

# SAN MIN ZHU YI

## 【三民主義】

The Three Principles of the People

By Sun Yat-sen

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Compiled by Tilman Aretz

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# The Three Principles of the People (三民主義)

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## Preliminary Remarks from the Editor

Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙 (1866-1925)—aka Sun Wen 孫文, posthumously known as Sun Zhongshan 孫中山 or Zhongshan 中山—has been widely regarded as the Father of the Nation (*guofu* 國父) on both sides of the Taiwan Strait for his contributions to toppling the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) and founding the Republic of China (*Zhonghua minguo* 中華民國, abbrev. ROC). Most texts about the history of the ROC mention Dr. Sun’s “Three Principles of the People” (*sanmin zhuyi* 三民主義) as an important intellectual foundation of the ROC. Article 1 of the ROC Constitution reads: “The Republic of China, founded on the Three Principles of the People, shall be a democratic republic of the people, to be governed by the people and for the people.” (中華民國基於三民主義，為民有民治民享之民主共和國。). The significance of the Three Principles of the People is also highlighted by the fact that the four characters of the Chinese term form the first line in the national anthem of the ROC.



While the Three Principles of the People were a compulsive subject in schools in the ROC and part of the entry examinations for civil servants for decades, so far no complete and unabridged English version of Dr. Sun’s political philosophy has been available online in a digital format. This file presents the official English translation (done in 1927 by Frank W. Price) and the Chinese original.

The English text in this file is based on the book “San Min Chu I. The Three Principles of the People” by Sun Yat-sen, published in April 1997 by the Government Information Office (*xingzhengyuan xinwenju* 行政院新聞局, abbrev. GIO). That book (apparently produced and distributed by the Taipei-based China Publishing Company without ISBN number) comprised sixteen lectures held by Dr. Sun between Jan. 27 and Aug. 24, 1924 at the Canton Normal High School (*Guangzhou guoli gaodeng shifan xuexiao* 廣州國立高等師範學校):

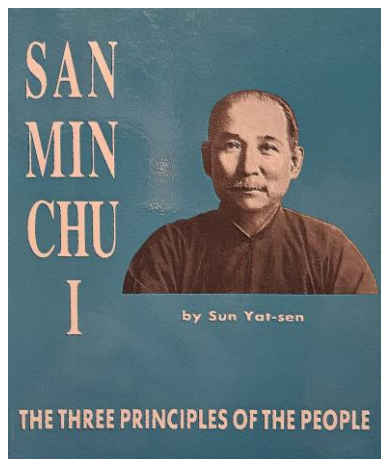
- six on the Principle of Nationalism (*minzu zhuyi* 民族主義),
- six on the Principle of Democracy (*minquan zhuyi* 民權主義), and
- four on the Principle of Livelihood (*minsheng zhuyi* 民生主義).

Because Sun Yat-sen fell ill with cancer in December 1924 and passed away on March 12, 1925 before he could complete his lectures, the publishers of said volume added Two Supplementary Chapters to Lectures on the Principle of People’s Livelihood (*minsheng zhuyi yule liangpian bushu* 民生主義育樂兩篇補述) by Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887-1975)—“National fecundity, social welfare and education” (*yude wenti* 育的問題), and “Health and happiness” (*lede wenti* 樂的問題), with an Introduction (*xuyan* 序言) on top and a Conclusion (*jielun* 結論) at the end. As the Three Principles of the People represent Sun Yat-sen’s political philosophy and not that of Chiang Kai-shek, the two supplementary chapters are omitted here.

The translator Frank W. Price (1895-1974) aka Francis Wilson Price (Chinese name: *Bi Fanyu* 畢範宇) was a missionary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (PCUS). Born in China’s Zhejiang province as son of missionary parents from the US, he worked closely with the ROC government and Chiang Kai-shek. The Chinese Communists expelled Price in 1952. He never took residence in Taiwan but visited the island in the 1960s.

WEB LINKS—The Chinese text used in this file was copied from the website of the [Sun Yat-sen School](#). Another website showing the full text of the THREE PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE in Chinese is [Wikisource](#). The [Taiwan Politics Database](#) presents the full text of the THREE PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE in [English](#) and [Chinese](#).





### Author's Preface

After the three volumes of my *Plans for National Reconstruction—Psychological Reconstruction, Material Reconstruction, Social Reconstruction*—had been published,<sup>1</sup> I devoted myself to the writing of *Reconstruction of the State*, in order to complete the series. This book, which was larger than the former three volumes, included *The Principle of Nationalism, The Principle of Democracy, The Principle of Livelihood, The Quintuple-Power Constitution, Local Government, Central Government, Foreign Policy, National Defense*, altogether eight parts. Part One, *The Principle of Nationalism*, had already gone to press; the other two parts on democracy and livelihood were almost completed while the general line of thought and method of approach in the other parts had already been mapped out. I was waiting, for some spare time in which I might take up my pen and, without much further research, proceed with the writing. Just as I was contemplating the completion and publication of the book, Ch'en Ch'ung-ming 陳炯明 unexpectedly revolted, on June 16, 1922, and turned his guns upon Kwan-yin Shan 觀音山<sup>2</sup>. My notes and manuscripts which represented the mental labor of years and hundreds of foreign books which I had collected for reference were all destroyed by fire. It was a distressing loss.

It now happens that the Kuomintang is being reorganized and our comrades are beginning to engage in determined attack upon the minds of our people. They are in great need of the profound truths of *San Min Chu I* and the important ideas in *The Quintuple-Power Constitution* as material for publicity. So I have been delivering one lecture a week. Mr. Hwang Ch'ang-ku 黃昌毅 is making stenographic reports of the lectures and Mr. Tsou Lu 鄒魯 is revising them. The *Principle of Nationalism* series has just been completed and is being published first in a single volume as a gift to our comrades. In these lectures I do not have the time necessary for careful preparation nor the books necessary for reference. I can only mount the platform and speak extemporaneously, and so am really leaving out much that was in my former manuscripts. Although I am making additions and corrections before sending the book to the press, yet I realize that in clear presentation of the theme in orderly arrangement of the discussion and in the use of supporting facts, these lectures are not at all comparable to the material which I had formerly prepared. I hope that all our comrades will take the book as a basis or as a stimulus, expand and correct it, supply omissions, improve the arrangement and make it a perfect text for publicity purposes. Then the benefits which it will bring to our people and to our state will truly be immeasurable.

Sun Wen  
Canton, March 30, 1924

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<sup>1</sup> In 1918.

<sup>2</sup> A hill in Canton near the headquarters of Dr. Sun.

# The Three Principles of the People

## The Principle of Nationalism

### Lecture One [Jan. 27, 1924]

GENTLEMEN: I have come here to-day to speak to you about the *San Min* Principles. What are the *San Min* Principles? They are, by the simplest definition, the principles for our nation's salvation. What is a principle? It is an idea, a faith, and a power. When men begin to study into the heart of a problem, an idea generally develops first; as the idea becomes clearer, a faith arises; and out of the faith a power is born. So a principle must begin with an idea, the idea must produce a faith, and the faith in turn must give birth to power, before the principle can be perfectly established. Why do we say that the *San Min* Principles will save our nation? Because they will elevate China to an equal position among the nations, in international affairs, in government, and in economic life, so that she can permanently exist in the world. The *San Min* Principles are the principles for our nation's salvation; is not our China to-day, I ask you, in need of salvation? If so, then let us have faith in the *San Min* Principles and our faith will engender a mighty force that will save China.

What is the Principle of Nationalism? I would say briefly that the Principle of Nationalism is equivalent to the "doctrine of the state." The Chinese people have shown the greatest loyalty to family and clan with the result that in China there have been family-ism and clan-ism but no real nationalism. Foreign observers say that the Chinese are like a sheet of loose sand. Why? Simply because our people have shown loyalty to family and clan but not to the nation—there has been no nationalism. The family and the clan have been powerful unifying forces; again and again the Chinese have sacrificed themselves, their families, their lives in defense of their clan. But for the nation there has never been an instance of the supreme spirit of sacrifice. The unity of the Chinese people has stopped short at the clan and has not extended to the nation.

My statement that the principle of nationality is equivalent to the doctrine of the state is applicable in China but not in the West. For the reason that China, since the Ch'in and Han dynasties, has been developing a single state out of a single race, while foreign countries have developed many states from one race and have included many nationalities within one state. For example, England, now the world's most powerful state, has, upon the foundation of the white race, added brown, black, and other races to form the British Empire; hence, to say that the race or nation is the state is not true of England. We all know that the original stock of England was the Anglo-Saxon race, but it is not limited to England; the United States, too, has a large portion of such stock. So in regard to other countries we cannot say that the race and the state are identical; there is a definite line between them.

How shall we distinguish clearly between the two? The most suitable method is by a study of the forces which molded each. In simple terms, the race or nationality has developed through natural forces, while the state has developed through force of arms. To use an illustration from China's political history: Chinese say that the *wang-tao*, royal way or way of right, followed nature; in other words, natural force was the royal way. The group molded by the royal way is the race, the nationality. Armed force is the *pa-tao*, or the way of might; the group formed by the way of might is the state. Since of old, no state has been built up without force. But the development of a race or nationality is quite different: it grows entirely by nature, in no way subject to force. Therefore, we say that a group united and developed in the royal way, by forces of nature, is a race; a group united and developed by the way of might, by human forces, is a state. This, then, is the difference between a race or nationality and a state.

Again, as to the origin of races. Man was originally a species of animal, yet he is far removed from the common fowl and the beasts; he is "the soul of all creation." Mankind is divided first into the five main races—white, black, red, yellow, brown. Dividing further, we have many subraces, as the Asiatic races—Mongolian, Malay, Japanese, Manchurian, and Chinese. The forces which developed these races were, in general, natural forces, but when we try to analyze them we find they are very complex. The greatest force is common blood. Chinese belong to the yellow

race because they come from the blood stock of the yellow race. The blood of ancestors is transmitted by heredity down through the race, making blood kinship a powerful force.

The second great force is livelihood; when the means used to obtain a living vary, the races developed show differences. The Mongolians' abode, for instance, water and grass; they lived the life of nomads, roaming and tenting by water and grass, and out of these common nomadic habits there developed a race, which accounts for the sudden rise of Mongol power.

The third great force in forming races is language. If foreign races learn our language, they are more easily assimilated by us and in time become absorbed into our race. On the other hand, if we know the language of foreign countries, we are in turn easily assimilated by foreigners. If two peoples have both common blood and common language, then assimilation is still easier. So language is also one of the great forces for the development of a race.

The fourth force is religion. People who worship the same gods or the same ancestors tend to form one race. Religion is also a very powerful factor in the development of races.

The fifth force is customs and habits. If people have markedly similar customs and habits, they will, in time, cohere and form one race. When, therefore, we discover dissimilar peoples or stocks amalgamating and forming a homogeneous race, we must attribute the development to these five forces—blood kinship, common language, common livelihood, common religion, and common customs—which are products not of military occupation but of natural evolution. The comparison between these five natural forces and armed force helps us to distinguish between the race or nationality and the state.

Considering the law of survival of ancient and modern races, if we want to save China and to preserve the Chinese race, we must certainly promote Nationalism. To make this principle luminous for China's salvation, we must first understand it clearly. The Chinese race totals four hundred million people; for the most part, the Chinese people are of the Han or Chinese race with common blood, common language, common religion, and common customs—a single, pure race.

What is the standing of our nation in the world? In comparison with other nations we have the greatest population and the oldest culture, of four thousand years' duration. We ought to be advancing in line with the nations of Europe and America. But the Chinese people have only family and clan groups; there is no national spirit. Consequently, in spite of four hundred million people gathered together in one China, we are in fact but a sheet of loose sand. We are the poorest and weakest state in the world, occupying the lowest position in international affairs; the rest of mankind is the carving knife and the serving dish, while we are the fish and the meat. Our position now is extremely perilous; if we do not earnestly promote nationalism and weld together our four hundred millions into a strong nation, we face a tragedy—the loss of our country and the destruction of our race. To ward off this danger, we must espouse Nationalism and employ the national spirit to save the country.

Now compare the rate of increase of the world's populations during the last century: the United States, 1,000 per cent; England, 300 per cent; Japan, also 300 per cent; Russia, 400 per cent; Germany, 250 per cent; France, 25 per cent. The large gain has been due to the advance of science, the progress of medicine, and yearly improvement of hygienic conditions, all of which tend to reduce the death rate and augment the birth rate. What is the significance for China of this rapid growth of other populations? When I compare their increase with China's, I tremble.

Within the next century the world's population will surely multiply several times. When we compare the total surface of the earth with the number of inhabitants, we see that the world is already suffering from overpopulation. The recent European War, some have said, was a fight for a "place in the sun." The European powers, to a large extent, are near the frigid zone, so one of the causes of the war was the struggle for equatorial and temperate land, a struggle indeed for more sunlight. China has the mildest climate and the most abundant natural products of any country in the world. The reason why other nations cannot for the present seize China right away is simply because their population is yet smaller than China's. A hundred years hence, if their population increases and ours does not, the more will subjugate the less and China will inevitably be swallowed up. Then China will not only lose her

sovereignty, but she will perish, the Chinese people will be assimilated, and the race will disappear. The Mongol and the Manchu conquerors of China used a smaller number to overcome a larger and tried to make the larger number their slaves. If the Powers some day subjugate China, it will be large numbers overcoming a smaller number. And when that time comes, they will have no need of us; then we will not even be qualified to be slaves.

## The Principle of Nationalism

### Lecture Two [Feb. 3, 1924]

FROM ancient times, the increase and the decrease of population has played a large part in the rise and fall of nations. This is the law of natural selection. Since mankind has not been able to resist the forces of natural selection, many ancient and famous nations have disappeared without leaving a trace. Our Chinese nation is one also of great antiquity, with more than four thousand years of authentic history. Although from time immemorial we have been profoundly affected by natural forces, yet Nature has not only perpetuated the race but has made us extremely prolific. We have grown to four hundred millions and are still the world's most numerous and largest nation; we have enjoyed the blessings of Nature in greater measure than any other nation, so that through four millenniums of natural experiences, human movements, and varied changes we see our civilization only advancing and our nation free from decay. One generation has succeeded another and we are still the world's most cultured people. Hence a certain class of optimists, just because the Chinese nation has survived innumerable disasters in the past, hold that the nation cannot perish in the future, come what may. This sort of talk and hope, I think, is wrong. If it were a matter merely of natural selection, our nation might survive, but evolution on this earth depends not alone on natural forces, it depends on a combination of natural and human forces. Human agencies may displace natural agencies and "the work of man overcome Heaven." Of these man-made forces the most potent are political forces and economic forces. They have a greater influence upon the rise and fall of nations than the forces of Nature, and our nation, caught in the current of modern world movements, is not only feeling the pressure of these two forces but is being overwhelmed in the evils that result from them.

China in these thousands of years has been twice crushed by political power to the point of complete subjection, during the Mongol and Manchu dynasties. But both these times we lost our country to a smaller not a larger people. Hence, although China has been twice subjected politically, the race has not been seriously injured.

But political and economic forces work more rapidly than the forces of natural selection and can more easily extirpate a great race. China, if she were affected only by natural selection, might hold together another century; but if she is to be crushed by political and economic power, she will be annihilated by the peoples of the Great Powers. And should the whole number not perish this way, there are still the natural forces to wipe us out. From now on the Chinese people will be feeling the pressure simultaneously of natural, political, and economic forces. So you see what a critical time it is for our race!

China has been under the political domination of the West for a century. During the past century China has lost a huge amount of territory. The Powers' attitude was formerly something like this: since China would never awaken and could not govern herself, they would occupy the points along the coast like Dairen, Weihaiwei, and Kowloon as bases for "slicing up" China. Then when the Revolution broke out in China, the Powers realized that China still had life, and therefore gave up the idea for partitioning her. When the Powers had their greedy eyes on China, some counter-revolutionists said that Revolution would only invite dismemberment; but the result was just the opposite, for it frustrated foreign designs upon China.

Further back in history, our territorial losses were Korea, Taiwan (Formosa), the Pescadores, and such places, which as a result of the Sino-Japanese War, were ceded to Japan. Still further back in the century, we lost Burma and Annam. China did put up a slight opposition at the time to giving up Annam. In the battle of Chen-Nan-Kuan (Southern Frontier) China was really victorious but was so overawed later by France that she made peace and was compelled to cede Annam to France. Annam and Burma were both formerly Chinese territory; as soon as Annam was ceded to France, England occupied Burma. Still earlier in the history of territorial losses were the Amur and Ussuri river basins and before that the areas north of the Ili, Khohand, and Amur rivers—the territory of the recent

Far Eastern Republic—all of which China gave over with folded hands to the foreigner without so much as a question. In addition there are those small countries which at one time or another paid tribute to China—the Loochoo Islands, Siam, Borneo, the Sulu Archipelago, Java, Ceylon, Nepal, Bhutan.

In its age of greatest power, the territory of the Chinese Empire was very large, extending northward to the north of the Amur, southward to the south of the Himalayas, eastward to the China Sea, westward to the T'sung Lin.

After the Chinese Revolution, the Powers realized that it would be exceedingly difficult to dismember China by political force. A China which had learned how to revolt against the control of the Manchus would be sure some day to oppose the political control of the Powers. As this would put them in a difficult position, they are now reducing their political activities against China and are using economic pressure instead to keep us down. Economic oppression is more severe than political oppression. Political oppression is an apparent thing. The common people are easily provoked by political oppression but are hardly conscious of economic oppression. China has already endured several tens of years of economic domination from the Powers and nobody has felt irritated at all.

The result is that China is everywhere becoming a colony of the Powers. The people of the nation still think we are only a "semi-colony" and comfort themselves with this term, but in reality we are being crushed by the economic strength of the Powers to a greater degree than if we were a full colony. China is not the colony of one nation but of all, and we are not the slaves of one country but of all. I think we ought to be called a "hypo-colony."

Now how do other countries meet foreign economic pressure and check the invasion of economic forces from abroad?—Usually by means of a tariff which protects economic development within these countries. Just as forts are built at the entrances of harbors for protection against foreign military invasion, so a tariff against foreign goods protects a nation's revenue and gives native industries a chance to develop. The idea of a protective tariff is to put a heavy duty on imports. The high duty makes foreign goods expensive so that they cannot circulate, while native goods free from duty are reasonably priced and widely distributed.

What is the situation now in China? Before China had a foreign trade, the goods used by the people were hand-manufactured by themselves. The ancient saying "man tills and woman weaves" shows that agriculture and cloth making are old industries in China. Then foreign goods began to come in. Because of the low tariff, foreign cloth is cheaper than native cloth. Since, moreover, certain classes of the people prefer the foreign to the native cloth, native industry has been ruined. With the destruction of this native hand industry, many people have been thrown out of work and have become idlers. This is a result of foreign economic oppression. So, political oppression can be easily seen even by the ignorant classes, but economic oppression is an intangible thing which none of us can easily perceive. One can even load heavy burdens on oneself. Since China opened foreign trade, the unfavorable balance of trade is steadily becoming rampant.

Then there is the economic domination of foreign banks. The Chinese psychology now is one of distrust toward the native banks and of extreme confidence in the foreign banks. Some people are even willing to store up foreign paper currency to preference to Chinese silver currency. And the reason is that the common people have been poisoned by the influence of foreign economic domination.

Besides the foreign bank notes, there is bank exchange. We Chinese in the ports trust the foreign banks also in the exchange of our money. But, in making exchange for the Chinese, the foreign bank charges not only the customary bank rate of one half per cent but seizes profits in other ways.

The power of the foreign banks in China is seen also in their bank deposits. If a Chinese has money and wants to deposit it in a bank, he does not wait to ask whether the Chinese bank has a large or small capital or gives high or low interest. As soon as he knows that the bank is managed by his own countrymen, he immediately feels that it is probably not safe and that it would not do to risk his deposits there. He does not ask whether the foreign bank is reliable or not, whether it pays high or low interest; if he hears that the bank is run by foreigners and hangs out a foreign sign, he swallows the sedative, feels very safe and invests his money. Even if the interest is very low, he is quite satisfied. Thus the foreign banks, with no trouble except that of handling the money, take Chinese capital and

earn interest from it. The reason for all this loss of interest to foreigners is again the vitiating influence of foreign economic control. The total profits of the foreign banks alone, in paper money issues, in exchange and deposit banking, must be around \$100,000,000 a year.

Besides the foreign banks, there are freight rates. Chinese goods sent abroad have to depend on foreign bottoms, and even goods sent to interior points, as Hankow, Changsha, and Canton, are carried largely by foreign ships. If China exports \$100,000,000 worth of goods in Europe, she must pay \$10,000,000 for freight.

There is yet one more loss to consider—that from the speculation business. Foreigners in the concessions take advantage of a weak point—avarice—in the Chinese character and provide daily opportunities for small speculation, and every few years some big opportunity which arouses the gambling passion of the Chinese to fever heat. And the ordinary small speculative businesses amount, in the end, to high figures.

Because of this economic mastery of China and the consequent yearly damages, our society is not free to develop and the common people do not have the means of living. This economic control alone is worse than millions of soldiers ready to kill us. And while foreign imperialism backs up this economic subjugation, the living problems of the Chinese people are daily more pressing, the unemployed are daily increasing, and the country's power is, in consequence, steadily weakening.

Within the last hundred years, China has begun to suffer from the population problem: the Chinese people are not increasing, while other populations are growing. Now we are suffering also from political and economic domination. If we can no longer find a solution for these three pressing problems, then, no matter how large China's area or how great her population, another century will see our country gone and our race destroyed. Now that we realize the seriousness of political domination and the even greater seriousness of economic domination, we cannot boast that China's four hundred millions will not be easily exterminated. Never before in all her millenniums of history has China felt the weight of three such forces at one and the same time. For the future of the Chinese nation we must find a way to break them!

## The Principle of Nationalism

### Lecture Three [Feb. 10, 1924]

NATIONALISM is that precious possession which enables a state to aspire to progress and a nation to perpetuate its existence. China to-day has lost that precious possession. Why? To answer that question and to study whether we have really lost our national spirit is my theme to-day.

To me it is clear that we have lost it not for a day but for centuries. Just look at the anti-revolution articles which came out before the Revolution, all opposing nationalism! For hundreds of years the idea of nationalism had been dead in China; in all the literature of this time one can hardly catch any note of nationalism.

To-day I want to talk to you about some of the reasons for this loss of our nationalism. There are many reasons, of which the greatest is our subjection to alien races. When one race conquers another, it naturally does not allow the subject people to have independent thought. Japan, for example, now that it has control of Korea, is trying to convert the minds of the Koreans. All nationalistic ideas are expunged from Korean school texts, so that thirty years from now Korean children will not know there is a Korea or that they are Koreans. The conquering people tries to destroy that precious possession of the subject people.

China's nationalism was originally crushed out by alien rule, yet there have been other subjugated races than the Chinese. The Jews lost their country and before Jesus' day had become a conquered people. When Jesus was preaching, his followers took him for a revolutionist and wanted him to become a revolutionary leader; he was called the "King of the Jews." It is probable that Jesus' religion did contain some ideas of political revolution, yet one of his disciples thought the political revolution had failed and betrayed his teacher. He did not comprehend that Jesus was a religious revolutionist who called his country the Kingdom of Heaven. So, although their state was destroyed,

the Jewish race itself has survived since the time of Christ. Or consider Poland, which, although it was a subject nation for a hundred years, has an unquenchable national consciousness; so after the European War the Poles revived their old state. Thus compared, China is seen to be a subject nation similar to Judea and Poland; then, why have they not lost their national spirit while China, after two periods of subjugation, has had all her national pride crushed out? It is a very strange fact and the study of its causes is very interesting. Before China was subjugated, she had a very cultured people and a powerful state. She called herself the "majestic nation," the "land of famous letters and objects," and looked on other countries as barbarian; she thought she was situated in the center of the world and so named herself the "Middle Kingdom." Other expressions, as the "Great Unifier," "Heaven has but one sun, people have but one King," "Gentry of all nations bow before the crown and pearls," date from before the period of China's subjection, when her nationalism was slowly evolving into cosmopolitanism. If we follow out this line of thought, we will begin to see why China has lost her national spirit while other races, as the Jews, have kept theirs for two thousand years, and why China has been a subject nation for only three hundred years, yet all her nationalism has vanished.

To study the cause is like diagnosing a sick man. Whatever disease a man contracts can be traced back either to a poor constitution or to some weakness before he was taken sick. Before China lost her sovereignty, there were already roots of disease in her system which, as soon as she suffered conquest, caused her national mind to decay.

A new theory is emerging in England and Russia, proposed by the intellectuals, which opposes nationalism on the ground that it is narrow and illiberal—simply a doctrine of cosmopolitanism. England now, and formerly Russia and Germany, together with modern young advocates of new culture in China, support this doctrine and decry nationalism. I constantly hear young men saying, "The *San Min* Principles are not adapted to the tendencies of modern times; the latest and best doctrine is that of cosmopolitanism." Is it really? Then why did China, as soon as she was conquered, lose all her national spirit? Cosmopolitanism is the same thing as China's theory of world empire two thousand years ago. When we study this theory, do we find it good or not? We cannot decide whether an idea is good or not without seeing it in practice. If the idea is of practical value to us and to the world, it is good, if the idea is impractical, it is no good.

The nations which are employing imperialism to conquer others and which are trying to maintain their own favored positions as sovereign lords of the whole world are advocating cosmopolitanism and want the world to join them.

There are several great states, the so-called Great Powers, whose policies and character have not yet undergone any marked change. But in the future, England and the United States may be able to break up the group of powers and become the only great powers. Suppose that should happen, and then that England should subjugate China and our people become English—would that be good for us? If Chinese should become naturalized British or Americans and help England or America to destroy China, saying that we were but following out the principle of cosmopolitanism, would our consciences, let me ask you, be at rest? If our consciences hurt us at all, it would be because we had some nationalistic feelings; so, I say, nationalism is that precious possession by which humanity maintains its existence. If nationalism decays, then when cosmopolitanism flourishes we will be unable to survive and will be eliminated by other races. Have we a strong or a weak race, a fit or an unfit race? Not one of us is willing to see our race perish or fail; everyone wishes the race to survive and to win out—these are natural, instinctive feelings. But our country to-day is in a very perilous position. Because we have lost our national spirit, we have opened the gates for political and economic forces to break in, which never would have happened if we had preserved our nationalism.

It is difficult to explain just how we have lost our nationalism. To illustrate I will tell a story which may seem off the point and unrelated to our thesis, but perhaps it will make clearer the causes of which we are speaking. It is an incident which I personally witnessed in Hongkong. There was a coolie who worked daily at the steamer jetties carrying passengers' baggage with his bamboo pole and two ropes. Each day's load was his means of livelihood for that day, but he finally managed to save more than ten dollars. The Luzon lotteries were flourishing at that time and this coolie used his savings to buy a Luzon lottery ticket. He had no home and no place to keep his things or the lottery ticket which he had bought. All his tool of trade was his bamboo pole and two ropes which he carried about with him everywhere he went. So he hid the lottery ticket inside of his bamboo pole, and since he could not always

be pulling out the ticket to be looking at it, he fixed the number indelibly on his mind and thought about it all the time. When the day for the drawing came, he went to the lottery shop to match this number, and as soon as he saw the list of numbers he knew that he had won first prize, acquiring a wealth of \$100,000. He was in ecstasy, almost insane with joy. Thinking that he would no longer have to be a coolie and use his bamboo pole and ropes, that he would be a rich man forever, he gleefully took the pole and ropes and threw them into the sea!

The coolie's bamboo pole may represent nationalism—a means of existence; the winning of the first prize may represent the time when China at the zenith of her power was evolving into cosmopolitanism and when our forefathers, believing that China was the world's great state—that "Heaven has but one sun, people but one king"; that "gentry of all nations bow before the crown and pearls"; that universal peace would henceforth prevail and that the only thing necessary was a world harmony in which the world would bring its tribute to China—threw away nationalism as the coolie threw his bamboo pole into the sea. Then when China was overcome by the Manchus, she not only failed to become the master of the world, but even failed to keep her small family property intact. The national spirit of the people was destroyed, just as the bamboo pole was thrown into the sea.

Those young students who prate about the new culture and espouse cosmopolitanism, saying that nationalism is out of date, might have some ground if they spoke for England and America or even for our forefathers, but if they think they are speaking for the Chinese to-day, we have no place for them. If our forefathers had not thrown away the bamboo pole, we might have won first prize, but we threw away the pole too early, forgetting that the ticket was hidden inside. As soon as we felt the yoke of foreign political and economic domination and encountered the forces of natural selection, we came face to face with the tragic possibility of a lost nation and a vanishing race.

If we Chinese can in the future find some way to revive our nationalism, can discover another bamboo pole, then no matter what foreign political and economic forces oppress us, we will survive through the ages. We can overcome the forces of natural selection; Heaven's preservation of our four hundred millions of Chinese till now shows that it has not wanted to destroy us; if China perishes, the guilt will be on our own heads and we shall be the world's great sinners. Heaven has placed great responsibilities upon us Chinese; if we do not love ourselves, we are rebels against Heaven. China has come to the time when each one of us has a great responsibility to shoulder. If Heaven does not want to eliminate us, it evidently wants to further the world's progress. If China perishes, she will perish at the hands of the Great Powers; those Powers will thus be obstructing the world's progress.

If we want to resist Might we must espouse nationalism and in the first instance attain our own unity, then we can consider others and help the weaker, smaller peoples to unite in a common struggle against the oppressors. Together we shall use Right to fight Might, and when Might is overthrown and the selfishly ambitious have disappeared, then we may talk about cosmopolitanism.

## The Principle of Nationalism

### Lecture Four [Feb. 17, 1924]

BEFORE the European War all the European nations had been poisoned by imperialism. What is imperialism? It is the policy of aggression upon other countries by means of political force, or, in the Chinese phrase, "long-range aggression." As all the peoples of Europe were imbued with this policy, wars were continually breaking out; almost every decade had at least one small war and each century one big war. The greatest of all was the recent European War, which may be called the World War because it finally involved the whole world and pulled every nation and people into its vortex. The causes of the European War were, first, the rivalry between the Saxon and Teutonic races for control of the sea. Germany in her rise to greatness had developed her navy until she was the second sea power in the world; Great Britain wanted her own navy to rule the seas so she tried to destroy Germany, whose sea power was next to hers. From this struggle for first place on the sea came the war.

A second cause was each nation's struggle for more territory. In eastern Europe there is a weak state called Turkey. For the past hundred years the people of the world have called it the "sick man of Europe." Because the government was unenlightened and the sultan was despotic, it became extremely helpless and the European nations wanted to

partition it. Because the Turkish question had not been solved for a century and every nation of Europe was trying to solve it, war resulted. The first cause of the European War, then, was the struggle between white races for supremacy; the second cause was the effort to solve critical world problems. One side in the war was called the Entente: the other side, the Allied Powers. The Allied Powers<sup>3</sup> at first included Germany and Austria; Turkey and Bulgaria later joined them. The Entente Powers<sup>4</sup> at first were Serbia, France, Russia, England, and Japan; Italy and the United States joined afterwards. The United States' entry into the war was due entirely to racial considerations. During the first two years of the war Germany and Austria were in the ascendancy. Paris and the English Channel were almost captured by the German and Austrian armies. The Teutons thought that Great Britain was certainly done for, and the British themselves were thoroughly alarmed. Seeing that the American people are of the same race as they, the British used the plea of race relationship to stir up the people of the United States. When America realized that England, of her own race, was in danger of being destroyed by Germany, of an alien race, inevitably "the creature sorrowed for its own kind" and America threw in her lot with England to defend the existence of the Anglo-Saxons. Moreover, fearing that her own strength would be insufficient, America tried with all her might to arouse all the neutral countries of the world to join in the war to defeat Germany.

During the war there was a great phrase, used by President Wilson and warmly received everywhere "self-determination of peoples." Because Germany was striving by military force to crush the peoples of the European Entente, Wilson proposed destroying Germany's power and giving autonomy henceforth to the weaker and smaller peoples. His idea met a world welcome. As a result of the noble theme propounded by the Entente all the oppressed peoples of Europe and of Asia finally joined together to help them in their struggle against the Allied Powers. At the same time, Wilson proposed, to guard the future peace of the world, fourteen points, of which the most important was that each people should have the right of self-determination. When victory and defeat still hung in the balance, England and France heartily indorsed these points, but when victory was won and the Peace Conference was opened, England, France, and Italy realized that Wilson's proposal of freedom for nations conflicted too seriously with the interests of imperialism; and so, during the conference, they used all kinds of methods explain away Wilson's principles. The result was a peace treaty with most unjust terms; the weaker, smaller nations not only did not secure self-determination and freedom but found themselves under an oppression more terrible than before. This shows that the strong states and the powerful races have already forcibly taken possession of the globe and that the rights and privileges of other states and nations are monopolized by them. Hoping to make themselves forever secure in their exclusive position and to prevent the smaller and weaker peoples from again reviving, they sing praises to cosmopolitanism, saying that nationalism is too narrow; really their espousal of internationalism is but imperialism and aggression in another guise.

But Wilson's proposals, once set forth, could not be recalled; each one of the weaker, smaller nations who had helped the Entente to defeat the Allied Powers and had hope to attain freedom as a fruit of the victory was doomed to bitter disappointment by the results of the Peace Conference. Then Annam, Burma, Java, India, the Malay Archipelago, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, Egypt, and the scores of weak nations in Europe, were stirred with a great, new consciousness; they saw how completely they had been deceived by the Great Powers' advocacy of self-determination and began independently and separately to carry out the principle of the "self-determination of peoples."

Many year of fierce warfare had not been able to destroy imperialism because this war was a conflict of imperialisms between states, not a struggle between savagery and civilization or between Might and Right. So the effect of the war was merely the overthrow of one imperialism by another imperialism; what survived was still imperialism.

Now we want to revive China's lost nationalism and use the strength of our four hundred millions to fight for mankind against injustice: this is our divine mission. The Powers are afraid that we will have such thoughts and are setting forth a specious doctrine. They are now advocating cosmopolitanism to inflame us, declaring that, as the civilization of the world advances and as mankind's vision enlarges, nationalism becomes too narrow, unsuited to the present age, and hence that we should espouse cosmopolitanism. In recent years led astray by this doctrine, some of

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<sup>3</sup> Central Powers.

<sup>4</sup> "Allies."

China's youths, devotees of the new culture, have been opposing nationalism. But it is not a doctrine which wronged races should talk about. We, the wronged races, must first recover our position of national freedom and equality before we are fit to discuss cosmopolitanism. We must understand that cosmopolitanism grows out of nationalism; if we want to extend cosmopolitanism we must first establish strongly our own nationalism. If nationalism cannot become strong, cosmopolitanism certainly cannot prosper. Thus we see that cosmopolitanism is hidden in the heart of nationalism just as the ticket was hidden inside the bamboo pole; if we discard nationalism and go and talk cosmopolitanism we are just like the coolie who threw his bamboo pole into the sea. We put the cart before the horse.

Gentlemen, you know that revolution is naturally a thing of bloodshed. Thus, in the revolutions of Tang<sup>5</sup> and Wu,<sup>6</sup> everyone said that the rebels were "obedient to Heaven and well-pleasing to men" but as to the fighting it was said that they experienced "battle staves floating on rivers of blood." In the Revolution of 1911, when we overthrew the Manchus, how much blood was spilled? The reason for the small bloodshed then was the Chinese people's love of peace, an outstanding quality of the Chinese character. The Chinese are really the greatest lovers of peace in the world.

European superiority to China is not in political philosophy but altogether in the field of material civilization. With the progress of European material civilization, all the daily provisions for clothing, food, housing and communication have become extremely convenient and time-saving, and the weapons of war have become extraordinarily perfected and deadly. All these new inventions and weapons have come since the development of science. It was after the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Bacon, Newton and other great scholars advocated the use of observation, experiment, and investigation of all things, that science came into being. So when we speak of Europe's scientific progress and of the advance of European material civilization, we are talking about something which has only two hundred years' history. A few hundred years ago, Europe could not compare with China, so now if we want to learn from Europe we should learn what we ourselves lack—science—but not political philosophy. Europeans are still looking to China for the fundamentals of political philosophy. You all know that the best scholarship to-day is found in Germany. Yet German scholars are studying Chinese philosophy and even Indian Buddhist principles to supplement their partial conceptions of science. Cosmopolitanism has just flowered out in Europe during this generation, but it was talked of two thousand years ago in China. Europeans cannot yet discern our ancient civilization, yet many of our race have thought of a political world civilization; and as for international morality, our four hundred millions have devoted to the principle of world peace. But because of the loss of our nationalism, our ancient morality and civilization have not been able to manifest themselves and are now even declining.

The cosmopolitanism which Europeans are talking about to-day is really a principle supported by force without justice. The English expression "might is right" means that fighting for acquisition is just. The Chinese mind has never regarded acquisition by war as right; it considers aggressive warfare barbarous. This pacifist morality is the true spirit of cosmopolitanism. Upon what foundation can we defend and build up this spirit?—Upon nationalism. So we must talk nationalism first if we want to talk cosmopolitanism. "Those desiring to pacify the world must first govern their own state." Let us revive our lost nationalism and make it shine with greater splendor, then we will have some ground for discussing internationalism.

## The Principle of Nationalism

### Lecture Five [Feb. 24, 1924]

MY subject to-day is: What means shall we use to revive our nationalism? If we do not find some means to recover our lost nationalism, then China will not only perish as a nation but also perhaps as a race. So, if we want to save China, we must first find a way to revive our nationalism.

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<sup>5</sup> First emperor of the Shang, who defeated the Hsia and became the overlord of China about 1800 B.C.

<sup>6</sup> Emperor Wu overwhelmed the Shang and began to rule the entire ancient China in 1121 B.C.

To-day I shall discuss two ways by which our nationalism can be revived: the first is by awakening our four hundred millions to see where we stand. We are at a crisis when we must escape misery and seek happiness, escape death and find life. First we must see clearly and then, of course, act. China formerly did not know that she was in decline and so perished; if she had seen ahead, she might not have perished. The ancient sayings "The nation without foreign foes and outside dangers will always be ruined," and "Many adversities will revive a state" are altogether psychological truisms. "Foreign foes and outside dangers," for example: if a nation thinks that it has no outside dangers, that it is perfectly secure, that it is the strongest country in the world and foreigners will not dare to invade it, so defense is unnecessary, that nation will crumble. "Many adversities will revive a state," because, as soon as we understand what these adversities are, our energies will be aroused to heroic deeds. It is also a matter of psychology. If the situation which I have described in my first four lectures is true, then we must keep clearly in mind the perilous position which we now occupy and the critical period in which we are now living, before we can know how to revive our lost nationalism. If we attempt revival without understanding the situation, all hope will disappear forever and the Chinese people will soon be destroyed.

Gathering up the points in my previous lectures, what are the disasters which threaten us and from what direction do they come? They come from the Great Powers, and they are: first, political oppression; second, economic oppression; and third, the more rapid growth of population among the Powers. These three disasters from without are already upon our heads, and our people are in a most dangerous situation. The first disaster, the destruction of the nation by political force, may happen in a day. China, now under the political yoke of the Powers, may go to smash at any moment; we are not sure we can live from one morning to another. There are two ways in which political force can destroy a nation: through military power and through diplomacy. To see how military power can destroy a nation in a day, look at history: in the one battle of Yaimen, China of the Sung dynasty was destroyed by the Mongols; in the one battle of Yangchow the Ming dynasty fell. In foreign history, the one battle of Waterloo was enough to overthrow the empire of Napoleon I, and the battle of Sedan to ruin the empire of Napoleon III. If, then, one battle is able to cause the downfall of a nation, China is in daily peril of her life, for our army and navy and strategic points are not prepared for defense, and foreign troops could break through at any time and defeat us.

As I just said, there have been two methods used by political powers in the destruction of states—military force and diplomacy. Military force means the use of gun and cannon, which we have some idea how to resist; diplomacy means the demolishing of China with paper and pen, which we have not learned how to counteract. Looking at the political forces which threaten a nation, China is now in a position of extreme peril.

The second disaster is the foreign economic domination which is increasing each day.

So, as I see it, if we still do not awake but go on in the way we have been going, even though the foreign diplomatists should sleep on their job, our nation would be ruined in ten years.

Then there is a third disaster which threatens us. The population of China has not increased during the past hundred years, and it will hardly increase during the next hundred years unless we find some way to stimulate the growth.

These three disasters are already upon us. We ourselves must first know the facts, we must understand that these disasters are imminent, we must broadcast them until everyone realizes what a tragedy would be our nation's downfall and with what difficulty China will escape from the perils that encompass her. When we know all these facts, what shall we do? The proverb says, "The desperate beast can yet fight." When we are driven to no place of escape, then we have to rouse our energies to a life and death struggle with our enemies. These calamities are already upon us. Can we fight? Certainly we can fight. But to be able to fight we must realize that our death hour is near. If we want to advance nationalism we must first make our four hundred millions know that their death hour is at hand, then the beset beast will still turn and fight. Do our people on the point of death want to fight? Gentlemen, you are students, soldiers, officials; you are all men of foresight and vision. You must lead our four hundred millions to see that our race is in dire peril: and if our four hundred millions understand the danger, then it will not be difficult to revive our nationalism.

Foreigners are constantly saying that the Chinese are a 'sheet of loose sand'; in the matter of national sentiment it is true. We have never had national unity. Have we had any other kind of unity? As I said before, China has had exceedingly compact family and clan groups and the family and clan sentiment of the Chinese is very deep rooted. For instance, when two Chinese meet each other on the road, they will chat together and ask each other's "honorable surname" and great name; if they happen to find that they are of the same clan, they become wonderfully intimate and cordial and look upon each other as uncle or brother of the same family. If this worthy clan sentiment could be expanded, we might develop nationalism out of clanism. If we are to recover our lost nationalism, we must have some kind of group unity, large group unity. An easy and successful way to bring about the unity of a large group is to build upon the foundation of small united groups, and the small units we can build upon in China are the clan groups and also the family groups. The "native place" sentiment of the Chinese is very deep-rooted too; it is especially easy to unite those who are from the same province, prefecture or village.

As I see it, if we take these two fine sentiments as a foundation, it will be easy to bring together the people of the whole country. But to reach the desired end, it will be necessary for all to cooperate; if we can secure this cooperation, it should be easier for the Chinese to revive their nationalism than for people of other countries. For in the West the individual is the unit, and laws regarding the rights of parents and children, brothers and sisters, husbands and wives, aim at the protection of the individual; in lawsuits, no questions are asked about family conditions, only the morals of the individual are considered. The individual expands immediately into the state; between the individual and the state there is no common, firm, social unit. So in welding the citizens together into a state, foreign countries do not have the advantage that China has. Because China lays emphasis upon the family as well as upon the individual, the family head has to be consulted on all matters, a system which some approve and some criticize. But I think that in the relation between the citizens of China and their state, there must first be family loyalty, then clan loyalty, and finally national loyalty. Such a system, expanding step by step, will be orderly and well regulated and the relationship between the small and large social groups will be a real one. If we take the clans as our social units and, after improving their internal organization, join them together to form a state, our task will naturally be easier than that of foreign countries which make the individual the unit. Where the individual is the unit, there will be at least millions of units in a country, four hundred millions in China; the knitting together of such a huge number of separate units would naturally be very difficult.

But suppose we make the clan our unit: the Chinese surnames are commonly said to be only a hundred in number; different ancestors have sometimes been honored in the same clan and the number of clans has increased, yet at most there are not over four hundred to-day. All within the clan are collateral kindred; each family is constantly revising its genealogical record, pushing back its ancestry tens and hundreds of generations to the age-long past. The names of the first ancestors were often changed from other names and but few search as far back as these original surnames. This custom of tracing the ancestral line back to its earliest sources is thousands of years old and firmly rooted in Chinese social life. Foreigners think the custom a useless one, but this idea of "reverencing ancestors and being kind to the clan" has been imbedded for millenniums in the Chinese mind. So a Chinese ignored the downfall of his country; he did not care who his emperor was, and all he had to do was to pay his grain tax. But if anything was said about the possible extinction of his clan, he would be in terror lest the ancestral continuity of blood and food be broken, and he would give his life to resist that.

Let us take the clans as small foundations and work at building up the nation upon these. Suppose China has four hundred clans: it would be just as if we were working with four hundred individual people. We would make use of the original organization that each family name already has, and, in the name of the clan, begin to rally the people together, first in the neighborhood and prefecture, then in the province, and finally throughout the country, until each family name had become a large united group. For instance, if all members bearing the surname of Chen, using the original organization as a basis, would rally together all those who bore the same surname in their neighborhood and prefecture, then in the province, within two or three years, I think, the Chen clan would become a very large body. When every clan was so organized upon a very large scale, we would next unite the clans that had some connection with each other to form larger groups, and we would make every group know that great disasters threaten us, that our death hour is approaching, but that if we all combined, we could become a great national union—the Republic of China—and that with such a union we need not fear outside adversaries or our inability to

revive the state. If we start with our four hundred million individual citizens instead of with our four hundred clans, we will not know where to begin in consolidating the sheet of loose sand.

If all our people know that they are oppressed citizens, that we have come to a time when we are simply up against it, that if we combine we must first organize the various clans into clan groups and then these clan groups into a great national union, we will have some positive methods with which to combat the foreigner. As it is, we cannot fight because we have no united group; if we had, resistance would be easy. China is not at the present moment destroyed; the common people, though they may not easily perform other tasks, can do such things as these—refuse to work for foreigners, refuse to be foreign slaves or to use foreign goods manufactured abroad, push the use of native goods, decline to use foreign bank notes, use only Chinese government money, and sever economic relations with foreigners. The other problem of population growth will be easily solved; China's population has always been large and her resources abundant, and our past oppression can be attributed to the ignorance of the masses, who "live in a stupor and die in a dream." If our whole body of citizens can realize a great national unity upon the basis of our clan groups, no matter what pressure foreign nations bring upon us—military, economic, or population—we will not fear. So the fundamental way to save China from her imminent destruction is for us first to attain unity. If three or four hundred clan groups will take thought for the state, there will be a way out for us and, no matter what nation we face, we will be able to resist.

There are two ways of resisting a foreign Power. The first is the positive way—arousing the national spirit, and seeking solutions for the problems of democracy and livelihood. The second way is the negative way—non-cooperation and passive resistance—whereby foreign imperialistic activity is weakened, the national standing is defended, and national destruction is averted.

## The Principle of Nationalism

### Lecture Six [March 2, 1924]

GENTLEMEN: My subject to-day is: How can we restore the standing of our nation? In studying this question we must not forget what has been said in the previous lectures. What is the present standing of our nation? What is the situation of our nation and state in the world of to-day?

Why did China once occupy so exalted a place and then "fall ten thousand feet in one drop"? The chief cause I have already discussed with you: because we lost our national spirit, our state has day by day degenerated. So if we want to restore our national standing, we must first revive our national spirit. If we want to revive our national spirit, we must fulfill two conditions. First, we must understand that we occupy to-day a most perilous position; and second, knowing our danger, we must utilize China's ancient social groups, as the family and the clan, and consolidate them to form a great national body. When this is accomplished and we have the strength of four hundred millions united to fight, no matter how low our present position, we should be able to lift it up. So, to know and to unite are the two essentials for reviving our nationalism. When all of you have come to understand these essentials, you must proclaim them among the four hundred millions of the whole country until everybody understands them. Then we can begin to revive our lost national spirit. Our old national spirit is asleep; we must awake it and then our nationalism will begin to revive. When our nationalism is revived, we can go a step farther and study how to restore our national standing.

China did not reach her former position of greatness by one road only. Usually a nation becomes strong at first by the expansion of its military power, then by the development of various forms of culture; but if the nation and the state are to maintain a permanent standing, moral character is essential. Only by attaining a high standard of morality can the state hope to govern long and exist at peace. Because the character of the Chinese race was higher than that of other races, the Mongols, although they conquered China during the Sung dynasty, were later absorbed by the Chinese; and the Manchus, although China of the Ming dynasty fell twice before them, were assimilated by the Chinese. Because of the high moral standards of our race, we have been able not only to survive in spite of the downfall of the state, but we have had power to assimilate these outside races. So, coming to the root of the matter,

if we want to restore our race's standing, besides uniting all into a great national body, we must first recover our ancient morality—then, and only then, can we plan how to attain again to the national position we once held.

As for China's old moral standards, they are not yet lost sight of by the people of China. First come Loyalty and Filial Devotion, then Kindness and Love, the Faithfulness and Justice, then Harmony and Peace. The Chinese still speak of these ancient qualities of character. But since our domination by alien races and since the invasion of foreign culture which has spread its influence all over China, a group intoxicated with the new culture have begun to reject the old morality, saying that the former makes the latter unnecessary. They do not understand that we ought to preserve what is good in our past and throw away only the bad. China now is in a period of conflict between old and new currents and a large number of our people have nothing to follow after.

A few days ago I was in the country and entered an ancestral temple. On going to the innermost court to rest, I saw on the right-hand side the character for "Filial Devotion," but on the left side a blank where there must have been previously, I think, the character for "Loyalty."<sup>7</sup> This I have seen more than once; many ancestral or family temples are in the same condition. But the character for "Filial Devotion," which I observed the other day, was extra large, while the marks on the left wall where the character had been scratched off looked very recent. It may have been the work of the country folk themselves or of soldiers living in the temple, yet I have seen many ancestral temples which had not been billets for soldiers with the character for "Loyalty" rubbed off the walls. This shows the thinking of a certain type of people to-day: because we have a republic, we need not talk about loyalty. They say that in former days loyalty was shown to princes, and that as there are no princes in a democracy, so loyalty is not needed and can be cast aside. Such an argument is certainly due to misunderstanding: we do not want princes in the country, but we cannot do without loyalty. If we say that loyalty is outworn to-day, what about the nation? Can we not direct our loyalty towards the nation? Of course we cannot now speak of loyalty to princes, but how about loyalty to the people and loyalty to our tasks? When we undertake a task we should not falter from first to last until the task is done; if we do not succeed, we should not begrudge our very lives as a sacrifice—this is loyalty. The ancient teaching of loyalty pushed to its limit meant death. To say that ancient loyalty was due to kings and, since now we have no kings, we do not need loyalty and can do as we please, is absolutely wrong. Now everybody who talks about democracy breaks down all the old moral standards, and the fundamental reason is right here. In a democracy it stands to reason that we should still show loyalty, not to princes but to the nation and to the people. Loyalty to four hundred millions must naturally be on a much higher level than loyalty to one individual; so I say that the fine moral quality of loyalty must still be cherished.

Filial Devotion is even more a characteristic of China, and we have gone far beyond other nations in the practice of it. Filial duty as revealed in the "Canon of Filial Piety" covers almost the whole field of human activity, touching every point; there is no treatise on filial piety in any civilized country to-day that is so complete. Filial Devotion is still indispensable. If the people of the democracy can carry out Loyalty and Filial Devotion to the limit, our state will naturally flourish.

Kindness and Love are also part of China's high morality. In the past no one discussed love better than Motze.<sup>8</sup> His "love without discrimination" is the same thing as Jesus' "universal love." The ancients applied the principle of love to government, saying, "Love the people as your children," and, "Be kind to all the people and love all creatures." Love was used to embrace all duties, from which we can see how well they put kindness and love into effect. Since our foreign intercourse began, some people have thought that the Chinese ideal of kindness and love was inferior to the foreigners' because foreigners in China, by establishing schools and carrying on hospitals to teach and relieve the Chinese, have been practicing kindness and love. In the practical expression of the fine qualities of kindness and love, it does seem as though China were far behind other countries, and the reason is that the Chinese have been less active in performance. Yet Kindness and Love are old qualities of Chinese character, and as we study other countries, let us learn their practical methods, revive our own kindness and love, the spirit of ancient China, and make them shine with greater glory.

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<sup>7</sup> Filial Devotion, *hsiao*, and loyalty, *chung*, are constantly associated being considered attributes of the same virtue. When manifested in the relationship between father and son, it is *hsiao*, when manifested in the relationship between emperor and officers, it is *chung*.

<sup>8</sup> Often spelt as Mao Tzu, a contemporary of Confucius.

Faithfulness and Justice. Ancient China always spoke of Faithfulness in dealing with neighboring countries and in intercourse with friends. In my estimation, the quality of faithfulness is practiced better by Chinese than by foreigners. This can be seen in business intercourse: Chinese in their business relations do not use written contracts; all that is necessary is a verbal promise which is implicitly trusted. Thus, when a foreigner places an order for goods with a Chinese, no contract is necessary; there is simply an entry on the books and the bargain is closed. As a result, foreigners who have done business for a long time in the interior of China invariably speak highly of the Chinese, saying that a Chinese will keep his word better than a foreigner his contract.

Justice. China in her mightiest days never utterly destroyed another state. Look at Korea, which was formerly a tributary of China in name, but an independent nation in reality. China was a strong state for thousands of years and Korea lived on; Japan has been a strong state for not over twenty years and Korea is already destroyed. From this one can see that Japan's sense of "faithfulness and justice" is inferior to China's and that China's standards have advanced beyond those of other nations.

China has one more splendid virtue—the love of Harmony and Peace. Among the states and the peoples of the world to-day China alone preaches peace; other countries all talk in terms of war and advocate the overthrow of states by imperialism. The intense love of peace which the Chinese have had these thousands of years has been a natural disposition. In individual relationships great stress has been laid upon "humility and deference"; in government the old saying was, "He who delights not in killing a man can unify all men." All of this is very different from the ideals of foreigners. China's ancient virtues of Loyalty, Filial Devotion, Kindness, Love, Faithfulness, and such are in their very nature superior to foreign virtues, but in the moral quality of Peace we will further surpass the people of other lands. This special characteristic is the spirit of our nation and we must not only cherish it but cause it to shine with greater luster; then our national standing will be restored.

We must revive not only our old morality but also our old learning. If we want to regain our national spirit, we must reawaken the learning as well as the moral ideals which we once possessed. What is this ancient learning? Among the human theories of the state, China's political philosophy holds a high place. We think that the states of Europe and America have made great strides forward in recent years, yet their new culture is not so complete as our old political philosophy. China has a specimen of political philosophy so systematic and so clear that nothing has been discovered or spoken by foreign statesmen to equal it. It is found in the "Great Learning": "Search into the nature of things, extend the boundaries of knowledge, make the purpose sincere, regulate the mind, cultivate personal virtue, rule the family, govern the state, pacify the world." This calls upon a man to develop from within outward, to begin with his inner nature and not cease until the world is at peace. Such a deep, all-embracing logic is not found in or spoken by any foreign political philosopher; it is a nugget of wisdom peculiar to China's philosophy of state and worthy to be preserved.

The principles of "regulating the mind, making sincere the purpose, cultivating personal virtue, ruling the family," naturally belong in the field of morals, but to-day it will be more fitting to treat them as matters of knowledge. Although our forefathers exercised their powers on the moral side, since the loss of our nationalism the true spirit of learning has likewise disappeared. The common people who study the classics constantly use the passage that I quoted in a conventional way, but they repeat the words without seeking their interpretation and with no idea of their deeper meaning. The knowledge of how to "regulate the mind and make sincere the purpose" springs from inward control and is difficult to expound. The scholars of the Sung<sup>9</sup> Period paid much attention to this mental training, and as we study their books, we can see how well they succeeded. But the "cultivation of personal virtue, ruling the family, governing the state," are outward reforms which we have not yet effected; on the surface, at least, we have not succeeded in any of them for the past hundreds of years. As a result, we cannot govern our own country, and foreigners, seeing that we cannot do so, want to come and establish international control over us.

Why can we not govern China? What reveals the fact to foreigners? In my personal opinion, foreigners have no way of observing whether we rule our families well or not, but they can see that we are very much lacking in personal

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<sup>9</sup> The Sung Dynasty 960-1127 A.D.

culture. Every word and act of a Chinese shows absence of refinement; one contact with Chinese people is enough to reveal this.

Confucius said, "If the mat is not straight, do not sit down,"<sup>10</sup> which shows how much attention he paid to personal culture, even to the minute details of sitting and standing. The Confucian scholars of the Sung age were even more careful and strict in "regulating the mind, making the purpose sincere, and cultivating the person," but modern Chinese hardly give these matters a thought. As a result, although we have the wisdom about "cultivating personal virtue, regulating the family, governing the state, pacifying the world," as soon as foreigners meet us, they say that we are barbaric and they will not study deeply into our learning. With the exception of philosophers like Russell, no foreigners can at first sight of China understand her civilization, and only those who have spent ten or more years in China can appreciate her age-long culture. If everyone would devote some systematic effort to the culture of his person, "let the character within be manifested without," pay attention to even the smallest matters of conduct, on meeting foreigners not rudely trespass upon their freedom, then foreigners would certainly respect the Chinese. That is why I am speaking to-day on personal culture. You young men should certainly learn from the modern culture of foreigners and first cultivate your own persons, then you can talk about "ruling families and governing the state." Government is progressing in every other country to-day; in China it is going backward. Why? Because we are under the political and economic domination of foreign nations, yes; but if we search for the fundamental reason, we will find it in the Chinese failure to cultivate personal virtue. We seem to forget that the ancients of China related personal culture back to "regulating the mind, making sincere the purpose, searching into the nature of things, and extending the boundaries of knowledge." What discriminating teaching, what comprehensive philosophy! And it is China's ancient wisdom. If now we want to rule our families and govern our state and not be subject to foreign control, we must begin with personal culture, we must revive China's ancient wisdom and comprehensive philosophy, and then we can reawaken the spirit and restore the standing of the Chinese nation.

In addition to our ancient learning there are likewise our ancient powers. When the Chinese to-day see the development of foreign machinery and the glorious progress of modern science, they naturally think that our ability is not equal to the ability of foreigners. But what about the capabilities of the Chinese thousands of years ago? In olden times the Chinese were much superior to foreigners. Some of the most valued things in the West to-day were invented in ancient China. Take, for example, the compass, which, in this great age of shipping, cannot be dispensed with for an hour or a moment; we find that it was invented by the Chinese millenniums ago. Chinese could not have invented the compass without some sort of ability, and that foreigners are still using what China used in the distant past shows that the Chinese ability is superior. There is another thing which occupies an extremely important place in civilization—the art of printing. The modern improved printing press of the West can turn out tens of thousands of newspapers in an hour, yet the history of printing begins with early Chinese inventions. Take, again, porcelain ware, which mankind uses daily, another invention and special product of China; foreigners are still trying to imitate it but cannot match its delicacy and beauty. In modern wars smokeless powder is used, yet this is only an improvement upon the smoke-producing black gunpowder which was invented by the Chinese. These important and valuable inventions—the compass, printing, gunpowder—are known and used by Western nations to-day and are reasons for their greatness.

In the field of human food and clothing, shelter and communication, China has also contributed many discoveries for the use of mankind. Take beverages: China discovered the tea leaf, which is one of the great necessities in the modern world; civilized countries to-day compete in the use of it and are making it a substitute for liquors. Thus tea is helping in the eradication of the drink evil and is bringing not a few other benefits to mankind. Take clothing: foreigners place the highest value upon articles made of silk and wearers of silk garments are daily increasing; the silkworm which spins the silk was first found in China thousands of years ago. Or shelter: the modern houses built by foreigners are of course complete in every way but the principles of building and all the important parts of house were first devised by the Chinese. The arched doorway, for example, was introduced earlier in China than anywhere else. Study methods of communication: Westerners think that their suspension bridges are extremely modern engineering and the result of great native ability, but foreigners who visit the interior of China and reach the borders of Szechwan and Tibet see Chinese traversing high mountains and crossing deep rivers by means of suspension

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<sup>10</sup> In the plain language of modern times, it is a matter of table etiquette.

bridges. They then realize that the credit for inventing suspension bridges belongs to China and not to the West as they had thought. All this goes to show that ancient China was not without capabilities, but these powers were afterwards lost, and consequently our national position has declined. If we want to restore our former standing, we must also revive our ancient powers.

But even if we succeed in reviving our ancient morality, learning and powers, will still not be able, in this modern world, to advance China to a first place among the nations. If we can reproduce the best of our national heritage just as it was in the time of our forefathers when China dominated the world, we will still need to learn the strong points of Europe and America before we can progress at equal rate with them. Unless we do study the best from foreign countries, we will go backward. With our own fine foundation of knowledge and our age-long culture, with our own native intelligence besides, we should be able to acquire all the best things from abroad. The strongest point of the West is its science. This has been three hundred years in the course of development, but it has made rapid strides forward only within the last half century. The advance of science has made it possible for man to "usurp the powers of nature" and to do what natural forces had done.

The most recently discovered natural power is electricity. Formerly power was gotten from coal, which in turn generated machine power. Now Western science has advanced to the second age—the age of electricity. There is a tremendous project on foot in the United States to link up all the electrical horse power of the factories throughout the country into one unified system. Since there are thousands of factories, if each one has its own generating plant and burns its own coal to generate electric power, an enormous amount of coal and labor is used. Because of this heavy consumption of coal by the factories, the hundreds of thousands of miles of railroad are not sufficient to transport the needed fuel. The result is that the railways are too busy to move the agricultural products of the various sections, and these do not find the wide market they should. Since the use of coal has two such serious disadvantages, the United States is now considering a great central power station which would unite the electric power used by the thousands of factories into one system. If this super-power project succeeds, then all the generating equipment of the thousands of factories can be consolidated into one central plant. The individual factory will not need to use coal and a lot of laborers to feed the fires; all it will need to carry on its work will be a copper wire to conduct the power. The advantages of this plan may be illustrated by the hundreds of people gathered in this lecture hall. If each one of us should have a small stove to cook a meal here, it would be troublesome and wasteful, but if all joined together and cooked a meal on a big stove, we would find it much more convenient and economical. The United States is just now considering this scheme of linking together all its factories in one great electric power system; if China wants to learn the strong points of the West, she should not start with coal power but with electricity, and give a single, great motive power to the whole country. This way of learning may be compared to what military men call a frontal attack, "intercepting and striking at the advance force." If we can learn from the advance guard, within ten years we may not be ahead of other nations, but we will be keeping step with them.

If we want to learn from the West, we will have to catch up with the advance line and not chase from behind. In the study of science, for instance, this will mean the saving of two hundred years. We are in such a position to-day that if we should still slumber on, not commence to struggle, and not know how to restore the standing of our state, our country would be lost and our race wiped out forever. But now that we know how, we ought to follow the world currents and study the best features of Western nations; we certainly should go beyond other countries in what we study and cause the "last to be first." Although we went backward for many centuries, yet now it should take us but a few years to catch up with the rest of the world. Japan is a good example. Her culture was formerly copied from China and was much inferior to ours, but recently Japan has studied only European and American civilization and within a few decades has become one of the world's great powers. I do not think that our intellectual powers are below those of the Japanese, and it should be easier for us now than for Japan to learn from the West. So the next ten years is a critical period for us; if we can come to life as the Japanese did and all put forth a very sincere effort to elevate the standing of our nation, within a decade we should be able to get rid of foreign political and economic control, the pressure of foreign population increase, and all the various calamities that are now upon us.

After China reaches that place, what then? A common phrase in ancient China was, "Rescue the weak, lift up the fallen." Because of this noble policy China prospered for thousands of years, and Annam, Burma, Siam, and other

small states were able to maintain their independence. As European influence spread over the East, Annam was overthrown by France, Burma by Great Britain, Korea by Japan. If we want China to rise to power, we must not only restore our national standing, but we must also assume a great responsibility towards the world. If China cannot assume that responsibility, she will be a great disadvantage not an advantage to the world, no matter how strong she may be. What really is our duty to the world? The road which the Great Powers are traveling to-day means the destruction of other states; if China, when she becomes strong, wants to crush other countries, copy the Powers' imperialism, and go their road, we will just be following in their tracks. Let us first of all decide on our policy. Only if we "rescue the weak and lift up the fallen" will we be carrying out the divine obligation of our nation. We must aid the weaker and smaller peoples and oppose the great powers of the world. If all the people of the country resolve upon this purpose, our nation will prosper; otherwise, there is no hope for us. Let us to-day, before China's development begins, pledge ourselves to lift up the fallen and to aid the weak; then when we become strong and look back upon our own sufferings under the political and economic domination of the Powers and see weaker and smaller peoples undergoing similar treatment, we will rise and smite that imperialism. Then will we be truly "governing the state and pacifying the world."

If we want to be able to reach this ideal in the future, we must now revive our national spirit, recover our national standing, unify the world upon the foundation of our ancient morality and love of peace, and bring about a universal rule of equality and fraternity. This is the great responsibility which devolves upon our four hundred millions. You, gentlemen, are a part of our four hundred millions; you must all shoulder this responsibility and manifest the true spirit of our nation.

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## The Principle of Democracy

### Lecture One [March 9, 1924]

WHAT is the People's Sovereignty? In order to define this term we must first understand what a "people" is. Any unified and organized body of men is called a "people." What is "sovereignty"? It is power and authority extended to the area of the state. The states with the greatest power to-day are called in Chinese the "strong states," in foreign languages the "powers." Mechanical force is spoken of in Chinese as "horse strength," in other languages as "horse power." Thus strength and power are used interchangeably. The power to execute orders and to regulate public conduct is called "sovereignty," and when "people" and "sovereignty" are linked together, we have the political power of the people. To understand "political power" we must know what government is. Many people think that government is a very abstruse and difficult subject which ordinary persons cannot comprehend. Chinese military men are always saying, "We are soldiers and know nothing about politics." The reason why they are ignorant is that they consider government to be a deep and abstruse study. They do not know that it is a very clear and comprehensible thing. If military men say that they will not interfere with government, we can let them by; but if they say that they cannot understand government; they are foolish. Since the soldier is the driving force behind the government, he should certainly understand what government is. Briefly, government is a thing of the people and by the people; it is control of the affairs of all the people. The power of control is political sovereignty, and where the people control the government we speak of the "people's sovereignty."

Now that we understand what the "people's sovereignty" is, we must study its functions. As we view life about us or study into the distant past, we see that human power has been employed, to put it simply, in maintaining the existence of the human race. In order to exist, mankind must have protection and sustenance and it is daily engaged in meeting these two great needs. Protection means self-defense: whether it is an individual or a group or a state, the power of self-defense is necessary to existence. Sustenance means seeking food. Self-defense and food-seeking are, then, the two chief means by which mankind maintains its existence. But while man is maintaining his existence, other animals are also trying to maintain theirs; while man is defending himself, other animals are also defending themselves; while man seeks food, other animals are also seeking food; and so the protection and the sustenance of man comes into conflict with the protection and the sustenance of other animals, and struggle ensues. To keep alive

in the midst of struggle man must fight, and so mankind has not ceased to fight since the beginning of human life. Thus the human race has used its strength in combat, and since its birth upon the planet until now has lived in the thick of strife.

While the germs of democracy were found in Greece and Rome two thousand years ago, yet only within the last one hundred fifty years has democracy become firmly rooted in the world. The preceding age was one of autocracy and the age before that one of theocracy. Before theocracy came the wilderness age when men fought with beasts. Man sought to live and the animal sought to live. Man had two ways of preserving his existence—through seeking food and through self-defense. In very ancient times men ate beasts and beasts also ate men; there was a constant struggle between them. The land was covered with venomous snakes and wild animals; man was beset by dangers and so had to fight for his very life. The warfare of that day was the irregular conflict between man and beast; there was no banding into groups, it was "each fighting for himself."

In the primitive struggle between man and wild beasts, man used only his individual physical strength or sometimes the species would fight together; if, for instance, in one place a few score men were battling with a few score beasts, and in another place, another group of men were doing the same thing, the men of both places might perceive their own kinship to each other and their difference from the animals, unite as fellow creatures, and fight together against the other species. Certainly man would not join with another species to fight and devour man and injure his own kind. Such a banding together of the species and unwitting alliance against reptiles and beasts was a natural, not an artificial thing; when the reptiles or beasts were destroyed, the men scattered. At that time there was no such thing as popular sovereignty; man, in fighting the animals, used simply his own physical prowess and not any kind of authority. It was an age of brute force.

