from our people and our entire society is becoming paralyzed. Furthermore, in addition to economic force, the foreigners double-cross us by their imperialistic policies. As a consequence, the country is poor as well as weak.

THE THREE FORCES COMBINED

During the past hundred years, China has been suffering from the population factor. While the population in foreign countries is growing very rapidly, the population of China has remained stationary. We, therefore, are confronted with three great forces: namely, the demotic, the political, and the economic. If we do not devise ways and means to remedy the

situation, our nation and our people will be destroyed in spite of the fact that we possess a great territory and a numerous population. Our four hundred millions of people will not last forever. Look at the American Indians who used to be a great race, and now are dying out. We should be aware of the fact that for the first time in history our people are suffering from the three forces combined. When we think of national reconstruction, we must try to get rid of these three forces first!

III. THE NATIONALISTIC SPIRIT OF THE CHINESE

LECTURE THREE

Delivered on February 10, 1924

THE SPIRIT of nationalism is the most precious thing in the development of a nation and in the struggle for existence on the part of a race. At present China has lost this precious thing. In today's lecture I shall tell you whether or not our nationalistic spirit is really lost, and if so, how we lost it.

THE THEFT OF THE PRECIOUS JEWEL

I believe that our national spirit has been lost for several hundreds of years. The arguments against revolution that prevailed in China before the Revolution of 1911 were, in fact, arguments against the development of the spirit of Chinese nationalism. In the books printed during the last two hundred years, you will find no message of nationalism, but instead, there are countless eulogies of Man-chu rule. None dared to criticize the foreign rulers. Even after revolutionary doctrines were propagated throughout China, there were a great many of the so-called "great scholars" who defended the Manchu rule in their writings.

When we conducted the *Min Pao* in Tokyo, we promoted the Doctrine of Nationalism, and many people opposed us on that account. They maintained that the Manchu control of China was to be considered not as the downfall of the nation, but as a change of dynasty only: they cited the fact that the title of Chinese knighthood, *Lung Hu Chiang Chun*, was once conferred on the Manchus by a Ming emperor. The argument was that by virtue of the honors they received from the Ming dynasty, the Manchus were to be considered, first, as legitimate subjects of China, and later, as legitimate successors of the Ming regime. They were not considered, therefore, foreign invaders. This reasoning was absurd.

Once a British Commissioner of Customs by the name of Hutton received from the Manchu government the title of *Hu Pu Bhang Shu*. Suppose that this British officer had invaded China and had made himself the Emperor of China, would that be thought of as the ruin of the nation or as a change of dynasty only? Besides their verbal defense of the Manchu regime, these pro-Manchu people also organized a political party popularly known as the Pro-Royal Party. These Pro-Royalists were all Chinese, not Manchus.

Chinese living abroad were satisfied with Pro-royalist and changed the political beliefs of the Chinese abroad. Then there grew up among the royalist arguments until the coming of the revolutionists who propagated their revolutionary ideas through many secret political societies, one of which was called Hung Men San Ho Hui, also known as the Chih Kung T'ang. The original aim of the Chih Kung T'ang was to organize Chinese everywhere for the overthrow of the Manchu regime and the restoration of the Ming dynasty. It was a revolutionary and nationalistic organization. This organization, however, was perverted later on by the Pro-Royalists, and the purpose of the organization was changed into that of faithful

protection of the Manchu Royal Family.

This transformation from a nationalistic organization into a pro-royalist society is a striking illustration showing how completely the spirit of Chinese nationalism was lost.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES OF MING SUBJECTS

While speaking of political societies, let us take note of their origin. Such societies flourished as far back as the days of K'ang Hsi. After Shun Chih invaded China and overthrew the Ming regime, making himself the Emperor of the Chinese Empire, a great many Ming officials and loyal subjects from time to time revolted against the new foreign regime, even up to the last years of Emperor K'ang Hsi. Up to that time, China had not yet been completely conquered by the Manchus. Then a number of Ming subjects who were full of nationalistic spirit and who refused allegiance to the foreign rule saw that Chinese armed opposition against the new government had lost its spirit, and so they decided to organize secret revolutionary societies.

Lest the literary class should be overtaken by revolutionary ideas, Emperor K'ang Hsi instituted the competitive examination known as the *Po Hsueh Hung Tsu K'o* in order to entrap the thinking elements of the country. When the Ming patriots discovered that they could not preserve the spirit of nationalism in the literary class, they tried to propagate this spirit among the lower classes of the people, the homeless and the tramps, and to organize them into revolutionary groups. These groups were usually despised by ordinary society because the people were uneducated, and their manner was very rude. They used bad language to propagate the revolutionary and nationalistic ideas and so they were not listened to by the so-called decent society.

HIDE THE JEWEL IN THE MUD !

Why did our Ming patriots use these people to propagate their spirit of nationalism? This can be illustrated by a parable. In times of peace a rich man keeps his jewels and precious things in a strong safe, but during a period of trouble and chaos he may have to hide his jewels and precious things in the dirtiest and most insignificant place in order to avoid the notice of the bandits. The Ming patriots, therefore, kept their most precious thing—the spirit of nationalism—in the dirtiest and most insignificant place to escape possible danger from the Manchu oppressors. So although the doctrine of nationalism could neither be interpreted in works of literature nor be propagated among the literati, it was preserved in those fragmentary stories related by the lower class of the Chinese people. Such nationalistic writings as there were had been destroyed completely before the days of Ch'ien Lung.

At the time of K'ang Hsi and Yung Cheng, the Government put out a great deal of pro-Manchu literature, such as the *Record of Loyalty and Revelations* in order to frustrate the nationalistic movement of the Ming patriots which was still flourishing. These pro-Manchu writers maintained that we should not oppose the rule of the Manchus on the ground that even our sage rulers, Shun and King Wen, whom Confucius idolized in his *Classics*, were also foreigners or barbarians, and that, although the Manchus were foreigners, their right to rule over the Celestial Empire was equal to that of Shun and King Wen.

K'ang Hsi and Yung Cheng were honest enough to recognize that they were Manchus, not Chinese. When Ch'ien Lung came to the throne, all writings referring to the difference between the Chinese and the Manchus were suppressed. The entire history of the dynasty was revised, and the part concerning the relations between the Manchus and the Ming government and stories of similar nature were omitted entirely. All literature concerning the life and history of the Tartars and the Manchus which drew a distinction between the Chinese and the Manchus was forbidden. Thousands of people were executed because they kept "illegal" literature in their homes. From that time forth, our spirit of nationalism could no longer find expression in words and books.

THE HUNG MEN HUI

In the middle years of the Manchu dynasty, there was but one nationalistic, revolutionary society, the Hung Men Hui. During the T'aiping Revolution, most of the Hung Men Hui men followed Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, the leader of the Revolution. We must know, however, that the name Hung Men did not come from Hung Hsiu-ch'uan. It is quite probable that the name came from Chu Hung-wu, the founder of the Ming dynasty, for the Hung Men aimed at reviving the Ming dynasty. Another suggestion is that the name came from a certain Chu Hung-chu who, we are told, once started a revolution during the days of K'ang Hsi and who was followed by a great many of the loyal subjects of the Ming.

During the T'aiping Revolution, the spirit of nationalism was once more developed in the country. After the Revolution was crushed, the ideas of nationalism continued to spread among the soldiers and the lower class of people. For instance, the Hsiang Army and the Huai Army were once dominated by Hung Men Hui members. Even the Green Band and the Red Band of today are organizations composed of soldiers and ex-soldiers of more or less nationalistic, revolutionary character.

AN EXAMPLE OF THE STRENGTH OF CHINESE NATIONALISM

It is a fact to be regretted that, because of lack of education and knowledge, this nationalist, patriotic class of Chinese not only failed to carry out the revolutionary program, but were used by the monocrats for their own ends. The Hung Men Hui men failed to co-operate with the defeated soldiers of the T'aiping Army in organizing new revolutions against the foreign regime, and so these revolutionary soldiers later on served in the Manchu army

I can relate to you a story of no little interest. When General Tso Tsung-t'ang, a gallant Hunanese general of the Manchu dynasty, was ordered to suppress the insurrections in Sinkiang, he took with him several legions of the Hsiang Army and the Huai Army. At that time the revolutionists in Kwangtung and neighboring provinces called themselves the San Ho Hui¹⁷ and those along the Yangtse regions called themselves the Ko Lao Hui. The head of the Ko Lao Hui was called the Grand Dragon Head or *Ta Lung Tou*.

It happened then that a *Ta Lung Tou* committed a grave crime in the lower Yangtse, and escaped to Hankow. At that time, the means of communication among the Ko Lao Hui members were better than official communications. On coming to Hankow, General Tso Tsung-t'ang was surprised to discover one day that his army was restless and that they had mobilized themselves into lines several miles long. Meanwhile General Tso received an

official dispatch from the Viceroy in Nanking requesting him to arrest a bandit leader who was escaping from Hankow to Sian. While General Tso did not pay serious attention to the request, he found that his men were getting more and more restless and that they were preparing to welcome their *Ta Lung Tou*. He did not know who the *Ta Lung Tou* was.

On discovering that the *Ta Lung Tou* was the head bandit to be arrested, General Tso was greatly disturbed and asked his secretary what the Ko Lao Hui was and what the relation of the head bandit was to the Ko Lao Hui. His secretary told him that all the men in his army from the soldiers to the officers belonged to the Ko Lao Hui, and that the head bandit, whose arrest was ordered, was the head of Ko Lao Hui men in his army. General Tso queried as to what was the best way to cope with the situation. His secretary replied:

"The only way to preserve the order of the army is for Your Excellency to join the Ko Lao Hui and become also a *Ta Lung Tou*. Unless Your Excellency becomes a *Ta Lung Tou*, we shall not be able to reach Sinkiang!"

Finding no other alternative, General Tso Tsung-t'ang accepted his secretary's suggestion. He performed the secret ceremony and was crowned also a *Ta Lung Tou*. As a consequence General Tso Tsung-t'ang was able to control his army, and succeeded in crushing the insurrections in Sinkiang. Thus you see that the conquest of Sinkiang was not due to the power of the Manchu government, but to the power of Chinese Nationalism! But when General Tso Tsung-t'ang became acquainted with the organization and activities of the Ko Lao Hui, he proceeded to destroy gradually but completely the spirit and organization of the society. When our Revolution broke forth, there was no organization which was of use for revolutionary purposes. The Hung Men Hui men were already betrayed and Chinese nationalism was dead!

CAUSES OF THE DEGENERATION OF NATIONALIST SPIRIT

Many causes are responsible for the extinction of the national spirit of the Chinese people: the chief one is that we as a people were conquered by a foreign power, and that we had been brought up under that rule for several hundred years. When one nationality governs another nationality, the governing people always try to denationalize the governed in order to get rid of their spirit of independence. After Korea was annexed to Japan, the Japanese government instituted an extensive program of Japanization in Korea. In the effort to change the Koreans into Japanese, they forbade the Koreans to say anything about Korean Nationalism in their school texts. Thirty years from now the Korean boys will not know that Korea was once an independent country or that they themselves were originally Koreans.

The Manchus used the same tactics to denationalize the Chinese. K'ang Hsi suppressed all works of Chinese literature of a patriotic character. Ch'ien Lung used still better tactics: he tried to wipe out the social and racial distinctions between the Manchus and the Chinese. And so after the days of Ch'ien Lung, the intellectuals of the country no longer knew the meaning of Chinese nationalism. Although the lower class of the Chinese people felt that the Manchu rule ought to be overthrown, they did not understand why it should be overthrown. The spirit of nationalism among the Chinese people was lost for several hundred years because of the superior tactics of the Manchus in denationalizing China. Thus the precious jewel of our race was stolen!

THE CASE OF JUDAEA, INDIA, AND PERSIA

Our spirit of nationalism was destroyed because we lost our nation and were ruled by foreigners for centuries. We may see how other conquered peoples have retained their spirit of nationalism. The Jewish people lost their country before the birth of Jesus. When Jesus preached his doctrines, his disciples thought that he intended to attempt a revolution and so they recognized him as a revolutionary leader. Many people hoped he would make himself King of the Jewish people. The mother of two of the disciples came to Jesus asking that her first son might sit on his left side, and her second son on his right side when he established his Kingdom. These positions might be likened to the right and left premiers of a Chinese Emperor. Perhaps Jesus did have some idea of political revolution. When one of his twelve disciples saw that Jesus had not carried out a program of political revolution, he betrayed his Master. He did not understand that Jesus was a religious revolutionary leader, and that Jesus called his Kingdom the Kingdom of Heaven. But Jewish patriotism is well known. Even though the Jews have lost their country for thousands of years, their spirit of nationalism still exists.

The case of India is also different from that of China. The Hindu people are not like the Chinese' who lost their spirit of nationalism as soon as their country was conquered by foreigners. Although Persia was partitioned by foreigners over a century ago, Persian nationalism was not lost; consequently the Persians have been able to restore their country to independence; and now Persia has the status of a second or third class Power in Europe.

CHINA WAS ONCE AN IMPERIAL POWER

China, like Judaea, India, and Persia, has been conquered by foreigners; but the Persians, Hindus, and the Jews have retained their spirit of nationalism. Why have we lost ours? It is very interesting to analyze the reasons. Before our country was lost to the foreigners, we were a highly civilized people, and our country was very powerful. We thought that our country was the greatest and most advanced of all countries in the world. We called other states barbarian and uncivilized. We thought that we occupied the center of the earth and so we called our country *Chung Kuo* or the "Middle Kingdom." We thought that we were the rulers of a World Empire, and we quoted such sentences as: "Just as there are not two suns in heaven, there are not two kings for the people, "and "All the states in the world pay tribute to our court." Thus our country had advanced from the stages of nationalism to the stage of cosmopolitanism, before it was lost to foreigners.

We were imperialists. In the Han dynasty, Generals Chang Po-wang and Pan Ting-yuan conquered thirty countries in the West, just as the East India Company was able to control financially dozens of kingdoms and principalities in India. We actually practiced cosmopolitanism. We conquered the smaller states in Asia, but our method of conquest was principally by negotiation, the so-called *wang-tao*,—different from the European method of force.

Why have not the Jewish people lost their nationalistic spirit even though their country has been lost for thousands of years? On the other hand, why have we lost our nationalistic spirit after only three hundred years of conquest by the foreigners? A man is sick either because he has inherited a weak body or because he has developed some disease. Before China was conquered, she had developed a kind of disease. When foreigners came to rule over her, she, therefore, lost her nationalistic spirit altogether. This disease was the result

of her historical imperialistic policy. In fact, China had been an imperialistic Power for thousands of years, and she was as imperialistic as Great Britain and the pre-war Russia. Perhaps our imperialistic policies were even more highly developed than those of Britain and pre-war Russia.

Recently a new type of political philosophy has been developed in England and Russia, in fact, by the highest intellectuals of the two countries. This type of political philosophy is antinationalistic, for it is alleged that nationalism is too narrow. This is the school of political cosmopolitanism. Many Chinese youths of the "new culture" class are in favor of this principle, and so are opposed to nationalism. They criticized the *San Min* Doctrine of the Kuomintang as being contrary to the current trend of world thought. They declare that the newest political doctrine of the world today is that of cosmopolitanism.

THE PRINCIPLE OF COSMOPOLITANISM

Is the doctrine of cosmopolitanism a good doctrine? This doctrine, in fact, is the same as the Chinese doctrine of universalism which was first stated two thousand years ago. Logically speaking, this doctrine is not bad in itself. It is, however, decidedly disadvantageous to China. Because of this doctrine, we lost our nationalism immediately after the conquest of our country by foreigners. K'ang Hsi was a cosmopolitanist when he argued that, inasmuch as Shun, an eastern barbarian, and King Wen, a western barbarian, had once become wise rulers of the Middle Kingdom, any foreigner might rule over this country so long as he was a man of virtue. The ethical value of everything is relative and so nothing in the world is innately good or innately bad. It is determined by circumstances. A thing that is useful and advantageous to us is a good thing; otherwise, a bad thing. Also, a thing that is useful and advantageous to the world is a good thing; otherwise, a bad thing.

In order to preserve their privileged position in oppressed countries as well as their supremacy over the world, the imperialist Powers are advocating the doctrine of cosmopolitanism to make the world submissive and obedient. When China wanted to be the mistress of the world and supreme over all the nations, she also preached the doctrine of cosmopolitanism. When this doctrine permeated Chinese society, the people lost their spirit of nationalism.

When the Manchus invaded our country with fewer than 100,000 men, we raised very little opposition and hundreds of millions willingly knelt before foreign masters. We were infatuated by cosmopolitanistic philosophy and so we welcomed anybody as our rulers. Although Shih K'o-fa attempted armed opposition, very few people followed him. The Manchus peacefully occupied the throne of the Celestial Empire for hundreds of years. Our people not only welcomed them, but were anxious to be "Manchu-ised," and so there came into being the Chinese Banner or *Han Chun Chi*.

NATIONALISM AND CONSCIENCE

At present Great Britain and the United States are the most powerful nations in the world. There are, however, many other strong nations in the world. These nations are called *Lieh Chiang* or "the Powers." If either Great Britain or America should conquer the world, it would become *Tu Chiang* or "the Single Power." Could it be ethically justified, if the Chinese nation were conquered by Britain and the Chinese people were made British subjects? Would the Chinese conscience feel comfortable if we were naturalized as

American citizens or British subjects and then made to fight against China, our fatherland, because we believed in cosmopolitanism? Naturally we would not feel comfortable in our conscience. That means that our spirit of nationalism still exists.

Nationalism can dictate to our conscience, and so it is the most precious thing in our existence. Nationalism is the means of existence for a race, just as a scholar depends upon his pen and ink to earn his living. Even though cosmopolitanism should be developed to the highest point, our people would have no chance to exist without nationalism. Our race would be destroyed by the stronger just as the San Miao were banished by Shun to the San Wei, and then driven by the Han people to the borders of Yiinnan and Kweichow. Today these people have almost died out. The San Miao, we should remember, were originally the masters of this soil. It may be that our people are destined to the same fate!

THE ORIGIN OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

As to the origin of the Chinese people, many are of the opinion that our history began with a certain Bak Sing people from the west who passed the Pamir Plateau and the Tien Shan, came to Sinkiang, and finally settled along the Yellow River. A study of the origin of Chinese culture makes this theory seem quite plausible. If Chinese civilization sprang from the homeland, it would seem more natural that it should begin along the Pearl River in South China, not in the Yellow River valley, because in the Pearl River valley, where the climate is warm and the soil fertile, the people would find the most favorable conditions for the development of cultural life. But not one of the great rulers of China, such as Yao, Shun, Yu, T'ang, King Wen and King Wu was born in the Pearl River valley. On the other hand, they all came from the northwest. The Pearl River valley was considered a barbarian region as late as the Han dynasty. Chinese civilization, therefore, came from the northwest, and is of migratory origin. In Chinese the phrase *Po Hsing* means "the people." Many western scholars maintain that there was a Bak Sing people in Babylonia, that this people later on migrated to China; and that they either destroyed or assimilated the aborigines and occupied the territory. This people, it is asserted, became the Chinese people of today.

According to the law of social evolution, the fittest survive, and the weak are killed by the strong. Are our people a good race or a bad race? Are we fit for existence? You, of course, naturally wish the Chinese to be a strong, good, and enduring people. But I feel that our people are in a very difficult position; and I fear that we may perish in the near future. We are threatened by the three forces I have mentioned: namely, the increase of foreign population, the political force, and the economic force of the foreigners. We have already felt the economic and political pressure of the foreign Powers. Our population is still too large to feel the pressure of the increasing foreign population, but this pressure may be felt one hundred years from now.

THE BAMBOO POLE

Although we are a great people, we have no spirit of nationalism, and so we are invaded by the economic and political forces of the foreigners. If our spirit of nationalism were not lost, we could never be invaded by foreign economic and political forces. I may give a parable to illustrate how we lost our spirit of nationalism. Although this may not be a good parable, the incident which I am going to tell you I saw with my own eyes.

There was a wharf carrier in Hongkong. Every day he depended upon his bamboo pole

and two ropes for earning his living. In the course of several years he saved over ten dollars. With this money he bought a lottery ticket. Inasmuch as he had no home, he had no place to keep his lottery ticket. He kept it in the bamboo pole so that it could not be taken out unless he broke the pole: he remembered the number of the ticket. When the day for drawing the lottery came, his number was announced as the winner of the first prize, \$100,000. Of course, he was thrilled and his heart was full of joy. He thought that he was now a wealthy man, and no longer a coolie; and so he threw his pole and his ropes into the sea, and the winning lottery ticket along with them.

COSMOPOLITANISM AND THE MANCHU RULE

The doctrine of cosmopolitanism may be compared with the lottery ticket which gives a chance to create wealth and joy. Our spirit of nationalism may be compared with the pole, a tool for earning a living. When our country reached the climax of our imperialist glory, we won the first prize. Our ancestors thought that our nation would be forever the greatest and wealthiest nation on earth, and so they preached cosmopolitanism. They thought that they no longer needed nationalism. They threw the pole into the sea! When the Manchus invaded our country, our people not only failed to hold the supremacy over the world, but were unable to protect even our homeland. At that time the nationalist spirit of the Chinese people was all gone. Wu San-kwei helped the Manchus to establish their rule in China, though he was a Chinese. When Shih K'o-fa, a nationalist general, attempted to revive the country and to set up Prince Fu at Nanking, Durgan, the Man-chu leader, told him that the Manchus had not received the throne from the Ming, but from the Chinese rebels. His idea was that the Ming people lost their country through their own fault, just as the coolie threw his bamboo pole into the sea himself.

The doctrine of cosmopolitanism which is advocated by students of the "new culture" group may well be preached by the British and the Americans; it was well enough as propagated by our own ancestors; but it is not suited to the Chinese people of today. The Germans preached the doctrine of cosmopolitanism before the war, but they now advocate nationalism. Just because our ancestors threw away their valuable bamboo pole a little too soon, we have to suffer from the oppression of foreign economic and political forces, and the danger of national destruction is imminent.

THE 1,250,000,000 VERSUS THE 250,000,000

If we can revive our nationalist spirit and develop it, there is no doubt that our nation will live long and that no foreign political and economic forces, however strong, will be able to harm us. God loves our people because He has permitted us to live for so many thousands of years. It will be our own fault and our sin if we abuse ourselves in such a way that we have to perish. Since God has permitted us to live so long, we believe He has laid on us some great responsibility, and we must become worthy of the task; otherwise we shall be working against the will of God. God wants us to be progressive; and the Powers who are hindering our progress are responsible for hindering the progress of mankind.

Yesterday a Russian gentleman said to me that Lenin was attacked by the whole world because he was bold enough to declare that there are two classes of people in the world: the 1,250,000,000 against the 250,000,000. The 1,250,000,000 people are held under the oppression of the 250,000,000. The latter are working against the will of God, and we

should proceed to fight them. But before we unite with the 1,250,000,000 to fight against the oppressors, we must develop our nationalism and get our own 400,-000,000 together. After the power of the 250,000,000 has been crushed and when none are ambitious to establish a reign of might over right, we may then preach the doctrine of cosmopolitanism.

IV. NATIONALISM AND COSMOPOLITANISM

LECTURE FOUR

Delivered on February 17, 1924

NATIONALISM IN EUROPE

THE ENTIRE population of the earth is one billion five hundred millions, one fourth of which is Chinese. Thus among every four persons in the world, there is one Chinese. The white people in Europe amount to four hundred millions. The white race which is the most progressive race in the world is divided into four different stocks. Central and Northern Europe is the home of the Teutons, who have established many nations, including Germany, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Holland, and Denmark. In Eastern Europe are the Slavs, the greater number of whom live in Russia. After the war, two new Slavic states were born, namely, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia. The Anglo-Saxons occupy the western part of Europe and have also founded the United States and Canada in North America. The United States and England are the two most powerful Anglo-Saxon states. The Latin people who occupy the southern part of Europe have established France, Italy, Spain, and many other smaller states. The Latin people have also established many states in South America.

Since the spirit of nationalism has been highly developed among the white nations of Europe, they have established many powerful states though their number is only four hundred millions, and they are divided into so many different stocks. When Europe became overcrowded, they extended their possessions to the Western Hemisphere as well as to Africa and to Australia. The Anglo-Saxon people have the largest colonial possessions in the world; they originated in Europe, but their possessions in Europe are only two small islands, the so-called British Isles. These islands occupy a very strategic position in the Atlantic Ocean similar to Japan's position in the Pacific. The Anglo-Saxons not only have the largest colonial possessions in the world, but are also the wealthiest and most powerful people among all races.

Before the war the Teutons and the Slavs were the most powerful peoples on earth, and the Teutons were specially noted for their intelligence and ability. For instance, Germany was able to unite twenty or more separate kingdoms into one great Empire. When the German Empire was founded, it was principally an agricultural state, and became highly industrialized later on. Gradually Germany developed a powerful army and navy.

CAUSE OF THE WORLD WAR

What we call "imperialism" is the policy of invading other nations by political force. The European peoples have been imbued with imperialistic ideas, and the result has been that there have frequently been international wars. It is said that there is a small war in Europe every ten years and a great war every hundred years. The biggest war they have ever had was the World War which took place just a few years ago. It was called the

"World War" because it affected the entire world; and because all nations of the world, with a few exceptions, participated in the struggle.

The first cause of the World War was the struggle between the Teutonic people and the Anglo-Saxon people for supremacy of the sea, for of course Great Britain could not bear to see Germany rise up as the supreme maritime Power. The second cause of the World War was competition among the Powers to acquire colonial possessions. There was a weak nation in eastern Europe called Turkey, known as "the sick man of the Near East." Since that country was very backward and weak, the European Powers had long desired to partition it, but they could not agree among themselves. The question was in dispute for over a hundred years and at length the Powers resorted to arms. We may, then, conclude that the World War was a result of two factors: first, the competition among the European peoples for power and wealth; and secondly, the attempt to reach a solution of the "world problem."

In regard to the World War, if Germany had been victorious, the supremacy of the sea would have been handed over to Germany; and the British Empire, like the Roman Empire, would have broken into parts. But the war turned out differently, and the military power of imperialist Germany was completely crushed. This war in Europe was indeed the biggest war that ever happened in history. Forty to fifty million men were actually in the field, and the war lasted for four years.

When the war ended, neither side had won a decisive victory. On one side was the Entente which included Germany and Austria, and later on Turkey and Bulgaria; and on the other side, the Allies, which included Serbia, France, Russia, Britain, and Japan, and later on Italy and the United States. The United States entered the war purely for nationalistic and racial reasons. During the first two years of the war, the Entente forces almost captured Paris, and blockaded all British waters. The Teutons thought that the British Empire would surely fall. England was much disturbed, and sought rescue from America, persuading the latter to enter into the war on the ground that both countries belonged to the Anglo-Saxon race, and that either one would be weakened if the other was destroyed. Lest she herself should not be strong enough to fight Germany, the United States induced many other neutral states to enter into the war on the side of the Allies.

SELF-DETERMINATION OF NATIONALISM

During the war a great doctrine was formulated which almost everybody approved—the Wilsonian doctrine of the self-determination of nationalities. Since Germany was using force in the attempt to suppress the allied nations of Europe, President Wilson declared that all the oppressed peoples in the world should unite with the Allies to defeat German militarism, and that if the war was won, the smaller nations would have an opportunity to determine their own destiny. The smaller nations believed in Wilson, and hoped fervently that they would be liberated from oppression at the end of the war. The Hindus and An-nammites enthusiastically helped even their own enemies, Britain and France respectively, "to win the war" and "to make the world safe for democracy." Other oppressed states in Europe, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania also entered the war because of Woodrow Wilson's promise. China joined in the war for the same reason. Although we did not send troops to Europe, we sent several hundred thousands of labor battalions to the front. Because of this one good principle; namely, self-determination of nationalities, the Powers persuaded practically all the oppressed nations in Europe and Asia to assist them in fighting against the Central Powers.

In order to preserve peace and good will among the nations after the great disaster, Wilson put forth the "Fourteen Points" which included the principle of self-determination of nationalities. When the war was in progress, England and France agreed wholeheartedly with the Fourteen Points. As soon as the war was won, England, France, and Italy tried to frustrate Wilson's program because it was in conflict with their imperialist policies. As a consequence, the Peace Treaty was one of the most unequal treaties ever negotiated in history. The smaller nationalities were not only refused self-determination, but were brought under worse oppression.

The mighty Powers held the supremacy and had control over the resources of all the smaller nations. In order to maintain their monopolistic positions forever, the Powers have prevented the rise of the small states by teaching them the doctrine of cosmopolitanism. They have criticized the doctrine of nationalism as being too narrow and detrimental to humanity. Their doctrine of cosmopolitanism is in fact the doctrine of imperialism in disguise.

In spite of the difficulties and disappointments at the Peace Conference and in the years following, Wilson's doctrine of self-determination has borne fruit. Annam, Burma, Java, India, Malaysia, Afghanistan, and many other small nations in Europe are finding that they have been deceived by the imperialist Powers, and they are trying to liberate themselves.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The European War could not destroy imperialism because it was a struggle of the imperialism of one nation against that of another. It was neither a war between savagery and civilization nor one between "might" and "right." The outcome of the war, therefore, was only the overthrow of one system of imperialism by another, and what was left was still imperialism.

The first Revolution in Russia broke forth in 1905, but was not successful. Only after the awakening of the Russian people from their dark, painful experience of the World War was the revolution a success. Russia, being an Ally, sent more than ten millions of soldiers to fight against Germany. Her service to the Allies during the war was not a little, for by keeping part of the German forces in the East fighting the Russians she prevented the Germans from breaking through the Western front and thereby saved France and England from destruction. Suddenly the Russian soldiers and common people realized that the war would do no good to them because they were simply helping one group of imperialist Powers to defeat another group of imperialist Powers.

Furthermore, the Russians as a people had no point of conflict with the Germans; the conflict came from their respective imperialistic policies. When the Russian people learned that imperialism was historically wrong, they set up a revolution in 1917 and overthrew imperialism at home. They then negotiated for peace separately with Germany.

After the Allied nations had negotiated the peace with Germany, the imperialistic Powers intervened in Russia, because Russia, whose policies were contrary to those of the imperialist Powers, was a menace to them. Russia endeavored to unite the small nations to fight against imperialism and capitalism. Such a policy is fundamentally in harmony with the Wilsonian doctrine of self-determination of nationalities. Judging from the experience of the European War, imperialism renders no great benefit to any nation, whereas liberty for all nationalities is the only principle by which humanity will ever be saved.

EMANCIPATION OF THE OPPRESSED

The four hundred millions of white people in Europe and America constitute the strongest race on earth. The Red Indians in America have been almost destroyed by them. The black people in Africa and the brown people in Southern Asia are in danger of extermination. The yellow people in Asia have also been brought under the oppression of the white people, and may soon be destined to the same fate as the red race. But 150,000,000 of Russians, since their Revolution, have parted from the white imperialists and have joined the small nations in the struggle against European militarism. That leaves only 250,000,000 on the side of the imperialists. Hitherto the struggle of mankind has been one between the 1,250,000,000 and the 250,000,000. The latter group, though smaller in number, occupies a very influential place in the world. They use both their powerful political and economic forces to suppress the small nations.

Contrary to the expectation of the imperialists, the 150,000,000 Slavs have risen to speak a word of justice for the oppressed nations, and to oppose imperialism and militarism. The Powers attacked Lenin, as my Russian friend said, because he declared that 1,250,000,000 people were being overridden by the 250,000,000 people and because Lenin, furthermore, engaged in the actual work of liberation and of self-determination. Throughout his life he wrought to emancipate the small nations from the tyranny of the Powers. In spite of the attacks upon Lenin by the capitalist Powers, the world is realizing that it should no longer be bound by hypocrisy and deceit. Since the war, political consciousness of the peoples of the world has evidently progressed to a higher level than ever before.

OUR DUTY—NATIONALISM OR COSMOPOLITANISM?

It is our duty to revive the spirit of Chinese nationalism and to use the strength of our four hundred millions to uphold justice and humanity. The Powers have feared the realization of such a duty on our part, and so they have propagated the doctrine of cosmopolitanism. Their argument is that narrow nationalism is not suited to a progressive civilization, and that we should be broadminded. Unfortunately, the youths of China who advocate the so-called "new culture" are betrayed by such sophistry and are opposed to the doctrine of nationalism without reckoning with our peculiar conditions.

It is evident that unless our country has achieved freedom and independence, we are not in the position to preach cosmopolitanism. If we give up nationalism in order to preach cosmopolitanism, we are like the coolie in Hong-kong who threw his bamboo pole into the sea with the winning lottery ticket in it. Cosmopolitanism may be likened to the lottery ticket and nationalism to the bamboo pole. We should know that cosmopolitanism is developed from nationalism. Unless the spirit of nationalism is well developed, the spirit of cosmopolitanism is perilous.

In other words, cosmopolitanism is wrapped up in nationalism just as the lottery ticket was sealed in the bamboo pole. Our giving up nationalism for cosmopolitanism would naturally lead to the destruction of both the pole and the ticket! As already said, our present position is inferior to that of the Annammites and the Koreans. They are men without country and they are slaves; but we are inferior even to slaves! Dear friends,

inferior as we are, should we preach nationalism or cosmopolitanism?

The history of the Chinese people springs from imperialism, and our ancestors often used political force to invade the territory of other nations. Our civilization was well developed several thousands of years before European civilization began. European civilization reached its zenith in the time of Rome, yet the Roman Empire was only a contemporary of the Han dynasty. Chinese political thought was far advanced during the Han dynasty, and many Han writers were anti-imperialists. There was abundant anti-imperialist literature, and *The Plea for the Abandonment of the Pearl District* is a notable example. The author of this essay was opposed to the expansion of the Chinese Empire to the South against the wish of the original settlers. You will see, then, that our people were already opposed to imperialism and were advocates of peace as early as the Han dynasty.

During the Sung dynasty when our people would not invade others, the foreigners invaded China, and the Sung regime was replaced by the Mongol rule. When China's independence was restored by the Ming, the latter also, like the Sung, adopted a policy of non-invasion. The small nations in the South Pacific paid tribute to the Ming, not as a result of conquest, but because they admired China, and so they became tributary states to China of their own free will. They considered it an honor to be tributary states of China, and they would have felt offended if the Ming had refused to accept their tribute.

PRESTIGE OF IMPERIALIST CHINA UNEQUALED

A nation with such a prestige that small nations come to her and of their own free will demand to be annexed is very unusual. Contrast with this the relation between the United States and the Philippine Islands: the Philippines are allowed autonomy and are also permitted to send a representative to the Congress in Washington, D. C. Instead of the Philippine government paying a tribute to the American government, America is spending a large amount of money every year for the development of transportation and education in the Islands. Although the American government is so very generous toward the Philippines, the latter still demand independence from America and consider their being a dependency of America as a disgrace.

On the north of the Indian Empire there is a country among the Himalaya Mountains called Nepal. The dominant people in Nepal belong to the Kalmuk stock. Since the Kalmuks are good fighters, the British are afraid of them even though they have taken India into their possession. The British treat the Kalmuks very generously, and every year they give to the Kalmuks a large amount of money, just as the Chinese gave money to the Tartars as tribute during the Sung dynasty. The British, however, do not call it a tribute, but a subsidy. In spite of these favors from the British, the Kalmuks paid at the same time a tribute to China as late as the first year of the Republic.

When I was in Siam about ten years ago I had a conference with the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Siam at the Foreign Office and we talked over the Far Eastern problem. In the course of conversation, the Siamese Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs remarked to me: "When your Revolution has succeeded and your nation becomes powerful, we Siamese shall be only too happy to be annexed to China and become a Chinese province." I feel that this statement is representative of the Siamese nation because it was made by their Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs at the Foreign Office. In recent years, however, the Siamese have been able to get rid of their unequal treaties and to achieve national

independence. The position of Siam among the nations has been elevated; and naturally she no longer desires to be annexed to China.

WHO IS THE NEAREST AND BIGGEST ENEMY?

May I relate to you another story? During the European War I established the Constitutional Government in Canton. One day the British Consul-General called on me at the Generalissimo's office to talk over the possibility of the Southern Government's entrance into the War. I asked:

"Why should we enter into the War?"

"Fight Germany," the Consul-General replied, "because she has robbed you of Tsingtao, and you should get it back."

"Tsingtao," I said, "is far away from Canton. How about Hongkong, Burma, Nepal, and Bhutan which were once either our own territory or tributary states, and which are much closer to Canton than Tsingtao? At the present time you have an eye on Tibet. Ordinary logic suggests that if China is strong enough to get back her lost territories, she should proceed first to get back the closer and bigger ones. Tsingtao is but a small place, and Burma is bigger than Tsingtao, and Tibet is still bigger."

"I came to talk business!" remarked the irritated Consul-General.

"I am talking business too!" I answered.

We stared at each other for a long time. Then I broke the silence by saying:

"Our civilization is two thousand years ahead of yours. While we are only too happy to help you to advance yours to our stage, we cannot be pulled backward by you. Two thousand years ago we abandoned imperialism and militarism. We have been peace-lovers ever since. We would of course welcome the War if its purpose were peace, justice, and equality; but as a matter of fact you always prefer war to peace, might to right. We consider the brutalities of your might as nothing short of barbarism. So we shall let you alone until you are tired of war. Perhaps the day of real peace will come, and then you and I will work together for the common good of mankind."

THE PEACE-LOVING QUALITY OF THE CHINESE

"I have another reason, a very strong reason," I continued, "for my refusal to enter the War. It is this: I do not want to see our nation transformed into a militaristic nation, a nation defying justice and right as is the case with your nation. Your suggestion is that after China has entered the War, you will send to China experienced army officers to train good Chinese soldiers and supply China with the best sort of munitions and arms, and within six months you will be able to turn out 300,000 to 500,000 well-trained men and send them to the front; but I say that China's entrance into the War would then be a disastrous thing."

"Why would it be disastrous?" the British Consul-General interrupted.

"In the future," I continued, "this trained army of several hundred thousand men would become the nucleus of Chinese militarism. Our military forces would develop from a few hundred thousands into several millions. Japan's ascendancy has been detrimental to your country's expansion; China's ascendancy to power would be even more detrimental than that of Japan. If we followed your suggestion, China would become ten times more powerful than Japan, for China is richer and bigger than Japan. Then the whole world, including your country, would probably fall prey to China's arms. All this might happen if we were to do what you suggest, but we have already cast off the shell of barbarism, and we are workers for peace. I sincerely hope that

China will always preserve this beautiful quality of peace-loving. I, therefore, oppose our entrance into the War."

After I finished my conversation, the British Consul-General was moved by the philosophy expounded. He said:

"If I were a Chinese, I would have the same idea!"

OUR IDEALS AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY TWO THOUSAND YEARS IN ADVANCE

Gentlemen, revolution is usually a bloody affair. Our Revolution of 1911 did not shed much blood because our people are a peace-loving people. This peace-loving quality is the greatest virtue of the Chinese. I have always tried to persuade other peoples of the world to follow the lead of China and try to build a world upon peace and good will. At present, the Russian Slavs are following China in being peace-loving, and so the 150,000,000 are seeking co-operation with their 400,000,000 brethren in the Middle Kingdom.

Our people are not only peace-loving, but very advanced in civilization. Anarchism and communism which are new political theories in Europe were expounded by our scholars thousands of years ago. For instance, Lao Tzu is the father of anarchistic philosophy. Lao Tzu's description of "The Kingdom of Hua Hsii" where people live in natural order without government and law is typical Utopian literature of anarchistic type. Our youths are constantly trying to learn everything the West has to teach, but what is newest in the West has existed in China for thousands of years. The Soviet system in Russia is not pure communism but Marxism—and Marxism is not communism; the real communism comes from Proudhon and Bakunin. While no country in the West has practiced communism, China during the days of Hung Hsiu-ch'uan gave the theory a trial. The economic system of Hung Hsiu-ch'uan's government was a real communistic experiment which I regret cannot be interpreted in detail on account of lack of time.

CHINA'S NEED OF SCIENCE

Where Europe surpasses China, is not in political philosophy, but in material civilization. The so-called modern living, as well as powerful armies and navies, comes from the development of science. Science is young; it was brought into existence during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by great experimentalists like Bacon and Newton. Europe of two hundred years ago was not equal to China. What we should learn from the West is not political philosophy, but science. Really good political philosophy Europe has to learn from China. You know that Germany is the most advanced nation in the world so far as learning is concerned. But the German scholars are studying Chinese philosophy; they also study Buddhism from India in order to avoid the dogmatism of science.

Cosmopolitanism, which has only recently developed in Europe, has prospered in China for two thousand years. Of course, the Europeans at present cannot understand the beauty of our civilization. Furthermore, the loss of our nationalist spirit has hindered the development of our good racial qualities, our philosophy, and our moral ideals. On the other hand, the European idea of cosmopolitanism is but the doctrine of "might is right" in disguise. The Europeans always say "Let's fight for it" and the Chinese say "Let's reason about it." Reason should be the foundation of cosmopolitanism, and we must preserve it by all means. The way to preserve it is through nationalism. Just as the 150,000,000 Russians

laid the foundation of cosmopolitanism in Europe, the 400,000,000 Chinese will lay its foundation in Asia. Once established, the influence of cosmopolitanism will be carried far. I, therefore, conclude that we must preach nationalism before cosmopolitanism; for preaching cosmopolitanism without first preaching nationalism is not practical. True is the saying: "In order to make the world tranquil and happy, the nation must first be well governed!"

V. METHODOLOGY OF NATIONALISM

LECTURE FIVE

Delivered on February 24, 1924

METHODS OF REVIVING THE SPIRIT OF NATIONALISM

IN THE PRECEDING four lectures I have explained that the fundamental cause of our national decadence is the loss of the spirit of Chinese nationalism; and that, owing to this loss, the Manchus ruled us for over two centuries and today we are dominated by the different Powers. It is evident, then, that unless our spirit of nationalism is revived, not only shall we lose our country politically, but our race will be exposed to the imminent danger of extermination. We must, therefore, think out a method of reviving our spirit of nationalism that the people can easily understand. I suggest two methods. The first one is to make our people conscious of the present crisis and of the danger to come. This is a psychological process. We have lost our country because we were not conscious of the fact that our country would fall if we failed to prepare for the external danger. If we had foreseen that our country would fall, our country would have been saved from humiliation.

Two old Chinese sayings convey quite well the psychological significance of national consciousness. One says, "Often a nation without enemies and external danger falls." When a nation thinks that she is too powerful to worry about troubles from without, she is likely to neglect her national defense. Then when an unexpected attack does come, she is bound to collapse. Another ancient maxim says, "Out of troublous times emerges a prosperous nation." Conscious of a crisis the people would rise up and struggle to bring their nation out of troubles, and this very struggle would lead to prosperity. We must be conscious of our difficulties and crises, and develop our spirit of nationalism, otherwise we shall be ruined.

THE POLITICAL FORCE

As already said, China is confronted with three dangers: first, pressure from the political force; secondly, pressure from the economic force; and thirdly, pressure from the population factor. Needless to say, these three forces are jointly operating against us, and our present position is extremely dangerous. Let us consider first the political force which can ruin a nation in a day.

Political force destroys a nation in two ways: through military force and through diplomacy. In our history we find numerous examples of national ruin due to military force. For instance, the Battle of Yai Men ended the Sung regime and gave the ascendancy to the Mongols, and the Battle of Yang Chow established the authority of the Man-chus in China and terminated the Ming dynasty. In European history the fall of the Napoleonic Empire at Waterloo, and the end of Napoleon III's power at the Battle of Sedan are notable examples showing that a critical battle can cause a nation's ruin. At present our country has no strong navy and army to protect it; we practically have no national defense, so that the Powers

could take China by military force at any time.