Later, when man had about exterminated the venomous reptiles and savage beasts, when his environment was somewhat improved, and his dwelling place was better suited to his type of existence, then groups of people began to live in one place and to domesticate the tamer animals. This was the beginning of the pastoral age and also of civilization. A great change now took place in man's living conditions: warfare with animals was about at an end, civilization was growing up, what we call the ancient period of human history had arrived. Man began to direct his warfare against the forces of Nature. Briefly, in the first stage man warred with beasts and employed his own brute force or the united strength of many to kill them off; in the second stage man warred with Nature. In the first stage, because man did not know when an animal would attack him, he was not sure whether he could live from one moment to another; he had only his two hands and two feet for self-defense, but he was wiser than the beasts and learned to use sticks and stones for weapons, so finally he won a complete victory over his wild enemies. Only then could man plan ahead for a day; while he was battling with the beasts, his life was not secure for a moment.

When wild beasts no longer threatened, the human race began to multiply and the most favorable spots on the earth began to fill up with people. What were the favorable spots?—Places sheltered from wind and rain or regions which storms did not touch.

After driving out the poisonous reptiles and savage beasts they were faced with natural disasters of storm and flood. Naturally they would try to avert these disasters and to struggle against Nature. In the age of warfare with the beasts man could use his own physical strength to fight, but mere fighting was of no value in the day of struggle against Nature. Mankind then suffered many hardships until some wise men came forth with schemes for the welfare of the people. Thus the Great Yü<sup>11</sup> reduced the waters to order and averted the calamity of flood for the people, and Yu Ch'ao Shih (the Nest Builder)<sup>12</sup> taught the people how to build houses in trees and avert the disasters from wind and storm.

From this time on civilization slowly progressed, the people began to unite, and, as land was plentiful and the inhabitants were few, food was very easy to procure. The only problems were the catastrophes of Nature which could not be fought, as the wild beasts were, with bodily strength, and so there arose the idea of divine power. Men

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<sup>11</sup> The first emperor of the Hsia.

<sup>12</sup> Legendary ruler of ancient Chinese history.

of deep wisdom began to advocate the doctrine of gods and divine teachings, and introduced prayers as a means of warding off evil and obtaining blessings. There was no way of telling at the time whether their praying was effective or not; however, since they were struggling against Heaven, they had no other plan, when in extremity, but to appeal for the power of the gods. A man of profound insight would be chosen as leader, like the chiefs of savage tribes in Africa to-day, whose special duty it was to offer prayers. In the same way Mongolians and Tibetans now make a "Living Buddha" their ruler and are under a religious government. So the ancients used to say that the two great functions of the state were worship and war, praying and fighting.

Thus after the age of warfare with wild animals came the struggles with Nature and out of these struggles was born theocracy. The next step in history was autocracy, when mighty warriors and political leaders wrested the power away from the religious rulers or put themselves at the head of the churches and appointed themselves kings. A period of struggle between man and man thus evolved. When struggles between man and man began to take the place of struggles with Nature, people realized that simple dependence upon the power of religious faith could neither protect society nor aid in warfare and that an enlightened government and strong military power were necessary in order to compete with other peoples. Men have fought against men since the beginning of recorded history. At first they employed both the power of religion and the power of autocracy in their struggles; later, as theocracy weakened and, after the dissolution of the Roman Empire, gradually decayed, autocracy became stronger until, in the reign of Louis XIV of France, it reached the peak of its power. Louis XIV said that there was no difference between the king and the state—"I am the king, therefore I am the state." He took every power of the state into his own hands and exercised despotism to its limits, just as did Ch'in Shih Hwang<sup>13</sup> of China. The absolute monarchy became more terrible every day until the people could bear it no longer. About this time science was beginning to make steady progress and the general intelligence of mankind was steadily rising. As a result, a new consciousness was born. The people saw that autocracy was something that only grasped for power, made private property of the state and of the people, contributed to the gratification of one individual and did not care about the sufferings of the many; as it became unbearable, they realized with increasing clearness that, since the system was iniquitous, they should resist it, and that resistance meant revolution. So, during the last hundred years, the tides of revolutionary thought have run high and have given rise to democratic revolutions, struggles between people and kings.

This division into periods will help us in studying the origins of democracy. Summing up: the first period was one of struggle between man and beast in which man employed physical strength rather than any kind of power; in the second period man fought with Nature and called divine powers to his aid; in the third period, men came into conflict with men, states with states, races with races, and autocratic power was the chief weapon. We are now in the fourth period, of war within states, when the people are battling against their monarchs and kings. The issue now is between good and evil, between right and might, and as the power of the people is steadily increasing, we may call this the age of the people's sovereignty—the age of democracy. This is a very new age. We have only recently entered upon it and overthrown the autocracy of the old age.

Is the change a good thing or not? When the masses were unenlightened and depended upon sacred kings and virtuous sages to lead them, autocracy was of considerable value. Before autocracies arose, holy men founded religion upon the way of the gods in order to conserve social values; at that time theocracy rendered a large service. But now autocracy and theocracy are things of the past and we have come to the age of democracy, the age of the people's power. Is there any just reason why we should oppose autocracy and insist upon democracy? Yes, because with the rapid advance of civilization people are growing in intelligence and developing a new consciousness of self, just as we, who as children wanted our parents to support us, cannot depend upon them further but must be independent when we grow up to manhood and seek our own living.

From two hundred thousand years up to ten or more thousand years ago, mankind lived under theocracy, and theocracy was well suited to the needs of the age. The situation in Europe was a similar one a thousand or more years ago. Chinese culture flowered earlier than European culture, so we have had more autocracy than theocracy; the age of autocracy began long ago in China. But the word democracy—popular sovereignty—has only lately been introduced into China. All of you who have come here to-day to support my revolution are naturally believers in

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<sup>13</sup> Despot who united China and founded the Ch'in dynasty (246-207 B.C.)

democracy.

Which, autocracy or democracy, is really better suited to modern China? If we base our judgment upon the intelligence and the ability of the Chinese people, we come to the conclusion that the sovereignty of the people would be far more suitable for us. Confucius and Mencius two thousand years ago spoke for people's rights. Confucius said, "When the Great Doctrine prevails, all under heaven will work for the common good."<sup>14</sup> He was pleading for a free and fraternal world in which the people would rule. He was constantly referring to Yao and Shun<sup>15</sup> simply because they did not try to monopolize the empire. Although their government was autocratic in name, yet in reality they gave the people power and so were highly revered by Confucius. Mencius said, "Most precious are the people; next come the land and grain; and last, the princes." Again: "Heaven sees as the people see, Heaven hears as the people hear," and "I have heard of the punishment of the tyrant Chou<sup>16</sup> but never of the assassination of a sovereign." He, in his age, already saw that kings were not absolutely necessary and would not last forever, so he called those who brought happiness to the people holy monarchs, but those who were cruel and unprincipled he called individualists whom all should oppose. Thus China more than two millenniums ago had already considered the idea of democracy, but at that time she could not put it into operation. Democracy was then what foreigners call a Utopia, an ideal which could not be immediately realized.

Now that Europe and America have founded republics and have applied democracy for one hundred fifty years, we whose ancients dreamed of these things should certainly follow the tide of world events and make use of the people's power if we expect our state to rule long and peacefully and our people to enjoy happiness. But the rise of democracy is comparatively recent and many states in the world are still autocratic; those which have tried democracy have experienced many disappointments and failures. While democracy was discoursed upon in China two thousand years ago, it has become an accomplished fact for only one hundred fifty years in the West. Now it is suddenly spreading over the whole world on the wings of the wind.

The first instance of actual democracy in modern times was in England. A revolution of the people took place about the time of the close of the Ming dynasty and the beginning of the Manchu dynasty in China, under a leader named Cromwell, which resulted in the execution of King Charles I. This deed sent a thrill of horror through the people of Europe and America, who had never heard of the like in the world before and who thought that those responsible should be treated as traitors and rebels. The secret assassination of princes was common in every country, but Cromwell's execution of Charles I was not done in secret; the king was given a public trial and openly proclaimed guilty of disloyalty to the state and to the people, and so deserving of death. Europe thought that the English people would defend the rights of the people, and give a great impetus to democracy, but, to the surprise of all, the English preferred autocracy to democracy; although Charles I was dead, they continued to long for a king. Within less than ten years the restoration of the monarchy had taken place and Charles II was welcomed back as king. This happened just at the time when the Manchus were entering the Great Wall, before the downfall of the Ming dynasty not much further back than two hundred or more years. Something over two centuries ago, England had this one period of democratic government, but it soon collapsed and autocracy again held sway.

A hundred years later the American Revolution took place when the colonies broke away from England and declared independence, forming the federal government of the United States of America. This state, which has now existed for one hundred fifty years, was the first in the modern world to carry out the principles of democracy. Ten years after the establishment of the American Republic, the French Revolution was precipitated. The situation at the time of the French Revolution was like this: Since Louis XIV had seized all the power of the state and exercised absolute despotism, the people of France had suffered untold miseries; when his heirs displayed an even greater cruelty and wickedness, the people were goaded beyond endurance and started to revolt. They killed Louis XVI just as the English had killed Charles I, after giving him a public trial and proclaiming his disloyalty to the state and to the people. But then all the other states of Europe arose to avenge the death of the French king and war was fought for over ten years, with the result that the revolution failed and monarchy lifted its head once more. From this time on,

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<sup>14</sup> 天下為公 *t'ien hsia wei kung*.

<sup>15</sup> Legendary rulers of ancient Chinese history before Great Yu.

<sup>16</sup> Last ruler of the Shang or Yin dynasty which fell 1121 B. C., a cruel tyrant condemned by all Chinese historians.

however, democratic ideas flourished all the more among the French people.

Everyone who discusses the history of democracy knows about the French philosopher Rousseau, who advocated popular rights in an extreme form and whose democratic theories generated the French Revolution. Rousseau's most important work out of his lifelong thinking and writing upon democracy was his *Social Contract*. The idea upon which the book is built is this: Man is born with rights of freedom and equality, rights which were endowed by Nature but which he has thrown away. According to his theory, the people are given their sovereign rights by Nature; but, as we study the evolution of history, we see that democracy has not been Heaven-born but has been wrought out of the conditions of the times and the movement of events. We can find no facts in the evolution of the race to bear out Rousseau's philosophy, which, consequently, lacks foundation. Opponents of democracy take Rousseau's unfounded arguments as material for their case, but we who believe in democracy do not need to start with discussion about it; universal principles are all based first upon fact and then upon theory, theory does not precede fact.

The theory in Rousseau's *Social Contract* that the rights and the powers of the people are bestowed by Nature is fundamentally in conflict with the principle of historical evolution, and so the enemies of democracy have used Rousseau's unsound argument to stop the mouths of the supporters of democracy. Rousseau's idea that democracy is naturally endowed was unreasonable, but for opponents to use one false conclusion of his as an argument against all democracy is just as unreasonable. When we are studying the truths of the universe, we must begin by investigating the facts and not depend merely upon the treatises of scholars. Why, if Rousseau's philosophy was not based upon fact, did all the peoples welcome it? And how was Rousseau able to produce such a treatise? He saw the power of the people rising into a flood and espoused the people's sovereignty; his democratic proposals suited the psychology of the time and made the masses welcome him. So, although his theory of democracy conflicted with the principles of historical progress, the spirit of democracy which was already coming to be a reality in the life of his day caused him to be warmly received in spite of his faulty arguments. And it may be added that Rousseau's advocacy of the original idea of democracy was one of the greatest contributions to government in all history.

Since the beginning of human history, the kind of power which government has wielded has inevitably varied according to the circumstances and tendencies of the age. In an age which revered gods, theocratic power had to be used; in an age of princes autocratic power had to be used. But now the currents of the world's life have swept into the age of democracy and it behooves us quickly to study what democracy means. Because some of the treatises upon democracy, such as Rousseau's *Social Contract*, have been a bit inconsistent with true principles, is no reason why we should oppose all that is good in democracy as well. Nor must we think that democracy is impracticable because the monarchy was restored after Cromwell's revolution in England or because the revolution stretched out for so long a time in France. The French Revolution lasted eighty years before it succeeded. The American Revolution accomplished its aims in eight years, but England after two hundred years of revolution still has a king. However, if we observe the steady progress of the world from many angles, we are assured that the day of democracy is here; and that, no matter what disappointments and defeats democracy may meet, it will maintain itself for a long time to come upon the earth.

Thirty years ago, therefore, we fellow revolutionists firmly resolved that, if we wanted China to be strong and our revolution to be effective, we must espouse the cause of democracy. Those Chinese who opposed democracy used to ask what strength there was in our Revolutionary Party to be able to overthrow the Manchu emperor. But in 1911 he fell with one push, another victim of the world tide. This world tendency has flowed from the theocracy on to autocracy and from autocracy now on to democracy, and there is no way to stem the current. Autocracy in Europe is on the wane. Great Britain uses a political party rather than a king to govern the country; it may be called a republic with a king. From all this we see that not only theocracy but also autocracy will soon crumble before the on-flowing world current. The present age of democracy is a sequence of the democratic ideas in the Greek and Roman age and, while it has been only one hundred fifty years since the beginnings of democracy, its future will be growing brighter day by day.

So we in our revolution have chosen democracy, first, that we may be following the world current, and second, that we may reduce the period of civil war. From ancient times in China, men of great ambition have all wanted to be king. Thus, when Liu Pang<sup>17</sup> saw Ch'in Shih Hwang riding out, he said, "That is the way for men of valor!" and Hsiang Yu<sup>18</sup> also said, "Let me usurp his place!" From one generation to another, there has been no end to this unscrupulous greed for power. When I launched the revolution, six or seven out of every ten who came to our support had imperialistic ideas, but after we made it known that our revolutionary principles aimed not only at the overthrow of the Manchus but also at the establishment of a republic, this group gradually got rid of their selfish ambitions. But there are still a few among them who, even in this thirteenth year of the Republic, cling to the old hope of becoming king, and this is the reason why even among our followers there were some who fought against each other. When we first proclaimed our revolution, we lifted up the rights of the people as the basis upon which to build our republic, with the hope that this would prevent the rivalry for imperial power.

To-day I am speaking about the people's sovereignty and I want you all to understand clearly what it really means. Unless we do understand clearly, we can never get rid of imperial ambitions among us, ambitions which will make even brethren in a cause and citizens of the same country fight one another. The whole land will be torn year after year with civil strife and there will be no end to the sufferings of the people. Because I wanted us to avert such calamities, I lifted up the banner of democracy as soon as the revolution began and determined that we should found a republic. When we have a real republic, who will be king? The people, our four hundred millions, will be king. This will prevent everybody from struggling for power and will reduce the war evil in China. The history of China shows that every change of dynasty has meant war. A peaceful period has always been followed by disorder, disorder over the rivalry for kingship. Foreign countries have had wars over religion and wars over freedom, but China in her thousands of years has had but one kind of war, the war for the throne. In order to avert further civil war, we, as soon as we launched our revolution, proclaimed that we wanted a republic and not kings.

## The Principle of Democracy

### Lecture Two [March 16, 1924]

FOREIGN scholars always associate "democracy" with "liberty" and many foreign books and essays discuss the two side by side. The peoples of Europe and America have warred and struggled for little else besides liberty these past two or three hundred years and, as a result, democracy is beginning to flourish. The watchword of the French Revolution was "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," just as the watchword of our Revolution is "*Min-ts'u, Min-ch'uan, Min-sheng*" (People's Nationalism, People's Sovereignty, People's Livelihood). We may say that liberty, equality, and fraternity are based upon the people's sovereignty or that the people's sovereignty develops out of liberty, equality, and fraternity. While we are discussing democracy we must consider the meaning of the French watchword.

As revolutionary ideas have spread through the East, the word "liberty" has come too; many devoted students and supporters of the new movement have sought to explain in detail its meaning, as something of vital importance. The movement for liberty has played a large part in the history of Europe the past two or three hundred years, and most European wars have been fought for liberty. So Western scholars look upon liberty as a most significant thing, and many peoples in the West have engaged in a rewarding study of its meaning. But since the word has been brought to China, only a few of the intelligentsia have had time to study and to understand it. If we should talk to the common people of China in the villages or on the streets about "liberty," they would have no idea of what we meant. So we may say that the Chinese have not gotten anything yet out of the word: even the new youth and the returned students, those who have paid some attention to Western political affairs and those who have constantly heard liberty talked about or have seen the word in books, have a very hazy conception of what it signifies. No wonder that foreigners criticize the Chinese, saying that their civilization is inferior and their thinking immature, that they even have no idea of liberty and no word with which to express the idea, yet at the same time criticizing the Chinese for being disunited as a sheet of loose sand.

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<sup>17</sup> The founder of the Han dynasty (204 B. C.-219 A. D.).

<sup>18</sup> A rival of Liu P'ang.

These two criticisms are absolutely contradictory. What do foreigners mean when they say that China is a sheet of loose sand? Simply that every person does as he pleases and has let his individual liberty extend to all phases of life, hence China is but a lot of separate sand particles. Take up a handful of sand; no matter how much there is, the particles will slip about without any tendency to cohere—that is loose sand. But if we add cement to the loose sand, it will harden into a firm body like a rock, in which the sand, however, has no freedom. When we compare sand and rock, we clearly see that rock was originally composed of particles of sand; but in the firm body of the rock the sand has lost its power to move about freely. Liberty, to put it simply, means the freedom to move about as one wishes within an organized group. Because China does not have a word to convey this idea, everyone has been at a loss to appreciate it. We have a phrase that suggests liberty—"running wild without bridle," but that is the same thing as "loose sand"—excessive liberty for the individual. So foreigners who criticize us, who say on the one hand that we have no power to unite, are loose sand and free particles, and say on the other hand that we do not understand the meaning of "liberty"—do they not realize that it is everybody's liberty which is making us a sheet of loose sand and that if all are united in a strong body, we cannot be like loose sand? These critics are "holding their spear against their own shield."

Within the last two or three centuries, foreign countries have expended enormous energy in the struggle for liberty. Is liberty really a good thing? What is it? I don't think the common people of China have the least conception of what this "liberty," that the Westerners say they have been fighting for, means. In their wars, Westerners extolled liberty to the skies and made it sacred; they even made a saying like "Give me liberty or give me death" their battle cry. Chinese students, in translating Western theories, have introduced these words into China; they have upheld liberty and determined to fight for it. In their first enthusiasm they almost equaled the Westerners in days past. But the mass of the people in China do not understand what liberty means; you must realize that liberty develops as the power of the people develops. So in speaking about democracy to-day, I cannot but first speak of liberty. We must understand that Europe and America have shed much blood and have spent much life in the struggle for liberty. Democracy has been in existence for over a century in the West, but, historically, it followed the fight for liberty. Life was first poured out in order to attain liberty; the fruit of liberty was democracy. In those days the educated leaders of Europe and America held up liberty as their banner just as we in our revolution are holding up the Three Principles of the People. From all this we can see that the Western wars were first for liberty and when liberty was attained the results were called by scholars democracy. The term "democracy" comes from an old Greek word. Even now Westerners are not very much interested in the term "democracy" and think of it more or less as a technical term in political science; it is far from being the matter of life and death which liberty has been.

But in the modern wars of Europe, liberty rather than democracy has been the aim proclaimed. Liberty was a word that everybody in Europe could easily understand. The Europeans' response to the word "liberty" is similar to the Chinese response to-day to the word "make a fortune" which is thought so much of in China. Liberty has been the rallying cry in modern European wars because Europeans understood the word and were willing to contend for it and to sacrifice for it; everyone worshiped liberty. Why have Europeans so cherished this word?

The peoples of the West sought liberty because of the extremes to which autocracy had developed. They were in a stage of civilization corresponding to the close of the Chou dynasty and the period of the coordinated states in China, about the time of the Roman Empire. Contemporaneously with the Chou, Ch'in, and Han dynasties, Rome was unifying Europe. Rome at first established a republic, but later became a monarchy. After the downfall of the Roman Empire several states sprang up simultaneously in Europe, just as the break-up of the Chou dynasty was followed by the coordinated states. So many scholars have compared the conflict of the "Seven Leaders" at the end of the Chou dynasty with the situation after the fall of Rome. After the Roman Empire had broken up into small states, the feudal system came into existence: the strongest leaders became kings and princes; the next in power, marquises; the least powerful, earls, viscounts, and barons. They all held autocratic power and the whole system of government was far more despotic than the feudal regime during the Chou dynasty in China. We to-day cannot imagine what the people of Europe suffered under their feudal rule; it was far worse than anything Chinese have ever suffered under their autocracies. The reason is this: the Ch'in dynasty<sup>19</sup> in imposing its autocracy directly on the people would make a human sacrifice of any who spoke evil of the government and execute two people for even

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<sup>19</sup> 246-207 B.C.

talking together; soon afterwards the dynasty rushed headlong into ruin. So the dynasties and governments which followed the Ch'in adopted a much more liberal policy towards the people; apart from paying the regular grain taxes the people had almost no relation with the officials. The European tyranny in one way and another pressed directly down upon the shoulders of the common people. As this lasted very long and despotism developed more and more systematically, conditions became worse than anything we have ever experienced in China. So Europeans two hundred years ago were groaning under the painful yoke of autocracy just as Chinese to-day are groaning under the yoke of poverty. Europeans, after such a long period of cruel tyranny, felt keenly the distress which the lack of liberty brought; the only way for them to get rid of their misery was, therefore, to fight for liberty, and when men spoke of liberty, they joyfully responded.

After the destruction of China's ancient feudal system, the stately pomp of autocracy hardly affected the common people. Since the Ch'in dynasty, the aim of China's emperors has been first to protect their own throne that they might continue to keep the empire in their own family and that their heirs might reign in peace forever. So any activities of the people which seemed to endanger the throne were repressed as strongly as possible. So ever since the Ch'in dynasty, succeeding emperors have cared only for their own royal power and but little about the lives of the people. As for the happiness of the people, that was not in their thoughts at all. The people had little direct relation to the emperor beyond paying him the annual grain tax—nothing more. Consequently, the political consciousness of the people has been very weak. The people did not care who was emperor. As soon as they had paid their grain tax they considered their duty as citizens done. The emperors wanted only the grain tax from the people and were not interested in anything else they did, letting them live and die to themselves. We can see from this that the Chinese people have not been directly subject to the oppression of autocracy; their sufferings have come indirectly. Because our state has been weak, we have come under the political and economic domination of foreign countries and have not been able to resist. Now our wealth is exhausted and our people are destitute, suffering poverty because of an indirect tyranny.

The Chinese people, therefore, felt very little resentment against their emperors. On the other hand, the autocracy of Europe was quite different from that of China. The despotism in Europe, from the downfall of Rome up to two or three centuries ago, had been developing rapidly and the people had suffered increasingly and unbearably. Many kinds of liberty were denied them, chiefly liberty of thought, liberty of speech, and liberty of movement. Take freedom of belief. When people who live in a certain place are forced to believe in a particular religion, whether they want to or not, the situation becomes very hard to bear. Europeans indeed suffered "deep waters and burning fires" from the denial of freedom. So, whenever they heard of anyone leading a struggle for liberty, they all rejoiced and espoused his cause. Such was the beginning of the European revolutionary idea.

There is a deep significance in the proposal of our Revolutionary Party that the Three Principles of the People, rather than a struggle for liberty, should be the basis of our revolution. The watchword of the French Revolution was "Liberty"; the watchword of the American Revolution was "Independence"; the watchword of our Revolution is the "Three Principles of the People." We spent much time and effort before we decided upon our watchword; we are not merely imitating others. The peoples of Europe suffered so bitterly from despotism that as soon as the banner of liberty was lifted high, millions with one heart rallied about it. If we in China, where the people have not suffered such despotism, should make the cry of liberty, no attention would be paid to it.

Modern European scholars who observe China all say that our civilization is so backward and our political consciousness so weak that we do not even understand liberty. "We Europeans," they declare, "fought and sacrificed for liberty one or two hundred years ago and performed no one knows how many startling deeds, but Chinese still do not know what liberty is. This shows that the political thinking of us Europeans is far superior to the political thinking of the Chinese." Because we do not talk about liberty, they say that we are poor in political ideas. I don't think such an argument gets anywhere. If Europeans value liberty so much, why do they call the Chinese a "sheet of loose sand"? When Europeans were struggling for liberty, they naturally took a strong view of liberty, but since they have won liberty and have reached their goal, their conception of liberty has probably become weaker. If the banner of liberty should be raised again to-day, I don't think it would call forth the same enthusiasm as before. Moreover, struggles for liberty was the European method of revolution two or three centuries ago and could not be repeated now. To use the figure "loose sand," what is its chief characteristic?—Its absolute freedom, without which there can

be no such thing as loose sand. When European democracy was just budding, Europeans talked about fighting for liberty; when they had gained their end, everyone began to extend the limits of his individual liberty and soon the excesses of liberty led to many evil consequences. Therefore an English scholar named Mill<sup>20</sup> said that only individual liberty which did not interfere with the liberty of others can be considered true liberty. If one's liberty is incompatible with another's sphere of liberty, it is no longer liberty. Before that, Westerners had set no limits upon freedom, but when Mill proposed his theory of a limited freedom, the measure of personal liberty was considerably reduced. Evidently Western scholars had come to realize that liberty was not a sacred thing which could not be encroached upon, but that it must be put within boundaries.

When we think about that sheet of "loose sand", we realize that the Chinese have had great measure of liberty. Because Chinese have had an excessive degree of liberty, they have given it no concern, just as when there is plenty of fresh air in the room, we do not realize its value: but when the doors and the windows are closed and no fresh air can come in, we know its importance. Europeans under the despotism of two or three centuries ago had no liberty whatsoever, so every man appreciated how precious a thing liberty was and was ready to give his life for it. Before they won liberty, they were like men shut up in a small room; after they had won liberty they were like men suddenly let out into the open air. Naturally everyone felt that liberty was something of wonderful value and was saying, "Give me liberty or give me death."

Europeans and Americans risked their lives in the battles for liberty a hundred and fifty years ago, because liberty was rare for them. When nations like France and the United States won liberty, they became what we call the pioneers in democratic government. Yet even in these two countries, is everyone free? The liberty which Westerners talk about has its strict limitations and cannot be described as belonging to everyone. Young Chinese students when they talk about liberty break down all restraints. Because no one welcomes their theory in the society outside, they can only bring it back into their own schools, and constant disorders and strikes result. This is abuse of freedom. That foreigners should not be familiar with Chinese history and should not know that since ancient times Chinese have enjoyed a large measure of liberty, is not strange. But that our own students should have forgotten the Liberty Song of the ancient Chinese—

*"When the sun rises, I toil;  
When the sun sets, I rest,  
I dig wells for water:  
I till the fields for food,  
What has the Emperor's power to do with me?"*

is surprisingly strange. We can see from this Liberty Song that China, while she has not had liberty in name, has had liberty in fact from days of old, and so much of it that she need not seek for more.

If foreigners say that we are a sheet of loose sand, we will acknowledge the truth, but we cannot accept their assertion that the Chinese have no understanding of liberty and are weak in their political consciousness. Why has China become a sheet of loose sand? Simply because of excessive individual liberty. Therefore the aims of the Chinese Revolution are different from the aims in foreign revolutions, and the methods we use must also be different. Why, indeed, is China having a revolution? To put the answer directly, the aims of our revolution are just opposite to the aims of the revolutions of Europe. Europeans rebelled and fought for liberty because they had had too little liberty. But we, because we have had too much liberty without any unity and resisting power, because we have become a sheet of loose sand and so have been invaded by foreign imperialism and oppressed by the economic control and trade wars of the Powers, without being able to resist, must break down individual liberty and become pressed together into an unyielding body like the firm rock which is formed by the addition of cement to sand.

Western revolutions began with the struggle for liberty; only after war and agitation of two or three centuries was the liberty realized from which democracy sprang. The watchword of the French Revolution was "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Our watchword is "People's Nationalism, People's Sovereignty, People's Livelihood." What relation do the two watchwords have to each other? According to my interpretation, our Nationalism may be said to correspond

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<sup>20</sup> Referring to John Stuart Mill.

to their Liberty, because putting the Peoples Nationalism into effect means a struggle for the liberty of our nation. The Europeans fought for individual liberty, but to-day we have a different use for liberty. Now how shall the term "liberty" be applied? If we apply it to a person, we shall become a sheet of loose sand; on no account must we give more liberty to the individual; let us secure liberty instead for the nation. The individual should not have too much liberty, but the nation should have complete liberty. When the nation can act freely, then China may be called strong. To make the nation free, we must each sacrifice his personal freedom. Students who sacrifice their personal liberty will be able to work diligently day after day and spend time and effort upon learning; when their studies are completed, their knowledge is enlarged and their powers have multiplied, then they can do things for the nation. Soldiers who sacrifice their personal liberty will be able to obey orders, repay their country with loyalty and help the nation to attain liberty. If students and soldiers talk liberty, they will soon have "unrestrained license," to use a Chinese phrase for liberty. Schools will have no rules and the army will have no discipline. How can you have a school without rules? What kind of army is that without discipline?

Why do we want the nation to be free?—Because China under the domination of the Powers has lost her national standing, she is not merely a semi-colony; she has indeed become a hypo-colony. If we want to restore China's liberty, we must unite ourselves into one unshakable body; we must use revolutionary methods to weld our state into firm unity. Without revolutionary principles we shall never succeed. Our revolutionary principles are the cement. If we can consolidate our four hundred millions and form a mighty union and make the union free, the Chinese state will be free and the Chinese people will be really free. Compare the watchword of the French Revolution with that of ours. "Liberty" in the French revolutionary watchword and "People's Nationalism" in our watchword are similar. The People's Nationalism calls for the freedom of our nation. "Equality" is similar to our "Principle of the People's Sovereignty" which aims to destroy autocracy and make all men equal. "Fraternity" originally meant brothers and has the same significance as the Chinese word *t'ung-pao* (compatriots). The idea in "Fraternity" is similar to our "Principle of the People's Livelihood," which plans for the happiness of our four hundred millions.

## The Principle of Democracy

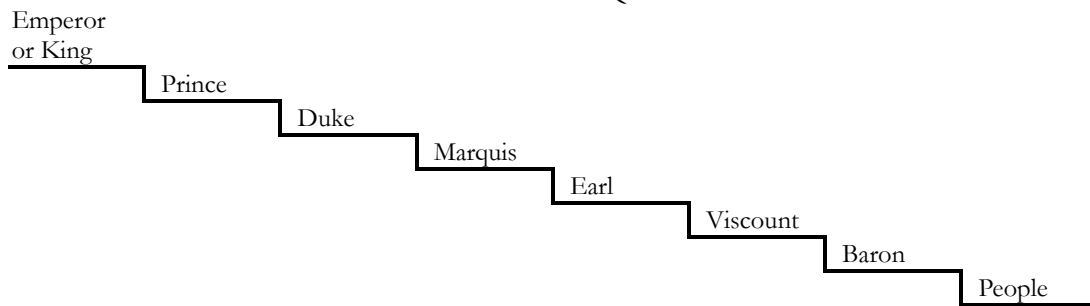
### Lecture Three [March 23, 1924]

MIN-CH'UAN, the People's Sovereignty, is the second part of our revolutionary watchword and corresponds to equality in the French watchword. So to-day let us take equality as the theme for our study. The word "equality" is usually associated with the word "liberty." During the former revolutions in the various countries of Europe, all the people expended an almost equal amount of strength and sacrificed to a similar degree in their fight for liberty and equality, and consequently they valued equality as much as they did liberty. Moreover, many people felt that if they could secure liberty, they would certainly attain to equality, and that if they did not become equal, there was no way to manifest their freedom; they regarded equality as being even higher than liberty. What is equality and whence does it come? The revolutionary philosophy of Europe and America spoke of liberty as something bestowed by Nature upon man. For example, the "Declaration of Independence" of the American Revolution and the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen" of the French Revolution both pronouncedly and emphatically proclaimed that liberty and equality were natural and inalienable rights of man.

Are men really born with the special right of equality? We traced the history of people's rights from the age of primitive man millions of years ago down to the beginning of our modern democratic period, but we did not discover any principle of natural human equality. In the world of Nature we do not find any two things level, except upon the surface of water. On level ground there is no place truly level. The railway runs through a natural plane: but if you look out of your coach window along the way and observe carefully the contour of the land, you will find that there is not a mile of track but has required human labor and engineering to make it level.

Nature originally did not make man equal; but when autocracy developed among mankind, the despotic kings and princes pushed human differences to an extreme, and the result was an inequality far worse than Nature's inequality. The inequality created by kings and princes was an artificial inequality. To illustrate the conditions it resulted in, let me draw a diagram on the blackboard here:

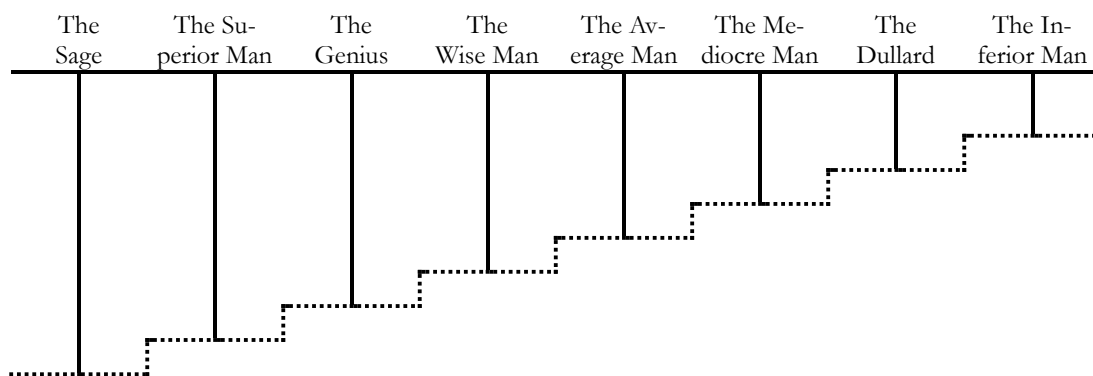
DIAGRAM I—INEQUALITY



Study this diagram carefully and you will understand what artificial inequality meant. Because of these artificial ranks, the specially privileged classes became excessively cruel and iniquitous, while the oppressed people, unable to contain themselves, finally broke into rebellion and warred upon inequality. The original aim in the revolutions had been the destruction of man-made inequalities; when that was completed, men thought their revolution would be over. But the men who occupied the high stations of emperor and king all assumed a divine appointment as a shield for their office; they said that they had received their special position from God and that the people who opposed them would be opposing God. The ignorant masses, who did not study to see whether there were any truth or not in these words, followed on blindly and fought for more privileges for their kings. They even opposed the intelligent people who talked about equality and liberty. So the scholars who were supporting revolution had to invent the theory of nature-bestowed rights of equality and liberty in order to overthrow the despotism of kings. Their original purpose was to break down artificial, man-made inequalities. But in everything, certainly, "action is easy, understanding difficult"; the masses of Europe at that time believed that emperors and kings were divinely sent and had special "divine rights," and large numbers of ignorant folk supported them. No matter what methods or how much energy the small group of intelligent and educated people used, they could not overthrow the monarchs.

Finally, when the belief that man is born free and equal and that the struggle for freedom and equality is the duty of everybody had permeated the masses, the emperors and kings of Europe fell automatically. But after their downfall, the people began to believe firmly in the theory of natural equality and kept on working day after day to make all men equal. They did not know that such a thing is impossible. Only recently, in the light of science, have people begun to realize that there is no principle of natural equality. If we acted according to the belief of the masses at that time, regardless of the truth, and forced an equality upon human society, that equality would be a false one.

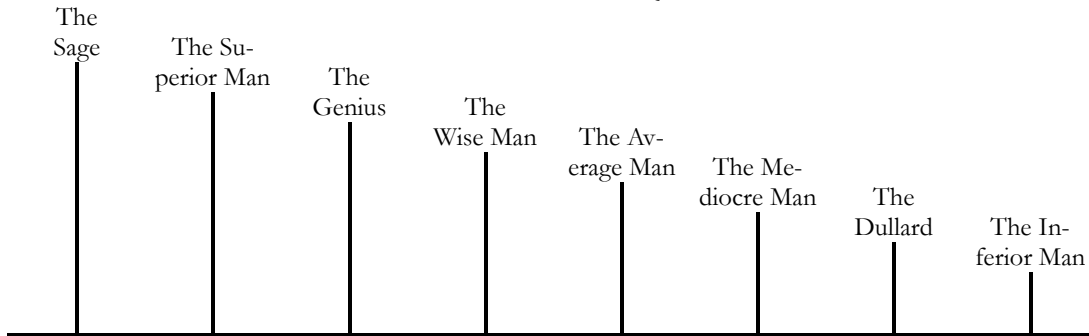
DIAGRAM II—FALSE EQUALITY



As this second diagram shows, we would have to level down superior position in order to get equality at the top, but the line representing the standing ground of these different types would still be uneven and not level. The equality we secured would be a false equality. Equal position in human society is something to start with; each man builds up his career upon this start according to his natural endowments of intelligence and ability. As each man has different gifts of intelligence and ability, so the resultant careers will be different. And since each man works differently, they certainly cannot work on an equal basis. This brings us to the only true principle of equality. If we pay no attention to each man's intellectual endowments and capacities and push down those who rise to a high position in order to

make all equal, the world will not progress and mankind will retrocede. When we speak of democracy and equality but yet want the world to advance, we are talking about political equality. For equality is an artificial not a natural thing, and the only equality which we can create is equality in political status.

DIAGRAM III—TRUE EQUALITY



After the revolution, we want every man to have an equal political standing, such as is represented by the base line in Diagram III. This is the only true equality and true principle of nature.

The situation which existed under European despotism before the days of revolution was far more serious than the situation in China has ever been. Why was this true?—Because of the hereditary system in Europe. The European emperors, kings, princes, dukes, marquises, and other nobles passed their ranks on from generation to generation; no one ever changed from his inherited vocation. The occupations of the common people were also hereditary; they could never do anything else. If a man was a tiller of the soil, his children and grandchildren would be farmers. A laborer's children and grandchildren would have to do bitter toil. The grandson could not choose a different occupation from his grandfather's. This inability to change one's profession was the kind of inequality which existed at that time in Europe. Since the break-up of the feudal system in China, these professional barriers have also been entirely destroyed. Thus we see that while China along with foreign countries has had a class system and a kind of inequality, yet China has had the advantage, since only the emperor's rank was hereditary. Unless the emperor was overthrown, the right to reign was passed from one generation to another in the same family. Only when there was a change of dynasty did the line of emperors change. But as for dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons, these titles were changed from one generation to another even in olden days. Many commoners have become ministers of state or have been appointed princes and nobles; these were not hereditary offices. There may have been a few commoners in Europe who became ministers to state or were elevated to the nobility, but the majority of titles were hereditary and the common people were not free in choosing their occupations. This lack of freedom was what caused them to lose their equality. Not only were the political ranks not equal, but the social classes of the common people were unequal. Consequently, it was very difficult for the common people, first, to reach the position of duke, marquis, earl, viscount, or baron, and, second, to change their own occupations freely and thus rise in life. At last they came to feel that they could no longer endure the afflictions of this system, that they must throw their lives into a struggle for liberty, emancipate themselves from non-freedom of occupation and strive to progress. Such a war for liberty, such a demolishing of tyrannical class inequality, has never been witnessed in China. Although the Chinese have experienced class distinctions, yet they have never sacrificed their own lives or their families as a price for liberty. The revolutions of the European peoples have concentrated upon achieving liberty and equality, but the Chinese have never really understood what these things mean. The reason for this is that China's autocracy, in comparison with Europe's has not been at all severe. And although China's government was autocratic in ancient times and has not made any progress in the last two thousand years, yet before that period many reforms had been made and the abuse of despotism had been considerably reduced. Consequently, the people have not suffered very much from the autocratic system and have not fought for the principle of equality.

Since European civilization has spread its influence eastward, European political systems, economics, and science have also penetrated China. When the Chinese hear European political doctrines they generally copy them word for word without any thought of modification. The European revolutions two and three centuries ago were "struggles for liberty," so China now must struggle for liberty! Europeans fought for equality, so China must fight for equality also! But China's weakness to-day is not the lack of liberty and equality. If we try to arouse the spirit of the people

with "Liberty and Equality," we will be talking wide of the point. Our people are not cut deeply enough by these things; they are not sensitive to them, and so would certainly not join our banner. But the people of Europe two or three centuries ago suffered "waters of tribulation and fires of torment" from the loss of liberty and equality; they felt that unless they could achieve liberty and equality, no question could be solved, and so they hazarded their lives in the struggle for them.

Take the United States again. The objective in the minds of the American people during their revolution was independence. Why? Because their thirteen colonies were all British territory and under British control. Great Britain was a despotic monarchy and was oppressing the American people much more severely than she oppressed her own people. When the Americans saw that they and the British were under the same government, but that British citizens were treated liberally while they themselves were so much abused, they felt keenly the inequality in the situation; they wanted to secede from Britain, govern themselves, and establish an independent state. For the sake of independence they resisted Britain and engaged in war with her for eight years until they achieved their purpose. The American government has treated its white races alike, on a basis of equality, but its treatment of colored races has been very different. The African negroes, for instance, were looked upon as slaves. Then there were many earnest people who made investigations into the sufferings of the negro slaves and published reports of what they saw. The most famous of these described many actual tragic facts of slave life in the form of a novel, which was read by everybody with intense interest. This book was called "The Black Slave's Cry to Heaven,"<sup>21</sup> and when it came out, people realized what the slaves were enduring and were indignant on their behalf. Then all the Northern States which did not use slave labor advocated the freeing of the slaves. The Southern States owned a vast number of slaves: each southern state had numerous vast plantations which depended solely upon slave labor for cultivation. If they should free the slaves, they would have no hard labor and could not plant their fields. The Southerners, from selfish motives, opposed emancipation, saying that the slave system was not started by one man only.

Therefore, although agitation for the freeing of the slaves had begun long before, there was still a period of ferment, and it is only sixty years since the final explosion took place, precipitating the war between the North and the South. This war lasted five years, and was one of the world's great wars. It was a war against the inequality of the black slave, a war against human inequality, a war for equality.

The war resulted in defeat for the South and victory for the North, and the government of the United States immediately issued a proclamation freeing the slaves throughout the country.

The freeing of the slaves was one of the struggles for equality in American history. The two finest periods in American history were: first, when the people, suffering under the unequal treatment of the British, waged the War of Independence and, after eight years of fighting, broke away from Britain and established an independent state; second, when sixty years later the war between the North and the South was fought, for a cause similar to that of the War for Independence. The Civil War lasted five years, while the Revolutionary War lasted eight years. So American history is a story of struggle for equality and makes a shining page in the history of the world.

After the war for equality in America, a revolutionary struggle for equality broke out in France also. The conflict experienced vicissitudes over a period of eighty years before it could be counted a success. But after equality had been secured, the people pushed the word "equality" to an extreme and wanted to put everyone on the same level. It was the kind of equality which diagram II represents: the line of equality was not placed underfoot but overhead—false equality.

China's tide of revolutionary ideas came from Europe and America, and the theory of equality has also been introduced from the West. But our Revolutionary Party advocates a struggle, not for liberty and equality, but for the Three Principles of the People. If we can put these Three Principles into practice, we will have liberty and equality. Although Western nations warred for liberty and equality, they have since been constantly led astray by them. If we put the Three Principles into operation and achieve true liberty and equality, how can we be sure to keep on the right track? If, as in Diagram II, we put the line of equality at the top, we will not be following the right course. But if, as

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<sup>21</sup> Chinese title of Uncle Tom's Cabin.

in Diagram III, we make the line of equality the base upon which to stand, we will be on the right track of equality. So if we want to know whether the principles we are using in our revolution are desirable or not and whether they are following the right line, we must first study carefully the history of European revolutions from their very beginnings. And if people want to understand thoroughly our Three Principles and to know whether they are really a good thing, suitable to the needs of our country, if they want to be able to believe in our Three Principles and never waver in their faith, they, too, must study carefully the history of Western revolutions from their inception.

Without democracy, liberty and equality would have been but empty terms. The origin of democracy lies far back in history; two thousand or more years ago Rome and Greece already had ideas of people's rights and were democratic states. South of the Mediterranean, at the same time was another republic called Carthage, and several small states which sprang up in succession afterwards were also republics. Although Rome and Greece of that day were democracies in name, in reality they had not attained to true liberty and equality. The people's sovereignty had not been applied. Greece had the slave system; the nobility all owned many slaves; in fact, two thirds of all the population were slaves. The warriors of Sparta were each given five slave attendants by the state. So in Greece the people with sovereign rights were a small minority; the large majority had no rights. The same thing was true in Rome. So Greece and Rome two thousand years ago were republics only in name; still having their slave system, they could not realize the ideal of liberty and equality. Not until the United States, sixty years ago, freed her slaves, smashed the slave system, and made the equality of mankind a reality did the hope of true liberty and equality begin to appear in modern democracy. True liberty and equality stand upon democracy and are dependent upon democracy. Only where democracy flourishes can liberty equality permanently survive; there is no way to preserve them if the sovereignty of the people is lost. So the Revolutionary Party of China, in its inception took liberty and equality as aims in its struggle but made Democracy—the Sovereignty of the People—its principle and watchword. Only if we achieve democracy can our people have the reality and enjoy the blessings of freedom and liberty. They are embraced in our principle of the People's Sovereignty, hence we are discussing them in connection with our main theme.

After struggling so hard and pouring out so much blood for liberty and equality, how highly should we expect Europe and America to value these principles! How careful they should be to weigh them and not recklessly to abuse them! But the truth is, as I have said before, that many evil practices have flowed from the newly acquired liberty of the West. It is more than one hundred years since the American and French revolutions secured equality. Has equality, too, been abused? I think it has. We cannot afford, after the experience of Western nations, to follow in their tracks and fight only for equality. We must fight for democracy; if democracy prevails, we shall have true equality; if democracy languishes, we can never have equality.

In our revolution we must not talk only about getting equality; we must hold up the people's rights. Unless democracy is fully developed, the equality which we fight for will be only temporary and will soon disappear. But although our revolution does not make Equality its slogan, still we do include equality in the Sovereignty of the People. When equality is a good thing we will apply it; when it is an evil, we will do away with it. Only thus can we make democracy develop and use equality to advantage.

I once suggested that the people of the world might be divided, according to their natural endowments, into three groups: those who know and perceive beforehand, those who know and perceive afterward, and those who do not know and perceive—the discoverers, the promoters, and the practical men. If these three groups could use each other and heartily cooperate, human civilization would advance "a thousand miles a day."

Although Nature produces men with varying intelligence and ability, yet the human heart has continued to hope that all men might be equal. This is the highest of moral ideals and mankind should earnestly strive towards it. But how shall we begin? We will better understand by contrasting two philosophies of life—the selfish which benefits self and the altruistic which benefits others. Those who are out for themselves are continually injuring others with no pang of conscience. When this philosophy prevailed, intelligent and able men used all their powers to seize others' rights and privileges, gradually formed an autocratic caste, and created political inequalities—that was the world before the revolutions for democracy. Those who are concerned with benefiting others are glad to sacrifice themselves. Where this philosophy prevails, intelligent and able men are ever ready to use all their powers for the welfare of others, and

religions of love and philanthropic enterprises grow up. But religious power alone is insufficient and philanthropy alone cannot remedy all evil. So we must seek a fundamental solution, effect a revolution, overthrow autocracy, lift up democracy, and level inequalities. Hereafter we should harmonize the three types which I have described and give them all equal standing. Everyone should make service, not exploitation, his aim. Those with greater intelligence and ability should serve thousands and ten thousands to the limit of their power and make thousands and ten thousands happy. Those with less intelligence and ability should serve tens and hundreds to the limit of their power and make tens and hundreds happy. The saying, "The skillful the slaves of the stupid" is just this principle. Those who have neither intelligence nor ability should still, to the limit of their individual power, each serve one another and make one another happy. In this way, although men now may vary in natural intelligence and ability, yet as moral ideals and the spirit of service prevail, they will certainly become more and more equal. This is the essence of equality.

## The Principle of Democracy

### Lecture Four [April 13, 1924]

IN the preceding lectures we saw that Europeans and Americans have been engaged for two or three centuries in their struggle for democracy. To-day I want to speak about the measure of people's rights which they have won and the progress which they have made in democracy during this period. Look at the so-called pioneers of democratic government in the West, like the United States and France, whose revolutions took place over a century ago—how many political rights have the people really won? To the believer in democracy, it seems that the people have gained but very little power. Those who fought for the people's rights thought that they would reach the democratic ideal at once, so they sacrificed everything and pooled all their resources of strength in a life and death struggle. But after they had conquered in battle, they found that they had gained much less power than they had hoped for during the revolution. They had not yet attained to perfect democracy.

Take once more the American War of Independence against Great Britain. It took eight years for the colonies to win the war and to achieve their ideals of popular sovereignty. According to the Declaration of Independence, liberty and equality are natural and inalienable rights. The American revolutionists had hoped to win complete freedom and equality, yet after their eight years of struggle they still did not enjoy many popular rights. Why? The great enemy to the people's sovereignty in the American colonies was the British king; his oppressions gave rise to a war of democracy against autocracy. Since the war resulted in victory for democracy, it seems that the people should have gained all their rights. But why was the democratic ideal not realized? Because, after independence had been won and autocracy had been overthrown, problems as to the administration of democratic government arose among its supporters. How far could popular sovereignty be actually applied? Here the fellow disciples of democracy began to differ in their opinions. As a result there was a division into two great parties. You have all heard of the illustrious leader of the American Revolution, the father-statesman of the United States—Washington. But there were other heroes also who helped him in his struggle against Great Britain. Among these were Washington's secretary of the treasury, Hamilton, and his secretary of state, Jefferson. As these two men differed radically over methods of administration and as both had large followings, they became the founders of two absolutely different political parties. Jefferson's party believed that the people were endowed with natural rights and that if the people were given complete democratic power, they would be discriminating in the use of their freedom, would direct their power to the accomplishment of great tasks, and would make all the affairs of the nation progress to the fullest extent. Jefferson's theory assumed that human nature is naturally good, and that if the people under complete democratic rule sometimes do not express their natural virtue and do good but abuse their power and do evil, it is because they have met some obstacle and are for the time being forced to act that way. In short, every man is naturally endowed with freedom and equality and hence should have political power; every man is intelligent and if given political power to govern would do great things for the nation; if all the citizens would shoulder the responsibility for good government, the state would prosper long in peace. Such was the Jeffersonian party's faith in the rights of the people.

The policy proposed by Hamilton's party was directly opposed to Jefferson's ideas. Hamilton did not think that human nature was always perfect; and he felt that, if democratic power were given equally to all men, bad men would direct their political power to bad ends. And if corrupt individuals should get much of the power of the state into

their hands, they would use the rights and privileges of the state for the selfish benefit and profit of their own party; they would not care a rap for any morality, law, justice, or order in the nation, and the final result would be either a "state with three rulers"—divided authority and want of unity—or mob rule, that is, liberty and equality pushed to excess and anarchy. Such an application of democracy would not advance the nation but would only throw it into disorder and make it lose ground. So Hamilton proposed that the political power of the state should not be given entirely to the people, but should be centralized in the government, in a central authority; the common people should have only a limited degree of democracy. If the people should all have unlimited power and should use it for evil, the effect upon the nation would be far more serious than the evil deeds of one king. A wicked king still has many people to oversee him and restrain him, but a people who get unlimited power into their hands and use it for wicked purposes have none to oversee and restrain them. Therefore Hamilton declared that, as autocracy had to be restricted, so democracy must also be limited, and he founded the Federalist Party which advocated the centralization and not the diffusion of sovereign power.

Before the War of Independence the thirteen original colonies were governed by Great Britain and were unable to unite. Later, when they found that they could not endure the extreme despotism of the British government, they resisted, and out of their common aim a common spirit was born. But after the war, the colonies again divided and found themselves unable to agree.

After the states had secured their independence, they were no longer troubled by enemies within, but their three million people were scattered throughout thirteen states with not over two hundred thousand in any one state, and the states did not get along well together. Since they would not unite, the nation's power was weak; it might easily be swallowed up by another European power. The future was full of dangers. Then the farsseeing statesmen of the different states saw that they must increase their national strength tremendously if they wanted to avert the dangers ahead and establish a permanent nation. So they proposed that all the states unite and form one great state. Some advocated purely popular sovereignty and others purely national sovereignty as a means of bringing about union. The former group advocated local authority, the latter group advocated centralized authority and the limitation of the people's power. They wanted the states all to pool their own rights and powers in a strong central government, and so were called the Federalists. The fight waged between these two opposing groups by mouth and pen was long and bitter. Finally the Federalists who advocated the limitation of popular sovereignty won out, the states got together, formed a federal union, and promulgated the Constitution of the United States. From the beginning of the Republic until now the United States has used this Constitution, which divides clearly the legislative, judicial, and executive powers of the government so that they do not encroach upon each other. It was the first complete constitution in human history and the United States was the first nation to adopt a written constitution separating the three branches of government. This constitution is what we call the Federal Constitution of the United States. Since the United States formed a federal union and adapted the Constitution, it has become the wealthiest and, since the European War, the most powerful nation in the world.

Because the United States started on the road to its present position of wealth and power from a federal constitution which yet leaves the local affairs of the people to state control, a group of Chinese intellectuals and scholars during the last decade have been proposing that China, in order to be wealthy and strong; must also form a federal union. They have thought to solve China's present problems, but they have not made a fundamental comparison of the conditions in the United States and in China; their only argument is that since a federal union made the United States wealthy and strong, and since China's great hope is to be wealthy and strong, therefore we should have a federal union of the provinces. The fundamental advantage of the American federal system came from the fact that each state already had a constitution and a government of its own. If we want to follow the United States' federal plan and form a union of provinces, all the provinces should first adopt constitutions and establish their own governments, then unite and decide upon a national constitution. In a word, we would have to take our already united China, divide it into twenty-odd independent units to correspond with the dozen or so independent American states over a century ago, and then weld them together again. Such views and ideas are utterly fallacious. We become mere parrots, repeating with our eyes shut what others tell us. Because the United States, with its federal system, has become the world's wealthiest and greatest power, we think that we must copy her system in order that China may be wealthy and strong. This is similar to what I have said before: while Westerners fought for democracy, they did not talk about democracy but about liberty and equality; so we Chinese in our revolution must take the Western slogans

and cry that we are struggling for liberty and equality! All this is but blind following and foolish incomprehension. We see that the provinces in past history have been united, not separate, parts of China and have not been incapable of unified rule. Moreover, the periods of unity have been the periods of good government; the periods of disunity, the periods of disorder. The United States' wealth and power have not come only from the independence and self-government of the original states, but rather from the progress in unified government which followed the federation of the states. Her wealth and power were the result of the union of the states, not of the division into states. Since China was originally unified we should not divide her again into separate provinces. If we say that the American federal system is the key to wealth and power, we are putting effect before cause.

When the thirteen American states secured their independence from England, they had absolutely no political unity, and the formation of a unified nation was a tremendously difficult task. So the debates between the parties of Hamilton and Jefferson were very fierce. When the Constitution was drawn up, each state was given freedom in casting votes. Finally, Hamilton's party won out and the Jeffersonian policy began to lose ground. Because the people of the country at the time when the Constitution was framed were divided into these two great parties with different political theories, the Constitution which was finally promulgated was a document of compromise between the two parties. The important political powers which belonged to the central government were clearly defined in the Constitution, matters not regulated by the Constitution were left to local governments. The coinage of money, for example, was put under control of the central government, and local governments were not allowed to transgress upon this right. Foreign relations were delegated to the central government and no state could make a private treaty with a foreign country. Other matters, like national defense, the training of troops upon land and sea, the right to move and dispatch state militia, were all intrusted to the central government. Matters of detail which were not delegated by the Constitution to the central government were left to the individual states to regulate. This division of power was a compromise measure between the central government and the state governments. What rights did the people obtain out of this compromise?—Only a limited suffrage. The suffrage at that time was limited to the election of congressmen and of various state and local officials. The president and the senators were still elected indirectly by electors chosen by the people. Later the powers of the people were gradually enlarged until to-day the president, the senators, and all state and local officials who have any direct, important relation with the people are elected by direct popular vote. This is what we call universal suffrage.

Therefore, the evolution in the United States from limited to universal suffrage was very gradual. At first suffrage was enjoyed only by men. Only a decade or two ago women still did not have the right to vote. Twenty years ago the movement for woman suffrage became very strong in Europe and America. You all know that at that time many people felt that the women would not succeed in their struggle on the ground that they were inferior in intellect and ability to men and could not do all the things that men could do. So there were many opponents of woman suffrage not only among men but even among the women themselves. Even if all the women of the nation had fought violently for the right to vote, they could hardly have hoped to succeed. But seven or eight years ago the women of Great Britain, and not long afterward the women of the United States, were successful in their struggle. The cause was the European War. During the war, the men went into the army and spent their strength upon the battlefields. Consequently, much of the nation's business was left without men to care for it; there were not enough men to be officers and day laborers in the arsenals, to be engineers and conductors on the street cars, and to assume responsibility for the various kinds of business which required energetic attention at the home base. Women were called upon to fill men's jobs, and then those who had opposed woman suffrage, saying that women could not do the work of men, were stripped of their arguments and no longer dared to thwart the movement. The advocates of woman suffrage then won a complete victory and after the war the question was finally settled. From this we can see that the objective of the Western revolutions was originally democracy. The American War of Independence was a war for democracy; after the war, however, comrades in the cause divided into two groups—one group advocating complete democracy, the other group advocating limited powers for the people but large powers for the state. Many later events went to prove that the common people did not possess the necessary intelligence and power to wield complete sovereignty. That Jefferson and his disciples tried to obtain more rights for the people, but failed, shows that the common people did not know how to exercise political sovereignty. So, although the Western revolutions of these two or three hundred years have been carried out under the standard of democracy, the actual result has only been the attainment of suffrage for men and women.

The French Revolution also set up democracy as its goal. Scholarly advocates of democracy like Rousseau declared that all men had natural rights which kings and princes could not take away, and such theories gave birth to the revolution. When democracy began to be applied after the revolution, nobles and members of the royal house received so many injuries that they were unable to remain in France and had to flee to other countries. The French people were now making their first experiment in complete democracy; no one in the country dared to say that the people did not have intelligence and power; if one did, he would be accused of being a counter-revolutionist and would immediately be brought to the guillotine. The result was that a mob tyranny was instituted. Anarchy followed, society was panic-stricken, no one was sure of his life from morning till evening. Even a regular member of the revolutionary party might, because of a careless word which offended the multitude, be sentenced to death. In this experiment at pure democracy, not only were many princes, lords, and nobles killed, but not a few ardent revolutionists of the time, like Danton, were put to death by the populace because of some word that did not please them. When the French people afterwards came that to realize such a state of affairs was too oppressive, many who had been eager supporters of democracy grew despondent and cold, turned against democratic government, and supported Napoleon for emperor. Democracy now met a great obstacle. Not from autocracy: the democratic movement had already become powerful and, as I have been saying, the world had reached the age of democracy. It stood to reason that democracy would steadily advance. Why, then, after democracy had overthrown autocracy, did such barriers to the progress of democracy arise? What created them? One cause was the attitude of the conservative supporters of democracy who advocated definite limitation of the people's sovereignty and the centralization of the state's power, rather than complete democracy. But this group was not powerful and did not impede the progress of democracy very seriously. The real obstructionists were the believers in absolute democracy. When, during the French Revolution, the people secured complete power, they no longer wanted leaders and they put to death many of the wise and able ones. The groups of violent followers who were left were devoid of clear perception and were easily made tools of by others. Without their "good ears and eyes" the people of the nation were unable to distinguish who was right and who was wrong in any issue that arose; only let someone incite them and everyone would blindly follow. Such a state of affairs was extremely perilous. So when the people awoke to it in the course of time, they did not dare to advocate democracy again. Out of this reaction against democracy developed a great obstacle to the progress of democracy, an obstacle created by the very people who advocated people's rights.

Since the American and the French Revolution, democratic ideals have been spreading steadily throughout the world. The newest theories of democracy owe their real origin, however, to Germany. The German mind has always been rich in democratic ideas; labor unions are numerous in Germany. Democratic philosophy developed early in Germany, but up to the time of the European War it had not produced as much fruit as in France or Great Britain. The reason was that the methods used by the German government in dealing with democracy were different from those used by the British government; therefore, the results attained were also different. What were the methods used by the German government? Who hindered the growth of democracy in Germany? Many students say that the setback began with Bismarck.

From the establishment of the German Confederation until before the European War, Germany was the strongest state in the world. She was the master of Europe and the nations of Europe followed her as a leading horse. Germany was raised to her eminent position entirely by the creative arm of Bismarck. Within twenty years after he had taken charge of the government, Bismarck transformed a weak Germany into a powerful state. After such an achievement, democracy while it flourished in Germany did not have sufficient strength to challenge the government.

While Bismarck was in power, he not only dominated the world in political and military affairs and in all kinds of diplomacy, but he also used consummate skill in dealing with the democratic movement and in winning victories over his own people. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, after the Franco-Prussian War, economic wars as well as wars for democracy began to break out. The hot passion for democracy was gradually cooling, but something else was being born—socialism. Socialism is similar to the Principle of the People's Livelihood, which I have been advocating. At that time German socialism had a very wide influence.

Socialism was originally closely related to democracy and the two should have developed simultaneously. But why did democratic ideas in Europe give rise to democratic revolutions, while the spread of socialist theories failed to give rise to economic revolutions?—Because the birth of socialism in Germany coincided with Bismarck's regime. Other men would certainly have used political force to crush socialism, but Bismarck chose to employ other methods. He knew that the German people were enlightened and that the labor organizations were firmly established; if he attempted the suppression of socialism by political force, he would only labor in vain. Bismarck had already been in favor of absolute control by a centralized authority. What methods did he use to deal with the socialists? The Socialist Party advocated social reforms and economic revolution. Bismarck knew that they could not be suppressed by political power, so he put into effect a kind of state socialism as an antidote against the Marxian socialists' program. At the time when Bismarck was seizing the reins of government in Germany, most of the railways in Great Britain and France were privately owned. Because the capital industries were owned by the wealthy, all the industries of the nation became monopolies of the wealthy class, and the many evils of an unequal distribution of wealth began to appear. Bismarck did not want such condition in Germany, so he put into effect a state socialism; he brought all the railways of the country under state ownership and control and put all the essential industries under state management. He determined upon hours of labor and arranged for old-age pensions and accident insurance for the workers. These measures were items in the program of reform which the Socialist Party was trying to carry out; the farsighted Bismarck took the lead and used the state's power to accomplish them. Moreover, he used the profits from the state-managed railways, banks, and other businesses for the protection of workers, which of course made the workers very contented. Before this, several hundred thousand workers had been leaving Germany for other countries every year, but after Bismarck's economic policy was put into effect, not only did no more German workers leave but many came from other countries to work in Germany. Bismarck met socialism by anticipating it and by taking precautions against it, rather than by a head-on attack upon it; by invisible means he caused the very issues for which the people were struggling to dissolve. When there was nothing left for the people to fight for, revolutions naturally did not break out. This was the artful method by which Bismarck resisted democracy.

Looking now at the whole history of democratic progress, we see that the first setback occurred after the American Revolution when the supporters of democracy split into two camps, Jefferson's group advocating absolute democracy and Hamilton's group centralization of power in the government, and when the policy of centralization won out. The second setback occurred during the French Revolution when the people secured complete sovereignty but abused it and changed it into mob rule. The third setback occurred when Bismarck checked the people's power with his clever scheming. Democratic thought in the West has passed through these phases and has met these setbacks, yet, contrary to all expectation, it has of its own accord still moved forward and no human power has been able to thwart it or to hasten it. To-day democracy has become the great world problem, and the scholars of the world, whether conservative or progressive, all realize that the democratic idea cannot be suppressed. But as democracy develops, it will be inevitably abused in the same way as liberty and equality have been abused.

To sum up: the European and American struggles for liberty and equality bore fruit in democracy: after democracy prevailed, it was much abused. Before the development of democracy, the Western nations tried to suppress it and to destroy it with autocratic power. When autocracy had been overthrown, the followers of democracy became the obstructionists of democracy. When democracy was realized, it produced many evils, and a greater obstacle thus resulted. Finally Bismarck saw that the people could not be downed in their desire for democracy, so he employed the power of the state as a substitute for the people's power and put into effect a state socialism; this policy also obstructed the march of democracy.

Tracing the beginnings of applied democracy, we see the American people after their revolution winning first the right to vote. At that time Westerners thought that democracy meant suffrage and that was all. If all the people without regard to social status, wealth, or intellectual capacity had the right to vote, democracy had reached its final goal. But what has been happening in the three or four years since the European War? In spite of many setbacks, democracy is still moving forward and cannot be checked. Recently the people of Switzerland have won, in addition to the right to vote, the rights of initiative and referendum. If the people have the right to choose their officials, they should also have the right to initiate and amend the laws. The rights of initiative and referendum are related to the enactment of laws. If a majority of the people think that a certain law will be beneficial, they can then propose

it—this is the right of initiative; if they feel that a certain law is disadvantageous to them they can amend it—this is the right of referendum. The Swiss people have thus two more popular rights than other peoples, altogether three. Some of the newly developed states in the northwestern part of the United States have, in recent years, gained another right besides those of the Swiss people—the right of recall of officials. Although the enjoyment of this right is not universal throughout the United States, yet several states have practiced it, so many Americans enjoy the four popular rights suffrage, recall, initiative and referendum. In some of the northwestern states they have been applied with great success, and some day they may be applied throughout the United States and perhaps throughout the world. In the future, any nation which wants complete democracy must certainly follow the example of these American states which have given four rights to the people. Do these four rights, when applied, fully solve the problems of democracy? World scholars, seeing that, although people have these four ideals of popular rights, yet the problem of democracy is not fully solved, say that it is only a matter of time. Ideas of direct popular rule, they consider, have developed but recently. The old theocracy lasted for tens of thousands of years; the old autocracy has lasted for thousands of years. This direct democracy is a very new thing; it has come only within the last few decades. No wonder it is still a great, unsettled issue!

What is the share of the people in the government in those nations which have the highest type of democracy? How much power do they possess? About the only achievement within the past century has been the right to elect and to be elected. After being elected as the representatives of the people, citizens can sit in Congress or Parliament to manage the affairs of state. All measures of national importance must be passed upon by Parliament before they can be put into effect; without Parliament's approval they cannot be carried out. This is called representative or parliamentary government. But does this form of government insure the perfect development of democracy? Before a representative system of government had been secured, the European and American peoples struggled for democracy, thinking that it would certainly be the highest type of popular sovereignty.

So the hope of foreigners that representative government will insure the stability and peace of the state is not to be trusted. Democracy as soon as it was born met with many difficulties; after it was applied it experienced many humiliations, but still it steadily grows. Yet the fruit of democracy has been only representative government; when this is achieved the nations think that the limit is reached.

But the democracy advocated in the Three Principles upon which the Kuomintang proposes to reconstruct China is different from Western democracy. When we use Western history as material for study, we are not copying the West entirely or following in its path. We will use our Principle of the People's Sovereignty and remake China into a nation under complete popular rule, ahead of Europe and America.

## The Principle of Democracy

### Lecture Five [April 20, 1924]

THE Chinese people's ideas of political democracy have all come from the West, so in carrying forward our Revolution and in reforming our government we are imitating Western methods. Why? Because we see that Western civilization has been progressing by leaps and bounds, and that it is in every way more advanced than Chinese civilization.

Take other machinery which serves the needs of daily life and methods which are used in agriculture, industry, and business—the West has advanced far beyond China.

So, ever since the Boxer defeat,<sup>22</sup> Chinese thinkers have felt that, to make China strong and able to avenge the shame of the Peking Protocol, they must imitate foreign countries in everything. Not only must they learn material science from the West, but also political and social science. Thus, since the Boxer uprising the Chinese have lost all confidence in their own power, and a higher and higher respect has been paid to foreign countries. As a result of this imitation of and respect for foreign nations, China has taken in a lot of foreign ideas. Hence Chinese wanted nothing

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<sup>22</sup> (1900)

from old China; everything must be modeled after the West. If we heard of anything foreign, we ran to copy it and tried to use it in China. Democracy also met with this abuse. After the Revolution of 1911, the whole country went mad and insisted upon applying in China the political democracy which Westerners talked about, without any study of its real meaning. In the last few lectures I described in detail the history of the democratic struggle in the West and the results which followed the victory of democracy. From these studies we saw that democratic rule had not been fully carried out in the West and that democracy had met with many obstacles in its onward march. Now China is proposing to practice democracy. If we imitate the West, we will have to imitate Western methods. But there is no fundamental solution as yet in Western politics of the problem of democracy; it is still a serious issue. Westerners who are using the newest scholarship to aid them in finding a solution have not made any worth-while discoveries in democratic theory, nor have they found any satisfactory answer to the difficulties of democracy. So the methods of Western democracy cannot be our model or guide.

In the last two or three centuries, Europe and America have passed through many revolutions and their political progress has been much more rapid than China's, yet the Western political treatises do not show much advance upon the past. For instance, there lived in Greece two thousand years ago a great political philosopher named Plato; his *Republic* is still studied by scholars who say that it has much to contribute towards the political systems of to-day. It is not like battleships and drill manuals, which are discarded as worthless after ten years. From this we see that the physical sciences of the West undergo marked transformations from one decade to another; they are making rapid strides forward. But in the field of political theory, we find Plato's *Republic* written two millenniums ago still worthy of study and of great value in modern times. So the advance of Western political philosophy has not kept pace with the advance of Western material science. There has been no radical change in political thinking for two thousand years. If we copy Western government as we are copying Western material science, we shall be making a great mistake. The material civilization of the West is changing daily, and to keep up with it will be exceedingly difficult. But political thought in the West has advanced much more slowly than material civilization. The reason why Western democracy has not made more progress is that Western nations have not fundamentally solved the problem of administering democracy. We saw in the preceding lectures that the West has not yet found any proper method of carrying out democracy and that the truths of democracy have not yet been fully manifested. The democratic spirit has swollen like a noisy torrent within the last two or three centuries; in issues which men could not think through, the masses of the people have simply followed nature and have drifted with the tide. The recent growth of democracy is not an achievement of thoughtful scholarship but the result of a popular following of natural tendencies. For this reason, no fundamental method of directing democracy was worked out beforehand, the problem was not considered from beginning to end, and so the Western peoples have met innumerable disappointments and difficulties halfway on the road of democracy. Since the Revolution, China has wanted to follow the example of Europe and America and to apply political democracy. Since Western political democracy has developed to the point of representative government, China, too, must have a representative government! But the fine points of Western representative government China has not learned: the bad points she has copied tenfold, a hundredfold! China has not only failed to learn well from Western democratic government but has been corrupted by it.

From what I have already said, you must realize that Western democratic government does not have any fundamentally good method of application. So in our espousal of democracy, we should not entirely copy the West. Then what road shall we follow? For thousands of years Chinese social sentiments, customs, and habits have differed widely from those of Western society. Hence methods of social control in China are different from those used in the West, and we should not merely copy the West as we copy the use of their machinery. As soon as we learn Western machinery we can use it anytime, anywhere; electric lights, for example, can be installed and used in any kind of Chinese house. But Western social customs and sentiments are different from ours in innumerable points; if, without regard to customs and popular feelings in China, we try to apply Western methods of social control as we would Western machinery—in a hard and fast way—we shall be making a serious mistake. Hence this difference: in ways of controlling physical objects and forces we should learn from the West, but in ways of controlling men, we should not learn only from the West. The West long ago thought through the principles and worked out the methods of physical control, so we can wholly follow Western material civilization—we could even follow it blindly as we introduce it into China, and not go astray. But the West has not yet thought through its principles of government, and its methods of government have not been fundamentally worked out; so China to-day, when putting democracy

into operation and reforming its government, cannot simply follow the West. We must think out a radically new method; if we only blindly follow others, we shall work serious injury to our national welfare and to the people's living. The West has its society; we have our society, and the sentiments and customs of the two are not the same. Only as we adapt ourselves, according to our own social conditions, to modern world tendencies, can we hope to reform our society and to advance our nation. If we pay no attention to our own social conditions and try simply to follow world tendencies, our nation will decline and our people will be in peril. If we want China to progress and our race to be safe, we must put democracy into effect ourselves and do some radical thinking upon the best way to realize its ideals.

Can we find a real way to carry out democratic government? Although we cannot wholly copy Europe and America, yet we can observe them and study their experience in democracy very carefully.

Foreign scholars, in studying the historical facts of democracy, have deduced many new theories. One of the newest has been proposed by an American scholar, who says that the greatest fear of modern democratic states is an all-powerful government which the people have no way of checking, but yet the finest thing would be an all-powerful government in the employ of all the people and working for the welfare of all the people. This is a very new theory: what is both feared and desired is an all-powerful government. First the theory declares that the people dread an all-powerful government which they cannot control, then it asks how an all-powerful government which will work for the welfare of the people can be secured, and how it can be made responsive to the will of the people. In many nations where democracy is developing, the governments are becoming powerless, while in the nations where democracy is weak, the governments are all strong. As I said before, the strongest government in Europe within the past few decades was Bismarck's government in Germany. That was certainly an all-powerful government; it did not advocate democracy, for at first it opposed democracy, but yet it became all-powerful. Of the governments which have supported democracy not one could be called all-powerful. A certain Swiss scholar has said that since various nations have put democracy into practice, the power of government has declined, and the reason has been the fear on the part of the people that the government might secure a power which they could not control. Hence the people have always guarded their governments and have not allowed them power, lest they become all-powerful. Therefore, democratic countries must find a solution for this difficulty, but the solution will not come until the people change their attitude towards government. The reason why the people have always been opposing government is because, after the revolutions, the liberty and equality thus obtained were overdeveloped, and certain groups abused them, setting no limits upon them and going into all sorts of excess, with the result that the government became impotent, and the state, although it had a government, became no different from a state without a government. The Swiss scholar whom I mentioned saw this evil train of events, and as a remedy proposed that the people should change their attitude towards government. What did he mean? What has the attitude of the people to do with government?

In China's long history, what has been the attitude of the people towards the government? As we study Chinese history, we find that the governments of Yao, Shun, Yu, T'ang, Wen Wang, and Wu Wang<sup>23</sup> are always lauded and held in admiration by the Chinese people; Chinese of every period hoped that they might have a government like those, which would seek the welfare of the people. Before Western democratic ideas penetrated China, the deepest desire of the Chinese people was for emperors like Yao, Shun, Yu, T'ang, Wen Wang, and Wu Wang, that the people might enjoy peace and happiness. This was the old Chinese attitude towards government. But since our recent revolution, the people have absorbed democratic ideas and are no longer satisfied with those ancient emperors. They were all autocratic rulers, the people say, and do not deserve to be extolled even though they were splendid. This shows that the rise of democracy has developed an attitude of opposition to government among the people; no matter how good the government is, they are not content with it. If we let this attitude of mind continue without any attempt to change it, it will be exceedingly difficult for government to make any progress.

When we launched our revolution, we advocated the practice of democracy; and I have thought of a method to solve the problem. The method which I have thought of is a new discovery in political theory and is a fundamental solution of the whole problem. My proposition is similar to the thesis of the Swiss scholar that the attitude of

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<sup>23</sup> Emperors of ancient China.

people to government must be changed, and the recent appearance of such theories in the West proves that the principle which I have advocated is right; namely, that a distinction should be made between sovereignty and ability<sup>24</sup>. Western scholars have not yet discovered this principle. To make clear what I mean, I must first review my theory as to the classes of human society.

Upon what did I base my division of human society?—Upon the individual's natural intelligence and ability. I classified mankind into three groups. The first group are those who see and perceive first: they are the people of superior wisdom who take one look at a thing and see numerous principles involved, who hear one word and immediately perform great deeds, whose insight into the future and whose many achievements make the world advance and give mankind its civilization. These men of vision and foresight are the creators, the discoverers of mankind. The second group includes those who see and perceive later: their intelligence and ability are below the standard of the first group; they cannot create or discover but can only follow and imitate, learning from what the first group have already done. The third group are those who do not see or perceive: they have a still lower grade of intelligence and ability and do not understand even though one tries to teach them; they simply act. In the language of political movements, the first group are the discoverers; the second group, the promoters; the third group, the operators. Progress in everything depends upon action, so the responsibility for the world's progress rests upon the third group.

For example, the construction of a large foreign-style building is not something which can be undertaken by the ordinary person. First there must be a construction engineer, who makes a complete estimate of the work and materials necessary for the desired building, and then draws a detailed plan for the contractor or foreman. The foreman first studies the plan carefully, then hires workmen to move materials and to work according to the plan. The workmen cannot read the plan; they merely work according to the foreman's directions and take his orders to put a brick here or to lay a tile there—simple tasks. The foreman, in turn, is unable to make complete estimates on the building or to draw a plan; he can only follow the plan made by the construction engineer and give orders to the workmen as to the laying of the brick and covering with tile. The construction engineer who designs the plan is the one who sees and perceives first; the foreman who reads the plan is the one who sees and perceives afterward, the workman who lays brick and tile is the one who does not see or perceive. The foreign buildings in every city depend upon these groups—engineers, foremen, and workmen—and upon their cooperative effort. All the great achievements of the world also depend upon these three groups, but the largest group is the one of practical operators who do not know or perceive. A smaller group are those who know and perceive afterward; the smallest group are those who know and perceive first. Without men who see and perceive ahead, the world would have no originators; without men who see and perceive later, the world would have no supporters; without men who do not see or perceive, the world would have no practical workers. The business of the world certainly requires first, initiators; next, many promoters; and lastly, a large number of operators, in order to be successfully accomplished. The progress of the world depends on these three types, and not one type must be lacking. The nations of the world, as they begin to apply democracy and to reform the government, should give a part to every man—to the man who sees first, to the man who sees later, to the man who does not see. We must realize that political democracy is not given to us by nature; it is created by human effort. We must create democracy and then give it to the people, not wait to give it until the people fight for it.

Since the West has not solved the difficulties of democracy, we cannot find a solution to-day by copying the West. We must merely look for a new way, and that new way depends, as the Swiss scholar said, upon a change of attitude towards government. But to secure this change of attitude we must distinguish clearly between sovereignty and ability. To help us in studying this distinction, let us review a few of the points mentioned in a former lecture. The first point is our definition of the people's sovereignty; briefly, it means the control of the government by the people. To explain this further: Who controlled the government in former times? Two ancient Chinese sayings, "One who does not hold a position under the government does not concern himself with the government" and "The common people are not in the councils," show that political sovereignty used to be entirely in the hands of the emperor and had nothing to do with the people. To-day we who advocate democracy want to put the political sovereignty into the

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<sup>24</sup> *Cb'uan* and *Nen* are difficult to translate by one phrase because of the various shades of meaning in different contexts. They convey the idea of "right" and "power" as well as "sovereignty" and "ability" and might be so rendered.

hands of the people. What, then, will the people become? Since China has had a revolution and has adopted a democratic form of government, the people should rule in all matters. The government now may be called popular government; in other words, under a republic we make the people king.

Looking back through the millenniums of Chinese history, the only emperors who shouldered the responsibility of government for the welfare and happiness of the people were Yao, Shun, Yu, T'ang, Wen Wang, and Wu Wang; no others were able to use their office for the blessing of the people. Of all China's emperors, only Yao, Shun, Yu, T'ang, Wen Wang, and Wu Wang so fulfilled their duties of government that they could stand "unabashed before Heaven above and unashamed before men below." They were able to reach this high ideal and to elicit pæans of praise from succeeding generations because of two special qualities which they possessed—fine native ability, which enabled them to establish good government and to seek the welfare of the people; and noble character, mercy to the people and kindness to all creatures, regard for the people as for the wounded and suffering, love for the people as for their own children. Because they possessed these two fine qualities, they were able to shoulder the full responsibility of the government and to reach their goal. These are the only emperors who have called forth reverence from posterity. Other emperors there have been—we do not know how many—and most of them, with their names, have been forgotten by posterity. Only Yao, Shun, Yu, T'ang, Wen Wang, and Wu Wang possessed great natural ability and noble character. Most of the others lacked ability and character, yet they wielded sovereign power.

You have all read a good deal of Chinese history; I am sure almost everyone here has read particularly *The Story of the Three Kingdoms*.<sup>25</sup> We can find an illustration of our point in this book. Chukuh Liang, you remember, was a very scholarly and able statesman. The first chief that he served was Liu Pei; later he supported Ah Tou. Ah Tou was exceedingly stupid and did not have a bit of ability, which was the reason why Liu Pei just before his death said to Chukuh Liang, "If he is deserving of your support, support him; otherwise you may displace him." After Liu Pei's death, Chukuh Liang still showed his splendid character; although Ah Tou was worthless, Chukuh Liang aided him as loyally as ever, "wearing himself out with the duties of his office until he died." Thus, in the age of autocracy the ruler might have no ability but great power. Ah Tou and Chukuh Liang, in the period of the Three Kingdoms, make this very clear to us: Chukuh Liang had ability but not power; Ah Tou had power but not ability. Ah Tou was incompetent, but he turned the affairs of state over to Chukuh Liang to administer. Chukuh Liang was exceedingly capable and so was able to build up a fine government in Western Shu (modern Szechwan); moreover, he was able to lead his troops six times across the Chi Mountains in a punitive expedition against the North and to establish a tripod of power along with the Wei and Wu kingdoms. The comparison between Chukuh Liang and Ah Tou helps us to understand the distinction between sovereignty and ability.

In the age of autocracy fathers and elder brothers were kings, sons and younger brothers were heirs. Although they might have no ability at all, yet they could become kings some day. So incompetent men still had great sovereign power. Now that we have established a republic and acknowledge the people as ruler, will you look about to see to what groups our four hundred millions belong? Of course they cannot all be seers; most of them are not even follows of seers; the great majority are those who have no vision or foresight. Now democratic government depends upon the rulership of the people, hence our four hundred millions are very powerful. The people of the nation with sovereign power to control the government are these very four hundred millions. To whom can you compare all these political sovereigns? I think that they are very much like Ah Tou. In fact, each one of them is an Ah Tou with great sovereign power. Ah Tou had no ability, but Chukuh Liang did; so after Liu Pei's death, Western Shu was still well governed. Westerners now are opposing a powerful government; the Swiss scholar, to remedy this defect, proposes that the people's attitude towards government should be changed—they should no longer be hostile to strong government. But what the next step is, after the popular attitude towards government is changed, they have not made clear. The principle which I am bringing out is that sovereignty must be distinguished from ability; without this clear distinction we cannot hope to change the people's attitude towards government. Ah Tou knew that he was incompetent, so he turned over all the political authority of the kingdom to Chukuh Liang and ask Chukuh Liang to govern for him. So when Chukuh Liang handed in his memorandum upon the expedition to Ah Tou, he advised him to separate clearly the affairs of the palace and the affairs of the court. Ah Tou could execute the duties of the palace, but the duties of the court he could not perform alone, for they were duties of government. Chukuh Liang's

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<sup>25</sup> The period of "Three Kingdoms, A. D. 122-265 was rich in military heroes and deeds of valor and has been immortalized by this well-known voluminous novel.

distinction between palace and court was a distinction between sovereignty and ability. In governing the state, we must make the same distinction. How shall we do it? We shall succeed only as we take a long and dispassionate view of world affairs. Everybody now has a peculiar idea of government which has grown up out of millenniums of autocracy. In this long period of autocratic government, incompetent men have sat upon the throne while the four hundred millions have been their slaves; now, although autocracy is overthrown, a republic is established, and we are apparently free, yet have the people not gotten rid of their idea of autocracy and are still afraid that the government will oppress them as the emperors did. The fear of an imperial, despotic government makes them want to destroy the government and the attitude of hostility towards government develops. This present hostility is still the reaction from the old reverence for the emperor. In other words, from an attitude of extreme veneration for the emperor the people have swung to an attitude of opposition towards all government. The old worship of the emperor was wrong, of course, but the present hostility to all government is also wrong.

We must go back thousands of years in political history in order to understand how this wrong conception to-day can be broken down. Before the day of despotic emperors, China had the splendid rulers Yao and Shun; they both opened the throne to the people and did not attempt to keep it in their own family. Autocracy did not flower until after Yao and Shun; before their time there was no autocracy to speak of, and men of ability who could work for the welfare of all and organize good government were appointed emperors. In the wild age of conflict between men and beasts, which we formerly described, there was no complete state organization; the people lived by clans and depended upon some skillful and strong man to provide for their protection. At that time people were afraid of the attack of venomous serpents and wild beasts, so they had to get an able man to assume the responsibility for protection. Responsibility for protection required ability to fight; the man who could overcome venomous serpents and savage beasts was considered the ablest, and, as men of that day had no weapons but bare hands and empty fists with which to fight, the one with the strongest body was raised by the people to the position of chief. China, however, had examples of others besides fighters who were made kings. Sui Jen Shih<sup>26</sup> bored wood for fire and taught the people to cook with fire; thus the dangers of eating raw vegetables and meat were avoided and many fine flavors to satisfy the palate were discovered. So the people made Sui Jen Shih king. Boring wood for fire and teaching people to cook with fire were the work of a cook, so we may say that a cook became king. Shen Nung tasted a hundred herbs and discovered many medicinal properties to heal diseases and to raise the dead to life—a wonderful and meritorious work—so they made him king. Tasting herbs is the work of a physician, and thus we may say that a physician became king. Hsien Yuan taught the people to make clothes, so it was the tailor who became king; Yu Ch'ao Shih taught the people how to build houses, and so the carpenter became king. So in Chinese history we find not only those who could fight becoming king; anyone with marked ability, who had made new discoveries or who had achieved great things for mankind, could become king and organize the government. Cooks, physicians, tailors, carpenters, and all others who had special ability had become king. The general psychology of the Chinese is that a man possessing marked ability should become king.

Since the time of Yao and Shun China's emperors have gradually become despots, wanting to monopolize the empire and refusing to let the people freely choose able men for the throne. If now our four hundred million people should be asked to elect an emperor by ballot, if they had complete power and freedom of choice without any outside interference, and if, at the same time, Yao and Shun should come to life again, whom do you think they would elect? I think they would undoubtedly elect Yao or Shun. Chinese have not the painful and bitter feelings towards their emperors which Westerners have had, because despotism in China was never as severe as despotism in the West. In Europe two or three centuries ago the tyranny of kings had reached its limits: the people looked upon their rulers as they would upon an overwhelming deluge or a savage beast—with mortal terror. So the people wanted to reject not only their kings but everything closely connected with kings, such as government. Now that democracy prevails in the West and the people are in power, the rejection of government is truly easy. Would it not have been easy for Ah Tou of Western Shu to throw Chukuh Liang overboard? But if he had dismissed Chukuh Liang, could the government of Western Shu have lasted very long, could the troops have been dispatched six times across the Ch'i Mountains to punish the North? Ah Tou realized all this, so he gave complete authority to Chukuh Liang; the setting in order of the government, the suppression of the South, the punitive expedition against the North, were all carried out by Chukuh Liang. We are now putting democracy into practice: the four hundred millions of China are

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<sup>26</sup> [In this paragraph] Sui Jen Shih, Shen Nung, Hsien Yuan, Yu Ch'ao Shih: Legendary figures in ancient Chinese history.

the kings; they are the Ah Tous, and as Ah Tous they should naturally welcome Chukuh Liang to administer the government for them and to perform the great tasks of state.

As Western nations have applied democracy, the people have developed an attitude of hostility towards government, and the fundamental reason is their failure to distinguish between sovereignty and ability. Unless we act upon this principle which I have set forth, we will simply follow in the ruts of the West. Only as the people, in accordance with the theory that I have set forth, see the clear difference between sovereignty and ability will hostility towards government cease and will government have a chance to develop. It should be very easy for China to make the distinction, for we can cite the precedent of Ah Tou and Chukuh Liang. If the government is a good one, we four hundred millions will let it be our Chukuh Liang and give all the authority of the state to it; if the government is bad, we four hundred millions can exercise the privileges of kingship, dismiss it and take back the authority into our own hands. Westerners have not drawn a clear line between sovereignty and ability, so they have not yet solved the problems which have arisen out of democracy these two or three hundred years.

Let us make another comparison between the past and the present. In olden times those who could fight well were crowned king by all. To-day, when wealthy men organize a company or open a factory, they have to engage a man with natural capability to be general manager and to control the concern. This general manager is an expert who has the ability; the shareholders hold the authority or sovereignty. Within the factory, only the general manager gives orders; the shareholders simply keep a supervision over him. The people of a republic are shareholders, the president is general manager, and the people should look upon the government as an expert. With such an attitude, the shareholders can make use of the manager to improve the factory, turn out a large quantity of goods with a small capital, and make large profits for the company. But in none of the democratic states of the West do the people have such an attitude towards government, hence they cannot make use of gifted men to direct the government. As a result, the men in political life are generally incompetent, and democratic government is developing very haltingly. The reason lies in their failure to solve some of the basic problems of democracy. To solve them they must put the important affairs of the nation in the hands of capable men.

Westerners to-day are constantly making use of experts: in training soldiers they use experienced military men, in running their factories they use engineers, and in the administration of government they know that they ought to use specialists. They have not succeeded in doing so because they are not able to change the old, deep-rooted habits of the people. But in this new age a distinction must surely be made between sovereignty and ability. In many things we have to trust experts and we should not set limitations upon them. Take that very recent invention, now in such common use and so convenient—the automobile. When automobiles were first introduced twenty or thirty years ago, there were no expert chauffeurs to drive them or expert mechanics to repair them. I had a friend who bought an automobile and had to be both chauffeur and mechanic himself, which was a lot of trouble, as one could not be expected to do all these things well. But now there are many chauffeurs and mechanics, and the owner of an automobile has only to pay out money and engage someone to drive or to repair his car for him. The chauffeurs and the mechanics are specialists in driving and in repair work, and they are essential if we use automobiles.

The nation is a great automobile and the government officers are the great chauffeurs. When Westerners first won political sovereignty, they were like the wealthy owners of automobiles twenty years ago, who did not have suitable experts to help them and so had to do all the repairing and driving themselves. But now that there are so many gifted specialists, the sovereign people should engage their services; to drive and repair by themselves is only "seeking worry and trouble." In this illustration we can make a distinction, also, between the chauffeur who has skill but not sovereignty over the car, and the owner of the car who has sovereignty but not skill. The sovereign owner should depend upon the skillful expert to drive his car, and the same principle should apply in the vital affairs of the nation. The people are the owners; they must be sovereign. The government are specialists; they must be men of ability and skill. We are therefore to look upon all the officers of the government, from president and premier down to heads of departments, as specially trained chauffeurs; if they are able men and loyal to the nation, we should be willing to give the sovereignty of the state into their hands. We must not limit their movements but give them freedom of action; then the state can progress and progress with rapid strides. If, on the contrary, we attempt to take everything into our own hands, or to hamper our experts at every turn and not allow them freedom of action, the state can hardly hope to progress much and will move forward very slowly.

I can give you a very good illustration of this principle out of my own experience. Once, when I was living in Shanghai, I made an appointment for a conference with a friend in Hongkow. But when the day came, I forgot the appointment until just fifteen minutes before that set time. I was then living in the French concession, which is a long distance from Hongkow. It would be almost impossible to get there in fifteen minutes. In hot haste I called a chauffeur and asked him excitedly whether he could drive to Hongkow in fifteen minutes. He replied that he certainly could. So I took my seat in the automobile and we started for the appointed place. I was very familiar with the streets of French Shanghai; the trip from the concession to Hongkow is somewhat like that from Shakee to Tungshan (in Canton) which you can cut short by going through the Bund and Ch'uan Lung K'ou. But my chauffeur did not go, let us say, by the Bund and Ch'uan Lung K'ou; he first went down Fungning Road, turned through Taoteksun Road, and drove through the small North Gate before he reached the Great East Gate and then Tungshan. The automobile was flying along and making such a noise that I could not speak to the chauffeur; I was much puzzled, however, and angry at the chauffeur, because I thought he was playing a trick on me and deliberately going out of the way to extend the time. The situation was similar to that in a nation when the government, for a special reason, does something extraordinary which the people do not understand, and the people misinterpret it and find fault. But that chauffeur, going by the route he had chosen, reached Hongkow in not over fifteen minutes. My indignation cooled and I asked the chauffeur why he had come by such a circuitous route. He replied, "If we had taken the direct route, we would have driven along the Nanking Road where traffic is heavy with street cars, automobiles, jinrickshas, pedestrians, and moving vans, and where it is difficult to get through." This cleared up my misunderstanding; I realized that the way I had planned through Nanking Road and over the Garden Bridge at the Bund was conceived only in terms of distance, but the chauffeur had experience. He knew that an automobile could travel very fast, thirty or forty miles an hour, and that a few more turns and a few more miles with the chance, however, of increasing the speed, would still put us at our destination within the appointed time. He calculated directly from the time; he was not a philosopher and did not understand the formal relations of time and space, but he was a specialist in his line. He knew that an automobile has the power of shortening distance, and that if he could increase the speed of the car a few more turns would not prevent him from reaching Hongkow within fifteen minutes. If I had not given the chauffeur complete authority and allowed him freedom of movement, but had insisted that he take my route, I certainly could not have kept my engagement. Because I trusted him as an expert and did not bind his arm, he was able to take that route which he thought was best, and arrived at the appointed time. But since I was not an expert, I misunderstood why he should go out of the direct way. The people are masters of the nation and should act towards the government as I did towards the chauffeur on that ride to Hongkow, that is, let it drive and choose the way. Only such a conception of government will change the attitude of people towards government.

The hostility of Western peoples towards their governments is due to their failure to separate sovereignty from ability, and consequently they have not yet cleared up the difficulties of democracy. Let us not, as we pursue democracy, copy the West; let us make a clear distinction between sovereignty and ability. Although the democratic ideas came to us from Europe and America, yet the administration of democracy has not been successfully worked out there. We know a way now to make use of democracy and we know how to change the attitude of people towards government, but yet the majority of the people are without vision. We who have prevision must lead them and guide them into the right way if we want to escape the confusions of Western democracy and not follow in the tracks of the West. Western scholars to-day have only gotten to the point of realizing that the attitude of the people towards government is wrong and ought to be changed, but they do not yet see how to change it. I have now discovered the way—we must distinguish between sovereignty and ability. The foundation of the government of a nation must be built upon the rights of the people, but the administration of government must be intrusted to experts. We must not look upon these experts as stately and grand presidents and ministers, but simply as our chauffeurs, as guards at the gate, as cooks, physicians, carpenters, or tailors. It does not matter what sort of workmen the people consider them. As long as they have this general attitude towards them, the state can be governed and the nation can go forward.

## The Principle of Democracy

### Lecture Six [April 26, 1924]

WESTERN statesmen and students of jurisprudence now speak of government as machinery and of law as an instrument. A great many Chinese books on government and law are translations from the Japanese; the Japanese have given government organization the designation of *chi-kuan* (organ, or bureau). *Chi-kuan* means the same thing as the common word "machinery" in China; when we say *chi-kuan* we mean the same thing as machinery, an administrative organ may, therefore, be called administrative machinery. But what is the difference between political machinery and manufacturing machinery? Manufacturing machinery is made entirely of material things—wood, steel, leather belts, and such-fitted together; political machinery is constructed of human beings and depends upon human beings, not material things, for its action. So there are great differences between political and manufacturing machinery, but the one that stands out is the fact that political machinery is moved by human forces, while manufacturing machinery is moved by material forces.

Western civilization and culture have been developing and progressing with great rapidity. But when we analyze this progress we find that material civilization, as represented by manufacturing machinery, has been advancing very rapidly, while human machinery, as seen in political organization, has made very slow advance. What is the reason for this? When material machinery is constructed, it can be easily tried out, the bad features can be discarded, and the imperfect parts can be improved. But after human machinery has been set up, it is not easily experimented with and improvements are not at all easily made, except through revolution. The only other way would be to treat it as scrap iron, as we do old material machinery, but this is manifestly impossible. Hence manufacturing machinery in the West has progressed by leaps and bounds, while political machinery has just stumbled along. There is nothing over ten years old among the machines used in modern agriculture, industry, and business; for every decade brings numerous inventions and improvements and every year marks some advance. Yet the political machinery of a hundred years ago is still in use to-day. The individual human beings in this machinery of human forces can change at will, but the whole organization is not easily reconstructed from the bottom up because of deep-seated habits and the close sequence of life activities. Without some sort of revolution, it is impossible in ordinary times to discard entirely the old organization. This explains the rapid advance of material machinery in the West, while political machinery advanced so slowly and with such difficulty.

In two former lectures, I said that Westerners had not yet found a fundamental method of procedure in carrying out democratic government. This is because they have not experimented carefully and skillfully with their political machinery. Between the first inventions of material machinery and the machinery we see to-day there have been we know not how many thousands of experiments and improvements. This led to our modern automatic machines. The machinery of democratic government, after more than a hundred years, is limited to the power of voting; there has been no advance beyond this stage for a long time. There is no other way of controlling the men who are elected to office, whether they turn out to be worthy or incompetent. Such a condition is due to imperfections in the machinery of democracy, and consequently democratic government has not yet found a good mode of procedure and has made but little progress. If we want to improve the machinery, what shall we do? As I said in my previous lecture, we must make a clear distinction between sovereignty and ability.

Statesmen and students of jurisprudence are now speaking of government as a machine and of law as an instrument, and our modern democratic age looks upon the people as the motive power in government. In the old autocratic age the king was the motive power and all the activities of the state were initiated by him. The greater the power of the government, the greater the majesty of the throne. A strong government was essential for the effective carrying out of the imperial edicts. Since the king was the power behind the machinery, a strong government organization made it possible for the king, in his exalted position, to do whatever he pleased—initiate political reforms, carry on "long-range aggressions," prepare for war, or anything else. So in the age of autocracy, increased power in the government brought advantage but no injury to the king. But in the age of democracy, people are the motive power in government. Then why are they loath to have too strong a government? Because if the government is too powerful they cannot control it and will be oppressed by it. Because they were once excessively oppressed by their government and suffered so much from it, they are trying to prevent oppression in the future by limiting the power

of government. These are the early days of democracy and our methods of controlling government are also defective. The people are naturally the motive power in a democracy, but the people must also be able at any time to recall the power they set loose. Therefore the people will use only a low-powered government, for they cannot control a government of several hundred thousand horse power and will not dare to use it. The fear of powerful government among Western peoples to-day is just like the fear of powerful machinery in the old factories. As for their political machinery, however, the people are not thinking of ways to improve it and are fearful of giving it too much power lest they be unable to call the power back. Instead, they are constantly thinking of ways to limit the government until it has no chance to develop and democracy has no chance to advance. Looking at present tendencies in the world, we may say that there is steady progress in democratic ideas but no progress at all in the control of democratic government. This is the reason why Western democratic nations have not found as yet a fundamental method of procedure.

As I have said in my preceding lecture, we must make a distinction between sovereignty and ability. When we apply this distinction to the illustration of the machine, where do we place the ability or power? The machine itself is what possesses the ability or power. A 100,000 horse power machine, fed with the proper amount of coal and water, will generate the proper ability and power. Where is the sovereignty? The engineer in control of the machine possesses the sovereignty. No matter what the horse power of the machine, the engineer has only to move his hand and machine will start and start immediately or stop and stop immediately. The engineer can control the machine, and make it do as he wishes; as soon as the machine starts, he can make the steamship or the train go very fast, and by stopping the machine he can make the steamer or the train cease moving. The machine, then, is an able and powerful thing, while the engineer is a man with a large degree of sovereignty. If the people in their control of government will make a distinction between sovereignty and ability or power, they will be like the engineer who controls the great machinery. When democracy is highly developed and methods of controlling government are perfected, the government will have great power, but the people will only have to make their opinions known in their national congress; if they attack the government, they may overthrow it, or if they laud the government they may strengthen it. But as it is, if the government carries on with a high hand, the people have no way to control it, no matter how much the people may criticize or praise the government, their words are ineffective and the government pays no attention to them. To-day government is making no progress, while the democratic spirit flourishes. The people of all countries are finding that the present political machinery does not suit their ideas or needs.

China now is in a period of revolution. We are advocating a democratic form of government. Our ideas of democracy have come from the West. We have recently been thinking how we might copy these ideas and build up a nation under popular government. When we were first considering this kind of state, one group of revolutionary enthusiasts believed that if we would imitate the West exactly, follow right in the tracks of the West, and copy everything from the West, then Chinese democracy would develop to the limit of perfection. At first such ideas were not entirely wrong, for China's old autocratic government was so corrupt that if we could, after effecting a revolution and overthrowing the autocracy, begin our constructive effort by learning from the West, we should certainly be better off than under the old regime. But are the peoples of the West thoroughly satisfied with the present situation in their national and social life? If we will make a careful study of Western government and society, we shall find that in the so-called pioneer revolutionary states, like the United States and France, people are still proposing improvements in government and are still thinking of revolution. Why, when they had revolutions a century ago, are they thinking of other revolutions? This proves that we were wrong when we thought that following the West would lead us to the heights of perfection; and if we should fully copy the United States and France, which are still contemplating revolution, we could not escape another revolution a hundred years hence. For the governmental machinery of the United States and France still has many defects, and does not satisfy the desires of the people nor give them a complete measure of happiness. So we in our proposed reconstruction must not think that if we imitate the West of to-day we shall reach the last stage of progress and be perfectly contented. If we follow the dust of the West, will not each generation be more dissatisfied than the one previous, and will we not finally have to stage another revolution? If another revolution is going to be necessary, then is not this one a vain effort? What shall we do to keep this revolution from being a futile waste of energy? What plans shall we lay in order to secure a permanent government and a lasting peace—"enduring repose after one supreme effort"—and prevent calamities in the future?

Can we bring over the methods of the West and apply them wholesale in China?

As I said in a former lecture, Europe and America have not gone to the bottom in their study of the problems of democracy, and consequently the people are in daily conflict with their governments. The force of democracy is new, but the machinery of democracy is old. If we want to solve the difficulties of democracy we must build another machinery, a new machinery, upon the principle that sovereignty and ability are different things. The people must have sovereignty, the machinery must have ability and power. Modern efficient and powerful machinery is operated by men who can start and stop it at will. The West has made the most complete inventions in the field of machinery but very imperfect discoveries in the field of government. If we want to make a complete change in government, we have no model to follow but must discover a new way for ourselves. Are we able to do such a thing? Since the Boxer year, Chinese have completely lost their self-confidence. The attitude of the people is one of absolute faith in foreign countries and distrust of themselves. That they should accomplish anything of themselves or make any original discovery seems to them impossible. No, they must run after the West and copy Western ways. We do not see that Western civilization is strong only in its material aspects and not in its various political aspects. From the standpoint of scientific theories of a material civilization, Europe and America have developed remarkably in recent years. But because a man is outstanding in one field of knowledge does not necessarily signify that he is equally proficient in all fields of knowledge; in many of them he may even be blind. Their physical sciences have developed to the highest point in the past century and their many new inventions have "usurped the powers of Nature" beyond our wildest dreams. But to say that what they have not thought of in political science we cannot think of or discover is unreasonable. Western machinery has indeed made much progress in recent times, but this does not prove that Western political systems have progressed also. For two or more centuries the speciality of the West has been only science. The great scientists are naturally well advanced in their own branches of knowledge, but this does not necessarily make them equally advanced in all branches of knowledge.

Western science has progressed to the point of making material machinery automatically double-acting, but the people's sovereignty over the government is still single-acting; it can only be advanced and not taken back. While we are advocating democracy for the reconstruction of our republic, let us have a thoroughgoing new democracy and a thoroughgoing new republic. If we should not wholly follow the advanced states of the West, we should think out a new and better procedure ourselves. Are we capable of doing this? For thousands of years China has been an independent country. In our former political development, we never borrowed materials from other countries. China had one of the earliest civilizations in the world and never needed to copy wholly from others. Only in recent times has Western culture advanced beyond ours, and the passion for this new civilization has stimulated our revolution. Now that the revolution is a reality, we naturally desire to see China excel the West and build up the newest and most progressive state in the world. We certainly possess the qualifications necessary to reach this ideal, but we must not merely imitate the democratic systems of the West. These systems have become old-style machinery.

To reach our ideal we must construct a new machinery. Is there any material in the world for such a new machinery? Yes, there is much material scattered in various countries, but we must first decide upon a fundamental line of procedure. And this line of procedure is the separation of sovereignty and ability which I have already discussed. Then, as we put democracy into operation, we must separate the organization of the state and the administration of democracy. Western nations have not thought through these basic principles and have not distinguished between sovereignty and power or ability, consequently their government's power does not expand. Now that we have thought through our basic principle, we must go a step further and divide the machinery of government. In order to do this, we must understand well the idea of government. In Lecture One, I gave a definition for government—a thing of and by all the people and control of the affairs of all the people. The government machinery which is constructed according to the principle of sovereignty being distinct from ability and power is just like material machinery which has power in itself and is controlled by a power outside. In building the new state according to the newest discoveries, we should separate clearly these two kinds of power. But how? We must start from the meaning of government. Government or politics is a concern of all the people, and its centralizing force is political sovereignty. Political sovereignty, then, means popular sovereignty, and government which centralizes the forces controlling the life of the people is called government power or government authority.

There are, then, two forces in politics, the political power of the people and the administrative power of the government. One is the power of control, the other is the power of the government itself. What does this mean? A steamship has a 100,000 horse power engine: the generation of 100,000 horse power and the moving of the vessel are in the power of the machinery itself, and this power may be compared to the power of the government. But the movement of the great steam vessel forward and backward, to the right or left, its stopping, and its rate of speed, all depend upon the control of a good engineer. He is essential to the direction and control of a perfect machine; by perfect control the powerful vessel can be made to start and to stop at will. This power of control may be compared to the control over government, which is political sovereignty. Building a new state is like building a new steamship. If we put in low-powered machinery, the speed of the vessel will naturally be low, its freight capacity will be small, and profits from its running meager. But if we install high-powered machinery, the vessel will have a high rate of speed, will be able to carry heavy freight, and will bring in large profits. If we could build a steamship with a speed of 50 knots, then no other steamship could compete with it, and we would have the fastest and largest new steamship in the world. The same principle applies in the building of a state. If we construct a low-powered, weak government, its activities will be limited and its accomplishments will be meager. But if we put in a high-powered, strong government, its activities will be broad in scope and it will accomplish great things. If a powerful government should be installed in the largest state in the world, would not that state outstrip all others? Would not that government be unequaled under heaven?

Why have the nations of the West steamships with high-powered machinery but not states with high-powered strong governments? Because they can only control high-powered machinery, but have not found a way to control high-powered government. To discard a low-powered old vessel and build a high-powered new one is an easy task; but the state has very deep roots and the construction of a new powerful government in place of an old weak government is a very difficult thing. China with her four hundred million people is the most populous state in the world; her territory is broad and her products are rich and abundant, exceeding those of the United States. The United States has now become the wealthiest and most powerful nation in the world, and no other nation can compare with her. When we compare our natural resources, it seems that China should outstrip the United States, but as a matter of fact, not only is this impossible now but the two countries cannot even be mentioned in the same breath. The reason is that the Chinese have the necessary qualifications but want human effort. We have never had a real good government. But if we add human effort to our natural qualifications, build up a complete, strong government which will display great power and move the whole nation, then China can immediately begin to advance in line with the United States.

After China secures a powerful government, we must not be afraid, as Western peoples are, that the government will become too strong and out of control. Because our plan for the reconstructed state includes the division of the political power of the whole state into two parts. The political power will be given into the hands of the people, who will have a full degree of sovereignty and will be able to control directly the affairs of state; this political power is popular sovereignty. The other power is government, and we will put that entirely in the government organs, which will be powerful and will manage all the nation's business; this political power is the power of government. If the people have a political full measure of sovereignty and the methods for exercising popular control over the government are well worked out, we need not fear that the government will become too powerful and uncontrollable. Westerners formerly did not dare to build machines with over 100,000 horse power; because machines were not perfectly constructed and the means of control were not compact, they were afraid of their power and would not risk the control of them. But now such wonderful improvements have been made in machinery, the machines themselves are so well constructed and the control mechanism is so compact, that Westerners are building machines with tremendous horse power. If we want to build a much-improved political machinery, we must follow the same line: we must have a complete and powerful government organ, and at the same time have a compact method of popular sovereignty to exercise control over the government organ. Western governments lack this compact and effective control, so they are not yet making much progress. Let us not follow in their tracks. Let the people in thinking about government distinguish between sovereignty and power. Let the great political force of the state be divided; first let there be the power of the government and then the power of the people. Such a division will make the government the machinery and the people the engineer. The attitude of the people towards their government will then be like the attitude of the engineer towards his machinery.

Such advances have been made in the construction of machinery that not only men with mechanical knowledge, but even children without any knowledge of machinery can control it.

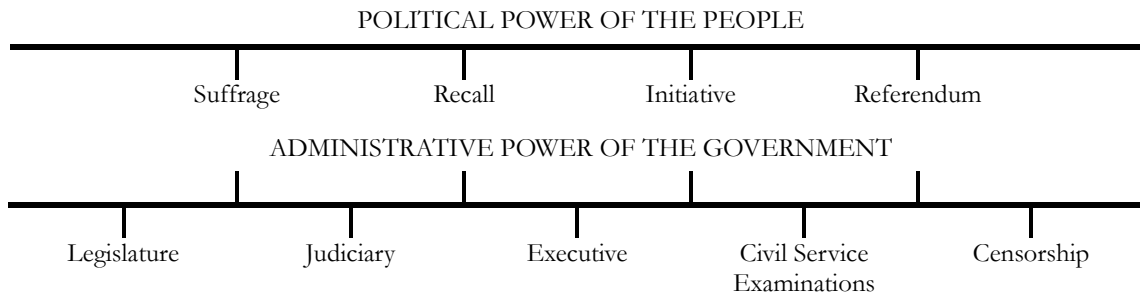
China has now the idea of democracy, but no perfect machinery has yet been invented in the world to express this idea. The people do not know how to use it. We who have vision and foresight must first build the machine. We must construct a very serviceable kind of faucet, a very safe kind of electric button which ordinary people can learn how to use by a single turn of the hand; then the idea of democracy will become a reality. What methods shall we use in applying the democracy which we have adopted from the West? Only after we have thought through these methods will democracy be adapted to our use. If we insist on using democracy without careful preparation beforehand, we will find it extremely dangerous and liable to kill us. Have such methods of applying democracy yet been found? Switzerland in Europe has some partial methods which she has already tried out; they are radical and give the people direct sovereignty, but are not very complete. The larger nations of Europe have not even experimented with these incomplete methods. The fact that only the small state of Switzerland has tried a partial form of direct sovereignty makes many people question whether it is applicable in large states also. Why are not the large states using Switzerland's methods? Because they "fear difficulties and seek ease," these advanced people, though familiar with the newly invented models, do not make use of them. But we in China never had any old machinery of democracy, so we ought to be able to choose and use the newest and best discoveries.

What are the newest discoveries in the way of applying democracy? First, there is the suffrage, and it is the only method in operation throughout the so-called modern democracies. Is this one form of popular sovereignty enough in government? This one power by itself may be compared to the early machines which could move forward only but not back. The second of the newly discovered methods is the power of recall. With this power, the people can pull the machine back. These two rights, the right to elect and the right to recall give the people control over their officials and enable them to put all government officials in their positions or to move them out of their positions. The coming and going of officials follows the free will of the people just as modern machines move to and fro by the free action of the engine. Another important thing in a state, in addition to officials, is law; "with men to govern there must also be ways of governing." What power must the people possess in order to control the laws? If all the people think that a certain law would be of great advantage to them, they should have the power to decide upon this law and turn it over to the government for execution. This third kind of popular power is called the initiative. If everybody thinks that an old law is not beneficial to the people, they should have the power to amend it and to ask the government to administer the revised law and do away with the old law. This is called the referendum and is a fourth form of popular sovereignty. Only when the people have these four powers can we say that there is a full measure of democracy, and only where these four powers are effectively applied can we say that there is thoroughgoing, direct, popular sovereignty. Before there was any complete democracy, people elected their officials and representatives and then could not hold them responsible. This was only indirect democracy or a representative system of government. The people could not control the government directly but only through their representatives. For direct control of the government it is necessary that the people practice these four forms of popular sovereignty. Only then can we speak of government by all the people. This means that our four hundred millions shall be king, exerting their kingly authority and controlling the great affairs of state by means of the four powers of the people. These four powers are also called political powers and are powers for control of the government.

The government's own power to transact business may be called the power to work, to work on behalf of the people. If the people are very powerful, whether the government can work or not and what kind of work it does will depend entirely upon the will of the people. If the government is very powerful, as soon as it starts work it can display great strength, and whenever the people want it to stop, it will have to stop. In a nutshell, if the people are really to have direct control over the power of government they must be able to command at any time the actions of the government.

With the people exerting these four great powers to control the government, what methods will the government use in performing its work? In order that the government may have a complete organ through which to do its best work, there must be a quintuple-power constitution. A government is not complete and cannot do its best work for the people unless it is based upon a quintuple-power constitution. I spoke before of an American scholar who advanced the new theory that what a nation fears most is an all-powerful, uncontrollable government, yet what it most desires

is an all-powerful government which the people can use and which will seek the people's welfare. Popular rule cannot really prevail until there is the latter kind of government. We are now making a distinction between sovereignty and ability; we are saying that the people are like the engineer and the government like the machinery. On the one hand, we want government machinery to be all-powerful so that it can do any sort of work; on the other hand, we want the engineer-people to be very strong so that they can control the all-powerful machinery. Now what great powers are the people and the government each to have in order that they may balance each other? I have already discussed the four powers on the people's side—suffrage, recall, initiative, and referendum. On the side of the government there must be five powers—executive, legislative, judicial, civil service examination, and censoring. When the four political powers of the people control the five governing powers of the government, then we will have a completely democratic government organ, and the strength of the people and of the government will be well balanced. This diagram will help us to understand more clearly the relation between these powers:



The political power above is in the hands of the people, the administrative power below is in the hands of the government. The people control the government through the suffrage, the recall, the initiative, and the referendum; the government works for the people through its legislative, judicial, executive, civil examination, and censoring departments. With these nine powers in operation and preserving a balance, the problem of democracy will truly be solved and the government will have a definite course to follow. The materials for this new plan have been discovered before now. Switzerland has already applied three of the political powers but does not have the recall. Some of the northwestern states in the United States have taken over the three political rights from Switzerland and have added the right of recall. Suffrage is the people's power most widely exercised in the world to-day. Switzerland is already exercising three of the popular powers and one fourth of the United States is exercising all four. Where the four powers have been exercised in a careful, compact way the results have been excellent. They are facts of experience, not mere hypothetical ideals. We will be safe in using these methods and will not run into any danger.

All governmental powers were formerly monopolized by kings and emperors, but after the revolutions they were divided into three groups: thus the United States, after securing its independence, established a government with three coordinate departments, with splendid results. Other nations followed the example of the United States. But foreign governments have never exercised more than these three powers—legislative, executive, and judicial. What is the source of the two new features in our quintuple-power constitution? They come from old China. China long ago had the independent systems of civil service examination and censorship and they were very effective. The imperial censors or historiographers of the Manchu dynasty and the official advisers of the T'ang dynasty made a fine censoring system. The power of censorship includes the power to impeach, which other governments have but which is placed in the legislative body and is not a separate governmental power. The selection of real talent and ability through examinations has been characteristic of China for thousands of years. Modern foreign scholars who have studied Chinese institutions give high praise to old independent China's examination system, and there have been imitations of the system for the selection of able men in the West. Great Britain's civil service examinations are modeled after the old Chinese system, but only ordinary officials are examined. The British system does not yet possess the spirit of the independent examination system of old China. In Chinese political history, the three governmental powers—judicial, legislative, and executive—were vested in the emperor. The other powers of civil service examination and censorship were separate from the throne. The old autocratic government of China can also be said to have had three departments and so was very different from the autocratic governments of the West in which all power was monopolized by the king or emperor himself. During the period of autocratic government in China, the emperor still did not have sole authority over the power of examination and censorship. So China in a way had three coordinate departments of government, just as the modern democracies of the West have their three

departments, with this difference — the Chinese government has exercised the powers of autocracy, censorship, and civil examination for many thousands of years, while Western governments have exercised legislative, judicial, and executive powers for only a little over a century. However, the three governmental powers in the West have been imperfectly applied and the three coordinate powers of ancient China led to many abuses. If we now want to combine the best from China and the best from other countries and guard against all kinds of abuse in the future, we must take the three Western governmental powers—the executive, legislative, and judicial; add to them the old Chinese powers of examination and censorship and make a finished wall, a quintuple-power government. Such a government will be the most complete and the finest in the world, and a state with such a government will indeed be of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Each of these four popular powers and five governmental powers has its own focus and function; we must separate them clearly and not confuse them.

From the standpoint of function, the governmental powers are mechanical powers. In order to make this large machinery, which can develop tremendous horse power, function most effectively, we make it work in five directions. The popular powers are the powers of control which the people exercise directly over this high-powered machinery. The four powers of the people, we may say, are four controls which the people manipulate in order to make the machinery move and stop. The government works for the people and its five powers are five forms of work or five directions of work. The people control the government and their four powers are four methods of control. Only as the government is given such power and the opportunity to work in these different directions can it manifest great dignity and authority and become an all powerful government. Only as the people are given great power and the various checks upon the government will they not be afraid of the government becoming all-powerful and uncontrollable. The people can then at any time command the government to move or to stop. The prestige of the government will grow and the power of the people will increase. With such an administrative power on the part of the government and such political power on the part of the people, we will be able to realize the ideal of the American scholar—an all-powerful government seeking the welfare of the people—and to blaze the way for the building of a new world.

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## The Principle of Livelihood

### Lecture One [Aug. 3, 1924]

THE subject of my lecture to-day is *Min Sheng Chu I*, the Principle of the People's Livelihood. *Min Sheng* is a worn phrase in China. We talk about *Kuo Chi Min Sheng*, national welfare and the people's livelihood, but I fear that we pay only lip service to these words and have not really sought to understand them. I cannot see that they have held much meaning for us. But if, in this day of scientific knowledge, we will bring the phrase into the realm of scientific discussion and study its social and economic implications, we shall find that it takes on an immeasurable significance. I propose to-day a definition for *Min Sheng*, the People's Livelihood. It denotes the livelihood of the people,—the existence of society, the welfare of the nation, the life of the masses. And now I shall use the phrase *Min Sheng* to describe one of the greatest problems that has emerged in the West during the past century or more, and that is social problem.

The problem of livelihood is now rising like a tide in every country. Yet the problem is comparatively new, with a history of not much over a century. What has caused the sudden emergence of this question in the last hundred years? Briefly, the rapid progress of material civilization all over the world, the great development of industry and the sudden increase in the productive power of the human race. Candidly speaking, the problem arose with the invention of machinery and with the gradual substitution of natural power for human labor in the most civilized nations. The natural forces of steam, heat, water and electricity began to be used in place of human strength, and copper and iron in place of human bone and sinew. Since the invention of machinery, one man in charge of one machine has been able to do the work of one hundred or one thousand men. A great discrepancy has arisen between

the productive power of the machine and human productive power. The most diligent worker can hardly do more than two or three men's work in one day and can never do more than ten men's work, which means that a most diligent man with the most powerful physique and the greatest strength and energy could not possibly produce more goods than ten ordinary men could. There is not much difference in the productive strength of ordinary men, but there is a vast difference between the productiveness of a machine and the productiveness of simple human labor. When human labor alone is employed, the most powerful and industrious workers cannot accomplish more than ten times the amount of the ordinary worker, but when machinery is employed, the most lazy and common worker in charge of it can accomplish hundreds, thousands of times as much as the best worker without machinery. Productiveness is now a very different thing from what it was a few decades ago before the introduction of machinery.

Since the invention of machinery, therefore, the world has undergone a revolution in production. Machinery has usurped the place of human labor, and men who possessed machinery have taken wealth away from those who did not have machinery. Following the introduction of machinery, great numbers of men suddenly lost their occupations and were unable to get work or to obtain food. Westerners have called this great change the Industrial Revolution. On account of this revolution the workers suffered greatly. This is why, during the last few decades, a social problem has come into existence, the result of an effort to relieve this kind of suffering.

It is this social problem that I am discussing to-day in the Principle of Livelihood. Why not follow the West and speak directly of socialism? Why use the old Chinese term *Min Sheng* in its stead? There is a very significant reason for this which we shall consider. Since its first development, and especially since the Industrial Revolution, machinery has become a serious social problem and has stimulated the rise of socialistic theories. But although socialism has been a growing force for several decades, Western nations have not yet found a solution for the questions involved in it, and a severe dispute is still raging over them.

Is the Principle of Livelihood really different from socialism? Socialism deals primarily with the economic problems of society; that is, the common problem of a living. Since the introduction of machinery, a large number of people have had their work taken away from them and workers generally have been unable to maintain their existence. Socialism arose as an effort to solve the living problem, and from this standpoint, the social question is also the economic question, and the principle of livelihood is the main theme of socialism. But now every country's socialism has different theories and different proposals for social reconstruction. Scholars have divided socialists into two groups: Utopian socialists, whose ideal is similar to Lieh-tze's<sup>27</sup> dream of the *Land of the Hwa-hsu* people; and the scientific socialists, who use only scientific methods in the study of social problems. The Utopian socialists would reform society and make a peaceful and happy state simply out of their imagination. Scientific socialists advocated the use of scientific methods in solving social problems. In this epoch, when material civilization is advancing so rapidly and science is becoming so powerful, all study must be based upon scientific principles in order to achieve satisfactory results, and we cannot expect a solution of the social question until careful scientific research has been made.

Marx worked out the theory that all human activity upon the globe which has been preserved in written records for succeeding generations can be called history; and all human history, viewed in this way, gravitates about material forces. This latter point was the new emphasis which Marx gave to history. If the material basis of life changes, the world also changes; human behavior, moreover, is determined by the material environment, and so the history of human civilization is the story of adaptation to material environment.

What about the economic theory of history enunciated by Marx? In 1848 Marx's disciples held a world congress of socialists at Brussels and decided upon several policies which are still adhered to by large numbers of Marxian socialists everywhere. After the European War broke out, Russia began to put Marx's theories into practice, but of late she has made great changes in the interpretation of his theories. After the European War the disciples of Marx all began to quarrel over matters of theory. The socialist parties of Germany, France and Russia had formerly been common followers of Marx and had been branches of the Internationale, but after the differences of opinion arose,

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<sup>27</sup> A Chinese philosopher of the fifth century before Christ.

they began to attack and to vilify each other and to accuse each other of disloyalty to Marxism. As a result of the attacks of this branch upon that and of this National Socialist Party upon that, Marx's theories began to be seriously questioned.

Have material forces really been the center of gravity in history? Marx discovered that history gravitated about material forces; was his principle correct or not? After a few years of experiment with it following the European War, many people are saying that the principle is wrong. What, then, is the central force in history? Our Kuomintang has been advocating the Principle of Livelihood for over twenty years now; we have not championed socialism but the *Min Sheng* Principle. Are the spheres of these two doctrines in any way related? Recently an American disciple of Marx, named Williams,<sup>28</sup> after making a deep study of Marx's philosophy, came to the conclusion that the disagreement between fellow socialists is due to defects in the Marxism doctrines. He sets forth the view that the materialistic conception of history is wrong; that the social problem, not material forces, is the center which determines the course of history, and that subsistence is the heart of the social problem. This social interpretation of history he believes is the only reasonable one. The problem of livelihood is the problem of subsistence. The new theory of this American scholar tallies exactly with the third principle of our party. Williams' theory means that livelihood is the central force in social progress, and that social progress is the central force in history; hence the struggle for a living and not material forces determines history. We have held forth the Principle of Livelihood for twenty years; when first studied and pondered upon this question, we felt that the term *Min Sheng* defined the field of social problems better than the terms "socialism" or "communism," so we chose to use it. We little foresaw at that time how the clarifying of principles and development of knowledge following a European war would lead students of the Marx school to discover the same point. This shows that our *Min Sheng* Principle is consistent with the law of progress and is not a mere parroting of what contemporary scholars are saying.

According to this American scholar, the energies of mankind, both in ancient and modern times, have been spent largely in trying to solve the problem of subsistence. The struggle for existence is one of the laws of social progress and is the central force in history. Marx's materialistic theory did not set forth any law of social progress and cannot be a determining factor in history. If we want to understand clearly the positions of these two social philosophers and to know which one is right, we must make a detailed study of their doctrines and see whether these doctrines harmonize with the facts of modern social progress. Marx, in his investigation of the social problem, emphasized the material side. In dealing with material forces you inevitably come first to the question of production. Where there is no overproduction, there would naturally be no industrial revolution, and so production holds a place of prime importance in modern economics. If you want to understand modern economic conditions, you must know the facts about production. The large-scale production in modern times is made possible by labor and machinery, by the cooperation of capital and machinery together with the employment of labor. The benefits of this large-scale production are reaped largely by the capitalists themselves; the workers enjoy but a small fraction of the benefits. Consequently, the interests of capitalists and of workers are constantly clashing and when no solution of the difficulty is found, a class war breaks out. Marx held the view that class war was not something which had only followed the industrial revolution; all past history is a story of class struggle—between masters and slaves, between landlords and serfs, between nobles and common people; in a word, between all kinds of oppressors and oppressed. Only when the social revolution was completely successful, would these warring classes be no more. It is evident from this that Marx considered class war essential to social progress, the driving force, in fact, of social progress. He made class war the cause and social progress the effect. Let us look at recent facts in the development of society to see whether this principle of cause and effect is really a law of social progress. Society has made tremendous progress in the last few decades and the details of this social progress would make a complicated story. The facts on the economic side alone cannot be described in a few words. But to summarize briefly: recent economic progress in the West may be said to have taken four forms—social and industrial reform, public ownership of transportation and communications, direct taxation, and socialized distribution. These four socioeconomic practices have all evolved through the method of reform, and we should see more reforms and increasing improvements as time goes on.

I shall explain these four practices a little more in detail. The first one—socioeconomic reform—means the use of government power to better the workingman's education and to protect his health, to improve factories and

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<sup>28</sup> Referring to Maurice Williams, author of "Social Interpretation of History."

machinery so that working conditions may be perfectly safe and comfortable. Such reforms give the worker more strength for his work and make him quite willing to work; they also greatly increase the rate of production. Germany was the first country to put these socially progressive policies into operation and she obtained the best results; in recent years Great Britain and the United States have imitated her with equally good results.

The second new practice means putting electric and steam railways, steamship lines, and all the big business of the postal and telegraph service entirely under government management. When the government's great power is employed in the direction of all these great enterprises, rapid transport and convenient communication are assured. Then materials can be moved easily from all parts of the country to the factories and manufactured articles from the factories can be easily distributed to the markets for sale, without loss of time and the stoppage in transit which causes so much damage to both raw materials and manufactured goods. If private individuals, rather than the government, are intrusted with these enterprises, they either do not have enough financial resources to carry on the enterprise or they develop, through monopoly, too much obstructive power. Transportation is then certain to slow down and communications become less effective. All economic activities throughout the country suffer in tangible and serious losses. Germany was the first nation to see the advantages and the disadvantages of private business and long ago put all her means of transportation and communication under the direct management of the state. During the European War, all the private transport and communication companies in the United States were brought under government direction.

The third feature of modern economic reform, direct taxation, is also a very recent development in the socio-economic method. It is applied by means of a graduated tax scale which levies a heavy income tax and inheritance tax upon capitalists and secures financial resources for the state directly from capitalists. Because of the large income of capitalists, direct taxation by the state "gets much without seeming oppressive." The old system of taxation depended entirely upon the tax on money and grain and upon the customs tariff. These methods laid the burden of national income entirely upon the poor people and let the capitalists enjoy all the privileges of the state without shouldering any financial responsibility, which was exceedingly unjust. Germany and Great Britain long ago became aware of this injustice and put into effect a plan of direct taxation.

The fourth new economic activity, socialized distribution, is a most recent development in Western society. Since the invention of money and the development of the trade system all commodities for ordinary consumption have been bought indirectly through tradesmen or merchants. The merchant buys the commodities at the lowest possible price from the producer and then sells them to the consumer; by this one transaction he earns a large commission. Such a system of distribution may be called the trade system or merchant distribution. Under such a system of distribution the consumer unconsciously suffers heavy losses. Recent studies have shown that the trade system can be improved upon, that goods do not have to be distributed by merchants but can be distributed through social organizations or by the government. The principle in this new system is that of socialized distribution, or socialism applied to distribution.

These four forms of social and economic development—social and economic reform, public ownership of transportation and communications, direct taxation and socialized distribution—are overthrowing old systems and giving rise to new systems. It is the constant emergence of new systems that makes constant progress possible.

What is the cause of social evolution? Why does society have to undergo these transformations? Judging by Marx's theory, we would have to say that social change is caused by class struggle and class struggle is caused by the capitalists oppression of workers. Since the interests of capitalists and workers inevitably conflict and cannot be reconciled, struggle ensues and this struggle within society is what makes for progress. Look, however, at the actual facts of social progress in the West during the last few decades. Best of all has been the development of socialized distribution which destroys the monopoly of the tradesman. Heavier taxes upon the incomes and the inheritances of the capitalists increases the wealth of the state and enables the state to take over means of transportation and communication, to improve the education and the health of workers and equipment within the factories, and to increase the productiveness of society. When production is large and products are rich, the capitalists naturally make fortunes and the workers receive high wages. From this point of view, when the capitalists improve the living conditions of the workers and increase their productivity, the workers can produce more for the capitalists. On the

capitalists' side, this means greater production; on the workers' side, higher wages. Here is a reconciliation of the interests of capitalists and workers, rather than a conflict between them. Society progresses, then, through the adjustment of major economic interests rather than through the clash of interests. If most of the economic interests of society can be harmonized, the majority of people will benefit and society will progress. The reason why we want to make these adjustments is simply because of the living problem. From ancient times until now man has exerted his energies in order to maintain his existence. And mankind's struggle for continuous existence has been the reason for unceasing society's development, the law of social progress. Class war is not the cause of social progress, it is a disease developed in the course of social progress. The cause of the disease is the inability to subsist, and the result of the disease is war. What Marx gained through his studies of social problems was a knowledge of diseases in the course of social progress. Therefore, Marx can only be called a social pathologist; we cannot say that he is a social physiologist.

According to Marx's theory of class struggle, the "surplus value" which the capitalist enjoys is taken entirely out of the workingman's labor. Marx gave all the credit for production to the labor of the industrial worker and overlooked the labor of other useful social factors. When we think about the raw material of yarn and cloth, our minds turn to cotton; when we think about the source of the cotton, our minds turn to questions of agriculture. If we want to discuss in detail the cultivation of cotton, we shall have to refer to the scientific agriculturalists who study the selection of good cotton seed and the best methods of planting and raising cotton. Many implements and machines must be used to plow the soil before the planting of the seed and to weed the soil after the planting; fertilizers must be applied to nourish the plants. When we consider the machines and the fertilizers, we have to give credit to the discoverers and manufacturers of these things. After the cotton is picked, it must be transported to the mills to be spun and woven; after the yarn and piece goods are manufactured, they must be transported to the markets for sale. This leads our minds naturally to steamships and trains and if we think why they are able to transport goods, we shall have to give credit to the inventors of steam and electric engines; if we think about the materials of which they are made, we shall have to give credit to miners and manufacturers of metals and to foresters and lumbermen. If, after the manufacture of the thread and the cloth is complete no classes in society except industrial workers use the thread or wear the cloth, these things will not have a wide market; and then, how can the capitalists make large profits and create a large surplus value? When you put these facts before you, to whom do you think the value surplus belongs? How can the workers in the factories say that it is created entirely by their own labor? The circumstances under which the surplus value is created is the same in all industries: it is the fruit not only of labor within the factories but of many useful and powerful factors in society working directly or indirectly and making a large or a small contribution towards the production or consumption of the manufactured commodities. These useful and powerful factors occupy a large place in society.

As for the industrial workers, even in such an industrially prosperous nation like the United States, they do not number more than twenty millions, one fifth of the total population; while in other countries, such as China, they represent a very small proportion of the people. If we look at the question from this standpoint, then if there is a lack of adjustment of economic interests in a highly industrialized nation, leading to conflict and war, we shall not see one working class in a struggle against one capitalist class but most of the useful and able factors in all society lined up against the capitalists. And it is because these numerous social factors want to find a living and to eliminate economic strife that they are introducing public distribution of goods, heavy taxes upon capitalist incomes and inheritances for the development of national transportation and communication, reform of living conditions among workers and of working conditions in the factories, and all sorts of practices which will help to harmonize the larger number of economic interests within the nation. Since these various methods of economic adjustment have developed in the West, society has made much progress and the majority of the people have come to enjoy happiness. Marx, in his study of social problems, found only one of the diseases of society; he did not discover the law of social progress and the central force in history. As stated by the American scholar, the struggle for subsistence is the law of social progress and is the central force of history. The struggle for existence is the same thing as the problem of livelihood, and therefore the problem of livelihood can be said to be the driving force in social progress. When we fully understand this principle, it will be easy for us to find another solution for the social problem.

Marx's assumption that class struggle is a cause of social progress puts effect before cause. Because of this confusion in source ideas, Marx's theory has not been borne out and has sometimes been directly contradicted by

subsequent facts in social history. For instance, Marx's disciples in 1848 held an international congress of communists and made various declarations. The International Communist League organized at this time was dissolved at the time of the Franco-Prussian War. Later, the Second International was organized, differing from the First International in several particulars. The First International stood wholly upon the theory of class struggle, advocated revolutionary methods for the reconstruction of society and no compromise with the capitalists; the latter is known as absolute nonco-operation. Political activity of members in the national assemblies was forbidden by the party as an unscientific method. But later the German Communists all began to agitate in the Reichstag, while in Great Britain the Labor Party has recently under a constitutional monarchy, been able to organize a cabinet. These facts indicate that many of the political and economic changes which have occurred have not followed the procedure outlined by the First International. The wide difference in policy between the First and the Second International aggravated the strife among the disciples of Marx, a thing unlooked for by Marx in his day. Truly, as my theory states, action is easy but understanding difficult. Marx wanted to use science in the solution of the social problem. He came, as the result of his research, to the conclusion that the capitalist system would certainly collapse in the future; as capitalism flourished, competition within the system would become severer, the larger capitalists would be sure to swallow up the smaller capitalists, and finally only two classes would be left in society—the extremely wealthy capitalists and the extremely poor workers. When capitalism had reached its peak, it would break up rapidly of its own accord and a capitalist state would follow. Then socialism in the course of nature would come into force and a free socialist State would be established. In Marx's judgment the highly capitalistic states had already reached the period of dissolution, and so a revolution would rise immediately. But the facts of Western history, in the seventy-odd years since Marx, have directly contradicted his theory.

As to the matter of working hours, Marx thought that the eight-hour day would diminish productiveness. But when Germany put the shorter working-day into effect, productiveness was increased and exceeded that in other countries. Great Britain and the United States were amazed. They had thought that reduction in working hours and greater expenditure for protection of workmen would decrease production; how, then, had Germany increased production by these policies? Their amazement led them to study conditions in Germany, and later, when they understood the new economic principles they began to imitate Germany's methods. Marx in his day did not see these principles, so he came to a false conclusion.

Again, according to Marx's researches, if the capitalists want a larger surplus value, they must fulfill three conditions—reduce wages, lengthen the working-day, and raise the price of the manufactured product. That these three conditions are illogical we can prove from the greatest money-making industry of modern times. You have all heard of the Ford factories in the United States. The factories are immense, and their enormous output of motor cars is distributed all over the world. The profits from these factories run above several score millions of dollars.