The Power that is nearest to China is Japan. She has a standing army of one million, which can be increased to three millions in time of war. Her navy is a close rival of America's and of Britain's, although the Washington Conference limited her naval strength to three hundred thousand tons. The Japanese battle fleet, including cruisers, submarines, and destroyers is very powerful. The two Japanese destroyers at the Pei Ao T'an are not rivaled by any Chinese battleship. But Japan has more than a hundred destroyers such as these. Perhaps Japan thinks that the time has not yet come to annex China; but if Japan were to invade China, her military forces could drive through the whole country in ten days. In ten days, China would be ruined!

THE UNITED STATES COULD CONQUER CHINA IN A MONTH

Go eastward from Japan, and on the other side of the Pacific you will find the United States. Before the Washington Conference, America's naval power was three times greater than that of Japan, but since then it has been decreased to 500,000 tons. The United States has also many more submarines, destroyers, and other new types of battleships than Japan has. In public education the standard of the American people is very high; education is free, universal, and compulsory. A large percentage of the American people have received high school or college education. Since military science is taught in a large number of high schools and colleges, the American government can increase her army to several millions in a short time, although her standing army is extremely small. During the War she conscripted two million men in less than a year. Should war break forth between China and the United States, America could force China to capitulate in a month; that is, one month from the day on which American forces were mobilized there would be cessation of fighting in China.

FORTY DAYS FOR ENGLAND AND FRANCE

England has been called "The Mistress of the Sea," for she possesses the most powerful navy in the world. Even though the Washington Conference limited her naval power to 500,000 tons, she has now more destroyers, cruisers, and submarines than any other country in the world. Hongkong is a "fortress" of England in Asia, for Hongkong is not only a great commercial port, but a very strategic military base. It is the throat of South China. Moreover, England has a powerful navy and army nearby in India and Australia. Should she declare war on China, she could send to China the military and naval forces in Hongkong, India, and Australia as well as those from home. Even though it takes forty to fifty days to travel from England to China, it might not require that much time to compel China to capitulate, for Britain could send forces from places near China. At most it would not take more than two months.

At present France possesses the best army in the world. She has about three thousand airplanes, and the number could be increased during time of war. Annam, a French colony in Asia, is our neighbor. The French government has constructed a railway direct from Annam to the capital city of Yunnan province. I do not think that France would require more than two months to occupy China by force.

THE BALANCE OF POWER

You will realize from this discussion that any one Power alone could occupy China without difficulty. One of the reasons that China has not been wiped out of existence by some Power is that the different Powers are jealous of one another's influence in China, consequently none has succeeded in annexing China. The peculiar condition which is popularly described as the "balance of power" exists in China, that is, the different Powers see to it that they have equal interests in China. Some optimists assert that this balance of power will forever prevent any one of the Powers taking possession of China and that we need not worry for our national existence. Such an irresponsible attitude is bound to be detrimental to the future of our nation. The Powers have already realized that a policy of conquering China by military force would precipitate a great conflict among themselves, and that such a conflict, like the European War, would eventually cause damage to the Powers themselves. For this reason, they are trying to prevent war, and have advocated the limitation of armaments. As a result the Washington Conference has limited the naval power of Japan, England, and America to 300,000, 500,000, and 500,000 tons respectively. The limitation of armaments, which was the primary object of the conference, was only another attempt to solve the Far Eastern problem!

A NEW SCHEME !

The new scheme for the conquest of China is far more skillful than the old one. A method has been devised by which it will be possible to destroy China and Chinese nationality without any conflict between China and the Powers or any war among the Powers themselves. As already said, there are two ways of conquering a nation by political force: the one is through military force and the other is through diplomacy. If military force were used, the Powers would have to mobilize their armies and move machine guns, cannon, and other material. These would be visible acts and would openly invite opposition from China or from elsewhere. Diplomacy is an invisible thing. The tools of diplomacy consist of but one pen and one sheet of paper, and one pen and one sheet of paper can partition China even without China's knowing or seeing it. Although the Washington Conference was held partly in the interest and for the welfare of China, none of the Powers had any intention of helping China. Before the Washington Protocol was put into force, the Powers advocated international control of China. This theory of international control of China will grow stronger, and before long, it will be put in practice unless China finds a way out.

Furthermore, to conquer China through diplomacy will take less time than the other method. Whereas it would take from ten to forty or fifty days to conquer China by military maneuvers, it would take only a few minutes of time to exchange diplomatic documents. The method is not new; a precedent is to be found in the partition of Poland by Russia, Austria, and Germany. If England, America, France, and Japan please, they may hold a China Conference, and upon agreement, they could instantly divide China by a mere protocol.

Gentlemen, the political force of the Powers is extremely dangerous to us!

OUR HEAVY TOLL TAX TO FOREIGN POWERS

The second danger to our national existence comes from economic pressure. As already stated, the foreigners take from our country \$1,200,000,000 annually, and this amount is

increasing year by year. According to the Customs reports, ten years ago our imports exceeded our exports by \$2,000,000 annually, and now this amount has increased to \$5,000,000—that is, 150 per cent above what it was. According to this rate of increase, the loss of \$1,200,000,000 each year will increase in ten years to \$3,000,000,000, that is, to \$7.50 per capita.

This means that ten years from now every Chinese will have to pay to the Powers \$7.50 each year. Inasmuch as we have 200,000,000 females who cannot share this burden, every man naturally would have to take double the amount. Furthermore, two-thirds of the males in China, including old men and children, are not productive; thus the productive men in China, who constitute one-sixth of the population, would have to assume the entire responsibility. Accordingly, each productive man in China would have to pay a toll tax to the foreigners amounting to \$45 every year. What a colossal sum! By this we can see that China may be penniless within ten years even though the Powers do not use political force.

Since the great calamity which befell Europe between 1914 and 1918, the Powers have perhaps realized the folly of war. They will probably leave us free from the direct oppression of foreign militarism, but their diplomatic intrigues will never cease. Even if the diplomatic intrigues directed against China were to cease, the economic pressure alone is sufficient to ruin China in ten years.

OUR RACIAL EXTERMINATION

Our third danger is our stationary population. Our population has not increased for the last hundred years, and it is not likely to grow unless we use various means to encourage its growth. On the other hand, the population in America has increased ten times during the last century, in Russia four times, in England and Japan three times, and in Germany two and a half times. Even in France, where birth control is universally practiced, the population has grown by one-fourth during the past hundred years. It is evident then that our people will be destined to the same fate as the Miao-tzu who have been almost exterminated on account of the pressure of our population on their small numbers.

Our duty today is to teach our people the imminent danger from these three factors; namely, the political force, the economic force, and the pressure of foreign population. We must make everybody understand the great danger of these factors and seek a solution. What we need is a national consciousness; the nation must think and must act. However large the world may be, there may be no room for you and me. We must wake up and fight. Our people will not fight until they realize the danger that is coming upon us.

Gentlemen, you are either students, soldiers, or public officers; you are the rulers and workers of the nation; it is you who should make the 400,000,000 understand the nature of the crisis. As soon as the people understand the danger, it will not be difficult to revive the spirit of nationalism in China.

THE CORNERSTONE OF RECONSTRUCTION

Foreigners accuse us of lack of national consciousness, and they also say that we are like a rope of sand. Although we have no national unity, our family and clan organization is highly developed, in fact our people are very clannish. A stranger is cordially received into a home if he only has the same surname or belongs to the same big family. This spirit is good, and such a spirit could be well extended to the nation. Furthermore, among our people the

ties of locality are strong. Fellow-provincials or fellow-villagers, even though strangers, are more hospitable to each other than to outsiders. Inasmuch as clannishness and regional feeling are deep-rooted in Chinese social life, they can be used as foundations for a new national spirit. If we could utilize these two types of loyalty to unite the entire nation, it would not be very long before the 400,000,000 people became an indissoluble unity.

Individualism is the basis of Western society. I believe that it is more difficult to revive the spirit of nationalism in a Western country than in China. In the West there is no middle group between the nation and the individual, while with us there is the powerful family organization standing between the nation group and the individual. For instance, the head of a family even performs the function of a judge in order to adjudicate disputes between two parties of the same family.

In spite of its many obvious faults, Chinese society, which is built first upon the clan and the family, and then upon the individual, is not only more orderly and systematic, but more enduring and substantial than that of the West, and therefore has existed for so many thousands of years. In the West where the individual is the basis of society there are tens of millions of units in each nation. The family is the basis of our society, and there are not more than four hundred large clans in all China. The matter of social reform is therefore much simplified in the case of China. Furthermore, different families being related in one way or the other, the attainment of national consciousness is a comparatively simple matter.

FAMILY LOYALTY

Ancestor worship is the basis of Chinese morality and so family loyalty is very strong in China. The spirit of family perpetuation has been deep-rooted in the Chinese mind for thousands of years. To the ordinary Chinese the fall of the nation or the overthrow of a dynasty has not been a serious matter, for they have seen that no matter who ruled over them, they had to pay taxes just the same. But the extirpation of a clan is regarded as the greatest calamity. It touches everyone of the clan and the related families of members of the clan. Inasmuch as the extirpation of a clan would end the worship of the ancestors of the clan, the Chinese will do everything and anything to defend their own clan. In Fukien and Kwang-tung, clan wars are very frequent, usually being due to some petty dispute between individuals of the two clans concerned. After the war has begun, it continues until redress is made, regardless of sacrifice in money, property, and lives.

While it is true that clan war is a very primitive institution, it can be made a valuable factor for the creation of a powerful nationalism if it is rightly directed. In the first place, the idea of family loyalty could be extended to national loyalty. The spirit of individual sacrifice for family welfare could be transformed into a spirit of sacrifice for the welfare of the nation as a whole. The individuals sacrifice themselves in the time of a clan war because they understand that the extirpation of their clan would necessarily mean the cessation of the worship of their ancestors. In the same way, we could very well educate the people to see that the extermination of the nationality-group would automatically mean the extirpation of all their clans and therefore the end of the worship of everybody's ancestors. This extension of family consciousness to the national consciousness would unite the loyalty of all individuals and families to the nationality-group. It has a double advantage: on the one hand, it will practically end the horrible institution of clan war; on the other hand, it will lead to the creation of a united front of all Chinese before their external enemies.

THE METHODOLOGY

To teach nationalism through family loyalty is not only the easiest but the most effective method, because such a method conforms to the Chinese traditions and touches closely the welfare of all individuals and also of their families. How are we to proceed? Let us suppose there are four hundred clans in China, and begin with the different clans individually. At first we should reorganize each clan in a certain district, and then organize the clans of the same surname in different districts, then from different district organizations bring about a province-wide organization, and from different province-wide organizations create a nation-wide clan organization. Take, say, the Chen family for illustration. At present the Chen family undoubtedly has village, district, and provincial organizations. It would take but two or three years to unite all villages, district, and provincial organizations of the Chen family into one grand national organization of the Chen family. We could have four hundred grand national organizations of different surnames. The next step would be to relate the class of different surnames by ascertaining the blood relationships of different families; thus there would be innumerable interclan national organizations.

The third step would be to proceed to the teaching of nationalism through these different clan and interclan organizations. In this way, we would be able to unite the 400,000,000 into one great indivisible nationality-group. When this was done, we should not have the least fear of foreign aggression nor the least doubt that our nation would once more be great and powerful.

The *Book of Records* or *Shu Ching* says that King Yao was able "to illustrate the great virtues and to harmonize nine families," that "after the nine families were brought to great harmony, he educated the people," and that "when the people were well disciplined, he brought peace to all nations, and good will prevailed on earth." You see, gentlemen, the methodology of Yao, like that of ours, was to begin his moral and political teachings with the family, then the nation-group, then the world. We must proceed first to strengthen the family or clan organizations as a step toward reviving our nationalism. Otherwise there are four hundred million channels in which to work and no one would know where to begin. During the Reformation, Japan strengthened first the noble families, and in that way the great Japanese nationality was formed. We should follow Japan in this respect.

THE NON-CO-OPERATIVE POLICY

When our people have been well organized, we will naturally find some constructive way out of the present crisis. One of the strongest obstacles to our finding a way out of the present crisis is the lack of the power of organization among our people. The Hindus have already lost their nation to the British. Since Gandhi brought into effect his non-co-operative policy, the British have suffered tremendously notwithstanding the enormous pressure of their economic force in India. As a matter of fact, the Hindus have almost ruined the Britishers' economic domination in India.

The non-co-operative plan was this: The Hindus resolved that they would not buy what the British imported into India; and, at the same time, they would not supply to the British what they demanded. The Hindus would not work for British employers, and they would consume only what they themselves produced. As a result of non-co-operation India is no longer a market for British producers. When this policy was first put in practice, the British paid no

attention to it because they thought that the Hindus would not keep it up. As time went on, the policy became increasingly popular, and the British have been excluded by the Hindus from all lines of economic activity. When they became alarmed at the influence of non-co-operation, they put Gandhi in prison.

We believe the work in India to be a remarkable success: and the success has come from the excellent co-operative spirit of the Hindus in this instance. Nominally our country is still independent, and the foreigners have not yet come to run our governmental and administrative machinery. We are thus in a better position than the Hindus to practice a policy of non-co-operation. We can easily refuse to work for the foreigners, to buy foreign goods, and to accept foreign banknotes.

For our part, we may readily develop our own industries and our banking facilities. We may perfect the national organization and revive the spirit of nationalism by uniting our family organizations. When this is done, no political force, economic force, or population pressure from without can endanger the existence of our people as a nation. Our country will be strong and our land will be secure.

Gentlemen, I have indicated two ways to meet the present crisis. First, the positive method is to revive our nationalist spirit, then to build a democratic government and to develop our economic well-being in order to fit ourselves for the struggle among nations. Secondly, the negative way is the way of non-co-operation whereby we can weaken the influence of foreign imperialism, and assure our national existence.

VI. NATIONAL MORALE AND WORLD TRANQUILLITY

LECTURE SIX

Delivered on March 2, 1924

GENTLEMEN, the subject for consideration today is how to restore the sovereign rights of our nation. It is a problem of methodology. I have explained that the place of our nation is inferior to that of Korea and Annam, and therefore the term "semi-colony," which many people use to describe our present status, is not correct. Legally speaking, a "semi-colony" is superior to a "full colony." I have given you a new term to describe our present status, that is, a "sub-colony." China is a sub-colony of all Powers!

In the past, China was one of the most powerful among the civilized nations. Not only was she a first class Power but her position was higher than that of England, America, France, or Japan, owing to the fact that she was a *tu ch'iang* or "Single Power" in the East. As already explained, our ancestors made the nation powerful and glorious because of their highly developed nationalist spirit; and the rapid degeneration of our nation—from a "single Power" to a "sub-colony"—has been due to the loss of this spirit of nationalism.

Our problem, then, is to restore our race to its original greatness by reviving the nationalist spirit. In the first place, we must make every Chinese know and realize the fact that we, as a people and a nation, are in an extremely critical position in the struggle for existence with other nationalities and Powers. This is the work of propaganda. The second step is to form a great, powerful, and indivisible nationality-group by using and uniting our family and clan institutions which historically have had an important place in our social system. When our four hundred millions have united and are well organized, we will be able to fight together against our common enemies. Our immediate duty, let me repeat, is to spread propaganda in order to awake our fellow-countrymen to the weakness of our present position. Unless this is done, there is no possibility of reviving our nationalist spirit. When we have developed our nationalist spirit, the next step is to restore our country to its original place among the nations.

IMPORTANCE OF NATIONAL MORALE

As a general rule, a nation becomes powerful by conquest, and retains her greatness by the development of her culture. In the case of China there were many causes for her elevation to the position of a "Single Power" but the continuity of her greatness comes from her national morale. No nation can live long without a good moral foundation. From the standpoint of military greatness, the Mongols during the Yuan dynasty ranked first. While our country never extended its territory beyond Asia, the Mongols at that time conquered both the continent of Asia and a big portion of Europe. No nation in history can compare with the Mongols in "empire-making"; and yet their greatness did not last long. The fundamental cause for the short life of Mongol supremacy was the lack of a good moral foundation on the part of the Mongol race. Our moral foundation was better than that of the Mongols or of the Manchus, and so we subdued and assimilated them. We have survived in spite of the fact that we lost our nation twice to foreigners. The most important step in the

restoration of our original greatness, therefore, lies in the regeneration of the moral values of our nation.

LOYALTY AND FILIAL PIETY

According to the old moral system, the most important virtues are: first, filial piety (*hsiao*) and loyalty (*chung*); next, humanity (*Jen*) and love (*ai*); thirdly, sincerity (*hsin*) and righteousness (*yi*); and lastly, love of peace (*ho p'ing*). While many of our people still emphasize these virtues, the "new culturists" who are influenced by foreign moral teachings are trying to overthrow our old moral system and adopt a new code of morality. This is very unfortunate for it has caused a moral disorganization of the nation so that at the present time the rank and file of the country are altogether confused as to which moral code they should follow. As a result, neither the new morality nor the old morality is effective, and now the nation is plunged into a disgraceful condition of anarchism and chaos. We ought to preserve the old moral values that are good and at the same time reform harmful traditions.

A few days ago I went to an ancestral temple in the country. While I took a rest in the main hall, I noticed that there was a big character *hsiao* or "filial piety" inscribed on the wall of one side of the hall, and none on the wall of the other side. Inasmuch as *chung hsiao* or "loyalty and filial piety" always go together according to our old moral usage, there should have been the word *chung* on the wall at the other side, but it was erased. The one who erased it must have been possessed by the idea that loyalty was not needed in the Republic. The old idea of loyalty was to be loyal to the Emperor. Since there is no Emperor in the Republic, some people consider the virtue of loyalty no longer necessary. This is a misconception. Although the idea of personal loyalty to the Emperor is overthrown, we must be loyal to the nation, to the people, and to the cause for which we work and live. Loyalty to the nation requires that the individual be willing to sacrifice for the public welfare, even to the giving up of his life. How much more glorious to be loyal to the 400,000,000 as a group than to be loyal to one individual as in the olden days!

The virtue of filial piety is particularly highly developed in our system. In fact there is no other moral system in the world that has emphasized the virtue of filial piety as strongly as ours. If the citizens of this Republic could develop these two virtues, *chung* and *hsiao*, our nation would become powerful and prosperous, both spiritually and materially!

HUMANITY AND LOVE

The virtues of humanity (*jen*) and love (*ai*) are well established in old Chinese ethics. Mo Tzu's philosophy of love is as easily comprehended as that of Jesus. In our political philosophy, such maxims as "Love thy people as thy children," and "Love men and be humane to creatures," indicate that our ancient philosophers included everything in the word *ai* or "love." Some people maintain that our philosophy of *jen* and *ai* is not as good as that of the Westerners, because they come to China and establish schools, hospitals, and philanthropic institutions, while we merely philosophize. In truth, ours is just as good as that of the foreigners, but our weakness lies in that we do not practice our moral teachings as faithfully as the foreigners. What we should learn from the foreigners today is not philosophy, but their way of practicing philosophy.

SINCERITY AND RIGHTEOUSNESS

Sincerity (*hsin*) is one of the greatest virtues of our people. In fact our people are superior to the foreigners in keeping faith and in honesty. For instance, in commercial transactions our people will carry out a verbal promise faithfully, while foreign merchants often refuse to carry out even a written contract. When the foreigners order goods from the Chinese merchants, they may do it in the form of a verbal order or by entering the order in books, both of which, according to our customs, are binding agreements. On the other hand, when the Chinese order goods from, foreign merchants, they not only have to sign a written contract, but may have to seek assistance from lawyers and consular agents. Supposing that a Chinese merchant orders \$10,000 worth of commodities; and when the goods are delivered, they are worth only \$5,000 on account of a drop in price. Even though the Chinese merchant did not sign a written contract, he would accept the goods at a loss of \$5,000. For this reason, the foreigners who are acquainted with Chinese business conditions often praise very highly the business morality of the Chinese merchants. On the other hand, Western merchants often accuse Japanese merchants of being dishonest and unreliable. Japanese merchants sometimes refuse to carry out a transaction though the terms are agreed to in a written document.

In our moral teachings the doctrine of righteousness (*yi*) is emphasized. Our country has never attempted to destroy or to overthrow other nations. Nominally Korea was once our dependency, but in fact she was always free and independent until her annexation by Japan some ten years ago. When the European War broke forth, one Japanese friend told me that Japan's wish was to be a neutral state or even to assist Germany, but she had to join the Allies in order to carry out her promise to help England in time of war, and that she did this at the sacrifice of her national rights. I then asked him why Japan did not carry out the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki which guarantees the independence of Korea, why indeed she broke her promise just a few years after the treaty was signed. The truth is really this: Korea was able to preserve her independence as long as China was strong; as soon as Japan became powerful, she annexed Korea. That Japan's honesty and righteousness is inferior to that of China is beyond question. The fact is very evident then, that Japan violated the Treaty of Shimonoseki because China was weak, and that she carried out the agreement with Britain even "at the sacrifice of her national rights" because she was afraid of Britain, not because of international honesty and justice. On the other hand, international honesty and justice have always been cardinal principles in our diplomatic history.

THE LOVE OF PEACE

The Chinese people are great peace-lovers. Indeed our people are the only people in the world who are real peace-lovers. All other big nations are imperialistic and warlike. To be sure, several international conferences including the Hague Conference, the Geneva Conference, the Washington Conference, and the Lausanne Conference have been held in recent years for the promotion of peace. The Powers, however, held these conferences because they had to do so in order to avoid the disastrous results of war, whereas our people promote peace because we are by nature peace-lovers.

Our people are by nature peace-lovers! In ordinary etiquette we emphasize modesty. In our political philosophy we uphold the principle that "only he who loves not killing is able to unite the Empire." Thus there is a fundamental difference between the political thinking of the foreigners and that of the Chinese. Loyalty and filial piety, humanity and love,

sincerity and righteousness, and especially peace-loving are good characteristics of our people; and they have become a part of our spirit of nationalism. We should not only carefully preserve this spirit, but develop it to its highest excellence, whereby the glorious position of our people among the nations can be restored.

THE RENAISSANCE

The revival of ancient classical learning is equal in importance to the regeneration of old moral values. Our philosophy of life and our political ideas are in many respects superior to those of the West. For instance, the statement in the *Great Learning (Ta Hsueh)* about the different stages of securing world peace—from the investigation of facts, extension of knowledge, sincerity of thoughts, rectification of mind, cultivation of personality, regulation of families, wise administration of states to universal tranquillity—is a perfect political system of thought, and none can be found in the West as perfect as this.

This idea expressed in the *Ta Hsueh* that the task of securing world tranquillity should begin with the individual mind, not only furnishes a wonderful moral basis, but also represents the most advanced type of human intellection. But alas ! This spirit of intellection has deteriorated with the decadence of our morality and of our spirit of nationalism. Scholars read this passage in the *Ta Hsueh* with no more inspiration than in reading cheap literature. Inasmuch as the majority of our scholars no longer possess a critical attitude and an originality in thinking, they seldom comprehend the significance of our ancient philosophy.

RACE PREJUDICE AND INTERNATIONAL CONTROL

May I give you some concrete examples to illustrate the significance of the passage in the *Ta Hsueh* to which I have referred. The *Ta Hsueh* says that we should cultivate our personality. Our people seldom live up to this injunction; and, as a rule, the Chinese are very careless about their personal habits. As a result, our family organization and political institutions are not as well regulated as they should be. The foreigners, seeing these weaknesses of the Chinese, advocate international control of China on the ground that our people are not capable of governing themselves. They contend that our people belong to a race inferior to theirs and refuse us social equality. Excepting great scholars such as Bertrand Russell, foreigners cannot see the beauty of Chinese civilization unless they have resided in China for twenty or thirty years. To the superficial observer, Chinese civilization is primitive and corrupt, and the fundamental trouble lies in the negligence of sanitary and orderly habits on the part of individuals in China. The *Ta Hsueh*, therefore, warns us that we should cultivate our personality.

THE CASE OF SPITTING

When our people first began to go to America, the American people respected them and treated them well. As time went on, the Americans developed prejudices against the Chinese. Now American restaurants and hotels often refuse Chinese customers and the Americans discriminate against our people in all lines of activity. What is the reason? An American ship-captain told me that some time ago there was aboard his ship a Chinese Minister to a certain foreign government who would spit on the expensive rugs

in various rooms of the boat; and that as a courteous way of stopping him, the captain drew out his silk handkerchief, cleaned away the spittle, and wiped the rug dry. "Still," the Captain added, "this gentleman did not pay any attention to me." You may well imagine the terribly dirty habits of ordinary individuals if a high officer of the State was as bad as described by the American captain. The *Analects* says of Confucius that "if the mat was not straight, he would not sit on it." Our ancient wise men taught us to be orderly, clean, and careful, but we have neglected their teachings.

OTHER NOTORIOUS HABITS

Moreover, our people are fond of growing their finger nails long. It is true that the French people have the same habit, but their nails are not more than two-tenths or three-tenths of an inch in length. Furthermore, the French people take pride in their long clean nails which show that they are not manual workers but belong to the leisured class. Our people are fond of not only long, but dirty nails. The idea of avoiding the appearance of being a manual worker is directly contradictory to our Kuomin-tang principle that "labor is honor." Furthermore, our people often have yellow teeth, and are loath to brush them. Because of these little bad habits, foreigners call us half-civilized in spite of our wonderful political philosophy and advanced moral concepts.

It is true that the danger of the day is the pressure of foreign economic and political forces. These, however, came into existence in consequence of our negligence in the cultivation of individual personality and the degeneration of our social and political systems. The first step toward saving the nation, therefore, is the cultivation of our own personality and rectification of our daily habits.

INNATE ABILITY OF THE CHINESE

Although we are behind the foreigners in scientific achievement, our native ability is adequate to the construction of a great material civilization, which is proved by the concrete evidence of past achievements. We invented the compass, printing, porcelain, gunpowder, and the curing of tea and weaving of silk. Foreigners have made good use of these inventions. For example, modern ocean transportation would be impossible if there were no compass. The fast printing machine, which turns out tens of thousands of copies per hour, had its origin in China. Foreign military greatness comes from gunpowder, which was first used by the Chinese. Furthermore, many of the latest inventions in architecture in the West have been practiced in the East for thousands of years. This genius of our race for material inventions seems now to be lost; and so our greatness has become but the history of bygone glories.

I believe that we have many things to learn from the West, and that we can learn them. Many Westerners maintain that the hardest thing to learn is aerial science; already many Chinese have become skillful aviators. If aeronautics can be learned, I believe everything can be learned by our people. Science is only three hundred years old, and it was not highly developed until fifty years ago. Formerly coal was used as the source of energy; now the age of coal has given place to the age of electricity.

Recently America had a plan for nationalizing the water-power of the country. America has hundreds of thousands of factories. Each big factory has to have a power-house which

consumes a tremendous amount of coal. The railroads in the country are busily engaged in transporting coal, and have little time for transporting agricultural products. As a means of economizing coal and lessening transportation, a national central power-house is suggested. When such a house is built, the entire nation will receive energy from one central station. The result will be the elimination of enormous waste and the increase of efficiency.

When we learn from the West, it is evident that we should learn the latest inventions instead of repeating the different steps of development. In the case of the powerhouse, we may well learn to adopt the centralized plan of producing electricity, and need not follow the old plan of using coal to produce energy. In this way we can easily within ten years catch up with the West in material achievement.

THE GREATNESS OF NEW CHINA

The time is critical. We have no time to waste, and we ought to take the latest and the best that the West can offer. Our intelligence is by no means inferior to that of the Japanese. With our historical background and our natural and human resources, it should be easier for us than it was for Japan to rise to the place of a first class Power by a partial adaptation of Western civilization. We ought to be ten times stronger than Japan because our country is more than ten times bigger and richer than Japan. China is potentially equal to ten Powers. At present England, America, France, Italy, and Japan constitute the so-called "Big Five." Even with the rise of Germany and Soviet Russia, the world has only seven Powers. When China becomes strong, she can easily win first place in the Council of Nations.

OUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR WORLD TRANQUILLITY

Now the question is: How can we become a first class Power? Our ancestors adopted a policy of "helping the weak and curbing the strong": a policy of international justice resting upon a sound moral foundation. As a result, the small nations in Asia, including Annam, Burmah, Korea, and Siam enjoyed peace, freedom, and independence for thousands of years. As soon as China became weak, these small nations were annexed by the Powers, and so they lost their liberty and independence. When China becomes strong again, it will be our duty to help these nations win back their freedom. This is a great responsibility! If we cannot fulfill this great responsibility, what is the use of China being strong and powerful?

Again, if China follows at the heels of the imperialistic and militaristic nations, China's ascendancy to power, would not only be useless, but harmful to humanity. The only glorious and honorable path for us to pursue is to maintain in full force the old policy of "helping the weak and curbing the strong."

Gentlemen, we ought to decide at this hour what is to be the fundamental policy for which the nation is to stand, and where our hope and our greatness lie. When the days of our prosperity come, we must not forget the pain and misery which we are now suffering from the pressure of economic and political forces of the Powers. When our country becomes powerful, we should assume the responsibility of delivering those nations which suffer in the same way as we do now. This is what the *Ta Hsueh* means by "securing world tranquillity" (*p'ing t'ien hsia*). The way to proceed is to revive our spirit of nationalism and to restore our country to its original position of a "Single Power." We should use our old

moral values and our love of peace as the foundation of national reconstruction; and look forward to the day when we shall become leaders in world reconstruction upon lines of international justice and good will. This is the mission of our 400,000,000. Gentlemen, each one of you is one of the 400,000,000; and you personally should assume this responsibility. But your first step is to revive your spirit of nationalism!

DOCTRINE OF DEMOCRACY

- I. Democracy, its Meaning and History
- II. Democracy and Liberty
- III. Democracy and Equality
- IV. Democracy at Work
- V. Differentiation of *Chuan* (power) and *Neng* (ability)
- VI. The Solution of Democracy

I. DEMOCRACY, ITS MEANING AND HISTORY

LECTURE ONE

Delivered on March 9, 1924

GENTLEMEN, I shall begin the discussion of the Doctrine of *Min Ch'uan* or the "Doctrine of Democracy" today. Let me analyze the meaning of *Min Ch'uan*. *Min* or the "people" designates a group of men socially organized. *Ch'uan* means "power" or "rights." The state is the most powerful of all social organizations, and the force of the people is called the "power" of the people. In Chinese, the strong nations in the world are called *Lei Ch'iang* or the "Various Mighties," while in English and other European languages, they are called the "Various Powers" or *Lei Ch'uan*. We call the energy of a machine *ma li* or the "horse force," and the English call it the "horse power" or *ma ch'uan*. The words, *ch'uan* (the power) and *li* (the force) are synonymous.

Ch'uan is then the "force" to carry out orders and to command the obedience of the crowd. When the two characters, *min* and *ch'uan* are put together, they mean the political force of the people. First we must understand what is meant by "political" or *cheng chih*. To ordinary people, the term "political" is profound and mysterious. Since the soldiers in China look upon political as something profound and mysterious, they often say, "We soldiers do not understand politics." Such a statement is absurd. While military men should not interfere with politics, they must understand at least what politics are, for they themselves constitute the motor forces of politics.

In fact, politics or *cheng chih* is nothing mysterious. *Ckeng* means public affairs and *chih* means management or administration. Politics means the management of public affairs. The power to manage public affairs is called the "political power" or *cheng ch'uan*. At present, the people are ultimate managers of their own affairs; and so there is the term *min ch'uan* or "people's power" which is the foundation of democracy.

JUSTIFICATION OF FORCE

Historically speaking, the basic justification for instituting the idea of "power" is the maintenance of the struggle for the existence of men. There are two important functions in the struggle for existence, namely, protection and nourishment. The former refers to defense from external danger and the latter to the seeking for food. Animals, like men, have to struggle for their own existence, and as a consequence there is the conflict between men and animals. This conflict has been present ever since the dawn of man.

The history of the struggle of man for his own existence may be divided into several periods. The first period dates from the dawn of man to the dawn of history. According to the geologists, man had existed for two million years before recorded history began, and so the length of the first period is about two million years.

It is said that the earth is twenty million years old. The earth was at first vapor, and later on liquid. Then this liquid changed into rocks: the oldest rock on earth is twenty million years old. I speak of the formation of the earth in order to illustrate the origin of man and

his culture. Although man has existed for more than two million years, his culture did not begin until two hundred thousand years ago. Scientists hold that man was not an accidental creation, but evolved from animals. This world of men which is a product of two hundred thousand years of cultural evolution, may well be called the world of *min ch'uan* or of democracy.

THE AGE OF GREAT WILDERNESS

Although the seed of democracy was sown during the Hellenic days twenty centuries ago, it was not well established until toward the end of the eighteenth *century*. This age of *min ch'uan* or the "stage of democracy" was derived from the age of *chun ch'uan* or the "stage of monocracy" which in turn was preceded by the age of *shen ch'uan* or the "stage of theocracy." The age preceding the stage of theocracy was the age of *hung fang* or the "stage of great wilderness," during which period man engaged in a severe struggle for existence with the wild animals. At that time man was surrounded by powerful animals such as lions and tigers and they ate men; and men, in turn, depended upon them for food. Thus there were the two processes of life: protection and nourishment. Furthermore, men had not yet been organized, and so they engaged in individual struggle with animals. This kind of struggle can still be seen in the jungles of Africa and the South Sea Islands.

We Chinese study history by means of written records. The scientists of the West, in addition to reading books, study the history of man as he was in the days before written language was invented. They have two methods for such study. The first is the scientific method or study by observation and investigation. The other is the philosophical method or the study by reasoning or judgment. Man is an observer as well as a reasoning being. During the days of "great wilderness," when the wild animals menaced men, the individual inhabitants of different places got together to fight their common enemies by means of physical force. When the enemies were destroyed, these individuals scattered again. They did not organize into groups, because their political power had not yet been developed. This period may, therefore, be called the age of physical force.

THE PASTORAL STAGE

With the elimination of wild, man-eating animals, the stage of "great wilderness" passed into the pastoral stage. During the pastoral period, men domesticated animals, and their living conditions were much improved. They lived in groups, and the days of individual struggle with animals were gone. At this point a great change took place; there was a new kind of struggle. Hitherto men had fought with wild animals, and now they fought with nature. During the first period or the period of the struggle with animals, men were constantly in danger, for the wild animals might come at any time. Men had to watch at all times; and so the struggle was exceedingly intense.

On the other hand, when the dangerous animals had been eliminated, their problems were concentrated on the prevention or avoidance of natural calamities, such as floods, storms, and hurricanes. The struggle became less intense. Although a flood, storm, or hurricane might come at any time, as a rule these things could be predicted better than the dangers from wild animals. Furthermore, men could move to "good places" where the soil was rich and where the weather was favorable. As a result, the population in the so-called "good places" increased and civilization began.

The earliest civilizations in the world originated in the Nile Valley and in Mesopotamia. These places were very fertile, and there was very little stormy weather. The annual overflowing of the Nile enriched the soil, and the warm climate favored the growth of many kinds of crops. Consequently, agriculture and irrigation were highly developed and the government was well organized. Later on the Nile Valley and Mesopotamia were so densely populated that the surplus population had to seek less favorable places, such as the Hwang Ho Valley, where Chinese civilization originated.

As a matter of fact the Hwang Ho Valley was not a suitable place for the upspringing of a great civilization for two reasons. In the first place, the climate of the Hwang Ho regions was exceedingly cold. In the second place, there were too many dangers from floods and storms. The growth of Chinese civilization may, however, be explained by the fact that the settlers who migrated from another place to this valley already possessed a very high civilization. It is alleged that Chinese civilization was developed from the Mesopotamian civilization which flourished ten thousand years earlier.

Along the Hwang Ho Valley, in addition to the elimination of wild animals, there was the great task of conquering natural calamities. Heretofore, men struggled with animals, and now they had to struggle with nature. Houses were built for shelter from wind and rain. Clothing was invented to avoid suffering from cold. From these elementary inventions of housing and clothing, higher planes of life, material and social, were produced.

Natural calamities often came unexpectedly. Although they can be predicted to a certain extent, their happening is by no means certain. Our ancient ancestors were utterly helpless about floods, big fires, windstorms, lightning and thunder. They did not understand the causes of these phenomena and did not know how to avoid them. Furthermore, their houses were made of straw and wood which could easily be burned by lightning or ruined by flood and storm. In fighting with animals our ancestors could use physical force; but this could not be used in wrestling with nature. Finally two forces appeared that aided in the struggle; namely, the creative power of geniuses and the institution of organized religions. The noble works of Yu the Great in directing the waters of China; of Yu Tsao in inventing houses, palaces, and other structures are illustrative of how our ancient geniuses sought to understand the causes of natural calamities and to teach the mass of the people the methods of avoiding them.

THE THEOCRACY AND THE STRUGGLE OF MEN WITH MEN

The things unknown to our ancestors were regarded as divine. They believed in the divine right and power of the gods. Since men could not fight against nature with physical force, the geniuses instituted religion, and taught the people to pray for the coming of good things and the avoidance of calamities. Then the ancient tribes made their chief the head priest, and so the state and religion became identical. This is still true of Mongolia and Tibet where the Living Buddha is the political as well as the religious head of these territories. Indeed, our ancients said that the great affairs of the state were conquest and prayer.

Thirteen years ago we overthrew the monarchical regime in China, and with it the theocratic idea of government. The case is different in Japan where the emperor still exists; and the Japanese Mikado is regarded as of divine origin. Although the present imperial family in Japan, which is the first and only dynasty in the Island Empire, was once

overthrown by militarists, the Revolution of 1868 destroyed the Tokugawa Shogunate and restored power to the Mikado. Since then the Mikado has been not only the political ruler of the country, but the divine head of the Japanese people as well. The same was also true in Rome. The Emperor of Rome was the ecclesiastical head as well as the political head. When the Roman Empire collapsed, the political head of the country was of course overthrown, but the ecclesiastical head still holds his power over the European states. The European states have served the Pope in Rome just as the *Lei Kuo* or "Various States" in the time of "Spring and Autumn" served the Emperor of Chou.

Thus, after the struggle with wild animals, the new struggle with nature developed and incidentally the idea of *shen ch'uan* or "theocracy" was brought forth. Next the idea of *chun ch'uan* or "monocracy" appeared and began to displace the idea of "theocracy." As time went on, powerful militarists or statesmen arose to seize the power of the emperor or that of the Pope, and thereby the struggle between one group of men and another group of men was engendered.

During the days of the struggle of men with men, religion alone was not of sufficient influence to maintain peace in society. A powerful political organization and great military strength became indispensable in preserving internal peace on the one hand, and in guarding against external danger on the other. In the struggle between man and man, the *shen ch'uan* was at first extensively used along with the *chun ch'uan*, particularly after the fall of the Roman Empire. During the days of Louis XIV, the development of the *chun ch'uan* reached its zenith. Louis XIV said that he was the state, and that the king and the state were identical. That is, the king was all-powerful. After long suffering from the oppression of the absolutists, the more advanced people developed a new consciousness that the king was not of divine origin, and that his power should not be unlimited. They protested against the actions of the absolutists and set up revolutions. This stage was reached only during the last one hundred years or more. This revolution may be called a *min ch'uan ke ming* or a "revolution for democracy": a struggle between the people and the emperors.

Democracy, therefore, is the outcome of four periods of struggle. The first period was characterized by the struggle of men with animals; and the second period by the struggle between men and nature. In fighting against animals physical force was used. In the second period, the *shen ch'uan* or the divine power was most popular. During the third period when men fought with men, or nations fought with nations, or one nationality fought with another nationality, *chun ch'uan* was used extensively.

We are now in the fourth period: a period characterized by the struggle between good men and bad men, or one between justice and might, regardless of national boundaries. This is the *min ch'uan* period, for during this period the right of the people is regarded as the supreme object of struggle.

JUSTIFICATION OF MONOCRACY

Monocracy is justifiable only when the people are very primitive in mind and in need of the leadership of sage rulers in securing an ordinary living, a peaceful society, and a little spiritual expression. At present popular intelligence is far advanced, and civilization has laid a sound foundation. Just as a grown-up boy should no longer depend upon the care of his parents, a well educated people can find no use for the system of monocracy. At present

there are many scholars in Japan, Europe, America, and China who still believe in monarchism; consequently several attempts at the restoration of the monarchical system have been made in China and elsewhere during the last ten years. Inasmuch as we believe in democratic politics, we ought to have a clear conception of the progress of the democratic movements in the world.

Theocracy became popular at the dawn of culture and was universally adopted until a few thousand years ago. Theocracy was an excellent system for early primitive peoples. Even in modern Tibet, if an attempt were made to set up a monarchy in the place of theocracy, the Tibetans would certainly revolt, for they believe in the Living Buddha and only he can command the respect and obedience of the Tibetan people. Up to a few centuries ago theocracy was just as popular in Europe.

Indeed, some kind of republican government was established in China during the period of feudalism; but it had never been revived since that period passed away, two thousand years ago. Monocracy has been the dominant form of government in the history of China. The Chinese people have become so accustomed to the monarchical system that they are extremely reluctant to accept the new system of democratic, or republican government. It is, indeed, a very pertinent question to ask: Which is better suited to China, monarchy or democracy?

Both systems, monarchical and republican, are forms of political control; and their validity is relative to the social and cultural development of the country. Some people maintain that republicanism is unfitted for China. America is a pioneer in republicanism. Yet there was a noted American university professor by the name of Goodnow who advocated the continuation of monarchism in China on the ground that the latter was not ready for republicanism. Yuan Shih-k'ai made good use of Professor Goodnow's statement and attempted to make himself the Emperor of China. During the thirteen years of republicanism, the old undemocratic system has operated in full force, and the Republican Government is nothing but a name.

On the other hand, abundant arguments for democracy can be found in the history of our political philosophy. Indeed, the democratic philosophy of our ancient political thinkers has had much influence in practical politics. For instance, both Confucius and Mencius were exponents of democracy. Confucius said: "When the great doctrine is practiced, the world is the public property of all." In other words, Confucius perceived the value of a socialized world. Moreover, Confucius always quoted the words of Yao and Shun, because Yao and Shun were the most prominent exponents of ancient republicanism. Mencius said: "The people are the most important element of the state, the territory comes next, and the king last." He said also: "I have heard of the execution of the 'single fellow' Chow, not of regicide." It was said in the Classics: "God sees as my people see and hears as my people hear."

Two thousand years ago our philosophers had already realized the importance of democracy and that the country had outgrown monarchism. They declared that a ruler governing with regard for the welfare of the people was a sage ruler and that one who governed against the will of the people was not legally a king, but a "single fellow" or a social outcast. Meanwhile they emphasized the point that the people should rise up to drive out "single fellows." A great theory of revolution! The Chinese, therefore, have preached democracy for over two thousand years. They, however, regarded a democratic system of

government as still a little too idealistic to meet the needs of practical life, and so they did not put the philosophy into practice until very recently.

DEMOCRACY BUT ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS OLD

Frequently foreigners look upon us as a people lacking in political ability, like the people in Africa or the South Sea Islands. They believe that the Chinese people are not ready for republicanism, and so they are opposed to the adoption of a democratic form of government in China. This is a misconception which comes naturally from their ignorance of the historical background and philosophical traditions of China. What is worse, many returned students from Europe and America blindly believe the words of the foreigners, and they, too, oppose the democratic movements in China.

From what we have said it is evident that China antedated Europe in democratic political philosophy, though we have not put it into practice until recently. While the theories of democracy, of social justice, and of revolution were expounded by our scholars two thousands years ago, the same theories in the Western world are but one hundred and fifty years old. Even at the present time, there are a great many monarchical governments both in the East and in the West; and the idea of monocracy is still looked upon with favor by a large part of the thinking world.

The first act of democracy occurred in England. Toward the end of the Ming dynasty or the beginning of the Tsing dynasty, a revolution broke forth in the Island Empire of Europe. The leader was Oliver Cromwell. He killed Charles I, King of England, yet he did it in such a way that he could not be condemned for regicide. He constituted a High Court of Justice for the trial of the king, and the Court condemned him to death on the charge of disloyalty to the state and the people. A few days later the king was publicly beheaded in London. Continental Europe thought that England would thereafter adopt a democratic form of government and abolish the system of monocracy. On the contrary the people of England preferred the monarchical system; and in about ten years after the execution of Charles I, they put Charles II on the throne.

This act took place two hundred and seventy-five years ago, but democracy did not gain a sure ground until the American Revolution, because the enthronement of Charles II frustrated all the efforts of the Cromwellians.

One hundred and fifty years ago the American colonies freed themselves from Britain, and set up a republican form of government which has been one of the most valuable political experiments in human history. In less than ten years after the American Revolution, a great revolution took place in France. The immediate cause of the French Revolution was the tyrannical rule of Louis XVI and his successors; consequently the French people killed Louis XVI just as the English people had killed their king, Charles I. The French people also tried Louis XVI before a High Court of Justice, and charged him with disloyalty to the state and the people. Then the European princes planned to revenge the execution of Louis XVI. Consequently war lasted in Europe for over a decade and the monarchical system was temporarily restored in France.

J. J. ROUSSEAU

In the era of the French Revolution there had appeared a great social philosopher, J. J. Rousseau; it was he who saved France from the eternal pitfall of monarchism. He was an extremist in democracy; and his ideas have practically been responsible for the series of

revolutions in France since his time. His book, *Le Contrat Social*, has been one of the most influential writings in political philosophy. The thesis of the book is that man was born with such rights as freedom and equality, and that he gave up part of these rights for social-economic reasons in a social contract for establishing the state. In other words, *min ch'uan* was inherent and God-given.

Modern political theorists maintain that the state is a product of natural evolution, that the rights of the people are granted by the state, and that the state is a body politic, whose ultimate sovereignty is in the people. They, therefore, criticize the soundness of the social contract theory and particularly the idea that men are born free and equal. Although we admit that the criticism is scientifically correct, we must deplore the use of the criticism by monarchs to overthrow the idea of democracy. We ought to lay our emphasis on the facts, not on verbal arguments. As a rule it is facts which lead to ideas, and in turn ideas influence action.

Military tactics is now a systematic science. You must go to a military school now and learn military science before you enter into the army. But human history is a long record of struggles, at first with animals, next with nature, and later with other groups of men. Modern Military Science, I am sure, is the result of the experience acquired from hundreds of thousands of years of fighting. It is not that primitive man learnt military science first before he endeavored to defend himself from the wild animals. In China, Sun Tzu's *Military Tactics*, which is composed of thirteen books, is regarded as the greatest document in military philosophy; and yet it is not made up of original deductive thinking on the part of the author, but evidently is the record of two thousand years of fighting experience of the Chinese people.

Moreover, organization and battle tactics in all ages have been dependent upon the nature of the weapons employed. Since the invention of smokeless powder, the old principle of frontal attack has been discarded. Now when soldiers see the approach of hostile troops, they at once lie on the ground and fire. This new method of attack was learned by the British soldiers from the Boers during the war of 1899-1900 when the British forces at first suffered serious reverses on account of a superior form of attack on the part of the Boers. The Boers had learned this form of attack from the natives, by the same kind of experience. Later on all British soldiers were taught this new form of attack; then it spread all over the world. Thus we see that the adoption of a new theory of attack came as a result of a number of circumstances.

Of course, Rousseau's theory is wrong. It is, however, equally wrong for the monarchs to oppose democracy just because no social contract has taken place or because liberty and equality are not inborn rights. Even though Rousseau's theory is not scientifically correct, it should be welcomed, for reverence to liberty, fraternity, and equality will in the end create blessings to man. The theory may be philosophically unsound, but it is good in practical experience. Rousseau expounded the theory because he saw the coming of the great world current of democracy. He realized that the mass of people wanted democracy, and that through democracy only can great and lasting political equilibrium be maintained. The political opinion of the mass was a fact. Upon the realization of this fact, the theory was created. Judged by the purpose for which the doctrine of the social contract was presented to the world Rousseau is certainly one of the noblest humanitarians in history.

In each period of history there can be seen a certain predominant political tendency, and as a rule the forms of government are adjusted accordingly. During the days when the people were dominated by theocratic ideas, a theocratic government was best fitted for them. On the other hand, when the people are dominated by monocratic ideas, monarchy should be adopted. Since the time of Ching Shih Huang Ti the Chinese people have welcomed the monarchical system, and they have kept it, in spite of the preponderant power of the monarch.

We must study the political tendency of the present generation. If the tendency is toward democracy, we should not oppose it just because a certain writer's opinion is that Rousseau may not be scientifically correct, or because England still retains the monarchical form of government in spite of the Cromwellian Revolution, or because France took eighty years to succeed in the establishment of a stable government after the first revolution.

Needless to say, the political tendency of this age is toward democracy. The struggle for democracy began with the American War of Independence, and it took America but eight years to make democracy a fact. Ever since that time the struggle for democracy and liberty has taken place all over the world. In spite of its many difficulties and drawbacks, the democratic movement has been pre-eminently successful.

Inasmuch as democracy is the political tendency of the day, China should also advance toward it. For this reason, thirty years ago my fellow revolutionists came to the decision that revolution was necessary to save China from decadence and collapse, and that democracy should be the cardinal principle of our revolution. This principle of ours was bitterly condemned not only by the Chinese but by a great many foreigners, for at that time there were a good many powerful autocratic governments which in many ways were considered progressive. For instance, the Russian Tsar combined in him the absolute power both of the state and the church. The German Kaiser and the Austrian Emperor made themselves the heads of their powerful armies and navies. While these autocrats still existed, many people in China could not be convinced that democracy was possible; they thought that the only road to political stability was the concentration and perpetuation of power. For this reason, Yuan Shih-k'ai and Chang Hsun attempted the restoration of the monarchical system.

Now the three great autocratic governments; namely, the German, the Austrian, and the Russian autocracies, have been overthrown, and they have been replaced by a democratic form of government. The very fall of these autocratic governments is the strongest evidence of the power and influence of the democratic political tendency which is sweeping through the entire world. Some time ago, I was asked what strength and influence the revolutionists possessed that was strong enough to overthrow the Manchu government. I offered no explanation except my faith in the power of democracy. When the Revolution did break forth in 1911, the Manchu government was overthrown without the slightest difficulty.

We must know that the power of democracy is like the power of the great waters such as the Yangtze and Hwang Ho. There are sections of these rivers which actually run toward the north or toward the south, but in the end, they all go toward the east; and nothing is powerful enough to prevent them from running eastward. The political tendency of the world ran from theocracy to monarchy, then from monarchy to democracy; and its power

is irresistible. Although Yuan Shih-k'ai was once the most powerful man in China, and although Chang Hsun possessed the strongest army during his time, they both went the inevitable road to complete failure because they were opposed to the great, powerful current of democracy.

At present the Northern Government is dominated by military autocrats, and is opposed to the current of democracy ; the Southern Government is fighting with fewer soldiers and munitions than the Northern Government, yet it is inevitably destined to succeed because of the very fact that it works in harmony with the current political tendency. Do not be deceived by the temporary success of the Northern Government; its day of judgment will soon arrive.

Recently revolution is reported in theocratic Mongolia. The end of the power of the Living Buddha in Mongolia would be the end of theocracy in that part of the world. Revolution in Tibet is also inevitable when the Tibetan people become better educated. Monocracy is also losing ground in Europe. England is now governed by political parties, and the king of England remains only a figurehead. We may call England a Republican Monarchy. Neither theocracy nor monocracy will exist long, however hard the monocrats and theocrats may fight. This age is the age of democracy. One who works for it will succeed, and he who works against it is bound to fail. One of the reasons for our adoption of the republican form of government was that democracy is in line with the latest political tendency of the world.

PERSONAL AMBITION VERSUS DEMOCRACY

There was another reason for our adopting republicanism; namely, the expectation that republicanism would cut short China's suffering from civil war. Ambitious, able men in our history have always coveted the honor and glory of being on the throne. When Liu Pang and Hsiang Yu saw that the Emperor of Ching took a walk outside in his grand imperial processions, Liu Pang exclaimed: "Ambitious men ought to be this way!" and Hsiang Yii said: "This man could be replaced at pleasure!" Under the old system of monarchism, there were always ambitious men busy with intrigues to seize the throne; because of such ambition civil wars have marked every dynasty. When I first began promoting revolution, there were, I believe, among those who supported it, at least six or seven out of every ten who wanted to be the emperor of China. But we not only preached revolution but also republicanism, so that no one could monopolize the highest position of the nation. One or two people, however, still retain the old ambition of being an emperor, and as a result, civil war in China is still going on. I originally thought that by setting up a republican form of government, civil war could be avoided, but my plan has been frustrated by the undesirable elements.

The T'aiping Revolution⁸ is a good illustration of the extreme danger involved in the ambition to become an emperor. Hung Hsiu-ch'uan occupied most of the Southern provinces, including Kwangsi, Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, and Anhwei; and established the T'aiping T'ien Kuo with its capital at Nanking. Under the circumstances he could have overthrown the Manchu regime without difficulty. Some attribute the failure of Hung Hsiu-ch'uan to his ignorance of diplomacy. When the British government sent a special envoy to Nanking with the instruction that the British government desired to conclude a commercial treaty with the T'aiping government and would recognize it as the Government *de jure* in China, the British envoy was received only by Yang Hsiu-ch'ing, Hung's

lieutenant general; because if the foreign envoy wished to see the Emperor (Hung Hsiu-ch'uan), he must kneel down before him; and this the foreign envoy refused to do.

Having failed to conclude a satisfactory treaty with the T'aiping government, the British envoy went to Peking, and as a result of treaty stipulation, General Gordon was sent to China to assist the Manchu government in crushing the Revolution. In consequence, Hung Hsiu-ch'uan failed, and he, it is said, suffered this failure because of his mistake in a matter of diplomatic etiquette. Others maintain that the revolutionary forces of the T'aiping T'ien Kuo gave the Manchus an advantage by having delayed their drive to Peking.

These two causes were, however, very insignificant. The fundamental trouble of the T'aiping men was the internal dissension and mutual suspicion. When the leaders of the T'aiping Revolution got into Nanking, they shut the city-wall and tried to kill each other. When Hung Hsiu-ch'uan was made Emperor of the T'aiping T'ien Kuo, Yang Hsiu-ch'ing became exceedingly jealous and took seventy thousand of his best soldiers to Nanking, and sought a quarrel with Hung Hsiu-ch'uan. Then Wei Ch'ang-hui took the side of Hung Hsiu-ch'uan, and murdered Yang Hsiu-ch'ing. In turn, Wei Ch'ang-hui became ambitious for the throne, and he was executed by Hung Hsiu-ch'uan. In consequence of these murders, a great part of the T'aiping men were dispersed.

When Shih Ta-k'ai learned of the civil troubles in Nanking, he rushed to Nanking from Szechuan for mediation. Not only did his mediation fail but he was also suspected of usurpation. He escaped to Szechuan, and not long afterward his army was crushed by the Manchus. The revolutionary forces at that time were composed of four great armies. These armies were eliminated one by one, not by the Manchus but by self-destruction due to their discord.

It is to be regretted that Hung Hsiu-ch'uan did not understand the Doctrine of Democracy, and so he failed at last, notwithstanding his startling success at the beginning. He first conferred upon five of his generals the rank of *Wang* or "Princes." After the Nanking trouble, he was afraid to confer on any more the title of *Wang*, yet Generals Li Hsiu-ch'eng and Chen Yu-ch'eng had done so much that he had to confer upon them the rank of *Wang*. In order to create a check and balance upon these two *Wang*, he created thirty more *Wang*. As a result, the different *Wang* refused to obey Prince Li Hsiu-ch'eng and Prince Chen Yu-ch'eng. A deadlock was thus caused in the entire revolutionary army, and the T'aiping Revolution was completely destroyed by the Manchu government.

PERSONAL AMBITION AND MILITARISM

General Chen Ch'iung-ming was always opposed to my Northern expedition, and later on he revolted against the Canton government. I suspected that he wanted to occupy Kwantung and Kwangsi as his permanent foothold, so I jested with him one day in these words:

"Should I succeed in the Northern expedition, the Capital of the Republic will be moved to Wuhan or Nanking, and I shall not stay in Canton. Then you may be asked to control Kwangtung and Kwangsi and to make these provinces a secure base of our Revolution. If I fail in the Northern expedition, I shall not have the face to return to Canton, and then you may do whatever you please here. You may even ally yourself with the Northern Government and make yourself prosperous."

He could not reply to me because he had some mental reservation, which was not

known to others: his dream of being Emperor. He used to tell his friends that when he was young he often dreamed of holding the sun with one hand and the moon with the other; and he said that he had taken the name, Ch'iung Ming after that dream. Besides he wrote a poem describing the dream, one line of which runs like this:

"The ambitious youth embraces the sun and the moon."

Furthermore, excepting Teng Chien who was assassinated some time ago, all the followers of Chen Ch'iung-ming were monarchs. The ambition of Chen Ch'iung-ming was to help the revolutionists to overthrow the Man-chus and then by crushing the revolutionists, to make himself the head of a monarchy. I believe that even in these days of 1924, there are still a few emperor-dreamers whose progress I have had no time to watch.

Gentlemen, you all must know the meaning and the significance of the Doctrine of *Min Ch'uan*. Danger from emperor-dreaming will exist as long as the Doctrine of *Min Ch'uan* has not been understood by everybody. This ambition to become emperor will lead our people to fight with each other; and civil war will continue without end. In order to avoid this danger, I established the republican form, of government. In this Republic, the people are the ultimate sovereigns or monarchs. When the 400,000,000 are all "emperors" no one can quarrel for the throne, and civil war in China can be shortened.

Gentlemen, there were civil wars in every dynasty. When Chen She and Wu Kwang took up arms against the tyranny of the Ching monarchy, it was a revolution for democracy; they fought against the enemies of the people on behalf of the people. Liu Pang and Hsiang Yii quarreled, not for democracy but for the throne. Ever since that time every change of dynasty in China has been nothing but a quarrel for the emperorship. The best way to eliminate troubles in China, therefore, is to abolish the emperorship and set up a Republic. Even after the Republic has existed for thirteen years, there are Chen Ch'i-ung-ming, Tsao K'un, Lii Jung-ting, and many others coveting the throne. It is almost a historic law that in the time of revolution or dynastic change, the strongest becomes emperor; and the less powerful elements become either princes or dukes. I am glad that very few Chinese soldiers of this age are ambitious to be dukes or princes. Perhaps this is a mark of progress in our historical struggle.

II. DEMOCRACY AND LIBERTY

LECTURE TWO

Delivered on March 16, 1924

THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY

THE TERM "democracy" is often mentioned together with the term "liberty," especially in foreign books. During the last two or three hundred years the struggle of the people in Europe and America has been centered upon one thing, namely, liberty. From this struggle for liberty, democracy has been developed. One of the celebrated mottoes of the French Revolution is "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." This is likened to the motto of our revolution: *Min Ts'u*, *Min Ch'uan*, and *Min Sheng* (Nationalism, Democracy, and Livelihood) Liberty, equality, and fraternity, in fact, constitute democracy; and so when a nation succeeds in developing these three, its government naturally becomes democratic. In order to understand fully the meaning of democracy, we should, therefore, dwell first on liberty, equality, and fraternity.

Recently the idea of liberty has been introduced into China from the West along with other revolutionary ideas, and it has caused much discussion among Chinese scholars. The importance of liberty was first realized in Europe three hundred years ago, and practically all the historic struggles since then have been in the nature of a fight for liberty. As a result, not only the scholars of the West dwell on the philosophical discussion of liberty, but the experiences of their struggle have made the rank and file of Western nations value their political and civil liberty only second to life itself.

The case is different in China. The rank and file of China do not know what liberty is, and some have never heard of the term. Our students or philosophers may be well acquainted with the idea of liberty, but they seldom know the essence of the word and its significance. For this reason, foreign critics describe us as such a primitive people that we do not have even the elementary concept of liberty.

This criticism is, however, contradictory to another criticism of theirs that the Chinese people are disintegrated like scattered sands. We are compared with scattered sands because we have no strong organization of our nation group. When sands are scattered, each individual grain of sand is free and this freedom is lost as soon as the sands are formed into rocks. Similarly, the individual Chinese has a large sphere of liberty when there is no iron-handed organization to restrain the actions of individuals; but, as a result, the Chinese are unintegrated like the scattered sands.

Briefly speaking, freedom means that one may act according to his own will within the group. In the Chinese language, there is no suitable term to describe such a phenomenon, and so the Chinese do not understand the meaning of "liberty." The closest Chinese expression is *fang tang pu chi*, i.e., loosely acting without restraint. When the individual members of a group are *fang tang pu chi*, that group must be unintegrated like scattered sands and the members must have the greatest possible freedom. The foreigners, therefore, contradict themselves when they declare, on one hand, that the Chinese lack the conception

of liberty, and on the other hand, that they are disorganized like scattered sand.

THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY

It is of fundamental importance to inquire as to the proper essence and desirability of liberty to human progress. To the Westerners liberty is sacred. They declare that they would rather die free than live as slaves. Throughout the history of the last two or three centuries, as already stated, liberty has been the symbolic emblem of their struggles; and for the sake of liberty, the Westerners have shed much blood and sacrificed many lives. The result they have obtained is free, democratic governments in many nations. Thus the initial motive of the struggles of the Westerners was liberty, and the fruits they have reaped have been democracy.

The term "democracy" came from the Greek language. While the Westerners regard "liberty" next to life itself, they look upon "democracy" as merely a customary usage in political science, and so they value "democracy" less than "liberty." The philosophy of democracy had its beginning during the days of Greece and Rome, but it was forgotten until two hundred years ago. Lately the term "democracy" has become more and more popular, and its popularity has also extended to China. We must not forget the fact, however, that during the last two centuries Western people have fought for liberty, not for democracy. Thus the common people in the West know only too well the word "liberty" yet they are not quite clear about the meaning of "democracy."

The term *fa tsai* not only is very familiar, but expresses something which the ordinary Chinese values highly. If you say *fa tsai* to someone you meet in China, he considers it a compliment and thanks you for it. . Everyone is taught in childhood to value *fa tsai*, and so to get rich has become an ideal of life among the Chinese. Just as *fa tsai* is an ideal to the Chinese, the Westerners regard liberty as their life ideal. They will struggle incessantly for the realization of their liberty. On the other hand, if you were to tell the Chinese to fight for their liberty, they would not understand what you meant, nor would they follow your advice.

The fact that the Chinese idealize *fa tsai*, but not liberty, may be explained by economic reasons. Inasmuch as the people of China today are suffering from poverty, they naturally look upon *fa tsai* as the greatest blessing of mankind and consider that by getting rich they would at once be emancipated from misery. It is instinctive to all men to seek pleasure and to avoid pain. Thus *fa tsai* has traditionally been the motive of the struggle and activities of the Chinese.

The source of the pain and misery of the Western world was not poverty, but bad government. After the fall of the Roman Empire, Europe disintegrated into different feudal states. Like the *Lei Kuo* or "Various Nations" at the end of the Chou dynasty, these European nations struggled with one another for supremacy and power. The size and rank of these states differed. Some were kingdoms, others were dukedoms or earldoms. They all, however, were feudalistic in their form of government, and as a rule their governments were extremely autocratic. They were so autocratic that no Chinese dynasty can be thought of as a parallel, with possibly the exception of the Ching dynasty when people were made liable to the death penalty if they gossiped on the street. This extreme measure on the part of the feudal governments in Europe had wrested from the rank and file every means of freedom and life. As a consequence, the people of Europe believed that if only freedom

were restored to them, they would be emancipated from all their miseries. Just as the Chinese people struggle for financial prosperity or *fa tsai*, the people of Europe have been struggling for centuries for liberty as the only means of escape from suffering.

CHINA RELATIVELY FREE FROM TYRANNY

On the other hand, the people of China have suffered very little tyranny from bad government. Ever since the fall of the feudal system in China governmental tyranny has not, as a rule, reached the mass of the people. Even when tyranny existed, it affected only a certain element of the country. To be kind to the people was, traditionally the golden rule for all emperors. Nominally China was an absolute monarchy but the people have never suffered as much as the Europeans suffered; consequently they could not be expected to understand the significance of liberty or the evils of governmental autocracy.

In fact, absolutism existed in China for reasons which are very different from those of European absolutism. In the first place, the emperors in China have always wanted to keep the old form of government so that they and their children could inherit the throne. Their own interest required them to please the people. As long as the people did nothing to injure the throne, their activities would not be suppressed in any way.

On the other hand, an act tending toward revolution, however slight it might be, was heavily punished. Thus, according to the old law of China, when a rebellion took place, not only the rebel himself was executed, but his relatives within the nine degrees, were all liable to capital punishment. For two thousand years, the emperors followed a *laissez faire* policy, and never interfered with the private affairs of the people so long as they remained loyal to the throne. Save the payment of taxes to the government, there was no dealing or relationship between the emperor and the people. On account of this peculiar situation, the people of China possessed very little political or national outlook. They never cared who was on the throne. They considered that their duty as citizens ended when they punctually paid their taxes. The government never attempted to interfere with the affairs of the people so long as it received the dues and taxes regularly. The people of China, therefore, enjoyed a very wide sphere of personal freedom, and never suffered directly from misrule. The people, it is true, have suffered up to the present indirectly from bad government, for the government paid no attention to the economic uplifting of the people, and so the people had to live in poverty. Furthermore, the government has been weak. Its weakness has invited foreign aggression and foreign domination of the country, and so our people are suffering a great deal from the pressure of foreign economic and political forces. Nevertheless, the government itself before the Revolution could hardly be considered an oppressor of the people.

ABSOLUTISM IN EUROPE

European absolutism differs from that in China. From the fall of Rome to the end of the seventeenth century, the rulers in Europe went so far in the seizing of power and the practice of tyranny that the sufferings of the mass of the people were unbearable. In these principal spheres the freedom of the people was invaded; namely, in thought, in speech, and in action. Although at present freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and freedom of action have been restored to the people in progressive nations, the primitive forms of restraint inherited from the Dark Ages still exist here and there though more or less

unnoticed.

For instance, the Chinese settlers in the Dutch and the French colonies in the South Pacific have very little freedom. Java was originally a Chinese colony, and was later occupied by Holland. When a Chinese, whether he be a merchant, student, or laborer, arrives at Java, as soon as the boat touches the shore, he is interrogated by the immigration officer. Then he is brought to a small room, and has to take off his clothing for a medical examination. After landing he has to report to the local police as to his residence, occupation, etc. When he goes from one city to another, he has to have a visa. If he goes out at night, he must have a night permit, for the visa is not available at night. He must also carry a lantern if he walks on the street at night. The Chinese in Java, thus, have no freedom of action under the Dutch administration. This method of restraint derives from early Europe when the princes sometimes restrained their people in similar fashion. From this we can judge how far the absolutism of the European rulers in early times shackled their people.

In addition to restraint of action, the people of early Europe were further restricted in their freedom of worship, freedom of trade, and freedom of occupation. For example, in a place where one religion was adopted as the state religion, no other religion was tolerated and people of different faith were persecuted. So extreme was the suppression, that if any one hoisted the flag of liberty, thousands would follow him; so revolution swept over Europe for two centuries.

TO CHOOSE THE MOTTO OF OUR REVOLUTION

Because the Europeans had to shed much blood to win their liberty, they naturally look upon liberty as sacrosanct. Now that the theory of liberty has been introduced into China, our scholars have become very enthusiastic in discussing its essence and its application in China. We are discussing too the theory of democracy which has also been introduced recently from the West. We should realize, however, that liberty and democracy are two different things. The discussion of liberty has a place in our discussion of the theory of democracy, because democracy was developed from the fight for liberty. It is, however, a mistake for our young students to follow the Europeans in agitating for liberty.

When we choose a watchword for our common struggle, it must be inspiring and must be bound up with the personal welfare of all men who participate in the fight. Inasmuch as the Chinese people do not appreciate the importance and the meaning of liberty, it is not a good rallying cry for our fight. It was different in the case of the Europeans who suffered so much pain from governmental tyranny and the restraint of personal freedom that they fought very readily for liberty. The motto of the French Revolution was "Liberty" and that of the American Revolution was "Independence." Conditions in China are different from the conditions existing either in America or in France during the time of their revolutions and so the motto of our revolution should not be the same as either of theirs. Ours is the *San Min* Doctrine. We decided upon it after very long, anxious and careful consideration.

Since *fa tsai* has been valued highly by the ordinary Chinese, why did we not adopt *fa tsai* as the motto of our revolution? The reason is that the *San Min* Doctrine is broad enough to include *fa tsai* or economic prosperity; but *fa tsai* does not include the *San Min* Doctrine. Communism, which was adopted by Russia immediately after the Revolution of 1917, is a

doctrine that is very close to the idea of *fa tsai*. The principle of our revolution should not, however, be limited to one thing, but should be broad, and so broad that it can be described neither by the word *fa tsai* nor by the word "liberty."

European observers criticize us for our lack of political intelligence and our ignorance of the concept of liberty. They maintain that while the Westerners have fought for liberty for two or three hundred years, and thereby have made wonderful political progress, we Chinese do not understand even the meaning of liberty; and that the Chinese, therefore, are far inferior to the Westerners in political thinking. Such a statement is illogical. If we do not possess political liberty, why do our Western friends criticize us for being unintegrated like scattered sands?

Of course, the Westerners had great interest in the theory of liberty, and so they sacrificed their lives, homes, and comfort in fighting for it. But will this interest be kept up after the fight is over? No; if someone in the West were to reopen the fight for liberty today, interest would not be as great as formerly. The motto of "liberty" has been used for many hundreds of years, and it naturally would not be so useful today as it was two centuries ago, inasmuch as the social and political conditions in Europe have changed.

Each grain of sand has the maximum of freedom unless the grains are cemented together and formed into rocks. Originally the Europeans desired the greatest possible freedom. As soon as they succeeded in getting liberty, each individual tried to expand as much as possible his own sphere of freedom. Abuses, then, resulted from excessive freedom, and so John Stuart Mill, an English thinker, laid down the principle that one's liberty is limited to not interfering with the liberty of others; and that when one interferes with the liberty of others it is not liberty, but license. Thus a limitation upon the theory of liberty was set up for the first time. As soon as a limitation was set up, the sphere of liberty became smaller. We may conclude, then, that even the Western scholars have realized that liberty is not a sacred thing, but should be restricted for good reasons.

Foreign criticism of us as wanting in liberty is contradictory to the statement that we are like scattered sands. As long as we are scattered sands, we naturally possess the greatest possible liberty. If the disorganization like scattered sands is the source of trouble in Chinese society, we should organize society into a powerful, indissoluble group just as we change scattered sands into rocks by mixing them with water and cement. Just as each grain of sand loses its freedom in the rock, the individual in China would also have to give up his freedom when society became strongly organized.

THE ABUNDANCE OF LIBERTY IN CHINA

Since the Chinese people have had the greatest possible freedom for thousands of years, it has not been necessary to pay much attention to the theory of liberty. Consequently in our language there is not even the term "liberty." This is not difficult to explain. We consider our food and clothing as the most important items of our daily living. We have to eat at least two meals a day and wear two suits of clothing each year. Food, particularly, is usually regarded as the most important of all life necessities. But there is something ten thousand times more important than food, the importance of which is universally ignored by the ordinary people. That is air. You may think that you have to eat two meals a day; you can easily keep yourself alive by eating one meal a day. On the other hand, we cannot live without air for even a few minutes. We breathe at least sixteen times a minute, or nine hun-

dred and sixty times each hour, or twenty-three thousand and forty times per day. Thus the air is ten thousand times more important than food. Why do we pay so little attention to the air, even though it is so much more important than food?

In the first place, air is free. It is so abundant in nature that you do not have to pay for it, nor to labor for it. On the other hand, you have to work hard to produce the food, not air, in spite of the preponderant importance of the latter. To stop breathing would cause you discomfort at once. Suppose we were to close the windows of this hall—we should feel immediately that the air in the room was close. In a few minutes, the hundreds of people here would feel sick. Again, suppose that you were to stay in a small ill-ventilated room for a day—you would feel refreshed as soon as you came out in the open air.

Similarly, the Chinese people do not realize the importance of liberty, because in China it is as abundant as air. When the Europeans lived under absolutism, they were like people jailed in an ill-ventilated room for days, and so they struggled to get out. As soon as they were given liberty, they felt refreshed and valued their freedom highly. So they say, "Give us liberty or give us death."

The conditions in China are different from those in Europe. While the average man in China is very familiar with the idea of *fa tsai*, he knows nothing about liberty. Discussing liberty with the Chinese would be like speaking of *fa tsai* to the uncivilized Miao-tzu deep in the mountains of Kwangsi province. These Miao-tzu live in the mountains, and use no medium of exchange. They come to the city market to trade bear-gall and deer horns for salt and cloth. At first the Miao-tzu were offered money for their goods, but they would not accept it. While our ideal is to get rich, or *fa tsai*, the Miao-tzu are contented with the exchange of commodities without any idea of profit. They do not understand the use of money, nor do they appreciate the glory of *fa tsai*. Our students have wrongly propagated the idea of liberty among the common people in China, who have as little use for the theory of liberty as the Miao-tzu have for money.

On the other hand, the Europeans have fought nobly for one hundred and fifty years the great battle for liberty. Yet still in France and in the United States, where the battle has been won, and democratic government is now well established, not every individual is actually free. In those countries, for instance, restrictions are imposed on students, soldiers, public officers, and those who are under twenty-one years of age. It is found necessary that upon these four classes of people should be imposed restrictions in matters of politics either because of the nature of their occupation or because of their immaturity.

ABUSES FROM EXCESS AND THE NEED OF SOLIDARITY

In China, the students are fond of preaching liberty. Since they find no use for it in general society, they try to practice it in their own schools. They set up strikes and refuse to obey the regulations of the school. Indeed, the discipline of schools in China has broken down, and there is no law and order. To be sure, the name of liberty sounds very pleasant. The students should know, however, that the Westerners are very strict in their application of liberty, and the boundaries of individual freedom are clearly defined. Our students have misunderstood the theory of liberty, and have misused it in many ways.

Whereas we may forgive the blind criticisms of the Chinese on the part of foreigners who find it very difficult to understand the historical and cultural background of China, it is not excusable for our own scholars to misinterpret our own history, and introduce foreign political institutions to our own disadvantage. They should know this song:

I begin my work when the sun rises,
And rest when the sun sets; I dig my own well for my drink,
And plow my own field for my food; What has the Emperor's power
profited me?

This is our ancient song of liberty. The people were free though they knew not the term "liberty."

We are discussing the doctrine of democracy. Inasmuch as democracy was developed from the fight for liberty, we must dwell on the history of the Europeans fighting for liberty. Their fight was but the result of their mania for liberty at the time. When their fever was over, they began to understand that liberty was not angelic, but like other things, had in its characteristics badness as well as goodness.

We agree with the criticism of our Western friends that our people are unintegrated as scattered sands, but we do not accept the statement that our people lack political liberty and political thinking. We are like scattered sands because we have had too much individual freedom.

The purpose and methods of our revolution should, therefore, differ from those of the West. The West desired liberty. Our need is a well organized nation. Because we have had too much individual freedom, our nation is weak and our government is not well organized. This weakness has made possible foreign economic and political domination of our country; and we have not sufficient strength to resist it. The only way to save China from foreign control is to cement the four hundred million individuals into one united group, and in union to create strength.

We see the abuses of excessive freedom not only in the schools, but also among us revolutionists. The fundamental reason for our inability to establish a stable government after the fall of the Manchus has been the misuse of the idea of liberty. For the same reason we were defeated by Yuan Shih-k'ai. In 1913 when Yuan Shih-k'ai negotiated a big loan without the consent of the Parliament, assassinated Sung Chiao-jen and did many other things contrary to the interests of the Republic, I urged the various provinces to set up arms against Yuan. But our fellow revolutionists wanted liberty, and so they could not co-operate. In the southwestern provinces, all men in the army from the lieutenant-general and brigadier-general to the soldiers refused to obey their superiors, because all demanded freedom of action. As a consequence, the Southern forces were disorganized.

On the other hand, Yuan was the head of a powerful military clique and in his army everyone had to obey the orders of his superior. As soon as the two parties were brought into conflict, the scattered sands were no match for the strength of the rock, and Yuan Shih-k'ai won. This shows that a theory which may be useful in foreign countries may not work at all in China. The Western nations have been eminently successful in their fight for liberty. If we follow the West in advocating a fight for liberty China will be still worse off and our revolution will never succeed. China must avoid any doctrine that may cause more disorganization and disintegration of the nation.

THE SAN MIN DOCTRINE

The motto of the French Revolution was "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity"; ours is *Min Ts'u, Min Ch'uan* and *Min Sheng*, or "Nationalism, Democracy, and Livelihood." Our Doctrine of Nationalism corresponds with the French revolutionists' idea of liberty. To

practice the Doctrine of Nationalism is to fight for the liberty of the nation. The Europeans have fought for personal liberty. On the other hand, we must not call men to fight for personal liberty, but to fight for the liberty of the nation. If China were free, China would have been powerful and prosperous. During these critical times, we should sacrifice individual liberty for the liberty of the nation.

If the students were willing to sacrifice their personal liberty, they would study hard in order to prepare themselves to be useful citizens of the nation. Similarly, if the soldiers were willing to sacrifice their personal freedom and obey faithfully the orders of their superiors, the army would become well disciplined and strong. On the other hand, as long as the students and soldiers demand personal freedom regardless of the welfare of the group, our schools and our armies must be ill-disciplined and ill-organized. Ill-disciplined schools and armies are fatal to the health of the nation.

We must fight for the liberty of the nation because we are living under the pressure of the foreign rulers and our nation is not free. Our country is not only a semi-colony, but a sub-colony; not only the colony of one Power, but a sub-colony of all the Powers. China is the slave of ten or more masters. The way to restore the liberty of our nation is to cement the four hundred million individuals into one indissoluble organization by means of revolutionary methods.

Our Doctrine of Democracy corresponds with the French doctrine of equality, for democracy designates the political equality of all persons. The term "fraternity" corresponds with the Chinese expression *tung pao* or brethren. In fact, our Doctrine of Livelihood is founded on the idea of fraternity; its thesis is to promote a good life for all fellow-nationals by means of economic well-being. I shall explain this idea in greater detail when I lecture on the Doctrine of Livelihood.

III. DEMOCRACY AND EQUALITY

LECTURE THREE

Not Dated

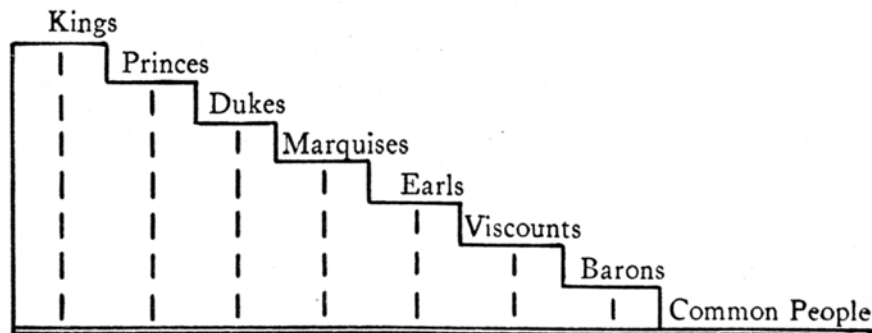
As STATED in the last lecture, the second term of our revolutionary motto, *Min Ch'uan* or "Democracy," corresponds to the second word of the French revolutionary motto, "equality." Today we shall consider the relation between democracy and equality.

Equality and liberty are often spoken of together, and they have been regarded as equally important by European revolutionists. Many people maintain that we must be equal in order to be free. What, then, is equality ? The American Declaration of Independence says that "all men are created equal," that they are endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Similarly, the French Declaration of Rights asserts that "men are born in equal rights and remain so."

NO NATURAL EQUALITY

Are we born equal? In the first lecture on the Doctrine of Democracy, I gave an account of the evolution of man and the development of democracy, but I made no mention of inborn equality among men. There are no two things absolutely equal or alike. In geography we refer to level land as a plain, but no plain is absolutely level. When you ride on the Kin-Han line (Kin-Han is the Chinese name of the famous Peking-Hankow Railway), you find a large piece of level land between Hwangho (Yellow River) and Yin Chan Ho. Upon close examination you find that the place is not exactly level, but that it has been leveled by human labor. May I give you another illustration? Here is a vase of flowers. At first glance the flowers look alike and so do the leaves. If you study them carefully you will find that no two flowers and no two leaves are exactly alike. We may well conclude, then, that there is no equality in the natural world.

FIGURE 1



Men are not born equal: the inequality has been increased by the autocratic type of social and political systems. Thus there is human or social inequality in addition to natural inequality. The sketch on the blackboard (Figure 1) explains the different classes of men. While the common people were liable to suffer oppressions and restrictions from their rulers, the privileged classes could often act above the law. Consequently, revolutions have broken forth for the purpose of abolishing inequalities among men.

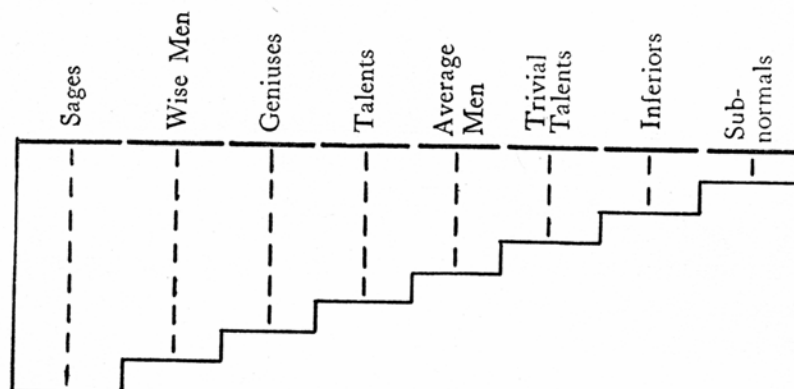
Usually ambitious men in history have tried to defend their special privileges by means of certain divine theories. For example, it was maintained that the kings were of divine origin, that their prerogatives were from God, and that any attempt on the part of the people to revolt against the king would be a revolt against God. Since the ignorant mass was unable to examine into the validity of this political philosophy, they not only blindly believed in it, but also opposed the principles of liberty and equality as expounded by the more intelligent; consequently they faithfully defended the special privileges of the autocrats.

In turn the intellectuals who were supporting revolution had to invent counter-divine theories, saying that men were born free and equal, and that the rights of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness were endowments from God and were inalienable. To repeat: this divine theory of liberty and equality aimed at the overthrow of man-made inequalities. Only after persistent propagation and teaching did the common people in Europe believe in the new political theory. As soon as they reasserted their inalienable, natural rights, revolutions broke forth throughout the Western world; and kept up for over two centuries. Many kings fell and monarchies were overthrown.

EQUALITIES OF OPPORTUNITIES

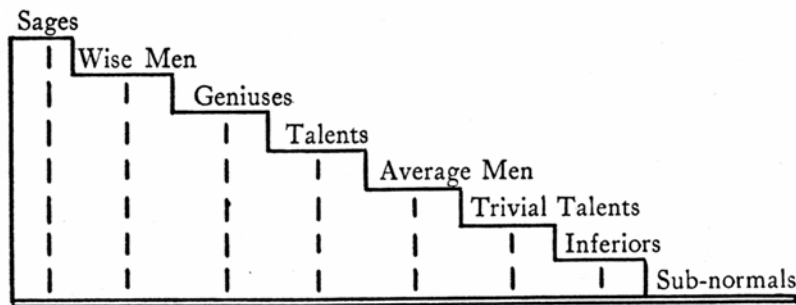
After the overthrow of despotic kings, the common people, deluded by the new divine theory, struggled and struggled for the realization of absolute equality among all men, not knowing for a moment that such an absolute equality was impossible. Recently, science has revealed the truth that men are not born equal and that equality is a social creation. Even if the mass of the people should succeed in creating a state of absolute equality, this equality would be only a false one. As shown in Figure 2, in such a state of affairs society would have to lower the starting point or the standard of the more intelligent in order to give a chance for the less intelligent to catch up. This is, however, not real equality. Though the top line of Figure 2 may be level, the bottom line is unequal.

FIGURE 2



Real equality can be developed only through one channel; that is, absolutely equal opportunity for all men at the beginning to develop the best qualities in them without hindrances imposed by society. As in Figure 3, the bottom line must be level in order to allow men of all grades an equal chance to start. Let the more intelligent make greater headway. When society tends to curb the achievement of the more intelligent in order to help the less intelligent, its social progress will at once be arrested. If we, therefore, desire democracy, equality, and world progress, we must first create the political equality of men. Equality can only be created by furnishing everyone in the nation equal opportunity for the development of his individual qualities.

FIGURE 3



INEQUALITY IN EUROPE

In feudal Europe extreme inequality caused the people to rebel and to struggle for equality and freedom even at an enormous sacrifice. Figure 1, which indicates the different classes of nobility, from kings, princes, dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, to barons, represents the social and political stratification in Europe. Whereas China gave up the feudal system two thousand years ago, Europe suffered from the remnants of feudalism as late as the eighteenth century. Two thousand years ago we had already realized the evils of political inequality; and only about three hundred years ago the Europeans came to the same realization. Thus, two hundred years ago, the Europeans were twenty centuries behind China in political thought. But during the last two centuries, the Europeans have made such rapid progress that they not only have caught up with China but have surpassed her in many respects in political practice.

Pre-revolutionary Europe was much more autocratic than even feudal China. There we found, first, the caste system, and second, the restriction of occupation: a double inequality. If the father was a farmer, his children must also be farmers. Similarly, the children of a laborer must all be laborers. Whereas China never had such restrictions in occupation. In ancient China the imperial throne alone was hereditary; and common people had frequently become nobles, dukes, marquises, or ministers. There was no caste system. While the double system of political inequality caused the people of Europe an enormous sacrifice in their struggle for equality and freedom, political struggle of this nature was almost unknown in Chinese history. The absolute form of government in China worked in such a mild way that the Chinese never felt the necessity of sacrificing lives and homes in order to fight for liberty and equality.

The recent introduction of Western civilization has brought new political and social ideals into China. The Chinese, however, have not been able to digest the Western political thinking, but strive after Western ideals regardless of the differences of social conditions. In copying Western ideas, our young students have also propagated the idea of fighting for liberty and equality. We must know, however, that the evils in Chinese society are neither in the lack of liberty nor in inequality.

On the other hand, inequality and slavery were roots of troubles in early Europe. As a result, revolutions took place throughout the Western world. Revolution in England, however, was not successful. The monarchical system was restored only ten years after the Cromwellian Revolution, and the old hereditary system of political and social inequality still exists. The Americans and the French succeeded in establishing a republican system of government by means of revolutions. Six years ago, revolution broke forth in Russia. The Russian Revolution was of singular significance for it not only overthrew the political inequalities, but also inequalities in economic and social spheres.

INEQUALITY IN AMERICA

The case of America is interesting. The original purpose of the revolution was independence. The country was composed of thirteen colonies under the jurisdiction of the British government, which treated the colonies much worse than it did the people at home. When the colonists realized that they were being coerced by the home government in all lines of activity, and that the people at home were treated more liberally, they felt the injustice and decided to free themselves from the yoke of tyranny. They declared independence and the Revolutionary War began. After eight years of continued campaigning England gave up and recognized the independence of the United States of America.

Although the white people in America were allowed political liberty and equality as soon as independence was won, the people of other races, principally the Negroes, were treated differently. This inequality between the whites and the negroes was a direct violation of the spirit of the Declaration of Independence which says that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It was also a violation of the American Constitution which was based upon the spirit of the Declaration. For that reason, a group of liberal scholars opposed the institution of slavery in a free, democratic country such as the United States, and thereby the Abolition Movement started in the early part of the nineteenth century.