Now let us compare the industrial and economic principles which these great money-making automobile factories maintain with Marx's theory of surplus value. Marx's three essential conditions for increasing surplus value are flatly contradicted. Marx said that the capitalist would have to lengthen the working-day; the Ford factories have shortened the working-day. Marx said that the capitalist would have to reduce wages; the Ford factories have raised wages. Marx said the capitalist have to raise the price of the manufactured product; the Ford factories have reduced the price of their product. Marx did not foresee these contradictions, so his conclusion was seriously and peculiarly false. All that Marx knew from his long study of social problems was facts in past history; he did not at all anticipate what would happen in the future. Consequently, his disciples are wanting to make changes in his theories. The fundamental aim of Marx's social philosophy was the overthrow of capitalists. But whether capitalists ought to be overthrown or not is an important question which we must study in detail before we can answer clearly. This shows again that it is very difficult to understand but quite easy to act.

Here is the essence of Marx's theory of surplus value. The capitalists' money is stripped from the surplus value created by labor. The capitalists' production depends upon the workers, the workers' production depends upon materials, and the buying and selling of materials depends upon merchants. In all kinds of production, the capitalists and the merchant class take all the profit and rob the worker of the money he has earned by blood and sweat. Therefore, capitalists and tradesmen are harmful to the workers and to the world and should be destroyed. But Marx's conclusion was that the capitalists would be destroyed first and then the merchant class. The world now is

making steady progress and initiating new reforms daily. Take, for example, the new practice of socialized distribution, also called by the name of co-operative societies. These societies are organized by a union of many workers. If the workers buy the clothing and food which they need indirectly through retail merchants, the merchants will demand a profit and make a lot of money, while the workers will have to spend much more upon their purchases. In order to buy good articles at a low price the workers themselves effect an organization and open their own store to sell them what they need. In this way they can buy all goods which they ordinarily use from their own store. The supplies are handy and cheap and at the end of every year the surplus profit which the store makes is divided among the customers according to the proportion of their purchases. It is on account of this division of profits in proportion to the amount of purchase that the stores are called consumers' co-operative societies. A large number of banks and productive factories in Great Britain are now managed by these co-operative societies. The rise of these societies has eliminated a great many commercial stores. Those who once looked upon these stores as unimportant commercial shops now regard them as powerful organizations. Due to the rapid spread of such organizations the big British merchants have now all become producers. The development of these co-operative societies as a solution for the social problem is a side issue, yet it has disproved Marx's conclusion that capitalists would be destroyed before the merchant class. This inconsistency of Marx's deductions with modern facts is another evidence that my theory—knowledge is difficult, action easy—cannot be effaced.

Again, according to Marx's theory, the great industries of the world depend upon production and production depends upon capitalists, which means that with good production and large capital industry can expand and make profits. What light do industrial conditions in China throw upon this theory? The largest industrial establishment in China is the Han-yeh-ping Company (the Hanyang Iron and Steel Works), whose large factories specialize in the manufacture of steel. If there were a grain of truth in Marx's theories, the Han-yeh-ping Company should have made profit and grown rapidly. Why, then, is it failing? If we study conditions in this one company (the Han-yeh-ping Company), we shall see that the heart of industry is a community of consumers. Industry does not depend solely upon capital in production. Although the Han-yeh-ping Company has a large amount of capital, yet the steel which it produces does not find a source of consumption in China and so cannot expand or make profit. Because industry centers about a spending society, all the great modern industries manufacture commodities according to the needs of the consumer. The more intelligent workers now are also co-operating with the consumers. What is consumption but a question of helping all the people to subsist, a question of livelihood? So industry has to rest upon the livelihood of the people.

Livelihood is the center of government, the center of economics, the center of all historical movements. Just as men once misjudged the center of the solar system, so the old socialists mistook material forces for the center of history. The confusions which have resulted may be compared to those which followed the conclusions of the old astronomers that the earth was the center of our solar system. In chronological calculations there was always an error of one month in every three years. Later, when the mistake was corrected and the sun was considered the center of the solar system, there was an error of only one day in every three years. If we want to clear away the confusions from within the social problem, we must correct this mistake in social science. We can no longer say that material issues are the central force in history. We must let the political, social, and economic movements of history gravitate about the problem of livelihood. We must recognize livelihood as the center of social history. When we have made a thorough investigation of this central problem, then we can find a way to a solution of the social problem.

## The Principle of Livelihood

### Lecture Two [Aug. 10, 1924]

THE Kuomintang some time ago in its party platform settled upon two methods by which the Principle of Livelihood is to be carried out. The first method is equalization of landownership and the second is regulation of capital. If we follow these two methods we can solve the livelihood problem in China. The different countries of the world, because of varying conditions and varying degrees of capitalistic development, must necessarily follow different methods in dealing with the livelihood problem. Many Chinese scholars who have been absorbing all forms of Western knowledge have thought that we could solve our problem by imitating the West, without realizing how

divided are the socialist parties of the West upon social questions and how far away they still are from a single course of action. The Marxians would solve all social questions by a dictatorship of the proletariat and all political and economic problems by revolution; they are the radical group. Another group of socialists advocates peaceful methods and the use of political action and negotiation. These two factions are in constant and severe conflict in Europe and America and each has its own line of action. Russia in her Revolution employed the revolutionary method for dealing with her political and economic problems. But what we have seen in the six years following the Revolution shows that the revolutionary method was completely successful only so far as the political problem went: it cannot be said to have wholly solved the economic problem. Soviet Russia's new economic policy is still in an experimental stage, and it makes us realize that revolutionary schemes cannot entirely clear up economic difficulties. For this reason many Western scholars are opposing Russia's revolutionary plan and are advocating political action instead. As political action does not accomplish political and social reform in a day, this group is made up of the believers in slow progress, negotiation and peaceable means. They do not think that the highly capitalistic states of the West should utilize Marx's method and attempt a precipitate solution of the social problem; they think that only peaceful methods will fully settle the problem.

These peaceful methods are the four which I described in my last lecture—social and economic reform, nationalization of transportation and communications, direct taxation or the income tax, and socialized distribution or co-operative societies. They are quite different from the methods which Marx proposed, and if we follow them as the way to economic reconstruction, we will be in opposition to Marx's revolutionary schemes. Various Western nations are putting one after another of these four plans into operation, and although the results so far are not all that they hope for, yet they feel that the ultimate solution of the social problem does lie in these four plans, and many socialists are supporting them. At the same time that they indorse these peaceful methods, they resist Marx's revolutionary methods.

When Russia first started the Revolution, she was hoping to settle the social question; the political question was secondary. The Revolution resulted, however, in a solution of the political question but no solution of the social question, exactly opposite to that which was anticipated.

The Principle of Livelihood which the Kuomintang advocates is not merely a high ideal; it is also a driving force in society, it is the center of all historical movements. Only as this principle is applied can our social problems be solved, and only as our social problems are solved can mankind enjoy the greatest blessings.

What methods should our Kuomintang employ for the solution of the livelihood problem, in view of the position China occupies and the times in which we are living? We must base our methods not upon abstruse theories or upon empty learning, but upon facts, and not facts peculiar to foreign countries but facts observable in China. Only when we have facts data can we settle upon methods of procedure. Method based simply upon theory will not be trustworthy, because theories may be true or false, and they must be verified by experiment. A newly proposed scientific theory must produce facts; it must work out in practice, before we can say it is true. In working for a solution of our social problems, we must, therefore, ground ourselves upon facts and not trust to mere theories. What are these basic facts in China? All of us have a share in the distressing poverty of the Chinese people. There is no especially rich class, there is only a general poverty. The "inequalities between rich and poor" which the Chinese speak of are only differences within the poor class, differences in degree of poverty. As a matter of fact, the great capitalists of China, in comparison with the great foreign capitalists, are really poor; the rest of the poor people are extremely poor. Since China's largest capitalists are poor men out in the world, then all the Chinese people must be counted as poor. There are no great rich among us, only differences between the fairly poor and the extremely poor. How can we equalize this condition so that there will be no more extreme poverty?

The process of social change and capitalistic development usually begins with the landowners, and from the landowners goes on to the merchant, and finally to the capitalist. Landowners arose out of the feudal system. Europe is not yet completely free from the feudal system, but China destroyed her feudal system as long ago as the Ch'in dynasty.<sup>29</sup> When the feudal system was in existence, the nobles who owned land were the rich, and the people

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<sup>29</sup> 246-207 B. C.

without land were the poor. Although China broke away from the feudal system two thousand years ago, yet because of the lack of industrial and commercial progress, social conditions now are just about what they were at that time. Since the currents of Western economic life have begun to rush into China, all of our old systems have undergone a process of change. The land question has felt the first and most serious effects of the modern Western impact. But this marked effect of economic development upon land values is true not only in China; all other countries have experienced the same thing. At first they did not notice the fact or pay much attention to it. Not until the disturbances in the economic order became acute did they give their attention, and then it was not easy to remedy the situation, "to turn back with the accumulated burden." The Kuomintang must, as a matter of foresight and of precaution against future difficulties, find a solution of this problem of fluctuation in land values.

Western books on socialism are full of interesting stories about rise in land values. There was a place in Australia, for instance, where land was very cheap before the building up of a trade center. The government once wanted to sell at auction a piece of land which at the time was simply waste ground, covered with trash piles and of no other use. Nobody was willing to pay a high price for the land. Suddenly a drunken fellow broke into the place where the auctioning was going on. The auctioneer was just then calling for bids on the land; there had been bids of one hundred, two hundred, two hundred and fifty dollars. As no one would bid higher, the auctioneer then called, "Who will bid three hundred?" At that moment the drunken fellow, now completely befuddled, yelled out, "I will give three hundred!" The auctioneer then took down his name and assigned him the land. Since the land was sold, the crowd left and the drunken man also walked away. The next day, the auctioneer sent the man a bill for the price of the land, but the man did not remember what he had done in his drunken condition the day before and would not acknowledge the bill against him. When he finally did call to mind what he had done, he was bitterly regretful; but since it was impossible to default to the government, he had to try all sorts of plans and exhaust all his resources in order to pay over the three hundred dollars to the auctioneer. For a long time after he acquired the land, he was not able to give it any attention. Over a decade passed; tall buildings and great mansions had been erected all around that piece of land, and the price of land had soared. Some people offered the owner of the empty tract millions of dollars, but he refused to let it go. He simply rented out his land and took the rent money. Finally, when the land was worth tens of millions, the old drunkard became the wealthiest man in Australia. All this wealth came from that first investment in a three-hundred-dollar lot. The owner of the land was of course delighted when he became a millionaire, but what about other people? After paying three hundred dollars for the land, the man did not do a bit of work to improve it; in fact he let it alone. While he slept or sat with folded hands enjoying his success, the millions poured into his lap.

To whom did these millions really belong? In my opinion, they belonged to everybody. For it was because the people in the community chose this section as an industrial and commercial center and made improvements upon it, that this tract of land increased in value and gradually reached such a high price. So foreign scholars speak of the profits which the landowner gets out of the increased price of land as "unearned increment," a very different thing from the profits which industrial and commercial manufacturers get by dint of hard mental and physical labor, by buying cheap and selling dear, by all sorts of business schemes and methods. We have already felt that the profits which the industrial and commercial leaders make by monopolies over materials are not just profits. But these men at least work hard; the landowner, however, simply holds what he has, does not use a bit of mental effort, and reaps huge profits. Yet, what is it that makes the value of his land rise? The improvements which people make around his land and the competition which they carry on for possession of his land. When the price of land rises, every single commodity in the community also rises in price. So we may truly say that the money which the people in the community earn through their business is indirectly and imperceptibly robbed from them by the landowner.

But what really is the Principle of Livelihood? In my last lecture I revealed a little of what it means; I said that *Min Sheng*, or Livelihood, has been the central force in the cultural progress of society, in the improvement of economic organization, and in moral evolution. Livelihood is the driving power in all social movements; and if livelihood does not go right, social culture cannot advance, economic organization cannot improve, morals will decline, and many injustices such as class war, cruelty to workers, and other forms of oppression will spring up—all because of the failure to remedy the unfortunate conditions of livelihood. All social changes are effects; the search for livelihood is the cause.

The first effect of the recent Western economic invasion of China has been upon land. Many people have taken land as something to gamble with and have gone into land speculation or "land squabbling," as the common saying puts it. Much land which would not be worth a great deal until ten or twenty years later, and which would not naturally have been highly valued, has been raised in price ahead of time through the wire pulling of speculators. This makes the rise in land values all the more uneven.

Western nations have not yet found any satisfactory methods to deal with these evil practices arising out of the land question. If we want to solve the land question we must do it now; if we wait until industry and commerce are fully developed, we will have no way to solve it. Now that Western influences are coming in and our industry and commerce are undergoing such marked transformations, inequalities are arising not only between the rich and the poor, but also between common owners of land. The aim of our party's *Min Sheng* Principle is to equalize the financial resources in society. Our first step is to be the solution of the land problem.

The methods for the solution of the land problem are different in various countries, and each country has its own peculiar difficulties. The plan which we are following is simple and easy—the equalization of landownership. If our landowners were like the great landowners of Europe and had developed tremendous power, it would be exceedingly difficult for us to solve the land question. But China does not have such big landowners, and the power of the small landowners is still rather weak. If we attack the problem now, we can solve it; but if we lose the present opportunity, we can never find a way out. The discussion of the land problem naturally causes a feeling of fear among the landowners, but if the Kuomintang policy is followed, present landowners can set their hearts at rest.

What is our policy? We propose that the government shall buy back the land, if necessary, according to the amount of land tax and the price of the land. How indeed, can the price of the land be determined? I would advocate that the landowner himself should fix the price. The landowner reports the value of his land to the government and the government levies a land tax accordingly. Many people think that if the landowners make their own assessment, they will undervalue the land and the government will lose out. For instance, the landowner might report a piece of land worth a hundred thousand dollars as worth only ten thousand. According to an assessment of a hundred thousand dollars the government would receive a thousand dollars in taxes, but according to an assessment of ten thousand, the government would get only one hundred dollars. The tax office would of course lose nine hundred dollars. But suppose the government makes two regulation: first, that it will collect taxes according to the declared value of the land; second, that it can also buy back the land at the same price. The landowner who assesses his hundred-thousand-dollar land at ten thousand dollars fools the government out of nine hundred dollars and naturally gets the best of the bargain: but if the government buys back his land at the price of ten thousand dollars, he loses nine thousand dollars, a tremendous loss. According to my plan, if the landowner makes a low assessment, he will be afraid lest the government buy back his land at that value and make him lose his property; if he makes too high an assessment, he will be afraid of the government taxes according to this value and his loss through heavy taxes. Comparing these two serious possibilities, he will certainly not want to report the value of his land too high or too low; he will strike a mean and report the true market price to the government. As a result, neither landowner nor government will suffer.

After the land values have been fixed, we should have regulation by law that from that year on, all increase in land values, which in other countries means heavier taxation, shall revert to the community. This is because the increase in land values is due to improvement made by society and to the progress of industry and commerce. China's industry and commerce have made little progress for thousands of years, so land values have scarcely changed through all these generations. But as soon as there is progress and improvement, as in the modern cities of China, land prices change every day, sometimes increasing a thousandfold or ten thousandfold. The credit for the improvement and progress belongs to the energy and business activity of all the people and not merely to a few private individuals. For example: if a landowner now assesses his land at ten thousand dollars and several decades later that land rises in value to a million dollars, this increase of nine hundred and ninety thousand dollars would, in our plan, become a public fund as a reward to all those who had improved the community and who had advanced industry and commerce around the land. This proposal that all future increment shall be given to the community is the "equalization of land ownership" advocated by the Kuomintang; it is the *Min Sheng* Principle. When the landowners clearly understand the principle involved in our plan for equalization of landownership, they will not be

apprehensive. Our plan provides that land now fixed in value shall still be privately owned. If the land problem can be solved, one half of the problem of livelihood will be solved.

When modern, enlightened cities levy land taxes, the burdens upon the common people are lightened and many other advantages follow. Although land values in foreign countries have risen very high and the landowners are consequently enjoying large incomes, yet the advance of science and the development of machinery, together with the heavy production on the part of machine-owning capitalists, have made the immense incomes which capitalists enjoy a far more serious matter than landowners incomes. The capitalists in China with the largest incomes are still landowners, not machine owners. So it should be very easy for us now to equalize land ownership, to regulate capital, and to find a way out of the land problem.

Speaking of taxing or buying back land according to its value, we must make clear one important point. Land value refers only to the value of the bare land; it does not include improvements made by human labor or construction work upon the surface. For instance, if land valued at ten thousand dollars has upon it buildings valued at a million dollars, the land tax at the rate of one percent would be only one hundred dollars. But if the land were bought back by the government, compensation would have to be made for the million dollars' worth of buildings upon the land. Other land with artificial improvements such as trees, embankments, drains, and such would have to be paid for in the same way.

If we want to solve the livelihood problem in China and "by one supreme effort win eternal ease," it will not be enough to depend upon the regulation of capital. The income tax levied in foreign countries is one method of regulating capital. But have these other countries solved the livelihood problem? China cannot be compared to foreign countries; it is not sufficient for us to regulate capital. Other countries are rich while China is poor; other countries have a surplus of production while China is not producing enough. So China must not only regulate private capital, but she must also develop state capital and promote industry. First, we must begin to build means of communication, railroads and waterways, on a large scale. Second, we must open up mines. China is rich in minerals, but alas, they are buried in the earth! Third, we must hasten to foster manufacturing. Although China has a multitude of workers, yet she has no machinery and so cannot compete with other nations. Goods used throughout China depend upon other countries for manufacture and transportation hither, and consequently our economic rights and interests are simply leaking away. If we want to recover these rights and interests, we must quickly employ state power to promote industry, use machinery in production, and give employment to the workers of the whole nation. When all the workers have employment and can use machinery in production, then China will have a great, new source of wealth. If we do not use state power to build up these enterprises but leave them in the hands of private Chinese or of foreign business men, the result will be simply the expansion of private capital and the emergence of a great wealthy class with the consequent inequalities in society. So in working out our Principle of Livelihood, we cannot use or apply in China the methods of Marx. The reason for this is obvious. Russia has been trying to apply Marx's methods since the Revolution until now, yet she wants to change to a new economic policy, because the economic life of her society has not reached the standard of economic life in Great Britain or the United States, and is not ripe for the application of Marx's methods. If Russia's economic standards are below those of Great Britain or the United States, how could China's economic standards possibly be high enough for the application of Marx's methods? Even Marx's disciples say that we cannot use his methods for the solution of all social problems in China.

The youthful scholars to-day who are pinning their faith on Marxism, and who, as soon as socialism is mentioned, advocate Marx's way for the solution of China's social and economic problems. But they fail to realize that China now is suffering from poverty, not from unequal distribution of wealth. In seeking a solution for our livelihood problem, we are not going to propose some impracticable and radical method and then wait until industry is developed. We want a plan which will anticipate dangers and forearm us against emergencies, which will check the growth of large private capital and prevent the social disease of extreme inequality between the rich and the poor. Such a plan will rightly solve our immediate social problems and will not be like first wearing furs and then hoping for the north winds.

As I said a little while ago, the regulations of capital to-day in China will not be enough to solve our livelihood problem. It will also be necessary to build up state capital. What does this mean? Simply the development of state

industries. The details of this scheme can be found in the second volume of my *Plans for National Reconstruction*,<sup>30</sup> under the heading "Material Reconstruction or Industrial Measures." In this volume I have given the outline of the plan for building up state capital. As I said before, money was capital in the commercial age, but machinery is capital in the industrial age. The state should lead in business enterprises and set up all kinds of productive machinery which will be the property of the state. During the European War, it was the policy of each country to nationalize its great industries and its factories. But this policy was abandoned soon afterwards. China has never had any great capitalists; if the state can control and develop capital and give the benefits to all the people, it will be easy to avoid the conflicts with capitalists. The United States has developed capital in three ways: through railroads, through manufacturing, and through mining. We shall not be able to promote one of these three great industries by our own knowledge and experience with our own capital; we cannot but depend upon the already created capital of other countries. If we wait until we ourselves have enough capital before we start to promote industry, the process of development will be exceedingly slow. China now has no machinery to speak of. We have only six or seven thousand miles of railroad. To meet our needs, we should have a mileage ten times as great. At least sixty or seventy thousand miles are necessary. So we shall certainly have to borrow foreign capital to develop our communication and transportation facilities, and foreign brains and experience to manage them.

As for our mines, we have not even begun to open them. China exceeds the United States in population and in size of territory, yet the United States produces 600,000,000 tons of coal and 90,000,000 tons of steel every year, while China does not produce a thousandth of that amount. If we want to open up our mines quickly, again we must borrow foreign capital. To construct steamships, to develop a merchant marine, and to build up all kinds of manufacturing industries on a large scale, it will be absolutely necessary for us to borrow foreign capital. If these three great industries—communications, mining, and manufacturing—should all begin to thrive in China, our annual income from them would be very great. If the industries are carried on by the state, the rights and privileges which they bring will be enjoyed by all the people. The people of the whole nation will then have a share in the profits of capital and will not be injured by capital. In the solution of the social problem, we have the same object in view as that in foreign countries: to make everybody contented and happy, free from the suffering caused by the unequal distribution of wealth and property.

Our Three Principles of the People mean government "of the people, by the people, and for the people"—that is, a state belonging to all the people, a government controlled by all the people, and rights and benefits for the enjoyment of all the people. If this is true, the people will have a share in everything. When the people share everything in the state, then will we truly reach the goal of the *Min Sheng* Principle, which is Confucius' hope of a "great commonwealth."

## The Principle of Livelihood

### Lecture Three [Aug. 17, 1924]

MY topic to-day is the "food problem." When you hear this, you will say that eating food is a daily and familiar habit. People often remark that nothing in the world is easier than eating. It is true that eating is a very simple and customary activity; why, then, should there be any problem connected with it? We do not realize that food is a most vital problem of livelihood which, if not solved, will cause the whole problem of livelihood to fail of solution. The chief problem in the *Min Sheng* Principle is the food problem. The saying of the ancients, "The nation looks upon the people as its foundation; the people look upon food as their heaven," is revealing as to the importance of the food question.

It is easy to solve the difficulty when one person or one family lacks food, but when a whole nation, such as China with her four hundred millions, does not have any adequate supply of food, the problem becomes very grave and difficult of solution. Is China's food supply really sufficient or not? Do the Chinese people have enough to eat? Kwangtung Province imports \$70,000,000 worth of food annually. If no rice were imported for one month, Kwangtung would at once be disturbed by a food famine, which proves that Kwangtung does not have an adequate

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<sup>30</sup> Written in 1918. In three parts: Psychological Reconstruction, Material Reconstruction, Social Reconstruction.

food supply. We are speaking only of Kwangtung, yet many other provinces are faced with similar conditions. There are many reasons why China does not have an adequate food supply; the main reason is the lack of progress in agricultural science and the next reason is foreign economic domination.

When we speak of the Principle of Livelihood we mean that we want our four hundred millions all to have food and very cheap food; only when there is abundant, cheap food can we say that the livelihood problem is solved.

What does mankind need to eat in order to live? There are several important elements in our food which we are constantly in danger of forgetting. As a matter of fact, we daily depend upon four most important kinds of food to nourish our life. The first of these is air. In plain talk, we must "eat wind." The second kind of food we need is water. The third is animal food, that is, meat. The fourth is plant food, the five cereals, fruits, and vegetables. Air, water, meat, and vegetables are the four vital elements of our food. Air and water are found everywhere. If people live on the banks of streams, they can use running water, otherwise they use water from springs and wells or rain water. Water is to be found everywhere. Air, too, is all around us. So, although air and water are indispensable elements in human subsistence, yet because they are limitless and inexhaustible, because they are bestowed by nature and do not require man's effort, we shall call them "natural gifts." Consequently, they do not constitute problems for us. But animal and plant food are serious problems. Primitive man, like the present-day savages, lived by hunting and fishing; he caught animals in the water and upon land for his food. As civilization advanced, man came to the agricultural stage and learned how to plant the five cereals. He then depended upon plant life for his nourishment. China has had four thousand years of civilization, so we have progressed further in the civilized use of food than Western nations. We depend chiefly upon plants for food. Although plants grow out of the ground, yet much labor must be expended and many various methods must be used before they can be of service to us. If we want to solve the problem of plant food, we must first study the question of production.

Since olden times China has been a farming nation. Agriculture has been the great industry for the production of food. By what methods can we increase plant production? Chinese agriculture has always depended entirely upon human labor, yet cultivation has developed to a very high point and all the various products are of a superior and beautiful quality. Foreign scientists have been led to give high praise to Chinese farming. Since the production of food in China depends upon the peasants, and since the peasants have to toil so bitterly, we must have the government make regulations by law for the protection of peasants if we want to increase the production of food. A large majority of the people in China are peasants, at least nine out of every ten, yet the food which they raise with such wearisome labor is mostly taken away by the landowners. What they themselves can keep is barely sufficient to keep them alive. This is a most unjust situation. If we are to increase the production of food, we must make laws regarding the rights and interests of the farmers; we must give them encouragement and protection and allow them to keep more of the fruit of their land. The protection of the farmers' rights and the giving to them of a larger share in their harvests are questions related to the equalization of land ownership. When the *Min Sheng* Principle is fully realized and the problems of the farmer are all solved, each tiller of the soil will possess his own fields—that is to be the final fruit of our efforts.

What are the real conditions among Chinese farmers? Although China does not have great landowners, yet nine out of ten farmers do not own their fields. Most of the farming land is in the possession of landlords who do not do the cultivating themselves. It seems only right that the farmer should till his farm for himself and claim its products, yet farmers to-day are tilling for others and over half of the agricultural products from the farms are taken by the landlords. We must immediately use government and law to remedy this grave situation. Unless we can solve the agrarian problem, there will be no solution for the livelihood problem. Of the food produced in the fields, sixty per cent, according to our latest rural surveys, goes to the landlord, while only forty per cent goes to the farmer. If this unjust state of affairs continues, when the farmers become intelligent, who will still be willing to toil and suffer in the fields? But if the food raised in the fields all goes to the farmers, the farmers will be more eager to farm and production will increase.

In dealing with agricultural production, we should study not only this question of liberating the peasants but also the seven methods of increasing production. These methods are: use of machinery, use of fertilizers, rotation of crops, eradication of pests, manufacturing, transportation, and prevention of natural disasters. The first method is the use

of machinery. For these thousands of years China has farmed entirely with man power and has never used machinery. If we should introduce farming machinery, we could at least double China's agricultural production and we could reduce the cost of production to one tenth or one hundredth of what it is now. If China with human labor can support four hundred millions, she should with machine power produce enough for eight hundred millions. If machinery were substituted for human labor in the production of food, then much waste land, which cannot now be cultivated because it is too elevated, might be irrigated with pumps and pipes and opened up to cultivation. Good land already under cultivation could be irrigated by machinery and freed from the danger of drought, thus increasing its productivity. If the old, uncultivated waste lands can be opened up, then China naturally will produce more food. The cultivating and pumping machines in use now are all shipped in from other countries, but if the farmers all begin to use machinery and the demand for it increases, then we ought to manufacture our own and recover the profits which are flowing abroad.

The second method of increasing production is the use of fertilizers. In the past China has used night soil and manures, and various kinds of decayed vegetable matter but never chemical fertilizers. Only recently has Chile saltpeter begun to be used for fertilizing in China. Besides Chile saltpeter, the phosphorus from all kinds of Crustacea and the potassium from mineral mountains and cliffs make very good fertilizers. If compounds of nitrogen, phosphorus, and potassium are combined, an excellent fertilizer is formed, which makes the cultivation of any plant easy and greatly stimulates production. For example, an unfertilized *mow* of land will produce five baskets of corn, but if the same *mow* be fertilized, the crop will be two or three times as large. So to increase production we must apply fertilizers to the land, and in order to apply fertilizers we must study science and manufacture fertilizers by scientific methods. China has the raw materials for fertilizers everywhere. The material in Chile saltpeter was long ago used by the Chinese in the manufacture of gunpowder. Formerly all fertilizers which the world used were produced in Chile, but with the advance of science, scientists have discovered a new method of manufacturing nitrates by use of electricity. So now the different countries do not have to depend upon natural sodium nitrate shipped from Chile, but are manufacturing artificial nitrates by means of electricity. The artificial nitrates are just as effective as natural nitrates and require very little initial expenditure; consequently people in every country gladly use them.

How is electricity generated? The ordinary, expensive electricity is generated by steam power but the newer and cheaper kind of electricity is all generated by water power. Recently foreign countries have begun to use their waterfalls and rapids for driving their dynamos. Enormous electric power can be generated in this way, and the power can be used to manufacture artificial nitrates. The natural power of waterfalls and rapids does not cost anything and consequently the price of the electricity generated is very low. With cheap electric power, the manufactured, artificial nitrates are inexpensive.

If we could make use of the Yangtze and the Yellow River water power to generate a hundred million horse power, or twenty-four hundred million man power, and let this great electrical energy work for us, China would produce a great deal, and would certainly turn her poverty into riches. So in the matter of agricultural production, if we can improve upon human labor and use machinery, if, moreover, we can use electric power to manufacture fertilizers, we can certainly greatly increase the yield of our fields.

The third method of increasing production is crop rotation. This means planting different things or different brands of seed on the same piece of land in successive years. For example, Kwangtung seed might be planted this year; Hunan seed, next year; and Szechuan seed, year after next. What advantage is there in such rotation? It means change and rest for the various soils and increase in crop yield. When the seeds fall into new soil and spring up in a fresh atmosphere, the plants are stronger and the harvest is more abundant. Thus crop rotation increases production.

The fourth method is eradication of pests. On the farm there are both plants and animals which are injurious. For example, rice is to be planted in the fields, but at the time of planting all sorts of malformed grain stalks and weeds spring up very fast and hinder the growth of the rice as well as suck the fertility of the soil. They are very harmful to the rice. The farmer should use scientific principles and study how to get rid of these noxious darnel and weeds and so prevent their injuring the crop; at the same time he should find out if there is any way to use them to increase the yield. What animals are pests? There are numerous species. One of the most common is the locust. If the locust or

any other of the injurious insects attacks a ripening plant it gnaws and destroys the plant so that there is no crop. There are many other kinds of injurious insects, and the state should employ specialists to make a careful study of them and to find ways to eradicate them. The United States now is much concerned over these problems and is spending a great deal of money every year in a study of methods for destroying pests. Consequently, the income from agriculture is showing an annual increase of hundreds of millions. We must use the great power of the state and imitate the United States' methods of destroying injurious insects, then agricultural pests throughout the country will diminish and production will increase.

The fifth method of increasing production is by manufacture. If food is to be preserved for a long time and to be sent to distant places, it must pass through a preserving process. In our country the most common methods of preserving foods are by drying and salting: we have dried vegetables, dried fish, dried meat, salted vegetables, salted fish, salted meat, and so on. Recently a new method has been introduced in the West: the food is first cooked by thoroughly boiling or baking, then put into cans and the cans sealed. No matter how long the food is kept, it has a fresh flavor when taken from the cans. This is the best method of preserving food; any kind of fish, meat, fruit, vegetable, or biscuit can be canned and distributed throughout the country or sold abroad.

The sixth method of increasing production is by means of transportation. When there is a surplus of food, we must begin to exchange; we must take the surplus here and make it supply the deficiency there. For example, the Three Eastern Provinces of Manchuria<sup>31</sup> and North China have beans and wheat but no rice, while all the southern provinces have rice but little beans and wheat. We ought to take the surplus beans and wheat from Manchuria and North China and send them to South China and use the surplus rice in South China to supply North China and Manchuria. But such an exchange of goods depends upon means of transportation. The greatest problem now in China is that of transportation. A great deal of waste results from unsuitable methods. Because of our imperfect means of transportation in the past, the most valuable and necessary food has not been able to circulate freely, and the food problem has remained unsolved.

China's best means of transportation have been natural waterways and canals. The Grand Canal is a very long stream; it commences at Hangchow, passes through Soochow, Chinkiang, Yangchow, Shantung, and Tientsin and comes to an end finally at Tungchow, not far from Peiping, after traversing a total distance of three thousand *li*. It is indeed the world's longest canal. Such a waterway is extremely convenient, and if the number of modern steamboats and motor boats upon it were increased, it would be yet more serviceable. Little attention, however, has been paid of late to the Grand Canal. If we want to solve the food problem of the future and be able to transport food easily, we must restore the old canal system. The present Grand Canal should be repaired and the canal system should be extended to where no waterways at present exist. In transportation upon the sea we need large steamships, for the world's most inexpensive way of carrying freight is by water.

Next in cheapness comes railway transportation. If railroads could be built in the eighteen provinces of China, in Sinkiang, Manchuria, Chinghai (Kokonor), Tibet, Inner and Outer Mongolia, and all these railroads could be linked together in one system, China's food supply could circulate in all directions, and people in every part of the country would have cheap food to eat. So railways are one good means of solving the food problem. Railroads, however, can be built only through busy and prosperous sections of the country where they can make money. If they are built through poor country and obscure sections, there will not be much produce to transport nor many passengers to carry. The railways would not only make no profits but would lose money. So we cannot construct railroads through poor and remote country; in such sections we should build only motor roads upon which motor cars can travel. The large cities would then have railroads and the small towns and villages motor roads and all these roads could be connected in a complete system of transportation. The large cities could use the big trains and the small towns and villages motor cars for food transportation. When the motor road is built, only the poor and remote communities which the road does not traverse will have to use coolie transportation. From this we see that four means are essential if we are to solve the question of food transportation: first, canals; second, railroads; third, motor roads; and fourth, coolie transportation. If we develop these four means of transportation in the best way, our four hundred millions will have cheap food to eat.

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<sup>31</sup> Later, Manchuria was divided into nine provinces.

The seventh method of increasing agricultural production is prevention of natural disasters. How shall we go about preventing a flood? Last year I saw some high dikes along the Tung Kiang. They are all strongly built and can help to prevent flood disaster yet not be broken down by the rush of the waters. This dike-building method is regulative and puts a check upon the waters. But it is only half of the method for flood prevention and cannot entirely control the waters. Besides building dikes, we must also deepen the rivers and harbors and dredge all the silt and sand along the bottoms. If there is no silt in the harbors to hinder the flow of the rivers and the river beds are deep, then it will be easy for the waters to pass out to sea, the rivers will not overflow everywhere, and flood calamities will be reduced. So the deepening of waterways and the building of high dikes are two kinds of engineering which must be carried out simultaneously if we want to keep the rivers in complete control.

But what about fundamental methods of flood prevention? Why is it that flood disasters are becoming more common every year now? Why were floods very rare in olden times? Because in the old days there were extensive forests; but too much timber has been cut off by the people and the land has not been reforested. As a result there are now very few forests, while numerous mountains and ranges are completely bare. When a heavy rain falls, the mountain sides have no forests to absorb the rain or to check the flow of rain water, and so the water off the mountains flows immediately into the rivers, the rivers immediately swell, and a devastating flood follows. Hence, forestation has an important bearing upon the prevention of floods. The planting of more forests is the fundamental method of flood prevention. Then, when the heavy rains come, the branches and leaves of the trees will absorb the water in the air, and the roots will absorb the water on the ground. Very thick forests can absorb a tremendous amount of water. The water thus collected by the trees flows gradually down to the rivers, rather than directly and suddenly, and does not cause floods. The radical method of flood prevention, then, is forestation. So if, in order to solve the food problem, we want to prevent floods, we must first create forests. Then we can avert the flood evil throughout the country. Reforestation of the whole country, in the final analysis, must be carried out by the state. Only under state direction can such an enterprise easily succeed.

Then there are also drought disasters. How are we to deal with the problem of drought? People used to think that droughts were fixed by fate and could not be prevented. But as science advances, ways are being found to avert all kinds of natural disasters. The prevention of droughts requires also the strength of the whole nation and a broad, unified plan. The fundamental method in this plan is, again, forestation. Where forests grow, there is a more suitable proportion of moisture in the air, rains are frequent, and droughts are much less common. For high land and places without springs, we can arrange to pump water by machinery, thus relieving their drought. This irrigation method of preventing droughts may be compared to the dike method of preventing floods—both are only regulative. The regulative methods make it possible to save the situation when floods or droughts come suddenly. The radical method of preventing floods or droughts is forestation—forestation on a national scale. The regulative methods depend upon the use of pumping machinery, upon the building of high dikes, and the deepening of waterways. If we can fully carry out both the regulative and the radical measures, we can avert flood and drought, and then the food produce of our land will not be lost.

If China can liberate the farmers and put into effect the seven methods of increasing agricultural production which I have described, will our food problem then be completely solved? Even if we succeed beautifully in dealing with these questions of production, we will not have completely solved our food problem. You all know that the European and American nations have all been founded upon industry and commerce, but you may not know that their industrialized and commercialized governments devote a great deal of time also to the study of agricultural problems. The United States, for example, omits nothing of the smallest significance in the study of rural problems for the improvement of rural life. The government not only makes detailed investigations of agricultural conditions in the home country, but constantly sends specialists to the interior of China, to Manchuria, Mongolia, and other places, in order to learn about conditions there. They take Chinese methods of farming and all kinds of Chinese seeds back to the United States to test and to use. The United States of late has been placing great emphasis upon agriculture; railway facilities for transporting food, means of preventing natural disasters, and all kinds of scientific equipment are complete and up to date.

Yet has the United States really solved her food problem? I do not think that she has. Every year the United States ships vast quantities of food for sale in other countries and her food supply is abundant—why, then, do I say that her food problem is unsolved? Because agriculture in the United States is still controlled by capitalists. Under the system of private capital which still exists, methods of production are over developed, while no attention at all is paid to proper methods of distribution. So the problem of livelihood cannot be solved. In order to reach a solution, we must not only deal with questions of production but must also lay emphasis upon the questions of distribution. Equitable methods of distribution are impossible under a system of private capital, for under such a system all production heads towards one goal—profit. Since the production of food aims at profit, when food prices are low in the native country, the food will be shipped for sale and greater profits abroad. Just because private individuals want to make more money! Even when there is a native famine, when the people are short of food and many are starving, these private capitalists are not concerned. With such methods of distribution, which aim wholly at profit, the problem of livelihood can never be well solved. If we want to carry out the *Min Sheng* Principle we must give thought to methods of distribution—methods which will aim not at profit, but at supplying the people with food. Our *Min Sheng* Principle aims at the destruction of the capitalistic system. China already has an inadequate food supply, yet every year we still ship a lot of food to other countries to be sold because a group of capitalists want to make money.

If we apply the *Min Sheng* Principle we must make the aim of food production not profit but the provision of sustenance for all the people. To do this we must store up the surplus in production every year. Not only must we wait to see if this year's food supply is sufficient, we must wait until the supply next year and the year after is abundant before we ship any food for sale abroad. If after three years the food supply is still short, we will not make any shipments abroad. If we can apply the *Min Sheng* Principle in this way and make the support of the people rather than profit the aim of production, then there will be hope for an abundant food supply in China. The fundamental difference, then, between the Principle of Livelihood and capitalism is this: capitalism makes profit its sole aim, while the Principle of Livelihood makes the nurture of the people its aim. With such a noble principle we can destroy the old, evil capitalistic system.

But in applying the *Min Sheng* Principle for the solution of China's food problems, we can only make gradual changes in the capitalistic system; we must not try to overthrow it immediately. Our first aim is to give China an abundant food supply; when this is realized, it will be easy to go the next step and greatly reduce the price of food.

What shall be our plan for the distribution of food? Food is the greatest need of the people as they seek for their livelihood. Economists have always spoken of three necessities of life—food, clothing, and shelter. My study leads me to add a fourth necessity, an extremely important one—means of travel. In order to solve the livelihood problem we must not only greatly reduce the cost of these four necessities, but we must make them available for all the people of the nation. If the *San Min* Principles are to become effective and a new world is to be built up, then no one must lack any of these four necessities of life. It is essential that the state undertake the responsibility for providing these necessities; anyone should be able to call the state to task if it does not provide enough of each. The state must shoulder the burden of meeting the people's living needs. What of the people's responsibility to the state? The people have very definite obligations: the farmer must produce food, the industrial worker must manufacture tools, the business man must connect supply and demand, the scholar must devote his intelligence and ability—every man must fulfill his duty. Then all will be supplied with the four necessities of life.

We are studying the *Min Sheng* Principle in order to solve the problems involved in these four necessities. To-day I have begun by discussing the food problem. The first step in dealing with the food problem is to solve the problem of production; then comes the problem of distribution. In order to have a fair and equitable distribution of food, we must save food every year. Only when we have saved enough for three years' food supply will we ship any surplus for sale abroad. Such a plan of saving grain is like the old system of public granaries.<sup>32</sup> In recent times, however, the public granary system has broken down, and this, together with foreign economic domination, has resulted in widespread poverty and national bankruptcy. So now is the critical time to solve our livelihood problem. If we fail to

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<sup>32</sup> The public granaries distributed grain to the poor in time of need.

take advantage of the present time and wait till some future day, we will find the task harder than ever. Our Kuomintang sets forth the Three Principles of the People as the basis upon which to build our new nation. As we work out the Principle of Livelihood, let us not merely emphasize the theories connected with it, let us also pay serious attention to its practical application.

## The Principle of Livelihood

### Lecture Four [Aug. 24, 1924]

THE subject of my lecture to-day is the problem of clothing. The first important problem in the Principle of Livelihood is food, the next problem is clothing, and that is what I shall discuss now. Only man, only civilized man in fact, wears clothing. Other animals and the plants do not have clothes to wear, nor do savages wear clothes. Food, then, is the chief problem of livelihood and clothing is the second. The uncivilized races of Africa and Malaysia go without clothes, and so our primitive ancestors must also have lived naked. The wearing of clothes has come with the progress of civilization; the more civilization advances, the more complex becomes the problem of clothing. The more civilization advanced, the more complete clothing became.

How far have we got towards a solution of the clothing problem? Clothing is one of the necessities of life. In the progress of human civilization, living standards evolve through three stages. The first stage is that of necessities. Without these necessities human life of course cannot exist, and without a sufficient amount of them, life is incomplete, half dead and half alive. The necessities of the first stage man could not do without. Then man advanced to the second stage, the stage of comforts. When man reached this standard of living, he began to seek not only the necessary things of life but also joy and comfort. Then he went a step further and looked for luxuries. Take clothing, for example. In ancient times "grass cloth in summer and fur in winter" were considered ample. But when man reached the standard of comfort, he was not content with clothing that should simply meet his physical needs; he wanted his clothing also to fit his body and to be comfortable. Later man advanced another step and began to seek beauty and refinement in his clothing—light raw silks and delicate lustering in place of grass cloth in the summer; otter and sable furs in place of ordinary animal furs in the winter. Thus the wearing of clothing has developed from the wearing of plain, necessary clothing to the wearing of comfortable clothing, and from the wearing of comfortable clothing to the wearing of beautiful and luxurious clothing. In the same way the eating of food has evolved. At first man simply sought to fill his stomach with "green vegetables and coarse rice." Then he began to desire the sweet and juicy flavors of wine and cooked meat. Further on, he began to comb the mountains and the seas for delicacies and dainties.

But in seeking a solution for the problem of livelihood we are not dealing with comforts or with luxuries; we are simply trying to solve the problem of necessities. We want the four hundred millions throughout the nation to have the necessary food and clothing, enough to eat and to wear. The first step towards a solution of the problem is a study of how materials for clothing are produced. Clothing materials come from animals and plants—two kinds from animals and two kinds from plants. These four materials are silk, hemp or flax, cotton, and wool. Cotton and hemp are secured from plants, silk and wool from animals. Silk is spun by the *ch'an*, or silkworm; wool grows upon the backs of camels and other animals. These four products are the essential materials for man's clothing.

Let us first consider silk. Silk is a fine material for clothes and was first discovered in China. The Chinese in very ancient times wore silks. Although the civilization of the Western Powers has now far outstripped ours, yet at the time when China discovered silk, their peoples were still in the age of savagery and were still "eating raw meat and drinking blood." Not until two or three centuries ago did their civilization begin to advance beyond ours and did they learn to use silk as the material for beautiful clothes. Now Westerners use silk to make some necessities but chiefly to make articles of luxury.

Although China discovered silk several thousand years ago, yet the key to the clothing problem of our four hundred millions is not silk. Our necessary articles of clothing are not made of silk, and a large proportion of the people cannot afford to wear silk.

Our silk industry, the methods of producing silk and of making silk goods which we discovered, was once all very fine. But we did not know how to make improvements; and later when foreigners copied our industry, applied modern science to it and introduced improvements in it, they were able to make silk superior to Chinese silk and to supplant the Chinese silk industry. Investigation will show that the decline of the Chinese silk industry is due to poor methods of production. A great many Chinese silk worms are diseased; in fact, half the silkworms in every crop turn out badly and die before maturity. If by chance they live, the raw silk from the cocoons of diseased silkworms does not make goods of fine quality or color. Our methods of silk reeling are also imperfect; the threads have too many breaks in them and are not suited to the use of foreign silk looms. Consequently, Chinese silk has gradually lost out in competition with foreign silk. Several decades ago the foreign methods of sericulture were just like the Chinese methods. When the Chinese farmer raises silkworms, the results are sometimes good; at other times, there is a complete loss of the crop. The farmer has no other way to explain such different outcomes but to attribute them to fate. This was also the case with foreign farmers. Then scientists began to discover the principles of biology and to study minutely all forms of life, not only those visible to the naked eye, but also, by means of microscopes which magnified thousands of times, those too small for the naked eye.

In the course of such investigations, a French scientist named Pasteur made the discovery that all diseases of animals, whether of human beings or of silkworms, are caused by minute organisms, or microbes. Unless these microbes can be destroyed, the diseased animal will surely die. After spending much time and making extended researches, Pasteur understood thoroughly the nature of these micro-organisms and was able to discover methods to eradicate them and so to rid the silkworms of disease. When these methods were communicated to the silk growers of France and Italy, the diseased silkworms were greatly reduced in number and the cocoon spinning turned out very well. The silk industry was then able to make great progress. Later on, Japan began to study these methods and her silk industry began to advance. China's farmers, however, have always been conservative and unwilling to learn new methods, so our silk industry has steadily declined.

If China is to reform her silk industry and to increase silk production, her silk growers must learn foreign scientific methods and must improve the silkworm egg and the mulberry leaves; they must also study the best methods of reeling the silk from the cocoons and of sorting and improving the various grades, qualities, and colors of raw silk. Then China's silk industry will gradually progress and will be able to compete in the world's silk market. If Chinese do not improve their mulberry leaves and silk worm eggs and the quality of the raw silk, but stick to the old methods, China's silk industry will not only fail but will probably, in the course of natural selection, be utterly wiped out. Most of the people now in China do not wear silk, but our raw silk is shipped abroad in exchange for cotton fabrics and yarn. If Chinese silk is poor in quality, other countries will not want it and the silk will have no market. China then will not only lose one of her chief sources of wealth, but she will also have no material for making clothing, since she cannot export her silk in exchange for cotton goods and yarn. So if China wants her people to have the material necessary for clothing in order to solve their clothing problem, she must preserve her ancient industry, improve her silkworm eggs and mulberry leaves and reform her methods of silk reeling. China's gauzes and satins used to be very fine, unexcelled in any foreign country. But now the silk goods which come from foreign machine looms are much superior to Chinese goods. The exquisite silk goods which are now being used by wealthy Chinese families all come from abroad, which shows how our splendid native industry has been ruined. To solve the silk problem, we must not only improve silkworm eggs and mulberry leaves, and reform methods of sericulture and of silk reeling in order to produce better silk, but we must also learn foreign methods of weaving silks and satins by machinery. Then we can make beautiful silk goods for the use of our people; when the home demand is met, we can ship the surplus abroad in exchange for other goods.

The second material of which clothes are made is hemp. Hemp also owes its first discovery to China. In ancient times the Chinese found the method for making cloth from hemp, and this old method is still followed by all to-day. But Chinese agriculture never progresses, so the linen industry has recently been taken from us by other countries. All the provinces of China raise hemp to a great extent, but the goods made from hemp are suitable only for summer clothing and do not last more than one season. If we want to better the linen industry, we must make a detailed and radical study of its agricultural side—how to cultivate hemp and flax and how to apply fertilizers; and also of its manufacturing side—how to produce fine linen thread. Then the linen industry will develop and manufactured linen goods will be inexpensive. In the past the linen industry has depended solely upon hand labor;

no machinery has been used. Hand manufacture not only consumes time and produces poor linen fabrics but also requires expensive capital. If we want to improve the linen industry and manufacture linen fabrics, we must have a broad plan. All along the line, from the fields, where the hemp or flax is grown, to the factories, where linen fabrics are woven, we must apply the most modern scientific methods. If we can effect such a reform, then we shall get good linens and inexpensive material for clothing.

Silk and hemp as raw material for clothing were first discovered in China. But clothes nowadays are made not only of silk and hemp or flax; most clothes are made of cotton, while wool is being used to an increasing extent. Cotton and wool are now necessary material for everyone's clothing. Cotton is not native to China; the Ceiba tree cotton<sup>33</sup> was introduced from India. After China obtained cotton seeds from India and began to plant them in various sections of the country, and after she learned how to spin and to weave cotton, a cotton industry was built up. Lately, however, foreign cotton cloth of a better quality than the native cloth, and quite inexpensive, has been imported into China. Chinese have preferred the foreign to the native cloth, and so our native industry has been driven to the wall. This means that Chinese have to depend upon foreign countries for the necessary clothing material. Small native industries still in existence use foreign yarn in the weaving. You can see from this how the bottom has been knocked out of our cloth industry by other countries.

Although China produces a great deal of cotton of good natural quality, yet, because her industries are undeveloped, she cannot herself use the raw cotton in the manufacture of good fabrics and yarn; she can only ship it for sale abroad. The clothes we wear every day are made of imported material for which we have to pay a high price. The high price we pay is the sending of our valuable money and food abroad in settlement. Such is the present condition of China under foreign economic domination.

Foreign nations do not oppress China with economic power alone. When foreign nations at times find their economic strength weak and cannot attain their objectives in other ways, they add political force. In former days China's handwork competed against foreign machinery and lost out, but that was purely an economic problem. The failure after the European War of Chinese spinning and textile factories, which were competing against foreign nations with machinery modeled after theirs, was not an economic but a political problem. What methods do foreign nations use in their political domination over China? After the Manchu Government had carried on wars with foreign nations and had been defeated, China was forced to sign many unequal treaties. Foreign nations are still using these treaties to bind China, and as a result China fails at whatever she attempts. If China stood on an equal political basis with other nations, she could compete freely with them in the economic field and be able to hold her own without failure. But as soon as foreign nations use political power as a shield for their economic designs, then China is at a loss how to resist or to compete successfully with them.

If we want to solve our livelihood problem and protect our native industries so that they cannot be attacked by foreign industries, we must first have the political power to protect them. But China to-day in the grip of the treaties has not only lost her sovereign rights and the power to protect her own industries, but is actually giving protection to foreign industries. This comes of the capitalistic expansion, mechanical progress, and economic superiority of foreign countries; besides, foreign economic power is backed up by political power.

In order to compete with other countries we must imitate the tariff policy of the Western nations. What has been their experience with this policy? Several decades ago, British industries ranked first in the world; whatever goods the world needed were all supplied by Great Britain. The United States at that time was still in the agricultural stage; the small industries which existed were being crushed by British industries and had no chance to develop. Then the United States adopted a protective policy and put a protective tariff into effect. All British goods imported into the United States had to pay a heavy duty of fifty to one hundred per cent *ad valorem*. This made the wholesale price of British goods so high that they were unable to compete with American goods. Many kinds of British goods could no longer be shipped to the United States, and American industries began to grow until now they surpass British industries. Several decades ago Germany was also an agricultural nation and the German people also had to depend upon Great Britain for the goods which they needed. They were under the domination of British industry. Later,

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<sup>33</sup> Referring to what is commercially known as "Indian cottons."

when Germany adopted a protective policy, her industries also began to develop. In recent years German industries have gone ahead of every other nation's.

It is clear from this that if we want Chinese industries to flourish, we must follow the protective policy of the United States and of Germany, resist the invasion of foreign goods, and protect our native goods. We cannot find a solution for the livelihood problem in the economic field alone; we must first take hold on the political side, abolish all unequal treaties, and take back the customs out of foreign control. Then we can freely increase the tariff and put into effect a protective policy. Such a policy will prevent foreign goods from pouring into China, and our home industries will naturally be able to develop.

The most important raw materials which we must consider in dealing with our clothing problem are silk, hemp, cotton, and wool. The fourth material, wool, is produced in considerable quantity in China. Chinese wool is superior in quality to foreign wool, but the woolen industry is not developed in China; we do not manufacture woolens but ship our wool to other countries to be sold. Other countries take our wool, make it into woolen goods, and send these back for sale and profit making in China. If we could recover our rights and employ the power of the state to develop our woolen industry, it would flourish along with the cotton industry. If we had a prosperous woolen industry, then Chinese would not have to buy the woolen goods which they need in winter from foreign countries. If we have a surplus of wool we can market it abroad in the same way as we do our silk. But now the woolen industry is undeveloped in China, so the pelts and the loose cut wool which cannot be used in China are sold at a low price abroad, made into woolen cloth and all kinds of felt goods, shipped back to China, and sold for our money here. This shows that both our cotton and woolen industries are suffering from foreign political and economic domination. In order to solve the clothing problem, we must utilize the great strength of the entire nation in a broad comprehensive plan, first recover our sovereign rights, employ the state's power to develop the agricultural and manufacturing industries in connection with silk, hemp, cotton, and wool, and take back our Maritime Customs for the protection of these industries, raising the duties upon exported raw materials and upon imported manufactured goods. Then our spinning and textile industries will immediately begin to grow and the problem of clothing will reach a solution.

Now that we see the solution for the problem of clothing materials, let us turn to the matter of clothing itself. The wearing of clothes began, I said once before, as a protection against cold. The first function of clothing, then, was protection of the body. But as civilization advanced, clothes began to be used as bodily ornament and the second function of clothing came to be beautification, "presenting a fine appearance." Savage man did not have any clothing for ornament, so he tattooed his body; that is, he marked and colored his flesh. Our ancients called this *wenshen*, or decorating the body. Although civilization has advanced, yet bodily ornament is still considered the chief function of clothing, and the functions of defense against cold and bodily protection are almost forgotten. In this day of high living and extravagant competition, not only are clothing materials constantly appearing in new forms, but the styles of clothes every year show differences in size and changes in the tastes dictated by custom. More and more are clothes and ornaments considered a mark of worth, and the existence of gentry and *literati* considered as synonymous with cultural progress.

When autocracy developed, clothing was used to distinguish ranks. The third function of clothing was then to mark class distinctions. Now democracy prevails and our classes are levelled down. However, the file and rank of the army and navy in a Republic are still identified by their uniform. To the three functions of clothing just mentioned—physical protection, bodily ornament, and class distinction—we must add a fourth, convenience. For we are considering clothing as the people's necessity in a day when all classes are becoming equal and labor is becoming sacred. Let us say, then, that the clothing needed by our people must fulfill all the following functions—it must protect the body, it must be good-looking, and it must be convenient and not hinder work. Such clothing will truly be fine.

In order to carry out the Principle of Livelihood and with these three uses of clothing in mind, the state should establish clothing factories everywhere on a large scale. These factories should manufacture the clothing needed by the people, according to the population and temperature of the seasons in the various sections of the country. Everyone should be supplied with the necessary clothing; not one person should be left out. This is the duty which

the government of the *San Min Chu I* state owes to its people with respect to the necessity of clothing.

And the people must of course fulfill the obligations of citizenship to the state or disqualify themselves as citizens. Those who disqualify themselves as citizens disqualify themselves as masters of the state. Lazy vagabonds are parasites upon the state and upon the people. The government should force them by law to work and try to convert them into honorable laborers, worthy to share in the rights and privileges of the nation. When loafers are eliminated and all men have a share in production, then there will be enough to eat and to wear, homes will be comfortable, and the people will be content, and the problem of livelihood will be solved.<sup>34</sup>

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### DR. SUN YAT-SEN'S WILL

For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the people's revolution with but one end in view, the elevation of China to a position of freedom and equality among the nations. My experiences during these forty years have firmly convinced me that to attain this goal we must bring about a thorough awakening of our own people and ally ourselves in a common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality.

The work of the Revolution is not yet done. Let all our comrades follow my *Plans for National Reconstruction, Fundamentals of National Reconstruction, Three Principles of the People*, and the *Manifesto* issued by the First National Convention of our Party, and strive on earnestly for their consummation. Above all, our recent declarations in favor of the convocation of a National Convention and the abolition of unequal treaties should be carried into effect with the least possible delay. This is my heartfelt charge to you.

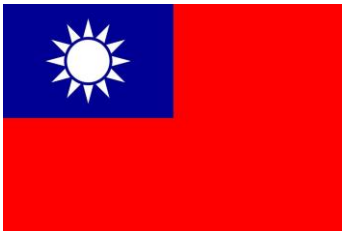
(Signed) SUN WEN  
MARCH 11, 1925  
*Written on February 20, 1925.*

### 總理遺囑

余致力國民革命，凡四十年，其目的在求中國之自由平等。積四十年之經驗，深知欲達到此目的，必須喚起民眾及聯合世界上以平等待我之民族，共同奮鬥。

現在革命尚未成功，凡我同志，務須依照余所著《建國方略》、《建國大綱》、《三民主義》及《第一次全國代表大會宣言》，繼續努力，以求貫徹。最近主張開國民會議及廢除不平等條約，尤須於最短期間，促其實現。是所至囑！

孫文 三月十一日補簽  
民國十四年二月二十四日



<sup>34</sup> The lectures upon the Principle of Livelihood were never completed by Dr. Sun.

# 三民主義 【全文】

## 自序 (註一)

自建國方略之心理建設、物質建設、社會建設三書出版之後，予乃從事於草作國家建設，以完成此帙。國家建設，較前各書獨大，內涵有民族主義、民權主義、民生主義、五權憲法、地方政府、中央政府、國防計畫、外交政策八冊。而民族主義一冊已經脫稿，民權主義、民生主義二冊亦草就大部。其他各冊於思想之綫索，研究之門徑，亦大略規畫就緒，俟有餘暇，便可執筆直書，不待思索。方擬全書告竣，乃出而問世；不期十一年(註二)六月十六，陳炯明叛變，砲擊觀音山，竟將數年心血所成之各稿，並備參考之西籍數百種，悉被燬去，殊可痛恨。茲值國民黨改組，同志決心從事攻心之奮鬥，亟需三民主義之奧義、五權憲法之要旨，為宣傳之資；故於每星期演講一次，由黃昌毅君筆記之，由鄒魯君讀校之。今民族主義適已講完，特先印單行本，以餉同志。惟此次演講，既無暇晷以預備，又無書籍為參考，只於登壇之後，隨意發言，較之前稿，遺忘實多。雖於付梓之先，復加刪補；然於本題之精義與敘論之條理及印證之事實，都覺遠不如前。尚望同志讀者，本此基礎，觸類引伸，匡補闕遺，更正條理，俾成為一完善之書，以作宣傳之課本，則其裨益於我民族、我國家實無可限量也。民國十三年三月三十日、孫文序於廣州大本營。

(註一) 據國父手書「民族主義」單行本(中國國民黨中央執行委員會編，民國十三年四月出版)「自序」原稿，黨史會藏「總理遺墨」(060/50)。

(註二) 原書壬戌，經改為「十年」，按壬戌為民國十一年，應為筆誤，逕予改正。

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## 民族主義 第一講

民族主義 (註一) 第一講 民國十三年一月二十七日講 (註二)

諸君：今天來同大家講三民主義。甚麼是三民主義呢？用最簡單的定義說，三民主義就是救國主義。甚麼是主義呢？主義就是一種思想、一種信仰和一種力量。大凡人類對於一件事，研究當中的道理，最先發生思想；思想貫通以後，便起信仰；有了信仰，就生出力量。所以主義是先由思想再到信仰，次由信仰生出力量，然後完全成立。何以說三民主義就是救國主義呢？因三民主義係促進中國之國際地位平等，政治地位平等，經濟地位平等，使中國永久適存于世界，所以說三民主義就是救國主義。三民主義既是救國主義，試問我們今日中國是不是應該要救呢？如果是認定應該要救，那麼便應信仰三民主義。信仰三民主義便能發生出極大勢力；這種極大勢力，便可以救中國。

今天先講民族主義。這次國民黨改組，所用救國方法，是注重宣傳。要對國人做普遍的宣傳，最要的是演明主義。中國近十餘年來，有思想的人對於三民主義都聽慣了，但是要透徹了解他，許多人還做不到，所以今天先把民族主義來同大家詳細的講一講。甚麼是民族主義呢？按中國歷史上社會習慣諸情形講，我可以用一句簡單話說，民族主義就是國族主義。中國人最崇拜的是家族主義和宗族主義，所以中國只有家族主義和宗族主義，沒有國族主義。外國旁觀的人說，中國人是一片散沙。這個原因是在甚麼地方呢？就是因為一般人民祇有家族主義和宗族主義，沒有國族主義。中國人對於家族和宗族的團結力非常強大，往往因為保護宗族起見，寧肯犧牲身家性命。像廣東兩姓械鬥，兩族的人，無論犧牲多少生命財產，總是不肯罷休，這都是因為宗族觀念太深的緣故。因為這種主義深入人心，所以便能替他犧牲。至於說到對於國家，從沒有一次具極大精神去犧牲的。所以中國人的團結力，只能及於宗族而止，還沒有擴張到國族。

我說民族主義就是國族主義，在中國是適當的，在外國便不適當。外國人說民族和國家便有分別，英文中民族的名詞是哪遜。哪遜這一個字有兩種解釋：一是民族，一是國家。這一個字雖然有兩個意思，但是他的解釋非常清楚，不容易混亂。在中國文中，一個字有兩個解釋的很多，即如社會兩個字，就有兩個用法：一個是指一般人羣而言，一個是指一種有組織之團體而言。本來民族與國家，相互的關係很多，不容易分開，但是當中實在有一定界限，我們必須分開甚麼是國家，甚麼是民族。我說民族就是國族，何以在中國是適當，在外國便不適當呢？因為中國自秦漢而後，都是一個民族造成一個國家。外國有一個民族造成幾個國家的，有一個國家之內有幾個民族的。像英國是現在世界上頂強的國家，他們國內的

民族是用白人為本位，結合棕人黑人等民族，才成「大不列顛帝國」。所以在英國說民族就是國族，這一句話便不適當。再像香港是英國的領土，其中的民族有幾十萬人是中國的漢人參加在內，如果說香港的英國國族就是民族，便不適當。又像印度現在也是英國的領土，說到英國國族起來，當中便有三萬萬五千萬印度人。如果說印度的英國國族，就是民族，也是不適當。大家都知道英國的基本民族是「盎格魯撒遜」人，但是「盎格魯撒遜」人，不祇英國有這種民族，就是美國也有很多「盎格魯撒遜」人。所以在外國便不能說民族就是國族。但民族和國家是有一定界限的，我們要把他來分別清楚，有甚麼方法呢？最適當的方法，是民族和國家根本上是用甚麼力造成的。簡單的分別，民族是由于天然力造成的，國家是用武力造成的。用中國的政治歷史來證明，中國人說，王道是順乎自然。換一句話說，自然力便是王道，用王道造成的團體便是民族，武力就是霸道，用霸道造成的團體，便是國家。像造成香港的原因，並不是幾十萬香港人歡迎英國人而成的，是英國人用武力割據得來的。因為從前中國和英國打仗，中國打敗了，把香港人民和土地，割歸到英國，久而久之，才造成現在的香港。又像英國造成今日的印度，經過的情形，也是同香港一樣。英國現在的領土擴張到全世界，所以英國人有一句俗話說：「英國無日落」。換一句話說，就是每日晝夜日光所照之地，都有英國領土。譬如我們在東半球的人，由日出算起，最先照到紐絲蘭、澳洲、香港、星加坡，西斜照到錫蘭、印度，再西到阿顛、馬兒打，更西便照到本國。再輪到西半球，便有加拿大，而循環到香港、星加坡。故每日夜二十四點鐘，日光所照之時，必有英國領土。像英國這樣大的領土，沒有一處不是用霸道造成的。自古及今，造成國家沒有不是用霸道的。至於造成民族，便不相同，完全是由于自然，毫不能加以勉強。像香港的幾十萬中國人，團結成一個民族，是自然而然的，無論英國用甚麼霸道，都是不能改變的。所以一個團體由于王道自然力結合而成的是民族，由于霸道人為力結合而成的便是國家。這便是國家和民族的分別。

再講民族的起源。世界人類，本是一種動物，但和普通的飛禽走獸不同。人為萬物之靈，人類的分別，第一級是人種，有白色、黑色、紅色、黃色、棕色五種之分。更由種細分，便有許多族。像亞洲的民族，著名的有蒙古族、巫來族、日本族、滿族、漢族。造成這種種民族的原因，概括的說，是自然力，分析起來，便很複雜。當中最大的力是血統。中國人黃色的原因，是由於根源黃色血統而成。祖先是甚麼血統，便永遠遺傳成一族的人民，所以血統的力是很大的。次大的力是生活。謀生的方法不同，所結成的民族也不同，像蒙古人逐水草而居，以遊牧為生活，甚麼地方有水草，便遊牧到甚麼地方，移居到甚麼地方，由這種遷居的習慣，也可結合成一個民族，蒙古能夠忽然強盛，就本於此。當蒙古族最強盛的時候，元朝的兵力西邊征服中央亞細亞、亞刺伯及歐洲之一部分；東邊統一中國，幾幾乎征服日本，統一歐亞。其他民族最強盛的像漢族，當漢唐武力最大的時候，西邊才到裏海。像羅馬民族武力最大的時候，東邊才到黑海。從沒有那一個民族的武力能夠及乎歐亞兩洲，像元朝的蒙古民族那樣強盛。蒙古民族之所以能夠那樣強盛的原因，是由于他們人民的生活是遊牧，平日的習慣便有行路不怕遠的長處。第三大的力是語言。如果外來民族得了我們的語言，便容易被我們感化，久而久之，遂同化成一個民族。再反過來，若是我們知道外國語言，也容易被外國人同化。如果人民的血統相同，語言也同，那麼同化的效力，便更容易，所以語言也是世界上造成民族很大的力。第四個力是宗教。大凡人類奉拜相同的神，或信仰相同的祖宗，也可結合成一個民族。宗教在造成民族的力量中也很雄大，像阿刺伯和猶太兩國，已經亡了許久，但是阿刺伯人和猶太人，至今還是存在。他們國家雖亡，而民族之所以能夠存在的道理，就是因為各有各的宗教。大家都知道現在的猶太人，散在各國的極多，世界上極有名的學問家像馬克思，像愛因斯坦，都是猶太人。再像現在英美各國的資本勢力，也是被猶太人操縱。猶太民族的天質是很聰明的，加以宗教之信仰，故雖流離遷徙於各國，猶能維持其民族於長久。亞刺伯人所以能夠存在的道理，也是因為他們有謨罕墨德的宗教。其他信仰佛教極深的民族像印度，國家雖然亡到英國，種族還是永遠不能消滅。第五個力是風俗習慣。如果人類中有一種特別相同的風俗習慣，久而久之，也可自行結合成一個民族。我們研究許多不相同的人種，所以能結合成種種相同民族的道理，自然不能不歸功於血統、生活、語言、宗教和風俗習慣這五種力。這五種力是天然進化而成的，不是用武力征服得來的，所以用這五種力和武力比較，便可以分別民族和國家。

我們鑑于古今民族生存的道理，要救中國，想中國民族永遠存在，必要提倡民族主義。要提倡民族主義，必要先把這種主義完全了解，然後才能發揮光大，去救國家。就中國的民族說，總數是四萬萬人，當中參雜的不過是幾百萬蒙古人，百多萬滿洲人，幾百萬西藏人，百幾十萬回教之突厥人，外來的總數不過一千萬人。所以就大多數說，四萬萬中國人，可以說完全是漢人。同一血統，同一言語文字，同一宗教，同一習慣（註三），完全是一個民族。我們這種民族，處現在世界上，是甚麼地位呢？用世界上各民族的人數比較起來，我們人數最多，民族最大，文明教化有四千多年，也應該和歐美各國並駕齊驅。但是中國的人只有家族和宗族的團體，沒有民族的精神，所以雖有四萬萬人結合成一個中國，實在是一片散沙，弄到今日是世界上最貧弱的國家，處國際中最低下的地位。人為刀俎，我為魚肉。我們的地位在此時最為危險，如果再不留心提倡民族主義，結合四萬萬人成一個堅固的民族，中國便有亡國滅種之憂。我們