The negroes in the United States were refused not only political liberty, but also social equality. They were not treated as "men," but as commodities or domestic animals. They were required to work long hours without pay, though they received board and lodging. Some humanitarians in America deplored the cruelty and injustice toward the negroes, and agitated for the abolition of the institution of slavery. Books, literature, and novels, such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appeared, to describe the miserable life of the negroes. As a result, the northern part of the United States, where there was no negro slavery, was very sympathetic toward the abolition movement, whereas the South was very hostile toward the new agitation, for negro slaves were needed on the large plantations of the South.

Just as white people have taken Chinese coolies to America and to the South Pacific to do

hard labor, the Americans brought black slaves out of Africa to develop the new world, and then the black slaves settled in the country as their new homeland. When the abolition movement started, the South declared that each slave was worth five or six thousand dollars, and that compensation was necessary for emancipating the slaves. There were several millions of slaves in the South at that time, and so several billions of dollars were needed to emancipate the slaves. Inasmuch as the government was not rich enough to pay such a large sum of money, the question of emancipation was never seriously considered until about sixty years ago, when the question was suddenly pressed to the foreground and the Civil War broke forth between the South and the North. This war lasted five years, and hundreds of thousands of men lost their lives. It was one of the greatest struggles in history, and it was a war for liberty and equality.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

As a rule, wars for political liberty or social equality were brought about by the oppressed peoples themselves; this was not true of the American Civil War. Although the war was fought for the emancipation of the negroes, it was brought about not by the negroes but by white men who were sympathetic toward the negroes. The negroes had long been reduced to slavery and had lost their spirit of independence and freedom. They worked for their masters, and in turn, they received food, clothing, and shelter. So long as they were treated decently by the masters, they were contented; and they knew not liberty and equality.

At the end of the war, the North was victorious. The Northern government issued a proclamation of emancipation freeing all negro slaves, and thereby the negroes were given liberty and equality before the law. Slave-owners in the South carried out the emancipation law at an enormous sacrifice. On the other hand, the negroes, who suddenly lost their dependence, had to seek their living like the rest of the free men. They were unready for the new economic life and suffered hardship. Thus instead of being grateful to those who fought for their emancipation, they hated them, especially Abraham Lincoln, then the president of the United States. There is no doubt that Lincoln was one of the greatest among men, for his work in emancipating the negroes in America established a new order of racial equality and justice in the history of men. At that time the negroes hated him even as a serpent or as a poisonous animal. Probably due to similar psychological causes the monarchs hated us revolutionists and called us the "dangerous elements" of the nation.

Although the mass of uneducated negroes might still hate those who through the war of emancipation lost for them the ready food and other life necessities which used to be provided by their masters, educated negroes deeply appreciated the result of the Civil War, a war for liberty and equality. There were two great wars in American history fought for equality. The first was the War of Independence which was caused by the unequal treatment of the American colonists by the British, and ended with the independence of the American colonies and the establishment of a Republic. Sixty years ago the second war was fought, the Civil War for freeing the negroes. The first war lasted eight years, and the second five years. There were, however, more losses, both in economic costs and in lives, in the second war than in the first. The first was fought by the Americans for their own independence and equality, and the second war was fought among the Americans for the equality and liberty of another race. Ethically speaking, the cause of the second war was

much nobler than that of the first.

As soon as the War of Independence was over, the French people followed on the heels of the Americans in struggling for equality. The struggle of the French went back and forth, and lasted eighty years all together. When they succeeded in securing equality, they went to an extreme, and as shown in Figure 2, they tried to make the top line equal by making the bottom line unequal. They made everybody equal whether he was a genius or an imbecile. The intelligent were prevented from making too great progress, while the unintelligent people were assisted in going forward. In the end, it was found that the system was too artificial and was not fit for social progress.

CONDITIONS IN CHINA

As already stated, along with the ideas of political revolution, the theories of equality and liberty have been introduced into China from the West. But instead of using liberty and equality as their revolutionary motto, Chinese revolutionists have adopted the *San Min* Doctrine as their great ideal. They believe that if the *San Min* Doctrine is realized, China will have liberty and equality. On the other hand, in the West, after several centuries of successful struggle for liberty and equality, these very ideals created many evils; and have brought disasters to the people.

For instance, the idea of equalizing the top line as shown in Figure 2 is a mistake, for there is no natural equality among men. Real equality does not come from artificial equalization, but from the absolutely free and equal opportunity for everyone to develop his own natural endowment. As shown in Figure 3, the bottom line must be equal. Everybody must begin with equal opportunity. Our *San Min* Doctrine was thus formulated on the principle of equality of opportunity for the development of individuality. Then again, in order to test the validity of the *San Min* Doctrine, we must know the actual working of the Western revolutionary ideals as well as our own historical background.

Whereas the Americans went through two great wars and the French went through eighty years of struggles for the realization of the ideals of equality and liberty, the historic wars in China were fought for the possession of the throne, not for liberty or equality. Every war in China except the Revolutionary War in 1911 was caused by a dispute as to who should be on the throne. Even in 1911 only the genuine revolutionists were not ambitious to be Emperors. Those who were not revolutionists, such as Tsao K'un and Wu P'ei-fu, although favoring republicanism in words, have advocated the unification of China by force; and if China should be unified by force, it is self-evident that they would restore monarchism, in China. Was not Yuan Shih-k'ai first in favor of republicanism? He once took an oath that he would forever be loyal to the Republic and its constitution. In 1913 when he suppressed the revolutionists by force, he changed our form of government and made himself the Emperor of China. Although Yuan Shih-K'ai is dead, we are by no means assured of no more danger for the young Republic. There are in the nation plenty of monarchs whose ideas are as feudalistic as Yuan Shih-K'ai's and who would destroy the Republic if they were to get the chance. Our revolution has not been successful just because the old monocratic ideas have not been entirely eradicated. To eradicate them, we must continue to struggle or start another revolution!

THE ORIGIN OF DEMOCRACY

Our ardent youths who have advocated the struggle for liberty and equality in China, should know that what the Westerners accomplished after one or two hundred years of struggle for liberty and equality was in fact "democracy." Only when there is democracy, can liberty and equality be realized; otherwise, they are nothing but empty terms. The concept of democracy has a remote origin. In the time of Greece and Rome, the idea of democracy was already known. Indeed, both Greece and Rome for some time adopted a republican form of government. At the same time, there was a great republic in the south of the Mediterranean Sea, called Carthage; and afterwards many small nations in Europe were also republics.

Although Greece and Rome in ancient times were republics in name, in reality they had not attained to true liberty and equality. The democratic ideals had never been practiced. Slavery existed in Greece. All nobles owned a large number of slaves; in fact, nearly two-thirds of the population were slaves. Each Spartan soldier was supposed to be supplied with five slaves by the state. Consequently a very small percentage of the Grecian population possessed political liberty, and the great majority had no rights. The same was true in Rome. Thus in Greece and in Rome real liberty and equality were not realized on account of the presence of the slave system. Not until sixty years ago when the Americans freed the Negro slaves, was the slave system smashed; and not till then could liberty and equality in a modern democracy be realized.

We should know, then, that the foundation of liberty and equality is in democracy. Unless democracy is developed, liberty and equality cannot long exist. Although liberty and equality were the original purposes of the Kuo-mintang in setting up the Revolution, "democracy" is the principle and the motto which the party has adopted. The party feels that if it succeeds in setting up a democracy, we shall automatically enjoy the blessings of liberty and equality.

Moreover, in view of the sacrifices Europeans have made in the struggles for liberty and equality, they should not only value liberty and equality very highly, but use them so carefully that no abuses would possibly result. On the contrary, Westerners have carried liberty and equality to such excesses that they have suffered many bad results. Our revolutionists should be warned by the consequences of excessive liberty and equality and try to avoid similar experiences.

There are two causes that account for the abusive uses of the theories of liberty and equality. In the first place, the Europeans did not have a very clear idea of these two theories. In the second place, they did not lay a good foundation for liberty and equality, that is, in democracy. Until now the Europeans have had to struggle for the realization of democracy. In order to maintain the struggle, they had to organize; consequently many new organizations, such as political parties and labor unions sprang up at the end of the eighteenth century.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Labor unions were developed after revolutions had won freedom to form societies. At the present time some of them represent the greatest social groups in the world. The way the labor organizations developed was very interesting. At first, the workers had little education, if any at all. They had no consciousness of their place in society, nor did they know the tyranny the capitalists imposed on them. They did not realize that they were

treated as commodities rather than as human beings. Then a group of intellectual humanitarians came forth to speak words of justice for them; they educated them to struggle for their rights. When the workers woke up, they organized into societies and unions to maintain the interest and freedom of the working class by fighting against the capitalist class. Hence class struggle began.

The principal weapon of labor in its struggle against capital is the passive policy of non-co-operation, the concrete manifestation of which is the strike. Indeed, the strike is more effective than war so far as quickness of result is concerned. By calling a general strike, the economic activities of the nation come to a standstill and the institutions of the capitalists are completely paralyzed. Inasmuch as the workers were often led by intellectuals, their actions have had a powerful social influence in the progressive nations. Sometimes the workers of a nation have dictated the political policies of the government.

Later on the workers realized that they were not running their own unions, but were under the leadership of people outside of their class. Then they began to revolt against the leadership of the intellectuals, and they demanded liberty and equality in the absolute sense. This brought disastrous results. They often went too far along the road of liberty and equality, and made themselves the enemies of law and order. Their social influence decreased and labor unionization was, as one would expect, less successful.

Recently, many labor unions have come into existence in China. Since the Revolution of 1911, many old *hongs* have been transformed into labor unions. Their leadership, too, has, as a rule, come from outside,—from the liberal intellectuals. While there have been some selfish people who have exploited the labor unions for their own ends, the majority of the leaders of the Chinese labor organizations have worked unselfishly for the interest of the working class. It is very essential that the working class discriminate between bad leadership and good leadership. At the same time labor must co-operate with the intellectuals and accept their leadership when necessary.

I have already seen in China a bad tendency on the part of labor to revolt against intellectuals just as the workers did in the West. Sometime ago I saw in a labor gazette from Hankow two large headlines. The first ran like this: "We workers accept no long-gown leaders!" The other asserted: "Labor should fight for bread and not interfere with politics." The first headline was in the tone of the Western workers who desired no intellectual leadership. Chinese labor under such conditions would inevitably suffer the same abuses which their Western fellow-workers had suffered. The second headline, however, sounded singular. Western workers have interfered in politics ever since the labor unions were organized; and ethically speaking, they should interfere in politics, for the politics of the nation is the personal concern of every citizen. Politics is the biggest problem in the country; and if the government is not good, every other activity of the nation is hindered from making progress.

LABOR AND POLITICS

At present China is losing one billion two hundred million dollars each year from the invasion of foreign political and economic forces, and this invasion is possible because we have a weak government utterly incapable of developing the economic resources of the nation. We are losing five hundred millions of the one billion two hundred millions every year to the foreigners from excessive imports, and these five hundred million dollars worth

of goods are all produced by the workers. This loss is evidently caused by the backwardness of our own industries.

Theoretically speaking, Chinese industries should compete very favorably with foreign industries, for we have plenty of natural resources and produce abundant raw materials. Our laborers, too, are much cheaper and more industrious than Western workers. But our government is too weak to be of help to our workers in competing with the foreign workers, and so our workers have to lose five hundred million dollars annually to foreign workers. We may well conclude then that national politics affects directly the personal welfare of all workers and that they should be interested in it.

One of the concrete ways by which the Chinese government could help the workers to save the annual loss of five hundred million dollars is effective tariff control. If our government were strong, it could institute protective tariff whereby foreign goods would be barred from the Chinese market and Chinese manufacturers would be free from undue competition at home. Then industries would be highly developed, the economic status of the Chinese workers would be improved substantially, and their life would be much more comfortable. But if we follow the policy of the Hankow labor gazette and let bad politics alone, there will never be a protective tariff, and home industries will never have an opportunity to develop. The workers will suffer unemployment or die from starvation.

Gentlemen, you will see, then, that the workers without the leadership of the intellectuals are likely to make mistakes in whatever they say or do. The bread question is an economic question; and the economic question can never be divorced from the political question. Our Hankow labor gazette made the mistake of refusing to go into politics because it misinterpreted the meaning of equality. We fight not only for equality, but also for democracy; for the latter is far more fundamental than the former. The idea of equality is embodied in our Doctrine of Democracy. When this doctrine is carried out, equality will inevitably be realized.

THREE CLASSES OF MEN

There are three classes of men. The first class of people are the "geniuses" who possess unsurpassed intelligence and the inventive power. The second class are the "followers" who usually propagate what others have invented. The third class of men are the "unthinking majority" who do not invent or perceive but practice what others have propagated. These three classes of people should co-operate with one another in developing the civilization of men. Although men were born with different grades of intelligence, their moral consciousness should be equalized, and all be made to work for the same high moral ideals.

There are two types of thinking, the selfish and the unselfish. Selfish thinking often aims at raiding others' enjoyment for one's own good, and such a thought may cause one to do something very detrimental to social welfare. Under conditions of extreme political inequality, economic exploitation and social prostitution result. Our *min ch'uan ke ming* aims at the correction of these evils.

The unselfish thinker always has public welfare at heart. The extreme of this is to sacrifice one's own life or happiness to save the life and happiness of others. From such motives, religious and philanthropic activities arise. The most fundamental way of expressing unselfish thinking is to help the democratic revolution to develop democracy

and equalize the inequalities of men; its aim should be to render service to society, and eliminate all selfish thoughts. The clever man can work for the good of tens or hundreds of millions, while the less clever can render service to a smaller number; the average man can do good to a few men; the least intelligent may render service to at least one person. Let everyone in society work unselfishly for the good of others. Although men may be born with different grades of intelligence, all possess equal moral consciousness, the consciousness of doing good to others. This is the essence of equality.

IV. DEMOCRACY AT WORK

LECTURE FOUR

Delivered April 13, 1924

WE SHALL DISCUSS today the degree of success achieved by the Westerners in their struggle for democracy, and the present tendency of democracy. What our people know of democratic ideas comes mostly from books and newspapers, which are favorable toward the cause of democracy. Not infrequently these books and newspapers present biased views or exaggerated statements. Thus, the readers get the general impression that the democratic movements in the West are still active, that the Westerners have been eminently successful in their struggle for democracy, and that China must follow on the heels of the West. Some people even believe that when China catches up with the West, China will have achieved her ideal. We should be aware of the fact, however, that literature is one thing and fact is another; and that what has been reported in the newspapers and books often does not correspond with the actual condition. The actual working of democracy has not been as wonderful as people hoped. And this is true even in the most democratic countries, such as the United States and France.

STRUGGLE IN AMERICA

The Americans fought eight years for their independence. In spite of the immense sacrifice during those eight years, America has had little success in the actual working of the principle of democracy. At first, the Americans fought against the tyranny of the British sovereign, and so the War of Independence was a war between democracy and monarchy, ending with victory on the part of democracy. As soon as the war was over, the actual adoption of democracy received serious consideration, and the opinions of the revolutionary fathers were widely divided.

Under Washington's administration, a great cleavage of political beliefs began, notwithstanding Washington's own opposition to partisan politics. Alexander Hamilton, Secretary-Treasurer under Washington, and Thomas Jefferson, then the Secretary of State, held directly opposite opinions as to the actual working of democratic institutions. Each had a multitude of followers, and hence there arose two great parties in America.

The Jeffersonians believed that men were created free and equal with certain inborn rights which were so sacred that no human authority could impair them. The main function of government, they believed, was to protect these sacred rights of men and to give to them full opportunity for the development of these rights. Thus the government must be decentralized and must adopt a *laissez faire* policy.

Jefferson and his followers believed in the innate goodness of men, and held that, inasmuch as government was a necessary evil, the government must try its best to keep out of private affairs and let the people freely develop their innate goodness. On the other hand, they thought that if the people did something bad or antisocial, it could not be due to innate character, but to misdevelopment of the innate character due to environmental factors.

They reasoned this way: Since everyone is endowed by God with the right to liberty and equality, everyone should be given political power. Since everyone possesses innate intelligence, participation by all in the affairs of the government will bring successful results on a large scale. Collective responsibility for and devotion to good administration, according to the Jeffersonians, would enable a nation to enjoy perpetual peace and prosperity.

Hamilton and his followers held the contrary. They thought that human beings were born selfish; if free to hold the important powers of the government, they would exploit public affairs for their own good, and they would not respect moral teachings, law, right, or order. As a result there would be autocracy on the one hand, and social anarchism on the other. A free, individualistic, and decentralized government, they maintained, would not only cause political degeneration, but also be detrimental to humanity. It would eventually cause the ruin of the nation. The Hamiltonians held that the most important powers of the American nation should be centralized in the Federal Government; and so they called themselves Federalists.

The Federalists believed that the rights of the masses should be limited and checked; otherwise the people would do whatever they pleased, and would be more dangerous even than an autocratic king. If the king did wrong, the public would notice it and criticize him. On the other hand, if the masses were not checked in some way, no one could restrain them. For this reason, the Federalists were opposed to the decentralized system of government and the institution of local self-government.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES AFTER THE REVOLUTION

Before the American Revolution, the thirteen colonies were independent and separate from one another although they were subject to the jurisdiction of the same government, the London government. While the Revolutionary War was in progress, the colonies had to unite to fight effectively against the common enemy. As soon as the war was over, the colonies became disorganized, and very suspicious of each other. It looked as if the colonies could never unite to form one state, for they all jealously guarded their independence and sovereignty.

The population of the thirteen colonies at the time of the Revolution amounted altogether to about three millions, one-third of which remained loyal to the British and opposed the Revolution. These loyalists did all they could to hinder the success of the Revolution. When the war was over, they naturally did not wish to live in the independent colonies; and so they migrated to the north of the St. Lawrence River, and settled in what is now known as the Dominion of Canada, a country still attached to the British Empire.

Although there was no immediate danger after the War of Independence, it was very evident that the separate colonies were too weak to withstand the aggression of a strong European Power and that they eventually would be in danger unless they organized themselves into one nation and made it strong. The farsighted statesmen of the colonies advocated such a union.

Then the question as to the form of the union arose: should it be a confederation or a federation? Those who were in favor of a confederation maintained that the sovereign rights of the various commonwealths must be preserved, and that the only legitimate function of the central government was defense against common danger from outside. On the other hand, those who advocated a federal form of government were of the opinion that

a complete union into one in dissolvable state was necessary in order to insure internal progress, and security against both foreign enemies and dangers within.

The former group wanted extreme decentralization and local self-government, while the latter group fought for a powerful central government and the subordination of important political rights of the commonwealths to the central government of the union. While the confederalists thought that democracy must mean a weak central government and a *laissez faire* policy whereby individual freedom could be fully developed, the federalists thought that only a strong union could bring peace and progress to the people and become the foundation of American democracy. These two groups with contrasting political opinions engaged in hot disputes for quite a number of years.

At length the federalists won. The thirteen colonies united to form one nation called the United States of America; and a constitution which produced a federal form of government was adopted. This constitution is still in full force, and as a matter of fact, it is the only constitution in the world whose integrity has been fully protected. It is interesting to note also that America did try for a while the confederate form of organization and a document known as the Articles of Confederation preceded the present constitution. But it was a dismal failure; the various states quarreled among themselves, and the central government was left financially bankrupt and unable to enforce its laws. The entire nation came to the verge of collapse. By the "three-power" constitution of the United States a system of check and balance was instituted, by which the powers of the state were divided into three groups, and placed under the direction of three separate and distinct departments; namely, the judiciary, the legislative, and the executive. They were supposed to be independent of one another, and thus to check one another's work. It should be noted also that the American Constitution was the first written constitution in history. Since the adoption of the Constitution, the United States has become the wealthiest country in the world, and since the World War, the most powerful nation.

FEDERALIZATION OF CHINA

Because America has become powerful and rich by means of this new form of government, many Chinese scholars advocate the federalization of China. In other words, they maintain that one solution of the China problem would be to copy the American system of check and balance and local self-government. They are ignorant, however, of the differences in historical and social conditions between China and America. Whereas America became powerful and rich by federalization, the adoption of the federal system of government, I believe, would ruin China. The American Constitution united thirteen separate American states into one great nation, while at the same time, these commonwealths reserved a large measure of individual freedom. The adoption by us of the American system would divide China into twenty states more independent than at present. What America wanted was liberty and democracy. What China needs today is widely different from what America needs, hence the solutions can never be the same.

In Chinese history, unification of the country has been regarded as the normal phenomenon, and the separation of the country as an abnormal phenomenon. The country is composed of eighteen provinces known as China Proper and the Three Eastern Provinces ; Sinkiang; many special districts, such as Jehol, Suiyuan, and Chinghai; and the territories of Mongolia and Tibet. Although some of these regions were added to China

after the Han dynasty, throughout the Han, the T'ang, the Sung, the Yuan, the Ming, and the Tsing dynasties, China has been a united nation, not a federated state. When the country is divided, as it has been several times in the course of its history, the Chinese look upon such a division as a sign of national chaos, an abnormal phenomenon.

On the other hand, the thirteen colonies were originally independent and separate from one another. Their union was first regarded as a measure of expediency in meeting a great crisis. The revolutionary statesmen went through many difficulties and troubles in order to get the present constitution adopted and the federal form of government set up. This very union has caused their prosperity and ascendancy to the position of a World Power. It is evident that if the colonies had not united, they would have become the prey of European Powers, and their independence would have been nothing more than the independence of Korea or the Philippine Islands.

China is suffering from military autocracy, and the greatest enemies of the country are our own militarists. They take possession of some region or some province, and govern it with an iron hand in defiance of the laws of the nation and the orders of the Central Government. They tax the people at their will and they are virtually absolute rulers of their own regions. As a rule the militarists of the country do not have the welfare of the country and of the people at heart. They keep the country divided and prolong civil war purely to satisfy their own ambitions. Undoubtedly this is an abnormal phenomenon in history. What would happen if under such circumstances we advocated the federalization of China? The militarists know only too well that they are illegally occupying certain parts of the country and that their rights and acts are illegitimate. They would borrow the philosophy of federation to justify their misdeeds; and would at once divide the unified empire into several dozens of petty, independent states. That would mean nothing less than political anarchism.

Foreigners perceive the intellectual indigestion of our political philosophers and they think that we do not understand our own problems and are unable to govern ourselves. Consequently they advocate international control of China which, they say, would give us political experience. The federalization of China is contrary to the current political thought of the world.

What the world needs is the creation of democracy through political union and political stability on the one hand, and the consolidation of similar nationality groups for a common struggle for existence on the other. Instead of breaking up the Chinese empire by federalization, we should advocate the federation of China and Japan, or of China, Annam, Burma, India, Persia, and Afghanistan to present a common front against Europe because the lack of co-operation among these Asiatic states in the past has caused the supremacy of the European Powers in Asia, and because their federalization is essential to Asia's prosperity.

The federalization movement in China has been promoted by selfish, ambitious politicians, such as General T'ang Chi-yao of Yunnan, General Chao Heng-ti of Hunan, General Lu Jung-ting of Kwangsi, and General Chen Ch'iung-ming of Kwangtung, as an excuse for their illegal occupation of the different provinces. Such being the origin of the movement, it is evident that a federal government in China, if created, would not produce local self-government and democracy, but it would be a union of military autocrats which would not do good to the nation, although it might be an advantageous instrument for

private profiteering.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IS A GOVERNMENT OF DELEGATED POWERS

At the time of the War of Independence, the thirteen American states had no political unity, and the formation of a unified nation was a very difficult question; so the Hamiltonians and the Jeffersonians engaged in a fierce controversy in regard to the type of union which the thirteen states should adopt. But the public at that time seemed to be more favorable toward the views of the Hamiltonians, and the Jeffersonian policies seemed to be losing ground. The Federal Constitution as finally adopted was a compromise between the two great parties, for the Federal Government was given only those powers specifically mentioned in the Constitution, while all other powers— many of them important—that were not mentioned in the Constitution were to belong to the individual states. Thus the individual states were given the residual powers, and the Federal Government was made a government of delegated powers. Broadly speaking, under the Federal Constitution, the states gave up to the central government all powers needed for the common welfare, such as diplomacy, army and navy, coinage, etc.; retaining full rights of self-government in all local affairs.

We are now ready to consider the question: How much democracy have the American people obtained ? We usually measure the amount of democracy in a state by the extent of suffrage-right among the people.' At first, the American people had only limited suffrage, that is, men over twenty-one years of age were given the right to vote for representatives to the Federal Government and for local officers. Federal senators and the president were not elected directly by the people, but by electors chosen by the people. Only recently have Federal senators been directly elected by the people. There are also some who would like to bring about direct election of the president and the vice-president.

At first there were property restrictions under the state electoral laws; that is, only those who had a certain amount of property were given the privilege of voting and of being voted for. Later on the property qualifications were gradually abolished. But women were still denied suffrage rights. During the last twenty years the woman suffrage movement has been very active; suffragettes in America as well as in Europe have fought very hard for their cause. Many people thought that woman suffrage would not be a success, because they were sure women were less intelligent than men, and would not exercise their rights intelligently. It is interesting to note that not only men but also many women opposed woman suffrage; even the suffragettes themselves were not quite sure what would happen, if they won.

Then the great test came. When the European War broke out, strong men were called into the service, and many things important to society had to be done by women. During those years there were even women working in the arsenals and in other occupations which used to be exclusively carried on by men. There were also women conductors for tram cars and women ticket agents for railways. As a rule they were entirely successful in their business. The old statement that women were unfit for certain trades and that their intelligence was inferior to that of men became absurd. As a result, women were granted suffrage rights in England and America; and so far there have been no serious complaints against their intelligence in voting.

We may conclude from this that the original aim of the revolutions in the West had

always been democracy. The ultimate purpose of the American Revolution was democracy. But as soon as the Revolution had succeeded, those who fought the battle for democracy were divided into two groups. One group favored the fullest development of democracy; and the other group advocated a restricted use of democracy. Later on the facts proved that the mass of people, lacking political knowledge, were incapable of exercising the rights of "pure democracy." For this reason, the right of the people, the very thing for which Jefferson and his followers fought so hard, failed to achieve its purpose. This inability of the common people to exercise intelligently their political rights explains the fact that the revolutions in the West during the last two or three centuries have accomplished nothing more than a more liberal suffrage for men and women in the West.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

It goes without saying that the French Revolution was another attempt at the establishment of democracy. Rousseau and other scholars who were responsible for the philosophical background of the Revolution maintained that men were born with certain inalienable rights and that these rights must not be infringed by kings or rulers. After the Great Revolution, the French people were very anxious to experiment in pure democracy. They abolished all titles and privileges of nobility. The peasants arose in many provinces, killed the nobles, and burnt their castles. Thousands of nobles fled over the borders, and could not go back to the country where they were once rulers. No one was allowed to criticize the actions of the Paris populace, or he would be sent to the guillotine as an antirevolution-ary. In fact, executions by the guillotine became a daily spectacle in Paris. Anyone who showed signs of disloyalty was put to death; the number of daily decapitations in Paris rose to nearly two hundred. Not only Queen Marie Antoinette, and the nobles, but also many revolutionists themselves, including Danton, the great democratic leader, were among the victims. No one in France was allowed to express a word of dissatisfaction with the policies of the government; and no one's life or property was safe.

At length, the French people became disappointed with the conduct of the Great Revolution, for what they obtained from their long fight for democracy was mob rule or an absolute dictatorship of a few mob leaders. Indeed, they suffered during this period more than at any other time in history. Those who had favored revolution and democracy now changed their minds and welcomed Napoleon Bonaparte who restored the monarchical system in France. We all know that the rule of Napoleon was one of the biggest obstructions of democratic government in history. It is important to note that this obstruction to democratic progress, instead of appearing in an age of despotism, appeared in the age of democracy.

This seems, contrary to ordinary logic. Two explanations suggest themselves. On the one hand, the more conservative group among the advocates of democracy always had preferred a restricted democracy. The practical success of such a system in producing peace and prosperity made men content with things as they were. On the other hand, in the case of France, pure democracy turned into mob rule which was not only undemocratic, but the worst form of absolutism. Under mob rule, the intelligent leaders were eliminated and the mass, visionary and fanatic, acted irrationally without control. Mob feeling was predominant, and critical judgment and sane statesmanship disappeared completely. Such a rule was undoubtedly dangerous to the welfare of man.

When the people became conscious of the evils of political anarchism, as the French people did after the Reign of Terror, they mistrusted all democratic institutions and swung back to the other extreme—by the law of reaction. They were afraid of democracy; and set up the greatest possible obstructions to its normal development. This was, of course, due to the faults of the democrats themselves.

DEMOCRATIC TENDENCIES IN ENGLAND AND GERMANY

Besides France, democratic movements broke forth in other European countries, such as Denmark, Holland, Portugal, and Spain. The progress of democratic movements has been quite rapid in spite of innumerable obstructions, because the tendency had been so strong that it could hardly be resisted. The example of England was typical. As already stated, England restored her monarchy just ten years after the Cromwellian Revolution. The ruling class in England, however, was intelligent enough to realize the power of democracy; and has been very sympathetic toward its growth. At first, the English government was a dictatorship of nobility. Since the year 1832, the common people of England have been given the right of suffrage. Since the World War women in England have enjoyed with men the privilege of voting and of being voted for.

England has also been liberal toward the dependencies. She originally tried to suppress the uprisings in Ireland. At last she realized that the public opinion of the world was with Ireland; and so she recognized Ireland's autonomy. In Egypt and India, England is also adopting a liberal policy; and sooner or later, their self-government will be granted. In Britain itself the Labor Party has come into power, and has organized a Labor Cabinet for the first time in the world history. By such policies the disintegration of the British Empire, which once seemed to be imminent has been averted; and British democracy is sailing peacefully forward.

Germany has also made a great contribution to the history of democracy. At present, the German labor unions are the biggest in the world. *It is to be regretted, however, that though the democratic movements in Germany began very early, their progress was retarded by the peculiar preventive tactics of Bismarck.* We all know that Bismarck was one of the greatest statesmen in history and that he united Germany and made her the most powerful nation in the world about thirty or forty years ago. Before the days of Bismarck, the twenty odd German states lived in a status of disunion. Although the peoples of these states belonged to a common nationality, jealousies and quarrels arose among them. Furthermore, the people were left poor and miserable after the conquest by Napoleon, and they were treated mercilessly by the autocratic princes of the individual states. Then Bismarck united these discordant states into one great Empire under the leadership of Prussia. In less than ten years under the new political order Germany astonished the world by her rapid progress in industrial, military, and educational accomplishment.

CAN GERMANY BE AN EXAMPLE TO CHINA?

Since both Germany and the United States became powerful after their adoption of the federal system of government, many Chinese scholars maintain that China should also adopt the federal system of government in order to get strong and rich. Such a conception is erroneous. I have already shown how conditions differ in China and

America. The conditions of Germany before the days of Bismarck were also different from the conditions existing in China. In the first place, Germany was not a unified empire. Bismarck, like the American revolutionary fathers, had great difficulty in uniting the twenty-five German states into one nation. He first made Prussia strong, and improved the internal administration of that state. Then he used Prussia as a nucleus for uniting the rest of the German states into a great union.

At first, France and Austria opposed the unification of Germany, for both desired supremacy over Europe and both thought that the unification of Germany would be detrimental to their ambitious schemes. Austria was especially jealous of Prussia's ascendancy to power, though Germany and Austria belonged to the same race.

Bismarck decided that in order to establish the leadership of Prussia among the German states, the rivalry between Austria and Prussia must be settled by war. In 1866, the long-expected conflict between Austria and Prussia broke forth, and the "Seven Weeks' War" was a complete triumph for Prussia. Although Austria was an old rival of Prussia and was completely defeated in the War of 1866, Bismarck made the terms of peace very liberal, for he thought that he must win the good will of the old Empire in order to reduce the strength of the real enemies of Prussia and of the would-be German Empire, namely, England and France.

In 1870 Prussia defeated France and captured Paris. France had to cede two provinces, Alsace and Lorraine, to Prussia. At Versailles, during the siege of Paris, the German states united into the Confederation known as the German Empire. From that time until the European War, Germany was the most powerful nation in the world; she held the supremacy in world affairs for nearly half a century. The greatness of Germany will always be linked with the name of Bismarck.

BISMARCK'S BATTLE WITH DEMOCRACY

Bismarck was not only successful in the administration of diplomacy and militarism, but victorious in his battle with democracy. Bismarck used very peculiar tactics to suppress democratic movements in Germany. After the sixties, the people of Europe were confronted not only with the political question of liberty and democracy, but also with the economic question of socialistic reconstruction. In fact, the latter pressed harder upon the European people than the former; and so the enthusiasm of the Europeans for democracy gave way to socialist movements. Their doctrine of socialism, which was similar to my Doctrine of *Min Sheng*, had as its fundamental idea an equitable distribution of wealth among the different classes of people.

Now, instead of fighting for political democracy, the Europeans were kept busy fighting for economic justice. It was a class war between the capitalists and labor. Labor unions developed very early in Germany; and the father of modern socialism, Karl Marx, was himself a German. In theory the doctrine of democracy and the doctrine of socialism should go together; and an economic revolution should develop along with political revolution. But Bismarck broke the rule by his peculiar tactics.

Whereas ordinary men of the ruling class of Europe suppressed social democratic movements by using political forces, Bismarck adopted a preventive method. He realized the power of democracy, and dared not offend the intelligent mass of Germany by a flat refusal of their demands or by absolute suppression of their activities. He knew it

would be playing with fire to displease the public sentiment of Germany. Meanwhile he kept in harmony with the current tendency of political thought by taking over the socialists' program in as far as it suited his own circumstances. He instituted a system of state socialism.

For instance, railroads are one of the most important instruments of transportation, and consequently are a source of wealth in the country. Take the case in China. Since the Tientsin-Pukow and the Peking-Hankow railways were constructed, many poor districts in Chihli, Shantung, Kiangsu, Honan, and Hupeh have been transformed into wealthy cities. During the time of Bismarck, the railroads in France and England were owned by private individuals; and as a consequence the capitalists had a monopoly of the wealth of their country. The cleavage between the rich and the poor became wider and wider. Bismarck realized the evils of the private ownership of important industries, and so in Germany all railroads and capital industries were owned and operated by the state. In this way, he not only promoted the economic well-being of the German people, but eliminated many evils of industrial civilization.

He then created state pensions and state insurance, and regulated the hours of labor. He established many state banks and other corporations in the interests of the working class. In other words, he used his political power extensively to enforce the socialists' program; and the result was very satisfactory to the workers of Germany. While the laboring class of other European states emigrated to newer nations to seek a better living, the German workers preferred to stay at home to enjoy the fruits of Bismarck's economic policies. What is more, many foreign workers came to Germany seeking employment. The socialists in Germany had no reason for fighting against the Government although the latter was very autocratic. Bismarck quietly averted a great economic revolution in Germany during his lifetime.

THE THREE OBSTRUCTIONS TO DEMOCRACY

To sum up, we have seen three great setbacks in the history of democracy. The first one was the victory of the Hamiltonians over the Jeffersonians in America; their victory turned American development toward centralization of power and away from her old institution of local pure democracy. Secondly, the mob politics during the French Revolution created many enemies for democracy. The misuse of democratic institutions by the French revolutionists was taken as a warning against those who tried to inspire democratic ideals. Lastly, the preventive tactics of Bismarck set back for many decades Germany's progress along the road toward democracy. In spite of these great setbacks, the world is becoming more and more democratic. Indeed, democracy is now the unchallenged ideal of the progressive nations. The scholars of the world, conservatives as well as liberals, believe that the battle for democracy will in the end be victorious; and that democratic ideals will never be destroyed.

Thus, while the Westerners for several centuries fought for liberty and equality, the result of their fight was the development of democracy. At first, the monarchs in the West tried their best to prevent its growth. Conflicts between democracy and monarchy resulted, in which democracy was victorious. Then many abuses appeared as a result of the various democratic experiments, especially in the case of the French Revolution. These evils made the general public mistrust democracy; and enabled the antidemocrats, such as Bismarck,

to suppress democracy without difficulty. In spite of the many drawbacks it has had, democracy is going forward in this century. For instance, the three great autocratic empires: Russia, Germany, and Austria, were completely crushed after the World War, and democratic governments were established in these countries. The extension of the suffrage to women in many nations of the West is another indication of democratic development.

THE FOUR GREAT RIGHTS OF DEMOCRACY

There are four great rights of democracy; and the first one is the right of suffrage. Originally the Westerners thought that the right of suffrage was the only measurement of democracy; and that the fullest development of democracy would mean the institution of" universal suffrage: that is, suffrage for all people regardless of property ownership, sex, occupation, and class. Universal manhood suffrage is now instituted in all the progressive nations.

The Swiss people possess, in addition to the right of suffrage, two other rights of democracy; namely, initiative and referendum. In our country, as well as in many other countries, the people cannot make laws directly. They elect the representatives to the Parliament; and the members of Parliament alone have the legislative power. In Switzerland, the people themselves may make laws. This direct legislative power of the people is called the initiative power. On the other hand, when the legislative body has passed a bill that does not conform with the wish of the people, there is a recognized procedure by which the people may review the said legislation, and by a majority vote either repeal it or ratify it. This is called the right of referendum.

In some of the more recently constituted states in the northwestern part of the United States, the people possess a new right: the right of recall, that is, the people may dismiss public officers by plebiscite. Although such a provision is as yet exceptional, it has been quite successful in places where it has been tried.

Thus we know at least four rights of democracy; namely, the right of suffrage, the right of initiative, the right of referendum, and the right of recall. Many people maintain that the time is not yet ripe in China for the institution of all four rights. Our popular intelligence is too low for direct democracy. It took tens of thousands of years to pass out of the stage of theocracy, and several thousands of years to realize the fallacy of monocracy. In England, Japan, and Italy, monocracy still has a very strong foothold. It will naturally take a long time to develop direct democracy and to train the mass of people for direct democracy. Democracy is very young, especially direct democracy, which was born only about a generation ago. We must be patient to solve the various problems of democracy, and guard carefully against abuses from either immaturity or excesses.

THE REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

The most popular form of democracy in the world today is the so-called representative democracy; and the government which is built upon the foundation of representative democracy is called representative government. As already stated, what the people of the world have obtained from their long fight for democracy is the right of suffrage. Suffrage has two aspects: the right to vote for public officers, and the right to be voted into public offices. The essence of representative government is that the people elect representatives to the Parliament, and members of Parliament manage the affairs of the nation as delegates of the

people. Thus the people govern their own affairs through their representatives. As a rule the important business of the nation must be sanctioned first by the Parliament. The Parliament enacts the laws of the country, and everyone is expected to live within the bounds of the law. In some countries there is a Constitution which was made by a special convention; while in other countries, the fundamental laws of the state have been enacted by the Parliament.

Although representative democracy is by no means a perfect system of government, the early revolutionists of the West regarded it as the ideal form of political control, and thought that its realization would be the zenith of their success in the fight for democracy. Inasmuch as representative government has been widely adopted in the West and in Japan, the Chinese revolutionists were very anxious also to adopt a representative form of government. Their greatest ambition was to make China as good as Japan or as good as the Western Powers. This was, of course, a mistake.

Representative government in China has been decidedly a failure. Our members of Parliament have not really been representatives of the people. Instead of having the welfare of their constituencies at heart, they allied themselves with the militarists to exploit the country for selfish ends. They are ready to give up their honor, personality, and conscience for a small bribe, and so they are called *chu tsu yi yuan* or "piggish representatives." If we continue this type of representatives, irreparable harm will be done to the country and to the people; and our future will be greatly endangered.

After the Russian Revolution, Lenin set up a new form of government known as the dictatorship of the proletariat. At present, we do not have enough facts to judge its desirability. We know, however, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a reaction against the corruptions of representative government; and that it is supposed to be an improvement upon it.

Our Kuomintang has promoted the *San Min* Doctrine as a rallying cry for our fight and a definite program for the national reconstruction of China. Our Doctrine of Democracy is very different from the Western idea of democracy. While we may use Western history and Western democratic experiments for our information, we should not copy indiscriminately the Western idea of democracy. Westerners have not been eminently successful in their fight for democracy, and they have made serious mistakes. What they have obtained from their long struggle for democracy is the imperfect form of representative government. If we follow in their steps, we may make the same mistakes. The problem of democracy is not yet solved; and China should work out her own solution. I shall spend two more days in discussing with you how China should solve her problem of democracy. Should we succeed in solving the problem, we would in a short time be better off than either America or Europe: otherwise, we shall make blunders similar to those of the Westerners in the struggle for the democracy of the future.

V. DIFFERENTIATION OF CH'UAN (POWER) AND NENG (ABILITY)

LECTURE FIVE

Not Dated

INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN CULTURE

WE HAVE been imitating the West in matters of political reform and in revolutionary practices. Even modern China's concept of democracy is something imported from Europe and America. Why do we introduce Western ideas and institutions into China? Because we see with our own eyes the remarkable progress the West has made during the last few decades and because we are convinced that Western civilization today is superior in many respects to Chinese civilization. Take military weapons for illustration. As late as 1900, the Boxers used bows, arrows, swords, spears, and lances just as their Chinese ancestors did two thousand years ago, while their enemies used modern rifles, machine guns, and cannons.

The Boxer Uprising was a movement in protest against the intrusion of a new civilization into China. At that time, the Chinese could not believe that the culture of the Europeans was better than their own; and, to demonstrate that theirs was better than that of the Europeans, they attempted to overcome foreign rifles and big cannons by means of their age-old swords. Of course, the Boxers were completely annihilated by the Allied troops.

In spite of their complete annihilation, the fighting spirit of the Boxers was, however, highly praised by foreigners. The Battle of Yangtsun was a striking example. An Allied army of three thousand men under the command of a British general was on the way to Peking to strengthen the Legation forces. The Boxers stopped the army at Yangtsun and tried to prevent it from going to the Capital City. While foreign soldiers used big cannons and rifles of the newest model, the Boxers fought them with spears, arrows and bows. Notwithstanding the heavy casualties on their part, the Boxers kept on fighting until this foreign army withdrew from Yangtsun and returned to Tientsin. Later on the British general who was in command of this army remarked that "the Boxers were the finest type of soldiers in the world" and that "if they had been in possession of modern arms and ammunitions, they would have defeated the Allied troops in China." Indeed, the foreign general had learned from the experience of the Battle of Yangtsun that the hidden power of Chinese nationalism was yet irresistible.

On the other hand, the defeat of the Boxers caused the Chinese to lose confidence in their own civilization. After they saw that their arrows, bows, spears, and swords were no match for the foreign rifles and cannons, they concluded that the new culture of the West was superior to the old civilization of China. They were convinced that not only were foreign arms superior to Chinese arms, but foreign railroads and telegraphs were faster than Chinese carriers and post-stations; foreign machines were more efficient than Chinese means of production; and all the Western methods of trading, farming, and manufacturing were better than those of China. Since then Chinese intellectuals have advocated the

wholesale introduction of Western science as well as of Western social and political systems as the only possible means of making China strong and of removing the humiliation which China suffered from the siege of Peking by the Allies in 1900. The fact that they wanted everything foreign and disliked everything Chinese shows the loss of confidence on the part of the Chinese in their own culture.

As time went on, enthusiasm for things foreign grew more and more. We Chinese not only worshipped things foreign, but also endeavored to take over the best and newest out of the West. We even went ahead practicing new Western ideas which the West itself had not yet put in practice. We established a republican form of government thirteen years ago because we believed it to be the best and the highest form of political organization then known.

One should not overlook the significance of this change in Chinese political psychology. Before the Boxer Uprising, even though China had had commercial intercourse with European nations, the mass of the Chinese people did not believe that these nations possessed civilization. Thus, during the Boxer trouble, they destroyed foreign railroads and telegraphs; and in battles, they used, not modern rifles and guns of foreign make, but their ancient bows and swords. After the defeat of the Boxers, the Chinese swung to the other extreme: from ultra conservatism to radical occidentalism. They worshipped everything out of the West and discarded everything Chinese. Naturally they ran into excessive imitation. After the Revolution the entire country hailed the foreign doctrine of democracy and wanted to put it into practice at once. The meaning and essentials of democracy, the historical background of the fight for democracy, and its final outcome, no one knew nor cared to study critically.