要挽救這種危亡，便要提倡民族主義，用民族精神來救國。

我們要提倡民族主義來挽救中國危亡，便先要知道我們民族的危險是在甚麼地方。要知道這種危險的情形，最好是拿中國人和列強的人民比較，那便更易清楚。歐戰以前，世界上號稱列強的有七八國，最大的有英國，最強的有德國、奧國、俄國。最富的有美國，新起的有日本和意大利。歐戰以後，倒了三國，現在所剩的頭等強國，祇有英國、美國、法國、日本和意大利。英國、法國、俄國、美國都是以民族立國。英國發達，所用民族的本位是「盎格魯撒遜」人，所用地方的本位是英格蘭和威爾斯，人數祇有三千八百萬，可以叫做純粹英國的民族。這種民族在現在世界上是最強盛的民族。所造成的國家，是世界上最強盛的國家，推到百年以前，人數只有一千二百萬，現在才有三千八百萬，在此百年之內便加多三倍。

我們東方有箇島國，可以說是東方的英國，這個國家就是日本。日本國也是一個民族造成的，他們的民族，叫做大和民族。自開國到現在，沒有受過外力的吞併。雖然以元朝蒙古的強盛，還沒有征服過他。他們現在的人口，除了高麗、臺灣以外，是五千六百萬。百年以前人口的確數，很難稽攷，但以近來人口增加率之比例計算，當係增加三倍。故百年以前的日本人口，約計在二千萬上下。這種大和民族的精神，至今還沒有喪失。所以乘歐化東漸，在歐風美雨中，利用科學新法，發展國家，維新五十年，便成現在亞洲最強盛的國家，和歐美各國並駕齊驅，歐美人不敢輕視。我們中國的人口，比那一國都要多，至今被人輕視的道理，就是一則有民族主義，一則無民族主義。日本未維新之前，國勢也是很衰微，所有的領土，不過四川一省大，所有的人口，不及四川一省多，也受過外國壓制的恥辱。因為他們有民族主義的精神，所以便能發奮為雄。當中經過不及五十年，便由衰微的國家，變成強盛的國家。我們要中國強盛，日本便是一個好模範。

用亞洲人和歐洲人比，從前以為世界上有聰明才智的只有白人，無論甚麼事都被白人壟斷。我們亞洲人因為一時無法可以得到他們的長處，怎樣把國家變成富強，所以對於要國家富強的心思，不但中國人失望，就是亞洲各民族的人都失望。到了近來，忽然興起一個日本，變成世界上頭等富強的國家，因為日本能夠富強，故亞洲各國便生出無窮的希望。覺得日本從前的國勢，也是和現在的安南、緬甸一樣；現在的安南、緬甸便比不上日本，因為日本人能學歐洲，所以維新之後，便趕上歐洲。當歐戰停止之後，列強在華賽爾討論世界和平，日本的國際地位，列在五大強國之一。提起關於亞洲的事情，列強都是聽日本主持，惟日本馬首是瞻。由此便可知白人所能做的事，日本人也可以做。世界上的人種，雖然有顏色不同，但是講到聰明才智，便不能說有甚麼分別。亞洲今日因為有了強盛的日本，故世界上的白種人，不但是不敢輕視日本人，並且不敢輕視亞洲人。所以日本強盛之後，不但是大和民族可以享頭等民族的尊榮，就是其他亞洲人也可抬高國際的地位。從前以為歐洲人能夠做的事，我們不能夠做，現在日本人能夠學歐洲，便知我們能夠學日本，我們可以學到像日本，也可知將來可以學到像歐洲。

俄國在歐戰的時候，發生革命，打破帝制，現在成了一個新國家，是社會主義的國家，和從前大不相同。他們的民族叫做斯拉夫，百年以前的人口是四千萬，現在有一萬六千萬，比從前加多四倍，國力也比從前加大四倍。近百年以來，俄國是世界上頂強的國家，不但是亞洲的日本、中國怕他侵入，就是歐洲的英國、德國，也怕他侵入。他們在帝國時代，專持侵略政策，想擴張領土。現在俄國的疆土，佔歐洲一半，佔亞洲也到一半，領土跨佔歐亞兩洲，他們這樣大的領土，都是從侵略歐亞兩洲而來。當日俄之戰時，各國人都怕俄國侵略中國的領土。他們所以怕俄國佔中國領土的原故，是恐怕中國被俄國佔之後，又再去侵略世界各國，各國都要被俄國佔。俄國人本有併吞世界的志氣，所以世界各國便想法來抵制，英日聯盟，就是為抵制這項政策。日俄戰後，日本把俄國趕出高麗、南滿以外，遂推翻俄國侵略世界的政策，保持東亞的領土，世界上便生出一個大變化。自歐戰以後，俄國人自己推翻帝國主義，把帝國主義的國家變成新社會主義的國家，世界上又生出一個更大的變化。這種變化，成功不過六年。他們在這六年之中，改組內部，把從前用武力的舊政策，改成用和平的新政策。這種新政策，不但是沒有侵略各國的野心，並且抑強扶弱，主持公道，於是世界各國又來怕俄國，現在各國怕俄國的心理，比從前還要利害。因為那種和平新政策，不但是打破俄國的帝國主義，並且是打破世界的帝國主義；不但是打破世界的帝國主義，並且打破世界的資本主義。因為現在各國表面上的政權，雖由政府作主，但是實在由資本家從中把持。俄國的新政策要打破這種把持，故世界上的資本家便大恐慌，所以世界上從此便生出一個很大的變動。因為這個大變動，此後世界上的潮流也隨之改變。就歐洲戰爭的歷史說，從前常發生國際戰爭，最後的歐戰，是德、奧、土、布諸同盟國（註四），和英、法、俄、日、意、美諸協商國，兩方戰爭，經過四年的大戰，始筋疲力盡，雙方停止。經過這次大戰之後，世界上先知先覺的人，逆料將來歐洲沒有燒點可以引起別種國際戰爭。所不能免的或者是一場人種的戰爭，像黃人和白人戰爭之例。但自俄國新變動發生之後，就我個人觀察已往的大勢，逆料將來的潮流，國際間大戰是免不了的。但是那種戰爭，不是起于不同種之間，是起于同種之間，白種與白種分開來戰，黃種同黃種分開來戰。那種

戰爭是階級戰爭，是被壓迫者和橫暴者的戰爭，是公理和強權的戰爭。俄國革命以後，斯拉夫民族生出了甚麼思想呢？他們主張抑強扶弱，壓富濟貧，是專為世界上伸張公道打不平的。這種思想宣傳到歐洲，各種弱小民族都很歡迎。現在最歡迎的是土耳其。土耳其在歐戰之前，最貧最弱，不能振作，歐洲人都叫他做近東病夫，應該要消滅。到了歐戰，加入德國方面，被協商國打敗了，各國更想把他瓜分，土耳其幾乎不能自存。後來俄國出來打不平，助他趕走希臘，修改一切不平等的條約，到了現在，土耳其雖然不能成世界上的頭等強國，但是已經成了歐洲的二三等國。這是靠甚麼力量呢？是全靠俄國人的幫助。由此推論出來，將來的趨勢，一定是無論那一個民族或那一個國家，只要被壓迫的或委曲的，必聯合一致，去抵抗強權。那些國家是被壓迫的呢？當歐戰前，英國、法國要打破德意志的帝國主義，俄國也加入他們一方面，後來不知道犧牲了多少生命財產，中途還要回師，宣佈革命。這是甚麼原故呢？是因為俄國人受壓迫太甚，所以要去革命，實行他們的社會主義，反抗強權。當時歐洲列強都反對這種主義，所以共同出兵去打他。幸而俄國有斯拉夫民族的精神，故終能打破列強。至今列強對於俄國，武力上不能反對，便不承認他是國家，以為消極的抵制（註五）。歐洲各國何以反對俄國的新主義呢？因為歐洲各國人是主張侵略，有強權，無公理。俄國的新主義，是主張以公理撲滅強權的。因為這種主張和列強相反，所以列強至今還想消滅他。俄國在沒有革命之前，也主張有強權無公理，是一個很頑固的國家，現在便反對這項主張；各國因俄國反對這項主張，便一齊出兵去打俄國。因為這個原故，所以說以後戰爭是強權和公理的戰爭。今日德國是歐洲受壓迫的國家，亞洲除日本以外，所有的弱小民族，都是被強暴的壓制，受種種痛苦。他們同病相憐，將來一定聯合起來，去抵抗強暴的國家。那些被壓迫的國家聯合，一定去和那些強暴的國家拚命一戰。推到全世界，將來白人主張公理的和黃人主張公理的一定是聯合起來，白人主張強權的和黃人主張強權的也一定是聯合起來。有了這兩種聯合，便免不了一場大戰，這便是世界將來戰爭之趨勢。

德國在一百年前，人口有二千四百萬，經過歐戰之後，雖然減少了一些，但現在還有六千萬。這一百年內增加了兩倍半。他們的人民叫做條頓民族，這種民族和英國人相近，是很聰明的，所以他們的國家便很強盛。經過歐戰以後，武力失敗，自然要主張公理，不能主張強權。

美國人口，一百年前不過九百萬，現在有一萬萬以上，他們的增加率極大，這百年之內加多十倍。他們這些增加的人口，多半是由歐洲移民而來，不是在本國生育的。歐洲各國的人民，因為近幾十年來歐洲地狹人稠，在本國沒有生活，所以便搬到美國來謀生活，因為這個原故，美國人口便增加得非常快。各國人口的增加多是由于生育，美國人口的增加多是由于容納。美國人的種族，比那一國都要複雜，各洲各國的移民都有；到了美國之後，就鎔化起來，所謂合一爐而冶之，自成一種民族。這種民族既不是原來的英國人、法國人、德國人，又不是意大利人和其他南歐洲人，另外是一種新民族，可以叫做美利堅民族。美國因為有獨立的民族，所以便成世界上獨立的國家。

法國人是拉丁民族。拉丁民族散在歐洲的國家有西班牙、葡萄牙、意大利；移到美洲的國家有墨西哥、比魯、芝利、哥崙比亞、巴西、阿根廷和其他中美洲諸小國。因為南美洲諸國的民族都是拉丁人，所以美國人都把他們叫做「拉丁美利堅」。法國人口增加很慢，百年之前有三千萬，現在有三千九百萬，一百年內不過增加四分之一。

我們現在把世界人口的增加率，拿來比較一比較：近百年之內，在美國增加十倍，英國增加三倍，日本也是三倍，俄國是四倍，德國是兩倍半，法國是四分之一。這百年之內，人口增加許多的原故，是由科學昌明，醫學發達，衛生的設備，一年比一年完全，所以減少死亡，增加生育。他們人口有了這樣增加的迅速，和中國有甚麼關係呢？用各國人口的增加數，和中國的人口來比較，我覺得毛骨聳然！譬如美國人口百年前不過九百萬，現在便有一萬萬多，再過一百年，仍然照舊增加，當有十萬萬多。中國人時常自誇，說我們人口多，不容易被人消滅。在元朝入主中國以後，蒙古民族不但不能消滅中國人，反被中國人同化；中國不但不能亡，並且吸收蒙古人。滿洲人征服中國，統治二百六十多年，滿洲民族也沒有消滅中國人，反為漢族所同化變成漢人，像現在許多滿人都加漢姓。因為這個原故，許多學者便以為縱讓日本人或白人來征服中國，中國人祇有吸收日本人或白種人的，中國人可以安心罷。殊不知百年之後，美國人口可加到十萬萬，多過我們人口兩倍半。從前滿洲人不能征服中國民族，是因為他們祇有一百幾十萬人，和中國的人口比較起來，數目太少，當然被中國人吸收。如果美國人來征服中國，那麼百年之後，十個美國人中只參雜四個中國人，中國人便要美國人所同化。諸君知道中國四萬萬人，是甚麼時候調查得來的呢？是滿清乾隆時候調查得來的。乾隆以後，沒有調查。自乾隆到現在，將及二百年，還是四萬萬人。百年之前是四萬萬，百年之後當然也是四萬萬。法國因為人口太少，獎勵生育，如果一個人人生三子的便有獎，生四五子的便有大獎，如果生雙胎的更格外有獎；男子到了三十歲不娶，和女子到了二十歲不嫁的，便有罰；這是法國獎勵生育的方法。至於法國人口並不減少，不過他們的增加率，沒有別國那一樣大罷了。且法國以農業立國，國家富庶，人民家給戶足，每日都講究快樂。百年前有一

個英國學者叫做馬爾賽斯，他因為憂世界上的人口太多，供給的物產有限，主張減少人口，曾創立一種學說，謂：「人口增加是幾何級數，物產增加是數學級數。」法國人因為講究快樂，剛合他們的心理，便極歡迎馬氏的學說，主張男子不負家累，女子不要生育。他們所用減少人口的方法，不但是用這種種自然方法，並且用許多人為的方法。法國在百年以前的人口，比各國都要多，因為馬爾賽斯的學說，宣傳到法國之後，很被人歡迎，人民都實行減少人口，所以弄到今日受人少的痛苦，都是因為中了馬爾賽斯學說的毒。中國現在的新青年，也有被馬爾賽斯學說所染，主張減少人口的。殊不知法國已經知道了減少人口的痛苦，現在施行新政策，是提倡增加人口，保存民族，想法國的民族和世界上的民族，永久並存。

我們的人口到今日究竟有多少呢？增加的人數，雖然不及英國、日本，但自乾隆時算起，至少也應該有五萬萬。從前有一位美國公使叫做「樂克里耳」，到中國各處調查，說中國的人口最多不過三萬萬。我們的人口到底有多少呢？在乾隆的時候，已經有了四萬萬，若照美國公使的調查，則已減少四分之一；就說是現在還是四萬萬，以此類推，則百年之後，恐怕仍是四萬萬。

日本人口現在有了六千萬，百年之後，應該有二萬萬四千萬。因為在本國不能生活。所以現在便向各國訴冤，說島國人口太多，不能不向外發展。向東走到美國，加利佛尼亞省便閉門不納；向南走到澳洲，英國人說澳洲是白色人的澳洲，別色人種不許侵入。日本人因為到處被人拒絕，所以便向各國說情，說日本人無路可走，所以不能不經營滿洲、高麗。各國也明白日本人的意思，便容納他們的要求，以為日本殖民到中國，於他們本國沒有關係。

一百年之後，全世界人口一定要增加好幾倍。像德國、法國因為經過此次大戰之後，死亡太多，想恢復戰前狀態，獎勵人口生育，一定要增加兩三倍。就現在全世界的土地與人口比較，已經有了人滿之患。像這次歐洲大戰，便有人說是「打太陽」的地位，因為歐洲列強多半近于寒帶，所以起戰爭的原故，都是由于互爭赤道和溫帶的土地，可以說是要爭太陽之光。中國是全世界氣候最溫和的地方，物產頂豐富的地方，各國人所以一時不能來吞併的原因，是由他們的人口和中國的人口比較，還是太少。到一百年以後，如果我們的人口不增加，他們的人口增加到很多，他們便用多數來征服少數，一定要併吞中國。到了那個時候，中國不但是失去主權，要亡國，中國人並且要被他們民族所消化，還要滅種。像從前蒙古、滿洲征服中國，是用少數征服多數，想利用多數的中國人，做他們的奴隸。如果列強將來征服中國，是用多數征服少數，他們便不要我們做奴隸，我們中國人到那個時候，連奴隸也做不成了。

(註一) 據「民族主義」，孫文題著本(中國國民黨中央執行委員會編，民國十三年四月出版，黨史會藏(042/20)，通稱「民族主義大字本」。國父在封面親批云：「改正本，翻印照此；但圈點仍要重校。」

(註二) 原文僅標「一月二十七日」，今增「民國十三年……講」。

(註三) 原文及「中國國民黨週刊」(以下簡稱「週刊」)第十一期(民國十三年三月九日)同講均作「同一習慣」。吳拯寰編「中山全書」(以下簡稱「吳本」，民國十四年上海三民圖書公司出版)亦同。胡漢民編「總理全集」(民國十九年上海民智書局出版，以下簡稱「胡本」)及中國國民黨黨史史料編纂委員會編「國父全集」(民國五十四年十一月中華民國各界紀念國父百年誕辰籌備委員會出版，以下簡稱「會本」)均作「同一風俗習慣」，蓋據上文所增。今仍保持原文。

(註四) 原文、「週刊」及「胡本」均作「德、奧、土、布諸盟國」，「會本」「布」作「希」。今據原文。

(註五) 「胡本」及「會本」下有「現在英國已正式承認俄國」十一字，原文及「週刊」無。

## 民族主義 第二講

第二講 民國十三年二月三日講 (註一)

自古以來，民族之所以興亡，是由于人口增減的原因很多，此為天然淘汰。人類因為遇到了天然淘汰力，不能抵抗，所以古時有很多的民族和很有名的民族，在現在人類中都已經絕跡了。我們中國的民族也很古，從有稽攷以來的歷史講，已經有了四千多年。故推究我們的民族，自開始至今，至少必有五六千年。當中受過了許多天然力的影響，遺傳到今日，天不但不來銷滅我們，並且還要令我們繁盛，生長了四萬萬人，和世界的民族比較，我們還是最多最大的。是我們民族所受的天惠，比較別種民族獨厚，故經過天時人事種種變更，自有歷史四千多年以來，只見文明進步，不見民族衰微；代代相傳，到了今天，還

是世界最優秀的民族。所以一般樂觀的人，以為中國民族從前不知經過了多少災害，至今都沒有滅亡，以後無論經過若何災害，是決不至滅亡的。這種論調，這種希望，依我看來是不對的，因為就天然淘汰力說，我們民族或者可以生存；但是世界中的進化力，不止一種天然力，是天然力和人為力湊合而成。人為的力量，可以巧奪天工，所謂人事勝天。這種人為的力，最大的有兩種：一種是政治力，一種是經濟力。這兩種力關係於民族興亡，比較天然力還要大。我們民族處在今日世界潮流之中，不但是受這兩種力的壓迫，並且深中這兩種力的禍害了。

中國幾千年以來，受過了政治力的壓迫，以至於完全亡國，已有了兩次：一次是元朝，一次是清朝。但是這兩次亡國，都是亡於少數民族，不是亡於多數民族。那些少數民族，總被我們多數民族所同化。所以中國在政權上，雖然亡過了兩次，但是民族還沒有受過大損失。至於現在列強民族的情形，便和從前大不相同。一百年以來，列強人口增加到很多，上次已經比較過了，像英國、俄國的人口增加三四倍，美國增加十倍。照已往一百年內的增加，推測以後一百年的增加，我們民族在一百年以後，無論所受的天惠怎麼樣深厚，就很難和列強的民族並存於世界。比如美國的人口，百年前不過九百萬，現在便有一萬萬以上，再過一百年就有十萬萬以上，英、德、俄、日的人口，都是要增加好幾倍。由此推測，到百年之後，我們的人口便變成了少數，列強人口便變成了多數。那時候，中國民族縱然沒有政治力和經濟力的壓迫，單以天然進化力來推論，中國人口便可以滅亡。況且在一百年以後，我們不但是要受天然力的淘汰，並且要受政治力和經濟力的壓迫。此兩種力比較天然力，還要快而且烈。天然力雖然很慢，也可以銷滅很大的民族，在百年前有一個先例可以用來證明的，是南北美洲的紅番民族。美洲在二三百年前，完全為紅番之地，他們的人數很多，到處皆有。但從白人搬到美洲之後，紅番人口就逐漸減少，傳到現在，幾乎盡被銷滅。由此便可見天然淘汰力，也可以銷滅很大的民族。政治力和經濟力比較天然淘汰力還要更快，更容易銷滅很大的民族。此後中國民族如果單受天然力的淘汰，還可以支持一百年；如果兼受了政治力和經濟力的壓迫，就很難渡過十年。故在這十年之內，就是中國民族的生死關頭。如果在這十年以內，有方法可以解脫政治力和經濟力的壓迫，我們民族還可以和列強的民族並存。如果政治力和經濟力的壓迫，我們沒有方法去解脫，我們的民族便要列強的民族所銷滅；縱使不至於全數滅亡，也要被天然力慢慢去淘汰。故此後中國的民族，同時受天然力、政治力和經濟力的三種壓迫，便見得中國民族生存的地位非常危險。

中國受歐美政治力的壓迫將及百年。百年以前，滿人據有我們的國家，仍是很強盛的，當時英國滅了印度，不敢來滅中國，還恐中國去干涉印度。但是這百年以來，中國便失去許多領土，由最近推到從前，我們最近失去的領土是威海衛、旅順、大連、青島、九龍、廣州灣。歐戰以後，列強想把最近的領土送回，像最先送回的有青島，最近將要送回的有威海衛，但這不過是中國很小的地方。從前列強的心理，以為中國永遠不能振作，自己不能管理自己，所以把中國沿海的地方像大連、威海衛、九龍等處來佔領，做一個根據地，以便瓜分中國。後來中國起了革命，列強知道中國還可以有為，所以才打消瓜分中國的念頭。當列強想瓜分中國的時候，一般中國反革命的人，說革命足以召瓜分；不知後來革命的結果，不但不召列強瓜分，反打消列強要瓜分中國的念頭。再推到前一點的失地是高麗、臺灣、澎湖，這些地方是因為日清之戰，才割到日本。中國因為日清一戰，才引出列強要瓜分的論調。更前一點的失地是緬甸、安南，安南之失，中國當時還稍有抵抗，鎮南關一戰，中國還獲勝仗，後來因被法國恐嚇，中國才和法國講和，情願把安南讓與法國。但是剛在講和之前幾天，中國的軍隊正在鎮南關、諒山大勝，法國幾乎全軍覆沒，後來中國還是求和，法國人便以為很奇怪。嘗有法國人對中國人說，中國人做事真是不可思議，就各國的慣例，凡是戰勝之國，一定要表示戰勝的尊榮，一定要戰敗的割地賠償。你們中國戰勝之日，反要割地求和，送安南到法國，定種種苛虐條件，這真是歷史上戰勝求和的先例。中國之所以開這個先例的原因，是由於滿清政府太糊塗。安南和緬甸本來都是中國的領土，自安南割去以後，同時英國佔據緬甸，中國更不敢問了。又更拿前一點的失地說，就是黑龍江、烏蘇里。又再推到前一點的失地是伊犁流域霍罕和黑龍江以北諸地，就是前日俄國遠東政府所在的地方，中國都拱手送去外人，並不敢問。此外更有琉球、暹羅、蒲魯尼、蘇綠、爪哇、錫蘭、尼泊爾、布丹等那些小國，從前都是來中國朝貢過的。故中國最強盛時代，領土是很大的，北至黑龍江以北，南至喜馬拉雅山以南，東至東海以東，西至蔥嶺以西，都是中國的領土。尼泊爾到了民國元年，還到四川來進貢，元年以後，以西藏道路不通，便不再來了。像這樣講來，中國最強盛時候，政治力量也威震四隣，亞洲西南各國無不以稱藩朝貢為榮。那時歐洲的帝國主義還沒有侵入亞洲。當時亞洲之中，配講帝國主義的只是中國。所以那些弱小國家都怕中國，怕中國用政治力去壓迫。至今亞洲各弱小民族，對於中國還是不大放心。這回我們國民黨在廣州開大會，蒙古派得有代表來，是看我們南方政府對外的主張，是否仍舊用帝國主義。他們代表到了之後，看見我們大會中所定的政綱，是扶持弱小民族，毫無帝國主義的意思，他們便很贊成，主張大家聯絡起來成一個東方的大國。像這項要贊成我們主張的情形，不但是蒙古如此，就是其他弱小民族都是一樣。現在歐洲列強正用帝國主義和經濟力量來壓迫中國，所以中國的領土便逐漸縮小，就是十八行省以

內也失了許多地方。

自中國革命以後，列強見得用政治力來瓜分中國是很不容易的，以為從前滿洲征服過了中國，我們也曉得革命，如果列強還再用政治力來征服中國，中國將來一定是要反抗，對於他們是很不利的，所以他們現在稍緩其政治力來征服我們，便改用經濟力來壓迫我們。他們以為不用政治力來瓜分中國，各國便可以免衝突，但是他們在中國的衝突雖然是免了，可是在歐洲的衝突到底還免不了。故由巴爾幹半島問題，便生出了歐洲大戰，他們自己受了許多損失。許多強國像德國、奧國都倒下來了。但是他們的帝國主義現在還沒有改革，英國、法國、意大利仍舊把帝國主義（註二）繼續進行。美國也拋棄門羅主義，去參加列強，一致行動。經過了歐戰以後，他們在歐洲或者把帝國主義一時停止進行，但是對於中國，像前幾日各國派二十多隻兵艦到廣州來示威，還是用帝國主義的力量，來進行他們經濟的力量。經濟力的壓迫，比較帝國主義——就是政治力的壓迫還要利害。政治力的壓迫是容易看得見的，好比此次列強用二十多隻兵船來示威，廣州人民便立時覺得痛癢，大家生出公憤，就是全國人民也起公憤。故政治力的壓迫，是容易覺得有痛癢的。但是受經濟力的壓迫，普通人都不容易生感覺，像中國已經受過了列強幾十年經濟力的壓迫，大家至今還不大覺得痛癢，弄到中國各地都變成了列強的殖民地。全國人至今還只知道是列強的半殖民地，這半殖民地的名詞，是自己安慰自己；其實中國所受過了列強經濟力的壓迫，不只是半殖民地，比較全殖民地還要利害。比方高麗是日本的殖民地，安南是法國的殖民地，高麗人做日本的奴隸，安南人做法國的奴隸，我們動以亡國奴三字譏誚高麗人、安南人，我們只知道他們的地位，還不知道我們自己所處的地位，實在比不上高麗人、安南人。由剛才所說的概括名義，中國是半殖民地。但是中國究竟是那一國的殖民地呢？是對於已經締結了條約各國的殖民地。凡是和中國有條約的國家，都是中國的主人，所以中國不只做一國的殖民地，是做各國的殖民地；我們不只做一國的奴隸，是做各國的奴隸。比較起來，是做一國的奴隸好些呀？還是做各國的奴隸好些呢？如果做一國的奴隸，遇到了水旱天災，做主人的國家，就要撥款來賑濟。他們撥款賑濟，以為這是自己做主人的義務，分內所當為的；做奴隸的人民也視為這是主人應該要救濟的。但是中國北方前幾年受了天災，各國不視為應該要盡的義務，撥款來賑濟，只有在中國內地的各國人，來提倡捐助賑濟災民；中國人看見了，便說是各國很大的慈善，不是他們的義務，和主人的國家對於奴隸的人民，便差得很遠。由此便可見中國還比不上安南、高麗。所以做一國的奴隸，比較做各國的奴隸的地位是高得多，講到利益來又是大得多，故叫中國做半殖民地，是很不對的。依我定一個名詞，應該叫做「次殖民地」。這個次字，是由于化學名詞中得來的，如次亞磷便是。藥品中有屬磷質而低一等者名為亞磷，更低一等者名為次亞磷。又如各部官制，總長之下低一級的，就叫作次長一樣。中國人從前只知道是半殖民地，便以為很恥辱，殊不知實在的地位，還要低過高麗、安南，故我們不能說是半殖民地，應該要叫做次殖民地。

此次廣東和外國爭關稅。關稅餘款本該是我們的，為甚麼要爭呢？因為中國的海關，被各國拿去了。我們從前並不知道有海關，總是閉關自守，後來英國到中國來叩關，要和中國通商，中國便閉關拒絕。英國用帝國主義和經濟力量聯合起來，把中國的關打開，破了中國的門戶。當時英國軍隊已經佔了廣州，後來見廣州站不住，就不要廣州，去要香港，並且又要賠款。中國在那個時候，沒有許多現錢來做賠款，就把海關押到英國，讓他們去收稅。當時滿清政府計算，以為很長久的時間才可以還清，不料英國人得了海關，自己收稅，不到數年，便把要求的賠款還清了。清朝皇帝才知道清朝的官吏很腐敗，從前經理徵收關稅，有中飽的大毛病，所以就將全國海關，都交給英國人管理，稅務司也盡派英國人去充當。後來各國因為都有商務的關係，便和英國人爭管海關的權利，英國人於是退讓，依各國商務之大小為用人之比例。所以弄到現在，全國海關都在外人的手內。中國同外國每立一回條約，就多一回損失，條約中的權利總是不平等，故海關稅則，都是由外國所定，中國不能自由更改。中國的關稅，中國人不能自收自用，所以我們便要爭。

現在各國對於外來經濟力的壓迫，又是怎樣對待呢？各國平時對於外國經濟力的侵入，都是用海關作武器，來保護本國經濟的發展。好比在海口上防止外來軍隊的侵入，便要築砲臺一樣。所以保護稅法就是用關稅去抵制外貨，本國的工業才可以發達。像美國自白人滅了紅番以後，和歐洲各國通商，當時美國是農業國，歐洲各國多是工業國，以農業國和工業國通商，自然是工業國佔勝利，故美國就創出保護稅法，來保護本國的工商業。保護稅法的用意，是將別國的入口貨，特別加以重稅，如進口貨物值一百元的，海關便抽稅一百元或八十元，各國通例都是五六十元。抽這樣重的稅，便可以令別國貨物的價貴，在本國不能銷行，本國貨物無稅，因之價平，便可以暢銷。我們中國現在怎麼樣的情形呢？中國沒有和外國通商以前，人民所用貨物都是自己用手工製造。古人說：男耕女織，便可見農業和紡織工業是中國所固有的。後來外國貨物進口，因為海關稅輕，所以外來的洋布價賤，本地的土布價貴，一般人民便愛穿洋布，不穿土布，因之土布工業就被洋布打滅了。本國的手工工業便從此失敗，人民無職業，便變成了許多游民，這就是外國經濟力壓迫的情形。現在中國雖然仍有手工織布，但是原料還要用洋紗，近來

漸有用本國棉花和外國機器來紡紗織布的。像上海有很多的大紗廠、大布廠，用這些布廠紗廠本來逐漸可抵制洋貨，但是因為海關還在外國人手中，他們對於我們的土布，還要抽重稅；不但海關要抽重稅，進到內地各處還要抽厘金。所以中國不獨沒有保護稅法，並且是加重土貨的稅去保護洋貨。當歐戰時。各國不能製造貨物輸入中國，所以上海的紗廠布廠一時是很發達的。由此所得的利益便極大。對本分利，資本家極多。但歐戰以後，各國貨物充斥中國，上海的紗廠布廠，從前所謂賺錢的，至今都變成虧本了，土貨都被洋貨打敗了。中國關稅不特不來保護自己，並且要去保外人，好比自己挖了戰壕，自己不但不能用去打敵人，並且反被敵人用來打自己。所以政治力的壓迫是有形的，最愚蠢的人也容易看見的；經濟力的壓迫是無形的，一般人都不容易看見，自己並且還要加重力量來壓迫自己。所以中國自通商以後，出入口貨物之比較，有江河日下之勢。前十年調查中國出入口貨物，相差不過二萬萬元。近來檢查海關報告表，一九二一年進口貨超過出口貨是五萬萬元，比較十年前已加多兩倍半。若照此推算，十年後也加多兩倍半，那麼進口稅超過出口貨便要到了十二萬萬五千萬。換一句話說，就是十年之後，中國單貿易一項，每一年要進貢到外國的是十二萬萬五千萬元，你們看（註三）這個漏卮大不大呢？

經濟力的壓迫，除了海關稅以外，還有外國銀行。現在中國人的心理，對於本國銀行都不信用，對於外國銀行便非常信用。好比此刻在我們廣東的外國銀行，便極有信用，中國銀行毫無信用。從前我們廣東省立銀行發出紙幣，尚可通用，此刻那種紙幣毫不能用，我們現在只用現銀。從前中國紙幣的信用，不及外國紙幣，現在中國的現銀仍不及外國銀行的紙幣。現在外國銀行的紙幣銷行於廣東的總數，當有幾千萬，一般人民都情願收藏外國紙幣，不情願收藏中國現銀。推之上海、天津、漢口各通商口岸，都是一樣。推究此中原因，就是因為中了經濟壓迫的毒。我們平常都以為外國人很有錢，不知道他們是用紙來換我們的貨物，他們本來沒有幾多錢，好多都是我們送到他們的一樣。外國人現在所用的錢，不過印出幾千萬紙（註四），我們信用他，他們便有了幾千萬錢。那些外國銀行的紙幣，每印一元，只費幾文錢；印成的紙，他的價值便稱是一元、或十元、或一百元。所以外國人不過是用最少之價值去印幾千萬元的紙；用那幾千萬元的紙，便來換我們幾千萬塊錢的貨物。諸君試想：這種損失是大不大呢？為甚麼他們能夠多印紙，我們不能夠照樣去印呢？因為普通人都中了外國經濟壓迫的毒，只信用外國，不信用自己，所以我們印的紙便不能通行。

外國紙幣之外，還有匯兌。我們中國人在各通商口岸匯兌錢，也是信用外國銀行，把中國的錢都交外國銀行匯兌；外國銀行代中國人匯兌，除匯錢的時候賺千份之五的匯水以外，並強賺兩地的錢價。在交錢的時候，又賺當地銀元合銀兩的折扣。像這樣錢價折扣的損失，在匯錢和交錢的兩處地方總算起來，必須過百分之二三。像由廣東外國銀行匯一萬塊錢到上海，外國銀行除了賺五十元匯水以外，另外由毫銀算成上海規銀的錢價，他們必定把廣東毫銀的價格算低，把上海規元銀的價格抬高，由他們自由計算，最少必要賺一二百元。到了上海交錢的時候，他們不交規元銀，只肯交大洋錢，他們用規元銀折成大洋錢，必壓低銀兩的市價抬高洋錢的市價，至少又要賺一二百元。故上海、廣州兩地之間匯兌一萬塊錢，每次至少要失二三百元。所以用一萬塊錢在上海、廣州兩地之間匯來匯去，最多不過三十餘次，便完全化為烏有。人民所以要受這些損失的原因，是因為中了外國經濟壓迫的毒。

外國銀行在中國的勢力，除了發行紙幣和匯兌以外，還有存款。中國人有了錢，要存到銀行內。不問中國銀行的資本是大是小，每年利息是多是少，只要知道是中國人辦的，便怕不安全，便不敢去存款。不問外國銀行是有信用沒有信用，他們所給的利息是多是少，只要聽到說是外國人辦的，有了洋招牌，便喫了定心丸，覺得極安全，有錢便送進去，就是利息極少，也是很滿意。最奇怪的是辛亥年武昌起義以後，一般滿清皇室和滿清官僚，怕革命黨到了，要把他們的財產充公，于是把所有的金銀財寶，都存到各處外國銀行，就是沒有利息，只要外國人收存，便心滿意足。甚至像清兵和革命軍在武漢打仗打敗了的那幾日，北京東交民巷的外國銀行，所收滿人寄存的金銀財寶，不計其數。至弄到北京所有的外國銀行都有錢滿之患，無餘地可以再存。於是後來存款的，外國銀行對於存款人，不但不出息錢，反要向存款人取租錢；存款人只要外國銀行收存款，說到租錢，外國銀行要若干便給若干。當時調查全國的外國銀行，所收中國人的存款，總計一二十萬萬。從此以後，中國人雖然取回了若干，但是十幾年以來，一般軍閥官僚，像馮國璋、王占元、李純、曹錕（註五），到處搜括，所發的橫財，每人動輒是幾千萬。他們因為想那些橫財很安全，供子子孫孫萬世之用，也是存入外國銀行。所以至今外國銀行所收中國人存款的總數，和辛亥年的總數，還是沒有甚麼大加減。外國銀行收了這一二十萬萬存款，每年付到存款人的利息是很少的，最多不過四五厘。外國銀行有了這一二十萬萬錢（註六），又轉借到中國小商家，每年收到借款人的利息是很多的，最少也有七八厘。甚至一分以上。因此外國銀行只任經理之勞，專用中國人的資本，來賺中國人的利息，每年總要在數千萬。這是中國人因為要存款到外國銀行，無形中所受的損失。普通人要把錢存到外國銀行內的心理，以為中國銀行不安全，外國銀行很安全，把款存進去，不怕他們閉倒（註七）。試問現在的中法銀行停止營業，把中國人的存款沒有歸還，中法銀行是不是外國銀

行呢？外國銀行的存款是不是安全呢？外國銀行既是不安全，為甚麼我們中國人還是甘心情願，要把中國的錢存到外國銀行，每年要損失這樣的大利息呢？推究這個原因，也是中了外國經濟壓迫的毒。外國銀行一項，在中國所獲之利，統合紙票、匯兌、存款三種算之，當在一萬萬元左右。

外國銀行之外，還有運費。中國貨物運去外國，固然是要靠洋船，就是運往漢口、長沙、廣州各內地，也是靠洋船的多。日本的航業，近來固然是很發達，但是日本最先的時候，只有一個日本郵船會社，後來才有東洋汽船會社、大阪商船會社（註八）日清汽船公司，航行於中國內地，航行于全世界。日本航業之所以那樣發達，是因為他們政府有津貼來補助，又用政治力特別維持。在中國看起來，國家去津貼商船，有甚麼利益呢？不知日本是要和各國的經濟勢力相競爭，所以在水上交通一方面，也和各國締結條約，訂出運貨的運費，每噸有一定的價錢。比方由歐洲運貨到亞洲，是先到上海，再到長崎、橫濱。由歐洲到上海，比較由歐洲到長崎、橫濱的路程，是近得多的。但是由歐洲運貨到長崎、橫濱，每噸的運費，各船公司定得很平；至於由歐洲運貨到上海的運費，中國無航業與他抵抗，各船公司定得很貴。故由歐洲運貨到長崎、橫濱，比較由歐洲運貨到上海，每噸的運費，還要便宜，因此歐洲貨物，在日本出賣的市價，還要比在上海的平。反過來，如果中國貨物由上海運去歐洲，也是比由長崎、橫濱運去歐洲，所費的運費貴得多。若是中國有值一萬萬塊錢的貨物運往歐洲，中國因為運費的原故，就要加多一千萬。照此計算，就是一萬萬之中要損失一千萬。中國出入口貨物的價值，每年已至十餘萬萬以上。此十餘萬萬中，所損失也當不下一萬萬元了。

此外還有租界與割地的賦稅、地租、地價三項，數目亦實在不少。譬如香港、臺灣、上海、天津、大連、漢口那些租界及割地內的中國人，每年納到外國人的賦稅，至少要在二萬萬以上。像從前臺灣納到日本人的稅，每年祇有二千萬，現在加到一萬萬。香港從前祇納到英國人的稅，每年祇有幾百萬，現在加到三千萬。以後當然照此例更行增加。其地租一項，則有中國人所收者，有外國人所收者，各得幾何，未曾切實調查，不得而知。然總以外國人所收為多，則不待問了。這地租之數，總比之地稅十倍。至於地價又年年增加，外人既握經濟之權，自然是多財善賈，把租界之地，平買貴賣。故此賦稅、地租、地價三項之款，中國人之受虧，每年亦當不下四五萬萬元。又在中國境內外人之團體及個人營業，恃其條約之特權，來侵奪我們利權的，更難以數計。單就南滿鐵路一個公司說，每年所賺純利已達五千餘萬。其他各國人之種種營業，統而推之，當在萬萬以上。更有一樁之損失，即是投機事業。租界之外人，每利用中國人之貪婪弱點，日日有小投機，數年一次大投機，盡量激發中國人之賭性熱狂，如樹膠的投機，馬克的投機，每次之結果，則中國人之虧累，至少都有數千萬元。而天天之小投機事業，積少成多，更不知其數了。像這樣的損失，每年亦當數千萬元。至於戰敗的賠款，甲午賠於日本者二萬萬五千萬兩，庚子賠於各國者九萬萬兩，是屬於政治上武力壓迫的範圍，當不能與經濟壓迫同論；且是一時的，不是永久的，尚屬小事了。其他尚有藩屬之損失，僑民之損失，更不知其幾何矣。這樣看來，此種經濟的壓迫，真是利害得很了。

統共算起來：其一、洋貨之侵入，每年奪我利權的五萬萬元。其二、銀行之紙票侵入我市場，與匯兌之扣折，存款之轉借等事，奪我利權者，或至一萬萬元。其三、出入口貨物運費之增加，奪我利權者約數千萬至一萬萬元。其四、租界與割地之賦稅、地租、地價三樁，奪我利權者總在四五萬萬元。其五、特權營業一萬萬元。其六、投機事業及其他種種之剝奪者，當在數千萬元。這六項之經濟壓迫，令我們所受的損失，總共不下十二萬萬元。此每年十二萬萬元之大損失，如果無法挽救，以後只有年年加多，斷沒有自然減少之理。所以今日中國已經到了民窮財盡之地位了，若不挽救，必至受經濟之壓迫，至於國亡種滅而後已。

當中國強盛時代，每要列邦年年進貢，歲歲來朝。而列邦的貢品，每年所值大約也不過百數十萬元，我們便以為非常的榮耀了。到了宋朝，中國衰弱的時候，反要向金人進貢，而納於金人的貢品，每年大約也不過百數十萬元，我們便以為奇恥大辱。我們現在要進貢到外國，每年有十二萬萬元。一年十二萬萬，十年就一百二十萬萬。這種經濟力的壓迫，這樣大的進貢，是我們夢想不到的，不容易看見的，所以大家還不覺得是大恥辱。如果我們沒有這樣大的進貢，每年有十二萬萬一宗大款，那麼我們應該做多少事業呢？我們的社會要如何進步呢？因為有了這種經濟力的壓迫，每年要受這樣大的損失，故中國的社會事業都不能發達，普通人民的生機也沒有了。專就這一種壓迫講，比用幾百萬兵來殺我們還要利害。況且外國背後更拿帝國主義來實行他們經濟的壓迫，中國人民的生機自然日蹙，游民自然日多，國勢自然日衰了。

中國近來一百年以內，已經受了人口問題的壓迫，中國人口總是不加多，外國人口總是日日加多。現在又受政治力和經濟力一齊來壓迫。我們同時受這三種力的壓迫，如果再沒有辦法，無論中國領土是怎麼樣大，人口是怎麼樣多，百年之後，一定是要亡國滅種的。我們四萬萬人的地位是不能萬古長存的；試

看美洲的紅番，從前到處皆有，現在便要全數滅亡。所以我們曉得政治壓迫的利害，還要曉得經濟的壓迫更利害，不能說我們有四萬萬人，就不容易被人銷滅。因為中國幾千年以來，從沒有受過這三個力量一齊來壓迫的；故為中國民族的前途設想，就應該要設一個甚麼方法，去打銷這三個力量。

(註一) 原文僅標「二月三日」，今增「民國十三年……講」。

(註二) 原文為「仍舊帝國主義」，今據「週刊」第十二期(民國十三年三月十六日)同講及「會本」增「把」字。

(註三) 原文為「汝看」，今據「胡本」及「會本」改。

(註四) 「會本」作「幾千萬紙幣」，今據原文、「胡本」及「週刊」。

(註五) 原文及「週刊」均作「曹琨」，今據「胡本」及「會本」改。

(註六) 原文為「一二十萬錢」，今據「週刊」及「會本」增「萬」字。

(註七) 「胡本」作「閉倒」，與原文同。「會本」從俗改作「倒閉」，今仍依原文。

(註八) 原文及「週刊」作「大版商船會社」，今據「胡本」及「會本」改。

## 民族主義 第三講

第三講 民國十三年二月十日講 (註一)

民族主義這個東西，是國家圖發達和種族圖生存的寶貝。中國到今日已經失去了這個寶貝。為甚麼中國失去了這個寶貝呢？我在今天所講的大意，就是把中國為甚麼失去了民族主義的原故來推求，並且研究我們中國的民族主義是否真正失去。依我的觀察，中國的民族主義是已經失去了，這是很明白的；並且不只失去了一天，已經失去了幾百年。試看我們革命以前，所有反對革命很利害的言論，都是反對民族主義的。再推想到幾百年前，中國的民族思想，完全沒有了。在這幾百年中，中國的書裏頭，簡直是看不出民族主義來，只看見對於滿洲的歌功頌德，甚麼深仁厚澤，甚麼食毛踐土，從沒有人敢說滿洲是甚麼東西的。近年革命思想發生之後，還有許多自命為中國學士文人的，天天來替滿洲說話。譬如從前在東京辦民報時代，我們提倡民族主義，那時候駁我們民族主義的人，便說滿洲種族入主中華。我們不算是亡國。因為滿洲受過了明朝龍虎將軍的封號；滿洲來推翻明朝，不過是歷代朝廷相傳的接替，可說是易朝，不是亡國。然則從前做過中國稅務司的英國人赫德，他也曾受過了中國戶部尚書的官銜，比如赫德來滅中國，做中國的皇帝，我們可不可以說中國不是亡國呢？這些人不獨是用口頭去擁護滿洲，還要結合一個團體叫做保皇黨，專保護大清皇帝，來消滅漢人的民族思想的。所有保皇黨的人，都不是滿洲人，完全是漢人。歡迎保皇黨的人，多是海外華僑；後遇革命思想盛行之時，那些華僑才漸漸變更宗旨，來贊成革命。華僑在海外的會黨極多，有洪門三合會，即致公堂，他們原來的宗旨，本是反清復明，抱有種族主義的。因為保皇主義流行到海外以後，他們就歸化保皇黨，專想保護大清皇室的安全，故由有種族主義的會黨，反變成了去保護滿洲皇帝。把這一件事看來，便可證明中國的民族主義完全亡了。我們講到會黨，便要知道會黨的起源。會黨在滿清康熙時候最盛，自順治打破了明朝，入主中國，明朝的忠臣義士，在各處起來抵抗，到了康熙初年，還有抵抗的。所以中國在那個時候，還沒有完全被滿洲征服。康熙末年以後，明朝遺民逐漸消滅。當中一派是富有民族思想的人，覺得大事去矣，再沒有能力可以和滿洲抵抗，就觀察社會情形，想出方法來結合會黨，他們的眼光是很遠大的，思想是很透澈的，觀察社會情形也是很清楚的。他們剛才結合成種種會黨的時候，康熙就開博學鴻詞科，把明朝有智識學問的人，幾乎都網羅到滿洲政府之下。那些有思想的人知道了不能專靠文人去維持民族主義，便對於下流社會和江湖上無家可歸的人收羅起來，結成團體，把民族主義放到那種團體內去生存。這種團體的分子，因為是社會上最低下的人，他們的行動很鄙陋，便令人看不起。又用文人所不講的言語，去宣傳他們的主義，便令人不大注意。所以那些明朝遺老實在有真知灼見。至於他們所以要這樣保存民族主義的意思，好比在太平時候，富人的寶貝，自然要藏在很貴重的鐵箱裏頭。到了遇着強盜入室的時候，主人恐怕強盜先要開貴重的鐵箱，當然要把寶貝藏在令人不注意的地方；如果遇到極危急的時候，或者要投入極污穢之中，也未可知。故當時明朝遺老想保存中國的寶貝，便不得不把他藏在很鄙陋的下流社會中。所以滿洲二百多年以來，無論是怎樣專制，因為是有這些會黨口頭的遺傳，還可以保存中國的民族主義。當日洪門會中，要反清復明，為甚麼不把他們的主義保存在智識階級裏頭呢？為甚麼不做文章來流傳，如

太史公所謂藏之名山傳之其人呢？因為當時明朝的遺老看見滿洲開博學鴻詞科，一時有智識有學問的人差不多都被收羅去了，便知道那些有智識階級的靠不住，不能藏之名山傳之其人，所以要在下流社會中藏起來，便去結合那些會黨。在會黨裏頭，他們的結納是很容易很利便的，他們結合起來，在滿洲專制之下保存民族主義，是不拿文字來傳，拿口頭來傳的。所以我們今天要把會黨源原本本講起來，很為困難，因為他們只有口頭傳下來的片段故事。就是當時有文字傳下來，到了乾隆時候也被消毀了。在康熙、雍正時候，明朝遺民排滿之風還是很盛，所以康熙、雍正時候便出了多少書，如大義覺迷錄等，說漢人不應該反對滿洲人來做皇帝。他所持的理由，是說舜是東夷之人，文王是西夷之人，滿洲人雖是夷狄之人，還可以來做中國的皇帝。由此便可見康熙、雍正還自認為滿洲人，還忠厚一點。到了乾隆時代，連滿漢兩個字都不准人提起了，把史書都要改過，凡是當中關於宋元歷史的關係和明清歷史的關係，都通通刪去。所有關於記載滿洲、匈奴、韃靼的書，一概定為禁書，通通把他消滅，不准人藏，不准人看。因為當時違禁的書，興過了好幾回文字獄之後，中國的民族思想保存在文字裏頭的，便完全消滅了。到了清朝中葉以後，會黨中有民族思想的，只有洪門會黨。當洪秀全起義之時，洪門會黨多來相應，民族主義就復興起來。須注意洪門不是由洪秀全而得此稱，當是由朱洪武或由朱洪祝（康熙時有人奉朱洪祝起義）而得此稱謂，亦未可定。洪秀全失敗以後，民族主義更流傳到軍隊，流傳到游民。那時的軍隊如湘軍、淮軍，多屬會黨。即如今日青幫、紅幫等名目，也是由軍隊流傳而來。明朝遺老宣傳民族主義到下流社會裏頭，但是下流社會的智識太幼稚，不知道自己來利用這種主義，反為人所利用。比方在洪秀全時代，反清復明的思想已經傳到了軍隊裏頭，但因洪門子弟不能利用他們，故他們仍然是清兵。又有一段故事，也可以引來證明：當時左宗棠帶兵去征新疆，由漢口起程到西安，帶了許多湘軍、淮軍經過長江。那時會黨散在珠江流域的，叫做三合會；散在長江的，叫做哥老會。哥老會的頭目，叫做大龍頭。有一位大龍頭在長江下游犯了法，逃到漢口，那時清朝的驛站通消息固然很快，但是哥老會的馬頭通消息更快。左宗棠在途上有一天忽然看見他的軍隊自己移動集中起來，排起十幾里的長隊，便覺得非常詫異；不久接到一件兩江總督的文書，說有一個很著名的匪首，由漢口逃往西安，請他拿辦。左宗棠當時無從拿辦，只算是官樣文章，把這件事擱起來。後來看見他的軍隊移動得更利害，排的隊更長，個個兵士都說去歡迎大龍頭，他還莫明其妙。後來知道了兵士要去歡迎的大龍頭，就是兩江總督要他拿辦的匪首，他便慌起來了。當時問他的幕客某人說：甚麼是哥老會呢？哥老會的大龍頭，和這個匪首有甚麼關係呢？幕客便說我們軍中自兵士以至將官，都是哥老會，那位拿辦的大龍頭，就是我們軍中哥老會的首領。左宗棠說如果是這樣，我們的軍隊怎樣可以維持呢？幕客說如果要維持這些軍隊，便要請大帥也去做大龍頭；大帥如果不肯做大龍頭，我們便不能出新疆。左宗棠想不到別的方法，又要利用那些軍隊，所以便贊成幕客的主張，也去開山堂，做起大龍頭來，把那些會黨都收為部下。由此便可見左宗棠後來能夠平定新疆，並不是利用清朝的威風，還是利用明朝遺老的主義。中國的民族主義，自清初以來，保存了很久；從左宗棠做了大龍頭之後，他知道其中的詳情，就把馬頭破壞了，會黨的各機關都銷滅了，所以到我們革命的時候，便無機關可用。這個洪門會黨都被人利用了，所以中國的民族主義真是老早亡了。

中國的民族主義既亡，今天就把亡的原因拿來說一說。此中原因是很多的，尤其以被異族征服的原因為最大。凡是一種民族征服別種民族，自然不准別種民族有獨立的思想，好比高麗被日本征服了，日本現在就要改變高麗人的思想，所有高麗學校裏的教科書，凡是關於民族思想的話都要刪去。由此三十年後，高麗的兒童便不知有高麗了，便不知自己是高麗人了。從前滿洲對待我們也是一樣，所以民族主義滅亡的頭一個原因，就是我們被異族征服；征服的民族，要把被征服的民族所有寶貝，都要完全銷滅。滿洲人知道這個道理，從前用過了很好的手段，康熙時候興過了文字獄，但是康熙還不如乾隆狡猾，要把漢人的民族思想完全銷滅。康熙說他是天生來做中國皇帝的，勸人不可逆天；到了乾隆，便更狡猾，就把滿漢的界限完全銷滅。所以自乾隆以後，智識階級的人多半不知有民族思想，只有傳到下流社會。但是下流社會雖然知道要殺韃子，只知道當然，不知道所以然，所以中國的民族思想便銷滅了幾百年。這種銷滅是由於滿洲人的方法好。

中國民族主義之所以銷滅，本來因為是亡國，因為被外國人征服。但是世界上民族之被人征服的，不只中國人，猶太人也是亡國。猶太人在耶蘇未生之前，已經被人征服了；及耶蘇傳教的時候，他的門徒當他是革命，把耶蘇當作革命的首領，所以當時稱他為猶太人之王。耶蘇門徒的父母，曾有對耶蘇說，若是我主成功，我的大兒子便坐在主的左邊，二兒子便坐在主的右邊。儼然以中國所謂左丞右相來相比擬。所以猶太人亡了國之後，耶蘇的門徒以為耶蘇是革命。當時耶蘇傳教，或者是含有政治革命也未可知，但是他的十三位門徒中，就有一個以為耶蘇的政治革命已經失敗了，就去賣他的老師。不知耶蘇的革命，是宗教革命，所以稱其國為天國。故自耶蘇以後，猶太的國雖然滅亡，猶太的民族至今還在。又像印度也是亡國，但是他們的民族思想，就不像中國的民族思想一樣，一被外國的武力壓服了，民族思想便隨之銷滅。再像波蘭從前也亡國百多年，但是波蘭的民族思想永遠存在，所以到歐戰之後，他們就把舊國

家恢復起來，至今成了歐洲的二三等國。像這樣講來，中國和猶太、印度、波蘭比較，都是一樣的亡國。何以外國亡國，民族主義不至于亡。為甚麼中國經過了兩度亡國，民族思想就滅亡了呢？這是很奇怪的，研究當中的道理是很有趣味的。中國在沒有亡國以前，是很文明的民族，很強盛的國家，所以常自稱為堂堂大國，聲名文物之邦，其他各國都是蠻夷。以為中國是居世界之中，所以叫自己的國家做中國，自稱大一統，所謂天無二日，民無二王，所謂萬國衣冠拜冕旒，這都是由于中國在沒有亡國以前，已漸由民族主義而進于世界主義。所以歷代總是用帝國主義去征服別種民族。像漢朝的張博望、班定遠，滅過了三十多國，好像英國印度公司的經理卡來呼，把印度的幾十國都收服了一樣。中國幾千年以來，總是實行平天下的主義，把亞洲的各小國完全征服了。但是中國征服別國，不是像現在的歐洲人，專用野蠻手段，而多用和平手段去感化人，所謂王道，常用王道去收服各弱小民族。由此推尋，便可以得到我們民族思想之所以滅亡的道理出來。從甚麼方面知道別的種族如猶太亡了國二千年，他們的民族主義還是存在，我們中國亡國只有三百多年，就把民族主義完全亡了呢？考察此中原因，好像考察人受了病一樣。一個人不論是受了甚麼病，不是先天不足，就是在未受病之前，身體早起了不健康的原因。中國在沒有亡國以前，已經有了受病的根源，所以一遇到被人征服，民族思想就銷滅了。這種病的根源，就是在中國幾千年以來，都是帝國主義的國家。如現在的英國和沒有革命以前的俄國，都是世界上頂強盛的國家。到了現在，英國的帝國主義還是很發達，我們中國從前的帝國主義，或者還要駕乎英國之上。英俄兩國現在生出了一個新思想，這個思想是有智識的學者提倡出來的，這是甚麼思想呢？是反對民族主義的思想。這種思想說民族主義是狹隘的，不是寬大的。簡直的說就是世界主義。現在的英國和以前的俄國、德國與及中國現在提倡新文化的新青年，都贊成這種主義，反對民族主義。我常聽見許多新青年說國民黨的三民主義，不合現在世界的新潮流，現在世界上最新最好的主義是世界主義。究竟世界主義是好是不好呢？如果這個主義是好的，為甚麼中國一經亡國，民族主義就要銷滅呢？世界主義，就是中國二千多年以前所講的天下主義。我們現在研究這個主義，他到底是好不好呢？照理論上講不能說是不好。從前中國智識階級的人，因為有了世界主義的思想，所以滿清入關，全國就亡。康熙就是講世界主義的人，他說：舜東夷之人也，文王西夷之人也，東西夷狄之人，都可以來中國做皇帝，就是中國不分夷狄華夏，不分夷狄華夏，就是世界主義。大凡一種思想，不能說是好不好，只看他是合我們用不合我們用。如果合我們用便是好，不合我們用便是不好。合乎全世界的用途便是好，不合乎全世界的用途便是不好。世界上的國家，拿帝國主義把人征服了，要想保全他的特殊地位，做全世界的主人翁，便是提倡世界主義，要全世界都服從。中國從前也想做全世界的主人翁，總想站在萬國之上，故主張世界主義。因為普通社會有了這種主義，故滿清入關便無人抵抗，以致亡國。當滿清入關的時候，人數是很少的，總數不過十萬人。拿十萬人怎麼能夠征服數萬萬人呢？因為那時候，中國大多數人很提倡世界主義，不講民族主義，無論甚麼人來做中國皇帝，都是歡迎的。所以史可法雖然想反對滿人，但是贊成他的人數太少，還是不能抵抗滿人。因全國的人都歡迎滿人，所以滿人便得做中國安穩皇帝。當那個時候，漢人不但是歡迎滿人，并且要投入旗下歸化於滿人，所以有所謂漢軍旗。

現在世界上頂強盛的國家是英國、美國。世界上不只一個強國，有幾個強國，所謂列強。但是列強的思想性質至今還沒有改變，將來英國、美國或者能夠打破列強成為獨強。到那個時候中國或者被英國征服，中國的民族變成英國民族，我們是好是不好呢？如果中國人入英國籍或美國籍，幫助英國或美國來打破中國，便說我們是服從世界主義，試問我們自己的良心是安不安呢？如果我們的良心不安，便是因為有了民族主義，民族主義能夠令我們的良心不安。所以民族主義就是人類圖生存的寶貝。好比讀書的人是拿甚麼東西來謀生呢？是拿手中的筆來謀生的，筆是讀書人謀生的工具。民族主義便是人類生存的工具；如果民族主義不能存在，到了世界主義發達之後，我們就不能生存，就要被人淘汰。中國古時說竄三苗于三危，漢人把他們驅逐到雲南、貴州的邊境，現在（註二）幾幾乎要滅種，不能生存。說到這些三苗，也是中國當日原有的土民，我們中國民族的將來情形恐怕也要像三苗一樣。

講到中國民族的來源，有人說百姓民族是由西方來的，過蔥嶺到天山，經新疆以至於黃河流域。照中國文化的發祥地說，這種議論，似乎是很有理由的。如果中國文化不是外來，乃由本國發生的，則照天然的原則來說，中國文化應該發源於珠江流域，不應該發源於黃河流域。因為珠江流域氣候溫和，物產豐富，人民很容易謀生，是應該發生文明的。但是考究歷史，堯、舜、禹、湯、文、武時候，都不是生在珠江流域，都是生在西北，珠江流域在漢朝還是蠻夷，所以中國文化是由西北方來的，是由外國來的。中國人說人民是百姓，外國人說西方古時有一種百姓民族，後來移到中國，把中國原來的苗子民族或銷滅或同化，才成中國今日的民族。照進化論中的天然公例說，適者生存，不適者滅亡；優者勝，劣者敗。我們的民族到底是優者呢？或是劣者呢？是適者呢？或是不適者呢？如果說到我們的民族要滅亡、要失敗，大家自然不願意。要本族能夠生存能夠勝利，那才願意，這是人類的天然思想。現在我們民族處於很為難的地位，將來一定要滅亡。所以滅亡的原故，就是由於外國人口增加和政治、經濟三個力量一齊來壓迫。我們現在所受政治力、經濟力兩種壓迫已達極點；惟我們現在的民族還大，所受外國人口增加

的壓迫，還不容易感覺，要到百年之後才能感覺。我們現在有這樣大的民族，可惜失去了民族思想。因為失去了民族思想，所以外國的政治力和經濟力才能打破我們。如果民族思想沒有失去，外國的政治力和經濟力一定打不破我們。但是我們何以失去民族主義呢？要考究起來，是很難明白的。我可以用一件故事來比喻，這個比喻或者是不倫不類，和我們所講的道理毫不相關，不過借來也可以說明這個原因。這件故事是我在香港親見過的：從前有一個苦力，天天在輪船碼頭，拿一枝竹槓和兩條繩子去替旅客挑東西，每日挑東西就是那個苦力謀生之法。後來他積存了十多塊錢，當時呂宋彩票盛行，他就拿所積蓄的錢買了一張呂宋彩票。那個苦力因為無家可歸，所有的東西都沒有地方收藏，所以他買得的彩票也沒有地方收藏。他謀生的工具只是一枝竹槓和兩條繩子，他到甚麼地方，那枝竹槓和兩條繩子便帶到甚麼地方，所以他就把所買的彩票收藏在竹槓之內。因為彩票藏在竹槓之內，不能隨時拿出來看，所以做把彩票的號數死死記在心頭，時時刻刻都念着。到了開彩的那一日，他便到彩票店內去對號數，一見號單，知道是自己中了頭彩，可以發十萬元的財；他就喜到上天，幾幾乎要發起狂來，以為從此便可不用竹槓和繩子去做苦力了，可以永久做大富翁了。由於這番歡喜，便把手中的竹槓和繩子一齊投入海中。用這個比喻說，呂宋彩票好比是世界主義，是可以發財的。竹槓好比是民族主義，是一個謀生的工具。中了頭彩的時候，好比是中國帝國主義極強盛的時代，進至世界主義的時代。我們的祖宗以為中國是世界的強國，所謂天無二日，民無二王，萬國衣冠拜冕旒，世界從此長太平矣；以後只要講世界主義，要全世界的人都來進貢，從此不必要民族主義，所以不要竹槓，要把他投入海中。到了為滿洲所滅的時候，不但世界上的大主人翁做不成，連自己的小家產都保守不穩，百姓的民族思想一齊銷滅了，這好比是竹槓投入了海中一樣。所以滿清帶兵入關，吳三桂便作嚮導；史可法雖然想提倡民族主義擁戴福王，在南京圖恢復，滿洲的多爾袞便對史可法說，我們的江山不是得之於大明，是得之於闖賊。他的意思以為明朝的江山，是明朝自己人失去的，好比苦力自己丟了竹槓一樣。近來講新文化的學生也提倡世界主義，以為民族主義不合世界潮流。這個論調，如果是發自英國、美國，或發自我們的祖宗，那是很適當的；但是發自現在的中國人，這就不適當了。德國從前不受壓迫，他們不講民族主義，只講世界主義；我看今日的德國，恐怕不講世界主義，要來講一講民族主義罷。我們的祖宗如果不把竹槓丟了，我們還可以得回那個頭彩，但是他們把竹槓丟得太早了，不知道發財的彩票，還藏在裏面。所以一受外國的政治力和經濟力來壓迫，以後又遭天然的淘汰，我們便有亡國滅種之憂。

此後我們中國人，如果有方法恢復民族主義，再找得一枝竹槓，那麼就是外國的政治力和經濟力，無論怎麼樣來壓迫，我們民族就是在千萬年之後，決不至于滅亡。至于講到天然淘汰，我們民族更是可以長存，因為天生了我們四萬萬人，能夠保存到今日，是天從前不想亡中國。將來如果中國亡了，罪惡是在我們自己，我們就是將來世界上的罪人。天既付托重任于中國人，如果中國人不自愛，是謂逆天。所以中國到這個地位，我們是有責任可負的。現在天既不要淘汰我們，是天要發展世界的進化。如果中國將來亡了，一定是列強要亡中國，那便是列強阻止世界的進化。昨日有一位俄國人說列寧為甚麼受世界列強的攻擊呢？因為他敢說了一句話，他說世界上有兩種人：一種是十二萬萬五千萬人，一種是二萬萬五千萬人；這十二萬萬五千萬人，是受那二萬萬五千萬人的壓迫。那些壓迫人的人是逆天行道，不是順天行道；我們去抵抗強權，才是順天行道。我們要能夠抵抗強權，就要我們四萬萬人和十二萬萬五千萬人聯合起來。我們要能夠聯合十二萬萬五千萬人，就要提倡民族主義，自己先聯合起來，推己及人，再把各弱小民族都聯合起來，並同去打破二萬萬五千萬人，共同用公理去打破強權。強權打破以後，世界上沒有野心家，到了那個時候，我們便可以講世界主義。

（註一） 原文僅標「二月十日」，今增「民國十三年……講」。

（註二） 原文為「現存」。今據「週刊」第十三期（民國十三年三月二十三日）同講及「會本」改。

## 民族主義 第四講

第四講 民國十三年二月十七日講（註一）

現在世界上所有的人數，大概在十五萬萬左右。在這十五萬萬人中，中國佔了四分之一；就是世界上每四個人中，有一個中國人。歐洲所有白種民族的人數，合計起來也是四萬萬。現在世界上民族最發達的是白種人（註二）。白種人中有四個民族：在歐洲中北的有條頓民族，條頓民族建立了好幾個國家，最大的是德國；其次奧國、瑞典、那威、和蘭、丹麥，都是條頓民族所建立的。在歐洲之東的有斯拉夫民族，也建立了好幾個國家，最大的是俄國；歐戰後發生後，有捷克斯拉夫和佐哥斯拉夫兩國新國。在歐洲之西的有撒克遜民族，叫做「盎格魯撒克遜」，這個民族建立了兩國大國，一個是英國，一個是美國。在歐洲之南的有拉丁民族，這個民族也建立了好幾個國家，頂大的是法國、意大利、西班牙、葡萄牙。拉丁

民族移到南美洲，也建立了幾個國家，和盎格魯撒克遜民族移到北美洲建立了加拿大和美國一樣。歐洲白種民族，不過是四萬萬人，分開成四個大民族，由這四個大民族建立了許多國家，原因是白種人的民族主義很發達。因為白種人的民族主義很發達，所以他們在歐洲住滿了，便擴充到西半球的南北美洲，東半球東南方的非洲、澳洲。現在世界上的民族佔地球上領土最多的，是撒克遜民族。這個民族最初發源的地方是歐洲，但是在歐洲所佔的領土，不過是大不列顛三島，像英格蘭、蘇格蘭和愛爾蘭，這三島在大西洋的位置，好像日本在太平洋一樣。撒克遜人所擴充的領土，西到北美洲，東到澳洲、紐絲蘭，南到非洲，所以說佔世界上領土最多的是撒克遜民族，世界上最富最強的人種也是撒克遜民族。歐戰以前，世界上最強盛的民族是條頓和斯拉夫，尤以條頓民族的聰明才力為最大，所以德國能夠把二十幾個小邦聯合起來，成立了一個大德意志聯邦。成立之初，本來是農業國，後來變成工業國；因為工業發達，所以陸海軍也隨之強盛。

歐戰之前，歐洲民族都受了帝國主義的毒。甚麼是帝國主義呢？就是用政治力去侵略別國的主義，即中國所謂動遠略。這種侵略政策，現在名為帝國主義。歐洲各民族都染了這種主義，所以常常發生戰爭，幾幾乎每十年中必有一小戰，每百年中必有一大戰。其中最大的戰爭，就是前幾年的歐戰，這次戰爭可以叫做世界的大戰爭。何以叫做世界的大戰爭呢？因為這次戰事擴充，影響到全世界，各國人民都被捲入旋渦之中。這次大戰爭所以構成的原因：一是撒克遜民族和條頓民族互爭海上的霸權。因為德國近來強盛，海軍逐漸擴張，成世界上第二海權的強國；英國要自己的海軍獨霸全球，所以要打破第二海權的德國。英德兩國都想在海上爭霸權，所以便起戰爭。二是各國爭領土。東歐有一個弱國叫做土耳其，即突厥；土耳其百年以來世人都說他是近東病夫，因為內政不修明，皇帝很專制，變成了很衰弱的國家，歐洲各國都要把他瓜分，百餘年以來不能解決。歐洲各國要解決這個問題，所以發生戰爭。故歐戰的原因，第一是白種人互爭雄長，第二是解決世界的問題。如果戰後是德國獲勝，世界上的海權便要歸德國佔領，英國的大領土便要完全喪失，必成羅馬一樣，弄至四分五裂而亡。但是戰爭的結果，德國是打敗了，德國想行帝國主義的目的便達不到。這次歐洲的戰爭，是有史以來最劇烈的，軍隊的人數（註三）有四五千萬，時間經過了四年之久，到戰爭最後的時候，兩方還不能分勝負。在戰爭的兩方面，一方叫做協商國，一方叫做同盟國。在同盟國之中，初起時有德國、奧國，後來加入土耳其、布加利亞。在協商國之中，初起時有塞維亞、法國、俄國、英國及日本，後來加入意大利及美國。美國之所以參加的原因，全為民族問題。因在戰爭之頭一二年，都是德奧二國獲勝，法國的巴黎和英國的海峽，都幾乎被德奧兩國軍隊攻入。條頓民族便以為英國必亡，英國人便十分憂慮，見得美國的民族是和他們相同，於是拿撒克遜民族的關係去煽動美國；美國見得和自己相同民族的英國，將要被異族的德國滅亡，也不免物傷其類，所以加入戰爭去幫助英國，維持撒克遜人的生存。並且恐怕自己的力量單薄，遂竭全力去鼓動全世界的中立民族，共同參加去打敗德國。當戰爭時有一個大言論，最被人歡迎的，是美國威爾遜所主張的「民族自決」。因為德國用武力壓迫歐洲協商國的民族，威爾遜主張打滅德國的強權，令世界上各弱小民族以後都有自主的機會；於是這種主張，便被世界所歡迎。所以印度雖然被英國滅了，普通人民是反對英國的，但是有好多小民族，聽見威爾遜說這回戰爭是為弱小民族爭自由的，他們便很喜歡去幫英國打仗。安南雖然是被法國滅了，平日人民痛恨法國的專制，但當歐戰時仍幫法國去打仗，也是因為聽到威爾遜的主張是公道的原故。他若歐洲的弱小民族像波蘭、捷克斯拉夫、羅米尼亞，一齊加入協商國去打同盟國的原因，也是因為聽見了威爾遜所主張的民族自決那一說。我們中國也受了美國的鼓動，加入戰爭，雖然沒有出兵，但是送了幾十萬工人去挖戰壕，做後方的勤務。協商國因為創出這項好題目，所以弄到無論歐洲亞洲一切被壓迫的民族，都聯合起來去幫助他們打破同盟國。當時威爾遜主張維持以後世界的和平，提出了十四條，其中最要緊的是讓各民族自決。當戰事未分勝負的時候，英國、法國都很贊成，到了戰勝之後開和議的時候，英國、法國和意大利覺得威爾遜所主張的民族開放，和帝國主義利益的衝突太大，所以到要和議的時候，便用種種方法騙去威爾遜的主張，弄到和議結局所定出的條件，最不公平。世界上的弱小民族不但不能自決，不但不能自由，並且以後所受的壓迫，比從前更要利害。由此可見強盛的國家和有力量民族，已經雄佔全球，無論甚麼國家和甚麼民族的利益，都被他們壟斷。他們想永遠維持（註四）這種壟斷的地位，再不准弱小民族復興，所以天天鼓吹世界主義，謂民族主義的範圍太狹隘。其實他們主張的世界主義，就是變相的帝國主義與變相的侵略主義。但是威爾遜的主張提出以後，便不能收回，因為各弱小民族，幫助協商國打倒同盟國，是希望戰勝之後可以自由的。後來在和議所得的結果，令他們大為失望，所以安南、緬甸、爪哇、印度、南洋羣島以及土耳其、波斯、阿富汗、埃及與夫歐洲的幾十個弱小民族，都大大的覺悟，知道列強當日所主張的民族自決，完全是騙他們的，所以他們便不約而同，自己去實行民族自決。

歐洲數年大戰的結果，還是不能銷滅帝國主義，因為當時的戰爭，是一國的帝國主義和別國的帝國主義相衝突的戰爭，不是野蠻和文明的戰爭，不是強權和公理的戰爭；所以戰爭的結果，仍是一個帝國主義打倒別個帝國主義，留下來的還是帝國主義。但是由這一次戰爭，無意中發生了一個人類中的大希望，

這個希望就是俄國革命。俄國發起革命，本來很早，在歐戰前一千九百零五年的時候，曾經起過了革命，不過沒有成功，到歐戰的時候，便大功告成。他們所以當歐戰時，再發生革命的原故，因為他們民族經過這次歐戰，便生出了大覺悟。俄國本是協商國之一，協商國打德國的時候，俄國所出的兵約計有千餘萬，可謂出力不少。如果協商國不得俄國參加，當日歐洲西方的戰線，老早被德國衝破了；因為有了俄國在東方牽制，所以協商國能夠和德國相持兩三年，反敗為勝。俄國正當戰爭之中，自己思索，覺得幫助協商國去打德國，就是幫助幾個強權去打一個強權，料到後來，一定沒有好結果；所以一般兵士和人民便覺悟起來，脫離協商國，單獨和德國講和。況且說到國家的地位，俄國和德國人民的利害，毫無衝突。不過講到帝國主義的地位，彼此都想侵略，自然發生衝突。而且德國侵略太過，俄國為自衛計，不得不與英法各國一致行動。後來俄國人民覺悟，知道帝國主義不對，所以便對本國革命，先推翻本國的帝國主義，同時又與德國講和，免去外患的壓迫。不久協商國也與德國講和，共同出兵去打俄國。為甚麼協商國要出兵去打俄國呢？因為俄國人民發生了新覺悟，知道平日所受的痛苦，完全是由於帝國主義；現在要解除痛苦，故不得不除去帝國主義，主張民族自決。各國反對這項主張，所以便共同出兵去打他。俄國的主張和威爾遜的主張，是不約而同的，都是主張世界上的弱小民族都能夠自決，都能夠自由。俄國這種主義傳出以後，世界上各弱小民族都很贊成，共同來求自決。歐洲經過這次大戰的災害，就帝國主義一方面講，本沒有甚麼大利益，但是因此有了俄國革命，世界人類便生出一個大希望。

世界上的十五萬萬人之中，頂強盛的是歐洲和美洲的四萬萬白種人。白種人以此為本位，去吞滅別色人種，如美洲的紅番經已銷滅，非洲的黑人不久就要銷滅，印度的棕色人正在銷滅之中，亞洲黃色人現在受白人的壓迫，不久或要銷滅。但是俄國革命成功，他們一萬萬五千萬人脫離了白種，不贊成白人的侵略行為，現在正想加入亞洲的弱小民族，去反抗強暴的民族。那麼強暴的民族只剩得二萬萬五千萬人，還是想用野蠻手段，拿武力去征服十二萬萬五千萬人。故此後世界人類，要分為兩方面去決鬥：一方面是十二萬萬五千萬人，一方面是二萬萬五千萬人。第二方面的人數雖然很少，但是他們佔了世界上頂強盛的地位，他們的政治力和經濟力都很大，總是用這兩種力量去侵略弱小的民族。如果政治的海陸軍力不夠，便用經濟力去壓迫；如果經濟力有時而窮，便用政治的海陸軍力去侵略。他們的政治力幫助經濟力，好比左手幫助右手一樣，把多數的十二萬萬五千萬人民壓迫得很利害。但是天不從人願，忽然生出了斯拉夫民族的一萬萬五千萬人，去反對帝國主義和資本主義，為世界人類打不平。所以我前次說，有一位俄國人說：「世界列強所以詆毀列寧的原因，是因為他敢說世界多數的民族十二萬萬五千萬人，為少數的民族二萬萬五千萬人所壓迫。」列寧不但是說出這種話，並且還提倡被壓迫的民族去自決，為世界上被壓迫的人打不平。列強之所以攻擊列寧，是要銷滅人類中的先知先覺，為他們自己求安全。但是現在人類都覺悟了，知道列強所造的謠言都是假的，所以再不被他們欺騙。這就是世界民族的政治思想進步到光明地位的情況。

我們今日要把中國失去了的民族主義恢復起來，用此四萬萬人的力量，為世界上的人打不平，這才算是我們四萬萬人的天職。列強因為恐怕我們有了這種思想，所以便生出一種似是而非的道理，主張世界主義來煽惑我們，說世界的文明要進步，人類的眼光要遠大，民族主義過於狹隘，太不適宜，所以應該提倡世界主義。近日中國的新青年主張新文化，反對民族主義，就是被這種道理所誘惑。但是這種道理，不是受屈民族所應該講的；我們受屈民族，必先要把我們民族自由平等的地位恢復起來之後，才配得來講世界主義。我前次所講苦力買彩票的比喻，已發揮很透闢了。彩票是世界主義，竹槓是民族主義，苦力中了頭彩，就丟去謀生的竹槓，好比我們被世界主義所誘惑，便要丟去民族主義一樣。我們要知道世界主義是從甚麼地方發生出來的呢？是從民族主義發生出來的。我們要發達世界主義，先要民族主義鞏固才行；如果民族主義不能鞏固，世界主義也就不能發達。由此便可知世界主義實藏在民族主義之內，好比苦力的彩票藏在竹槓之內一樣，如果丟棄民族主義，去講世界主義，好比是苦力把藏彩票的竹槓投入海中，那便是根本推翻。我從前說，我們的地位還比不上安南人、高麗人；安南人、高麗人是亡國的人，是做人奴隸的，我們還比不上，就是我們的地位連奴隸也比不上。在這個地位，還要講世界主義，還說不要民族主義，試問諸君是講得通不通呢？就歷史上說，我們四萬萬漢族是從那一條路走來的呢？也是自帝國主義一條路走來的。我們的祖宗從前常用政治力去侵略弱小民族，不過那個時候，經濟力還不很大，所以我們向未有用經濟力去壓迫他民族。再就文化說，中國的文化比歐洲早幾千年。歐洲文化最好的時代是希臘、羅馬，到了羅馬才最盛。羅馬不過與中國的漢朝同時，那個時候，中國的政治思想便很高深，一般大言論家都極力反對帝國主義。反對帝國主義的文字很多，其中最著名的有「棄珠崖議」。此項文章就是反對中國去擴充領土，不可與南方蠻夷爭地方。由此便可見在漢朝的時候，中國便不主張與外人戰爭；中國的和平思想到漢朝時已經是很充分的了。到了宋朝，中國不但去侵略外人，反為外人所侵略，所以宋朝被蒙古所滅。宋亡之後，到明朝才復國，明朝復國之後，更是不侵略外人。當時南洋各小國要來進貢歸化中國，是他們仰慕中國的文化，自己願意來歸順的，不是中國以武力去壓迫他們的。像巫來由及南洋羣島那些小國，以中國把他們收入版圖之中，許他們來進貢，便以為是很榮耀。若

是不要他們進貢，他們便以為很恥辱。像這項尊榮，現在世界上頂強盛的國家還沒有做到。像美國待菲律賓，在菲律賓之內，讓菲人自行組織議會及設官分治；在華盛頓的國會，也讓菲人選派議員；美國每年不但不要菲律賓用錢去進貢，反津貼菲律賓以大宗款項，修築道路，興辦教育。像這樣仁慈寬厚，可算是優待極了。但是菲律賓人至今還不以歸化美國為榮，日日總是要求獨立。又像印度的尼泊爾國，尼泊爾的民族叫做「廓爾額」，這種民族是很勇敢善戰的，英國雖然是征服了印度，但至今還是怕廓爾額人，所以很優待他，每年總是送錢到他，像中國宋朝怕金人，常送錢到金人一樣。不過宋朝送錢到金人說是進貢，英國送錢到廓爾額人，或者說是津貼罷了。但是廓爾額人對於中國，到了民國元年還來進貢。由此可見中國旁邊的小民族羨慕中國，至今還是沒有絕望。十餘年前，我有一次在暹羅的外交部和外交次長談話，所談的是東亞問題。那位外交次長說：「如果中國能夠革命，變成國富民強，我們暹羅還是情願歸回中國，做中國的一行省。」我和他談話的地點，是在暹羅政府之公署內；他又是外交次長，所以他這種說話，不只是代表他個人的意見，是代表暹羅全國人的意見。由此足見暹羅當那個時候，還是很尊重中國。但是這十幾年以來，暹羅在亞洲已經成了獨立國，把各國的苛酷條約都已修改了；國家的地位也提高了，此後恐怕不願意再歸回中國了。再有一段很有趣味的故事，可以和諸君談談。當歐戰最劇烈的時候，我在廣東設立護法政府，一天有一位英國領事到大元帥府來見我，和我商量南方政府加入協商國，出兵到歐洲。我就向那位英國領事說：「為甚麼要出兵呢？」他說：「請你們去打德國，因為德國侵略了中國土地，佔了青島，中國應該去打他，把領土收回來。」我說：「青島離廣州還很遠，至於離廣州最近的有香港，稍遠一點的有緬甸、布丹、尼泊爾。像那些地方，從前是那一國的領土呢？現在你們還要來取西藏；我們中國此刻沒有收回領土的力量，如果有了力量，恐怕要先收回英國佔去了的領土罷。德國所佔去的青島地方，還是很小，至於緬甸便比青島大，西藏比青島更要大。我們如果要收回領土當先從大的地方起。」他受了我這一番反駁，就怒不可遏，便說：「我來此地是講公事的呀。」我立刻回他說：「我也是講公事呀。」兩人面面相對，許久不能下臺。後來我再對他說：「我們的文明已經比你們進步了二千餘年，我們現在是想你們上前，等你們跟上來；我們不可退後，讓你們拖下去。因為我們二千多年以前，便丟去了帝國主義，主張和平，至今中國人思想已完全達到這種目的。你們現在戰爭所訂的目標，也是主張和平，我們本來很歡迎的；但是實際上，你們還是講打不講和，專講強權不講公理。我以為你們專講強權的行為是很野蠻的，所以讓你們去打，我們不必參加。等到你們打厭了，將來或者有一日是真講和平，到了那個時候，我們才參加到你們的一方面，共求世界的和平。而且我反對中國參加出兵，還有一層最大的理由，是我很不願意中國也變成你們一樣不講公理的強國。如果依你的主張，中國加入協商國，你們便可以派軍官到中國來練兵；用你們有經驗的軍官，又補充極精良的武器，在六個月之內，一定可以練成三五十萬精兵，運到歐洲去作戰，打敗德國。到了那國時候，便不好了。」英國領事說：「為甚麼不好呢？」我說：「你們從前用幾千萬兵和幾年的時候打不敗德國，只要加入幾十萬中國兵，便可以打敗德國，由此便可以提起中國的尚武精神。用這幾十萬兵做根本，可以擴充到幾百萬精兵，於你們就大大的不利了。現在日本加入你們方面，已經成了世界上列強之一，他們的武力雄霸亞洲，他們的帝國主義和列強一樣，你們是很怕他的。說到日本的人口和富源，不及中國遠甚。如果依你今天所說的辦法，我們中國參加你們一方面，中國不到十年，便可以變成日本。照中國的人口多與領土大，中國至少可以變成十個日本。到了那個時候，以你們全世界的強盛，恐怕都不夠中國人一打了。我們因為已經多進步了二千多年，脫離了講打的野蠻習氣，到了現在才是真和平。我希望中國永遠保守和平的道德，所以不願意加入這次大戰。」那位英國領事，半點鐘前幾幾乎要和我用武，聽了這番話之後，才特別佩服，並且說：「如果我也是中國人，一定也是和你的思想相同。」

諸君知道革命本是流血的事，像湯武革命，人人都說他們是順乎天應乎人，但是講到當時用兵的情況，還有人說他們曾經過了血流漂杵。我們辛亥革命推翻滿洲，流過了多少血呢？所以流血不多的原因，就是因為中國人愛和平。愛和平就是中國人的（註五）一個大道德，中國人才是世界中最愛和平的人。我從前總勸世界人要跟上我們中國人。現在俄國斯拉夫民族也是主張和平的，這就是斯拉夫人已經跟上了我們中國人，所以俄國的一萬萬五千萬人今日就要來和我們合作。我們中國四萬萬人（註六）不但是很和平的民族，並且是很文明的民族。近來歐洲盛行的新文化，和所講的無政府主義與共產主義，都是我們中國幾千年以前的舊東西。譬如黃老的政治學說就是無政府主義，列子所說華胥氏之國，「其人無君長，無法律，自然而已。」是不是無政府主義呢？我們中國的新青年，未曾過細攷究中國的舊學說，便以為這些學說就是世界上頂新的了；殊不知在歐洲是最新的，在中國就有了幾千年了。從前俄國所行的，其實不是純粹共產主義，是馬克斯主義。馬克斯主義不是真共產主義，蒲魯東、巴古寧所主張的才是真共產主義。共產主義在外國只有言論，還沒有完全實行，在中國，洪秀全時代便實行過了。洪秀全所行的經濟制度，是共產的事實，不是言論。歐洲之所以駕乎我們中國之上的，不是政治哲學，完全是物質文明。因為他們近來的物質文明很發達，所以關於人生日用的衣食住行種種設備，便非常便利，非常迅速。關於海陸軍的種種武器彈藥（註七），便非常完全，非常猛烈。所有這些新設備和新武器，都是由於科學昌明而來的。那種科學就是十七八世紀以後，倍根、紐頓那些大學問家，所主張用觀察和實驗研究

萬事萬物的學問。所以說到歐洲的科學發達，物質文明的進步，不過是近來二百多年的事。在數百年以前，歐洲還是不及中國。我們現在要學歐洲，是要學中國沒有的東西；中國沒有的東西是科學，不是政治哲學。至於講到政治哲學的真諦，歐洲人還要求之于中國。諸君都知道世界上學問最好的是德國，但是現在德國研究學問的人還要研究中國的哲學，甚至於研究印度的佛理，去補救他們科學之偏。世界主義在歐洲，是近世才發表出來的，在中國二千多年以前，便老早說過了。我們固有的文明，歐洲人到現在還看不出，不過講到政治哲學的世界文明，我們四萬萬人從前已經發明了很多；就是講到世界大道德，我們四萬萬人也是很愛和平的。但是因為失了民族主義，所以固有的道德文明都不能表彰，到現在便退步。至於歐洲人現在所講的世界主義，其實就是有強權無公理的主義，英國話所說的「能力就是公理」，就是以打得的為有道理。中國人的心理向來不以打得為然，以講打的就是野蠻；這種不講打的好道德，就是世界主義的真精神。我們要保守這種精神，擴充這種精神，是用甚麼做基礎呢？是用民族主義做基礎。像俄國的一萬萬五千萬人是歐洲世界主義的基礎，中國四萬萬人是亞洲世界主義的基礎，有了基礎，然後才能擴充。所以我們以後要講世界主義，一定要先講民族主義，所謂欲平天下者先治其國。把從前失去了的民族主義從新恢復起來，更要從而發揚光大之，然後再去談世界主義，乃有實際。

(註一) 原文僅標「二月十七日」，今增「民國十三年……講」。

(註二) 「會本」作「白種人」，今據原文、「胡本」及「週刊」第十四期(民國十三年三月三十日)同講。

(註三) 原文為「軍隊的人」，今據「週刊」及「會本」增「數」字。

(註四) 原文為「求遠持維」，今據「週刊」及「會本」改為「永遠維持」。

(註五) 原文為「中國的人」，今據「週刊」及「會本」改為「中國人的」。

(註六) 原文為「四萬萬」，今據「週刊」及「會本」增「人」字。

(註七) 原文為「毒樂」，「週刊」及「會本」作「毒藥」。黨史會編「總理全集」(民國三十九年十月中央文物供應社出版)改為「彈藥」，今從之。

## 民族主義 第五講

第五講 民國十三年二月二十四日講 (註一)

今天所講的問題，是要用甚麼方法來恢復民族主義。照以前所講的情形，中國退化到現在地位的原因，是由於失了民族的精神，所以我們民族被別種民族所征服，統治過了兩百多年。從前做滿洲人的奴隸，現在做各國人的奴隸。現在做各國人的奴隸，所受的痛苦，比從前還要更甚。長此以往，如果不想方法來恢復民族主義，中國將來不但是要亡國，或者要亡種。所以我們要救中國，便先要想一個完善的方法來恢復民族主義。今天所講恢復民族主義的方法有兩種：頭一種是要令四萬萬人皆知我們現在所處的地位。我們現在所處的地位是生死關頭，在這個生死關頭須要避禍求福，避死求生。要怎麼能夠避禍求福、避死求生呢？須先要知道很清楚了，那便自然要去行。諸君要知道知難行易的道理，可以參考我的學說。中國從前因為不知要亡國，所以國家便亡。如果預先知道，或者不至於亡。古人說：「無敵國外患者國恆亡」。又說：「多難可以興邦」。這兩句話完全是心理作用。譬如就頭一句話說，所謂無敵國外患，是自己心理上覺得沒有外患，自以為很安全，是世界中最強大的國家，外人不致來侵犯，可以不必講國防，所以一遇有外患，便至亡國。至於多難可以興邦，也就是由於自己知道國家多難，故發奮為雄，也完全是心理作用。照從前四次所講的情形，我們要恢復民族主義，就要自己心理中知道現在中國是多難的境地，是不得了的時代，那末已經失了的民族主義，才可以圖恢復。如果心中不知，要想圖恢復，便永遠沒有希望，中國的民族不久便要滅亡。

統結從前四次所講的情形，我們民族是受甚麼禍害呢？所受的禍害是從那裏來的呢？是從列強來的。所受的禍害詳細的說，一是受政治力的壓迫，二是受經濟力的壓迫，三是受列強人口增加的壓迫。這三件外來的大禍已經臨頭，我們民族處於現有的地位是很危險的。譬如就第一件的禍害說，政治力亡人的國家，是一朝可以做得到的。中國此時受列強政治力的壓迫，隨時都可以亡，今日不知道明日的生死。應用政治力去亡人的國家有兩種手段，一是兵力，一是外交。怎麼說兵力一朝可以亡國呢？拿歷史來證明，從前宋朝怎麼樣亡國呢？是由於崖門一戰便亡於元朝。明朝怎麼樣亡國呢？是由於揚州一戰便亡於清

朝。拿外國來看，華鐵路一戰，那破命第一之帝國便亡。斯丹一戰，那破命第三之帝國便亡。照這樣看，只要一戰便至亡國，中國天天都可以亡，因為我們的海陸軍和各險要地方沒有預備國防，外國隨時可以衝入，隨時可以亡中國。最近可以亡中國的是日本，他們的陸軍平常可出一百萬，戰時可加到三百萬；海軍也是很強的，幾幾乎可以和英美爭雄。經過華盛頓會議之後，戰鬥艦才限制到三十萬噸，日本的大戰船，像巡洋艦、潛水艇、驅逐艦，都是很堅固，戰鬥力都是很大的。譬如日本此次派到白鵝潭來的兩隻驅逐艦，中國便沒有更大戰鬥力的船可以抵抗。像這種驅逐艦在日本有百幾十隻，日本如果用這種戰艦來和我們打仗，隨時便可以破我們的國防，制我們的死命。而且我們沿海各險要地方，又沒有很大的砲臺可以鞏固國防，所以日本近在東鄰，他們的海陸軍隨時可以長驅直入。日本或者因為時機未至，暫不動手，如果要動手，便天天可以亡中國。從日本動員之日起，開到中國攻擊之日止，最多不過十天；所以中國假若和日本絕交，日本在十天以內，便可以亡中國。再由日本更望太平洋東岸，最強的是美國。美國海軍從前多過日本三倍，近來因為受華盛頓會議的束縛，戰鬥艦減少到五十萬噸，其他潛水艇、驅逐艦種種新戰船，都要比日本多。至於陸軍，美國的教育是很普及的，小學教育是強迫制度，通國無論男女，都要進學校去讀書，全國國民多數受過中學教育及大學教育。他們國民在中學、大學之內，都受過軍事教育，所以美國政府隨時可以加多兵。當參加歐戰的時候，不到一年便可以出二百萬兵。故美國平時常備軍雖然不多，但是軍隊的潛勢力非常之大，隨時可以出幾百萬兵。假若中美絕交，美國自動員之日起，到攻擊中國之日止，祇要一個月。故中美絕交，在一個月之後，美國便可以亡中國。再從美國更向東望，位於歐洲大陸與大西洋之間的，便是英倫三島。英國從前號稱海上的霸王，他們的海軍是世界上最強的。自從華盛頓會議之後，也限制戰鬥艦不得過五十萬噸。至於普通巡洋艦、驅逐艦、潛水艇，都比美國多。英國到中國不過四五十天，且在中國已經有了根據地。像香港已經經營了幾十年，地方雖然很小，但是商務非常發達；這個地勢，在軍事上掌握中國南方幾省的咽喉，練得有陸軍，駐得有海軍，以香港的海陸軍來攻，我們一時雖然不至亡國，但是沒有力量可以抵抗。除了香港以外，還有極接近的印度、澳洲，用那些殖民地的海陸軍一齊來攻擊，自動員之日起，不過兩個月，都可以到中國。故中英兩國如果絕交，最多在兩個月之內，英國便可以亡中國。再來望到歐洲大陸，現在最強的是法國。他們的陸軍是世界上最強的，現在有了兩三千架飛機，以後戰時還可以增加。他們在離中國最近的地方，也有安南的根據地，並且由安南築成了一條鐵路，通到雲南省城。假若中法絕交，法國的兵也祇要四五十日，便可以來攻擊中國。所以法國也和英國一樣，最多不過兩個月，便可以亡中國。

照這樣講來，專就軍事上的壓迫說，世界上無論那一個強國，都可以亡中國。為甚麼中國至今還能夠存在呢？中國到今天還能夠存在的理由，不是中國自身有力可以抵抗，是由於列強都想亡中國，彼此都來窺伺，彼此不肯相讓。各國在中國的勢力，成了平衡狀態，所以中國還可以存在。中國有些癡心妄想的人，以為列強對於中國的權利，彼此之間，總是要妬忌的。列強在中國的勢力總是平均，不能統一的。長此以往，中國不靠自己抵抗，便不至亡國。像這樣專靠別人，不靠自己，豈不是望天打卦嗎？望天打卦是靠不住的，這種癡心妄想是終不得了的。列強還是想要亡中國，不過列強以為專用兵力來亡中國，恐怕為中國的問題，又發生像歐洲從前一樣的大戰爭，弄到結果，列強兩敗俱傷，於自身沒有大利益。外國政治家看到很明白，所以不專用兵力。就是列強專用兵力來亡中國，彼此之間，總免不了戰爭。其餘權利上平均不平均的一切問題，或者能免衝突，到了統治的時候，還是免不了衝突。既免不了衝突，於他們自身還是有大大的不利。列強把這層利害，看得也很清楚，所以現在他們便不主張戰爭，主張減少軍備。日本的戰鬥艦只准三十萬噸的海軍，英美兩國海軍的戰鬥艦祇准各五十萬噸。那次會議，表面上為縮小軍備問題，實在是為中國問題。要瓜分中國的權利，想用一個甚麼方法，彼此可以免去衝突，所以才開那次會議。我剛才已經說過了，用政治力亡人國家，本有兩種手段，一是兵力，二是外交。兵力是用槍砲，他們用槍砲來，我們還知道要抵抗；如果用外交，祇要一張紙和一枝筆。用一張紙和一枝筆亡了中國，我們便不知道抵抗。在華盛頓會議的時候，中國雖然派了代表，所議關於中國之事，表面都說為中國謀利益，但是華盛頓散會不久，各國報紙便有共管之說發生。此共管之說，以後必一日進步一日，各國之處心積慮，必想一個很完全的方法來亡中國。他們以後的方法，不必要動陸軍，要開兵船，祇要用一張紙和一枝筆，彼此妥協，便可以亡中國。如果動陸軍開兵船，還要十天或者四五十天，才可以亡中國；至於用妥協的方法，祇要各國外交官坐在一處，各人簽一個字，便可以亡中國。簽字祇是一朝，所以用妥協的方法來亡中國，祇要一朝。一朝可以亡人國家，從前不是沒有先例的，譬如從前的波蘭，是俄國、德國、奧國瓜分了的。他們從前瓜分波蘭的情形，是由於彼此一朝協商停妥之後，波蘭便亡。照這個先例，如果英、法、美、日幾個強國一朝妥協之後，中國也要滅亡。故就政治力亡人國家的情形講，中國現在所處的地位是很危險的。

就第二件的禍害說，中國現在所受經濟壓迫的毒，我前說過，每年要被外國人奪去十二萬萬元的金錢，這種被奪去的金錢，還是一天增多一天，若照海關前十年出入口貨相抵，虧蝕二萬萬元；現在出入口貨相抵，虧蝕五萬萬元。每十年增加兩倍半。推算比例起來，那麼十年之後，我們每年被外國人奪去的金

錢(註二)，應為三十萬萬元。若將此三十萬萬元，分擔到我們四萬萬人身，我們每年每人應擔七元五角，我們每年每人要擔七元五角與外國人。換一句話說，就是我們每年每人應納七元五角人頭稅與外國。況且四萬萬人中除了二萬萬是女子，照現在女子能力狀況而論，不能擔負此項七元五角之人頭稅，甚為明白。則男子方面應多擔一倍，當為每年每人應擔十五元。男子之中又有三種分別：一種是老弱的；一種是幼稚的。此二種雖係男子，但是祇能分利，不能生利，更不能希望其擔負此項輸到男子應擔之十五元人頭稅。除去三分二不能擔負，則擔負的完全係中年生利之男子。此中年生利之男子，應將老幼應擔之十五元，一齊擔下，則一中年生利之男子，每年每人應擔四十五元人頭稅。試想我們一中年生利之男子，應擔負四十五元之人頭稅與外國，汝說可怕不可怕呢？這種人頭稅，還是有加無己的。所以依我看起來，中國人再不覺悟，長此以往，就是外國的政治家天天睡覺，不到十年便要亡國。因為現在已是民窮財盡，再到十年，人民的困窮更可想而知，還要增加比較現在的負擔多兩倍半，汝想中國要亡不要亡呢？

列強經過這次歐洲大戰之後，或者不想再有戰爭，不想暴動，以後是好靜惡動，我們由此可以免去軍事的壓迫；但是外交的壓迫，便不能免去。就令外交的壓迫，可以微幸免去，專由這樣大的經濟壓迫，天天侵入，天天來吸收，而我們大家猶在睡夢之中，如何可免滅亡呢？

再就第三件的禍害說，我們中國人口在已往一百年，沒有加多，以後一百年若沒有振作之法，當然難得加多。環看地球上，那美國增多十倍，俄國增多四倍，英國、日本增多三倍，德國增多兩倍半，至少的法國，還有四分之一的增多。若他們逐日的增多，我們卻仍然故我，甚或減少，拿我國的歷史來考查，漢族大了，原來中國的土人苗獠獠等族，便要滅亡。那麼我們民族被他們的人口增加的壓迫，不久亦要滅亡，亦是顯然可見的事。故中國現在受列強的政治壓迫，是朝不保夕的。受經濟的壓迫，剛才算出十年之後，便要亡國。講到人口增加的問題，中國將來也是很危險的。所以中國受外國的政治、經濟和人口的壓迫，這三件大禍是已經臨頭了，我們自己便先要知道。自己知道了這三件大禍臨頭，便要到處宣傳，使人人知道亡國慘禍，中國是難逃於天地之間的。到了人人都知道大禍臨頭，應該要怎麼樣呢？俗話說困獸猶鬥，逼到無可避免的時候，當發奮起來，和敵人拼一死命。我們有了大禍臨頭，能鬥不能鬥呢？一定是能鬥的。但是要能鬥，便先要知道自己的死期將至，知道了自己的死期將至，才能夠奮鬥。所以我們提倡民族主義，便先要四萬萬人都知道自己的死期將至，知道了死期將至，困獸尚且要鬥，我們將死的民族，是要鬥不要鬥呢？諸君是學生，是軍人，是政治家，都是先覺先知，要令四萬萬人都知道我們民族，現在是很危險的，如果四萬萬人都知道了危險，我們對於民族主義便不難恢復。

外國人常說中國人是一片散沙。中國人對於國家觀念，本是一片散沙，本沒有民族團體。但是除了民族團體之外，有沒有別的團體呢？我從前說過了，中國有很堅固的家族和宗族團體，中國人對於家族和宗族的觀念是很深的。譬如中國人在路上遇見了，交談之後，請問貴姓大名，祇要彼此知道是同宗，便非常之親熱，便認為同姓的伯叔兄弟。由這種好觀念推廣出來，便可由宗族主義擴充到國族主義。我們失了的民族主義，要想恢復起來，便要有團體，要有很大的團體。我們要結成大團體，便先要有小基礎，彼此聯合起來，才容易做成功。我們中國可以利用的小基礎，就是宗族團體。此外還有家鄉基礎，中國人的家鄉觀念也是很深的，如果是同省同縣同鄉村的人，總是特別容易聯絡。依我看起來，若是拿這兩種好觀念做基礎，很可以把全國的人都聯絡起來。要達到這個目的，便先要大家去做，中國人照此做去，恢復民族主義，比較外國人是容易得多。因為外國是以個人為單位，他們的法律，對於父子兄弟姊妹夫婦各個人的權利，都是單獨保護的。打起官司來，不問家族的情形是怎麼樣，只問個人的是非是怎麼樣。再由個人放大便是國家，在個人和國家的中間，便是空的，再沒有很堅固很普遍的社會，所以說國民和國家結構的關係，外國不如中國。因為中國個人之外注重家族，有了甚麼事，便要問家長。這種組織有的說是好，有的說是不好。依我看來，中國國民和國家結構的關係，先有家族，再推到宗族，再然後才是國族。這種組織一級一級的放大，有條不紊，大小結構的關係，當中是很實在的。如果用宗族為單位，改良當中的組織，再聯合成國族，比較外國用個人為單位，當然容易聯絡得多。若是用個人做單位，在一國之中至少有幾千萬個單位，像中國便有四萬萬個單位；要想把這樣多數的單位，都聯絡起來，自然是很難的。如果用宗族做單位，中國人的姓普通都說是百家姓，不過經過年代太久，每姓中的祖宗或者有不同，由此所成的宗族，或者不祇一百族，但是最多不過四百族。各族中總有連帶的關係，譬如各姓修家譜，常由祖宗幾十代推到從前幾百代，追求到幾千年以前，先祖的姓氏多半是由於別姓改成的，考求最古的姓是很少的。像這樣宗族中窮源極流的舊習慣，在中國有了幾千年，牢不可破。在外國人看起來，或者以為沒有用處，但是敬祖親宗的觀念，入了中國人的腦，有了幾千年。國亡他可以不管，以為人人做皇常，他總是一樣納糧。若說到滅族，他就怕祖宗血食斷絕，不由得不拼命奮鬥。閩粵向多各姓械鬥的事，起因多是為這一姓對於那一姓，名分上或私人上小有凌辱侵佔，便不惜犧牲無數金錢生命，求為姓中吐氣。事雖野蠻，義至可取。若是給他知了外國目前種種壓迫，民族不久即要亡，民

族亡了，家族便無從存在。譬如中國原來的土人苗瑤等族，到了今日，祖宗血食早斷絕了，若我們不放大眼光，合各宗族之力來成一個國族，以抵抗外國，則苗瑤等族今日祖宗之不血食，就是我們異日祖宗不能血食的樣子。那麼，一方可以化各宗族之爭，而為對外族之爭，國內野蠻的各姓械鬥，可以消滅；一方他怕滅族，結合容易而且堅固，可以成就極有力量的國族。用宗族的小基礎，來做擴充國族的工夫，譬如中國現有四百族，好像對於四百人做工夫一樣。在每一姓中，用其原來宗族的組織，拿同宗的名義，先從一鄉一縣聯絡起，再擴充到一省一國，各姓便可以成一個很大的團體。譬如姓陳的人，因其原有組織，在一鄉一縣一省中，專向姓陳的人去聯絡，我想不過兩三年，姓陳的人便有很大的團體。到了各姓有很大的團體之後，再由有關係的各姓，互相聯合起來，成許多極大的團體。更令各姓的團體，都知道大禍臨頭，死期將至，都結合起來，便可以成一個極大中華民國的國族團體。有了國族團體，還怕甚麼外患，還怕不能興邦嗎？尚書所載堯的時候：「克明俊德，以親九族；九族既睦，平章百姓；百姓昭明，協和萬邦。黎民於變時雍。」他的治平功夫，亦是由家族入手，逐漸擴充到百姓，使到萬邦協和，黎民於變時雍。豈不是目前團結宗族造成國族以興邦禦外的好榜樣嗎？如果不從四百個宗族團體中做工夫，要從四萬萬人中去做工夫，那末，一片散沙便不知道從那裏聯絡起。從前日本用藩閥諸侯的關係，聯絡成了大和民族。當時日本要用藩閥諸侯那些關係的原因，和我主張聯成中國民族要用宗族的關係是一樣。

大家如果知道自己是受壓迫的國民，已經到了不得了的時代，把各姓的宗族團體，先聯合起來，更由宗族團體，結合成一個民族的大團體。我們四萬萬人有了民族的大團體，要抵抗外國人，積極上自然有辦法。現在所以沒有辦法的原因。是由於沒有團體；有了團體，去抵抗外國人，不是難事。譬如印度現在受英國人的壓迫，被英國人所統治，印度人對於政治的壓迫，沒有辦法；對於經濟的壓迫，便有康第主張「不合作」。甚麼是不合作呢？就是英國人所需要的，印度人不供給；英國人所供給的，印度人不需要。好比英國人需要工人，印度人便不去和他們作工；英國人供給印度許多洋貨，印度人不用他們的洋貨，專用自製的土貨。康第這種主張，初發表的時候，英國人以為不要緊，可以不必理他。但是久而久之，印度便有許多不合作的團體出現，英國經濟一方面，便受極大的影響，故英國政府捕康第下獄。推究印度所以能夠收不合作之效果的原因，是由於全國國民能夠實行。但是印度是已經亡了的國家，尚且能夠實行不合作，我們中國此刻還沒有亡，普通國民對於別的事業不容易做到，至於不做外國人的工；不去當洋奴；不用外來的洋貨，提倡國貨；不用外國銀行的紙幣，專用中國政府的錢，實行經濟絕交，是很可以做到的。他若人口增加的問題，更是容易解決。中國的人口向來很多，物產又很豐富，向來所以要受外國壓迫的原因，毛病是由於大家不知，醉生夢死。假若全體國民都能夠和印度人一樣的不合作，又用宗族團體做基礎，聯成一個大民族團體，無論外國用甚麼兵力、經濟和人口來壓迫，我們都不怕他。所以救中國危亡的根本方法。在自己先有團體，用三四百個宗族的團體來顧國家，便有辦法，無論對付那一個，都可以抵抗。抵抗外國的方法有兩種：一是積極的，這種方法就是振起民族精神，求民權、民生之解決，以與外國奮鬥。二是消極的，這種方法就是不合作，不合作是消極的抵制，使外國的帝國主義減少作用，以維持民族的地位，免致滅亡。

(註一) 原文僅標「二月二十四日」，今增「民國十三年……講」。

(註二) 原文及「週刊」第十七期(民國十三年四月二十日)同講均為「奪去金錢」，今據「胡本」及「會本」增「的」字。

## 民族主義 第六講

第六講 民國十三年三月二日講 (註一)

諸君：今天所講的問題，是怎麼樣可以恢復我們民族的地位。我們想研究一個甚麼方法，去恢復我們民族的地位，便不要忘卻前幾次所講的話。我們民族現在究竟是處於甚麼地位呢？我們民族和國家在現在世界中究竟是甚麼情形呢？一般很有思想的人所謂先知先覺者，以為中國現在是處於半殖民地的地位，但是照我前次的研究，中國現在不止是處於半殖民地的地位。依殖民地的情形講，比方安南是法國的殖民地，高麗是日本的殖民地，中國既是半殖民地，和安南、高麗比較起來，中國的地位似乎要高一點，因為高麗、安南已經成了完全的殖民地。到底中國現在的地位，和高麗、安南比較起來，究竟是怎麼樣呢？照我的研究，中國現在還不能夠到完全殖民地的地位，比較完全殖民地的地位更要低一級，所以我創一個新名詞，說中國是「次殖民地」，這就是中國現在的地位。這種理論，我前次已經講得很透澈了，今天不必再講。至於中國古時在世界中是處於甚麼地位呢？中國從前是很強盛很文明的國家，在世界中是頭一個強國，所處的地位比現在的列強像英國、美國、法國、日本，還要高得多。因為那個時候的中國，是世界中的獨強。我們祖宗從前已經達到了那個地位，說到現在還不如殖民地，為甚麼從前的地位

有那麼高，到了現在便一落千丈呢？此中最大的原因，我從前已經講過了，就是由於我們失了民族的精神，所以國家便一天退步一天。我們今天要恢復民族的地位，便先要恢復民族的精神；我們想要恢復民族的精神，要有兩個條件：第一個條件，是要我們知道現在處於極危險的地位；第二個條件，是我們既然知道了處於很危險的地位，便要善用中國固有的團體，像家族團體和宗族團體，大家聯合起來，成一個大國族團體。結成了國族團體，有了四萬萬人的大力量共同去奮鬥，無論我們民族是處於甚麼地位，都可以恢復起來。所以能知與合羣，便是恢復民族主義的方法。大家先知道了這個方法的更要去推廣，宣傳到全國的四萬萬人，令人人都要知道；到了人人都知道了，那末我們從前失去的民族精神，便可以恢復起來。從前失去民族精神，好比是睡着覺；現在要恢復民族精神，就要喚醒起來；醒了之後，才可以恢復民族主義。到民族主義恢復了之後，我們便可以進一步，去研究怎麼樣才可以恢復我們民族的地位。

中國從前能夠達到很強盛的地位，不是一個原因做成的。大凡一個國家所以能夠強盛的原故，起初的時候都是由於武力發展，繼之以種種文化的發揚，便能成功。但是要維持民族和國家的長久地位，還有道德問題，有了很好的道德，國家才能長治久安。亞洲古時最強盛的民族，莫過於元朝的蒙古人。蒙古人在東邊滅了中國，在西邊又征服歐洲。中國歷代最強盛的時代，國力都不能夠過裏海的西岸，祇能夠到裏海之東，故中國最強盛的時候，國力都不能達到歐洲。元朝的時候，全歐洲幾乎被蒙古人吞併，比起中國最強盛的時候，還要強盛得多，但是元朝的地位，沒有維持很久。從前中國各代的國力，雖然比不上元朝，但是國家的地位，各代都能夠長久。推究當中的原因，就是元朝的道德，不及中國其餘各代的道德那樣高尚。從前中國民族的道德因為比外國民族的道德高尚得多，所以在宋朝，一次亡國到外來的蒙古人，後來蒙古人還是被中國人所同化。在明朝，二次亡國到外來的滿洲人，後來滿洲人也是被中國人同化。因為我們民族的道德高尚，故國家雖亡，民族還能夠存在，不但是自己的民族能夠存在，並且有力量能夠同化外來的民族。所以窮本極源，我們現在要恢復民族的地位，除了大家聯合起來做一個國族團體以外，就要把固有的舊道德先恢復起來。有了固有的道德，然後固有的民族地位，才可以圖恢復。

講到中國固有的道德，中國人至今不能忘記的，首是忠孝，次是仁愛，其次是信義，其次是和平。這些舊道德，中國人至今還是常講的。但是現在受外來民族的壓迫，侵入了新文化，那些新文化的勢力，此刻橫行中國，一般醉心新文化的人，便排斥舊道德，以為有了新文化，便可以不要舊道德。不知道我們固有的東西，如果是好的，當然是要保存，不好的才可以放棄。此刻中國正是新舊潮流相衝突的時候，一般國民都無所適從。前幾天我到鄉下進了一所祠堂，走到最後進的一間廳堂去休息，看見右邊有一個孝字，左邊一無所有，我想從前一定有個忠字。像這些景象，我看見了的不止一次，有許多祠堂或家廟，都是一樣的。不過我前幾天所看見的孝字，是特別的大，左邊所拆去的痕跡還是很新鮮。推究那個拆去的行為，不知道是鄉下人自己做的，或者是我們所駐的兵士做的，但是我從前看到許多祠堂廟宇沒有駐過兵，都把忠字拆去了。由此便可見現在一般人民的思想以為到了民國，便可以不要忠字。以為從前講忠字，是對於君的，所謂忠君。現在民國沒有君主，忠字便可以不用，所以便把他拆去。這種理論，實在是誤解。因為在國家之內，君主可以不要，忠字是不能不要的。如果說忠字可以不要，試問我們有沒有國呢？我們的忠字可不可以用之于國呢？我們到現在說忠于君，固然是不可以，說忠于民是可不可以呢？忠于事又是可不可以呢？我們做一件事，總要始終不渝，做到成功。如果做不成功，就是把性命去犧牲，亦所不惜，這便是忠。所以古人講忠字，推到極點便是一死。古時所講的忠，是忠於皇帝，現在沒有皇帝，便不講忠字，以為甚麼事都可以做出來，那便是大錯。現在人人都說，到了民國，甚麼道德都破壞了，根本原因就是在此。我們在民國之內，照道理上說，還是要盡忠，不忠于君，要忠于國，要忠于民，要為四萬萬人去效忠。為四萬萬人效忠，比較為一人效忠，自然是高尚得多，故忠字的好道德，還是要保存。講到孝字，我們中國尤為特長，尤其比各國進步得多。孝經所講孝字，幾乎無所不包，無所不至。現在世界上最文明的國家，講到孝字，還沒有像中國講到這麼完全，所以孝字更是不能不要的。國民在民國之內，要能夠把忠孝二字講到極點，國家便自然可以強盛。

仁愛也是中國的好道德，古時最講愛字的莫過於墨子。墨子所講的兼愛，與耶穌所講的博愛是一樣的。古時在政治一方面所講愛的道理，有所謂愛民如子，有所謂仁民愛物，無論對於甚麼事，都是用愛字去包括，所以古人對於仁愛，究竟是怎麼樣實行，便可以知道。中外交通之後，一般人便以為中國人所講的仁愛，不及外國人，因為外國人在中國設立學校，開辦醫院，來教育中國人，救濟中國人，都是為實行仁愛的。照這樣實行一方面講起來，仁愛的好道德，中國現在似乎遠不如外國。中國所以不如的原故，不過是中國人對於仁愛沒有外國人那樣實行，但是仁愛還是中國的舊道德。我們要學外國，只要學他們那樣實行，把仁愛恢復起來，再去發揚光大，便是中國固有的精神。

講到信義，中國古時對於鄰國和對於朋友，都是講信的。依我看來，就信字一方面的道德，中國人實在

比外國人好得多，在甚麼地方可以看得出來呢？在商業的交易上，便可以看得出，中國人交易，沒有甚麼契約，只要彼此口頭說一句話，便有很大的信用。比方外國人和中國人訂一批貨，彼此不必立合同，只要記入賬簿，便算了事。但是中國人和外國人訂一批貨，彼此便要立很詳細的合同。如果在沒有律師和沒有外交官的地方，外國人也有學中國人一樣，只記入賬簿便算了事的，不過這種例子很少，普通都是要立合同。逢着沒有立合同的時候（註二），彼此定了貨到交貨的時候，如果貨物的價格太賤，還要去買那一批貨，自然要虧本。譬如定貨的時候，那批貨價訂明是一萬元，在交貨的時候，只值五千元，若是收受那批貨，便要損失五千元，推到當初訂貨的時候，沒有合同，中國人本來把所定的貨，可以辭卻不要，但是中國人為履行信用起見，寧可自己損失五千元，不情願辭去那批貨。所以外國在中國內地做生意很久的人，常常贊美中國人，說中國人講一句話比外國人立了合同的，還要守信用得多。但是外國人在日本做生意的，和日本人訂貨，縱然立了合同，日本人也常不履行。譬如定貨的時候，那批貨訂明一萬元，在交貨的時候，價格跌到五千元，就是原來有合同，日本人也不要那批貨，去履行合同，所以外國人常常和日本人打官司。在東亞住過很久的外國人，和中國人與日本人都做過了生意的，都贊美中國人，不贊美日本人。至於講到義字，中國在很強盛的時代也沒有完全去滅人國家。比方從前的高麗，名義上是中國的藩屬，實在是一個獨立國家，就是在二十年以前，高麗還是獨立。到了近來一二十年，高麗才失去自由。從前有一天我和一位日本朋友談論世界問題，當時適歐戰正劇，日本方參加協商國去打德國，那位日本朋友說，他本不贊成日本去打德國，主張日本要守中立，或者參加德國來打協商國。但說因為日本和英國是同盟的，訂過了國際條約的，日本因為要講信義，履行國際條約，故不得不犧牲國家的權利，去參加協商國，和英國共同去打德國。我就問那位日本人說：「日本和中國不是立過了馬關條約嗎？該條約中最要之條件不是要求高麗（註三）獨立嗎？為甚麼日本對於英國能夠犧牲國家權利去履行條約，對於中國就不講信義，不履行馬關條約呢？對於高麗獨立是日本所發起所要求，且以兵力脅迫而成的，今竟食言而肥，何信義之有呢？」簡直的說，日本對於英國，主張履行條約，對於中國，便不主張履行條約，因為英國是很強的，中國是很弱的。日本加入歐戰，是怕強權，不是講信義罷。中國強了幾千年而高麗猶在，日本強了不過二十年，便把高麗滅了；由此便可見日本信義不如中國，中國所講的信義，比外國要進步得多。

中國更有一種極好的道德，是愛和平。現在世界上的國家和民族，止有中國是講和平，外國都是講戰爭，主張帝國主義去滅人的國家。近年因為經過許多大戰，殘殺太大，才主張免去戰爭，開了好幾次和平會議。像從前的海牙會議，歐戰之後的華賽爾會議、金那瓦會議、華盛頓會議，最近的洛桑會議。但是這些會議，各國人公同去講和平，是因為怕戰爭，出于勉強而然的，不是出于一般國民的天性。中國人幾千年酷愛和平都是出于天性，論到個人，便重謙讓；論到政治，便說不嗜殺人者能一之，和外國人便有大大的不同。所以中國從前的忠孝仁愛信義種種的舊道德，固然是駕乎外國人，說到和平的道德，更是駕乎外國人。這種特別的好道德，便是我們民族的精神。我們以後對於這種精神，不但是要保存，並且要發揚光大，然後我們民族的地位才可以恢復。

我們舊有的道德，應該恢復以外，還有固有的智能，也應該恢復起來。我們自被滿清征服了以後，四萬萬人睡覺，不但是道德睡了覺，連智識也睡了覺。我們今天要恢復民族精神，不但是要喚醒固有的道德，就是固有的智識也應該喚醒他。中國有甚麼固有的智識呢？就人生對於國家的觀念，中國古時有很好的政治哲學。我們以為歐美的國家，近來很進步，但是說到他們的新文化，還不如我們政治哲學的完全。中國有一段最有系統的政治哲學，在外國的大政治家還沒有見到，還沒有說到那樣清楚的，就是大學中所說的「格物、致知、誠意、正心、修身、齊家、治國、平天下」那一段的話。把一個人從內發揚到外，由一個人的內部做起，推到平天下止。像這樣精微開展的理論，無論外國甚麼政治哲學家都沒有見到，都沒有說出。這就是我們政治哲學的智識中獨有的寶貝，是應該要保存的。這種正心、誠意、修身、齊家的道理，本屬於道德的範圍，今天要把他放在智識範圍內來講，才是適當。我們祖宗對於這些道德上的功夫，從前雖然是做過了的，但是自失了民族精神之後，這些智識的精神，當然也失去了；所以普通人讀書，雖然常用那一段話做口頭禪，但是多是習而不察，不求甚解，莫明其妙的。正心、誠意的學問是內治的功夫，是很難講的。從前宋儒是最講究這些功夫的，讀他們的書，便可以知道他們做到了甚麼地步。但是說到修身、齊家、治國那些外修的功夫，恐怕我們現在還沒有做到。專就外表來說，所謂修身、齊家、治國，中國人近幾百年以來都做不到，所以對於本國便不能自治。外國人看見中國人不能治國，便要來共管。我們為甚麼不能治中國呢？外國人從甚麼地方可以看出來呢？依我個人的眼光看，外國人從齊家一方面，或者把中國家庭看不清楚，但是從修身一方面來看，我們中國人對於這些功夫，是很缺乏的。中國人一舉一動，都欠檢點，只要和中國人來往過一次，便看得很清楚。外國人對於中國的印象，除非是在中國住過了二三十年的外國人，或者是極大的哲學家像羅素那一樣的人，有很大的眼光，一到中國來，便可以看出中國的文化超過於歐美，才贊美中國。普通外國人總說中國人沒有教化，是很野蠻的。惟求這個原因，就是大家對於修身的功夫太缺乏。大者勿論，即一舉一動，極尋常的功夫，都

不講究。譬如中國人初到美國時候，美國人本來是平等看待，沒有甚麼中美人的分別。後來美國大旅館，都不准中國人住，大的酒店都不許中國人去吃飯，這就是由于中國人沒有自修的功夫。我有一次在船上和一個美國船主談話，他說：「有一位中國公使，前一次也坐這個船，在船上到處噴涕吐痰，就在這個貴重的地氈上吐痰，真是可厭。」我便問他：「你當時有甚麼辦法呢？」他說：「我想到無法，只好當他的面，用我自己的絲巾把地氈上的痰擦乾淨便了。當我擦痰的時候，他還是不經意的樣子。」像那位公使在那樣貴重的地氈上都吐痰，普通中國人大都如此。由此一端，便可見中國人舉動缺乏自修的功夫。孔子從前說席不正不坐，由此便可見他平時修身雖一坐立之微，亦很講究的。到了宋儒時代，他們正心、誠意和修身的功夫，更為謹嚴，現在中國人便不講究了。為甚麼外國的大酒店，都不許中國人去吃飯呢？有人說：「有一次一個外國大酒店，當會食的時候，男男女女非常熱鬧，非常文雅，躋躋一堂，各樂其樂，忽然有一個中國人放起屁來，於是同堂的外國人譁然闕散，由此店主便把那位中國人逐出店外。從此以後，外國大酒店就不許中國人去吃飯了。」又有一次，上海有一位大商家，請外國人來宴會，他也忽然在席上放起屁來，弄到外國人的臉都變紅了，他不但不檢點，反站起來大拍衫褲，且對外國人說：「嗷士巧士咪」。這種舉動，真是野蠻陋劣之極。而中國之文人學子，亦常有此鄙陋行為，實在難解。或以有氣必放，放而要響，是有益衛生，此更為惡劣之謬見。望國人切當戒之，以為修身的第一步功夫。此外中國人每愛留長指甲，長到一寸多長都不剪去，常以為要這樣，便是很文雅。法國人也有留指甲的習慣，不過法國人留長指甲，也只長到一兩分，他們以為要這樣，便可表示自己是不做粗工的人。中國人留長指甲，許有這個意思，如果人人都不想做粗工，便和我們國民黨尊重勞工的原理相違背了。再者中國人牙齒是常常很黃墨的，總不去洗刷乾淨，也是自修上的一個大缺點。像吐痰、放屁、留長指甲、不洗牙齒，都是修身上尋常的工夫，中國人都不檢點；所以我們雖然有修身、齊家、治國、平天下的大智識，外國人一遇見了便以為很野蠻，便不情願過細來考察我們的智識。外國人一看到中國，便能夠知道中國的文明，除非是大哲學家像羅素一樣的人，才能見到，否則便要在中國多住幾十年，方可以知道中國幾千年的舊文化。假如大家把修身的工夫做得很有條理，誠中形外，雖至舉動之微，亦能注意，遇到外國人，不以鄙陋行為而侵犯人家的自由，外國人一定是很尊重的。所以今天講到修身，諸位新青年便應該學外國人的新文化。只要先能夠修身，便可來講齊家、治國。現在各國的政治都進步了，祇有中國是退步，何以中國要退步呢？就是因為受外國政治經濟的壓迫。推究根本原因，還是由于中國人不修身。不知道中國從前講修身，推到正心、誠意、格物、致知，這是很精密的智識，是一貫的道理。像這樣很精密的智識和一貫的道理，都是中國所固有的。我們現在要能夠齊家治國，不受外國的壓迫，根本上便要從修身起，把中國固有智識、一貫的道理先恢復起來，然後我們民族的精神和民族的地位才都可以恢復。

我們除了智識之外，還有固有的能力。現在中國人看見了外國的機器發達，科學昌明，中國人現在的能力當然不及外國人。但是在幾千年前，中國人的能力是怎麼樣呢？從前中國人的能力，還要比外國人大得多，外國現在最重要的東西，都是中國從前發明的。比如指南針，在今日航業最發達的世界，幾乎一時一刻都不能不用他，推究這種指南針的來源，還是中國人幾千年以前發明的。如果從前的中國人沒有能力，便不能發明指南針。中國人固老早有了指南針，外國人至今還是要用他，可見中國人固有的能力，還是高過外國人。其次在人類文明中最重要的東西便是印刷術。現在外國改良的印刷機，每點鐘可以印幾萬張報紙，推究他的來源，也是中國發明的。再其次在人類中日用的磁器，更是中國發明的，是中國的特產，至今外國人極力倣效，猶遠不及中國之精美。近來世界戰爭用到無烟火藥，推究無烟火藥的來源，是由于有烟黑藥改良而成的，那種有烟黑藥也是中國發明的。中國發明了指南針、印刷術和火藥這些重要的東西，外國今日知道利用他，所以他們能夠有今日的強盛。至若人類所享衣食住行的種種設備，也是我們從前發明的。譬如就飲料一項說，中國人發明茶葉，至今為世界之一大需要，文明各國皆爭用之，以茶代酒，更可免了酒患，有益人類不少。講到衣一層，外國人視為最貴重的是絲織品，現在世界上穿絲的人，一天多過一天，推究用蠶所吐的絲而為人衣服，也是中國幾千年前發明的。講到住一層，現在外國人建造的房屋，自然是很完全，但是造房屋的原理和房屋中各重要部份，都是中國人發明的。譬如拱門就是以中國的發明為最早。至於走路，外國人現在所用的吊橋，便以為是極新的工程，很大的本領。但是外國人到中國內地來，走到川邊西藏，看見中國人經過大山，橫過大河，多有用吊橋的。他們從前沒有看見中國的吊橋，以為這是外國先發明的，及看見中國的吊橋，便把這種發明歸功到中國。由此可見中國古時不是沒有能力的，因為後來失了那種能力，所以我們民族的地位也逐漸退化。現在要恢復固有的地位，便先要把我們固有的能力一齊都恢復起來。

但是恢復了我們固有的道德、智識和能力，在今日之世，仍未能進中國於世界一等的地位，如我們祖宗當時，為世界之獨強的。恢復我一切國粹之後，還要去學歐美之所長，然後才可以和歐美並駕齊驅。如果不學外國的長處，我們仍要退後。我們要學外國，到底是難不難呢？中國人向來以為外國的機器很難，是不容易學的。不知道外國所視為最難的，是飛上天。他們最新的發明是飛機。現在我們天天看見大沙頭的飛機飛上天，飛上天的技師是不是中國人呢？中國人飛上天都可以學得到，其餘還有甚麼難事學不

到呢？因為幾千年以來，中國人有了很大的根底和文化，所以去學外國人，無論甚麼事都可以學得到，用我們的本能，很可以學外國人的長處。外國的長處是科學，用了兩三百年的功夫去研究發明，到了近五十年來，才算是十分進步。因為這種科學進步，所以人力可以巧奪天工，天然所有的物力，人工都可以做得到。最新發明的物力是用電，從前物力的來源是用煤，由於煤便發動汽力，現在進步到用電，所以外國的科學已經由第一步進到第二步。現在美國有一個很大的計畫，是要把全國機器廠所用的動力（即馬力）都統一起來。因為他們全國的機器廠有幾萬家，各家工廠都有一個發動機，都要各自燒煤去發生動力，所以每天各廠所燒的煤和所費的人工都是很多；且因各廠用煤太多，弄到全國的鐵路雖然有了幾十萬英里，還不敷替他們運煤之用，更沒有工夫去運農產，於是各地的農產，便不能運出暢銷。因為用煤有這兩種的大大不利，所以美國現在想做一個中央電廠，把幾萬家工廠用電力去統一。將來此項計畫如果成功，那幾萬家工廠的發動機，都統一到一個總發動機，各工廠可以不必用煤和許多工人去燒火，祇用一條銅線，便可以傳導動力，各工廠便可以去做工。行這種方法的利益，好比現在講堂內的幾百人，每一個人單獨用鍋爐去煮飯吃，是很麻煩的，是很浪費的。如果大家合攏起來，只用一個大鍋爐去煮飯吃，就便當得多，就節省得多。現在美國正是想用電力去統一全國工廠的計畫，如果中國要學外國的長處，起首便應該不必用煤力而用電力，用一個大原動力供給全國。這樣學法好比是軍事家的迎頭截擊一樣，如果能夠迎頭去學，十年之後，雖然不能超過外國，一定可以和他們並駕齊驅。

我們要學外國，是要迎頭趕上去，不要向後跟着他。譬如學科學，迎頭趕上去，便可以減少兩百多年的光陰。我們到了今日的地位，如果還是睡覺，不去奮鬥，不知道恢復國家的地位，從此以後，便要亡國滅種。現在我們知道了跟上世界的潮流，去學外國之所長，必可以學得比較外國還要好，所謂後來者居上。從前雖然是退後了幾百年，但是現在只要幾年便可以趕上。日本便是一個好榜樣。日本從前的文化，是從中國學去的，比較中國低得多；但是日本近來專學歐美的文化，不過幾十年便成世界中列強之一。我看中國人的聰明才力不亞於日本，我們此後去學歐美，比較日本還要容易。所以這十年中，便是我們的生死關頭。如果我們醒了，像日本人一樣，大家提心吊膽去恢復民族的地位，在十年之內，就可以把外國的政治、經濟和人口增加的種種壓迫和種種禍害都一齊銷滅。日本學歐美不過幾十年，便成世界列強之一。但是中國的人口比日本多十倍，領土比日本大三十倍，富源更是比日本多，如果中國學到日本，就要變成十個列強。現在世界之中，英、美、法、日、意大利等不過五大強國，以後德、俄恢復起來，也不過六七個強國；如果中國能夠學到日本，只要用一國便變成十個強國。到了那個時候，中國便可以恢復到頭一個地位。但是中國到了頭一個地位，是怎麼樣做法呢？中國古時常講「濟弱扶傾」，因為中國有了這個好政策，所以強了幾千年，安南、緬甸、高麗、暹羅那些小國，還能夠保持獨立。現在歐風東漸，安南便被法國滅了，緬甸被英國滅了，高麗被日本滅了。所以中國如果強盛起來，我們不但是要恢復民族的地位，還要對於世界負一個大責任。如果中國不能夠擔負這個責任，那末中國強盛了，對於世界便有大害，沒有大利。中國對於世界究竟要負甚麼責任呢？現在世界列強所走的路是滅人國家的；如果中國強盛起來，也要去滅人國家，也去學列強的帝國主義，走相同的路，便是蹈他們的覆轍。所以我們要先決定一種政策，要濟弱扶傾，才是盡我們民族的天職。我們對於弱小民族要扶持他，對於世界的列強要抵抗他，如果全國人民都立定這個志願，中國民族才可以發達。若是不立定這個志願，中國民族便沒有希望。我們今日在沒有發達之先，立定扶傾濟弱的志願，將來到了強盛時候，想到今日身受過了列強政治、經濟壓迫的痛苦，將來弱小民族如果也受這種痛苦，我們便要把那些帝國主義來銷滅，那才算是治國、平天下。我們要將來能夠治國、平天下，便先要恢復民族主義和民族地位；用固有的道德和平做基礎，去統一世界，成一個大同之治，這便是我們四萬萬人的大責任。諸君都是四萬萬人的一份子，都應該擔負這個責任，便是我們民族的真精神（註四）！

（註一） 原文僅標「三月二日」，今增「民國十三年……講」。

（註二） 原文為「合同的時」，今據「週刊」第十八期（民國十三年四月二十七日）同講及「會本」增「候」字。

（註三） 原文為「麗高」，據「週刊」及「會本」改正。

（註四） 「會本」作「這便是我們民族主義的真精神」，今依原文及「週刊」。

## 民權主義 第一講

民權主義（註一）第一講 民國十三年三月九日講（註二）

諸君：今天開始來講民權主義。甚麼叫做民權主義呢？現在要把民權來定一個解釋，便先要知道甚麼是民。大凡有團體有組織的眾人就叫做民。甚麼是權呢？權就是力量，就是威勢；那些力量大到同國家一樣，就叫做權。力量最大的那些國家，中國話說列強，外國話便說列權。又機器的力量中國話說是馬力，外國話說是馬權，所以權和力實在是相同。有行使命令的力量，有制服羣倫的力量，就叫做權。把民同權合攏起來說，民權就是人民的政治力量。甚麼是叫做政治的力量呢？我們要明白這個道理，便先要明白甚麼是政治。許多人以為政治是很奧妙很艱深的東西，是通常人不容易明白的。所以中國的軍人常常說，我們是軍人，不懂得政治。為甚麼不懂得政治呢？就是因為他們把政治看作是很奧妙很艱深的，殊不知政治是很淺白很明瞭的。如果軍人說不干涉政治，還可以講得通，但是說不懂得政治，便講不通了；因為政治的原動力便在軍人，所以軍人當然要懂得政治，要明白甚麼是政治。政治兩字的意思，淺而言之，政就是眾人的事，治就是管理，管理眾人的事便是政治。有管理眾人之事的力量，便是政權。今以人民管理政事，便叫做民權。

現在民權的定義既然是明白了，便要研究民權是甚麼作用的。環觀近世，追溯往古，權的作用，單簡的說，就是要來維持人類的生存。人類要能夠生存，就須有兩件最大的事：第一件是保；第二件是養。保和養兩件大事，是人類天天要做的。保就是自衛，無論是個人或團體或國家，要有自衛的能力，才能夠生存。養就是覓食。這自衛和覓食，便是人類維持生存的兩件大事。但是人類要維持生存，他項動物也要維持生存；人類要自衛，他項動物也要自衛；人類要覓食，他項動物也要覓食，所以人類的保養和動物的保養衝突，便發生競爭。人類要在競爭中求生存，便要奮鬥，所以奮鬥這一件事，是自有人類以來天天不息的。由此便知權是人類用來奮鬥的。人類由初生以至於現在，天天都是在奮鬥之中。人類奮鬥，可分作幾個時期：第一個時期，是太古洪荒沒有歷史以前的時期。那個時期的長短，現在雖然不知道，但是近來地質學家由石層研究起來，考查得有人類遺跡憑據的石頭，不過是兩百萬年；在兩百萬年以前的石頭，便沒有人類的遺跡。普通人講到幾百萬年以前的事，似乎是很渺茫的；但是近來地質學極發達，地質學家把地球上的石頭分成許多層，每層合成若干年代，那一層是最古的石頭，那一層是近代的石頭，所以用石頭來分別，在我們說到兩百萬年，似乎是很長遠，但是在地質學家看起來，不過是一短時期。兩百萬年以前還有種種石層，更自兩百萬年以上；推到地球沒有結成石頭之先，便無可稽考。普通都說沒有結成石頭之先，是一種流質；更在流質之先，是一種氣體，所以照進化哲學的道理講，地球本來是氣體，和太陽本是一體的。始初太陽和氣體都是在空中，成一團星雲，到太陽收縮的時候，分開許多氣體，日久凝結成液體，再由液體固結成石頭，最老的石頭。有幾千萬年，現在地質學家考究得有憑據的石頭，是二千多萬年；所以他們推定地球當初由氣體變成液體，要幾千萬年；由液體變成石頭的固體，又要幾千萬年；由最古之石頭至於今日，至少有二千萬年。在二千萬年的時代，因為沒有文字的歷史，我們便以為很久遠，但是地質學家還以為很新鮮。我要講這些地質學，和我們今日的講題有甚麼關係呢？因為講地球的來源，便由此可以推究到人類的來源。地質學家考究得人類初生在二百萬年以內，人類初生以後到距今二十萬年，才生文化。二十萬年以前，人和禽獸沒有甚麼大分別，所以哲學家說人是由動物進化而成，不是偶然造成的。人類庶物由二十萬年以來，逐漸進化，才成今日的世界。現在是甚麼世界呢？就是民權世界。民權之萌芽，雖在二千年前之希臘羅馬時代，但是確立不搖，只有一百五十年，前此仍是君權時代。君權之前，便是神權時代，而神權之前，便是洪荒時代，是人和獸相鬥的時代。在那個時候，人類要圖生存，獸類也要圖生存。人類保全生存的方法，一方面是覓食，一方面是自衛。在太古時代，人食獸，獸亦食人，彼此相競爭，徧地都是毒蛇猛獸，人類的四周都是禍害。所以人類要圖生存，便要去奮鬥。但是那時的奮鬥，總是人獸到處混亂的奮鬥，不能結合得大團體，所謂各自為戰。就人類發生的地方說，有人說不過是在幾處地方；但是地質學家說，世界上有了人之後，便到處都有人，因為無論自甚麼地方挖下去，都可以發見人類的遺跡。至於人和獸的競爭，至今還沒有完全消滅，如果現在走到南洋很荒野的地方，人和獸鬥的事還可以看見。又像我們走到荒山野外，沒有人烟的地方，便知道太古時代人同獸是一個甚麼景象。