In my previous lectures I have explained that because of many difficulties in the way the West has not yet succeeded in the struggle for democracy, and that democracy still remains an unsolved problem in Western politics. In our attempt to secure a democratic government in China, we again turned to the West for solutions and methods. But up to the present time, as far as the problem of democracy is concerned, the West has been unable to find either satisfactory solutions or an adequate technique in searching for a solution. We should know, then, that in this connection, the West cannot be our teacher, nor can it set any standard for our imitation.

WHERE THE WEST HAS FAILED

So much for the enthusiasm of our people in imitating foreign things. Now the question is: Are foreign things worth imitating? A thing is worth copying if it has better qualities than the things made by oneself. We know that foreign weapons of war are superior to ours. We know also that in many things, the Westerners have progressed farther than we have. That foreigners generally surpass us in physical sciences is undebatable, but do they surpass us in political philosophy? Which has progressed faster in the West, physical science or political philosophy?

It is universally recognized among the world's scholars that the political progress of man has not been as fast as his scientific progress. For instance, in military science, changes and discoveries are introduced almost daily. Thus, books on military tactics which were written a hundred years ago or, indeed, ten years ago, are totally useless today. In other words, there has been a complete revolution in military tactics every ten years. Battleships are most

extensively used in modern warfare. At present, a battleship costs from fifty to a hundred million dollars. In spite of its high cost there is a complete change in the construction of battleships every ten years and so battleships which were built before the World War are no longer useful. The same is true of military weapons. Rifles and guns of the kind that are used in the Chinese army have already been discarded in the West. Europe and America are making as rapid progress in the manufacturing of machinery and in other aspects of material civilization as in their art of war.

On the other hand, their political progress has been slow. While books on military tactics written ten years ago are no longer used, Plato's *Republic*, which was written two thousand years ago, is still a valuable reference book for political scientists. While there has been a complete change in the science of war every ten years, political theory of today is not fundamentally different from that of two thousand years ago. It would be a mistake, then, for us to imitate the West as much in political theory as in material achievements.

One hundred and fifty years ago the United States adopted the democratic form of government, but there has been little improvement during the long period since. The present government of France is even less democratic than her government during the great Revolution when the French people adopted a pure democracy. The history of these nations illustrates how slow is the political progress of the Western countries. This slow progress, in my opinion, is caused by their utter lack of a definite solution of the problem of democracy, or, what is worse, by the lack of a clearly defined methodology for working out a solution. They have no clearly defined methodology because they do not understand the meaning of democracy. What the Westerners have accomplished in creating a democratic government is not so much a conscious creation from philosophical discussion as the outcome of inevitable political circumstances. Since the Westerners have had no definite objectives in their fight for democracy during the last two centuries, they have met with many difficulties and suffered many failures. For a similar reason we Chinese are making failures in our attempt to establish a representative democracy. Our legislative representatives are so corrupt and covetous that they are called "piggish representatives." Indeed, the Chinese government is one which, instead of endeavoring to bring out the best points of a representative democracy, is practicing all its evils.

UNFITNESS OF FOREIGN POLITICAL SYSTEMS IN CHINA

As already stated, since the West has not found a satisfactory solution for the problem of democracy, China must work out her own solutions. The question is: What is the way by which China can secure a democratic system of political and social control? To this question the conservative people in the country reply that the Western theory of democracy is fundamentally wrong and that China should not adopt a republican form of government. They conclude, therefore, that the solution of the Chinese problem is the restoration of monarchy. To us who understand the current of world thinking these arguments seem to be absurd. History has taught us that no nation going contrary to this current can exist long and that China cannot be an exception to this rule.

In order to understand the current trend of world politics a clear definition of "politics" or *chun chih* is necessary. In Chinese, *chun* means the public affairs of a group of people and *chih* means to control or to administer. In "public affairs" we include social traditions, customs, folkways, and group psychology. Since historically the social traditions, group

psychology, customs, and folkways of the Chinese are different from those of the Europeans, the Chinese system of administering public affairs should differ from that of the Europeans. In other words, the European system of political control, if taken over by China, would not fit Chinese conditions. This is not true of mechanical contrivances. We may buy a foreign machine and use it in China as satisfactorily as in Europe. Electric lamps are just as bright in Chinese houses as in foreign buildings. But a foreign system of social administration transplanted to China would not produce the same result as in Europe.

A system of political administration is, it is true, a machine, but it is an invisible machine. While the visible machine is founded on physical laws, the invisible machine is founded on psychic laws. There is another difference: physical sciences are older than the psychic science. While there have been a great number of inventions and discoveries in physical sciences during the last century or two, psychology is only twenty to thirty years old and has made no epoch-making discovery. The Europeans have made substantial progress in the control of the physical world, but have not discovered how to manage the social and political world. In the realm of physical sciences, the Europeans have many things worth while to offer to us; but in the realm of political sciences, their contribution is slight. To summarize what we have been saying: There are two reasons why China cannot take over bodily the Western system of social and political control. First, the Chinese social and political conditions are different from those of the West; consequently the Western system would not fit China; secondly, the Europeans themselves have not yet found any epoch-making solution for the problem of social and political control. Therefore I say that it would be a big mistake for us to copy their political systems in the way in which their physical machinery may be copied.

OUR VALUABLE REFERENCE MATERIALS

But this does not mean that we may ignore the current trend of world politics and the experience which the West has acquired from its long struggle for democracy. What we ought to do is to find a solution that will fit the Chinese conditions on the one hand, and be in harmony with the current trend of world politics on the other. If either one of the two conditions is not met, we cannot secure a progressive government and thereby the existence of our nation would be endangered.

Then the question is: How can we discover this fundamental solution? The first step is to study extensively the history of Western democracy and all the theories of democracy that Western scholars have offered. Although we should not imitate by wholesale the Western system of politics, that system with its historical and philosophical background ought to furnish valuable material to our savants and statesmen in working out our own solution of the problem of democracy. If Western experience is ignored, our scholars and statesmen might have to start where the Westerners started, and might have to waste another hundred or more years to arrive at the place where the Westerners are now. After making ourselves acquainted with the Western history of democracy and with Western theories as well as with our own, we may proceed to create a new system of political and social control and then test it to discover whether it fits Chinese conditions and is in accord with the current trend of politics. This is the most direct possible way of finding a solution for the problem of Chinese democracy.

In a democracy, asserts an American writer, a powerful government is something that is feared by the people because if the government is too powerful, it cannot be controlled by

the people. Yet if a government is to discharge its duties efficiently in the best interests of the people, it must possess a wide range of powers.

The questions that confront us are: How can we get a powerful and efficient government? After we have one, how can it be controlled and directed by the people? What history seems to say is that efficiency and democracy do not go together. The Prussian government under Bismarck was the most efficient government in Europe, yet it was the most undemocratic. On the other hand, none of the more democratic governments in the West are as efficient as that of Bismarck. One Swiss writer declares that the power of a government degenerates as the power of the people increases. As a rule, the governed mass—the people—are hostile toward their government and jealous of its powers. As the people become more powerful in a democracy, they attempt to curb the powers of the government in every way, until the government is too weak to maintain even internal order. The writer goes on to say that the attitude of hostility on the part of the people toward their government must be done away with, if this abuse is to be remedied.

But what sort of attitude should the people assume toward their government? What sort of attitudes do the Chinese people have toward their government? For centuries the Chinese people have looked back upon the governments of Yao, of Shun, of Yü the Great, of T'ang, of King Wen and of King Wu as model governments. They have believed that if only the nation had an emperor as good as these sages, there would be peace and happiness among the people. Since the introduction of the Western ideas of democracy, the political attitude of the Chinese has changed. They no longer idealize Yao, Shun, and other sage rulers, for these sages were monarchs in spite of their benevolent politics. The new attitude of the Chinese is a hostile one toward their government. As long as this attitude persists, the Chinese people will not be satisfied with any government, be it good or bad. The result will be anything but political stability and progress.

The Swiss scholar has realized that the present political attitude of the people must be changed, but he has offered no solution. Lately, I thought out a way of changing the attitude of the people toward the government, that is, the discrimination between *ch'uan* or "power" and *neng* or "ability." This is a new solution for the problem of democracy and I believe it has never been stated in a similar way by any European scholar. In order to explain clearly the distinction between *ch'uan* and *neng*, I should make clear my idea concerning the classification of men.

THE TRIPARTITE CLASSIFICATION OF MEN

Men may be divided into three classes according to their innate ability or intelligence. The first class of men may be called *hsien chih hsien cho* or the "geniuses." The geniuses are endowed with unusual intelligence and ability. They are the creators of new ideas, fathers of invention, and originators of new achievements. They think in terms of group welfare and so they are the promoters of progress. Next are the *hou chih hou cho* or the "followers." Being less intelligent and capable than the *hsien chih hsien cho*, they do not create or invent or originate, but they are good imitators and followers of the first class of men. The last are the *pu chih pu cho* or the "unthinking," whose intelligence is inferior to that of the other two classes of men. These people do what others instruct them to do, but they do not think about it. In every sphere of activity all three classes of men are present. In politics, for example, there are the creators or inventors of new ideas

and movements, then the propagators of these ideas and movements, and lastly the mass of men who are taught U. practice these ideas.

Inasmuch as world progress depends upon the faithful practice of fine ideas, the third class of men have really greater responsibility than the other two classes of men. Take the construction of a foreign building for illustration: the first step is for the engineer or the architect to draw up a plan. In drawing up the plan, the architect must decide on the amount and types of building materials, on the size, shape, and the general arrangement of the building and calculate the cost of the building. When the plan is completed, he hands it over to the foreman, who, in turn, instructs and supervises the workmen in building the house according to the plan. While the workmen do not understand the plan of the architect, they listen to the instructions of their foreman in regard to every little piece of work. If there were no workmen to carry out the instructions of the foreman, the architect's plan would be useless and the house would not be built. In this illustration, the engineer or the architect is the *hsien chih hsien cho*, the foreman is the *hou chih hou cho*, and the workmen are the *pu chih pu cho*.

Just as all big buildings in our cities are the results of co-operative efforts among engineers, foremen, and workmen, all affairs of the world are accomplished by the co-operation of these three different classes of men, the *hsien chih hsien cho*, the *hou chih hou cho*, and the *pu chih pu cho*. Among them the first are the least numerous. The last are the most numerous; they form the great majority of the world's population. Although the *hsien chih hsien cho* are smallest in number, the world would lack new ideas and activities without them. New ideas and inventions would not be propagated and popularized if there were no *hou chih kou cho*. Without the *pu chih pu cho*, there would be no one to put into practice the new ideas. In every cultural achievement of mankind, there must be, first, inventors or promoters; second, propagators; and third, practitioners; and each of these three classes of men has its own share in the building of human civilization.

Each of these classes, moreover, has a share in the struggle for democracy. The rights of the people are not inborn, but are created. Since the mass of the people are *pu chih pu cho* and not creative, it is our duty to create rights and give these rights to them without their asking. Sometime ago I asked a Japanese official who was stationed in Korea what he thought about the Korean Revolution and whether he thought it would be brought to a successful termination or not. Having no answer from him I asked him what the policy of the Japanese government was toward the democratic movements in Korea. He replied that the policy depended upon the wish of the mass of the Korean people, and that the Koreans would not be given rights of self-government until they were capable of fighting for their own rights.

Although the policy of the Japanese government may seem to be reasonable on the surface, it is no example for Chinese revolutionaries to follow. We who consider ourselves the *hsien chih hsien cho* or the *hou chih hou cho* of the country should not treat the common people in China in the way the Japanese are treating the Koreans. Since the common people are mostly *pu chih pu cho*, it will take centuries before they know enough to fight for democracy upon their own initiative. For this reason, we must think for the common people, fight for their rights of self-government, and after having obtained these rights, hand them over to the people on our initiative, not upon their request.

CH'UAN (POWER) AND NENG (ABILITY)

In the previous discussion I pointed out the distinction between *ch'uan* or "power" and *neng* or "ability" as a means of changing the attitude of the common people toward their government and as a possible solution for the problem of Chinese democracy. Now I shall proceed to explain this new theory of mine by recalling the definition of *ming ctian* or "democracy." "Democracy" may be denned as the control of politics by the people. In ancient China the political power was held only by the emperor, and was not to be touched by the common people. Thus the ancients said: "One who is not in government service should not meddle in politics," and "The common people should not discuss politics." Today the very aim of the Chinese Revolution is to hand this political power to the common people of China in order that they may become the masters and emperors of their politics. This is what I mean by *min chu chun chih* or "democratic politics."

But the control of political power is one thing and the exercise of political responsibility is another. While all emperors in Chinese history have had the political power in their hands, only such sage rulers as Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang, King Wen, and King Wu were really able to exercise their political responsibility for the welfare of their people. These sage rulers were able so to exercise their political responsibility, first, because of their unusual ability; and second, because they possessed a very high standard of morality and great love for the people. These qualities made them the model rulers of Chinese history.

Although later emperors did not possess the same ability and the same standard of morality as these model rulers, they had as much political power as they. Here we find the differentiation between "political power" and "political ability." A striking example of this differentiation may be found in the popular novel, *The Three Kingdoms*. Chu-ko Liang, the famous prime minister of the Kingdom of Shou, was one of the rare political geniuses in our history. He served two emperors; first, Liu Pei and then Ao Tu, Liu Pei's son. When Liu was dying, he was sceptical about his son's ability to become a good ruler, and he told Chu-ko Liang: "If Ao Tu proves worthy, assist him; if not, replace him yourself." In spite of Ao Tu's weakness Chu-ko Liang served and assisted him faithfully after Liu Pei's death. At the same time, Ao Tu trusted Chu-ko Liang and gave him a free hand in the management of the affairs of the kingdom, thereby the country enjoyed good government; indeed, it was strong enough to send out six punitive expeditions to uphold the imperial power of the Hans.

In this case, Ao Tu had *ch'uan*, the "power" and Chu-ko Liang had *neng*, the "ability." Under the monarchical system, the throne was hereditary; and so descendants of imperial family, however incapable they were, could succeed their fathers in the exercise of political power. But if the king or emperor was incapable, as in the case of Ao Tu, it was necessary that there should be competent administrators to assist him; otherwise the nation would fall into chaos. In a republic, the people who are the masters of the nation have in their control the political power. But the majority or the common people are neither *hsien chih hsien cho* nor *hou chih hou cho*, but *pu chih pu cho*. To speak plainly, there are in China four hundred million Ao Tu's, men with "power" but without "ability." Our problem is then to get competent and faithful assistants like Chu-ko Liang to carry efficiently the political responsibility of the nation.

THE CAUSE OF ANTIGOVERNMENT TRADITION IN EUROPE

As already stated, the common people in Europe and America have a tendency to be hostile toward efficient and powerful government, and the remedy of the situation, suggested by a Swiss scholar, is the change of the political attitude of the people. How the political attitude of the people can be changed may be found in the tactics of Chu-ko Liang.

When Ao Tu gave him a free hand in administration, he separated the "affairs of the state" from the "affairs of the palace." While the former meant the routine business of government, the latter included all prerogatives of the emperor, such as the appointment and dismissal of the prime minister and the approval and promulgation of political mandates. Chu-ko Liang told Ao Tu: "While I am personally responsible for the affairs of the state, you have absolute control of the affairs of the palace." In other words, Chu-ko Liang exercised political responsibility and Ao Tu controlled the political power: the separation of *ch'uan* and *neng*. As long as Ao Tu controlled the political power, he found in Chu-ko Liang, not a political rival, but a faithful helper in managing the business of the government. In this way he could not help liking Chu-ko Liang. In other cases where the prime minister did not separate *ch'uan* and *neng*, jealousy and hostility arose invariably between the emperor and the premier as soon as the latter became powerful.

This failure to discriminate between *ch'uan* and *neng* is responsible for the hostile feeling of the present-day Chinese toward their government. For centuries in the past, our emperors, though they might be weak and incapable, had absolute control of the political power of the state. The consequence of the combination of weakness and power was autocracy and corruption. Even the Chinese people today can remember their sufferings from an autocratic and corrupt government; and notwithstanding their political emancipation under the republican form of government, they still look upon their government with scorn.

Yet this anti-governmental feeling was not present in the days of Yao and Shun. In fact, the people loved their kings. One of the causes of the good feeling between the government and the people, I believe, was the fact that King Yao and King Shun regarded the government as a public possession, not as the property of one family. Before the era of Yao and Shun, monarchy was not developed and only the able could become kings. At the time when man had to struggle with wild animals, political organization was not yet strong and people lived in tribes. One who was powerful enough to combat tigers and snakes and to protect the tribe from other natural dangers was elected the chief of the tribe. In other words, in time of physical struggles, only the boxers and wrestlers could become kings.

Later on Sui Jen discovered fire by beating wood and taught his people cooking, thereby the people avoided the dangers from eating raw food. In this case the inventor of cooking became king. Next Shen Lung discovered medicine to cure sickness by using different varieties of herbs and a doctor became king. Then Hsien Yuan taught his people to wear clothing and Yu Tsao taught the construction of houses. Here we find a tailor and a carpenter among our ancient kings. The significance of this phenomenon was that only the great inventors and geniuses could rule. As long as an able person was at the head of the government, the government was sufficiently powerful to protect and promote the welfare of its people. Thus the people in ancient China wanted a powerful government instead of being hostile toward it.

ONLY THE ABLE SHOULD RULE !

A certain American professor, while traveling in China, took an excursion trip to the Summer Palace. On the way he chatted with a Chinese farmer. The latter asked the learned professor why foreigners did not come to China "to become emperors of China." Being a little surprised at the strange question, the professor asked the farmer whether

he thought foreigners could rule the Chinese people successfully or not. The farmer pointed at the telegraph wires, saying, "One who can invent this sort of thing may be our emperor!" Since the inventors of cookery, medicine, tailoring, and carpentry became good emperors in ancient China, the inventor of the telegraph should be able to make himself a good emperor in modern China.

In the opinion of the mass of the Chinese people, only the very able should be their rulers. Suppose we grant suffrage to the four hundred millions in order to enable them to elect by their own will their emperor. Suppose Yao or Shun were to live again; there is not the least doubt that Yao or Shun would be elected the emperor of China. Instead of wanting a weak emperor the Chinese people have long desired a strong and good emperor.

The Europeans on the contrary want their government as weak as possible. A powerful government, though built on democratic principles is not tolerated by the people of Europe for fear it may misuse the political power of the people and repeat the dreadful deeds of feudal autocracy. Inasmuch as the people of a modern state have the ultimate control of the power of the state, they can change or overthrow their government at their pleasure. But is it a wise thing for the people to get rid of a strong and good government? It is true that Ao Tu, as long as he had absolute control over the "affairs of the palace" could dismiss Chu-ko Liang at any time; but could Ao Tu remain peacefully on the throne if Chu-ko Liang were dismissed? Knowing Chu-ko Liang's work was to his advantage, Ao Tu gave him a free hand in the administration of Shou. The crying need of the world today, therefore, is that the millions of Ao Tu's in Europe as well as in China should find men like Chu-ko Liang, and give them their confidence and full authority in the management of the routine business of their governments. The first step is the separation of *ch'uan* and *neng* so that the people control the political power on one hand, and the government assumes the political responsibility on the other. In this way, the government, however powerful, will have to obey the will of the people, and the people will learn to like the government. Just because the Europeans have not realized the importance of separating *ch'uan* and *neng*, the problem of democracy still remains without satisfactory solution in spite of two to three centuries of struggle.

SOME MORE ILLUSTRATIONS

Let me give you a¹ few more illustrations of the distinctions between *ch'uan* or "power" and *neng* or "ability." The Chinese militarists, after having made their millions through official squeeze and corruption, make their homes in the foreign concessions in Shanghai. Since they are afraid that other people may revenge themselves, they employ a few paid Sikh policemen to guard their doors. I have already pointed out that the tribal people in ancient times chose a strong man as their chief because he could protect the people of the tribe from dangerous animals. The function of the Sikh police in the case of the retired Chinese militarists is the same: the function of protection. But instead of looking upon the Sikh as his "chief" or "king," the military man regards him as a servant. From the standpoint of *lung* the Sikh police is more capable than the ancient tribal chief, for the policeman has a rifle or pistol, and the ancient chieftain had neither. Yet the tribal chief had both "power" and "ability" and the Sikh has "ability" without "power"; hence the latter is regarded as a servant only; and as long as he is a servant, what is the use in being jealous or

afraid of him?

The most striking feature of a modern business corporation is its separation of "power" and "ability." The shareholders furnish the capital and have the final authority over the corporation. But they meet only once or twice a year; and when they meet, they make only a very general examination into the conditions of the corporation. A majority of the shareholders do not know the inside of the business at all. It is the general manager who knows the inside of the business and who has the immediate control of the affairs of the corporation. Because of his expert knowledge, the general manager can wisely use the capital, produce goods at the minimum cost, and derive the maximum amount of dividends. But he is only an employee of the corporation and is responsible to the shareholders for everything he does. In this case, the shareholders have "power" and the general manager has "ability."

The principles of a modern corporation should be applied to the government of a political state. Only experts should be chosen for government service; and the people should treat the government just as the shareholders treat the general manager. The government too should be given ample authority so that it can be operated efficiently and economically and secure the greatest good for the people. Unfortunately the people of modern democracies are jealous of experts in government service and wish their government to be as weak as possible. Just as a corporation cannot be successful without an efficient manager, the state cannot be progressive without a strong government. It is no wonder, then, that contrary to common expectation, social and political progress is slower in democracies than in autocracies. For instance, the rapid rise of Japan since its Reformation and the remarkable progress of Germany under the iron rule of Bismarck are unparalleled by anything in the more democratic states.

GOVERNMENT BY EXPERTS

The first principle that Germany and Japan applied was that of government by experts. Just as experts must be used in the training of armies, in directing military operations, in managing factories, and in many other things, experts must be used in the management of government affairs. Automobiles are of recent invention, yet they are extensively used in modern cities. Twenty years ago there were no professional chauffeurs and auto repairers. An old friend of mine who then owned an automobile had to drive the car and do the repairing himself. Not only was it inconvenient for him to drive the car and to do repairing also but it was too much to expect that his friend should be an expert driver and an expert mechanic. Nowadays the owner of the automobile can hire professional drivers and professional mechanics and thereby he saves a lot of trouble.

A government may be compared with a big automobile; the people may very well save a lot of bother by hiring professional experts to conduct the business of the government. In the case of the automobile, as long as the driver is faithful to his work, the owner keeps him, pays him regularly, and gives him the authority to drive the car. Likewise in government service; as long as the officials are faithful and efficient, the people should give them ample authority and not constantly interfere with their business. In this way, the government will secure the greatest progress.

One day, while I lived in Shanghai, I forgot an engagement with a friend at Hong Kou until fifteen minutes before the appointed time. I was living then in the French Concession

and because of the long distance between the two places it was not easy for me to get to Hong Kou in a quarter of an hour. I hurriedly found a taxi and asked the driver if he thought he could get to Hong Kou in fifteen minutes. He said "Yes," and so I got into the car. Being an old resident in Shanghai, I was very familiar with its streets. Instead of taking the shortest route, the taxi driver took a longer route; I was very angry and suspected the driver was trying to make trouble for me. But we got to Hong Kou in fifteen minutes. I asked him why he took the longer route. He said: "If we had come by the shorter route we might not have got here in time because we might have had to wait for a long time at the busy crossing on Nanking Road and the Bund. On the other hand, by taking the longer but less congested route we could speed up." Although the driver was no scientist or philosopher in time and space, yet by virtue of his long experience, he was master of his own trade. Had I not trusted his expert knowledge and given him absolute authority as to which route to take, we would not have got to the destination at the appointed hour.

In government we must also use experts, and after having engaged them, trust them. We should treat them the way I treated the taxi driver. The people in Europe and America have not learned this lesson and so they have not found as yet any satisfactory solution for their problem of democracy. What they need is a radical change of attitude toward their government. We Chinese need the right attitude, too. Since the mass of the Chinese people mostly belong to the class of the *pu chih pu cho*, we who consider ourselves the more intelligent and advanced, should think out a solution for our problem of democracy, lead the people into the road of progress, and avoid the mistakes which have been committed by the Westerners. Fortunately, we have invented a new method to change the attitude of the common people toward their government; namely, the separation of *ch'uan* or "power" and *neng* or "ability." In our country the people must control the political power, but they should give a free hand in administration to a government made up of experts. We should regard our president and our ministers of state with no more honor than the taxi driver, the Sikh police, the cook, the doctor, the carpenter, the tailor, or any other workman. So long as the people cultivate this sort of attitude, there will be progress and prosperity in the nation.

VI. THE SCIENTIFIC GOVERNMENT AS THE SOLUTION OF DEMOCRACY

LECTURE SIX

Delivered on April 26, 1924

THE MECHANICAL CONCEPT OF GOVERNMENT

MODERN political scientists and jurists declare that government is a machine and that law is a part of the machine. The Japanese call the political organization *chun chih chi kuan*. In Chinese originally, the term *chi kuan* has about the same meaning as *chi hui* or "opportunity," but in Japanese, it means a "machine" or "mechanism." Thus it corresponds to the Chinese term, *chi ch'i*. Later on when Japanese books on law and politics were translated into Chinese, the Japanese term *chi kuan* was literally copied, and since then it has been used extensively. For example, the old *yamens* are now called *hsin chen kuan* (administrative office), *ts'ai cheng chi kuan* (finance office), *chun shih chi kuan* (military office), or *chi-ao yii chi kuan* (educational office). *Chi kuan* and *chi ch'i* are now used interchangeably; thus "machine gun" is translated as *chi kuan ts'iang* instead of *chi ch'i ts'iang*.

Inasmuch as *chi kuan* and *chi ch'i* are synonyms, a *hsin chun chi kuan* may well be called a *hsin chun chi ch'i* or an "administrative machine." What, then, is the difference between an administrative machine and an ordinary machine that manufactures things? A manufacturing machine is made of physical materials, such as wood, metal, and leather and its motion is caused by physical energy. It may be experimented with as many times as one pleases, and so its imperfect parts can easily be improved. Whereas an administrative machine is a human organization and its motion is caused by human energy. To experiment with a human machine is difficult and to reform it even more difficult for it can be done only by revolution. For these reasons, material progress in Europe and America has been many times faster than political progress.

While the Americans, the pioneers in the republican form of government, still use the Federal Constitution that was written one hundred and forty years ago, no American factory is using a manufacturing machine as old as the Federal Constitution; indeed, the up-to-date factories in America seldom use machines that are ten years old. While the manufacturing machine may be replaced every ten or more years, the human machine cannot be replaced by another machine at will. As a matter of fact, not only is the replacement of a human machine by another physically impossible, but social tradition has in the past prevented thoroughgoing reconstruction of such a machine.

THE CONTROL OF SUPERPOWERFUL ENGINES

In my last two lectures, I pointed out how the West has failed to find a satisfactory solution for the problem of democracy. The history of mechanics is full of stories telling how every new invention is the result of constant experimentation; these make one realize

that the failure of the West in democracy is due to insufficient experimentation with the human machine. Take the history of the motor for illustration. A motor is a machine by which a source of power—steam, water, electricity, or gas—does mechanical work. The modern motor produces motions in either direction; thus the steam engine or the locomotive can move backward as well as forward.

In the case of the steam engine, when water in the boiler is heated to the boiling point, it is transformed into steam and expands. Then the steam in the boiler goes into the piston which is a sliding cylinder fitted within a cylindrical vessel and which is the most important part of the engine. When one end of the piston receives the steam, the expansion of the steam causes the piston to move forward. Then new steam is poured in at the other end in order to make the piston move backward. In this way, the piston moves back and forth along the cylindrical vessel, and this causes the entire machine to move. Nowadays gasoline is used in the motor in lieu of water and the piston receives motion from gas. Whatever is its source of power—steam or gas or anything else—the motor is accomplishing wonders in the modern world. When it is used for transportation, it travels thousands of *li* a day and carries thousands of tons of goods each time; in other things it produces equally marvelous results.

When the motor was first invented, it could produce motion in only one direction. While the piston received steam at one end and moved forward, it had not steam from the other end to make it move back. Thus in early days when the motor was used in a cotton factory, a boy was hired to push the piston backward by hand after it had gone forward. Even the smallest factory had at least a dozen motors, so it must employ a dozen boys, and in addition, a foreman to supervise the boys. Once, a boy, being too lazy to work, tied a rod and a rope around the engine in such a manner that the piston could move backward by itself. Then he ran off to play with other boys. Soon all the other boys in the factory adopted his lazy device and went off to play too. When the foreman found to his surprise that all the boys went off to play and that the engines moved back and forth without human help, he reported the case to the engineer who in turn examined the boy's device and made further experiments until the automatic piston was invented.

The human machine or rather the machine of democracy, like the piston of early days, can produce motions in only one direction. In most countries the people have the right to vote without the right of recall. They decide as to who should be elected to office; but if an elected official turns out to be unworthy, the people have no means of removing him. In a previous discussion, I pointed out the method of discrimination between "power" and "ability" as a possible solution for the problem of democracy. The advantage of this discrimination is shown in the motor engine; every part of the engine has a definite function to perform and each contributes to the perfect whole, thereby a powerful engine can be controlled by an ordinary human being.

A modern ocean liner, sometimes as large as fifty to sixty thousand tons, has an engine of more than one hundred thousand horsepower. One horsepower equals the collective strength of eight average men. Thus a modern steam engine of 100,000 to 200,000 horsepower is as powerful as the united strength of 800,000 or 1,600,000 men. Powerful as it is, the huge steam engine is managed by one engineer. When the engineer wants the steamer to go, he makes the engine go; when he wants it to stand still, he stops the engine at once; he has absolute control of the engine. In this case, the engineer has "power" and the

engine has "ability."

In early days only little engines were used because an engine that produced several hundred horsepower could not be controlled by any one human being. Then the scientists tried to find a way of controlling powerful or super-powerful engines. Even though thousands and thousands of people were killed by engines, the scientists kept on experimenting until a way was invented whereby one man could control with ease a steam engine of 100,000 to 200,000 horsepower. When one considers how difficult it is for a commander to control an army of 10,000 to 20,000 men and how easy for an engineer to operate a steam engine of 100,000 horsepower, he easily realizes the inferiority of the technique of political control to that of mechanical control.

THE MANAGEMENT OF THE POLITICAL ENGINE

In a democracy, the people are the motive power of the administrative machine; in a monarchy, the emperor is its motive power. Thus in a monarchy, the emperor and the government are identified; the more powerful the emperor is, the better the government serves the people. In a democracy, owing to the imperfection of the administrative machine, the people are afraid of a powerful government just as the engineer in early days was afraid of using a powerful engine. Indeed, a powerful government under imperfect control is just as dangerous as a powerful engine set going without means of stopping it. Can a powerless government then produce political progress? Suppose that the scientists, contented with small engines, had not risked their lives in trying to perfect the motor, would we be able to enjoy the mechanical marvels of today?

In politics, we too need to experiment in order to discover means of reform. When our political machine is perfected, the people will have an absolute control of their government, and their government will do whatever the people wish. As soon as the will of the people is expressed through the resolutions passed at the people's convention, the government will act accordingly. And what is more interesting, the people will want their government to be as powerful as possible, so that it can accomplish as many wonders as the huge engines.

Unfortunately the discrimination between "power" and "ability" is not observed in politics, and consequently our government machine produces motions in only one direction. Under the present system as soon as the government becomes powerful, it tends to be autocratic and to become blind to the will of the people. Consequently, modern people are not contented with their government, and political unrest appears in every country. Even in France and America where democracy was first experimented with, there are talks of reform and revolution. Since the people will never be contented with either an all-wise autocratic government or a good-for-nothing democratic government, revolution in America and in France as well as in other countries will be inevitable.

This brings home the important problem of the introduction of Western culture into China. When the Chinese revolutionists introduced the Western ideas of democracy into China, their aim was to transplant the whole political system of the West. They thought that if only China were as democratic as the Western countries, she would have reached the zenith of success. This illusion was not harmful at the time of the revolution to deliver China from the control of an autocratic and feeble government. As soon as the new government came into existence, we found that the European political system, being

imperfect in itself, could not be the ideal system for China. Since new revolutions are taking place in Europe and America, China will have to face another revolution if we keep on copying the system of Europe. Not only will the results of our republican revolution become naught, but the cost of the next revolution will be an added burden to the nation.

The most economic method of introducing Western things is to introduce the newest and the best of the West. For instance, both Japan and China have built railroads after the European fashion, but China built hers many years later than Japan. The Japanese railway tracks are narrow and the coaches are small and uncomfortable. On the other hand, the tracks along the Shanghai-Nanking Railway and along the Peking-Hankow Railway are wide, and the coaches are big and comfortable. This is because China copied after a newer model from Europe than the one copied by Japan. Likewise, in politics China must adopt the newest model of the West and then keep on improving it. If this is done, China's political system will be even better than that of the West.

AN OLD ENGINE FOR A NEW FORCE

Democracy is a new force and the government that the West has is an old machine. The Europeans are trying to manage a new force with an old machine, the result is the conflict between the people and the government; and the logical solution is to invent a new machine for the new force. The principle upon which the new machine is to be constructed, as I have said, is that of discrimination between "power" and "ability"; the people must possess the political power and the government must possess political ability.

Although the Europeans have perfected the mechanical machine so that an ordinary human being can operate an engine 800,000 to 1,000,000 times more powerful than he, they have failed to perfect the political machine. Assuredly we may import this new force called democracy from the West, but it would be foolish for us to import the old machine also. Since nowhere can there be found a new machine capable of managing the new force, we shall have to invent one ourselves.

Can we invent a new machine that is better than what Europe and America have? In attempting this, the first requisite is self-confidence. Before the Boxer Uprising, the Chinese believed that they were superior to any other race in the world and that their civilization was better than that of the Europeans. Since 1900 they have lost their national pride and so they have become slavish imitators of Western customs. To be sure, in material civilization the Europeans have reached a high degree of excellence and are accomplishing wonders; in politics they have not made any great success. On one hand, it would be extreme self-depreciation for us to refuse to invent an ideal system of democracy just because the Europeans have failed to invent one. On the other hand, it would be foolish to believe that the political system of the Europeans is as ideal as their mechanical civilization. A great scientist is not necessarily great in philosophy or in politics; he may not even possess common sense. The following story will prove my point:

Sir Isaac Newton, as we all know, was one of the greatest scientists that Great Britain has given the world. In physics he made many discoveries, the greatest of which was the law of gravity. This law was the earliest physical law ever discovered, yet it was and still is the most important law in physics. Newton was a genius in natural science, but was he a genius in other things? No! Besides his love for study and for experiments, Newton loved cats. He had two cats, one large and one small; and kept them in his laboratory. Whenever

the cats wanted to go out or to come in, he opened the door for them; in this way he was kept busy all day opening and shutting the door for the cats. One day he invented a new method by means of which the cats could go in and out without his troubling to open the door; he made two holes in the door, a big one for the big cat and a small one for the small cat. By common sense he should have known that one big hole could accommodate the small cat as well as the big cat. That Newton, not knowing this, wasted his "energy" by making two holes in the door, is an evidence that a genius in one thing is not necessarily a genius in everything.

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE "CHUN CH'UAN" AND THE "CHIH CH'UAN"

The illustration referred to above serves to show that the advancement of Western science is no proof of the advancement of Western politics. Indeed, while the mechanical motor may produce motions in two directions, the political motor moves in one direction only. In order to find for ourselves a satisfactory political machine to manage the new force of democracy, we must discard the old machine of the Europeans and invent a new one which can produce, like the mechanical motor, motions in both directions, backward as well as forward. I am sure we can invent one to our satisfaction.

From days immemorial up to the last century, the Chinese had developed, independent of Western influence, an advanced form of political control—a political machine better, as a matter of fact, than that of the West. Only in recent years has Western culture, especially in its material aspects, advanced beyond the Chinese culture. Now, seeing our backwardness, we have attempted to revolutionize the country; and one of the principal tasks of this revolution is to invent and institute a new political machine.

The discrimination between "power" and "ability," the fundamental principle in constructing the new political machine, may be done by redividing the administrative organization into various departments and the popular rights into different kinds. In previous lectures, I have denned *chun chih* or "politics" the control or administration of popular affairs. *Chun* means popular affairs or the public affairs of a group; and *chih* means to control or to administer. Clear definition of the functions of the parts is as necessary in constructing the political machine as in constructing the mechanical motor. In operating the motor there are two sets of mechanisms functioning in two different ways; one to produce energy or force, and the other to direct this energy for a desired use. In politics, too, these two different functions should be observed. The *chun ch'uan* or the "political power," on the one hand, is a "controlling" power, a popular power or a force, to use mechanical terms, to express the will of the people in their affairs as a group. On the other hand, the *chih ch'uan* or the "administrative power" is a "producing" power, a governmental power, or a force by means of which the affairs of the group are carried on. Thus the function of the "administrative power" is energy-producing, that is, the production of governing efficiency; and the function of the "political power" is energy-controlling, that is, the control of the energy-producing government.

When we say "a steam engine of 100,000 horsepower," we refer to the energy which the steam engine can produce, that is, the power of the machine itself. Then an engineer with a perfect technique operates the engine so well that it can go backward as well as forward, turn toward the right and toward the left, go fast or go slow or stand still: this is the power of controlling the engine. The "administrative power" is the power of the government itself and the "political power" is the force controlling the political engine, namely, the

government.

From a commercial standpoint a more powerful engine is usually a source of larger profits than a less powerful engine. A steamer equipped with a large engine can run faster and carries more tonnage than a small steamer; thus its owner can make more money than the owner of a small steamer. Suppose a steamer equipped with an engine of 100,000 horsepower, running 20 knots an hour and making a round trip between Canton and Shanghai fortnightly earns a net profit of \$100,000 every two weeks. The steamer equipped with an engine of 1,000,000 horsepower, running 50 knots an hour and making a round trip between Canton and Shanghai weekly, ought to be able to earn \$1,000,000 per week. Likewise a more powerful government is more efficient and can do more good to the people than a less powerful government. Why, then, do the Europeans manufacture powerful engines, not powerful governments? There are two reasons: First, the Europeans have invented ways and means of controlling a powerful engine, but not of controlling a powerful government; and secondly, to give up an old engine for a new powerful engine is easier than to give up an old system of government for a new system of government.

If the fastest and the largest of ocean liners of the West runs only 30 knots an hour, we should try to build ships that can run 50 knots an hour. Similarly, we should build a better system of politics and a more powerful and efficient government than the ones the West has built. China has the largest population and the richest resources in the world. The natural resources of China are even richer than those of the United States which is considered the wealthiest nation in the world. But instead of being wealthier than the United States, China is one of the poorest among nations. Why? Because she is unable to develop her natural wealth. If China had a powerful and efficient government which utilized and developed the natural and human resources of the country, it would not be long before she was as powerful and wealthy-as the United States.

THE DIRECT CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT

In our new state, the political power is vested in the hands of the people and the administrative power is given to the government. On one hand, the government has adequate authority to do whatever is necessary and beneficial to the state with the greatest economy and efficiency. On the other hand, since the people have direct control of the government by virtue of their political power, they need not be afraid, like the Europeans, that the government may become too powerful to be controlled by the people. Just as the perfection of the motor and the perfection of the technique of controlling the motor have enabled men to use huge engines instead of small engines, the perfection of the governmental organization and the perfection of the technique of controlling or supervising the government in our new state will enable us to achieve great political progress by means of a powerful government. In the new state, the people will be proud of their efficient and powerful government just as the engineer is proud of his perfect machine. Lacking a good governmental machine and a technique of controlling the government, the people of Europe and America as well as of China are jealous of the authority of their governments.

Nowadays in the mechanical world the machine and the technique of controlling the machine are so well developed that not only can the skillful engineer operate a huge and dangerous machine, but even a child can use certain devices that were once dangerous. Electricity is a danger-out thing; many scientific men lost their lives by experimenting with

electricity. For a long time after electricity was discovered, people dared not use electricity for lighting or other purposes because it was too dangerous. Nowadays electricity is so well brought under human control that even children or ignorant country folk can turn on or turn off the electric lights. The aeroplane is another dangerous thing and thousands of people have died from accidents to flying machines. Mr. Feng Yui, who, you may know, was a famous aeronaut from Canton, was one of the victims. Nowadays both the flying machine and aeronautics are so perfected that aeroplanes are used for commercial purposes and anyone may ride in an aeroplane by paying a fare. Think how convenient it would be to secure passage from Canton to Szechuan without several months of uncomfortable travel and dangers from bandits and soldiers!

Since the concept of democracy is already introduced into China, our new machine which is to control the new force should be as safe as the electric lamp and the aeroplane, so that the common people of China can operate it with ease. We have built better railroads than the railroads in Japan, we ought also to be able to build a better political machine than that of the Japanese or that of the West. Knowing the necessity of a new political machine to manage the new force of democracy, the nations in Europe and in America have tried several means of constructing this new machine. Although these means are not in the least satisfactory, they furnish reference materials valuable to us in constructing our own political machine.

Our new governmental machine can be one of two types, direct or indirect. By "direct democracy" we mean the system under which the citizens of a state have direct means to control and supervise their government. By "indirect democracy" we mean the system under which the citizens exercise such control and supervision through their representatives. Switzerland has experimented with some measure of success in direct democracy. Other nations of Europe, especially the bigger powers, still keep on with their system of indirect democracy; because, first, the national traditions of the big nations tend to make their people conservative, and secondly, these nations are afraid to pay the price of changing the indirect system into the direct system of democracy. Since in China, the medieval monarchical empire is now being transformed into a modern democracy, we have nothing to lose by adopting during this Revolution the direct method of democracy; and moreover, this will save another revolution later on—from indirect democracy to direct democracy; therefore, this is the most economic and most direct method of national reconstruction.

THE FOUR RIGHTS OF DIRECT DEMOCRACY

The first move toward direct democracy in Europe during the last century was to give the people the "right to vote," that is, the people were entitled to elect certain national and local officials specified in the constitution. Before popular suffrage was recognized all public officials were appointed, and so the people had no right to say who should be in the various public offices. After popular suffrage came into existence, a new question arose: Suppose an elected official turned out to be unworthy of the public trust, who could dismiss him? To solve this difficulty the "right to recall" was later recognized by some countries in Europe. When the people had the right to vote without the right to recall, they controlled the going into office, but not the stepping out of office. The political machine was then likened to the old motor which could move in one direction only. When the people possessed both the right to vote and the right to recall, they had a complete control over

public officials.

In addition to the control of public officials, the people of Europe invented two other rights, initiative and referendum, which enabled them to secure a complete control of legislation. Initiative means the right to introduce a new legislative bill, and referendum means the right to reconsider laws passed by the legislative body. The former enables the people to introduce directly laws to their own liking and the latter enables them to reconsider—or in most cases to repeal—undesirable laws that have been enacted by the legislative council. Thus the adoption of initiative and referendum makes the legal machine capable of moving forward and backward according to the wish of the people. Since personnel and legislation are the two chief aspects of the governmental machinery, the control of this machinery is perfected by recognizing these four rights of direct democracy; namely, the right to vote, the right to recall, and the rights of initiative and referendum. If any one of these four rights is not recognized, the machinery of direct democracy is not complete. For instance, in some countries the people have a right to vote but without the right to recall, and the right of supervising government officials is vested in a legislative organ or in a judicial organ. In this way, the people have only an indirect control of government personnel.

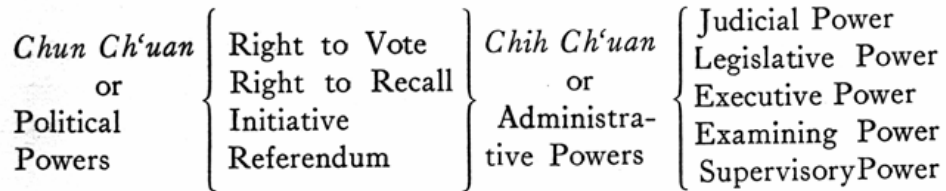
A direct democracy is also called a "pure democracy" because every citizen is the ruler and "emperor" of the state. By means of these four direct rights of democracy, the complicated business of running a government becomes such a simple affair that every common man is capable of performing it. Hydrology and hydraulics are difficult sciences, but every child and every common man knows how to use a water faucet to control water and an electric switch to control electricity. These four "political rights" may thus be considered the "faucets" and "switches" of the political machinery. "Political rights" are to be distinguished from "administrative powers"; the former are rights of the people to control the government and the latter are powers of the government to do certain work, thus they are "working powers." Many scholars question whether or not the government can possess a wide enough range of "administrative powers" to make it powerful and efficient when the people possess all four "political rights." In other words, can the people and the government be strong at the same time? The following illustration will suffice to show that the answer is affirmative:

In an old style battleship before the firing of cannons each gunner took aim separately. Although the captain could give orders to the gunners as to where to shoot, he had no direct control of individual targets. Whereas in a modern battleship a machine in the captain's room measures the distance to the enemy, and then, another electric machine causes the firing of any number or of all the cannons on the ship with scientifically measured accuracy. Thus, on the one hand, by having direct control of aim-taking, the power of the captain of the modern battleship is greater than that of the captain of the old ship, and, on the other hand, the shooting is more exact and the battleship is much more destructive. Similarly, a well-built political machine will not only increase the power of the people but also the efficiency of the government.

THE FIVE-POWER CONSTITUTION

As a matter of fact, equilibrium between the popular power and governing efficiency is essential in securing political progress. On the one hand, the people must have ab-

solute and direct control of their government so that autocracy and exploitation will give way to democracy and liberty. On the other hand, the government must be so efficient that it is capable of doing every good service for the people. As a counterbalance to the four political rights of the people, there are five administrative powers of the government; namely, the executive power, the legislative power, the judicial power, the examining power, and the supervisory power. The relation between the political rights of the people and the administrative powers of the government is explained by this diagram:



On the one side, the *chun ch'uan* includes the right to vote, the right to recall, initiative, and referendum, and is exercised by the people for controlling the government. On the other side, the *chih ch'uan* includes the executive, the legislative, the judicial, the examining, and the supervisory powers—all exercised by the government in order to carry on the so-called public affairs of the political body. Thus there is check and balance between the *chun ch'uan* and the *chih ch'uan*, and among the four rights of the *chun ch'uan* and the five powers of the *chih ch'uan*. The existence of this equilibrium will solve the problem of democracy and consequently it will create political stability.

The quadruple classification of the *chun ch'uan* and the fivefold classification of the *chih ch'uan* are not new inventions, and indeed, they have an old history. The right to vote was first exercised by people who lived several thousands of years ago, and is now universally recognized by all civilized countries. Of the four rights of the *chun ch'uan*, Switzerland has used three, omitting the right to recall. One-fourth of the United States, particularly the states in the northwest, has adopted all four rights of the *chun ch'uan* with a great deal of success. In early Europe the *chih ch'uan* or the administrative power was exercised by the emperor or the king.

Later on the famous tripartite separation of powers was adopted by the United States and copied by many other progressive countries. In China, while the executive, the legislative, and the judicial powers were exercised by the emperor, the examining and the supervisory powers were as a rule vested in offices more or less independent of the emperor. Hence traditionally China had another type of tripartite separation of powers. For instance, the *Yii Shih* (Commissioner of Control) of the Tsing dynasty and the *Chieh Yi Ta Fu* (Commissioner of Remonstrance) of the T'ang dynasty had the power to impeach anyone from the emperor down. In the West, this power to impeach is vested in the legislative body, while in China it has been an independent power. The system of official examination in ancient China was especially highly developed, and it was independent from the ordinary hierarchy of government. Civil service examination in Great Britain is said to be a partial imitation of the ancient Chinese system, but in Great Britain, the examination is extended to civil service only, while in ancient China examination was extended to all

branches of government service. Moreover, the British system of civil service examination is not an independent organ of the government as it was in ancient China.

It is significant to note in this connection that in Europe the emperor or the autocrat combined in him all five powers of government, while in ancient China the emperor had only the executive, the legislative, and the judicial powers, not the examining and the supervisory powers. Another significant fact to be noted is that while the West has had its tripartite separation of powers for a little more than a century, China had had hers for several thousands of years. But as far as historical experience can tell, neither system is satisfactory. Our fivefold separation of powers, under which the judicial, the legislative, the executive, the examining, and the supervisory powers are separated and independent from one another, combines the best points of both the Chinese and the Western systems of separation of powers and eliminates their defects. I do not doubt in the least that this five-power government will work out satisfactorily and that it will achieve the ideals of nationalism, democracy, and economic well-being.

PEOPLE ALL-POWERFUL AND GOVERNMENT ALL-MIGHTY

In spite of the wide differences between functions of the *chun ch'uan* and those of the *chih ch'uan*, not only laymen but even experts in political science and law, often do not discriminate between the quadruple classification of the *chun ch'uan* and the fivefold classification of the *chih ch'uan*, and so they do not see the equilibrium of the two as the essential of democracy. Once I asked a returned student from America, a specialist in politics and law, who is also a member of the Kuomintang, "What is the essential of democracy?" He replied: "Well! Everyone agrees that the Five-Power Constitution is a very good thing." Apparently he failed to see the importance of the political power of the people as against the administrative power of the government, and the necessity of distinguishing between the four political rights and the five administrative powers.

Let me repeat: These five powers belong to the government, and as the government is merely a machine, they are mechanical powers or powers to produce force and efficiency in performing a certain desired work. They are five in number because there are five different things for the government to do. The aim of democracy is to control the government by the people. The people's political rights may be considered four safety-checks on the powerful governing machine. They are four in number because there are four ways of controlling the movements of the machine. Since we want the government to be able to do everything for the good of the people, we want the machine to possess great strength and efficiency. Meanwhile, by having four safety-checks, the machine, however powerful it may be, is brought well under the people's control. Thus our new political system will make the people all-powerful and the government all-mighty. If China adopts it, and if she is followed by other nations, the world will undoubtedly find a new era of political progress.

The details as to how to exercise democratic rights should be provided for in the national laws governing election, recall, initiative, and referendum, and are therefore omitted in my lectures. Those who desire to study further the problems of democracy may find the book *Government by All the People*, written by Delos E. Wilcox, and translated by Mr. Liao Chung-k'ai, a valuable reference.

THE DOCTRINE OF LIVELIHOOD

- I. The Social Question: Definitions and Solutions
- II. The Problem of Land and Capital
- III. The Problem of Food
- IV. The Problem of Clothing

I. THE SOCIAL QUESTION: DEFINITIONS AND SOLUTIONS

LECTURE ONE

Delivered on August 3, 1924

THE DEFINITION OF "MIN SHENG"

GENTLEMEN, I begin today with *Min Sheng Chu I* or the "Doctrine of Livelihood." *Min Sheng* is an old phrase in China. We often speak of *Kuo chi min sheng* (national economy and people's livelihood), but its meaning has never been carefully analyzed. In this age of science, social economy gives the term *min sheng* new and significant implications. *Min sheng*, if I may be permitted to define it, refers to the people's livelihood, social existence, national economy, and group life. It has for its subject matter the greatest problems that have been brought before Western nations during the past hundred years: it embraces the whole Social Question. Indeed, a discussion of the doctrine of livelihood must cover the problems of socialism, communism, and cosmopolitanism; and it must necessarily be so complicated that in order to have a clear understanding of the subject it is necessary that you should listen to the forthcoming lectures from the beginning to the end.

ORIGIN OF THE SOCIAL QUESTION

The problem of livelihood is now the main issue in current politics throughout the world. The problem arose only one hundred or so years ago with the invention of machinery and the great development of industrial civilization. In the more progressive countries, the machine has caused human labor to be replaced by mechanical power. In other words, the power of steam, gas, water, and electricity is used in place of human strength, and copper and iron are used in place of human bone and sinew. Since the invention of machinery, one man with one machine has been able to do the work which it formerly took one hundred to one thousand men to do by hand. Thus there is a vast difference between the productive efficiency of man and that of machinery. Before the days of machinery, the most that a diligent worker could do was two or three times the amount of an ordinary worker, and never as much as that of ten ordinary men. Supposing that the strongest could do ten times the amount of work of the ordinary worker, the difference between the strongest and the ordinary worker would be relatively insignificant when compared with the difference between machine productivity and human productivity. When machinery is employed, even the most lazy and mediocre worker can do hundreds or thousands of times as much as the ordinary worker can do without machinery. Productiveness, indeed, is now a very different thing from what it was before the invention of machinery.

Let me give an illustration which we often see with our own eyes. Most of the people we see on the streets of Canton are *t'iao fu* or carrying coolies; they form the majority of workers in this city. A strong *t'iao fu* may carry two hundred cattles and walk about one hundred *li* a day, but such a *t'iao fu* is very rare. The average *t'iao fu* carries not more than one hundred cattles and walks fifty *li* in one day. Meanwhile, any locomotive at the Wongsha Station can pull more than twenty freight cars at one time, and each freight car

carries several hundreds of piculs or several thousands of cattles of cargo: thus one locomotive with only one man in charge of the engine and a few men to look after the freight cars, can carry at least ten thousand piculs of cargo and run several hundreds of *li* a day. Before the Canton-Hankow Railway was built, it took 10,000 carriers ten days to transport 10,000 piculs of cargo from Wongsha to Shiukwan, a distance of about 500 *li*. Each carrier was then paid one dollar a day, so that it cost \$100,000 to transport the goods. Nowadays a freight train with not more than ten men in charge of the locomotive and the cars can carry the same amount of freight from Wongsha to Shiukwan in eight hours, and the freight charges usually amount to only a few thousands of dollars. Thus by means of the machine the work of one man for one hour equals a day's work of ten thousand men, and the work is from ten to one hundred times cheaper. Such is the difference between machine power and man power! In farming, weaving, building, and in all other kinds of work, the machine has achieved equally marvelous results. Thus a revolutionary change has taken place in the process of production in the substitution of machine work for human labor; and the social result has been that men who own machinery have taken the earnings away from those without machinery. For example, Canton was the only open port in China before the Opium War. Goods from the various provinces had to be first carried overland to Canton and thence shipped to foreign countries; foreign goods were landed at Canton and distributed from that point throughout the provinces. All of China's exports had to pass through either Hunan or Kiangsi by way of Nansiung or Lochang to Canton, and imports took the same routes. As a result, the roads between Nansiung and Shiukwan and between Lochang and Shiukwan were filled with large armies of busy carriers, while tea shops and restaurants along these two main routes were prosperous and flourishing. Later on, Tientsin and Shanghai were opened for foreign trade. Products from the central and northern provinces were exported from Shanghai or Tientsin; and even the cargoes from these provinces to Canton were shipped by coast steamers, not by the old method of land carriers. Consequently, the two routes between Nansiung and Shiukwan and between Lochang and Shiukwan, once the gateways of prosperous trade, have been turned into deserted paths; and those busy carriers have either changed their occupation or have been thrown out of work. Similar conditions of unemployment and poverty have been found all over the world wherever industry has revolutionized the country. Thus the Social Question today is- how to eliminate the suffering of the workers during the period of industrialization.

SOCIETY, SOCIOLOGY, AND SOCIALISM

This Social Question is the subject matter of the doctrine under discussion, the doctrine of livelihood. I use the Chinese term *min sheng* or "livelihood," not the foreign term "socialism," to name this doctrine because there is a great deal of confusion as to the meaning and nature of "socialism." The theory of socialism was developed as a solution of the Social Question which was created by the Industrial Revolution; but there has been tremendous controversy as to what socialism ought to be. There are different kinds of socialism; the most extreme type is communism. Since the theories of socialism and of communism were introduced into China, they have not only become popular subjects for study and research, but have also become the motivating force of many new social and political movements, because the Chinese scholars and political agitators have believed also in these theories as solutions of the Social Questions of the modern world. But we soon

discovered that it was difficult to find a satisfactory answer to the problems of modern industrialized society in any of the socialistic theories, and that we therefore must go on searching for a new solution. In order to avoid the traditional confusion in the use of the term socialism, I am, therefore, calling the doctrine under discussion *Min Sheng Chu I* or the "Doctrine of 'Livelihood,' " not *She Hui Chu I* or "socialism."

In foreign countries the terms *socialism* and *communism* are used interchangeably. Although approaches of these two schools of thought are quite different, *socialism* is generally considered a broad enough term to include the other. Moreover, Chinese as well as Westerners often do not distinguish *socialism* from *sociology* and from *society*, because these three words—*socialism*, *sociology*, and *society*, are spelled almost alike in English. In fact, the English word *socialism*, derived as it is from a Greek word which originally meant a comrade or a partner, has the same root meaning as that of the Chinese colloquial expression, *ho chi*. *Sociology* is a science of society; it deals with social conditions, social origins, and crowd behavior. *Socialism* is a doctrine primarily concerned with the problem of social economy or human living, that is, the problem of the people's livelihood. It is more specific, then, to call this doctrine the "Doctrine of Livelihood" than to call it "Socialism."

A great many books and articles on socialism have appeared during the last few decades and each seems to have propounded a different theory. The confusion of the public from the controversies among socialist schools has become especially evident since the European War. Before the War the socialists of different countries generally stood united on social and political issues. There were in the various countries only struggles between pro-socialists and antisocialists, the latter represented largely by the capitalistic class. Then the War broke out and there was a hope that as soon as peace was concluded there would be a thoroughgoing social reconstruction the world over and that the difficult Social Questions created after the Industrial Revolution would soon be solved. With this new hope a large number of new converts were brought to the socialist faith.

That was indeed the golden opportunity for the socialists to get together and put their theories into practice. But differences soon appeared within the camps of the socialists ; the most prominent groups among the different sects of the socialists were the communists, the state socialists, and the social democrats. It is no wonder, then, that we find in recent years the German socialists attacking the Russian socialists, the Russian socialists attacking the American and English socialists, and in addition to these international differences, the attack of one group of socialists on another group of socialists in the same country. This new development of socialism not only has failed to solve the Social Question, but has made the Social Question much more complicated and the finding of a solution much more difficult.

UTOPIAN SOCIALISM

Let me repeat this important point that the main problem in Socialism is the problem of social economy, that is, the problem of the livelihood of the common people, arising from the starvation of millions of workers the world over due to the replacement of human labor by machinery. In other words, the Social Question today is how to prevent the starvation and exploitation of millions of workers in industrialized society. For this reason, the Social Question is the question of livelihood, and the Doctrine of Livelihood is the main subject of

modern Socialism, irrespective of its different theories. Now the question is: Is the theory of socialism included in the doctrine of livelihood or the Doctrine of Livelihood included within the scope of socialistic theory?

Karl Marx, whose name is so familiar to all of us, is the greatest authority on socialism. His position in the field of socialism is as great as the position of Rousseau in the field of democracy; and he is worshipped by the socialists just as Rousseau is worshipped by the democrats and as Confucius is worshipped by the Chinese—to his followers he is the sage. Before Marx there were Utopian socialists who studied the Social Question of their time by a purely deductive process and who aimed at constructing an ideal state, such as the Kingdom of Hua Hsü proposed by the Taoists, where nothing but perfect happiness and justice prevailed. The Utopians, mostly moral philosophers and literary men, seeing the human sufferings in the world but being unable to remedy them, tried to hide their feelings and to satisfy their sense of justice by writing many essays, portraying a state contrary to the existing conditions of society. Their theories were largely mental pictures and rested on sentiment.

There is a Chinese saying:

Heaven creates a worm, And the earth creates a leaf;
Heaven creates a bird,
And the earth creates a worm.

The meaning of this saying is that every animal is provided with a livelihood—worms live on leaves, and birds live on worms. But man alone, being less well equipped naturally for self-existence than other animals, has had to struggle hardest for food and clothing. During the "age of great wilderness" when the population was sparse and nature had plenty, men could get food easily from fruit trees. During the hunting period, men got their food in more strenuous ways: by fishing and hunting, and then cooking their spoils. During the pastoral period, man's way of obtaining food, by the domestication of animals, was still more difficult than hunting and fishing. Civilization brought a mode of life which became even more complicated in the next stage—the stage of agriculture. Farmers had to work hard all the year, and the technique of farming was far more difficult than that of hunting, fishing, or the domestication of animals. Throughout these ages, men who were industrious and physically strong were usually able to find a living for themselves, but in this modern age which is characterized by industry and commerce, the machine, not human labor, is used for production; and so men's muscles and labor have become useless. Even though they may be strong and diligent they will have to starve to death if they cannot secure employment.

This pathetic condition offended the sense of justice of many moralists who concluded that a world where animals lived in plenty without hard work, and men died from starvation and suffering in spite of their industry, intelligence, and strength, must be all wrong. They raised the Social Question for the first time, and the solution they proposed was the creation of a new society, a society which was to be built on principles entirely different from those of existing society; and they wrote books about these Utopias. These new theories found some acceptance, and attempts were made to put them into practice by building ideal communities, and in the West the Utopian socialists became a noticeable group.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

But the spirit of Marx was different from that of the Utopian socialists. Instead of studying the Social Question in a deductive way, Marx analyzed the cause and nature of it from an extensive study of historical facts and by the application of economic principles—thus using the inductive or scientific method. His solution was not to be that of building some hypothetical Utopia, but in improving the existing society. While the Utopian socialists failed to show how the Utopia was to be realized and the suffering and pain of the toiling class relieved, Marx outlined definite methods and certain guiding principles that aimed at changing existing society. Marx's criticism of the Utopian socialists was that the vast economic problem could not be solved by mere moral sense and crowd sentiment, but only by concrete methods and sound scientific principles derived from extensive study of actual social conditions and the facts of social evolution. Thus Marx became the founder of so-called scientific socialism. His books figure prominently in the history of human thought and have been considered the Bible of modern socialism; they certainly have had not less, possibly more, influence than Rousseau's book in shaping modern history. The followers of Marx are called scientific socialists.

Scientific socialism, which first aims at the investigation of facts and by this means to discover the solution of the Social Questions, is an attempt to apply the scientific method to social study; a method once used in natural study only; and in the present scientific age, this is an important contribution.

In my book, *Philosophical Essays*, I declared that action is easier than knowledge. In other words, it is easier to do a thing than to know how to do it. When we have scientific knowledge, a thing may be easy to do, but the difficulty is to have the correct knowledge. Take the electric fan in this room as an illustration. Although we do not know the details of the making of the fan, we know that its motion is caused by electricity; whereas if the people of olden times had seen it, or even if ignorant country folk of our own time should see it, they would think that this was a magic fan moving by its own power, or that it must be moved by a spirit or a deity. Since the people in past ages did not possess scientific knowledge, they could not make electric fans; we who know the principles of electricity are able to make fans and enjoy them during these hot days. This is not because we are exceptionally bright or clever and the people of the past were exceptionally dull, but because they had not discovered the use of electricity. If they did understand the principles of electricity, they might have been able to make fans as good, or perhaps better, than ours.

The same principle—that action is easier than knowledge—is true with regard to the Social Question. The Utopian socialists drew pictures of the ideal society purely from their imagination, not from their knowledge of the practical conditions of existing society; consequently their theories were altogether too impracticable to put into action. Knowing the fault of the Utopian socialists and the importance of correct knowledge before action, Marx, during his exile in England, undertook a monumental piece of scientific research into the Social Question. Because of the unusually good library facilities in England, which was then considered the center of world culture, he was able to read widely. Indeed, he made the most thoroughgoing and the most profound inquiry into the Social Question which had ever been undertaken.

MATERIALISTIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

The first contribution made by Marx as a result of his research was his materialistic interpretation of history. This theory is that human actions are determined by material environment, and consequently the development of man's culture, or human history, is determined by changes in physical nature. In other words, man's history can be explained by the changes in his physical environment, and conversely, physical environment is the determinant of history. This discovery by Marx of a historical law has been considered no less epoch-making than Newton's discovery of the law of gravity in the field of natural science.

The theory of the materialistic interpretation of history has been considered so sound and true that because of it many people hitherto opposed to socialism have been converted to the socialist faith. After the European War, socialism was universally considered the only hope for the future, and opposition to it had almost entirely disappeared. Indeed, it was felt that the time was ripe for the socialists to solve the Social Question by practicing what they had advocated on a world-wide scale. But as already mentioned, instead of uniting together to reconstruct society, the socialists fought among themselves; there was not only disagreement between Utopian socialists and scientific socialists, but also a great deal of controversy among the scientific socialists themselves.

In 1848 in an international socialist convention held in Belgium, the Marxists laid down a number of concrete proposals for a social revolution. After the Revolution of 1917 the Russians put these proposals into practice. But they soon had to declare that these policies were only war policies, and not aimed at the realization of Marxism. The Soviet further declared that their policy was not different from the policies of England, Germany, or America during the War, when these nations either nationalized or put under government control their railroads, steamship lines, and big industries. In spite of this vindication of the Soviet policy, they were still considered by the rest of the world as Marxian policies rather than mere war measures. Then the Soviets replied that Soviet Russia would not be ready to practice Marxism until the country became as highly industrialized as England or America. This serves to illustrate the divisions among the socialists of different nations. Even an international group of Marxists from Germany, France, and Russia, exhibited a strong sectarian spirit in the controversy; and each group blamed the other as not being true Marxianists.

The significant result of this controversy is that some people have begun to throw doubt on the Marxist theories. A sound theory, like Newton's law of gravity, can be tested again and again, and still be found true and sound; but it is said that the controversy among the Marxists is an evidence that the Marxian theory of the materialistic interpretation of history is open to doubt, and moreover, cannot be tested. What is, then, the determining force in history? Recently an American disciple of Marx by the name of [Maurice] William, after making a deep study of Marx's philosophy, came to the conclusion that the disagreement between fellow Socialists was due to defects in Marxian doctrines. He sets forth the view that the Social Question, not the material environment, is the determining force in history, and that the level of subsistence is the heart of the Social Question. In other words, the problem of livelihood is the central force in social progress; and social progress is the central force in history. Since subsistence is an element in livelihood, the theory of the American scholar is in entire accord with the Kuomintang Doctrine of Livelihood. For over twenty years we have preached the Doctrine of Livelihood instead of socialism because the

term *livelihood* is more exact and suitable to define the nature of the Social Question than these terms, *socialism* or *communism*. What is more interesting, this discovery on the part of the Marxian scholar and the development of new knowledge after the World War show so much more clearly that our Doctrine of Livelihood is consistent with the law of progress and is not a mere parroting of what others are saying.

THE FALLACY OF “CLASS STRUGGLE”

To solve the problem of livelihood, according to the American writer referred to above, is man's constant endeavor; and thus it is the law of social progress—the gravity-law of history. This new theory of the social interpretation of history is fundamentally different from Marx's materialistic interpretation of history. Which of the two theories is the correct one?

Marx analyzed the Social Question from the materialistic¹ standpoint, especially from the point of view of production. Large scale production in modern society is made possible through the organization or co-operation of three factors, namely, capital, labor, and machinery; but at the end of the process the capitalists take by far the larger share of the profits and labor receives a very insignificant portion. Hence, there is conflict between labor and capital which leads to class war. According to Marx, class war is not characteristic of the industrial age alone, but has taken place in all ages of history. For example, we find in ancient times struggles between masters and slaves, between landlords and tenants, and between the nobility and the common people. In short, class struggle is a struggle between the oppressed and the oppressors; and will last until society is thoroughly reorganized on the principles of social equality. Marx maintained also that in the past class struggle has been the motive force behind progress; in other words, class struggle is the cause and social progress is the effect.

But is Marx right in this? Modern society is progressive ; and if we were to make up the account of its progress, it would be a very long, complicated list of achievements. Let us take economic progress as an example. Roughly speaking, in recent years the Europeans and Americans have achieved four things: (1) improvement of the social conditions of the working class; (2) socialization of transportation and communication facilities; (3) creation of direct taxation, and (4) socialization of distribution.

In regard to the first point: Modern states, led by Germany and followed by Britain and the United States, have instituted many reforms for the good of the working class, such as the establishment of schools for workers, the provision of health laws, the improvement of working conditions, and the reduction of industrial accidents. As a result of these reforms, there has been an increase of working efficiency with a corresponding increase of production.

In regard to the second feature of economic progress: Street cars, railroads, steamship lines, postal and telegraphic service, and other important means of communication are gradually coming under government control. There are two important reasons against the private operation of big transportation industries: Firstly, private operation tends to create monopoly; and secondly, it often suffers from insufficient capital. On the other hand, with plenty of capital and pure motives for service, the government can run big transportation industries more efficiently than private capitalists; and in turn, efficient service which facilitates the speedy transport of raw materials into the factory and of the finished

products from the factory to the market, means low costs of production and consequent business prosperity. Germany realized this fact many years ago and nationalized all her big transportation industries. Even America, where individualism is still the predominating creed, had to follow Germany's example during the Great War.

Thirdly, by the term direct taxation, I refer to such taxes as the income tax and the inheritance tax which are levied according to a graduating progressive scale. The significance of direct taxation is that it is to draw a large portion of the national revenue directly from surplus capital which can always be taxed heavily without running into the danger of excessive taxation. In olden days when land tax and excise were the only taxes, the income of the poor or of the middle class, not the excessive wealth of the rich, was taxed; so the rich enjoyed excessive wealth without being subject to taxation. Seeing this injustice, Germany and Britain many years ago adopted direct taxation. When the War broke out, Germany drew 60 per cent to 80 per cent and England drew 58 per cent of her revenue from the income and inheritance taxes. America, being slower in this matter, did not accept the income tax and the inheritance tax until ten years ago, but since then her revenue from these items has been steadily increasing. In 1918 the income tax alone yielded \$4,000,000,000. In all European and American states, the vast increase of national revenue from direct taxation has enabled the governments to undertake more social reforms.

Fourthly, socialization of distribution is the newest feature in Western social progress. Under the present bargaining system, buying and selling are done through middlemen, and money is used as a medium of exchange. The middlemen—the merchants—usually buy the goods from the producer at a very low cost and sell to the consumer at high prices—in this way deriving great profits at the expense of the producer and the consumer. Recently it has been found that these middlemen can be eliminated by distributing agencies organized either by the government, or by private bodies which represent either producers or consumers. The kind of consumers' co-operation newly-adopted in England is an example of a private distributing agency. Municipal water works, municipal electric systems, coal and gas companies, and municipal dairies, are examples of government distributing agencies. This new development may be called the process of socializing distribution ; and the greatest advantage of this process is the saving of profits previously taken by the middlemen. In other words, it is "socialism applied in distribution."

Now the question is: What has caused these four factors of economic progress? According to Marx's way of reasoning, they should be caused by class struggle, that is, by the conflict between capital and labor, but historical facts have proved the contrary. They are the results, not of class struggle, but of mutual understanding between capital and labor and of their realization of the fact that capital will make higher profits and labor better wages through greater efficiency; resulting in cheaper costs of production and therefore in business prosperity; and also by the realization that these in turn are only possible by improving the working conditions, the transportation systems, the taxation systems, and the systems of distribution. In other words, modern economic progress is caused by the harmony, not the conflict, of the economic interests of society. Why is there such harmony? Because all men must live and must face the everlasting problem of livelihood. They either perish through conflict or live through co-operation. Class struggle, therefore, is not the cause of social progress, but a kind of social disease, which develops when a social

group lacks the means of livelihood and resolves as the last resort to use abnormal means of obtaining its livelihood. Marx's trouble was that he mistook a social pathological condition for the cause of social progress; so rightly he should be called a "social pathologist" not a "social physiologist."

THE FALLACY OF "SURPLUS VALUE"

Marx further declared that the "surplus value" obtained by the capitalists was a robbery from labor. In this statement, Marx overstressed the contribution of labor in the process of production, and neglected the contribution of society in general. Take the modern cotton mills in China as an illustration. During the European War the mills in Shanghai, Nan Tungchow, Tientsin, and Hankow made a net profit—or surplus value—of, from several hundred thousand dollars, to several million dollars. Did every cent of this "surplus" come from labor? In the first place, cotton is the raw material for making cloth. When the farmer cultivates the cotton plant, he does it according to the instructions of the agriculturist; especially does he use the knowledge of the agriculturist in making improvements. He uses farming machines to till the ground and fertilizer to enrich the soil; after harvest, he sends his cotton to the factory either by railroad or by boat. Thus in the process of manufacturing cloth, in addition to the service of the laborer in the factory, there are the contributions made by the farmer, the agriculturist, the manufacturer, the inventor of farming machines, the person who discovered the use of fertilizer, the railway men or steamship merchants, the persons who invented the use of steam and electricity, and the miners who furnished the raw material for building the railroads and steamships. Lastly, without consumers to buy cloth, neither capital nor labor can derive any profit or value from the cloth however excellent may be its quality.

It seems to be absurd, then, for Marx in his "surplus value" theory to ignore all direct and indirect contributions by persons other than laborers. As a matter of fact, everyone who is doing useful work whether he is a producer or a consumer, is a contributor to the "surplus value"; and labor is only a minority group among the contributors to the "surplus value." There are in the United States only 20,000,000 laborers, that is, one-fifth of the total population. In other countries such as China where industry is not so highly developed as in the United States, the proportion of laborers is much smaller than one-fifth. The industrial conflict, then, is not one between the laboring class and the capitalist class as Marx predicted, but one between society in general and the class of selfish capitalists. Because everyone in society must live and because a group of selfish capitalists is constantly encroaching upon the liberty of the majority who are endeavoring to earn a livelihood, modern society has decided to take under public control certain important industries, public utilities, and distributing agencies, to levy income and inheritance taxes and to improve working conditions in factories. These activities have undoubtedly promoted harmony among different economic interests in society, and the result is an increase in social happiness and a step forward in social progress. Now that we know that Marx's theories are wrong, and that livelihood is the law of social progress or the center of gravity of history, we may proceed to find a solution of the great Social Question.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS OF CAPITALISM

Since Marx, in his study of social progress, confused cause with effect, his prediction

has not been fulfilled; indeed, it has often been directly contradicted by subsequent facts in social history. For example, in 1848 Marx's followers held for the first time an international communist congress, and in that congress a number of declarations were made. Subsequently the First International was organized, and then was dissolved at about the time of the Franco-Prussian War. Later the Second International was organized, differing from the First International in many principles. The First International advocated social reconstruction by revolutionary methods based upon the theory of class struggle and admitted no compromise or cooperation with capitalists. It forbade its members to enter into political activities in parliament. But later on German communists entered the Reichstag and were very active there. Today the British labor movement has even organized a labor cabinet. So many recent economic and political changes in the world have not been what the First International had proposed. The cleavage between the First International and the Second International became wider and wider, and internal dissention among Marxian-ists were correspondingly great. Marx never anticipated this development. This again, proves my point that it is easy to act, but difficult to understand.

Moreover, Marx predicted that the capitalist systems would soon break down if there was a period of extreme centralization. The capitalists, according to Marx, would fight among themselves because of the conflicts between their interests, and as a result the big capitalists would absorb the small capitalists until there would be only two classes left in society, the extremely rich capitalists and the extremely poor laborers. Finally, the stupendous capitalist system would break down and a social revolution would take place. But seventy years have elapsed since Marx passed away and the capitalist system has developed in a contrary manner to what Marx predicted. What is more interesting still, Marx himself told the workers in London that their employers would never consent to their demand for an eight-hour day and that this ideal would never be realized until the capitalist system had been replaced by the socialist system. Today, although England has not given up her capitalist system, not only have the employers consented to observe the eight-hour day, but the government is in many cases enforcing it by law.

Turning to Germany, we find that this autocratic government under Bismarck created by law an eight-hour day, required industrial accident compensation, regulated the working conditions of children and women, and instituted workers' pensions and social insurance; Bismarck enforced these regulations by his "Iron and Blood Policy" in the face of stormy protests from German capitalists. It was thought at the time that with reduced hours and better wages labor might profit, but that production would decrease and industry itself would suffer depreciation. No one, it was argued, could produce as much in eight hours as in sixteen hours, but the practical result turned out to be entirely different from what was expected. German workers became more efficient, and the cost of production per unit was greatly reduced with the result that German industry and commerce prospered. Why? It was simply a question of health. When the German worker worked sixteen hours a day, he was worn out before he was through with his work; and consequently became careless and inefficient. His carelessness caused damage to the machine and his fatigue led to sickness. In the end the loss to the factory from machine repair and workers' sickness was very heavy.

On the other hand, when the German worker was required to work only eight hours a day, he was not tired out and so he was much more efficient. Such being the case, there

was more actual gain from eight hours of efficient work than from sixteen hours of inefficient work. If you do not believe this statement, experiment on yourself. You can do more study in eight hours a day than in sixteen hours a day, for if you do not have sufficient rest and exercise, you will be tired and will not be able to do good work. The success of the German experiment aroused enthusiasm in other countries, particularly England and America; and when they understood the simple theory that I have outlined, other countries followed the example of Germany.

SOCIAL EXPERIMENT IN FORD FACTORIES

Not knowing of this new theory, Marx had said that in order to exact the maximum of surplus profit the capitalists would insist on three conditions, namely, small wages, long hours, and high prices. That these three conditions are not logical can be proved by the greatest money-making industries of modern times. The Ford factories which are well known to all of us, are among the largest of modern factories, and their enormous output of motor cars which are distributed all over the world, result in a profit of over a hundred million dollars a year. What are the manufacturing and business conditions in these factories? Their equipment, both in the factories and in the business offices, is perfectly suitable for the job in hand; and conforms to all regulations for the protection and health of the workers. The longest working day is not more than eight hours, and the lowest wage received per day by any worker is five dollars gold or ten dollars Chinese currency, while many workers receive higher wages. Besides high wages, these factories provide playgrounds for the workers' recreation, medical and health offices for the treatment of the sick, schools for the education of new workers and workers' children, and in addition life insurance for the workers, so that after a worker's death his family receives both insurance money and a pension.

When we come to the question of the prices of Ford cars, all those who have bought Fords know how reasonable the prices are. While ordinary cars cost five thousand dollars (Chinese currency), the Ford car costs not more than one thousand five hundred dollars. In spite of its very reasonable price, the Ford has a powerful engine and is especially suitable for mountain roads and it can be used for long periods without the danger of breakdowns. Because of their low price and high endurance quality, Ford cars are sold all over the world; and in consequence, the Ford factories are making immense profits. The economic and industrial principles underlying the prosperity of the Ford factories contradict in three aspects at least Marx's theory of surplus value. Instead of insisting on long hours, low wages, and high prices, the Ford factories have (1) decreased the working hours, (2) increased wages, and (3) reduced the price of their product. What Marx knew after his years of research into the Social Question were facts, but he failed to anticipate the changing conditions and new developments of the future. Not knowing these new theories, he drew false conclusions from his own suppositions, and for this reason his disciples have wanted to modify Marx's original philosophy. The fundamental aim of Marxism is to overthrow capitalism, but whether the capitalists should be overthrown or not is a question which still needs serious study. Indeed, it is easy to act but difficult to know.

CONSUMERS' CO-OPERATION AND THE ELIMINATION OF MERCHANTS

The essence of Marx's theory of surplus value is that in order to make their surplus

profits the capitalists rob the laborers. The capitalists' prosperity depends upon the workers' production, the workers' production depends upon materials, and the buying and selling of materials depends upon merchants. Thus in every process of production, the capitalists and the merchants take away the profits which, he says, have been earned by labor. Therefore as both capitalists and merchants are harmful to labor and to the world at large, they should be done away with. Marx predicted that first the capitalists would go and then the merchants. Has this been true? The world is making steady progress and new reforms are initiated daily.

Let us take as an example, the co-operative societies— a new form of socialized distribution—many of which are organized by workers. If the workers buy their necessary clothing and food from the merchants, the latter invariably make a profit and charge the workers higher prices for the goods than the workers would have to pay if they got together and opened a shop to supply their own necessaries. By such co-operation the workers can purchase what they need from their own store, at the same time obtaining the best quality at the cheapest prices. Not only is this a very convenient arrangement for the workers, but the prices are lower. At the end of each year, the profits that the store has earned are divided in proportion to the amount of goods purchased by each buyer, that is, the amount of consumption. Hence, this kind of organization is called a consumers' co-operative society. At present a large number of banks and manufacturing factories are controlled by consumers' co-operative societies.

The rise of consumers' co-operation has driven many commercial houses out of business; and as a result, many of the big merchants of Great Britain have become producers. On the other hand, these co-operative societies, once regarded as unimportant stores, are now becoming powerful organizations. A good example of how a merchant is also a producer may be found in the Standard Oil Company. In China the Standard Oil Company is merely a distributary agency for oil; but in America it is a productive manufacturer of oil. Many mercantile companies in Great Britain show a tendency to become producing companies. What is more significant is that although the development of co-operative societies is but a side issue in the solution of the Social Question, it has disproved Marx's prediction that the capitalists would perish before the merchant class. This clash of Marx's conclusion with what are now proved facts affirms once more the truth of my statement that "knowledge is difficult and action is easy."

IMPORTANCE OF THE CONSUMING SOCIETY

Again, according to Marx, the industrial development of the world depends upon large scale production, which in its turn depends upon an adequate supply of capital. In other words, given a high level of production and necessary capital, industry will expand and the profits will be immense. The industrial situation in China throws light on this theory. The Han-yeh-ping Company (or the Hanyang Iron and Steel Works) which is considered the largest industrial concern in China and of which Sheng Hsuan-huai used to be the largest shareholder, specializes in manufacturing steel. Before the World War, the output of this company was exported to Seattle or Australia; and during the War, to Japan. Yet steel has been one of China's stable imports. Why does China, when the Han-yeh-ping Company has enough to sell to foreigners, still buy steel from abroad? The answer is that the Chinese market demands a fine quality of steel for construction purposes, for making rifles and guns,

and for making working tools, whereas the Han-yeh-ping Company produces only steel rails and pig iron which are not suited to the needs of the Chinese market. Moreover, the United States now produces every year 40,000,000 tons of steel and between 40,000,000 and 50,000,000 tons of iron. China, with only the Han-yeh-ping Company, produces but 200,000 tons of iron and something over 100,000 tons of steel.

Notwithstanding her immense output of iron and steel, the United States still buys iron and steel from China, which as we see, has a very small production. Why? Because the Hanyang Iron and Steel Works do not have good smelting factories, and iron must go through several manufacturing processes before it is fit for use. For this reason, China must, on the one hand, import steel from abroad; and export, on the other hand, her pig iron. The United States has a number of steel mills which are prepared to buy cheap iron from anywhere, smelt it, and make good steel at a large profit. The United States, therefore, still buys cheap iron from China although she herself produces great quantities of steel. Owing to the extraordinary demand during the War, the Han-yeh-ping Company was able to sell its product abroad at higher prices and so was able to decrease working hours, increase wages, and yet make big profits. Today, the company is losing money, and many workers have been dismissed.

According to Marx's theory, this company should be earning large profits and expanding because it has a good supply of raw materials and adequate capital. Why, then, is it losing money? Industrial prosperity rests not only upon productive capital, but also upon the consumers' demand. Although the Han-yeh-ping Company has large capital, its products do not find a market in China; and consequently it cannot make profits and expand its scope. More and more the importance of the consumers' position in the process of industrialization is realized; and modern manufacturing concerns produce only what the consumers need. Also the manufacturers are finding ways and means of securing closer co-operation between themselves and the consumers.

This matter of consumption is only a matter of daily living; and the rise and fall of industries rest upon the livelihood of the people. Indeed, the livelihood of the people is the law of gravity in politics and in economics, as well as in all historical movements. The old socialists mistook material environment for the central law of history; which resulted in confusion in their social conclusions. They may be compared with the old astronomers who thought the earth was the center of our solar system, and in whose chronological calculation there was always an error of one month in every three years. When the mistake was found, and it was recognized that the sun was the center of our solar system, there was an error of only one day in every three years. In order to clear away confusion in our thinking upon the Social Question, the old principle of the materialistic determination of history must be overthrown, and in its place we must put livelihood as the center of social history. Only when we have made a thorough study of the central problem, the problem of the people's livelihood, will it be possible to find a solution of the Social Question.

II. THE PROBLEM OF LAND AND CAPITAL

LECTURE TWO

Delivered on August 10, 1924

THE METHODS OF IMPROVING LIVELIHOOD

A DETAILED discussion of the theories related to the Doctrine of Livelihood cannot be finished in ten or twenty days; and what is more, these theories themselves are not yet finally established. It will not only be a waste of time to discuss theories; but the more we discuss them, the less likely are we to understand them. So today I shall put aside theories and discuss methods of carrying out the doctrine of livelihood.

Two methods of carrying out the doctrine of livelihood have long been included in the party policies of the Kuo-mintang. The first is the equalization of land ownership, and the second is the regulation of capital. We feel confident that the realization of these two ideals will solve satisfactorily the problem of livelihood in China. Nations differ in their methods of trying to solve the problem of livelihood because of the difference in social conditions and the difference in the degree of capitalistic development. Many Chinese scholars with a limited knowledge of Western learning have thought that China could solve her problem of livelihood by imitating the West, but they have not realized that the socialists in Europe and in America are hopelessly divided in regard to the methods to be used in solving the Social Question. The followers of Marx who represent the radical group propose a dictatorship of the proletariat and the use of revolutionary tactics to solve all political and economic problems. Another group of socialists advocates peaceful methods and the use of political action and negotiation. These two groups in the West are in constant conflict, and each follows its own course of action. Russia has followed revolutionary methods, but as far as we can judge from the six years of experience since the Revolution, though Russia may have succeeded in solving her political problem by the revolutionary method, she has not been successful in solving her economic problem. Because they feel that the economic problem cannot be solved by purely revolutionary methods, many scholars in Europe and America are opposed to Russia's way of dealing with the problem, and advocate political action. Inasmuch as the economic and political problems cannot be solved by political action in a day, they call for moderation and evolution. These socialists are called the pacifists or the moderates. They believe that in highly capitalistic nations such as England and the United States, the Social Question can be solved not by Marxian tactics, but by peaceful means. By peaceful means they refer to the four things of which I spoke in my last lecture, namely, social and industrial reforms, public ownership of transportation and communication, direct taxation or income tax, and socialization of distribution or the development of co-operation. All these four methods are evolutionary and peaceful in character, and therefore, fundamentally different from Marx's methods. Although the Western nations have not as yet achieved the final solution of the problem of livelihood by actually putting in practice these four methods, yet British and American socialists give

them their very strong support.

The primary aim of the Russian Revolution was to solve the economic problem; and the solution of the political problem was only a secondary consideration. The result was entirely opposite; the political problem was solved but not the economic problem. The anti-Marxianists point out that this is a conclusive proof of the impracticality of Marx's methods. To this the Marxian group replies: that the failure in Russia does not mean the failure of Marxism; because Russia, being economically backward, is not a suitable field in which to practice the doctrines of Marx; that in nations like England and the United States where industry and commerce are highly developed, and where the economic organization has reached an advanced stage, Marxism would be the ideal method to use in solving the problem of livelihood. To compare the two, the doctrine of Marx would lead to short-cut methods; to use an old expression Marx would "cut the tangled hemp with a sharp knife," while the anti-Marists would use only peaceful means. Our question is: Which of the two should China adopt in solving her problem of livelihood?

Both of these methods are advocated by socialist thinkers and both are opposed by the capitalist class. In Europe and America, as industry and commerce are developed and as the capitalistic system becomes more perfect, the capitalists are becoming unbearably autocratic toward the common people. Any attempt on the part of the socialists to relieve the sufferings of the common people by trying to solve the problem of livelihood by revolutionary or peaceful means has met with fierce criticism and strong opposition from the capitalists. What the socialists will do in the end, it is too early to predict, but the moderates, becoming discouraged by the unreasonable opposition of the capitalists to their peaceful means of social reconstruction, which they are thoroughly convinced would be beneficial to all men and harmless to the capitalists, are changing their minds and are moving toward Marxism.