像這樣講，我們所以能夠推到古時的事，是因為有古代的痕跡遺存；如果沒有古跡遺存，我們便不能夠推到古時的事。普通研究古時的事，所用的方法是讀書看歷史。歷史是用文字記載來的，所以人類文化是有了文字之後才有歷史。有文字的歷史，在中國至今不過五六千年，在埃及不過一萬多年。世界上考究萬事萬物，在中國是專靠讀書，在外國人卻不是專靠讀書。外國人在小學中學之內，是專靠讀書的，進了大學便不專靠讀書，要靠實地去考察。不專看書本的歷史，要去看石頭看禽獸和各地方野蠻人的情狀，便可推知我們祖宗是一個甚麼樣的社會。比方觀察非洲和南洋羣島的野蠻人，便可知道從前沒有開化的人是一個甚麼情形。所以近來大科學家考察萬事萬物，不是專靠書，他們所出的書，不過是由考察的心得，貢獻到人類的記錄罷了。他們考察的方法有兩種：一種是用觀察，即科學；一種是用判斷，即哲學。人類進化的道理，都是由此兩學得來的。古時人同獸鬥，只有用個人的體力，在那個時候，只有同類相助。比方在這個地方有幾十個人同幾十個猛獸奮鬥，在別的地方也有幾十個人同幾十個猛獸奮鬥，

這兩個地方的人類，見得彼此都是同類的，和猛獸是不同的，于是同類的互相集合起來，和不同類的去奮鬥；決沒有和不同類的動物集合，共同來食人的，來殘害同類的。當時同類的集合，不約而同去打那些毒蛇猛獸，那種集合是天然的，不是人為的。把毒蛇猛獸打完了，各人還是散去。因為當時民權沒有發生，人類去打那些毒蛇猛獸，各人都是各用氣力，不是用權力，所以在那個時代，人同獸爭，是用氣力的時代。後來毒蛇猛獸差不多都被人殺完了，人類所處的環境較好，所住的地方極適於人類的生存，人羣就住在一處，把馴伏的禽獸養起來，供人類的使用；故人類把毒蛇猛獸殺完了之後，便成畜牧時代，也就是人類文化初生的時代。差不多和現在中國的蒙古同亞洲西南的亞刺伯人，還是在畜牧時代一樣。到了那個時代，人類生活的情形，便發生一個大變動。所以人同獸鬥終止，便是文化初生，這個時代可以叫做太古時代。到了那個時代，人又同甚麼東西去奮鬥呢？是同天然物力去奮鬥。簡而言之，世界進化，當第一個時期，是人同獸爭，所用的是氣力，大家同心協力，殺完毒蛇猛獸。第二個時期，是人同天爭。在人同獸爭的時代，因為不知道何時有毒蛇猛獸來犯，所以人類時時刻刻不知生死，所有的自衛力只有雙手雙足。不過在那個時候，人要比獸聰明些，所以同獸奮鬥，不是專用雙手雙足，還曉得用木棍和石頭。故最後的結果，人類戰勝，把獸類殺滅淨盡，人類的生命，才可以一天一天的計算。在人同獸鬥的時期，人類的安全，幾幾乎一時一刻都不能保。到了沒有獸類的禍害，人類才逐漸蕃盛，好地方都被人住滿了。當那個時代，甚麼是叫做好地方呢？可以避風雨的地方，便叫做好地方，就是風雨所不到的地方。像埃及的「尼羅」河兩旁和亞洲「馬斯波他米亞」地方，土地極其肥美，一年四季都不下雨。尼羅河水每年漲一次，水退之後，把河水所帶的肥泥，都散布到沿河兩旁的土地，便容易生長植物，多產穀米。像這種好地方，祇有沿「尼羅」河岸和「馬斯波他米亞」地方；所以普通都說「尼羅」河和「馬斯波他米亞」，是世界文化發源的地方。因為那兩岸的土地肥美，常年沒有風雨，既可以耕種，又可以畜牧，河中的水族動物又豐富，所以人類便很容易生活，不必勞心勞力，便可以優遊度日，子子孫孫便容易蕃盛。到了人類過於蕃盛之後，那些好地方便不夠住了，就是在「尼羅」河與「馬斯波他米亞」之外，稍不好的地方，也要搬到去住。不好的地方，就有風雨的天災，好比黃河流域，是中國古代文化發源的地方，在黃河流域，一來有風雨天災，二來有寒冷，本不能夠發生文化。但是中國古代文化，何以發生于黃河流域呢？因為沿河兩岸的人類，是由別處搬來的。比方「馬斯波他米亞」的文化，便早過中國萬多年，到了中國的三皇五帝以前，便由「馬斯波他米亞」搬到黃河流域，發生中國的文明。在這個地方，驅完毒蛇猛獸之後，便有天災，便要受風雨的禍患。遇到天災，人類要免去那種災害，便要與天爭。因為要避風雨，就要做房屋。因為要禦寒冷，就要做衣服。人類到了能夠做房屋做衣服，便進化到很文明。但是天災是不一定的，也不容易防備，有時一場大風便可把房屋推倒，一場大水便可把房屋淹沒，一場大火便可把房屋燒完，一場大雷便可把房屋打壞。這四種水火風雷的災害，古人實在莫明其妙。而且古人的房屋都是草木做成的，都不能抵抗水火風雷四種天災。所以古人對於這四種天災，便沒有方法可以防備。說到人同獸爭的時代，人類還可用氣力去打；到了同天爭的時代，專講打是不可能的，故當時人類感覺非常的困難。後來便有聰明的人出來，替人民謀幸福，像大禹治水，替人民除去水患；有巢氏教民在樹上做居室，替人民謀避風雨的災害。自此以後，文化便逐漸發達，人民也逐漸團結起來。又因為當時地廣人稀，覓食很容易，他們單獨的問題，只有天災，所以要和天爭。但是和天爭不比是和獸爭，可以用氣力的，於是發生神權。極聰明的人便提倡神道設教，用祈禱的方法去避禍求福。他們所做祈禱的工夫，在當時是或有效或無效，是不可知；但是既同天爭，無法之中，是不得不用神權，擁戴一個很聰明的人做首領，好比現在非洲野蠻的酋長，他的職務便專是祈禱，又像中國的蒙古、西藏都奉活佛做皇帝，都是以神為治。所以古人說：「國之大事，在祀與戎。」說國家的大事，第一是祈禱，第二是打仗。

中華民國成立了十三年，把皇帝推翻，現在沒有君權。日本至今還是君權的國家，至今還是拜神，所以日本皇帝，他們都稱天皇。中國皇帝，我們從前亦稱天子。在這個時代，君權已經發達了很久，還是不能脫離神權。日本的皇帝在幾百年以前，已經被武人推倒了，到六十年前，明治維新，推翻德川，恢復天皇，所以日本至今還是君權神權並用。從前羅馬皇帝，也是一國的教主。羅馬亡了之後，皇帝被人推翻，政權也被奪去了；但是教權仍然保存，各國人民仍然奉為教主，好比中國的春秋時候，列國尊周一樣。由此可見人同獸爭以後，便有天災，要和天爭，便發生神權。由有歷史到現在，經過神權之後，便發生君權。有力的武人和大政治家把教皇的權力奪了，或者自立為教主，或者自稱為皇帝；於是人同天爭的時代，變成人同人爭。到了人同人相爭，便覺得單靠宗教的信仰力，不能維持人類社會，不能夠和人競爭，必要政治修明，武力強盛，才可以和別人競爭；世界自有歷史以來，都是人同人爭。從前人同人爭，一半是用神權，一半是用君權。後來神權漸少，羅馬分裂之後，神權漸衰，君權漸盛，到了法王路易十四，便為極盛的時代。他說：「皇帝和國家沒有分別，我是皇帝，所以我就是國家。」把國家的甚麼權都拿到自己手裏，專制到極點，好比中國秦始皇一樣。君主專制一天厲害一天，弄到人民不能忍受。到了這個時代，科學也一天發達一天，人類的聰明也一天進步一天，於是生出了一種大覺悟，知道君主總攬大權，把國家和人民做他一個人的私產，供他一個人的快樂，人民受苦他總不理會，人民到不能忍受的時候，便一天覺悟一天，知道君主專制是無道，人民應該要反抗，反抗就是革命。所以百餘年

來，革命的思潮便非常發達，便發生民權的革命。民權革命，是誰同誰爭呢？就是人民同皇帝相爭。所以推求民權的來源，我們可以用時代來分析。再概括的說一說：第一個時期，是人同獸爭，不是用權，是用氣力；第二個時期，是人同天爭，是用神權；第三個時期，是人同人爭，國同國爭，這個民族同那個民族爭，是用君權；到了現在的第四個時期，國內相爭，人民同君主相爭，在這個時代之中，可以說是善人同惡人爭，公理同強權爭。到這個時代，民權漸漸發達，所以叫做民權時代，這個時代是很新的。我們到了這個很新的時代，推到舊時代的君權，究竟是好不好呢？從前人類的智識未開，賴有聖君賢相去引導，在那個時候，君權是很有用的。君權沒有發生以前，聖人以神道設教，去維持社會，在那個時候，神權也是很有用的。現在神權君權都是過去的陳迹，到了民權時代；就道理上講起來，究竟為甚麼反對君權，一定要用民權呢？因為近來文明很進步，人類的智識很發達，發生了大覺悟。好比我們在做小孩子的時候，便要父母提攜，但是到了成人謀生的時候，便不能依靠父母，必要自己去獨立。但是現在還有很多學者要擁護君權，排斥民權。日本這種學者是很多，歐美也有這種學者，中國許多舊學者也是一樣。所以一般老官僚至今還是主張復辟，恢復帝制。現在全國的學者，有主張君權的，有主張民權的，所以弄到政體至今不能一定。我們是主張民權政治的，必要把全世界各國民權的情形，考察清楚才好。

從二十萬年到萬幾千年以前，是用神權。神權很適宜於那個時代的潮流。比如現在西藏，如果忽然設立君主，人民一定是要反對的，因他們崇信教主，擁戴活佛，尊仰活佛的威權，服從活佛的命令。歐洲幾千百年前也是這樣。中國文化發達的時期，早過歐洲，君權多過神權，所以中國老早便是君權時代。民權這個名詞，是近代傳進來的，大家今天來贊成我的革命，當然是主張民權的；一般老官僚要復辟要做皇帝，當然是反對民權，主張君權的。君權和民權，究竟是那一種和現在的中國相宜呢？這個問題很有研究的價值。根本上討論起來，無論君權和民權，都是用來管理政治，為眾人辦事的，不過政治上各時代的情形不同，所用的方法也各有不同。到底中國現在用民權是適宜不適宜呢？有人說中國人民的程度太低，不適宜於民權。美國本來是民權的國家，但是在袁世凱要做皇帝的時候，也有一位大學教授叫做古德諾，到中國來主張君權，說中國人民的思想不發達，文化趕不上歐美，所以不宜用民權。袁世凱便利用他這種言論，推翻民國，自己稱皇帝。現在我們主張民權，便要對於民權認得很清楚。中國自有歷史以來，沒有實行過民權；就是民國十三年來，也沒有實行過民權。但是我們的歷史，經過了四千多年，其中有治有亂，都是用君權。到底君權對於中國是利或有害呢？中國所受君權的影響，可以說是利害參半。但是根據中國人的聰明才智來講，如果應用民權，比較上還是適宜得多。所以兩千多年前的孔子、孟子，便主張民權。孔子說：「大道之行也，天下為公。」便是主張民權的大同世界。又「言必稱堯舜」，就是因為堯舜不是家天下。堯舜的政治，名義上雖然用君權，實際上是行民權，所以孔子總是宗仰他們。孟子說：「民為貴，社稷次之，君為輕。」又說：「天視自我民視，天聽自我民聽。」又說：「聞誅一夫紂矣，未聞弑君也。」他在那個時代，已經知道君主不必一定是要的，已經知道君主一定是不能長久的，所以便判定那些為民造福的就稱為「聖君」，那些暴虐無道的就稱為「獨夫」，大家應該去反抗他。由此可見中國人對於民權的見解，二千多年以前，已經早想到了。不過那個時候，還以為不能做到，好像外國人說烏托邦，是理想上的事，不是即時可以做得到的。

至于外國人對於中國人的印象，把中國人和非洲、南洋的野蠻人一樣看待。所以中國人和外國人講到民權，他們便極不贊成，以為中國何以能夠同歐美同時來講民權？這些見解的錯誤，都是由于外國學者不考察中國的歷史和國情。所以不知道中國實在是否適宜於民權。中國在歐美的留學生也有跟外國人一樣，說中國不適宜於民權的，這種見解實在是錯誤。依我看來，中國進化比較歐美還要在先，民權的議論，在幾千年以前就老早有了，不過當時只是見之於言論，沒有形於事實。現在歐美既是成立了民國，實現民權有了一百五十年，中國古人也有這種思想，所以我們要希望國家長治久安，人民安樂，順乎世界的潮流，非用民權不可。但是民權發生至今還不甚久，世界許多國家，還有用君權的。各國實行民權，也遭過了許多挫折、許多失敗的。民權言論的發生，在中國有了兩千多年，在歐美恢復民權，不過一百五十年，現在風行一時。近代事實上的民權，頭一次發生是在英國；英國在那個時候發生民權革命，正當中國的明末清初。當時革命黨的首領叫做格林威爾，把英國皇帝查理士第一殺了。此事發生以後，便驚動歐美，一般人以為這是自有歷史以來所沒有的，應該當作謀反叛逆看待。暗中弑君，各國是常有的，但是格林威爾殺查理士第一，不是暗殺，是把他拿到法庭公開裁判，宣佈他不忠於國家和人民的罪狀，所以便把他殺了。當時歐洲以為英國人民應該贊成民權，從此民權便可以發達。誰知英國人民還是歡迎君權，不歡迎民權；查理士第一雖然是死了，人民還是思慕君主，不到十年，英國便發生復辟，把查理士第二迎回去做皇帝。那個時候，剛是滿清入關，明朝還沒有亡，距今不過兩百多年。所以兩百多年以前，英國發生過一次民權政治，不久便歸消滅，君權還是極盛。一百年之後，便有美國的革命，脫離英國獨立，成立美國聯邦政府，到現在有一百五十年。這是現在世界中頭一個實行民權的國家。美國建立共和以後，不到十年，便引出法國革命。法國當時革命的情形，是因為自路易十四總攬政權，厲行專制，

人民受非常的痛苦。他的子孫繼位，更是暴虐無道，人民忍無可忍，於是發生革命，把路易十六殺了。法國人殺路易十六，也是和英國人殺查理士第一一樣，把他拿到法庭公開審判，宣佈他不忠于國家和人民的罪狀。法國皇帝被殺了之後，歐洲各國為他復仇，大戰十多年。所以那次的法國革命，還是失敗，帝制又恢復起來了。但是法國人民民權的思想，從此更趨發達。

講到民權史，大家都知道法國有一位學者叫做盧梭。盧梭是歐洲主張極端民權的人，因有他的民權思想，便發生法國革命。盧梭一生民權思想最要緊的著作是民約論，民約論中立論的根據，是說人民的權利是生而自由平等的，各人都有天賦的權利，不過人民後來把天賦的權利放棄罷了。所以這種言論，可以說民權是天生出來的。但就歷史上進化的道理說，民權不是天生出來的，是時勢和潮流所造就出來的。故推到進化的歷史上，並沒有盧梭所說的那種民權事實，這就是盧梭的言論沒有根據。所以反對民權的人，便拿盧梭沒有根據的話去做材料。但是我們主張民權的，不必要先主張言論；因為宇宙間的道理，都是先有事實，然後才發生言論，並不是先有言論，然後才發生事實。比方陸軍的戰術學，現在已經成了有系統的學問，研究這門學問的成立，是先有學理呢？或是先有事實呢？現在的軍人都是說入學校，研究戰術，學成了之後，為國家去戰鬥。照這種心理來講，當然是先有言論，然後才有事實。但是照世界進化的情形說，最初人同獸鬥，有了百幾萬年，然後那些毒蛇猛獸才消滅。在那個時候，人同獸鬥，到底有沒有戰術呢？當時或者有戰術，不過因為沒有文字去記載，便無可稽考，也未可知。後來人同人相爭，國同國相爭，有了兩萬多年，又經過了多少戰事呢？因為沒有歷史記載，所以後世也不知道。就中國歷史來考究，二千多年前的兵書，有十三篇，那十三篇兵書，便是解釋當時的戰理；由於那十三篇兵書，便成立中國的軍事哲學。所以照那十三篇兵書講，是先有戰鬥的事實，然後才成那本兵書。就是現在的戰術，也是本於古人戰鬥的事實，逐漸進步而來。自最近發明了無烟槍之後，我們戰術便發生一個極大的變更。從前打仗，是兵士看見了敵人尚且一排一排的齊進；近來打仗，如果見了敵人，便趕快伏在地下放槍。到底是不是因為有了無烟槍，我們才伏在地下呢？是不是先有了事實然後才有書呢？還是先有書然後才有事實呢？外國從前有這種戰術，是自南非洲英波之戰始。當時英國兵士同波人打仗，也是一排一排去應戰，波人則伏在地下，所以英國兵士，便受很大的損失。伏地戰術是由波人起的，波人本是由荷蘭搬到非洲的，當時的人數只有三十萬，常常和本地的土人打仗。波人最初到非洲，和本地的土人打仗，土人總是伏在地下打波人，故波人從前吃虧不少，便學土人伏地的戰術。後來學成了，波人和英國人打仗，英國人也吃虧不少。所以英國人又轉學波人的伏地戰術，後來英國兵士回本國，轉教全國，更由英國傳到全世界，所以現在各國的戰術學都採用他。由此可見是先有事實，才發生言論，不是先有言論，才發生事實。盧梭民約論中所說民權是由天賦的言論，本是和歷史上進化的道理相衝突。所以反對民權的人，便拿他那種沒有根據的言論來做口實。盧梭說民權是天賦的，本來是不合理；但是反對他的人，便拿他那一句沒有根據的言論來反對民權，也是不合理。我們要研究宇宙間的道理，須先要靠事實，不可專靠學者的言論。盧梭的言論既是沒有根據，為甚麼當時各國還要歡迎呢？又為甚麼盧梭能夠發生那種言論呢？因為他當時看見民權的潮流已經湧到了，所以他便主張民權。他的民權主張，剛合當時人民的心理，所以當時的人民便歡迎他。他的言論雖然是和歷史進化的道理相衝突，但是當時的政治情形，已經有了那種事實，因為有了那種事實，所以他引證錯了的言論，還是被人歡迎。至於說到盧梭提倡民權的始意，更是政治上千古的大功勞。

世界上自有歷史以來，政治上所用的權，因為各代時勢的潮流不同，便各有不得不然的區別。比方在神權時代，非用神權不可；在君權時代，非用君權不可。像中國君權到了秦始皇的時候，可算是發達到了極點，但是後來的君主還要學他，就是君權無論怎麼樣大，人民還是很歡迎。現在世界潮流到了民權時代，我們應該要趕快去研究，不可因為前人所發表民權的言論稍有不合理，像盧梭的民約論一樣，便連民權的好意也要反對。也不可因為英國有格林威爾革命之後仍要復辟，和法國革命的延長，便以為民權不能實行。法國革命經過了八十年，才能夠成功。美國革命不過八年，便大功告成。英國革命經過了二百多年，至今還有皇帝。但是就種種方面來觀察，世界一天進步一天，我們便知道現在的潮流，已經到了民權時代。將來無論是怎麼樣挫折，怎麼樣失敗，民權在世界上，總是可以維持長久的。所以在三十年前（註三），我們革命同志便下了這個決心，主張要中國強盛，實行革命，便非提倡民權不可。但是當時談起這種主張，不但是許多中國人反對，就是外國人也很反對。當中國發起革命的時候，世界上還有勢力很大的專制君主，把君權、教權統在一個人身上的，像俄國皇帝就是如此。其次把很強的海陸軍，統在一個人身上的，便有德國、奧國的皇帝。當時大家見得歐洲還有那樣強大的君權，亞洲怎麼樣可以實行民權呢？所以袁世凱做皇帝，張勳復辟，都容易發動出來。但是最有力的俄國、德國皇帝，現在都推翻了，俄德兩國都變成了共和國家，可見世界潮流實在到了民權時代。中國人從前反對民權，常常問我們革命黨有甚麼力量可以推翻滿清皇帝呢？但是滿清皇帝在辛亥年一推就倒了，這就是世界潮流的效果。世界潮流的趨勢，好比長江黃河的流水一樣，水流的方向或者有許多曲折，向北流或向南流的，但是流到最後，一定是向東的，無論是怎麼樣都阻止不住的。所以世界的潮流，由神權流到君權，由君權

流到民權；現在流到了民權，便沒有方法可以反抗。如果反抗潮流，就是有很大的力量像袁世凱，很蠻悍的軍隊像張勳，都是終歸失敗。現在北方武人專制，就是反抗世界的潮流，我們南方主張民權，就是順應世界的潮流。雖然南方政府的力量薄弱，軍隊的訓練和餉彈的補充都不及北方，但是我們順着潮流做去，縱然一時失敗，將來一定成功，並且可以永遠的成功。北方反抗世界的潮流，倒行逆施，無論力量是怎麼樣大，縱然一時僥倖成功，將來一定是失敗，並且永遠不能再圖恢復。現在供奉神權的蒙古，已經起了革命，推翻活佛，神權失敗了；將來西藏的神權，也一定要被人民推翻。蒙古、西藏的活佛，便是神權的末日，時期一到了，無論是怎麼樣維持，都不能保守長久。現在歐洲的君權也逐漸減少，比如英國是用政黨治國，不是用皇帝治國，可以說是沒有皇帝的共和國。由此可見世界潮流，到了現在，不但是神權不能夠存在，就是君權也不能夠長久。

現在之民權時代，是繼續希臘、羅馬之民權思想而來。自民權復興以至於今日，不過一百五十年，但是以後的時期很長遠，天天應該要發達。所以我們在中國革命，決定採用民權制度，一則為順應世界之潮流，二則為縮短國內之戰爭。因為自古以來，有大志之人多想做皇帝，如劉邦見秦皇出外，便曰：「大丈夫當如是也」。項羽亦曰：「彼可取而代之」。此等野心家代代不絕，當我提倡革命之初，其來贊成者，十人之中，差不多有六七人是有一種皇帝思想的。但是我們宣傳革命主義，不但是要推翻滿清，並且要建設共和，所以十中之六七人，都逐漸化除其帝皇思想了。但是其中仍有一二人，就是到了民國十三年，那種做皇帝的舊思想還沒有化除，所以跟我革命黨的人，也有自相殘殺，即此故也。我們革命黨於宣傳之始，便揭出民權主義來建設共和國家，就是想免了爭皇帝之戰爭，惜乎尚有冥頑不化之人，此亦實在無可如何。從前太平天國便是前車之鑒。洪秀全當初在廣西起事，打過湖南、湖北、江西、安徽，建都南京，滿清天下大半歸他所有，但是太平天國何以終歸失敗呢？講起原因有好幾種。有人說他最大的原因是懂外交，因為當時英國派了大使波丁渣到南京，想和洪秀全立約，承認太平天國，不承認大清皇帝；但是波丁渣到了南京之後，只能見東王楊秀清，不能見天王洪秀全，因為要見洪秀全，便要叩頭。所以波丁渣不肯去見，便到北京和滿清政府立約，後來派戈登帶兵去打蘇州，洪秀全便因此失敗。所以有人說他的失敗，是由於不懂外交。這或者是他失敗的原因之一，也未可知。又有人說洪秀全之所以失敗，是由於他得了南京之後，不乘勢長驅直進去打北京。所以洪秀全不北伐，也是他失敗的原因之一。但是依我的觀察，洪秀全之所以失敗，這兩個原因都是很小的；最大的原因，是他們那一般人到了南京之後，就互爭皇帝，閉起城來自相殘殺。第一是楊秀清和洪秀全爭權，洪秀全既做了皇帝，楊秀清也想做皇帝，楊秀清當初帶到南京的基本軍隊有六七萬精兵，因為發生爭皇帝的內亂，韋昌輝便殺了楊秀清，銷滅他的軍隊。韋昌輝把楊秀清殺了之後，也專橫起來，又和洪秀全爭權，後來大家把韋昌輝銷滅。當時石達開聽見南京發生了內亂，便從江西趕進南京，想去排解；後來見事無可為，並且自己也被人猜疑，都說他也想做皇帝，他就逃出南京，把軍隊帶到四川，不久也被清兵銷滅。因為當時洪秀全、楊秀清爭皇帝做，所以太平天國的洪秀全、楊秀清、韋昌輝、石達開那四部份基本軍隊都完全銷滅，太平天國的勢力便由此大衰。推究太平天國勢力之所以衰弱的原因，根本上是由於楊秀清想做皇帝一念之錯。洪秀全當時革命，尚不知有民權主義，所以他一起義時便封了五個王。後來到了南京，經過楊秀清、韋昌輝內亂之後，便想不再封王了。後因李秀成、陳玉成屢立大功，有不得不封之勢，而洪秀全又恐封了王，他們或靠不住，於是同時又封了三四十個王，使他們彼此位號相等，可以互相牽掣；但是從此以後，李秀成、陳玉成等對於各王便不能調動，故洪秀全便因此失敗。所以那種失敗，完全是由於大家想做皇帝。陳炯明前年在廣州造反，他為甚麼要那樣做法呢？許多人以為他只是要割據兩廣，此實大不然。當陳炯明沒有造反之先，我主張北伐，對他剴切說明北伐的利害，他總是反對。後來我想他要爭的是兩廣，或者恐怕由於我北伐，和他的地盤有妨礙，所以我最後一天，老實不客氣明白對他說：「我們北伐如果成功，將來政府不是搬到武漢，就是搬到南京，一定是不回來的，兩廣的地盤，當然是付托於你，請你做我們的後援。倘若北伐不幸失敗，我們便沒有臉再回來，到了那個時候，任憑你用甚麼外交手段，和北方政府拉攏，也可以保存兩廣的地盤。就是你投降北方，我們也不管汝，也不責備你。」他當時似還有難言之隱。由此觀之，他之志是不只兩廣地盤的。後來北伐軍進了贛州，他就造起反來。他為甚麼原因要在那個時候造反呢？就是因為他想做皇帝，先要消滅極端與皇帝不相容之革命軍，彼才可有辦法去做成其基礎，好去做皇帝。此外尚有一件事實，證明陳炯明是有皇帝思想的。辛亥革命以後，他常向人說，他少年時常常造夢，一手抱日，一手抱月。他有一首詩內有一句云：「日月抱持負少年」，自註這段造夢的故事於下，遍以示人。他取他的名字，也是想應他這個夢的。你看他的部下，像葉舉、洪兆麟、楊坤如、陳炯光那一般人，沒有一個是革命黨，只有鄧鏗一個人是革命黨，他便老早把鄧鏗暗殺了。陳炯明是為做皇帝而來附和革命的，所以想做皇帝的心，至今不死。此外還有幾個人從前也是想做皇帝的，不知道到了民國十三年，他們的心理是怎麼樣，我現在沒有功夫去研究他。

我現在講民權主義，便要大家明白民權究竟是甚麼意思，如果不明白這個意思，想做皇帝的心理便永遠不能消滅。大家若是有了想做皇帝的心理，一來同志就要打同志，二來本國人更要打本國人。全國長年

相爭相打，人民的禍害便沒有止境。我從前因為要免去這種禍害，所以發起革命的時候，便主張民權，決心建立一個共和國。共和國成立以後，是用誰來做皇帝呢？是用人民來做皇帝，用四萬萬人來做皇帝。照這樣辦法，便免得大家相爭，便可以減少中國的戰禍。就中國歷史講，每換一個朝代，都有戰爭。比方秦始皇專制，人民都反對他，後來陳涉、吳廣起義，各省都響應，那本是民權的風潮。到了劉邦、項羽出來，便發生楚漢相爭。劉邦、項羽是爭甚麼呢？他們就是爭皇帝。漢唐以來，沒有一朝不是爭皇帝的。中國歷史常是一治一亂，當亂的時候，總是爭皇帝。外國嘗有因宗教而戰、自由而戰的，但中國幾千年以來所戰的都是皇帝一個問題。我們革命黨為免將來戰爭起見，所以當初發起革命的時候(註四)，便主張共和，不要皇帝。現在共和成立了，但是還有想做皇帝的，像南方的陳炯明是想做皇帝的，北方的曹錕也是想做皇帝的，廣西的陸榮廷是不是想做皇帝呢？此外還更有不知多少人，都是想要做皇帝的。中國歷代改(註五)朝換姓的時候，兵權大的就爭皇帝，兵權小的就爭王爭侯。現在一般軍人已不敢大者王、小者侯，這也是歷史上競爭的一個進步了。

(註一) 據「民權主義」，孫文題著本(中國國民黨中央執行委員會編，民國十三年八月出版，黨史會藏(042/20)通稱「民權主義大字

本」。

(註二) 原文僅標「十三年三月九日」，今增「民國……講」。

(註三) 「週刊」第二十一期(民國十三年五月十八日)同講及「會本」作「十三年前」，今依原文及「胡本」。

(註四) 原文及「週刊」為「當初發起的時候」，今據「胡本」及「會本」增「革命」二字。

(註五) 原文及「胡本」為「政」，今據「週刊」及「會本」改。

## 民權主義 第二講

第二講 民國十三年三月十六日講(註一)

民權這個名詞，外國學者每每把他和自由那個名詞並稱，所以在外國很多的書本或言論裏頭，都是民權和自由並列。歐美兩三百年來，人民所奮鬪的所競爭的，沒有別的東西，就是為自由，所以民權便由此發達。法國革命的時候，他們革命的口號是自由、平等、博愛三個名詞，好比中國革命，用民族、民權、民生三個主義一樣。由此可說自由、平等、博愛是根據於民權，民權又是由於這三個名詞然後才發達。所以我們要講民權，便不能不先講自由、平等、博愛這三個名詞。

近來革命思潮傳到東方之後，自由這個名詞也傳進來了。許多學者志士提倡新思潮的，把自由講到很詳細，視為很重要。這種思潮，在歐洲兩三百年以前，佔很重要的地位。因為歐洲兩三百年來的戰爭，差不多都是為爭自由，所以歐美學者對於自由看得很重要，一般人民對於自由的意義也很有心得。但是這個名詞近來傳進中國，祇有一般學者曾用功夫去研究過的，才懂得甚麼叫做自由；至於普通民眾，像在鄉村或街道上的人，如果我們對他們說自由，他們一定不懂得。所以中國人對於自由兩個字，實在是完全沒有心得，因為這個名詞傳到中國不久。現在懂得的，不過是一般新青年和留學生，或者是留心歐美政治時務的人，常常聽到和在書本上看見這兩個字；但是究竟甚麼是自由，他們還是莫明其妙。所以外國人批評中國人，說中國人的文明程度真是太低，思想太幼稚，連自由的智識都沒有，自由的名詞都沒有。但是外國人，一面既批評中國人沒有自由的知識，一面又批評中國人是一片散沙。外國人的這兩種批評，在一方面說中國人是一片散沙，沒有團體；又在一方面說中國人不明白自由。這兩種批評，恰恰是相反的。為甚麼是相反的呢？比方外國人說中國人是一片散沙，究竟說一片散沙的意思是甚麼呢？就是個個有自由，和人人有自由，人人把自己的自由擴充到很大，所以成了一片散沙。甚麼是一片散沙呢？如果我們拿一手沙起來，無論多少，各顆沙都是很活動的，沒有束縛的，這便是一片散沙。如果在散沙內參加土敏土，便結成石頭，變為一個堅固的團體；變成了石頭，團體很堅固，散沙便沒有自由。所以拿散沙和石頭比較，馬上就明白石頭本是由散沙結合而成的，但是散沙在石頭的堅固團體之內，就不能活動，就失卻自由。自由的解釋，簡單言之，在一個團體中能夠活動，來往自如，便是自由。因為中國沒有這個名詞，所以大家都莫明其妙。但是我們有一種固有名詞，是和自由相彷彿的，就是「放蕩不羈」一句話。既然是放蕩不羈，就是和散沙一樣，各個有很大的自由。所以外國人批評中國人，一面說沒有結合能力，既然如此，當然是散沙，是很自由的；又一面說中國人不懂自由。殊不知大家都有自由，便

是一片散沙；要大家結合成一個堅固團體，便不能像一片散沙。所以外國人這樣批評我們的地方，就是陷於自相矛盾了。

最近二三百年以來，外國用了很大的力量爭自由，究竟自由是好不好呢？到底是一個甚麼東西呢？依我看來，近來兩三百年，外國人說為自由去戰爭，我們中國（註二）普通人也總莫明其妙。他們當爭自由的時候，鼓吹自由主義，說得很神聖，甚至把「不自由，毋寧死」的一句話，成了爭自由的口號。中國學者翻譯外國人的學說，也把這句話搬進到中國來，並且擁護自由，決心去奮鬥，當初的勇氣，差不多和外國人從前是一樣。但是中國一般民眾，還是不能領會甚麼是叫做自由。大家要知道自由和民權是同時發達的，所以今天來講民權，便不能不講自由。我們要知道歐美為爭自由，流了多少血，犧牲了許多性命。我前一回講過的，現在世界是民權時代。歐美發生民權，已經有了一百多年，推到民權的來歷，由於爭自由之後才有的。最初歐美人民犧牲性命，本來是為爭自由，爭自由的結果，才得到民權。當時歐美學者提倡自由去戰爭，好比我們革命提倡民族、民權、民生三主義的道理是一樣的。由此可見歐美人民最初的戰爭是為自由，自由爭得之後，學者才稱這種結果為民權。所謂「德謨克拉西」，此乃希臘之古名詞，而歐美民眾至今對這個名詞亦不大關心，不過視為政治學中之一句術語便了；比之自由二個字，視為性命所關，則相差遠了。民權這種事實，在希臘羅馬時代已發其端，因那個時候的政體是貴族共和，都已經有了這個名詞。後來希臘羅馬亡了，這個名詞便忘記了。最近二百年內為自由戰爭，又把民權這個名詞再恢復起來。近幾十年來，講民權的人更多了，流行到中國，也有很多人講民權。但是歐洲一二百多年以來的戰爭，不是說爭民權，是說爭自由；提起自由兩個字，全歐洲人便容易明白。當時歐洲人民聽了自由這個名詞，容易明白的情形，好像中國人聽了發財這個名詞一樣，大家的心理都以為是很貴重的。現在對中國人說要他去爭自由，他們便不明白，不情願來附和；但是對他要說請他去發財，便有很多人要跟上來。歐洲當時戰爭所用的標題是爭自由，因為他們極明白這個名詞，所以人民便為自由去奮鬥，為自由去犧牲，大家便很崇拜自由。何以歐洲人民聽道自由便那樣歡迎呢？現在中國人民何以聽道自由便不理會，聽道發財便很歡迎呢？其中有許多道理，要詳細去研究才可以明白。中國人聽到說發財就很歡迎的原故，因為中國現在到了民窮財盡的時代，人民所受的痛苦是貧窮；因為發財是救窮獨一無二的方法，所以大家聽到了這個名詞便很歡迎。發財有甚麼好處呢？就是發財便可救窮，救了窮便不受苦，所謂救苦救難。人民正是受貧窮的痛苦時候，忽有人對他們說發財，把他們的痛苦可以解除，他們自然要跟從，自然拚命去奮鬥。歐洲一二百年前為自由戰爭，當時人民聽道自由，便像現在中國人聽道發財一樣。他們為甚麼要那樣歡迎自由呢？因為當時歐洲的君主專制發達到了極點。歐洲的文明，和中國周末列國相同，中國周末的時候，是和歐洲羅馬同時，羅馬統一歐洲，正在中國周、秦、漢的時代。羅馬初時建立共和，後來變成帝制。羅馬亡了之後，歐洲列國並峙，和中國周朝亡了之後，變成東周列國一樣。所以很多學者把周朝亡後的七雄爭長，和羅馬亡後變成列國的情形，相提並論（註三）。羅馬變成列國，成了封建制度，那個時候，大者王，小者侯，最小者還有伯、子、男，都是很專制的。那種封建政體，比較中國周朝的列國封建制度，還要專制得多。歐洲人民在那種專制政體之下所受的痛苦，我們今日還想不到。比之中國歷朝人民所受專制的痛苦，還要更利害。這個原故，由於中國自秦朝專制直接對於人民「誹謗者族，偶語者棄市」，遂至促亡。以後歷朝政治，大都對於人民取寬大態度，人民納了糧之外，幾乎與官吏沒有關係。歐洲的專制，卻一直接專制到人民，時間復長，方法日密，那專制的進步，實在比中國利害得多。所以歐洲人在二百年以前，受那種極殘酷專制的痛苦，好像現在中國人受貧窮的痛苦是一樣。人民受久了那樣殘酷的專制，深感不自由的痛苦，所以他們唯一的方法，就是要奮鬥去爭自由，解除那種痛苦，一聽道有人說自由，便很歡迎。

中國古代封建制度破壞之後，專制淫威，不能達到普通人民。由秦以後，歷代皇帝專制的目的，第一是要保守他們自己的皇位，永遠家天下，使他們子子孫孫可以萬世安享。所以對於人民的行動，於皇位有危險的，便用很大的力量去懲治；故中國一個人造反，便連到誅九族。用這樣嚴重的刑罰，去禁止人民造反，其中用意，就是專制皇帝要永遠保守皇位。反過來說，如果人民不侵犯皇位，無論他們是做甚麼事，皇帝便不理會。所以中國自秦以後，歷代的皇帝都祇顧皇位，並不理民事，說道人民的幸福，更是理不到。現在民國有了十三年，因為政體混亂，還沒有功夫去建設，人民和國家的關係，還沒有理會。我們回想民國以前，清朝皇帝的專制是怎麼樣呢？十三年以前，人民和清朝皇帝有甚麼關係呢？在清朝時代，每一省之中，上有督撫，中有府道，下有州縣佐雜，所以人民和皇帝的關係很小。人民對於皇帝祇有一個關係，就是納糧，除了納糧之外，便和政府沒有別的關係。因為這個原故，中國人民的政治思想便很薄弱，人民不管誰來做皇帝，祇要納糧，便算盡了人民的責任。政府祇要人民納糧，便不去理會他們別的事，其餘都是聽人民自生自滅。由此可見中國人民直接並沒有受過很大的專制痛苦。只有受間接的痛苦。因為國家衰弱，受外國政治經濟的壓迫，沒有力量抵抗，弄到民窮財盡，人民便受貧窮的痛苦。這種痛苦就是間接的痛苦，不是直接的痛苦。所以當時人民對於皇帝的怨恨還是少的。但是歐洲的專制，就和中國的不同，歐洲由羅馬亡後到兩三百年以前，君主的專制是很進步的，所以人民所受的痛

苦也是很利害的，人民是很難忍受的。當時人民受那種痛苦，不自由的地方極多，最大的是思想不自由，言論不自由，行動不自由。這三種不自由，現在歐洲是已經過去了的陳迹，詳細情形是怎麼樣，我們不能看見，但是行動不自由，還可以知道。譬如現在我們華僑在南洋荷蘭或法國的領土，所受來往行動不自由的痛苦，便可以知道。像爪哇本來是中國的屬國，到中國來進過了貢的，後來才歸荷蘭。歸荷蘭政府管理之後，無論是中國的商人，或者是學生，或者是工人，到爪哇的地方，輪船一抵岸，便有荷蘭的巡警來查問。便把中國人引到一間小房子，關在那個裏頭，脫開衣服，由醫生從頭到腳都驗過，還要打指模、量身體，方才放出，准他們登岸。登岸之後，就是住在甚麼地方，也要報明。如果想由所住的地方到別的地方去，便要領路照。到了夜晚九時以後，就是有路照，也不准通行。要另外領一張夜照，並且要攜手燈。這就是華僑在爪哇所受荷蘭政府的待遇，便是行動不自由。像這種行動不自由的待遇，一定是從前歐洲皇帝對人民用過了的，留存到今日，荷蘭人就用來對待中國華僑。由於我們華僑現在受這種待遇，便可想見從前歐洲的專制是怎麼樣情形。此外還有人民的營業、工作和信仰種種都不自由。譬如就信仰不自由說，人民在一個甚麼地方住，便強迫要信仰一種甚麼宗教，不管人民是情願不情願，由此人民都很難忍受。歐洲人民當時受那種不自由的痛苦，真是水深火熱，所以一聽到說有人提倡爭自由，大家便極歡迎，便去附和，這就是歐洲革命思潮的起源。歐洲革命是要爭自由，人民為爭自由流了無數的碧血，犧牲了無數的身家性命，所以一爭得之後，大家便奉為神聖，就是到今日也還是很崇拜。這種自由學說，近來傳進中國，一般學者也很熱心去提倡，所以許多人也知道在中國要爭自由。今天我們來講民權，民權的學說，是由歐美傳進來的，大家必須明白民權是一件甚麼事，並且還要明白民權同類的自由又是一件甚麼事。從前歐洲人民受不自由的痛苦，忍無可忍，於是萬眾一心去爭自由，達到了自由目的之後，民權便隨之發生。所以我們講民權，便不能不先講明白爭自由的歷史。近年歐美之革命風潮傳播到中國，中國新學生及許多志士，都發起來提倡自由。他們以為歐洲革命，像從前法國都是爭自由，我們現在革命，也應該學歐洲人來爭自由。這種言論，可說是人云亦云，對於民權和自由沒有用過心力去研究，沒有澈底了解。我們革命黨向來主張三民主義去革命，而不主張以革命去爭自由，是很有深意的。從前法國革命的口號是自由，美國革命的口號是獨立，我們革命的口號就是三民主義，是用了很多時間，做了很多工夫，才定出來的，不是人云亦云。為甚麼說一般新青年提倡自由是不對呢？為甚麼當時歐洲講自由是對呢？這個道理已經講過了，因為提出一個目標，要大家去奮鬥，一定要和人民有切膚之痛，人民才熱心來附和。歐洲人民因為從前受專制的痛苦太深，所以一經提倡自由，便萬眾一心去贊成。假若現在中國來提倡自由，人民向來沒有受過這種痛苦，當然不理會。如果在中國來提倡發財，人民一定是很歡迎的。我們的三民主義，便是很像發財主義，要明白這個道理，要展轉解釋才可成功。我們為甚麼不直接講發財呢？因為發財不能包括三民主義，三民主義才可以包括發財。俄國革命之初，實行共產，是和發財相近的，那就是直接了當的主張。我們革命黨所主張的，不止一件事，所以不能用發財兩個字簡單來包括，若是用自由的名詞，更難包括了。近來歐洲學者觀察中國，每每說中國的文明程度太低，政治思想太薄弱，連自由都不懂；我們歐洲人在一二百年前，為自由戰爭，為自由犧牲，不知道做了多少驚天動地的事，現在中國人還不懂自由是甚麼，由此便可見我們歐洲人的政治思想，比較中國人高得多。由於中國人不講自由，便說是政治思想薄弱，這種言論，依我看起來是講不通的。因為歐洲人既尊重自由，為甚麼又說中國人是一片散沙呢？歐洲人從前要爭自由的時候，他們自由的觀念自然是很濃厚，得到了自由之後，目的已達，恐怕他們的自由觀念也漸漸淡薄。如果現在再去提倡自由，我想一定不像從前那樣的歡迎。而且歐洲爭自由的革命，是兩三百年前的舊方法，一定是做不通的。就一片散沙而論，有甚麼精采呢？精采就是在有充分的自由，如果不自由，便不能夠成一片散沙。從前歐洲在民權初萌芽的時代，便主張爭自由；到了目的已達，各人都擴充自己的自由，於是自由太過，便發生許多流弊。所以英國有一個學者叫做彌勒氏的，便說一個人的自由，以不侵犯他人的自由為範圍，才是真自由；如果侵犯他人的範圍，便不是自由。歐美人講自由，從前沒有範圍，到英國彌勒氏才立了自由的範圍；有了範圍，便減少很多自由了。由此可知彼中學者已漸知自由不是一個神聖不可侵犯之物（註四），所以也要定一個範圍來限制他了。若外國人批評中國人，一方面說中國人不懂自由，一方面又說中國人是一片散沙，這兩種批評，實在是互相矛盾。中國人既是一片散沙，本是很有充分自由的。如果成一片散沙，是不好的事，我們趁早就要參加水和土敏土，要那些散沙和土敏土，彼此結合，來成石頭，變成很堅固的團體，到了那個時候，散沙便不能夠活動，便沒有自由。所以中國人現在所受的病，不是欠缺自由。如果一片散沙是中國人的本質，中國人的自由，老早是很充分了，不過中國人原來沒有自由這個名詞，所以沒有這個思想。但是中國人沒有這個思想，和政治有甚麼關係呢？到底中國人有沒有自由呢？我們拿一片散沙的事實來研究，便知道中國人有很多的自由，因為自由太多，故大家便不注意去理會，連這個名詞也不管了。這是甚麼道理呢？好比我們日常的生活，最重要是衣食，吃飯每天最少要兩餐，穿衣每年最少要兩套；但是還有一件事比較衣食更為重要。普通人都以為不吃飯便要死。以吃飯是最重大的事，但是那一件重要的事，比較吃飯還要重大過一萬倍。不過大家不覺得，所以不以為重大。這件事是甚麼呢？就是吃空氣。吃空氣就是呼吸。為甚麼吃空氣比較吃飯重要過一萬倍呢？因為

吃飯在一天之內，有了兩次，或者一次，就可以養生；但是我們吃空氣，要可以養生，每一分鐘最少要有十六次，才可舒服，如果不然，便不能忍受。大家不信，可以實地試驗，把鼻孔塞住一分鐘，便停止了十六次的呼吸，像我現在試驗不到一分鐘，便很難忍受；一天有二十四點鐘，每點鐘有六十分，每分鐘要吃空氣十六次，每點鐘便要吃九百六十次，每天便要吃二萬三千零四十次。所以說吃空氣比較吃飯是重要得一萬倍，實在是不錯的。像這樣要緊，我們還不感覺的原因，就是由于天中空氣到處皆有，取之不盡，用之不竭，一天吃到晚，都不用工夫，不比吃飯要人工去換得來，所以我們覺得找吃飯是很難的，找空氣吃是很容易的；因為太過容易，大家便不注意，個人閉住鼻孔，停止吃空氣，來試驗吃空氣的重要，不過是小試驗。如果要行大試驗，可以把這個講堂四圍的窗戶，都關閉起來，我們所吃的空氣便漸漸減少，不過幾分鐘久，現在這幾百人便都不能忍受。又把一個人在小房內關閉一天，初放出來的時候，便覺得很舒服，也是一樣的道理。中國人因為自由過於充分，便不去理會，好比房中的空氣太多，我們便不覺得空氣有甚麼重要。到了關閉門戶，沒有空氣進來，我們才覺得空氣是個很重要的。歐洲人在兩三百年以前受專制的痛苦，完全沒有自由，所以他們人才知道自由可貴，要拚命去爭。沒有爭到自由之先，好像是閉在小房裏一樣；既爭到了自由之後，好比是從小房內忽然放出來，遇着了空氣一樣。所以大家便覺得自由是很貴重的東西，所以他們常常說「不自由，毋寧死」那一句話。但是中國的情形就不同了，中國人不知自由，只知發財。對中國人說自由，好像對廣西深山的獠人說發財一樣。獠人常有由深山中，拿了熊膽、鹿茸，到外邊的圩場去換東西。初時圩場中的人，把錢和他交換，他常常不要，只要食鹽或布匹，乃樂於交換。在我們的觀念內，最好是發財；在獠人的觀念，只要合用東西，便心滿意足。他們不懂發財，故不喜歡得錢。中國一般的新學者，對中國民眾提倡自由，就好像和獠人講發財一樣。中國人用不着自由，但是學生還要宣傳自由，真可謂不識時務了。歐美人在一百五十年以前，因為難得自由，所以拚命去爭；既爭到了之後，像法國、美國是我們所稱為實行民權先進的國家。在這兩個國家之內，人人是不是都有自由呢？但是有許多等人，像學生、軍人、官吏和不及二十歲未成年的人，都是沒有自由的。所以歐洲兩三百年前的戰爭，不過是三十歲以上的人和不做軍人、官吏、學生的人來爭自由；爭得了之後，也只有除了他們這幾等人以外的才有自由，在這幾等人以內的，至今都不得自由。中國學生得到了自由思想，沒有別的地方用，便拿到學校內去用，於是生出學潮，美其名說是爭自由。歐美人講自由，是有很嚴格界限的，不能說人人都有自由。中國新學生講自由，把甚麼界限都打破了。拿這種學說到外面社會，因為沒有人歡迎，所以只好搬回學校內去用，故常常生出鬧學風潮。此自由之用之不得其所也。外國人不識中國歷史，不知道中國人民自古以來都有很充分的自由，這自是難怪。至於中國的學生，而竟忘卻了「日出而作，日入而息，鑿井而飲，耕田而食，帝力於我何有哉？」這個先民的自由歌，卻是大可怪的事。由這個自由歌看起來，便知中國自古以來，雖無自由之名，而確有自由之實，且極其充分，不必再去多求了。

我們要講民權，因為民權是由自由發生的，所以不能不講明白歐洲人民當時爭自由的情形。如果不明白，便不知到自由可貴。歐洲人當時爭自由，不過是一種狂熱，後來狂熱漸漸冷了，便知道自由有好的和不好的兩方面，不是神聖的東西。所以外國人說中國人是一片散沙，我們是承認的；但是說中國人不懂自由，政治思想薄弱，我們便不能承認。中國人為甚麼是一片散沙呢？由於甚麼東西弄成一片散沙呢？就是因為是各人的自由太多。由于中國人自由太多，所以中國要革命。中國革命的目的與外國不同，所以方法也不同。到底中國為甚麼要革命呢？直接了當說，是和歐洲革命的目的相反。歐洲從前因為太沒有自由，所以革命要去爭自由。我們是因為自由太多，沒有團體，沒有抵抗力，成一片散沙。因為是一片散沙，所以受外國帝國主義的侵略，受列強經濟商戰的壓迫，我們現在便不能抵抗。要將來能夠抵抗外國的壓迫，就要打破各人的自由，結成很堅固的團體，像把士敏土參加到散沙裏頭，結成一塊堅固石頭一樣。中國人現在因為自由太多，發生自由的毛病，不但是學校內的學生是這樣，就是我們革命黨裏頭，也有這種毛病；所以從前推倒滿清之後，至今無法建設民國，就是錯用了自由之過也。我們革命黨從前被袁世凱打敗，亦是為這個理由。當民國二年，袁世凱大借外債，不經國會通過，又殺宋教仁，做種種事來破壞民國。我當時催促各省馬上去討袁，但因為我們同黨之內，大家都是講自由，沒有團體。譬如在西南無論那一省之內，自師長、旅長以至兵士，沒有不說各有各的自由，沒有彼此能夠團結的。大而推到各省，又有各省的自由，彼此不能聯合。南方各省，當時乘革命餘威，表面雖然是轟轟烈烈，內容實在是四分五裂，號令不能統一。說到袁世凱，他有舊日北洋六鎮的統系，在那六鎮之內，所有的師長、旅長和一切兵士，都是很服從的，號令是一致的。簡單的說，袁世凱有很堅固的團體，我們革命黨是一片散沙，所以袁世凱打敗革命黨。由此可見一種道理，在外國是適當的，在中國未必是適當。外國革命的方法是爭自由，中國革命便不能說是爭自由；如果說爭自由，便更成一片散沙，不能成大團體，我們的革命目的，便永遠不能成功。

外國革命是由爭自由而起，奮鬥了兩三百年，生出了大風潮，才得到自由，才發生民權。從前法國革命的口號是用自由、平等、博愛。我們革命的口號是用民族、民權、民生。究竟我們三民主義的口號，和

自由、平等、博愛三個口號有甚麼關係呢？照我講起來，我們的民族，可以說和他們的自由一樣，因為實行民族主義，就是為國家爭自由。但歐洲當時是為個人爭自由，到了今天，自由的用法便不同。在今天自由這個名詞究竟要怎麼樣應用呢？如果用到個人，就成一片散沙，萬不可再用到個人上去，要用到國家上去。個人不可太過自由，國家要得完全自由。到了國家能夠行動自由，中國便是強盛的國家。要這樣做去便要大家犧牲自由。當學生的能夠犧牲自由，就可以天天用功，在學問上做工夫；學問成了，智識發達，能力豐富，便可以替國家做事。當軍人能夠犧牲自由，就能服從命令，忠心報國，使國家有自由。如果學生、軍人要講自由，便像中國自由的對待名詞，成為放任放蕩，在學校內便沒有校規，在軍隊內便沒有軍紀。在學校內不講校規，在軍隊內不講軍紀，那還能夠成為學校、號稱軍隊嗎？我們為甚麼要國家自由呢？因為中國受列強的壓迫，失去了國家的地位，不祇是半殖民地，實在已成了次殖民地，比不上緬甸、安南、高麗。緬甸、安南、高麗不過是一國的殖民地，只做一個主人的奴隸，中國是各國的殖民地，要做各國的奴隸。中國現在是做十多個主人的奴隸，所以現在的國家是很不自由的。要把我們國家的自由恢復起來，就要集合自由，成一個很堅固的團體；要用革命的方法把國家成一個大堅固團體，非有革命主義不成功。我們的革命主義，便是集合起來的士敏土，能夠把四萬萬人都用革命主義集合起來，成一個大團體。這一個大團體能夠自由，中國國家當然是自由，中國民族才真能自由。用我們三民主義的口號和法國革命的口號來比較，法國的自由和我們的民族主義相同，因為民族主義是提倡國家自由的。平等和我們的民權主義相同，因為民權主義是提倡人民在政治之地位都是平等的，要打破君權，使人人都是平等的，所以說民權是和平等相對待的。此外還有博愛的口號，這個名詞的原文，是兄弟的意思，和中國同胞兩個字是一樣解法，普通譯成博愛。當中的道理，和我們的民生主義是相通的。因為我們的民生主義，是圖四萬萬人幸福的，為四萬萬人謀幸福，就是博愛。這個道理，等到講民生主義的時候，再去詳細解釋。

(註一) 原文僅標「十三年三月十六日」，今增「民國……講」。

(註二) 原文為「我中國」，今據「週刊」第二十二期(民國十三年五月二十五日)同講及「會本」增「們」字。

(註三) 原文為「相並提論」，今據「週刊」及「會本」改。

(註四) 原文為「不可侵之物」，今據「週刊」及「會本」增「犯」字。

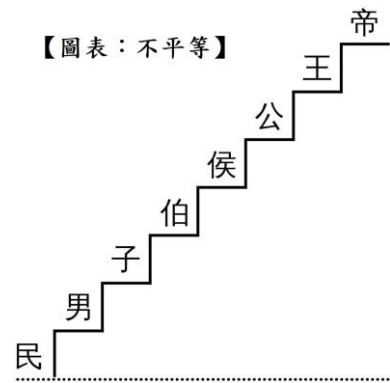
## 民權主義 第三講

### 第三講 (註一)

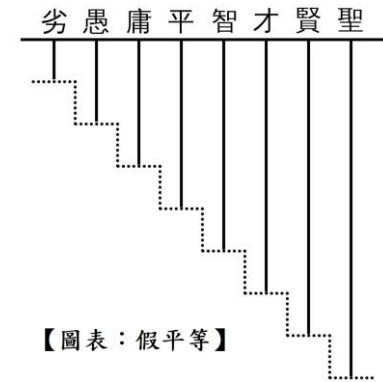
民權兩個字，是我們革命黨的第二個口號，同法國革命口號的平等是相對的。因為平等是法國革命的第二個口號，所以今天專拿平等做題目來研究。平等這名詞，通常和自由那個名詞，都是相提並論的。歐洲各國從前革命，人民為爭平等和爭自由，都是一樣的出力，一樣的犧牲，所以他們把平等和自由都是看得一樣的重大。更有許多人以為要能夠自由，必要得到平等，如果得不到平等，便無從實現自由。用平等和自由比較，把平等更是看得重大的。甚麼是叫做平等呢？平等是從那裏來的呢？歐美的革命學說，都講平等是天賦到人類的；譬如美國在革命時候的獨立宣言，法國在革命時候的人權宣言，都是大書特書，說平等、自由是天賦到人類的特權，是他人不能侵奪的(註二)。天生人究竟是否賦有平等的特權呢？請先把這個問題拿來研究清楚。

從前在第一講中，推溯民權的來源，自人類初生幾百萬年以前，推到近來民權萌芽時代，從沒有見過天賦有平等的道理。譬如用天生的萬物來講，除了水面以外，沒有一物是平的；就是拿平地來比較，也沒有一處是真平的。好像坐粵漢鐵路，自黃沙到銀盞坳一段，本來是屬於平原，但是從火車窗外，過細攷察沿路的高低情況，沒有那一里路，不是用人工修築，才可以得平路的。所謂天生的平原，其不平的情形已經是這樣。再就眼前而論，拿掉上這一瓶的花來看，此刻我手內所拿的這枝花是槐花，大概看起來，以為每片葉子都是相同，每朵花也是相同，但是過細考察起來，或用顯微鏡試驗起來，沒有那兩片葉子完全是相同的，也沒有那兩朵花完全是相同的。就是一株槐樹的幾千萬片葉中，也沒有完全相同的。推到空間、時間的關係，此處地方的槐葉和彼處地方的槐葉，更是不相同的。今年所生的槐葉和去年所生的槐葉，又是不相同的。由此可見天地間所生的東西，總沒有相同的；既然都是不相同，自然不能夠說是平等。自然界既沒有平等，人類又怎麼有平等呢？天生人類本來也是不平等的，到了人類專制發達以後，專制帝王尤其變本加厲，弄到結果，比較天生的更是不平等了。這種由帝王造成的不平等，是人為

的不平等。人為的不平等，究竟是甚麼情形？現在可就講壇的黑板上，繪一個圖來表明，請諸君細看第一圖，便可明白。因為有這種人為的不平等，在特殊階級的人，過於暴虐無道，被壓迫的人民無地自容，所以發生革命的風潮，來打不平。革命的始意，本是在打破人為的不平等，到了平等以後，便可了事。但是佔了帝王地位的人，每每假造天意，做他們的保障，說他們所處的特殊地位，是天所授與的，人民反對他們，便是逆天。無知識的民眾，不曉得研究這些話，是不是合道理，只是盲從附和，為君主去爭權利，來反對有知識的人民，去講平等自由。因此贊成革命的學者，便不得不創天賦人權的平等自由這一說，以打破君主的專制。學者創造這一說，原來就是想打破人為之不平等的。**（圖表：不平等）**但是天下的事情，的確是行易知難，當時歐洲的民眾都相信帝王是天生的，都是受了天賦之特權的，多數無知識的人總是去擁戴他們，所以少數有知識的學者，無論用甚麼方法和力量，總是推不倒他們。到了後來，相信天生人類都是平等自由的，爭平等自由是人人應該有的事，然後歐洲的帝王便一個一個不推自倒了。不過專制帝王推倒以後，民眾又深信人人是天生平等的這一說，便日日去做工夫，想達到人人的平等。殊不知這種事是不可能的。到了近來科學昌明，人類大覺悟了，才知道沒有天賦平等的道理。假若照民眾相信的那一說去做，縱使不顧真理，勉強做成功，也是一種假平等，像第二圖一樣，必定要把位置高的壓下去，成了平頭的平等，至于立腳點還是彎曲線，還是不能平等；這種平等，不是真平等，是假平等。說到社會上的地位平等，是始初起點的地位平等，後來各人根據天賦的聰明才力，自己去造就，因為各人的聰明才力有天賦的不同，所以造就的結果，當然不同；造就既是不同，自然不能有平等，像這樣講來，才是真正平等的道理。如果不管各人天賦的聰明才力，就是以後有造就高的地位，也要把他們壓下去，一律要平等，世界便沒有進步，人類便要退化。所以我們講民權平等，又要世界有進步，是要人民在政治上的地位平等。因為平等是人為的，不是天生的；人造的平等，只有做到政治上的地位平等。**（圖表：假平等）**故革命以後，必要各人在政治上的立足點都是平等，好像第三圖的底線，一律是平的，那才是真平等，那才是自然之真理。



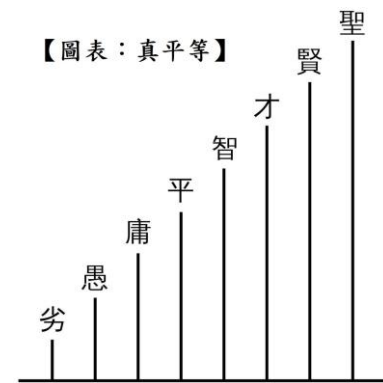
【圖表：不平等】



【圖表：假平等】

歐洲從前革命，人民爭平等自由，出了很大的力量，費了很大的犧牲。我們現在要知道他們為甚麼要那樣出力，那樣犧牲，便先要知道歐洲在沒有革命以前，是怎樣不平等的情形。上面所繪的第一圖，是表示歐洲在沒有革命以前，政治上是怎麼樣不平等的事實。圖中所示帝王公侯伯子男等一級一級的階梯，就是從前歐洲政治地位上的階級。這種階級，中國以前也是有的，到十三年前發生革命，推翻專制，才創平這種不平的階級。但是中國以前的不平等，沒有從前歐洲的那麼利害。歐洲兩百多年以前，還是在封建時代，和中國兩千多年以前的時代相同。因為中國政治的進化早過歐洲，所以中國兩千多年以前，便打破了封建制度。歐洲就是到現在，還不能完全打破封建制度。在兩三百年之前，才知道不平等的壞處，才發生平等的思想。中國在兩千多年以前，便有了這種思想，所以中國政治的進步，是早過歐洲。但是在這兩百年以來，歐洲的政治進步，不但是趕到中國，並且超過中國，所謂後來者居上。

歐洲沒有革命以前的情形，和中國比較起來，歐洲的專制要比中國利害得多，原因是在甚麼地方呢？就是在世襲制度。**（圖表：真平等）**當時歐洲的帝王公侯那些貴族，代代都是世襲貴族，不去做別種事業；人民代代都是世襲一種事業，不能夠去做別種事業。比方耕田的人，他的子子孫孫便要做農夫；做工的人，他的子子孫孫便要做苦工。祖父做一種甚麼事業，子孫就不能改變。這種職業上不能夠改變，就是當時歐洲的不自由。中國自古代封建制度破壞以後，這種限制也完全打破。由此可見從前中國和外國都是有階級制度，都是不平等。中國的好處是只有皇帝是世襲，除非有人把他推翻，才不能世襲，如果不被人推翻，代代總是世襲，到了改朝換姓，才換皇帝；至于皇帝以下的公侯伯子男，中國古時都是可以改換的，平民做宰相、封王侯的極多，不是代代世襲一種事業的。歐洲平民間或也有做宰相、封王侯的，但是大多數的王侯都是世襲，人民的職業不能自由，因為職業不自由，所以失了平等。不但是政治的階級不平等，就是人民彼此的階級也不平等。由于這個原故，人民一來難到公侯伯子男的那種地位，二來自



【圖表：真平等】

己的職業又不能自由改變，更求上進，於是感覺非常痛苦，不能忍受。所以不得不拚命去爭自由，解除職業不自由的束縛，以求上進；拚命去爭平等，打破階級專制的不平等。那種戰爭，那種奮鬥，在中國是向來沒有的。中國人雖然受過了不平等的界限，但是沒有犧牲身家性命去做平等的代價。歐洲人民在兩三百年以前的革命，都是集中到自由平等兩件事。中國人向來不懂甚麼是爭自由平等，當中原因，就是中國的專制和歐洲比較，實在沒有甚麼利害。而且中國古時的政治雖然是專制，二千多年以來雖然沒有進步，但是以前改良了很多，專制淫威也減除了不少，所以人民便不覺得十分痛苦，因為不覺得痛苦，便不為這個道理去奮鬥。

近來歐洲文化東漸，他們的政治、經濟、科學都傳到中國來了。中國人聽到歐洲的政治學理，多數都是照本抄謄，全不知道改變。所以歐洲兩三百年以前的革命說是爭自由，中國人也說要爭自由；歐洲從前爭平等，中國人也照樣要爭平等。但是中國今日的弊病，不是在不自由不平等的這些地方。如果專拿自由平等去提倡民氣，便是離事實太遠，和人民沒有切膚之痛，他們便沒有感覺；沒有感覺，一定不來附和。至於歐洲在兩三百年以前，人民所受不自由不平等的痛苦，真是水深火熱，以為非爭到自由平等，甚麼問題都不能解決，所以拚命去爭自由打平等。因為有這種風潮，所以近兩三百年來，一次發生英國革命，二次發生美國革命，三次發生法國革命。美國、法國的革命都是成功的，英國革命算是沒有成功，所以國體至今沒有改變。英國革命的時候，正當中國明末清初，當時英國人民把皇位推倒，殺了一個皇帝，不到十年又發生復辟，一直到現在，他們的國體仍舊是君主，貴族階級也還是存在。美國自脫離英國獨立以後，把從前政治的階級完全打破，創立共和制度。以後法國革命，也是照美國一樣，把從前的階級制度根本推翻。延到現在六年以前，又發生俄國革命，他們也打破階級制度，變成共和國家。美國、法國、俄國都是世界上很強盛的國家，推原他們強盛的來歷，都是由於革命成功的。就這三個革命成功的國家比較，發起最後的是俄國，成功最大的也是俄國。俄國革命的結果，不但是把政治的階級打到平等，並且把社會上所有資本的階級，都一齊打到平等。