Meanwhile the Marxian group declares that if the British workers would really awaken and unite with them in following the principles outlined by Marx, they would certainly be triumphant. Since the United States is as highly capitalized as England, the Marxianists say that the American workers would also achieve success if they would follow the teachings of Marx. At the same time the British and American capitalists are employing high-handed methods to prevent any progress toward the solution of the Social Question and are defending their privileges in just the same way as the old despotic kings defended their thrones. Just as the old despots employed the most tyrannical methods to keep their power, modern capitalists defy all principles of justice and humanity in order to destroy socialist opposition. Who can doubt that the moderates ultimately will be compelled by circumstances to adopt the methods taught by Marx in order to bring about a solution of the economic question?

COMMUNISM

Communism is nothing new; it was practiced in primitive times, but, as far as I can trace from history, the system broke down with the introduction of money as a medium of exchange. With the use of money the people could buy and sell; and the bartering system, that is, the exchange of goods for goods was done away with. The method of barter is described in the saying: "In the midday the market opened, they bartered their goods and then each went home contented." At that time there was no money and no such system as

buying and selling. Each supplied the wants of the other by exchanging goods for goods. It was indeed a period of communism. Later on when money was used as the medium of exchange, people could buy goods with money; hence the creation of the system of buying and selling; and the system of barter was abandoned. The use of money facilitated trading, and the great class of merchants arose, who, having accumulated wealth, became the capitalists of their time. Before the age of industrialism they represented the only capitalist class in society. In recent times the invention of machinery and the consequent dependence of all production upon the use of machinery has given those who possess machinery greater power than those who possess only money. Thus the creation of a money economy broke down the system of communism; and the invention of machinery broke down the system of mercantilism.

Modern capitalists, having the possession of machinery, depend entirely upon the workers for production; yet they take away the profits which the workers have earned through hard labor. Hence, we have two distinct classes of people in society, the extremely rich and the extremely poor; and there are frequent conflicts commonly known as "class struggles" between them. Many humanitarian moralists, hoping to relieve the suffering of the working class, are trying to find ways and means to overcome this struggle of class against class, and they believe they have found one way in the revival of the ancient system of communism. Man, according to the communists, was happiest during the period of communistic society. At that time man had to fight only against nature and the wild animals. But since industries have developed, money has been used as the medium of exchange, and machinery invented, and men with keen minds have been able to monopolize the material wealth of the earth for their selfish ends at the expense of other men's welfare. Therefore, we are in a period of fierce human struggle, when man fights man. How long will this struggle continue? The communists reply that this struggle will only end with the initiation of a new period of communism. The last object for which men fight is bread or, as the Chinese expression has it, "the rice bowl." In a communistic society everyone will have enough bread or rice to eat; and then no one will need to struggle for it. Indeed, communism should be one of our highest ideals in our endeavor to solve the Social Question.

On the other hand, the Kuomintang doctrine of livelihood is not only an ideal, but also a method which recognizes livelihood as the driving force of society and the center of gravity of all historic movements. We may say that communism is the ideal of livelihood, and that the doctrine of livelihood is the practical application of communism: such is the difference between the doctrine of Marx and the doctrine of the Kuomintang. In the last analysis, there is no real difference in the principles of the two; where they differ is in method. Not until the doctrine of livelihood is put into practice, will the Social Question be solved and will it be possible for mankind to enjoy the greatest blessing.

POVERTY IN CHINA

Taking into consideration the position of China and the times in which we live, what should be the methods of the Kuomintang in trying to solve the problem of livelihood? Our methods must not be based upon purely abstract theories, but upon facts; and not upon facts peculiar to foreign countries, but facts observable in China itself. This is important, for any method of procedure that is not drawn from facts, but from theorizing, is

undependable. A theory may be true or false; and the truth of a theory can only be tested by experiment. In the realm of science, a theory must stand the test of practical application before we can pronounce it to be a true scientific theory. In the past at least ninety-nine out of every hundred so-called scientific theories could not be practically applied. Thus our solutions -of the Social Question must not be based upon theory alone, but upon facts. What are the facts in China? The most obvious is poverty.

In China there is no such class as the excessively rich, and the great majority of the Chinese people are poor. The Chinese capitalists would be considered "poor people" compared with the great foreign capitalists. The rest of the poor people are really "the extremely poor." Thus in China, as far as inequality of wealth is concerned, there is the distinction between the "poor" and the "extremely poor," not between the "rich" and the "poor," for the nation is generally poor. Our question then is how to eliminate the "extremely poor" by promoting a more equitable distribution of wealth.

The process of social change and capitalistic development usually begins with the landowners; from the landowners it passes to the merchants, and then from the merchants to the capitalists. Landlords were a product of the feudal system. Whereas Europe still retains certain features of the feudal system, China abandoned the system as early as the Ching dynasty. In feudal times those who owned land were wealthy and the rest of the people were poor. Because of our backwardness in industry and commerce, our social conditions have not substantially improved during the last two thousands years, although we abolished the feudal system before the first century. Although there are no big landlords in China, there are plenty of small landowners. So far, these small landowners have carried on peacefully with the rest of society, but with the influx of Western economic thought, all our institutions are undergoing changes.

The first serious effect of Westernization has been in connection with land values. Take Canton and Shanghai as examples. What a difference there is between the value of land on the Bund in the city of Canton now and its value twenty years ago, and between the value of land on the Shanghai Bund now and eighty years ago! It is at least ten thousand times dearer; that is, a piece of land ten feet square formerly worth one dollar, now costs ten thousand dollars. On the Shanghai Bund each *mow* (the Chinese unit of land measure equivalent to one-sixth of an English acre) of land costs hundreds of thousands of dollars; and on the Canton Bund each *mow* costs over one hundred thousand dollars. Because great changes have taken place in connection with the land in some parts of China owing to Western economic influence, Chinese landowners in these places have gradually become as wealthy and influential as Western capitalists. Similar changes of land values have been witnessed in Western nations, and the nations did not pay any attention to these changes until they became a menace to social development. Our Kuomintang has paid attention to the matter of land values at the outset in order to try to arrest agrarian troubles before they have fully developed.

THE INCREASE OF LAND VALUES

Western books on socialism are full of interesting stories regarding the increase of land values. In Australia, before trading centers developed, land was very cheap. On one occasion the Australian government wanted to sell by auction a certain piece of land; but no one was willing to pay a high price. The auctioneer was just then calling for bids on the

land; and there had been bids for one hundred, two hundred, and even two hundred and fifty dollars, but no one was willing to bid higher. Suddenly a drunken fellow broke into the place where the auction was being held, and under the influence of drink yelled out, "I will give three hundred!" Next day, when he received the bill for the price of the land, he bitterly regretted what he had done the day before; but his regrets were too late, for the land was bought. Afterwards he made no effort to improve the land. A decade or so passed—tall buildings were erected all around that piece of land, and the value increased greatly. He was offered millions of dollars for this tract of land; but he refused to sell and instead, let the land and received rents. Later on this land was worth over ten million dollars; and this man, once a drunken bidder at an auction, became the richest man in Australia. This sort of story is of course very interesting; but what is important is that the tens of millions of dollars came from land which originally cost the man only three hundred dollars. Moreover, he made no improvements on the land. He simply reaped the money through doing nothing. Who, then, earned these tens of millions, and to whom should the wealth belong? The community, I believe, because by society's using that place as a commercial and industrial center and making great improvements, the land values there increased.

Let us take illustrations from China. We are making Shanghai the industrial and commercial metropolis of Central China, and Canton the center of South China; and as a result, land values in Shanghai and Canton have multiplied tens of thousands of times within a few decades. Shanghai and Canton each has a population of more than a million. Suppose all the inhabitants of these cities were to move out, or suppose some natural calamity destroyed all the people in these two cities; would the value of land in these two cities then be as high as it is today? Certainly not, so that it is evident that the increase of land values is due to the effort and labor of the community, not of the landlords. Foreign scholars call these profits received by the landlords from the general increase of land values the "unearned increment," which are to be distinguished from the profits received by merchants and manufacturers who work hard, mentally and physically. We have condemned merchants and manufacturers for their unfair means of profit-making through monopoly, but the landowners, unlike the merchants and manufacturers who have to work hard, receive tremendous profit by doing nothing. Only through the hard labor and constant effort of the mass of people can an area be developed and improved. A general rise in prices always follows a rise of land values, and in this way, the landowners sit down to enjoy the fruits of others' labor. In other words, the earnings of the mass of the people from their improvement of an area are indirectly stolen by the landowners.

UNDERESTIMATION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF LIVELIHOOD

Such is the nature of the Social Question in China. Students of social problems are trying to solve this question by copying theories and methods from the West. There are but two methods: the peaceful method of the evolutionary socialists and the revolutionary method of the Marxianists. At present the followers of Marx seem to be most popular in China, and a majority of our youth is supporting the principle of the communist party. They are convinced that without a thoroughgoing reconstruction of the country according to the theories of Marx, our social and political problems will not be solved. The youth of China is, therefore, eager to form a Chinese communist party and to begin agitation throughout the country.

Our old comrades in the Kuomintang have often misunderstood the communist party. They believe that communism is contradictory to the *San Min* Doctrine. Twenty years ago we organized ourselves together as supporters of the *San Min* Doctrine, although many among us were convinced that only the doctrine of nationalism was necessary to bring about the salvation of China. For instance, the members of the Tung Ming Hui aimed only at the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. Most of them would have been content after the overthrow of the Manchus if a Chinese had been made emperor. As a matter of fact, their nationalistic feeling fundamentally contradicted the doctrine of democracy, even though I had required them to take an oath adhering to the *San Min* Doctrine. Some of the most thoughtful of our fellow-revolutionists were of the opinion that a realization of the meaning of the doctrines of democracy and livelihood would grow along with the realization of the meaning of nationalism. Consequently the doctrines of democracy and livelihood were not seriously studied, and were little understood.

The final outcome of the successful Revolution of 1911 was the establishment of the Republic and of a democratic system of government. Only a few understood why we should have a Republic, and still fewer supported the Republic at heart. How then was this Republic able to stand with so little support? The reason was that there had grown up a new military caste composed of revolutionary generals as well as the old militarists who had supported the Manchu emperor, but were forced to side with the Republic, and that these militarists tried to further their own private ambitions by occupying spheres of influence and making themselves despots in their own domain—all in the name of the Republic. Next each tried to extend his influence beyond the borders of his own domain. The general in Kwantung tried to extend his influence beyond his base; the same thing happened in the case of the generals in Hunan, Yiinnan, in Shantung, in Chihli, and in other provinces. Each thought that he had sufficient power to unite China by overthrowing all other generals and that finally he could overthrow the Republic and make himself the emperor of China. It was for this reason that the militarists, though not convinced of the reasonableness of democracy, supported the Republic. They were monarchists at heart who only waited for the opportune time. During the last thirteen years, several men have attempted to overthrow the Republic, but all failed because they did not possess sufficient strength and as a consequence, the Republic has carried on until now. The troubles have been due to lack of a clear understanding of the meaning of the doctrine of democracy on the part of the members of the Tung Ming Hui, and a greater lack of understanding of the doctrine of livelihood.

SANMIN DOCTRINE AND COMMUNISM

If we analyze the matter further we realize that the significance of only two out of the three doctrines of the people have been apprehended by members of the Kuomintang after thirteen years of changes and experience. But the third doctrine, that of livelihood, is not yet clearly understood by our fellow-party men. How do I know this? The anti-communist feeling expressed by members of the Kuomintang during the recent Reorganization is evidence. Many members of our party declare that communism is fundamentally different from the *San Min* Doctrine, and that China should adopt the *San Min* Doctrine, but not communism. What, then, is the Doctrine of Livelihood?

In the previous lecture, I pointed out that livelihood is the determinant of all social

activities and that lack of normal development in the livelihood of the people not only checks the progress of social culture and the reform of economic organization, but also causes moral degeneration, social inequality, oppression of labor, and class struggle; and that livelihood is the cause, and social changes are the effects. I pointed out also that our doctrine of livelihood includes communism and socialism, and that communism is not an enemy of the doctrine of livelihood, but its good friend. For this reason adherents to the doctrine of livelihood should study carefully the theories of communism.

Perhaps the opposition to communism on the part of members of the Kuomintang is merely a reaction resulting from the opposition to the *San Min* Doctrine by a few hot-headed communists. These few communists opposed our *San Min* Doctrine because they really did not understand the principle of communism itself. Their misdeeds should be considered only as the errors of individuals, not as the faults of the entire party or as a defect in the fundamental principle. There is a cleavage between the communists and ourselves because some of us have not yet understood the nature of the doctrine of livelihood, which, as I pointed out, is communistic in principle. The ideal of communism was not a theory invented by Marx, but a social system actually practiced in primitive times. According to the evolutionary theory, man descended from animals. At a later stage, men developed the tribal system, and their living conditions were very different from the living conditions of animals. That the original social organization was essentially communistic, has been confirmed by our studies of the communistic society of the savage tribes in Africa and Malaysia not yet touched by modern civilization.

THE LAND PROBLEM IN CHINA

The first effect of the recent invasion of Western economic influence in China has been felt in connection with land. Land speculation is already becoming a very popular gambling game in China. Land which would not be worth a great deal for ten or twenty years in the ordinary course of events and which is not naturally valuable, can be raised in price ahead of natural developments with the aid of speculators.

In the West no satisfactory solution has yet been found for the land problem. We must proceed to solve our land problem at once, otherwise, when the country is industrialized, it will be too complicated. When economic transformation takes place as the result of Western influence, inequality appears not only between rich and poor, but among landowners themselves. Suppose A has a *mow* of land in the Shanghai Bund and B has a *mow* of land in the country near Shanghai. If B cultivates the land himself, he can probably get produce worth ten or twenty dollars each year. If he rents out the land, he probably can get five to ten dollars each year as rent. On the other hand, A can get more than ten thousand dollars each year as rent from his land on the Bund. Thus A's land is several thousand times more expensive than B's land although the pieces are equal in size. The fundamental purpose of the Kuomintang doctrine of livelihood is to promote economic equity in the community by finding means of solving just such problems. This is what I mean when I say that socialism, communism, and the doctrine of livelihood agree on the fundamental principle, but differ in methods of realizing that principle.

The land problem is indeed the very first question the party expects to deal with in our course of national reconstruction. Nations differ in methods of handling the land problem. Moreover, the land problem in the West is generally very complicated, because there are many big landowners. Owing to the absence of powerful landowners in China, our land

problem is not so complicated as that of Europe, and our method of solving the land problem is simple, that is, equalization of land ownership. Just as the capitalists are afraid of socialism, landlords are afraid of the equalization of land ownership, and naturally they are opposed to it.

The Kuomintang method of dealing with the land problem will be so simple that the landlords in China need not worry. Our method is this: The government will have both the right to tax and the right to buy the land at its assessed value. I believe that the landlords themselves should be given the right to determine the value of the land. For instance, on the Canton Bund one piece of land may be worth ten thousand dollars per *mow* while another tract may be worth one hundred thousand dollars per *mow*. The landlords may report their prices to the government accordingly. The most common rate of land tax in modern states is one per cent of the net worth of the land. Suppose one tract of land is worth one hundred dollars, the tax would be one dollar; if it is worth one hundred thousand dollars, the tax would be one thousand dollars.

In China, we may also levy one per cent of the reported price of the land. Many people fear that if the landlords are asked to fix the prices of their own land, they will understate them at the expense of the government. Suppose a landlord reports the price of his land at ten thousand dollars, while its actual value is one hundred thousand dollars, the government would be obliged to levy one hundred dollars instead of one thousand dollars. Here the government would be cheated nine hundred dollars. But the government has the right to buy the land at any time at the reported price. Should the government choose to buy this land whose reported price is nine-tenths too low, the landlord will be paid \$10,000, not \$100,000; and consequently he would have to suffer a loss of ninety thousand dollars. Thus if the landlord cheats the government nine hundred dollars in the land tax, he runs the risk of suffering a loss of ninety thousand dollars at any time. When the landlord overestimates the value of his land, he will get so much less money when selling his land to the government. In this way, no one will dare to report falsely the price of his own land; and the price reported will surely represent the most reasonable figures both from the standpoint of the government and from the standpoint of the landlords.

THE SOLUTION OF THE LAND PROBLEM

After the prices of all land properties in China are fixed, a law should be passed to the effect that after the first registration of the land prices, any increment to the value of the land shall go to the public. In some countries, a surtax is levied on the increment of land prices; but I believe the entire increment should be declared public property, because the rise of land prices is always due to public improvements and economic progress, which in turn are the products of the work of the people in general. During the last several thousands of years China has made no substantial progress in industry and commerce, and so there has been no great increase in land values during these several thousands of years. As soon as new economic influences set in, new trading and industrial centers are developed and the land rises in value from a thousand to ten thousand times. Inasmuch as the economic progress is the labor of the people in general, it is only just that any increment in land value from such progress be shared by all in the community. Suppose Mr. A reports the price of his land at ten thousand dollars. A few decades later, it is worth a million dollars. The extra \$990,000, according to my plan, will be made the property of the public as a compensation

to the public for the years of hard labor in economic improvements. Thus by "equalization of land ownership" we mean the socialization of any increment to the original land value through public improvements or social progress.

This is the essence of the doctrine of livelihood; and is, in fact, one kind of communism, communism of future increment, not of present ownership. This is the most equitable form of communism because in this way the property class does not suffer the least loss. It differs fundamentally from the Western system of nationalization which enables the government to confiscate property or to rob the people of what they have. According to my system, at its present values the land will still be privately owned. When this is clearly understood by the landlords, they will no longer worry about the Kuomintang principle of equalizing land values.

When the land problem is solved, half of the problem of the people's livelihood will be solved. By enforcing the land tax, the common people in more progressive cities will not only experience a decrease of financial burden, but will receive many positive benefits. Should the City of Canton levy a tax on the land values, the municipal government would have a large amount of revenue sufficient to pay for all administrative expenses, for the repair of roads, for the maintenance of the police force, for public construction, and even for free supply of electricity and water to the residents in this city. In this way, the people in this city would be exempted from paying police tax, road tax, and other miscellaneous taxes; and in addition, they would get free water and electricity. At present all increments in the value of land in this city go to private owners, not to public bodies. Since the government cannot get a large enough revenue from the land tax to meet its administrative and other expenses, it has to levy a number of other taxes. The taxes have been so heavy and varied that a condition of poverty prevails among the common people.

We may thus conclude that poverty in China is largely due to an unjust system of taxation, the unequal distribution of the land power, and the failure to solve the problem of land. As soon as the new land tax is in full force, the land problem will be solved and the suffering of the people will be over. It is a fact that land in some foreign countries has risen rapidly in price and that the landowners have greatly increased their income. But large scale production following upon scientific progress and mechanical invention has enabled the machine-owning capitalists to enjoy greater income than the big landowners. In China landowners represent as yet the only class of capitalists. Machine-owning capitalists have not yet been developed. For this reason our work to equalize the land rights and to regulate capital ought not to be difficult.

An explanation is necessary in regard to the purchase of land by the government according to its fixed value. This value refers only to the value of the bare land, not including any improvement made by human labor or buildings upon the surface. Accordingly if a tract of land valued at \$10,000 has upon it buildings valued at \$1,000,000, the land tax of one per cent would be only one hundred dollars. In case the land is purchased by the government from the private owner, in addition to the price of land, compensation should be made for the million dollars' worth of buildings upon the land. Other land with artificial improvements, such as trees, embankments, drains, etc., should be paid for in the same manner.

THE REGULATION OF PRIVATE CAPITAL

The problem of the people's livelihood cannot be solved for good by the tax

regulation of capital alone. Income tax, for instance, is one way of regulating capital. But have foreign countries solved the problem of livelihood after the income tax was put into effect? Moreover, what China needs at this time is the development of national capital rather than the regulation of individual capital. Foreign countries are richer than China; and their trouble is overproduction, while our trouble is underproduction. To be sure, the political disintegration of this country is standing in the way of the development of national capital. But political disintegration is only a temporary affair. Sooner or later the country will be politically united. After the country is politically united, the only way to solve our problem of livelihood will be industrial and capitalistic development.

Many things will have to be done to industrialize China: The first is the construction of railways, canals, and other transportation facilities on a large scale. The second is to open our mineral resources. Our mineral resources are very rich; and it is a pity that they are not opened. Thirdly, China's manufacturing industries must be developed. Although China has unlimited labor power, she cannot compete with foreign powers because she has no machinery. The fact that the Chinese use large quantities of imported goods is a principal cause of our national deficit; and this leakage can be stopped only by developing home industries through machine production. This should be done by the government, so that all workers in China may have an equal chance to find employment. If every worker in China is gainfully employed and every worker is able to use a machine for production, China will have a new source of wealth. On the other hand, if private individuals or foreign merchants are permitted to manage these important affairs, profits will go to private individuals and there will soon be great inequality of wealth.

It is self-evident, then, that we who undertake to solve the problem of the people's livelihood in China may admire Marx's profound scholarship, but should not follow his methods for they are not suited to the conditions of this country. Even Soviet Russia, after the years of experience following the Revolution, has adopted a new economic policy, because, not being as highly developed economically as England or the United States, Marxism did not work there. If Russia's economic standard is too low to practice Marxism, how can China practice Marxism? So what Marxists propose to do will not solve China's Social Question.

I remember when I was a student in Canton thirty years ago, young men from rich families in the West District would wear fur coats as soon as winter came. As a matter of fact, Canton never has a cold enough winter to justify the use of fur coats. But these wealthy young men felt they must wear fur coats to show their wealth. During the first part of the winter, they wore light furs; as the weather got colder, or in midwinter, no matter what the weather was, they wore heavy furs. One day, these wealthy young men in their fur coats attended a meeting at which I was also present. It happened that the weather was very warm that day. They complained that unless the wind changed to the north, people would get sick. Their idea was that everyone in the community had fur coats to wear; and so, unless the wind changed, everyone would get overheated and his health would suffer. As a matter of fact, how many among the people in Canton can afford to have furs during the winter? In winter, some people in Canton wear cotton-wadded garments, and others wear double-lined garments only. Are they ever afraid that the north wind will not blow?

These young students who advocate Marxian methods as the only hope for the solution

of China's socio-economic problem are as illogical as those wealthy children crying for the north wind to blow in order to save their health. We should be aware that China's trouble is poverty, not unequal distribution of wealth. In a society where wealth is too unevenly distributed, Marxian ideas of class struggle and dictatorship present an appropriate solution. In China industries are not developed; and so she has little use for these ideas. So today we may study Marx's ideas for reference, but we must not 'apply his methods. In solving the problem of livelihood, we must not propose an impractical and radical method and then wait for industry to develop; but a preventive method to check beforehand the growth of large private capital and the vast inequality between rich and poor. This is the plan which will solve the Social Question of China. It is not like first wearing furs and then hoping for the north wind.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL CAPITAL

In the foregoing discussion I pointed out that regulation of private capital alone is not sufficient to solve the problem of the people's livelihood and that the development of national capital is very necessary. By "national capital" I mean state industries; and a detailed program of how to develop state industries may be found in my book, *The Program of National Reconstruction*, Volume II on "Material Reconstruction," also known as "The Program of Industrialization." I have also discussed there how money was the source of capital in the age of mercantilism and machinery is the source of capital in the stage of industrialism. The initial step in developing state industries is for the state to own plenty of machinery for production. During the European War, the various governments tried the policy of nationalizing all large industries and factories; but they abandoned it soon after the War. Since China has never had very great capitalists, the state can easily avert the terrible conflict with capitalists by having state operation of industries, state control of capital, and state ownership of profits.

In developing our capital, we shall need foreign capital and foreign expert assistance. The United States developed her capital through three channels: The first is through railways, the second through manufacturing, and the third through mining. Since our capital, our knowledge, and our experience are limited, we can, by having foreign assistance, shorten by half the time required to build up a communistic society in the future. What China has in the matter of machinery is negligible. Our railroads are but six to seven thousand miles long, but we should have a mileage ten times as great—at least sixty to seventy thousand miles, before our needs will adequately be met. In this connection, we need, not only foreign capital to construct railroads, but also foreign experts to assist in introducing manufacturing processes.

China's mineral wealth is practically untouched. Although we have a larger population than the United States and greater territory, the United States each year produces 600,000,000 tons of coal and 90,000,000 tons of steel, and China does not produce one-thousandth of that amount. Foreign capital, too, will be needed to open our mineral resources. Moreover, in shipbuilding, in building up a merchant marine, and in developing manufacturing industries on a large scale, foreign capitalization is equally essential. When transportation, mining, and manufacturing are all developed, profits from them each year will be immense; and under the system of state control, they will be shared by all the people. In this way capital will be a source of blessing to all the people in the country, not a source of misery as in some foreign countries, where capital is concentrated in private

hands. In these countries, the people are suffering the evils of industrialism and they are resorting to class struggle with the object of eliminating this suffering. In the course of solving China's Social Question, our object is the same as that of foreign countries, namely, to free the people from the suffering caused by the unequal distribution of wealth and to make them happy and contented. Our way is community of industrial and social profits. We cannot say, then, that the doctrine of livelihood is different from communism. The *San Min* Doctrine means a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people"—that is, the state is the common property of all the people, its politics are participated in by all, and its profits are shared by all. Then there will be not only communism in property, but communism in everything else. Such will be the ultimate end of the Doctrine of Livelihood, a state which Confucius calls *ta t'ung* .or the age of "great similarity."

III. THE PROBLEM OF FOOD

LECTURE THREE

Delivered on August 17, 1924

I SHALL SPEAK on the food problem today. To ordinary people eating is only a daily habit and is often considered the easiest thing to do. Why then does a habitual and easy affair present a problem? The ancient saying that "the nation looks upon the people as its foundation, and the people look upon food as their heaven" illustrates the vast importance of the food problem. If the food problem is not taken care of, the doctrine of the people's livelihood cannot be solved, because food is the first problem in the doctrine of livelihood.

Before the European War, the food problem was given very little attention by the statesmen of the various countries. Then the defeat of Germany gave us a new revelation. During the first part of the War, Germany was unconquerable. Her infantry, artillery, and cavalry on land; her torpedoes, submarines, and warships at sea; and her airships in the sky won victories from her enemies wherever they went. Yet at length, the European War resulted in a severe defeat for Germany, and the fundamental cause of her defeat was her food scarcity. The Allies blockaded the German ports to cut off her food supply from without; her own food production was also greatly decreased as great numbers of her farmers went into the army; the result was the starvation and even death of a large number of her citizens and soldiers. She finally could no longer hold her position, and was defeated by the Allies. This indicates that the problem of food is vital to a nation's existence.

FOOD PROBLEMS IN MODERN NATIONS

Among the nations that have an abundant food supply, the United States should be given the first mention. The United States exports every year large quantities of food to Europe. Next is Russia which, with its large territory and sparse population, is able to produce an enormous amount of food. In other countries, such as Australia, Canada, and Argentina in South America, the chief source of national wealth is food. These countries export every year their surplus food to countries where food is scarce.

During the European War, the belligerent governments transferred to military use those merchant ships which had been previously used for transporting food. Consequently, Australia, Canada, and Argentina were unable to export their surplus food, and the result was a general famine in Europe. During that period, China luckily had no flood or drought, and her crops were good: so she had no famine like the European nations. If China had then met with a flood like the one this year, farmers would not have had a good harvest, and the country would have suffered a famine also. That we suffered no starvation during the European War was a matter of sheer chance.

At the present time, while not a few countries have sufficient food supply, a good many do not. England's annual food output is sufficient to feed the people there only for three months. She depends upon outside countries for nine months of food each year. During the

War when the German submarines blockaded her ports, England nearly suffered a big famine. Japan, too, has the problem of insufficient food supply, though her condition is not as bad as England's. Japan has enough food for eleven months and so she depends upon imports for one month of food each year. Germany has enough food for ten months from her own supply: she lacks two months. A good many small states in Europe face the problem of food shortage. The fact that food scarcity was the cause of Germany's defeat in the European War throws some light on the serious nature of the food problem for modern nations.

INADEQUATE FOOD SUPPLY IN CHINA

When an individual or a family does not have sufficient to eat, the problem is relatively simple. When a national population such as China's four hundred millions has to be provided with enough food, the problem becomes more important as well as very difficult. Does China have an adequate food supply? Do the Chinese have enough to eat? In Kwantung, for example, the annual importation of food amounts to \$70,000,000; and if the outside supply of rice were cut off for one month, Kwantung would have to face a famine. Many other provinces in China have the same difficulty as Kwantung. What is the matter? China's territory is slightly larger than that of the United States and her population is three to four times as large. As far as food is concerned, China naturally is much worse off than the United States.

We may compare our present food conditions with the conditions in Europe. Germany, as already mentioned, does not produce a full supply of food; and so she had a famine just two or three years after the World War broke forth. France is self-sufficient in food; and in ordinary times she need not import food. China may be compared with France in the matter of food supply. The population of France is 40,000,000 and that of China is 400,000,000. The size of France is only one-twentieth of the size of China. Thus China's population is ten times as numerous as that of France, and the size of China is twenty times as large as the size of France. France, with a territory one-twentieth as large as that of China, and with her improved methods in agriculture, can secure an adequate supply of food. If China follows the improved agricultural methods of France, she will be able to increase her food production to at least twenty times as much as the food production of France. Since France can adequately support a population of 40,000,000, China ought to be able to support a population of 800,000,000. With a population of 400,000,000, instead of suffering famines year after year, China should have a large amount of surplus food to be exported to other countries.

But at the present time China is facing a serious problem of poverty and of inadequate food supply. In ordinary times in China at least ten million persons starve every year. In times of big flood or other natural calamities, the number of people starving is even greater than that. A reliable foreign estimate tells us that the total population of China this year is 310,000,000. Ten years ago the population of China was 400,000,000 and this year it is but 310,000,000: a decrease of 90,000,000 in ten years. This terrible state of affairs needs our careful investigation. Simply speaking, the decrease of 90,000,000 in ten years is due to insufficient food in the country.

The causes of inadequate food supply are many: the biggest one is the backwardness of our agriculture, and the next is foreign economic pressure. In the *Doctrine of Nationalism*, I

mentioned that foreign countries, by means of their economic forces, are taking away from China \$1,200,000,000 each year. While a portion of this large amount is paid to foreign countries in silver, by far the largest share is paid in food commodities. How do I know this? A few days ago I read a foreign report stating that China exports to the United States one billion eggs a year. This includes only eggs in the shell, not those used in manufacturing albumin. Large quantities of eggs are exported to Japan and England also. Those of you who have been in Nanking may have noticed a large building that stands out plainly as you arrive at Hsiakwan. That is a foreign-owned meat-canning factory in which Chinese pigs, geese, ducks, and other domestic fowls and animals are used in the manufacturing of canned meat for exporting. Moreover, large quantities of barley, rye, and soy beans are exported annually from North China. Three years ago North China had a severe drought. While along the Peking-Hankow and Peking-Mukden Railways a large number of people died from starvation, immense quantities of wheat and beans were stored in Dairen and Newchang ready to be shipped abroad. What does this mean? As a consequence of foreign economic pressure, we are obliged to pay a huge tribute to foreign countries. Since we do not have enough silver to send them, we have to send them food commodities even though we have to starve ourselves. This is why China's food problem is not solved.

The purpose of our doctrine of livelihood is to provide sufficient food to the four hundred millions, and what is more important, to let them buy their food cheaply. Until everyone in this country has cheap food to eat, livelihood will remain an unsolved problem. How shall we begin our search for a solution of the food problem? Eating is indeed a simple matter, and ought not to be a problem. After getting up in the morning, everyone eats his food and goes about his own work. But the poor men say: "Every morning brings seven cares to the door,—fuel, rice, oil, salt, vinegar, and tea." Food, then, is a problem that needs our serious attention.

AIR AND WATER AS FOOD

What do we eat? Most of us have not given any thought to what are the most important materials for our food. Roughly speaking, food may be divided into four kinds. The first is air. It is what we commonly speak of as "eating wind"; this may sound ridiculous, since "eating wind" is often used in a frivolous sense. As a matter of fact, "eating wind" is far more important than "eating rice." The second is water, the third is animal food or meat, and the fourth is plant food, such as grain, fruits, and vegetables. Air, water, animals, and plants are the four most important elements of man's food; and they may be discussed one by one.

First, "eating wind," though it may sound rather funny, is one of the most important of human actions. Try to stop breathing by holding tight your nose and mouth for one minute; you will have a strange sensation and you will feel that you could not bear it another minute longer. We respire sixteen times a minute; in other words, we have sixteen "air meals" per minute. We "eat rice" only three times per day or at most four times per day, as in the case of some Cantonese who have a meal at midnight. The poorer people generally eat two meals a day. In case of extreme want one meal a day suffices to maintain life. On the other hand, we eat 23,040 "air meals" a day; and we would die if for a few minutes we did not "eat air." Air, then, is the first essential for the nourishment of human life. The second is water. No one can live by food alone, without water. While one can live more

than five or six days without food, he is bound to die if he goes without water for five days.

PLANTS AS FOOD

The third essential is plant food, which is the most important of our food products. Man did not know enough to eat plant food until his culture was fairly advanced. Since China is an old civilized nation, the Chinese all eat plant food; whereas the uncivilized peoples in the world still live on animal food. To be sure, animal food is also an important food material for men.

Of the four necessary food stuffs—air, water, animals, and plants—air and water are abundant everywhere. When men live beside rivers, they can get river water; when they live on interior land, they can get spring water, well water, or rain water. Air can be obtained still more easily than water. Although water and air are vitally important for human existence, they do not constitute any problem to us because their supply is inexhaustible and unlimited and they are the "gifts of nature" which can be obtained without human effort. On the contrary, animal food and plant food have always been a problem to man. In primitive times and among existing savage tribes, men get their food by fishing and hunting. As civilization advanced during the age of agriculture, man learned how to plant the five cereals and he then depended upon plants for food.

Our civilization is more than four thousand years old. Our method of obtaining food seems to be more advanced than the European method, since ours gives us chiefly plant food while the European method supplies chiefly animal food. Although plants grow out of the ground, they are produced only after strenuous human effort and by many varieties of technique. Thus the increase of plant food must be considered first in dealing with the question of agricultural production.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND THE PEASANT PROBLEM

Since time immemorial China has been an agricultural country. Farming has been the chief industry of the nation. What methods should be employed to increase the production of plant food? Chinese agriculture has entirely depended upon human labor, and man-power production has been highly developed in China. Even foreign scientists praise highly the quality of our farming products. Since farmers are the chief producers of food and they are hard-working, the only way of increasing food production is by encouraging farmers through legislative protection of their interests. At present, eighty to ninety per cent of the Chinese population are farmers.

Although the system of large land-holding is not developed in China, nine-tenths of her farmers are nevertheless tenants. What they cultivate is someone else's land; and those who own land do not as a rule cultivate it. It is only just that the farmers should have their own land and own what they produce. At present, this is not so: our farmers have to hand over to the landlords most of what they produce every year, because they do not own the land. According to one of our latest rural surveys, sixty per cent of the annual yield from the land goes to the landlord and only forty per cent goes to the farmers. What an injustice! The farmers have to toil hard for their produce and then are robbed by the landlords of the larger portion of what they get, while the farmers themselves are left in poverty or to starvation. If this state of affairs is allowed to go on, the farmers, as they become better educated, will

not be willing to work hard for nothing, and they will desert the farms, leaving the land waste and unproductive. Conversely, if the farmers own their land and have complete possession of their produce, all of them will be happy to produce as much as possible.

Thus the only sound method of increasing our food production is legislative protection of peasant interests in accordance with the principle of equalization of land rights. A few days ago a farmers' mass meeting was held in this Normal School building under the auspices of the Kuo-mintang; this peasant meeting was only a start toward the solution of the big peasant problem. The ultimate solution of the peasant problem, which would also mean the ultimate solution of the problem of the people's livelihood, will be for every farmer to own his land. Not until this is realized, can the problem of the people's livelihood be solved.

In addition to the problem of emancipating the peasants, seven other problems closely related to increase of production should be studied: the problem of machinery, the problem of fertilizer, the problem of rotating crops, the problem of destroying pests, the problem of manufacturing preserved food, the problem of transportation, and the problem of preventing natural disasters. These are all concerned with methods of increasing farming production.

THE USE OF MACHINERY IN AGRICULTURE

The first method is the use of machinery. For thousands of years human labor has been the only method of cultivation, and machines have never been used. By the use of machines in farming, the production can be at least doubled and the cost of production can be reduced to one-tenth or one-hundredth. Whereas the old man-power method could hardly yield enough produce to feed four hundred million persons, the new mechanical method will yield enough to supply eight hundred million persons. Moreover, when machine power is used in place of human labor, much waste land which cannot be cultivated at present because it is too elevated, may be irrigated with pumps and pipes and opened up to cultivation. Cultivated land will be freed from either floods or droughts through mechanical processes and thereby its production will greatly increase. With the cultivation of waste land and the improvement of cultivated land, the nation will undoubtedly have a new record in agricultural production. At present, all cultivating and pumping machines used in China are imported from abroad. When all Chinese farmers have learned to use machinery, our people should also manufacture these machines in order to prevent "profits flowing away from the country."

THE PROBLEM OF FERTILIZATION

The second method is the use of fertilizer. In the past the Chinese have used only human and animal manures and decayed vegetable matter for fertilizing. Chemical fertilizers were not used until the introduction of Chile saltpeter in recent years. In Kwantung and Honan, Chile saltpeter is used in the cultivation of sugar cane. The sugar cane fertilized with this saltpeter grows twice as fast as the sugar cane not so fertilized as well as many times taller. Unfortunately Chile saltpeter is fearfully expensive because it is imported from Chile, a country in South America; and so, aside from the planters of sugar cane, the ordinary farmers cannot afford to use it. In addition to Chile saltpeter the phosphorus from Crustacea and the potassium from mineral mountains and cliffs make

very good fertilizers. Moreover, an excellent fertilizer may be formed from compounds of nitrogen, phosphorus, and potassium.

The importance of fertilizers cannot be overstated. A *mow* of land which without the application of fertilizers, may yield five bushels of grain, can increase its yield twice or thrice with the application of fertilizers. In order to increase agricultural production, fertilizers must be used; and in order to manufacture fertilizers, science must be studied, particularly the chemical processes of manufacturing fertilizers. At present, China produces all the essential elements for manufacturing fertilizers. For example, the material in Chile saltpeter was long ago used by Chinese in manufacturing gunpowder. Formerly the entire world depended upon Chile to supply materials for manufacturing fertilizers; but now, with the advancement of science, a new method has been invented whereby nitrates can be made by electricity. As a result, the nations no longer depend upon natural sodium nitrates shipped from Chile and are manufacturing artificial nitrates by means of electricity. Artificial nitrates are now very popular because they are just as effective as natural nitrates, yet require very little initial expenditure.

THE USE OF ELECTRICITY

A new cheap method of generating electricity has been invented. The ordinary, expensive electricity is generated by steam power; the new cheap electricity is generated by water power. In many countries, waterfalls and rapids are now being used to drive dynamos that generate an enormous amount of electricity, costing next to nothing. This cheap electricity can be used to manufacture artificial nitrates which are likewise very inexpensive. There are many rapids and waterfalls in China. For example, on the West River above Wuchow there are numerous rapids and near Nanning there are the Fu-po Rapids, which are very strong and very dangerous to ships going up and down the river. But it would be a double advantage if, on the one hand, the huge water power in this undercurrent, which someone has estimated at 1,000,000 horsepower, could be used to generate electricity, and at the same time, another waterway could be built for boats and junks. In Kwangsi, on the Fo and Hung Rivers there are numerous rapids which could be used also to generate electricity. Engineers have estimated that the Wen River in the northern part of Kwantung could generate tens of thousands of electric horsepower, sufficient to supply the entire city of Canton with electric light and electric power for all factories, and even to electrify the Canton-Hankow Railway by adopting the latest foreign method of railway engineering. Moreover, the water power in the Kuei Gorges of the Upper Yangtze is enormous. The water power in the stretch of river between Ichang and Wanhsien, it is estimated, could generate over 20,000,000 electric horsepower, larger than the total production in any single country at present. This immense power would not only supply all railways, electric lines, and factories in the country, but it could be used to manufacture an enormous amount of artificial fertilizer. Lastly, Lungmen Falls on the Yellow River could also generate tens of millions of electric horsepower. Great, indeed, are China's natural resources!

When the water power in the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers is utilized to generate electricity according to the latest technique, 100,000,000 horsepower will be obtained, which, counting one horsepower equivalent to the power of eight strong men, is equivalent to 800,000,000 man power. Furthermore, according to the law of most countries, man works

only eight hours a day. In a previous lecture, I explained how a longer working day is injurious to the worker's health and lessens production. While man power can be used only eight hours per day, mechanical power can be used for all twenty-four hours. This means that one horsepower for a day and a night accomplishes as much work as twenty-four men. Thus by utilizing the water power in the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers to generate 100,000,000 horsepower of electric energy, we would be putting 2,400,000,000 men to work! When that time comes, we shall have enough power to supply railways, motor cars, fertilizer factories, and all kinds of manufacturing establishments; and China's poverty problem will be solved.

Han Yu's saying that "one family makes implements while six families use them," shows the fundamental cause of poverty. Out of the 400,000,000 in China, the great majority are not productive, but are merely sharing others' profits. Young children and old people cannot work; and a large number of able-bodied men, such as landowners who receive rents, depend on the work of others. For this reason, the country is getting very poor. But if we could make use of the Yangtze and Yellow River water power to generate 100,000,000 horsepower or 2,400,000,000 man power and let this great electric energy work for us, China would have an immense production and certainly would turn her poverty into riches. Thus in order to increase our agricultural production, we must use machinery to replace human labor and electric energy to manufacture artificial fertilizers.

ROTATION OF CROPS, DESTRUCTION OF PESTS, AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FOOD INDUSTRY

The third method is the rotation of crops. On the same piece of land one kind of plant is planted this year; another kind should be planted next year. Or, different brands of seed of the same kind should be planted in successive years; for instance, Kwangtung seed is planted this year; Hunan seed next year; and Szechuan seed year after next. The advantages of such a rotation are increase in crop yield and the improvement of the quality of crops through change and rest for the soil, and through the nourishment of the new soil and new atmosphere for the seeds.

The fourth method is the destruction of pests, which are of two kinds, injurious plants and injurious animals. For instance, in the rice fields all kinds of malformed grain, stalks, and weeds spring up at the time of planting. Since they grow exceedingly fast, they do not only hinder the growth of the rice, but also suck the fertility of the soil. Thus the farmers should apply scientific methods to get rid of these harmful weeds on the one hand, and to make use of these weeds in helping to increase the crop yield on the other.

There are numerous kinds of animal pests and the most common is the locust. Locusts and other kinds of injurious insects love to eat ripening plants and hence destroy the crop. This year the *nichi* crop in Kwantung is very small because just as these trees were ready to bear fruit, the caterpillars came and ate their flowers. The state should employ specialists to make a careful study of injurious insects and to find means of destroying them in order to save crops. Take an example of what may be done: the United States government is spending a large sum of money each year in destroying pests. As a result, there has been an increase of millions of dollars worth of agricultural produce every year. At present, Nanking has an entomological bureau for studying ways and means of destroying pests, but the bureau is handicapped from doing effective work because its finances and its scope of work are

too limited. What China should do is to follow the example of the United States using the resources of the entire nation for destroying injurious pests. In this way, pests will diminish and agricultural production in the country will show great increase.

The fifth method of increasing production is the development of the food industry. Food to be preserved for a long time or to be sent to distant places must pass through a preserving process. Our people have two common preserving methods, by drying and by salting; and so we have dried vegetables, dried fish, dried meat, salted vegetables, salted fish, and salted meat. Recently a new method has been introduced from the West: the food is first thoroughly cooked by boiling or baking, then put into cans, and the cans tightly sealed. In this way no matter how long the food has been kept, it tastes fresh when we open the can and eat it. This is the best method yet known for preserving food, and any kind of fish, meat, fruits, vegetables, or cookies can be canned and can be distributed throughout the country or sold abroad.

THE PROBLEM OF TRANSPORTATION

The sixth method is the development of transportation. In order to take the surplus produce of one place to places where the supply is insufficient, we must have exchanges of food products between the regions. Manchuria and North China produce beans and wheat, not rice; and the southern provinces produce rice, not beans and wheat. We may then ship the surplus beans and wheat of Manchuria and North China to the south and the surplus rice in the south to Manchuria and North China. Transportation is essential to facilitate this exchange of food products; and the biggest problem in China is that of transportation. Tremendous waste has occurred because of undeveloped transportation.

In most places in China, goods are transported by the carrying coolies or *t'iao fu*. The maximum a *t'iao fu* can do is to carry 100 catties and walk 100 *li* and he will charge at least one dollar for the work. Since modern methods of transportation are quicker and cheaper, this human method of transport is not only a waste of money, but also a waste of time. Much of China's prosperity has been lost through this old method of transportation. Even if we increase our agricultural production by means of the five methods just outlined, no good to the nation will be accomplished unless we also develop transportation.

A few years ago I met the chief of a native tribe in Yiin-nan. He owned large tracts of land and every year he had a large income of grain. He told me that he had to burn several thousand piculs of grain every year. I asked him why, since grain was an important food, he should burn it. He replied that he got much more grain every year than he could consume himself or sell. People around him, he said, were all well supplied with grain; and no merchants came to buy it. Since the carrying coolies could transport the grain only a few scores of *li*, he could not ship it to distant markets. Each year new grain was piled on top of the old grain. As this man did not have sufficient granaries to store all his grain, and as people in the market prefer new grain to old grain, the old grain was useless. Thus at harvest time, this man burnt all his old grain in order to make room for the new grain. In other words, overproduction and lack of adequate transportation were the causes of this man's burning the grain.

The greatest waste in China has been from using carrying coolies. There were once large numbers of carrying coolies in the city of Canton. Since wide streets were built, wheelbarrows have been introduced and we no longer depend upon the carrying coolies.

One wheelbarrow can carry as much as several coolies and save much in wages. Moreover, one motor car can carry the load of a dozen coolies and it saves the wages of a dozen coolies. Wheelbarrows and motor cars not only save money, but save a great deal of time in transportation. In the West District and in the country where no modern roads are built, we have to use carrying coolies for moving goods, especially for long distance and for heavy loads. In the country, even when wealthy men travel, they have to use sedan chairs and chair coolies. We can easily realize, then, how lack of adequate transportation facilities for important food products has handicapped the solution of the food problem.

MEANS OF TRANSPORTING FOOD

In ancient China, the most important means of transportation of food was by natural waterways or by canals. There is a canal from Hangchow, passing through Soo-chow, Chunkiang, Yangchow, Shantung, Tientsin, to Tungchow, near Peking. This canal is three thousand *li* long and is the longest canal in the world. Such a waterway has been very convenient, and if more steam ships and motor boats are added, it would be even more serviceable. Unfortunately the importance of this canal has been much underestimated. In order to solve the food problem through better transportation, not only old canals should be well kept up, but new canals should also be constructed. Besides canal transportation, ocean transportation should be developed and large steamers should be built, for ocean transport is the least expensive form of transportation.

The next convenient means of transportation is the railway. If railroads are built throughout the Eighteen Provinces, Sinkiang, Chinghai, Tibet, Inner and Outer Mongolia, China's food supply can circulate in all directions, and people in every part of the country can have cheap food to eat. So the construction of railways is also a good method of solving the food problem. There is the difficulty, however, that only railroads in the prosperous and busy sections of the country can make money. In poor and remote regions where traffic is not busy, a railroad is a losing business. It is better, therefore, to build motor roads connecting smaller cities and remote country regions.

When railroads are built to connect big cities and motor roads to connect small cities and country towns, all of them can be connected in a complete system of transportation, whereby large cities can use big locomotives and small towns can use motor cars to transport food products. For example, along the Canton-Hankow Railway, the section between Wongsha and Shiukwan, there are numerous small villages. If motor roads are built in and among these villages and make connections with the Railway, not only the Railway will have greater revenues, but also all villages will have convenient means of communication. On the other hand, if branch railways are built out to these villages, and trains, not motor cars, are used for transportation, the Railway will suffer a financial loss.

Recently someone proposed to build a railway between Canton and Macao, where the travel has hitherto depended upon coast steamers. But the distance between Canton and Macao is only a little more than 200 *li*. Such a railway will not pay for itself unless at least three trains run each day in both directions. Should only two trains run each day for the sake of reducing expenses, travel will not be convenient, business will decrease and loss will result. Therefore it will be more profitable to build a motor road between Canton and Macao and to run motor cars.

The initial capital for constructing motor roads is less than that required for building

railways. Moreover, the consumption of labor and of coal by a locomotive is heavy, and unless each locomotive pulls seven to eight cars on each run and has plenty of passengers or cargo, it cannot make money. On the other hand, on a motor road, when there are a good many passengers, one big bus may be provided; when still more passengers, two or three or more big busses may be provided. When there are few passengers, a small car is sufficient. A car, too, may start whenever passengers want to hire it: it does not have to run on a regular schedule as is the case with railway trains. Trains are in danger of collision if they do not follow a regular schedule. Thus between Canton and Macao, a motor road is far more convenient and a better paying proposition than a railway. For similar reasons, there is a tendency in foreign countries to build interurban bus lines to connect rural towns instead of branch railways. Those who are interested in developing modern transportation in China should keep these facts in mind. After railroads and motor roads are built, carrying coolies may still be used in the most remote regions where either of the two cannot be of service.

To summarize: there are four means of solving the problem of food transportation, namely, the construction of canals, the construction of railways, the construction of motor roads, and the provision of carrying coolies. When these four are accomplished, the four hundred millions in China will have plenty of cheap food to eat.

PREVENTION OF NATURAL CALAMITIES

The seventh method is the prevention of natural calamities. Kwantung is just now suffering from a big flood. The first crop of rice which should be harvested within a couple of weeks, is now immersed in water and ruined. The crop from each *mow* of land is worth at least ten dollars and so there is the loss of ten dollars for each *mow* of land under water. Since several million *mows* of farm land in Kwantung are flooded, the loss amounts to tens of millions of dollars. The prevention of such floods is an important step toward the solution of the food problem.

There are two temporary measures for preventing floods: building dykes and deepening waterways. In Kwantung a number of conservancy bureaus are established to take charge of the construction of high embankments at low places along the sides of the streams. In order to be able to resist overflow from the river and to protect the fields on both sides of the river from inundation, the embankments should be very solid. I saw last year some of the very strong dykes while I was directing war operations along the Eastern River. The other regulative method is to deepen the rivers and harbors and dredge all the silt and sand along the bottoms. In this way, there will be no silt in the harbors to hinder the flow of the rivers. Moreover, when river beds are deep, the waters can easily pass out to sea; and there will be no danger of overflow. These two methods—the deepening of waterways and the erection of dykes—should be used at the same time for one alone will not be sufficient to stop floods. These, however, are but temporary measures; and the permanent solution of the flood problem is forestation.

You may have noticed that in recent years flood disasters have become more frequent and that in ancient times floods were rare. This is because in ancient times there were extensive forests; but later the people kept on cutting off the timber without reforesting, and so mountains and ranges have become bare. In case of heavy rainfall, there are no forests in the mountains to absorb the rain or check the flow of rain water; and so the water

flows off the mountain into the rivers which immediately swell; hence there is flood disaster. Thick forests can absorb large volumes of water; the branches and leaves of the trees absorb the water in the air and the roots absorb the water on the ground. The water thus collected by the trees flows gradually down to the rivers, and so there is not the sudden swelling of rivers. Thus the fundamental method of flood prevention is forestation.

After creating forests there will be no floods in the country and the food problem will be partially solved. In order to be effective, forestation must be done by the state. This year floods are spreading all over China, in the south as well as in the north, and the loss has amounted to hundreds of millions of dollars. The country is already poverty-stricken. So when a big loss is incurred it is no wonder there is no immediate hope of solving the food problem!

Beside floods, there are droughts. After the Revolution Russia had a severe drought which lasted for over two years and a great many people died from starvation. The fact that this drought nearly caused the ruin of the Russian Revolution, serves to show how terrible droughts are., People used to think that droughts were fixed by fate and could not be prevented; but as science has advanced, ways and means for the prevention of droughts have been sought. Again the fundamental method of preventing droughts is forestation which must be done on a national scale by the state. Forests help to distribute evenly the moisture in the air and cause frequent rains, thereby diminishing droughts. For high land and places without springs, an irrigation method of preventing droughts may be used by pumping water by machinery. Such a method, like the dyke method of preventing floods, is only regulative. When both regulative and fundamental methods for preventing floods and droughts are practiced, namely, the construction of dykes, the deepening of rivers, the use of pumping machinery, and forestation, the country will be spared the great losses it now suffers from floods and droughts.

CAPITALISTIC BASIS OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Will China's food problem be solved after she has emancipated her peasants and practiced the seven means of increasing agricultural production ? Nay! We all know that the United States and many European countries are founded upon industry and commerce, and yet their governments are paying the greatest attention to agriculture. The United States, for example, is doing all she can to promote agricultural study and agricultural improvement. Besides the careful study of agriculture in her own country, she sends out specialists to foreign countries, even to Interior China, Manchuria, and Mongolia, to observe new methods of farming and to take back to America new seeds for purposes of research and experimentation. America is also very advanced in the transportation of agricultural products, in prevention of natural disasters, and in providing equipment for scientific study.

Notwithstanding all these accomplishments, the United States, it seems to me, has not yet solved her food problem. The United States has, it is true, plenty of food and exports an enormous amount of food every year. How, then, can it be said that she has not solved her food problem? Because America has the system of private capitalism ; in distribution her agriculture is still at the mercy of the capitalists. Under the system of private capitalism, when the methods of production are overdeveloped and the methods of distribution are not perfect, the people's livelihood will still be a problem. So both production and distribution

must be taken care of at the same time before the problem of livelihood can find a perfect solution. An equitable system of distribution is not possible under the system of private capitalism, because the one aim of production in the eyes of private capitalists is to make profits. Such being the aim of agricultural production, the capitalists will export food products for higher prices and better profits even though there may be a food shortage and starvation in their own country.

Since this profit-basis distribution stands in the way of a solution of the problem of livelihood, our program for distribution must not be based upon the principle of profit, but the principle of general welfare. Although China is short of food, she still exports to Japan and to Europe every year billions of eggs and large quantities of grain, rice, and beans. Because our capitalists want to make profits from these exports, they are letting the people starve. India is in the same condition. Although India faces famines every year, she stands third among the nations in the value of food sent to Europe. Why? Because India is under the capitalistic system dominated by the economic influence of the Europeans, profit-making is the only basis for food production. As long as the profit-motive is dominant, in spite of famines every year, the capitalists will not supply food to relieve the famine sufferers, for by so doing they cannot make any profit. They will keep on sending food to Europe to sell for profit, leaving the people in India in starvation.

In carrying out our doctrine of livelihood, we must proceed to destroy this kind of capitalism. Food should be produced, not for profits, but for the nourishment of the people. The surplus food at the end of each year should be saved and stored until there is sufficient surplus to supply the people for three years; and not until then should exportation of food be permitted. This illustrates the doctrine of livelihood in practice. This doctrine differs from the doctrine of capitalism in that the former aims at the maintenance of the general welfare and the latter aims at profit-making.

When the doctrine of livelihood is put into practice, the old, harmful capitalistic system can be easily destroyed. But the old system cannot be changed in a minute and it must be reformed gradually. For the present, our immediate concern is to increase food supply in the country; and after that, means may be devised to secure cheap food.

The unfavorable balance between our imports and exports and the exploitation of China by foreign economic influence have created a large national deficit and have forced us to export a large share of our people's food to balance this deficit. As a result, the cost of food is high and a large portion of our people do not have enough to eat. This condition of undernourishment has caused an increase in deaths and the decrease of our population from 400,000,000 to 310,000,000 in ten years. This is why, unless the food problem is solved, the doctrine of livelihood cannot be carried out.

THE FOUR NECESSITIES OF LIFE

Food is one of the four necessities of life. Economists used to say that food, shelter, and clothing are the three necessities of life. I believe there is a fourth necessity, namely, *hsin*—walking or traveling. The doctrine of livelihood aims not only at making these four necessities of life as cheap as possible, but at making every one in the country thoroughly enjoy all these four. If the *San Min* Doctrine is to create a new national life, every one of the four must be fully provided for all the people. This should be done only by the state, so that

any citizen who is not well provided with the four necessities of life can make complaints before the state.

But when the state does its duty toward the people, the people must do their duty toward the state. The farmer must produce plenty of food; the laborer must manufacture plenty of implements; the merchants must connect demand and supply; the scholar must be devoted to intellectual achievements—everyone in the country must do his duty. When everyone in China does his duty, everyone will be well provided with the four necessities of life— food, clothing, shelter, and traveling.

To recapitulate, the doctrine of livelihood aims at the solution of problems in connection with the four necessities of life. We have discussed the problem of food today. The first step in solving the food problem is the increase of production. Then, the problem of the distribution of food can be taken care of by saving the surplus food each year until there is sufficient surplus to supply the people for three years. Until then, no exportation of food will be permitted. This practice of saving surplus food is in fact the revival of the old system of public granaries. The recent breakdown of this public granary system and the oppression of foreign economic influence have contributed to the widespread poverty in China.

Livelihood, indeed, is an urgent problem today. If we do not solve the problem now, it will become more difficult to solve later. -Our Kuomintang relies upon the *San Min* Doctrine to reconstruct this nation. As we work out the doctrine of livelihood, we should emphasize practical application as well as theory and our first practical problem is that of food. The solution of the food problem, to repeat for emphasis, first depends upon abundant production, then upon equitable distribution, and lastly upon the fact that the people do their duty faithfully toward the state. There will be, then, peace and prosperity in the country and the food problem will be solved. With the food problem taken care of, other problems can easily be solved.

IV. THE PROBLEM OF CLOTHING

LECTURE FOUR

Delivered on August 24., 1924.

THE SUBJECT for today's discussion is the problem of clothing. The first important problem under the doctrine of livelihood is that of food and the second is that of clothing. So, after completing the discussion of the problem of food, we take up the problem of clothing. If we analyze the phenomena of life from an evolutionary point of view, we get an idea of the relative importance of food and clothing. All animals and plants must have food or they die. Food, indeed, is essential not only to animals, but also to plants. But among all objects in the universe, man alone wears clothing; and what is more, only civilized man wears clothing. No plants and no animals other than man wear clothes and even the savage man does not wear clothes. Food, therefore, is of primary importance to livelihood; and clothing, of secondary importance.

THE ORIGIN OF CLOTHING

The fact that the savage peoples in Africa and Malaysia do not wear clothing proves that our ancient ancestors also did not wear clothing. Clothing is a product of civilization ; as civilization is more advanced, the problem of clothing becomes more complicated. Primitive man wore only "natural clothing"—by that I mean animal furs and bird feathers. These furs and feathers grow naturally on the bodies of the animals for protection, and their function is similar to that of clothing: so I call it "natural clothing."

Primitive man also had much hair on the body, and we may call it man's natural clothing. As his culture advanced to the pastoral stage, man used skin as his clothing. Inasmuch as animal skin was used to cover the body, the hair on man's body lost its original function, and so it began to disappear gradually. Henceforth, the more perfect man's clothes became, the less hair there was on his body. The savage races and less progressive peoples still have much hair on the body, and the progressive races do not have much hair. That the Europeans have more hair than the Chinese, seems to show that the Europeans are less advanced from the standpoint of natural evolution.

So man's original cloak was his natural hair. Afterward, when he was more advanced in culture, he killed wild animals and used their flesh for food and their skin for clothing. There is an old colloquial expression, "Eat raw meat and sleep on skins." This is frequently used in an abusive manner to characterize a man as uncultured; it is, however, a proof that the ancient man, after killing an animal, ate its flesh and used its skin for clothing. As time went on, men became more numerous and wild animals decreased; then there were not enough animal skins to meet the demand. So, new ways had to be invented to furnish materials for clothing. What are the new materials? In the previous lecture, I pointed out that we get our food from animals and plants. We get our clothing materials from similar sources. There is, indeed, no important source either of food or of materials for clothing other than animals and plants.

THE THREE STANDARDS OF LIVING

How far may we go toward solving the problem of clothing? In the civilized world there are three standards of living. The first is that of necessity. Certain things are absolute essentials to subsistence: without them, man will die; and without sufficient of them, man cannot keep up the minimum of physical efficiency.

After necessities have been provided, man struggles for the next level, the comfort level. Other things than mere necessities are provided to make man's life comfortable and pleasant. Finally, after getting all the comforts, man still wants to have a higher level of life, namely, the luxury level. Take clothing for illustration. In ancient times, "cotton cloth for summer and furs for winter" were considered ample. But when man reached the level of comfort, he was not contented with cotton cloth and furs that barely met his physical needs, he wanted his clothing to fit his body and to be comfortable.

Later, man advanced another step and began to seek beauty and refinement. Then cotton cloth gave way to delicate silk and pongee, and ordinary furs were replaced by seal and sable furs. Eating of food has evolved in just the same manner as clothing: from the level of necessity to that of comfort and then from the level of comfort to that of luxury. At first, man was satisfied with some simple vegetables and coarse rice. Later on, he must have wine, meat, and other delicious dishes; and now, as in the case of the Cantonese feast, all sorts of luxurious dishes, such as birds' nests and sharks' fins are supplied.

For the present our doctrine of livelihood does not attempt to solve the problem of comfort, nor the problem of luxury. It covers only the problem of necessity. Its aim is to have the four hundred millions in this country well supplied with the necessities of livelihood. As already said, China's population has decreased from 400,000,000 to 310,000,000. We must solve now the clothing problem for the 310,000,000 by means of a comprehensive plan of production and manufacturing, or in a few years there will be another decrease of a few more millions. We must first study how materials for clothing are produced. There are four kinds of clothing materials, two from animals and two from plants. They are: (1) silk, (2) flax, (3) cotton, and (4) wool. Cotton and flax come from plants, and silk and wool come from animals. Needless to say, silk is spun by the little silkworms; and wool grows upon the back of camels and other animals. These four materials—silk, wool, cotton, and flax—are all that man uses for clothing materials.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SILK INDUSTRY

First, let us consider silk which is a very fine material for clothing. Silk was first discovered in China and the people in ancient China used to wear silk. The Europeans and Americans are now far ahead of us in civilization, but at the time when our ancestors wore silk, the ancestors of the Europeans and Americans not only did not know enough to wear silk, but wore no clothes at all except the so-called "natural clothing." They were in a state of savagery and still "eating raw meat and drinking blood." During the last two or three hundred years their civilization has progressed rapidly and even advanced farther than ours; and they have learned to use silk. Silk is used by the Westerners not as a necessity but as a luxury.

Although silk was discovered in China several thousands of years ago, the necessary articles of Chinese clothing are not made of silk; and as a matter of fact, the majority of our

people cannot afford to wear silk. Thus the key to the clothing problem of the three hundred millions is not silk. Every year most of China's silk products are shipped abroad; and during the early years of our foreign trade, silk was the chief export. At that time, an enormous amount of Chinese silk was exported, but the amount of imports from foreign countries was small; and the result was that our exports exceeded the imports. Besides silk, the next most important export is tea. Since foreigners at first did not know how to grow tea and to produce silk, silk and tea used to be our chief exports. Foreigners drank wine before they had tea, but later on tea was often used in place of wine. As the tea habit was formed, tea became a necessary food in foreign countries.

Then for a long time, our exports of silk and tea just balanced the imports into China. But later on, the Europeans learned from us how to manufacture silk; and France and Italy have become silk-producing countries. What is more significant, the foreigners, through scientific studies have made many improvements over our method of sericulture and silk-reeling. The Japanese, who used our method for a long period of time, have introduced into their country the new methods of sericulture and silk-reeling from Europe. Consequently, the Japanese now are able to produce more silk and better silk than the Chinese. This explains why Chinese silk and tea have been crowded out of international markets by products from other countries and why the amount of our silk and tea for exporting purposes has been decreasing steadily in recent years. Meanwhile, we use a huge amount of foreign gauze, foreign cotton cloth, and foreign yarn as necessary articles for making our clothing. As our silk and tea cannot be sold and we have no other commodities to market in return for the imports, our country is suffering every year a deficit of \$500,000,000 from the excess of imports over exports. This is an example of what I call foreign economic pressure; and as this pressure becomes heavier, our problem of livelihood becomes more difficult of solution.

Referring to our silk industry, the old methods of production and manufacturing were once satisfactory; but for centuries, these same old methods have been followed and no improvements have ever been attempted. Foreigners who learned our methods, have kept on making improvements in them, so they have been able to manufacture better silk; and their silk industry has supplanted ours. Thus defective methods of production are responsible for the decline in our silk industry! Most of the Chinese silkworms are diseased: out of 10,000 silkworms, the majority die before maturity. Even those which mature are often diseased, and produce silk of poor texture and a dull color. Moreover, because of our defective methods of silk-reeling, the threads have too many breaks in them, making them unsuitable for foreign silk looms.

Only a few decades ago foreign sericulture was not better than ours. When the Chinese farmer suffered a loss of his crop of silkworms, he attributed it to fate and did nothing, whereas the European farmer used scientific principles to discover the cause of the death of the silkworms and to remedy it. To be sure, he may at first have attributed the loss of his crop also to fate, but science eventually broke down his superstition. The biologist has studied minutely all forms of life, not only those visible to the naked eyes, but also, by means of a microscope which magnifies thousands of times, those too small for the naked eye to see.

In the course of such investigations, a French scientist named Pasteur discovered that bacteria were the cause of diseases in animals, whether human beings or silkworms, and that so long as these bacteria were alive, the diseased animals were in danger of

death. After long, extensive researches, Pasteur was able to understand the nature and types of these bacteria and to find means of eradicating them in order to get rid of the diseases in silkworms.

When the knowledge of the new method of curing diseases in silkworms was disseminated among the silk growers in France and Italy, the French and Italian farmers applied it effectively, resulting in a rapid reduction of diseased silkworms and an improvement of the quality of silk. Later on, Japanese growers learned the new method from the French and Italian farmers with very excellent results.

When men realized that the conservatism of Chinese farmers and their unwillingness to adopt new methods were the causes of the decline of the Chinese silk industry, attempts were made to introduce the new methods of sericulture and silk-reeling into China. The silk merchants in Shanghai recently established a station for testing raw silk and for introducing scientific methods of improving the silk. Lingnam University in Canton is also making scientific experiments for improving silkworm eggs. But there is only a handful of people to apply new scientific methods; the great majority of silk growers are still ignorant.

If China is to reform her silk industry and is to be able to compete with foreign countries in the silk market, the silk growers in China must apply modern science to improve the quality of silkworm eggs, the quality of mulberry trees, the methods of reeling the silk from the cocoons, and the quality and color of all kinds of raw silk. As long as old methods stay, Chinese mulberry leaves, silkworm eggs, and consequently the quality of silk, will be inferior. In due time, the whole silk industry in China may be completely destroyed because we ourselves use little silk and foreigners do not buy our silk. What is worse, we shall have no silk to exchange for imported cotton cloth and gauze which are used as necessary articles of Chinese clothing.

One of the ways to bring about a satisfactory solution of the clothing problem, that is, to supply sufficient materials for making clothes for the common people in China, is then, to reform the silk industry. Moreover, not only foreigners no longer use Chinese silk, but more and more the silks used by the wealthy Chinese families are being imported because foreign silk goods are superior to Chinese gauzes and satins. True, China's gauzes and satins were once unexcelled anywhere, but since the foreigners have discovered new methods of weaving silks and satins by machinery, they have made better goods than ours. So in addition to the improvement of silkworm eggs, and mulberry trees, and the reform of methods of sericulture and of silk-reeling, China must learn to manufacture silk and satin by machinery. After these things are accomplished, we will be able to make beautiful silk goods for home consumption, and after our own needs are met, to export the surplus to foreign countries in exchange for other commodities.

THE PROBLEM OF THE LINEN INDUSTRY

Next, let us consider flax which is also an important clothing material. Flax was also first discovered in China. In ancient time, the Chinese knew how to make linen; and the old method of manufacturing linen is still used by the Chinese today. Meanwhile, foreigners have invented the making of linen by machine; and the machine-made linen is almost as bright as silk. Furthermore, foreigners make all kinds of fabrics from flax and silk mixed

together, which are very popular in the West. Since these fabrics were introduced into China, the Chinese have become fond of them also. As a consequence, the imported linen has taken away much of the business of the Chinese linen industry.

What is the trouble with the Chinese linen? In the first place, Chinese linen is suitable for making summer clothing only and so it can be used only for one season. Though much flax is raised in the provinces, it has a limited market. In the second place, the Chinese linen is made by hand, not by machine. The hand method not only consumes much time and raises the cost of production; but it makes poor linen. To reform the Chinese linen industry it is necessary to make scientific studies in cultivation of flax, in the application of fertilizers, and in the processes of manufacturing. In all the processes, from the cultivation of flax to the final process of manufacturing linen, new scientific methods must be used in place of old unscientific methods. I believe this can be done only through a large project by which the whole nation can be influenced. We shall, then, produce good linen and get inexpensive clothes.

THE PROBLEM OF THE COTTON INDUSTRY

Besides silk and flax, cotton is used for clothing material and recently wool has gradually come into use. While only the well-to-do can afford silk and linen, to the common people, cotton is a necessary material. Yet unlike silk and flax which were discovered by the Chinese, cotton is not native to China; the Ceiba cotton was originally introduced from India. Since it was introduced, cotton has been planted throughout China, and spun and woven into cloth; a great textile industry has resulted. Then the introduction of foreign cotton cloth brought a crisis to the native textile industry. The imported cloth has better quality and is cheaper than the native cotton cloth; and so the Chinese would rather use foreign cloth than the native cloth. This means that we have to depend upon a foreign country for the most necessary clothing material. Even the small Chinese mills that still exist use foreign yarn in the weaving.

Meanwhile, China produces every year a great deal of raw cotton; it is the third largest cotton producing country in the world, being second only to the United States and India. Although she produces so much cotton and although the quality of her cotton is good, yet because of her industrial backwardness, she cannot use her cotton to manufacture good cloth and yarn. The only thing for her to do is to export her cotton. It goes principally to Japan; the rest to Europe and America. These countries, then, produce good cloth by mixing our cotton with their native cotton, and then ship the cloth back to China to sell at big profits. For example, in the cotton mills in Osaka, Japan, more than one-half of the raw material comes from China; and the Osaka cloth is being sold throughout China. China has plenty of cheap labor and plenty of cotton; why should she ship the cotton to Japan to be made into cloth? Why do not her own mills manufacture the cloth?

On the other hand, Japan does not have an abundant labor supply and pays high wages. She depends upon China to supply part of the raw materials she uses; and she must ship the cloth to China in order to find a market. With all these difficulties, it is a wonder that Japan can still get big profits from her textile industry. The explanation is that because Japan's machine industry is highly developed, and China's is not, the Japanese can make cheaper cloth than we can.

LOSSES DUE TO OUR INDUSTRIAL BACKWARDNESS

The solution of the clothing problem, is therefore, in the development of agriculture and industry. As long as our agriculture and our industry are not developed, we cannot manufacture inexpensive cloth and we shall have to depend upon foreign countries for our supply of clothing materials. Foreigners do not sell us cheap cloth as a service only or consider it as a tribute: they are after profits. For every dollar's worth of goods, we have to pay two dollars.

On the one hand, we must pay high prices for our clothing; and on the other hand, China's wealth goes into the hands of foreigners. This is what I call the foreign economic pressure; and the root cause of this pressure is our own industrial backwardness. Since our industry is not developed, we must export our cotton at a low price, and at the same time, buy the foreign cloth at a high price. The difference is paid in the form of cash or of food; and it brings us more and more poverty and starvation. Such a state of affairs resembles the condition of a prodigal son, who, being unable to make a living, sells all the rare and precious heirlooms of the family for something to eat and to wear. Such are the actual conditions, and because of such conditions China is being dominated by foreign economic force!

In the course of my lectures on the *Doctrine of Nationalism*, I pointed out that due to the foreign economic pressure China loses to foreign Powers every year from \$1,200,000,000 to \$1,500,000,000. The largest single item of this huge amount of national deficit comes from excess of imports over exports. The Customs Reports during the last two or three years show that the excess of imports over exports amounts to 300,000,000 Haikwan Taels each year, equal approximately to 500,000,000 Shanghai dollars, or \$600,000,000 in terms of small Cantonese coins.

The largest items of imported goods are the foreign cloth and the foreign yarn; both are manufactured from cotton; and so China's largest loss from foreign trade is in the importation of cotton goods, which, according to Customs Reports, amount to 200,000,000 Haikwan Taels each year, or 300,000,000 Shanghai dollars. As China's population is 300,000,000, the loss is one dollar per capita. This shows that for clothing, the second necessity of livelihood, China depends largely upon foreign sources. But China herself has plenty of cotton and plenty of cheap labor. Just because she has not developed her industry, she has to pay this exorbitant price to clothe her population. As long as this continues, China will remain under the feet of foreign economic exploiters and there will be no solution for the clothing problem. Now, the question is: How can China solve the clothing problem by decreasing the importation of foreign cloth and foreign yarn?

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE CHINESE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

During the World War, as the Western countries were unable to export to China their cloth and yarn, all our imported cloth and yarn came from Japan. At that time, Japan was supplying ammunition and arms to the Allies. Since larger profits came from selling ammunition and arms to the Allies than from selling cotton cloth and cotton yarn to China, the Japanese manufacturers preferred to make ammunition and arms rather than cotton goods; so only a few small factories were left to make cotton cloth and cotton yarn to be exported to China. Consequently, there was a shortage of supply in the Chinese market, and the prices of foreign cloth and foreign yarn went very high. Finally, the Chinese merchants who were interested in speculative business, established a number of cotton

mills equipped with modern machinery. They purchased the native cotton to make foreignized yarn, and then manufactured foreignized cloth from the yarn. These mills were very prosperous, especially those in Shanghai, which had a return of three and four dollars for each dollar. The Chinese merchants were very much interested in this undertaking; and so they put huge sums of money into it. Many "cotton kings" and new millionaires and multimillionaires were created. But what is the present condition? A great majority of these mills have failed or are closed. They had to close, or go bankrupt. Some of the multimillionaires have now become poor men. Why?

It was generally supposed that machinery had enabled foreigners to make big profits in the textile industry because machine-made cloth and yarn were of better quality and produced at a lower cost than those made by hand. The difference between the two was so great that the foreign cloth could compete favorably with the native cloth even though foreigners had to pay the cost of shipping the Chinese cotton abroad and the cost of re-shipping the finished product to China. So the Chinese capitalists supposed that they could also make big money through machine-production. They opened many modern mills, well equipped and well capitalized—from the neighborhood of a million to tens of millions of dollars. Indeed, they were very prosperous at first; but they all lost money in the end. A good many of these mills are closed and the "cotton kings" have reverted to ordinary poor fellows.

Both Chinese mills and foreign mills used machinery: why could foreigners make money by manufacturing cloth by machinery while the Chinese could not? Moreover, the raw material for making foreign cloth came partly from China. Foreigners had to buy Chinese cotton, to ship it to their own country, and after the cloth was made, ship the cloth to China. Two big transportation charges were involved in shipping back and forth. Also the wages in foreign countries are much higher than Chinese wages. The Chinese manufacturers, on the other hand, could get their raw materials from their own land and have command of cheap labor. Logically speaking, the Chinese manufacturers should have been even more prosperous than the foreign manufacturers. Why were the actual results the opposite?

It may be explained by the pressure of foreign political force. Foreigners have exploited China not only by means of economic force, but also by political force. The economic force is a natural force and is what the Chinese call *wang tao* or "spontaneous action." It may be ineffective at times as a weapon for exploitation. When it becomes ineffective, political force which we used to call *pao tao* or "compulsory action," is used to re-enforce the economic force in the process of exploitation. When the Chinese handicraft industry failed to compete with foreign machine industry, it was purely an economic question. When, after the World War, the Chinese cotton mills, also using machinery, failed in the competition with the foreign mills, it was no longer an economic question, but a political question. How have the foreign Powers used political force to exploit China?

After China was defeated in many international wars during the Manchu regime, the Powers forced on China many unequal treaties which the foreign countries have used in suppressing China even until now. As long as China is bound by these treaties, she is not free to do anything to protect her own welfare. If China were to stand on an equal political basis with other nations, she could compete freely with them in the economic field and it might be possible to hold her position in the process of competition. But when political

force is used by other nations to re-enforce the economic force, China has no way to maintain her position and is bound to lose.

THE EFFECTS OF UNEQUAL TREATIES

What are the effects of China's unequal treaties upon the cotton problem? At present when foreign cotton goods enter our ports, a customs duty of 5 per cent is collected; on sending them to the interior, a surtax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent is collected, whereby the goods will be exempted from paying any likin. Thus by paying a tax of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, the foreign cotton goods can be shipped to and sold in any part of China without any additional taxation. At the same time, the foreignized cloth manufactured by the Chinese mills receives totally different treatment.

During the Manchu days, the Chinese who were still unawakened, stupidly agreed, at the suggestion of foreigners, that all kinds of cloth manufactured by Chinese factories in such places as Shanghai should also pay a 5 per cent duty, the same as the imported cloth. But when the Chinese cloth goes into the interior, unlike the foreign cloth, it is further required to pay the usual likin. The privilege of paying a surtax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and of being exempted from paying likin is not extended to Chinese cloth. Thus the Chinese cloth is taxed at every likin station. In this way, the price of the Chinese manufactured cloth is necessarily high; and in turn, this expensiveness prevents it from being popular. This is why even the machine-made cloth in China cannot compete favorably with the foreign cloth in the Chinese markets.

As a result of treaty provision, the Maritime Customs and the Native Customs have been put under foreign control. For instance, the Maritime Customs in Canton is not under the control of the Chinese, but of foreigners. While the Chinese are not free to increase the tariff on foreign goods, except with the common consent of the treaty Powers, the foreigners can levy duties upon Chinese goods passing through the Customs. Then after passing through the Customs barriers, the Chinese goods still pay the likin as many times as there are likin stations to pass before reaching their destination; and the foreign goods are exempted from all likin after paying once the surtax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Such is the inequality of tariff rates on Chinese and foreign goods, and such is the cause of the failure of the Chinese textile industry!

No free independent country in Europe or in America suffers any such treaty restriction on tariff as our country does. Every government is free to fix its own tariff rates according to the economic conditions of the country and its relations to other countries. When it desires to protect a home industry from foreign competition, it may set up a high tariff known as the "protective tariff" in order to prevent the imported goods being sold cheaper than native goods. For example, Japan levies at least 30 per cent duty on goods imported from China; and no excise is levied on Japanese goods. Suppose the original cost of the Japanese goods is \$100 and the goods are sold for \$120. Since no duty is paid, there should be a net profit of \$20. Suppose the original cost of the Chinese goods is the same as that of the Japanese goods, and the Chinese goods are sold also for \$120. After paying the customs, there would be a loss of \$10 on the Chinese goods. In this way, the Japanese goods can compete favorably with the Chinese goods, and thereby the Japanese government protects its home industries. This is the sort of economic policy modern nations have maintained to protect the home industries from undue foreign competition and to encourage their free de-

velopment.

Political power is, therefore, essential to protect home industries from undue competition in order to prepare the way for solving the problem of livelihood. At present, being bound by treaty restrictions and having lost her political sovereignty, China has a tariff which protects foreign industries instead of her own. This is, as already said, caused first by the capitalistic expansion, mechanical progress, and economic superiority of the Powers, and second, by the re-enforcement of their economic force by their political force. So during the World War, when there was no foreign cloth and no foreign yarn to compete with Chinese goods here, the Chinese mills were very prosperous. As soon as the War was concluded and foreign goods again poured into China, the Chinese mills were driven out of business.

NEED OF PROTECTIVE TARIFF

China's most important clothing problem is the cotton problem; and we have no solution for this problem in sight. The Chinese textile industry is yet in its infancy: the machines used in our mills are not as good as those used in foreign mills, and the discipline and organization in our factories are not as perfect as in foreign factories. Even without the paying of customs and likins it is difficult for the Chinese cotton industry to compete with foreign countries; and so we must copy the tariff policy of the Western nations in order to safeguard the development of our cotton industry.

A few decades ago, when Britain held industrial supremacy in the world, most countries depended on her for supplies of necessities. At that time, the United States was as yet essentially an agricultural country and her industries, small as they were, were handicapped in their development by British competition. Afterwards, the United States adopted a protective policy, levying an importation tax of 50 to 100 per cent on all goods imported. Thus the goods imported from Britain were put in an unfavorable position in competition with the American goods. As a result, Britain stopped sending many kinds of goods to America and the industries in America flourished splendidly. Now the United States has surpassed Britain in industrial development.

Again, a few decades ago, Germany, being also an agricultural country, depended upon Britain for a number of necessary commodities; and the German industries suffered undue competition from British industries. After a protective tariff was put in force, German industries also steadily prospered until Germany became the leading industrialized nation in the world.

In order to develop Chinese industries, we must follow the examples of the United States and of Germany, and set up a protective policy. At the present time, China is being treated by the Powers as a colonial market. China's political sovereignty and finances are controlled by the Powers. So economic measures alone will not solve China's problem of livelihood; we must resort to political measures, such as the abrogation of unequal treaties and the retrocession of tariff economy. When China has achieved political independence, she may practice the policy of protective tariff. Foreign goods will not come in so freely as at the present, and Chinese industries will naturally flourish.

Not knowing the fundamental solution, we used to agitate for boycotting foreign

goods as a measure of promoting home industries, but our agitation invariably failed to secure co-operation. Even if national co-operation could be secured, boycotting would not bring satisfactory results in the development of home industries. As long as China is politically weak, and as long as our Customs policy is controlled by foreigners, we shall not be free to fix our own tariff rates. As long as we are not free to fix our own tariff rates, we have no way of making foreign cloth more expensive than Chinese cloth. As long as the foreign cloth is cheaper than the native cloth, the people, however patriotic they may be, will buy the foreign cloth in place of the native cloth.

Even if methods were devised to restrain the people from buying foreign goods at a cheaper price, such methods are so contrary to the laws of individual economy that they are bound to fail. Suppose a family buys \$30 worth of foreign cotton every year. Suppose for the purpose of boycotting foreign goods, this family buys native cloth instead : The native cloth is more expensive than the foreign cloth; instead of spending \$30 a year, the family has to spend \$50 to \$60 for the same amount of cloth. There, then, is a waste of \$20 to \$30 every year. However willing this family may be to waste that much money purely for patriotic reasons, the sentiment will not last forever because it is contrary to economic laws.

The only enduring method of boycotting foreign goods is the one in accordance with the laws of political economy, and that is the abrogation of unequal treaties, by which we may regain the control of our Customs and be free to fix our own tariff. Then we can equalize the prices of foreign and Chinese cotton goods so that every family in China will spend only \$30 a year no matter whether it buys foreign or Chinese cloth. The patriotic family will naturally buy Chinese cloth in preference to foreign cloth.

Or, to go one step further, we may fix the tariff in such a way that the foreign cloth will be more expensive than the Chinese cloth. The family that uses foreign cloth must spend \$30 a year, for which the family that uses Chinese cloth will spend only \$20. In this way, the Chinese cloth will be put in a favorable position to compete with the foreign cloth; and the Chinese textile industries will be bound to prosper. You see, then, that if we are to solve the clothing problem, which is related to the doctrine of livelihood, we must employ political powers to protect home industries by keeping foreign cloth out of our ports.

THE PROBLEM OF THE WOOL INDUSTRY

I have mentioned four essential materials for making clothing, namely, silk, flax, cotton, and wool. China produces much wool, and as a matter of fact, the Chinese wool is often superior in quality to foreign wool. Since the woolen industry is not yet developed in China, we do not manufacture woollens, but export our wool to foreign countries. Again, the foreigners make the woolen goods out of our wool and then import them into China at big profits.

When we have restored our sovereign rights, we can use the power of the state to develop woolen industries as well as cotton industries, so that our people need not buy foreign woolen goods for making winter clothes. When we have more woolen goods than we need, we may export the surplus in the same way as we would our surplus silk. At present, because our woolen industry is not developed, we use only pelts; and there is no way to utilize the loose cut wool, which is then sold at very low prices to the foreigners. Foreigners make very expensive woolen goods out of them and ship these back to China to

be sold at a good profit. This is the way our wool and cotton industries are exploited by foreign economic and political forces.

To recapitulate, if we are to solve our clothing problem, we must use the strength of the entire nation by means of a comprehensive program to restore our political sovereignty; to develop our agriculture and industry in connection with silk, flax, cotton, and wool through state management; to restore to ourselves the control of Customs; and to protect these four clothing industries by heavily taxing exported raw materials and imported manufactured goods. In this way, Chinese textile industries will prosper and the problem of clothing materials will be out of the way.

FUNCTIONS OF CLOTHING

Now that we have seen a solution of the problem of clothing materials, we shall briefly dwell on the functions of clothing. As already said, clothes were originally used to defend against cold; so that the first function of clothing was bodily protection. Subsequently, as civilization advanced, clothes were used as bodily ornament; hence the second function of clothing was beautification or glorification of one's appearance. This function is as old as civilization. During the age of savagery, though man wore no clothing to glorify his appearance, he practiced tattooing of his body, or *wen sheng*, that is, coloring the body by pricking in coloring matters so as to form indelible figures.

Nowadays the function of clothing in beautifying the appearance is, as a matter of fact, given more attention than its function in bodily protection against cold. At times, bodily protection is sacrificed for the sake of beautification. As modern society has introduced all kinds of luxuries and extravagance, not only new materials with fancy patterns appear constantly, but styles of clothing change from year to year and from season to season. Man's station in life and his social standing are judged from the appearance of his clothing; and the term, "clothing and ornaments," *yi kuan wen wu*, is used as synonymous with culture and advancement. In the days of monarchism, clothing was used as a symbol of aristocracy to enforce class distinction: this is the third function of clothing.

Even in modern republics where all classes are supposed to be equal and where democracy is the ideal, the tradition of showing the differences of rank by the appearance of the uniform is very strong in the army and navy. So clothing traditionally has three functions: first, bodily protection; second, bodily ornament; and third, class distinction. But I believe there is another function, and that is convenience. In the age when all men are equal and when labor is considered sacred, clothing, as a necessity of life, should be made very convenient for working. Thus the ideal clothing needed by our people should be sufficient to protect the body, good-looking, and convenient for working.

In accordance with the doctrine of livelihood, the state should establish large clothing factories throughout the country. These factories should manufacture clothing needed by the people, based upon the three ideal qualities just mentioned. The amount of production and the styles should be adjusted in accordance with the size of our population, the seasonal differences and the climatic conditions in different parts of the country. It should be the duty of the state, where the *San Min* Doctrine is followed, to see that every one of its citizens is well supplied with necessary clothing. At the same time, I must emphasize once more—the people must fulfill their duties of citizenship toward the state; anyone who does not fulfill his duties of citizenship forfeits his rights of citizenship, and his privilege of

being a master of the nation. He is only a vagabond and is the common enemy of the state and of the society. In that case, the government should resort to legal or forceful methods to transform the vagabond into a sacred worker, and to make him enjoy his rights of citizenship as others do. When all vagabonds are eliminated and everybody in the state is a producer, there will be plenty of food, plenty of clothing, peace, and prosperity. And the problem of livelihood will then be solved.

[NOTE: Dr. Sun never completed the lectures on the Doctrine of Livelihood. According to Mr. Tai Chi-tao, "The Problem of Housing," "The Problem of Health," "The Problem of Death," "Conclusion on the Doctrine of Livelihood," and "The Conclusion on the *San Min* Doctrine" were among the list of subjects that the late revolutionary leader was to take up after the present lecture. See *Hsing Ming Kuo Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 2, (June, 1925).]