我們再拿美國來講，美國革命的時候，人民所向的目標是在獨立。他們為甚麼要獨立呢？因為他們當時的十三州，都是英國的領土，歸英國管理。英國是一個專制國家，壓迫美國人民，比壓迫本國人民還要嚴厲得多。美國人民見得他們自己和英國人民，都是同歸一個英國政府管理，英國政府待本國人民是那樣寬大，待美國人民是這樣刻薄，便覺得很不平等。所以要脫離英國，自己去管理自己，成一個獨立國家。他們因為獨立，反抗英國，和英國戰爭了八年，後來獨立成功，所有在美國的白色人種，政府都一律看待，一律平等。但是對待別色人種，便大不相同，比方在美國的非洲黑人，他們便視為奴隸；所以美國獨立之後，白人的政治地位，雖然是平等，但是黑人和白人比較，便不是平等。這種事實，和美國的憲法及獨立的宣言便不相符合。因為獨立宣言，開宗明義便說人人是生而平等的，天賦有一定不能少的權利，那些權利，便是生命、自由和求幸福。後來訂定憲法，也是根據這個道理。美國注重人類平等的憲法既然成立以後，還要黑人來做奴隸，所以美國主張平等自由的學者，見到那種事實，和立國的精神太相矛盾，便反對一個平等自由的共和國家裏頭，還用許多人類來做奴隸。美國當時對待黑人究竟是怎麼樣的情形呢？美國人從前對待黑人是很刻薄的，把黑人當作牛馬一樣，要他們做奴隸、做苦工，每日做很多的工，辛辛苦苦，做完了之後，沒有工錢，只有飯吃。那種殘酷情形，全國人民看見了，覺得是很不公道、很不平等的，和開國憲法的道理太不相容，所以大家提倡人道主義，打破這種不平等的制度。後來這種主張愈傳愈廣，贊成這種主張的人便非常之多。于是有許多熱心的人，調查當時黑奴所受的痛苦，做成了許多記錄，其中最著名的一本書，是把黑奴受痛苦的種種事實，編成一本小說，令人人看到了之後，都很有趣味，這本小說是叫做「黑奴顛天錄」。自這本書做出之後，大家都知道黑奴是怎麼樣受苦，便替黑奴來抱不平。當時全美國之中，北方各省沒有畜黑奴的，便主張放奴。南方各省所畜的黑奴是很多的，因為南方各省有許多極大的農場，平常都是專靠黑奴去耕種，如果放黑奴，便沒有苦工，便不能耕種。南方的人由于自私自利的思想，使反對放奴，說黑奴制度不是一人造（註三）起來的。美國人從前運非洲的黑人去做奴隸，好像幾十年前歐洲人運中國人到美洲和南洋去做豬仔一樣，黑奴便是當時非洲的豬仔。南方各省反對放奴，說黑奴是他們的本錢，如果要解放，他們一定要收回本錢。當時一個黑奴，差不多要值五六千元，南方各省的黑奴有幾百萬，總算起來要值幾百萬萬元。因為那種價值太大，國家沒有那樣多錢去償還黑奴的東家，所以放黑奴的風潮雖然是發生了很久，但是醞釀復醞釀，到了六十年前才爆發出來，構成美國的南北戰爭。那次戰爭，兩方死了幾十萬人，打過了五年仗，雙方戰爭是非常激烈的，是世界最大戰爭之一。那次戰爭是替黑奴打不平、替人類打不平等的，可以說是爭平等的戰爭。歐美從前為爭平等的問題，都是本身覺悟，為自己的利害去打仗。美國的南北戰爭，為黑奴爭平等，不是黑人自己懂得要爭。因為他們做奴隸的時候太久，沒有別的知識，只知道主人有飯給他們吃，有衣給他們穿，有屋給他們住，他們便很心滿意足。當時主人間或也有很寬厚的，黑奴只知道要有好主人，不致受十分的虐待；並不知道要反抗主人，要求解放，有自己做主人的思想。所以那次美國的南北戰爭，所爭平等的人，是白人替黑人去爭，是自己團體以外的人去爭，不是本身的覺悟。那次戰

爭的結果，南方打敗了，北方打勝了，聯邦政府就馬上發一個命令，要全國放奴。南方各省因為打敗了仗，只有服從那個命令。自此以後，便不理黑奴，從解放的日起，便不給飯與黑奴吃，不給衣與黑奴穿，不給屋與黑奴住。黑人從那次以後，雖然是被白人解放，有了自由，成了美國的共和國民，在政治的平等自由上有很大的希望。但是因為從前替主人做工，便有飯吃，有衣穿，有屋住；解放以後，不替主人做工，便沒有飯吃，沒有衣穿，沒有屋住，一時青黃不接，黑奴覺得失了泰山之靠，便感非常的痛苦。因此就怨恨放奴的各省分，尤其怨恨北方那位主張放奴的大總統。那位主張放奴的總統是誰呢？大家都知道美國有兩個極有名的大總統：一位是開國的大總統叫做華盛頓，現在世界上的人說起開國元勳便數到華盛頓，因為那位大總統在爭人類平等的歷史上，是很有功勞的。其餘一位大總統就是林肯，他就是當時主張放奴最出力的人。因為他解放黑奴，為人類求平等，立了很大的功勞，所以世界上的人至今都稱頌他。但是當時解放了的黑奴，因為一時沒有衣食住的痛苦，便非常怨恨他。現在還有一種歌謠是罵林肯的，說他是洪水猛獸，那些罵林肯的人之心理。好像中國現在反對革命的人來罵革命黨一樣。現在有智識的黑人，知道解放的好處，自然是稱頌林肯；但是無智識的黑人，至今還是恨林肯，學他們的祖宗一樣。解放黑奴，是美國歷史上的一件爭平等的事業，所以請美國最好的歷史，第一個時期是由于受英國不平等的待遇，人民發起獨立戰爭，打過了八年仗才脫離英國，得到平等，成一個獨立國家。第二個時期是在六十年前，發生南北戰爭，那次戰爭的理由，和頭一次的獨立戰爭是相同的，打過了五年仗。五年戰爭的時間，和八年戰爭的時間，雖然是差不多，但是說起損失來，那次五年的戰爭比較八年的戰爭，犧牲還要大，流血還要多。簡單的說起來，美國第一次的大戰爭，是美國人民自己求獨立，為自己爭平等。第二次的大戰爭，是美國人民為黑奴求自由，為黑奴爭平等；不是為自己爭平等，是為他人爭平等。為他人爭平等，比較為自己爭平等，所受的犧牲還要大，流血還要多。所以美國歷史是一種爭平等的歷史。這種爭平等的歷史，是世界歷史中的大光榮。

美國爭得平等之後，法國也發生革命，去爭平等；當中反覆了好幾次，爭了八十年，才算成功。但是平等爭成功之後，他們人民把平等兩個字走到極端，要無論那一種人都是平等，像第二圖所講的平等，把平等地位不放在立足點，要放在平頭點，那就是假平等。

中國的革命思潮，是發源於歐美，平等自由的學說，也是由歐美傳進來的。但是中國革命黨不主張爭平等自由，主張爭三民主義。三民主義能夠實行，便有自由平等。歐美為平等自由去戰爭，爭得了之後，常常被平等自由引入歧路。我們的三民主義能夠實行，真有自由平等，要甚麼方法才能夠歸正軌呢？像第二圖，把平等線放在平頭上，是不合乎平等正軌的；要像第三圖，把平等線放在立足點，才算合乎平等的正軌。所以我們革命，要知道所用的主義是不是適當，是不是合乎正軌，非先把歐美革命的歷史，源源本本來研究清楚不成功。人民要澈底明白我們的三民主義是不是的確好處，是不是合乎國情，要能夠信仰我們的三民主義，始終不變，也非把歐美革命的歷史，源源本本來研究清楚不成功。

美國為平等自由兩個名詞，經過了兩次戰爭，第一次爭了八年，第二次爭了五年，才達到目的。中國向來沒有為平等自由起過戰爭。幾千年來，歷史上的戰爭，都是大家要爭皇帝，每次戰爭，人人都是存一個爭皇帝的思想；只有此次我們革命，推倒滿清，才是不爭皇帝的第一次。但是這種不爭皇帝的思想，只限於真革命黨以內的人才是。說到革命黨以外，像北方的曹錕、吳佩孚，名義上雖然贊成共和，但是主張武力統一，還是想專制。如果他們的武力統一成功，別人不能夠反抗，他們一定是想做皇帝的。譬如袁世凱在辛亥年推倒滿清的時候，他何嘗不贊成共和呢？他又何曾主張帝制呢？當時全國的人民，便以為帝制不再發生。到了民國二年，袁世凱用武力打敗革命黨，把革命黨趕出海外，便改變國體，做起皇帝來。這般軍閥的思想腐敗不堪，都是和袁世凱相同的，將來沒有人敢擔保這種危險不發生。所以中國的革命，至今沒有成功，就是因為做皇帝的思想沒有完全剷除，沒有一概肅清。我們要把這種做皇帝的思想完全剷除，一概肅清，便不得不再來奮鬥，再來革命。

中國現在有許多青年志士，還是主張爭平等自由。歐洲在一兩百年以來，本是爭平等自由，但是爭得的結果，實在是民權。因為有了民權，平等自由才能夠存在，如果沒有民權，平等自由不過是一種空名詞。講到民權的來歷，發源是很遠的，不是近來才發生的，兩千多年以前，希臘、羅馬便老早有了這種思想。當時希臘、羅馬都是共和國家，同時地中海的南方，有一個大國叫做克塞支，也是一個共和國，後來有許多小國，繼續起來，都是共和國家。當時的希臘、羅馬名義上雖然是共和國家，但是事實上還沒有達到真正的平等自由，因為那個時候，民權還沒有實行。譬如希臘國內便有奴隸制度，所有貴族都是畜很多的奴隸，全國人民差不多有三分之二是奴隸。斯巴達的一個武士，國家定例要給五個奴隸去服侍他，所以希臘有民權的人是少數，無民權的是大多數。羅馬也是一樣的情形。所以二千多年以前，希臘、羅馬的國家名義雖然是共和，但是由於奴隸制度，還不能夠達到平等自由的目的（註四）。到六十年前，美國解放黑奴，打破奴隸制度，實行人類的平等以後，在現在的共和國家以內，才漸漸有真平等自由的希望。但是真平等自由是在甚麼地方立足呢？要附屬到甚麼東西呢？是在民權上立足的，要附屬於民權。

民權發達了，平等自由才可以長存；如果沒有民權，甚麼平等自由都保守不住。所以中國國民黨發起革命，目的雖然是要爭平等自由，但是所定的主義和口號，還是要用民權。因為爭得了民權，人民方有平等自由的事實，便可以享平等自由的幸福。所以平等自由，實在是包括於民權之內，因為平等自由是包括在民權之內，所以今天研究民權的問題，便附帶來研究平等自由的問題。

歐美革命，為求平等自由的問題來戰爭，犧牲了無數的性命，流了很多的碧血，爭到平等自由之後，到了現在，把平等自由的名詞，應該要看得如何寶貴，把平等自由的事實，應該要如何審慎，不能夠隨便濫用。但是到現在究竟是怎麼樣呢？就自由一方面的情形說，前次已經講過了，他們爭得自由之後，便生出自由的許多流弊。美國、法國革命，至今有了一百多年，把平等爭得了，到底是不是和自由一樣，也生出許多流弊呢？依我看起來，也是一樣的生出許多流弊。由於他們已往所生流弊的經驗，我們從新革命，便不可再蹈他們的覆轍，專為平等去奮鬥，要為民權去奮鬥。民權發達了，便有真正的平等，如果民權不發達，我們便永遠不平等。歐美平等的流弊究竟是怎麼樣呢？簡單的說，就是他們把平等兩個字認得太呆了。歐美爭得平等以後，為甚麼緣故要發生流弊呢？就是由於民權沒有充分發達，所以自由平等還不能夠向正軌去走。因為自由平等沒有歸到正軌，所以歐美人民至今還是要為民權去奮鬥。因為要奮鬥，自然要結團體，人民因為知道結團體的重要，所以由於奮鬥的結果，便得到集會結社的自由。由於得到這種自由，便生出許多團體，在政治上有政黨，在工人中有工黨。現在世界團體中最大的是工黨，工黨是在革命以後，人民爭得了自由，才發生出來。發生的情形是怎麼樣呢？最初的時候，工人沒有知識，沒有覺悟，並不知道自己是處於不平等的地位，也不知道受資本家有很大的壓迫。好像美國黑奴，只知道自祖宗以來，都是做人的奴隸，並不知道奴隸的地位是不好，也不知道除了奴隸以外，另外還有自由平等一樣。當時各國工人，本來不知道自己是處於甚麼地位，後來於工人之外，得了許多好義之士，替工人抱不平，把工人和資本家不平等的道理，宣傳到工人裏頭，把他們喚醒了，要他們固結團體，和貴族及資本家抵抗，於是世界各國才發生工黨。工黨和貴族及資本家抵抗，是拿甚麼做（註五）武器呢？工人抵抗的唯一武器，就是消極的不合作。不合作的舉動，就是罷工。這種武器，比較軍人打仗的武器還要利害得多。如果工人對於國家或資本家有要求不遂的，便大家聯合起來一致罷工。那種罷工，影響到全國人民，比較普通的戰爭，也不相上下。因為在工人之外，有知識極高的好義之士做領袖，去引導那些的人，教他們固結團體，去怎麼樣罷工，所以他們的罷工一經發動，便在社會上發生很大的力量。因為有了很大的力量，工人自己才感覺起來，要講平等。英國法國的工人，由於這種感覺，要講平等，看見團體以內引導指揮的領袖，都不是本行的工人，不是貴族便是學者，都是從外面來的，所以他們到了團體成功，便排斥那些領袖。這種排斥領袖的風潮，在歐洲近數十年來漸漸發生了。所以起這種風潮的原故，便是由於工人走入平等的迷途，成了平等的流弊。由於這種流弊發生以後，工黨便沒有好領袖去引導指揮他們，工人又沒有智識去引導自己，所以雖然有很大的團體，不但是沒有進步，不能發生大力量，並且沒有人去維持，於是工黨內部漸漸腐敗，失卻了大團體的力量。工人的團體，不但是在外國很多，近十多年來，中國也成立了不少。中國自革命以後，各行的工人都聯合起來成立團體，團體中的領袖，也有很多不是工人的。那些團體中的領袖，固然不能說個個都是為工人去謀利益的，其中假借團體的名義，利用工人為自己圖私利的，當然是很多，但是真為大義去替工人出力的，也是不少。所以工人應該要明白，應該要分別領袖的青紅皂白。現在中國的工人講平等，也是發生平等的流弊，譬如前幾天我收到由漢口寄來的一種工報，當中有兩個大標題：第一個標題是「我們工人不要穿長衣的做領袖」第二個標題是「我們工人奮鬥，只求麵包，不問政治」由於這種標題，便可知和歐美工黨排斥非工人做領袖的口調是一樣。歐美工人雖然排斥非工人的領袖，但是他們的目標，還是要問政治。所以漢口工人的第二個標題，便和歐美工人的口調，不能完全相同。因為一國之內，人民的一切幸福，都是以政治問題為依歸的，國家最大的問題就是政治。如果政治不良，在國家裏頭，無論甚麼問題都不能解決。比方中國現在受外國政治經濟的壓迫，一年之內，損失十二萬萬元，這就是由於中國政治不良，經濟不能發達，所以每年要受這樣大的損失。在這種損失裏頭。最大的是進口貨超過出口貨每年有五萬萬元。這五萬萬元的貨，都是工人生產的，因為中國工業不發達，才受這種損失。我們拿這個損失的問題來研究，中國工人所得工價，是世界中最便宜的，所做的勞動，又是世界上最勤苦的，一天能夠做十多點鐘工。中國的工價既是最便宜，工人的勞動又是最勤苦，和外國工業競爭，照道理講，當然可以操勝算。為甚麼中國工人所生產的出口貨，不能敵外國工人所生產的進口貨呢？為甚麼我們由於工業的關係，每年要損失五萬萬元呢？此中最大的原因，就是中國政治不良，我們的政府沒有能力。如果政府有了能力，便可以維持這五萬萬元的損失。我們能夠維持這五萬萬元的損失，便是每年多了五萬萬元的麵包。中國政府有能力，怎麼樣可以維持五萬萬元的損失呢？如果政府有能力，便可以增加關稅，關稅加重，外國的洋貨自然難得進口，中國的土貨便可以暢銷，由此全國的工人，每年便可以多進五萬萬元。但是照漢口工人寄來報紙上的標題講，工人不問政治；既然不問政治，自然不要求政府增加關稅，抵制洋貨，提倡土貨；不抵制洋貨，提倡土貨，中國就不製造土貨；不製造土貨，工人便沒有工做；工人連工都沒有做，那裏還有麵包呢？由此可見工人無好領袖，總是開口便錯。這樣的工人團體，斷不能發達，不久必

歸消滅，因其太無知識了。不知麵包問題就是經濟問題，政治和經濟兩個問題總是有連帶關係的。如果不問政治，怎麼樣能夠解決經濟的麵包問題來要求麵包呢？漢口工人的那種標題，便是由於錯講平等生出來的流弊。所以我們革命不能夠單說是爭平等，要主張爭民權。如果民權不能夠完全發達，就是爭到了平等，也不過是一時，不久便要銷滅的。我們革命主張民權，雖然不拿平等做標題，但是在民權之中便包括得有平等。如果平等有時是好，當然是採用，如果不好，一定要除去。像這樣做去，才可以發達民權，才是善用平等。我從前發明過一個道理，就是世界人類其得之天賦者，約分三種：有先知先覺者，有後知後覺者，有不知不覺者。先知先覺者為發明家，後知後覺者為宣傳家，不知不覺者為實行家。此三種人互相為用，協力進行，則人類之文明進步，必能一日千里。天之生人，雖有聰明才力之不等，但人心則必欲使之平等，斯為道德上之最高目的，而人類當努力進行者。但是要達到這個最高之道德目的，到底要怎麼樣做法呢？我們可把人類兩種思想來比對，便可以明白了。一種就是利己，一種就是利人。重於利己者，每每出於害人，亦有所不惜。此種思想發達，則聰明才力之人，專用彼之才能去奪取人家之利益，漸而積成專制之階級，生出政治上之不平等。此民權革命以前之世界也。重於利人者，每每至到犧牲自己，亦樂而為之。此種思想發達，則聰明才力之人，專用彼之才能，以謀他人的幸福，漸而積成博愛之宗教、慈善之事業。惟是宗教之力有所窮，慈善之事有不濟，則不得不為根本之解決，實行革命，推翻專制，主張民權，以平人事之不平了。從此以後，要調和三種之人使之平等，則人人當以服務為目的，而不以奪取為目的。聰明才力愈大者，當盡其能力而服千萬人之務，造千萬人之福。聰明才力略小者，當盡其能力以服十百人之務，造十百人之福。所謂巧者拙之奴，就是這個道理。至於全無聰明才力者，亦當盡一己之能力，以服一人之務，造一人之福。照這樣做去，雖天生人之聰明才力有不平等，而人之服務道德心發達，必可使之成為平等了。這就是平等之精義。

(註一) 本講各本均未註講演月日

(註二) 原文及「週刊」第二十三期(民國十三年六月一日)同講均為「人類不能侵奪的」，今據「胡本」及「會本」改。

(註三) 原文及「胡本」脫「造」字，今據「週刊」增。

(註四) 原文為「平等的自由目的」，今據「週刊」及「會本」改。

(註五) 原文及「週刊」均為「造」，今據「胡本」及「會本」改。

## 民權主義 第四講

第四講 民國十三年四月十三日講 (註一)

照前幾次所講，我們知道歐美人民爭民權，已經有了兩三百年，他們爭過了兩三百年，到底得到了多少民權呢？今天所講的題目，就是歐美人民在近來兩三百年之中，所爭得民權多少？和他們的民權，現在進步到甚麼地方？民權思想已經傳到中國來了，中國人知道民權的意思，是從書本和報紙中得來的。主張民權的書本和報紙，一定是很贊成民權那一方面的。大家平日研究民權，自然都是從贊成一方面的書本和報紙上觀察。照贊成一方面的書本和報紙上所說的話，一定是把民權的風潮說得是怎樣轟轟烈烈，把民權的思想說得是怎麼蓬蓬勃勃。我們看見了這些書報，當然受他們的鼓動，發生民權的思想，以為歐美人民爭民權，爭過了兩三百年，每次都是得到最後的勝利。照這樣看起來，以後世界各國的民權，一定是要發達到極點。我們中國處在這個世界潮流之中，也當然是應該提倡民權、發達民權。並且有許多人以為提倡中國民權，能能夠像歐美那一樣的發達，便是我們爭民權已達到目的了。以為民權能夠發達到那個地步，國家便算是很文明，便算是很進步。但是從書報中觀察歐美的民權，和事實上有不少不對的。考察歐美的民權事實，他們所謂先進的國家，像美國、法國革命過了一百多年，人民到底得了多少民權呢？照主張民權的人看，他們所得的民權還是很少。當時歐美提倡民權的人，想馬上達到民權的充分目的，所以犧牲一切，大家同心協力，一致拚命去爭。到了勝利的時候(註二)，他們所爭到的民權，和革命時候所希望的民權，兩相比較起來，還是差得很多，還不能達到民權的充分目的。

現在可以回顧美國對於英國的獨立戰爭，是一個甚麼情形。那個戰爭，打過了八年仗，才得到最後的勝利，才達到民權的目的。照美國獨立宣言來看，說平等和自由是天賦到人類的，無論甚麼人都不能奪去人的平等自由。當時美國革命，本想要爭到很充分的自由平等，但是爭了八年，所得的民權還是很少。為甚麼爭了八年之久，只得到很少的民權呢？當初反對美國民權的是英國皇帝，美國人民受英國皇帝的壓迫，才主張獨立，和英國戰爭；所以那個戰爭，是君權和民權的戰爭。戰爭的結果，本是民權勝利，

照道理講，應該得到充分的民權。為甚麼不能達到充分的目的呢？因為獨立戰爭勝利之後，雖然打破了君權，但是主張民權的人，便生出民權的實施問題，就是要把民權究竟應該行到甚麼程度？由於研究這種問題，主張民權的同志之見解，各有不同；因為見解不同，便生出內部兩大派別的分裂。大家都知道美國革命，有一個極著名的首領叫做華盛頓，他是美國的開國元勳。當時幫助他去反抗英國君權的人，還有許多英雄豪傑，像華盛頓的財政部長叫做哈美爾頓，和國務部長叫做遮化臣；那兩位大人物，對於民權的實施問題，因為見解各有不同，彼此的黨羽又非常之多，便分成為絕對不相同的兩大派。遮氏一派，相信民權是天賦到人類的，如果人民有很充分的民權，由人民自由使用，人民必有分寸，使用民權的時候，一定可以做許多好事，令國家的事業充分進步。遮氏這種言論，是主張人性是善的一說。至於人民有了充分的民權，如果有時不能充分發達善性去做好事，反誤用民權去作惡，那是人民遇到了障礙，一時出於不得已的舉動。總而言之，人人既是有天賦的自由平等，人人便應該有政權。而且人人都是有聰明的，如果給他們以充分的政權，令個個都可以管國事，一定可以做出許多大事業，大家負起責任來，把國家治好，國家便可以長治久安。那就是遮化臣一派對於民權的信仰。至於哈美爾頓一派所主張的，恰恰和遮氏的主張相反。哈氏以為人性不能完全都是善的，如果人人都有充分的民權，性惡的人便拿政權去作惡。那些惡人拿到了國家大權，便把國家的利益自私自利，分到自己同黨，無論國家的甚麼道德、法律、正義、秩序，都不去理會。弄到結果，不是一國三公，變成暴民政治，就是把平等自由走到極端，成為無政府。像這樣實行民權，不但是不能令國家進步，反要搗亂國家，令國家退步。所以哈氏主張國家政權，不能完全給予人民，要給予政府。把國家的大權都集合於中央，普通人只能夠得到有限制的民權。如果給予普通人以無限制的民權，人人都拿去作惡，那種作惡的影響，對於國家，比較皇帝的作惡還要利害得多。因為皇帝作惡，還有許多人民去監視防止；一般人若得到了無限制的民權，大家都去作惡，便再沒有人可以監視防止。故哈美爾頓說：「從前的君權要限制，現在的民權也應該要限制。」由此創立一派，叫做聯邦派，主張中央集權，不主張地方分權。美國在獨立戰爭以前，本有十三邦，都歸英國統轄，自己不能統一。後來因為都受英國專制太過，不能忍受，去反抗英國，是大家有同一的目標，所以當時對英國作戰，便聯同一氣。到戰勝了英國以後，各邦還是很分裂，還是不能統一。在革命的時候，十三邦的人口不過三百萬。在那三百萬人中，反抗英國的只有二百萬人，還有一百萬仍是贊成英國皇帝的；就是當時各邦的人民，還有三分之一是英國的保皇黨，只有三分之二才是革命黨。因為有那三分之一的保皇黨在內部搗亂，所以美國獨立戰爭，費過了八年的長時間，才能夠完全戰勝。到了戰勝以後，那些著名的保皇黨無處藏身，便逃到北方，搬過聖羅倫士河以北，成立了加拿大殖民地，至今仍為英國屬地，忠於英國。美國獨立之後，國內便沒有敵人。但是那三百萬人，分成十三邦，每邦不過二十多萬人，各不相下，大家不能統一，美國的國力還是很弱，將來還是很容易被歐洲吞滅，前途的生存是很危險的。於是各邦的先知先覺，想免去此種危險，要國家永遠圖生存，便不得不加大國力；要加大國力，所以主張各邦聯合起來，建設一個大國家。當時所提倡聯合的辦法，有主張專行民權的，有主張專行國權的。頭一派的主張，就是地方分權。後一派的主張，就是中央集權，限制民權，把各邦的大權力都聯合起來，集中於中央政府，又可以說是聯邦派。這兩派彼此用口頭文字爭論，爭了很久，並且是很激烈；最後是主張限制民權的聯邦派佔勝利。於是各邦聯合起來，成立一個合眾國，公佈聯邦的憲法。美國自開國一直到現在，都是用這種憲法。這種憲法就是三權分立的憲法，把立法權、司法權和行政權分得清清楚楚，彼此不相侵犯。這是世界上自有人類歷史以來第一次所行的完全憲法。美國就是實行三權分立的成文憲法的第一個國家。世界上有成文憲法的國家，美國就是破天荒的頭一個。這個憲法，我們叫做美國聯邦憲法。美國自結合聯邦成立憲法以後，便成世界上頂富的國家；經過歐戰以後，更成世界上頂強的國家。因為美國達到了今日這樣富強，是由於成立聯邦憲法。地方人民的事，讓各邦分開自治。十多年來，我國一般文人志士，想解決中國現在的問題，不根本上拿中美兩國的國情來比較，只就美國富強的結果而論，以為中國所希望的不過是在國家富強；美國之所以富強，是由於聯邦，中國要像美國一樣的富強，便應該聯省（註三），根本上便應該各省自定憲法，分省自治；等到省憲實行了以後，然後再行聯合成立國憲。質而言之，就是將本來統一的中國，變成二十幾個獨立的單位，像一百年以前的美國十幾個獨立的邦一樣，然後再來聯合起來。這種見解和思想，真是謬誤到極點，可謂人云亦云，習而不察。像這樣只看見美國行聯邦制度，便成世界頂富強的國家，我們現在要中國富強，也要去學美國的聯邦制度，就是像前次所講的歐美人民爭民權，不說要爭民權，只說要爭自由平等，我們中國人此時來革命，也要學歐美人的口號，說去爭自由平等，都是一樣的盲從，都是一樣的莫明其妙。主張聯省自治的人，表面上以為美國的地方基礎，有許多小邦，各邦聯合，便能自治，便能富強；中國的地方基礎，也有許多行省，也應該可以自治，可以富強。殊不知美國在獨立時候的情形，究竟是怎麼樣？美國當獨立之後，為甚麼要聯邦呢？是因為那十三邦向來完全分裂，不相統屬，所以不能不聯合起來。至於我們中國的情形又是怎麼樣呢？中國本部，形式上向來本分作十八省，另外加入東三省及新疆一共是二十二省。此外還有熱河、綏遠、青海許多特別區域及蒙古、西藏各屬地。這些地方在清朝二百六十多年之中，

都是統屬於清朝政府之下；推到明朝時候，各省也很統一；再推到元朝的時候，不但是統一中國的版圖，且幾幾乎統一歐亞兩洲；推到宋朝時候，各省原來也是很統一的，到了南渡以後，南方幾省也是統一的；更向上推到唐朝、漢朝，中國的各省沒有不是統一的。由此便知中國的各省，在歷史上向來都是統一的，不是分裂的，不是不能統屬的；而且統一之時就是治，不統一之時就是亂的。美國之所以富強，不是由於各邦之獨立自治，還是由於各邦聯合後的進化所成的一個統一國家。所以美國的富強，是各邦統一的結果，不是各邦分裂的結果。中國原來既是統一的，便不應該把各省再來分開。中國眼前一時不能統一，是暫時的亂象，是由於武人的割據；這種割據我們要剷除他，萬不能再有聯省的謬主張，為武人割據作護符。若是這些武人有口實來各據一方，中國是再不能富強的。如果以美國聯邦制度就是富強的原因，那便是倒果為因。外國人現在對於中國為甚麼要來共管呢？是從甚麼地方看出中國的缺點呢？就是由於看見中國有智識階級的人所發表的言論，所貢獻的主張，都是這樣的和世界潮流相反，所以他們便看中國不起，說中國的事中國人自己不能管，列強應該來代我們共管。我們現在東亞處於此時的潮流，要把聯邦二個字用得是恰當，便應該說中國和日本要聯合起來，或者中國和安南、緬甸、印度、波斯、阿富汗都聯合起來。因為這些國家，向來都不是統一的，此刻要亞洲富強，可以抵抗歐洲，要聯成一個大邦，那才可以說得通。至於中國的十八省和東三省以及各特別區，在清朝時候已經是統一的，已經是聯屬的，我們推翻清朝，承繼清朝的領土，才有今日的共和國。為甚麼要把向來統一的國家再來分裂呢？提倡分裂中國的人一定是野心家，想把各省的地方，自己去割據，像唐繼堯割據雲南，趙恆惕割據湖南，陸榮廷割據廣西，陳炯明割據廣東，這種割據式的聯省，是軍閥的聯省，不是人民自治的聯省。這種聯省不是有利於中國的，是利於個人的，我們應該要分別清楚。美國獨立時候的十三邦，毫不統一，要聯成一個統一國家，實在是非常的困難，所以哈氏和遮氏兩派的爭論，便非常之激烈；後來制成聯邦憲法，付之各邦自由投票，最後是哈氏一派佔勝利，遮氏一派的主張漸漸失敗。因為聯邦憲法成立之前，全國人有兩大派的主張，所以頒佈的憲法，弄成兩派中的一個調和東西。把全國的大政權，如果是屬於中央政府的，便在憲法之內明白規定；若是在憲法所規定以外的，便屬於地方政府。比方幣制，應該中央政府辦理，地方政府不能過問。像外交，是規定由中央政府辦理，各邦不能私自和外國訂約。其餘像關於國防上海陸軍的訓練，與地方上民團的調遣等那些大權，都是歸中央政府辦理。至於極複雜的事業，在憲法未有劃歸中央政府的，便歸各邦政府分別辦理。這種劃分，便是中央和地方的調和辦法。美國由於這種調和辦法，人民究竟得到了多少民權呢？當時所得的民權，只得到一種有限的選舉權。在那個時候的選舉權，只是限於選舉議員和一部分的地方官吏，至於選舉總統和上議院的議員，還是用間接選舉的制度，由人民選出選舉人，再由選舉人才去選總統和那些議員。後來民權逐漸發達，進步到了今日，總統和上議院的議員以及地方上與人民有直接利害關係的各官吏，才由人民直接去選舉，這就叫做普通選舉。所以美國的選舉權是由限制的選舉，漸漸變成普通選舉。但是這種普通選舉，只限於男人才能夠享受。至於女子在一二十年前，還是沒有這種普通選舉權。歐美近二十年以來，女子爭選舉權的風潮，非常激烈。大家都知道當時（註四）歐美的女子爭選舉權，許多人以為不能成功，所持的理由就是女子的聰明才力不及男子，男子所能做的事，女子不能夠做，所以很多人反對。不但是男人很反對，許多女子自己也是很反對，就是全國的女人都爭得很激烈，還料不到可以成功。到了七八年以前，英國女子才爭成功，後來美國也爭成功。這個成功的緣故，是由於當歐戰的時候，男子通同去當兵，效力戰場，在國內的許多事業，沒有男人去做，像兵工廠內的職員散工，街上電車內的司機賣票，和後方一切勤務事宜，男子不敷分配，都是靠女子去補充；所以從前反對女子選舉權的人，說女子不能做男子事業，到了那個時候，便無法證明，便不敢反對，主張女子有選舉權的人才完全佔勝利。所以歐戰之後，女子的選舉權，才是確定了。由此便知歐美革命的目標，本是想達到民權。像美國獨立戰爭，就是爭民權。戰爭成功之後，主張民權的同志分出兩派：一派是主張應該實行充分的民權；一派是主張民權應該要限制，要國家應該有極大的政權。後來發生許多事實，證明普通人民的確沒有智識、沒有能力去行使充分的民權。譬如遮化臣爭民權，他的門徒也爭民權，弄到結果，所要爭的民權還是失敗，便可以證明普通民眾不知道運用政權。由於這個原故，歐美革命有了兩三百多年，向來的標題都是爭民權，所爭得的結果，只得到男女選舉權。

講到歐洲的法國革命，當時也是主張爭民權。所以主張民權的學者，像盧梭那些人，便說人人有天賦的權利，君主不能侵奪。由於盧梭的學說，便發生法國革命。法國革命以後，就實行民權。於是一般貴族皇室，都受大害，在法國不能立足，便逃亡到外國。因為法國人民，當時拿充分的民權去做頭一次的試驗，全國人都不敢說民眾沒有智識、沒有能力，如果有人敢說那些話，大家便說他是反革命，馬上就要上斷頭台。所以那個時候，便成暴民專制，弄到無政府，社會上極為恐慌，人人朝不保夕。就是真革命黨，也有時因為一言不慎，和大眾的意見不對，便要受死刑。故當法國試驗充分民權的時期，不但是王公貴族被人殺了的是很多，就是平時很熱心的革命志士像丹頓一流人物一樣，因為一言不合，被人民殺了的也是很不少。後來法國人民看到這樣的行為是過於暴虐，於是從前贊成民權的人，反變成心灰意冷，來反對民權，擁護拿破崙做皇帝，因此生出民權極大的障礙。這種障礙，不是由君權發生的。在一百年

以前，民權的風潮便已經是很大，像前幾次所講的情形。現在世界潮流已達到了民權的時代，照道理推測，以後應該一天發達一天，為甚麼到民權把君權銷滅了以後，反生出極大的障礙呢？是甚麼原因造成的呢？一種原因，是由於贊成民權所謂穩健派的人。主張民權要有一定的限制。這派是主張國家集權，不主張充分民權。這派對於民權的阻力還不甚大，阻礙民權的進步也不很多。最為民權障礙的人，還是主張充分民權的人。像法國革命時候，人民拿到了充分的民權，便不要領袖，把許多有知識有本事的領袖都殺死了，只剩得一班暴徒，那般暴徒對於事物的觀察既不明瞭，又很容易被人利用；全國人民既是沒有好耳目，所以發生一件事，人民都不知道誰是誰非，只要有人鼓動，便一致去盲從附和。像這樣的現象，是很危險的。所以後來人民都覺悟起來，便不敢再主張民權。由於這種反動力，便生出了民權的極大障礙，這種障礙，是由于主張民權的人自招出來的。

歐洲自法國以外，像丹麥、荷蘭、葡萄牙、西班牙那些小國，於不知不覺之中也發生民權的風潮。民權的風潮，在歐美雖然遇了障礙，得到君權的反抗，還是不能消滅；遇到了民權自身的障礙，也是自然發達，不能阻止。那是甚麼原故呢？因為大勢所趨，潮流所至，沒有方法可以阻止。由於這個道理，故許多專制國家，都是順應潮流去看風行事。譬如英國從前革命，殺了皇帝，不到十年再復辟起來，但是英國的貴族知機善變，知道民權的力量太大，不能反抗，那些皇室貴族便不和民權去反抗，要和他去調和。講到民權的起源，本來是發生於英國的，英國自復辟之後，推翻了民權，便成貴族執政，只有貴族可以理國事，別界人都不能講話。到了一千八百三十二年以後，在貴族之外，才准普通平民有選舉權。到了歐戰以後，才許女子也有選舉權。至於英國對待屬地，更是善用退讓的手段，順應民權的潮流。像愛爾蘭是英國三島中的土地，英國始初本是用武力壓迫，後來見到民權的風潮擴大，便不去壓迫，反主退讓，准愛爾蘭獨立。英國不獨對於三島的內部是如此，就是對於外部，像對付埃及，也是退讓。埃及當歐戰時候，為英國是很出力的；英國當時要埃及人去助戰，也允許過了埃及許多權利，准他們以後獨立。到歐戰之後，英國食言，把所許的權利都不履行；埃及便要求獨立，履行前約，風潮擴大。英國也是退讓，許埃及獨立。又像印度現在要求英國擴充選舉，英國也是一概允許。至於現在英國國內，容納工黨組織內閣，工人執政，便更足以證明英國貴族的退讓，民權的進步。英國貴族知道世界民權的大勢，能夠順應潮流，不逆反潮流，所以他們的政體至今還可以維持，國家的現狀還是沒有大危險。

世界上經過了美國、法國革命之後，民權思想便一日發達一日。但是根本講起來，最新的民權思想，還是發源於德國。德國的人心，向來富於民權思想，所以國內的工黨便非常之多，現在世界上工黨團體中之最大的，還是在德國。德國的民權思想，發達本早，但到歐戰以前，民權的結果，還不及法國、英國。這個理由，是因為德國對付民權所用的手段和英國不同，所以得來的結果也是不同，從前德國對付民權是用甚麼手段呢？德國是誰阻止民權的發達呢？許多學者研究，都說是由於丕士麥。丕士麥是德國很有名望、很有本領的大政治家，在三四十年前，世界上的大事業，都是由於丕士麥造成的。世界上的大政治家，都不能逃出丕士麥的範圍。所以在三四十年前，德國是世界上頂強的國家；德國當時之所以強，全由丕士麥一手造成。在丕士麥沒有執政之先，德國是一個甚麼景象呢？德國在那個時候，有二十幾個小邦，那二十幾個小邦的民族，雖然是相同，但是各自為政，比較美國的十三邦還要分裂；加以被拿破崙征服之後，人民更是窮苦不堪；後來丕士麥出來，運用他的聰明才力和政治手腕，聯合附近民族相同的二十幾邦，造成一個大聯邦，才有後來的大富強。在十年以前，德國是世界上頂強的國家，美國是世界上頂富的國家，他們那兩國都是聯邦。許多人以為我們中國要富強，也應該學德國、美國的聯邦。殊不知德國在三四十年前，根本上只有一個普魯士，因丕士麥執政以後，拿普魯士做基礎，整軍經武，刷新內政，聯合其餘的二十多邦，才有後來的大德意志。當丕士麥聯合各邦的時候，法國、奧國都極力反對。奧國所以反對德國聯邦的緣故，是因為奧國和德國雖然是同一條頓民族，但是奧皇也想爭雄歐洲，故不願德國聯邦，再比奧國還要強盛。無如丕士麥才智過人，發奮圖強，於一千八百六十六年，用很迅速的手段（註五），和奧國打仗，一戰便打敗奧國。德國戰勝了以後，本來可以消滅奧國；惟丕士麥以為奧國雖然反對德國，但是奧國民族還是和德國相同，將來不至為德國的大患。丕士麥的眼光很遠大，看到將來足為德國大患的是英國、法國，所以丕士麥戰勝了奧國以後，便馬上拿很寬大的條件和奧國講和。奧國在新敗之餘，復得德國的寬大議和，便很感激他。從此只有六年，到一千八百七十年，德國便去打法國，打破拿破崙第三，佔領巴黎，到講和的時候，法國便把阿爾賽士和羅倫兩處地方割歸德國。從這兩次大戰以後，德國的二十幾個小邦，便聯合得很鞏固，成立一個統一國家。德國自聯邦成立了之後，到歐戰以前，是世界上最強的國家，執歐洲的牛耳。歐洲各國的事，都惟德國馬首是瞻；德國之所以能夠達到那個地位，全由丕士麥一手締造而成。因為丕士麥執政不到二十年，把很弱的德國變成很強的國家，有了那種大功業，故德國的民權雖然是很發達，但是沒有力量去反抗政府。在丕士麥執政的時代，他的能力，不但是在政治、軍事和外交種種方面戰勝全世界，就是對於民權風潮，也有很大的手段，戰勝一般民眾。譬如到了十九世紀的後半，在德法戰爭以後，世界上不但是有民權的戰爭，並且發生經濟的戰爭。在那個時候，民權的狂熱漸漸減少，另外發生一種甚麼東西呢？就是社會主義。這種主義，就

是我所主張的民生主義。人民得了這種主義，便不熱心去爭民權，要去爭經濟權；這種戰爭，是工人和富人的階級戰爭。工人的團體，在德國發達最早，所以社會主義在德國也是發達最先。世界上社會主義最大的思想家都是德國人，像大家都知道有一位大社會主義家，叫做馬克思，他就是德國人（註六），就是實行馬克思主義。俄國的老革命黨，都是馬克思的信徒。德國的社會主義，在那個時候便非常之發達。社會主義本來是和民權主義相連帶的，這兩個主義發生了以後，本來應該要同時發達的。歐洲有了民權思想，便發生民權的革命。為甚麼有了那樣發達的社會主義，在那個時候不發生經濟的革命呢？因為德國發生社會主義的時候，正是丕士麥當權的時候，在別人一定是用政治力去壓迫社會主義，但是丕士麥不用這種手段。他以為德國的民智很開通，工人的團體很鞏固，如果用政治力去壓迫，便是徒勞無功（註七）。當時丕士麥本是主張中央集權的獨裁政治，他是用甚麼方法去對付社會黨呢？社會黨提倡改良社會，實行經濟革命。丕士麥知道不是政治力可以打銷的。他實行一種國家社會主義，來防範馬克思那般人所主張的社會主義。比方鐵路是交通上很重要的東西，國內的一種基本實業，如果沒有這種實業，甚麼實業都不能夠發達。像中國津浦鐵路，沒有築成以前，直隸、山東和江北一帶地方都是很窮苦的；後來那條鐵路築成功了，沿鐵路一帶便變成很富饒的地方。又像京漢鐵路沒有築成以前，直隸、湖北、河南那幾省也是很荒涼的；後來因為得了京漢鐵路交通的利便，沿鐵路的那幾省便變成很富庶。當丕士麥秉政的時候，英國法國的鐵路多半是人民私有，因為基本實業歸富人所有，所以全國實業都被富人壟斷，社會上便生出貧富不均的大毛病。丕士麥在德國便不許有這種毛病，便實行國家社會主義，把全國鐵路都收歸國有，把那些基本實業由國家經營。對於工人方面，又定了作工的時間，工人的養老費和保險金都一一規定。這些事業，本來都是社會黨的主張，要拿出去實行的。但是丕士麥的眼光遠大，先用國家的力量去做了，更用國家經營鐵路、銀行和各種大實業，拿所得的利益去保護工人，令全國工人都是心滿意足。德國從前每年都有幾十萬工人到外國去做工，到了丕士麥經濟政策成功時候，不但沒有工人出外國去做工，並且有許多外國工人進德國去做工。丕士麥用這樣方法對待社會主義，是用事先防止的方法，不是用當衝打銷的方法。用這種防止的方法，就是在無形中消滅人民要爭的問題，到了人民無問題可爭，社會自然不發生革命。所以這是丕士麥反對民權的很大手段。

現在就世界上民權發達一切經過的歷史講：第一次是美國革命，主張民權的人分成哈美爾頓和遮化臣兩派，遮化臣主張極端的民權，哈美爾頓主張政府集權，後來主張政府集權派佔勝利，是民權的第一次障礙。第二次是法國革命，人民得到了充分的民權，拿去濫用，變成了暴民政治，是民權的第二次障礙（註八）。第三次是丕士麥用最巧的手段，去防止民權，成了民權的第三次障礙。這就是民權思想在歐美發達以來所經過的一切情形。但是民權思想雖然經過了三個障礙，還是不期然而然自然去發達，非人力所能阻止，也非人力所能助長。民權到了今日，便成世界上的大問題。世界上的學者無論是守舊派或者是革新派，都知道民權思想是不能銷滅的。不過在發達的時候，民權的流弊還是免不了的，像從前講平等自由也生出流弊一樣。總而言之，歐美從前爭平等自由，所得的結果是民權，民權發達了之後，便生出許多流弊。在民權沒有發達之先，歐美各國都想壓止他，要用君權去打銷民權。君權推倒了之後，主張民權的人便生出民權的障礙，後來實行民權，又生出許多流弊，更為民權的障礙。最後丕士麥見到人民主張民權，知道不能壓止，便用國家的力量去替代人民，實行國家社會主義，這也是民權的障礙。歐戰以後，俄國、德國的專制政府都推倒了，女子選舉權也有好幾國爭到手了，所以民權到了今日更是一個大問題，更不容易解決。推到實行民權的原始，自美國革命之後，人民所得的頭一個民權，是選舉權。當時歐美人民以為民權就是選舉權算了，如果人民不論貴賤，不論貧富，不論賢愚，都得到了選舉權，那就算民權是充分的達到了目的。至于歐戰後三四年以來，又究竟是怎麼樣呢？當中雖然經過了不少的障礙，但是民權仍然是很發達，不能阻止。近來瑞士的人民，除了選舉權以外，還有創制權和複決權。人民對於官吏有權可以選舉，對於法律也應該有權可以創造修改。創制權和複決權便是對於法律而言的。大多數人民對於一種法律，以為很方便的，便可以創制，這便是創制權，以為很不方便的，便可以修改，修改便是複決權。故瑞士人民比較別國人民多得了兩種民權，一共有三種民權，不只一種民權。近來美國西北幾邦新開闢地方的人民，比較瑞士人民更多得一種民權，那種民權是罷官權。在美洲各邦之中，這種民權雖然不能普遍，但有許多邦已經實行過了。所以美國許多人民，現在得到了四種民權：一種是選舉權，二種是罷官權，三種是創制權，四種是複決權。這四種權在美國西北幾州，已經行得很有成績，將來或者可以推廣到全美國，或者全世界。將來世界各國要有充分的民權，一定要學美國的那四種民權。由此四種民權實行下去，將來能不能夠完全解決民權的問題呢？現在世界學者，看見人民有了這四種民權的思想，還不能把民權的問題完全來解決，都以為是時間的問題，以為這種直接的民權思想，發生尚不久。從前的神權經過了幾萬年，君權經過了幾千年，現在此刻各國的君權，像英國、日本和意大利的君權還有多少問題，不過這種君權，將來一定是銷滅的。這些直接的民權，新近發生不過是幾十年，所以在今日還是一個不能解決的大問題。

照現在世界上民權頂發達的國家講，人民在政治上是佔甚麼地位呢？得到了多少民權呢？就最近一百多

年來所得的結果，不過是一種選舉和被選舉權。人民被選成議員之後，在議會中可以管國事，凡是國家的大事，都要由議會通過才能執行，如果在議會沒有通過，便不能行。這種政體叫做「代議政體」，所謂「議會政治」。但是成立了這種「代議政體」以後，民權是否算得充分發達呢？在「代議政體」沒有成立之先，歐美人民爭民權，以為得到了「代議政體」，便算是無上的民權。好像中國革命黨，希望中國革命以後，能夠學到日本，或者學到歐美，便以為大功告成一樣。如果真是學到了像日本、歐美一樣，可不可以算是止境，還要聽下文分解。歐美人民從前以為爭到了「代議政體」，便算是心滿意足。我們中國革命以後，是不是達到了「代議政體」呢？所得民權的利益究竟是怎麼樣呢？大家都知道現在的代議士，都變成了「豬仔議員」，有錢就賣身，分贓貪利，為全國人民所不齒。各國實行這種「代議政體」，都免不了流弊，不過傳到中國，流弊更是不堪問罷了。大家對於這種政體，如果不去問問，不想挽救，把國事都付託到一般「豬仔議員」，讓他們去亂作亂為，國家前途是很危險的。所以外國人所希望的「代議政體」，以為就是人類和國家的長治久安之計，那是不足信的。民權初生，本經過了許多困難，後來實行，又經過了許多挫折，還是一天一天的發達，但是得到的結果，不過是「代議政體」。各國到了「代議政體」，就算是止境。近來俄國新發生一種政體，這種政體，不是「代議政體」，是「人民獨裁」的政體。這種「人民獨裁」的政體究竟是怎麼樣呢？我們得到的材料很少，不能判斷其究竟；惟想這種「人民獨裁」的政體，當然比較「代議政體」改良得多。但是我們國民黨提倡三民主義來改造中國，所主張的民權，是和歐美的民權不同。我們拿歐美已往的歷史來做材料，不是要學歐美，步他們的後塵，是用我們的民權主義，把中國改造成一個「全民政治」的民國，要駕乎歐美之上。我們要達到這種大目的，便先要把民權主義研究到清清楚楚。今天所講的大意，是要諸君明白歐美的先進國家，把民權實行了一百多年，至今只得到一種「代議政體」。我們拿這種制度到中國來實行，發生了許多流弊。所以民權的這個問題，在今日的還是很難解決。我以後對於民權主義還要再講兩次，便把這個問題，在中國求一個根本解決的辦法。我們不能解決，中國便要步歐美的後塵；如果能夠解決，中國便可以駕乎歐美之上。

(註一) 原文僅標「十三年四月十三日」，今增「民國……講」。

(註二) 原文為「到了勝利的時」，今據「週刊」第二十四期(民國十三年六月八日)同講及「會本」增「候」字。

(註三) 原文為「變所聯省」，今據「週刊」及「會本」改。

(註四) 原文為「當是」，今據「週刊」及「會本」改。

(註五) 原文為「迅速手段」，今據「週刊」及「會本」增「的」字。

(註六) 原文「週刊」及「胡本」均闕「從前俄國革命」六字，今據黨史會藏「三民主義原稿」(042/15)及「會本」增。

(註七) 原文為「圖勞無功」，今據「週刊」及「會本」改。

(註八) 原文為「障礙」，今據「週刊」及「會本」改。

## 民權主義 第五講

第五講 民國十三年四月二十日講 (註一)

中國人的民權思想，都是由歐美傳進來的，所以我們近來實行革命，改革政治，都是做效歐美。我們為甚麼要做效歐美呢？因為看見了歐美近一百年來的文化，雄飛突進，一日千里，種種文明都是比中國進步得多。比方就武器一項說，歐美近年的武器，便是一天改良一天，要比中國進步得多。中國的武器，幾千年以來，都是弓箭刀戟，在二三十年以前，還是用那幾種東西。像庚子年發生義和團，他們的始意，是要排除歐美勢力的。因為他們要排除歐美的勢力，所以和八國聯軍打仗，當時所用的武器，便是大刀。要用大刀去抵抗聯軍的機關鎗和大礮，那種舉動，就是當時中國人對於歐美的新文化之反動，對於他們的物質進步之抵抗。不相信歐美的文化是比中國進步，並且想表示中國的文化，還要好過歐美。甚至於像歐美的洋鎗大礮，那些精利武器，也不相信比較中國的大刀還要利害，所以發生義和團來反抗歐美。義和團的勇氣，始初是銳不可當的，在楊村一戰，是由於英國提督西摩，帶了三千聯軍，想從天津到北京，共救那些公使館，經過楊村，就被義和團圍住了。當時戰鬥的情形，義和團沒有洋鎗大礮，只有大刀；所圍住的聯軍，有很精利的鎗礮。在義和團一方面，可說是肉體相搏。西摩因為被他們包圍了，便

用機關鎗去掃射義和團；義和團雖然是被機關鎗打死了很多的人，血肉橫飛，但是還不畏懼，還不退卻，總是前仆後繼，死死的把聯軍圍住。弄到西摩帶那三千聯軍，終不敢通過楊村，直進北京；便要退回天津等候，另外請了大兵來幫助，才能夠到達北京，解各國公使館的圍。就那次戰爭的情形而論，西摩有幾句批評說，照當時義和團之勇氣，如果他們所用的武器是西式的鎗礮，那些聯軍，一定是全軍覆沒的。但是他們始終不相信外國的新式武器，總是用大刀、肉體和聯軍相搏，雖然被聯軍打死了幾萬人，傷亡枕藉，還是前仆後繼，其勇銳之氣，殊不可當，真是令人驚奇佩服。所以經過那次血戰之後，外國人才知道中國還有民族思想，這種民族是不可消滅的。不過庚子年的義和團，是中國人的最後自信思想和最後自信能力，去同歐美的新文化相抵抗。由于那次義和團失敗以後，中國人便知道從前的弓箭刀戟，不能夠和外國的洋鎗大礮相抵抗，便明白歐美的新文明，的確是比中國的舊文明好得多。用外國的新東西和中國的舊東西比較，就武器一項效力，自然是很明顯的。至于除了武器之外，像交通上的鐵路、電報，也要比中國的挑夫、驛站好得多。我們要轉運東西，火車當然是快過挑夫，便利過挑夫。要通消息，電報當然是迅速過驛站，靈通過驛站。再推到其餘種種關於人類日常生活的機器，和農工商所用的種種方法，也沒有不是比中國進步得多的。所以從那次義和團失敗以後，中國一般有思想的人，便知道要中國強盛，要中國能夠昭雪北京城下之盟的那種大恥辱，事事便非做效外國不可。不但是物質科學要學外國，就是一切政治社會上的事都要學外國。所以經過義和團之後，中國人的自信力便完全失去，崇拜外國的心理便一天高過一天。由于要崇拜外國、做效外國，便得到了很多的外國思想，就是外國人只才想到還沒有做到的新思想，我們也想拿來實行。十三年前革命，做效外國改革政治，成立民主政體，目的是在取法乎上，所以把外國很高的政治哲理，和最新的政治思想，都拿來實行，這是中國政治思想上一個最大的變動。在義和團以前，中國和外國已經通了商，早知道外國的好處，也是很多。但是全國人的心理，還不相信外國是真有文明，所以當義和團的時候，便把做效外國的鐵路和電報都毀壞了，就是外國的鎗礮也不信仰，在打仗的時候，還是要用中國的弓刀。以後因為失敗，又反過來信仰外國，在中國所用的無論甚麼東西，都是要做效外國。由此可見中國從前是守舊，在守舊的時候，總是反對外國，極端信仰中國要比外國好。後來失敗，便不守舊，要去維新，反過來極端的崇拜外國，信仰外國是比中國好。因為信仰外國，所以把中國的舊東西都不要，事事都是做效外國，只要聽到說外國有的東西，我們便要去學，便要拿來實行。對於民權思想，也有這種流弊。革命以後，舉國如狂，總是要拿外國人所講的民權，到中國來實行；至于民權究竟是甚麼東西，也不去根本研究。前幾次所講的情形，是把外國爭民權的歷史和勝利之後所得的甚麼結果，詳細的說明。由于那幾次的研究，便知民權政治，在外國也不能夠充分實行，進行民權，在中途也遇到了許多障礙。現在中國主張實行民權，要做效外國，便要做效外國的辦法；但是民權問題在外國政治上，至今沒有根本辦法，至今還是一個大問題。就是外國人拿最新發明的學問，來研究民權，解決民權問題，在學理一方面，根本上也沒有好發明，也沒有得到一個好解決的方法。所以外國的民權辦法不能做我們的標準，不足為我們的師導。

自義和團以後，一般中國人的思想，時時刻刻、件件東西總是要學外國。外國的東西，到底可不可以學呢？比方用武器講，到底是外國的機關鎗利害呢？還是中國的弓刀利害呢？這兩種東西沒有比較，一定是外國的機關鎗要利害得多。不但是外國的武器要比中國的利害，就是其他各種東西，外國都是比中國進步得多。就物質一方面的科學講，外國駕乎中國，那是不可諱言的。但是外國在政治一方面，究竟是怎麼樣呢？外國的政治哲學和物質科學，兩種學問的進步，又是那一種最快呢？政治的進步遠不及科學。譬如兵學就是一種軍事科學，專就兵學講，外國的戰術隨時發明，隨時改良，所謂日新月異。所以拿一百多年以前的外國兵書，今日有沒有人還拿去用呢？那是沒有的。不但是一百年以前的兵書，沒有人拿去用，就是十年以前的兵書，到了今日也是無用。外國的武器和戰術，每過十年，便成一個大變動。換句話講，就是外國的武器和戰術，每過十年，便有一次革命。外國最大的武器和價值最貴的武器，就是水上所用的戰鬥艦。現在外國的戰鬥艦，每艘要值五千萬元以至於一萬萬元，能夠值這些錢的船，才叫做一隻兵船。外國物質的進步，以武器為最快；武器的進步，又以戰鬥艦為最快。戰鬥艦的變動，最多不過十年，在歐戰以前的戰鬥艦，至今已成廢物。不但是海軍的戰鬥艦有這樣的大變動，就是陸軍的鎗礮也是日日進步，每十年一次變動，每十年一次革命，每十年一翻新。現在我們所用的鎗，在外國已經成了無用的廢物。歐戰時各國所用的大礮，到了今日也算是舊式。不但是武器，在歐美是日日進步，件件翻新，就是其他機器物品也是天天改良，時時發明。所以外國在物質文明上的進步，真是日新月異，一天比一天的不同。至于在政治上，外國比較中國又是進步了多少呢？歐美兩三百年來，經過許多次數的革命，政治上的進步雖然是比中國快得多，但是外國的政治書本，像二千多年以前，在希臘有一位大政治哲學家，叫做柏拉圖，他所著的「共和政體」那本書，至今還有學者去研究，對於現在的政體，還以為有多少價值可以供參考；不像兵船操典，過了十年，便成無價值的廢物。由此便知外國的物質科學，每十年一變動，十年之前，和十年之後，大不相同，那種科學的進步是很快的。至于政治理論，在二千年以前，柏拉圖所寫的共和政體，至今還有價值去研究，還是很有用處。所以外國政治哲學的進步，不及物質進步這樣快的。他們現在的政治思想，和二千多年以前的思想，根本上還沒有大變動。如果我們

做效外國的政治，以為也是像做效物質科學一樣，那便是大錯。外國的物質文明，一天和一天不同，我們要學他，便很不容易趕上。至於外國政治的進步，比較物質文明的進步，是差得很遠的，速度是很慢的。像美國革命，實行民權有了一百五十多年，現在能夠實行的民權，和一百多年以前所實行的民權，便沒有大分別。現在法國所行的民權，還不及從前革命時候所行的民權。法國在從前革命的時候，所行的民權，是很充分的，當時一般人民以為不對，大家要去反抗，所以至今有了一百多年，法國的民權還是沒有大進步。我們要學外國，便要把這些情形分別清楚。至於外國民權，所以沒有大進步的原因，是由於外國對於民權的根本辦法，沒有解決。由前幾次所講的情形，便知道歐美的民權政治，至今還是沒有辦法，民權的真理，還是沒有發明。不過近兩三百年以來，民權思想逐漸澎漲，在人事上想不通的問題，大家便聽其自然，順着潮流去做罷了。所以近來民權的發達，不是學者從學理上發明出來的，是一般人民順其自然做出來的。因為總是順其自然去做，預先沒有根本辦法，前後沒有想過（註二），所以歐美實行民權，在中途便遭了許多挫折，遇了許多障礙。中國革命以後，要做效歐美，實行民權。歐美的民權，現在發達到了代議政體，中國要跟上外國，實行民權，所以也有代議政體。但是歐美代議政體的好處，中國一點都沒有學到，所學的壞處卻是百十倍。弄到國會議員變成豬仔議員，污穢腐敗，是世界各國自古以來所沒有的，這真是代議政體的一種怪現象。所以中國學外國的民權政治，不但是學不好，反且學壞了。

照前幾回所講，大家便知道歐美的民權政治，根本上還沒有辦法，所以我們提倡民權，便不可完全做效歐美。我們不完全做效歐美，究竟要怎麼樣去做呢？現在中國還有守舊派，那些守舊派的反動力是很大的。他們的主張是要推翻民國，恢復專制，去圖復辟，以為要這樣的辦法，才可以救中國。我們明白世界潮流的人，自然知道這個辦法是很不對的，所以要反對這個辦法，順應世界潮流，去實行民權，走政治的正軌。我們要走政治的正軌，便先要知道政治的真意義。甚麼是叫做政治呢？照民權第一講的定義說，政是眾人的事，治是管理眾人的事。中國幾千年以來，社會上的民情風土習慣，和歐美的大不相同。中國的社會既然是和歐美的不同，所以管理社會的政治，自然也是和歐美不同，不能完全做效歐美，照樣去做，像做效歐美的機器一樣。歐美的機器，我們只要是學到了，隨時隨地都可以使用，譬如電燈，無論在中國的甚麼房屋都可以裝設，都可以使用。至於歐美的風土人情，和中國不同的地方是很多的，如果不管中國自己的風土人情是怎麼樣，便像學外國的機器一樣，把外國管理社會的政治硬搬進來，那便是大錯。雖然管理人類之政治法律條理，也是一種無形的機器，所以我們稱行政組織為機關。但是有形的機器，是本於物理而成的，而無形的機器之政治，是本於心理而成的。物理之學，近數百年來已發明得甚多；而心理之學，近二三十年始起首進步，至今尚未有大發明，此所以有別也。是以管理物的方法，可以學歐美；管理人的方法，當然不能完全學歐美。因歐美關於管理物的一切道理，已經老早想通了，至於那些根本辦法，他們也老早解決了，所以歐美的物質文明，我們可以完全做效，可以盲從，搬進中國來，也可以行得通。至於歐美的政治道理，至今還沒有想通，一切辦法在根本上還沒有解決，所以中國今日要實行民權，改革政治，便不能完全做效歐美，便要重新想出一個方法。如果一味的盲從附和，對於國計民生，是很大害的。因為歐美有歐美的社會，我們有我們的社會，彼此的人情風土，各不相同。我們能夠照自己的社會情形，迎合世界潮流去做，社會才可以改良，國家才可以進步。如果不照自己社會的情形，迎合世界潮流去做，國家便要退化，民族便要受危險。我們要中國進步，民族的前途沒有危險，自己來實行民權，自己在根本上便不能不想出一種辦法。我們對於民權政治，到底能不能夠想出辦法呢？我們要能夠想出辦法，雖然不能完全做效歐美，但是要借鑑於歐美，要把歐美已往的民權經驗，研究到清清楚楚。因為歐美民權雖然沒有充分發達，根本解決，但是已經有了很多的學者，對於民權天天去研究，常常有新學理的發明；而且在實行上也有了一百多年，所得的經驗也是很多的。那些經驗和學理根本上都是應該拿來參考的。如果不參考歐美已往的經驗學理，便要費許多冤枉工夫，或者要再蹈歐美的覆轍。現在各國學者研究已往民權的事實，得到了許多新學理，那是些甚麼學理呢？最新的對於政治問題的有一位美國學者說：「現在講民權的國家，最怕的是得到了一個萬能政府，人民沒有方法去節制他；最好的是得一個萬能政府，完全歸人民使用，為人民謀幸福。」這一說是最新發明的民權學理。但所怕、所欲都是在一個萬能政府。第一說是人民怕不能管理的萬能政府，第二說是為人民謀幸福的萬能政府。要怎麼樣才能夠把政府成為萬能呢？變成了萬能政府，要怎麼樣才聽人民的話呢？在民權發達的國家，多數的政府都是弄到無能的；民權不發達的國家，政府多是有能的。像前次所講，近幾十年來歐洲最有能的政府，就是德國俾士麥當權的政府，在那個時候的德國政府的確是萬能政府。那個政府本是不主張民權的，本是要反對民權的，但是他的政府還是成了萬能政府。其他各國主張民權的政府，沒有那一國可以叫做萬能政府。又有一位瑞士學者說：「各國自實行了民權以後，政府的能力便行退化。」這個理由，就是人民恐怕政府有了能力，人民不能管理。所以人民總是防範政府，不許政府有能力，不許政府是萬能。所以實行民治的國家，對於這個問題便應該想方法去解決。想解決這個問題，人民對於政府的態度，就應該要改變。從前人民對於政府，總是有反抗態度的緣故，是由於經過了民權革命以後，人民所爭得的自由平等，過於發達，一般人把自由平等，用到太沒有限制，把自由平等的事，

做到過於充分，政府毫不能夠做事。到了政府不能做事，國家雖然是有政府，便和無政府一樣。這位瑞士學者看出了這個流弊，要想挽救，便主張人民要改變對於政府的態度。他究竟要人民變成甚麼態度呢？人民的態度對於政府有甚麼關係呢？譬如就中國幾千年的歷史說，中國人在這幾千年中，對於政府是甚麼樣的態度呢？我們研究歷史，總是看見人稱贊堯、舜、禹、湯、文、武。堯、舜、禹、湯、文、武的政府，是中國人常常羨慕的政府，中國人無論在那個時代，總是希望有那樣的政府，替人民來謀幸福。所以歐美的民權思想，沒有傳進中國以前，中國人最希望的，就是堯、舜、禹、湯、文、武，以為有了堯、舜、禹、湯、文、武那些皇帝，人民便可以得安樂，便可以享幸福。這就是中國人向來對於政府的態度。近來經過了革命以後，人民得到了民權思想，對於堯、舜、禹、湯、文、武那些皇帝，便不滿意，以為他們都是專制皇帝，雖美亦不足稱。由此便知民權發達了以後，人民便有反抗政府的態度，無論如何良善皆不滿意。如果持這種態度，長此以往，不想辦法來改變，政治上是很難望進步的。現在世界上要改變人民對於政府的態度，究竟是用甚麼辦法呢？歐美學者只想到了人民對於政府的態度，應該要改變，至於怎麼樣改變的辦法，至今還沒有想出。我們革命，主張實行民權，對於這個問題，我想到了一個解決的方法。我的解決方法，是世界上學理中第一次的發明，我想到的方法，就是解決這個問題的一個根本辦法。我的辦法，就是像瑞士學者近日的發明一樣，人民對於政府要改變態度。近日有這種學理之發明，更足以證明我向來的主張是不錯。這是甚麼辦法呢？就是權與能要分別的道理。這個權能分別的道理，從前歐美的學者都沒有發明過。究竟甚麼是叫做權與能的分別呢？要講清楚這個分別，便要把我從前對於人類分別的新發明再拿來說一說。

我對於人類的分別，是何所根據呢？就是根據於各人天賦的聰明才力。照我的分別，應該有三種人：第一種人叫做先知先覺，這種人有絕頂的聰明，凡見一件事，便能夠想出許多道理，聽一句話，便能夠做出許多事業，有了這種才力的人，才是先知先覺。由於這種先知先覺的人，預先想出了許多辦法，做了許多事業，世界才有進步，人類才有文明，所以先知先覺的人，是世界上的創造者，是人類中的發明家。第二種人叫做後知後覺，這種人的聰明才力，比較第一種人是次一等的，自己不能夠創造發明，只能夠跟隨摹倣，第一種人已經做出來了的事，他便可以學到。第三種人叫做不知不覺，這種人的聰明才力是更次的，凡事雖有人指教他，他也不能知，只能去行。照現在政治運動的言詞說，第一種人是發明家，第二種人是宣傳家，第三種人是實行家。天下事業的進步，都是靠實行，所以世界上進步的責任，都在第三種人的身上。譬如建築一間大洋樓，不是一種尋常人能夠造成的，先要有一個工程師，把想做的洋樓，關於各種工程材料，都要通盤計算；等到通盤計算好了，便繪一個很詳細的圖，再把那個圖交給工頭去看；等到工頭把圖看清楚了，才叫工人搬運材料，照那個圖樣去做。做洋樓的工人，都是不能夠看圖樣的，只有照工頭的吩咐，聽工頭的指揮，或者是某處放一塊磚，某處加一片瓦，做那種最簡單的事；工頭又是不能夠通盤計算去繪圖的，只有照工程師所繪的圖，吩咐工人去砌磚蓋瓦。所以繪圖的工程師，是先知先覺；看圖的工頭，是後知後覺；砌磚蓋瓦的工人，是不知不覺。現在各城市的洋樓，都是靠工人、工頭和工程師三種人共同做出來的。就是世界上的大事，也都是全靠那三種人來做成的。但是其中大部份的人都是實行家，都是不知不覺，次少數的人便是後知後覺，最少數的人才是先知先覺。世界上如果沒有先知先覺，便沒有發起人；如果沒有後知後覺，便沒有贊成人；如果沒有不知不覺，便沒有實行的人。世界上的事業都是先要發起人，然後又要許多贊成人，再然後又要許多實行者，才能夠做成功。所以世界上的進步，都是靠這三種人，無論是缺少了那一種人，都是不可能的。現在世界上的國家實行民權，改革政治，那些改革的責任，應該是人人都有份的。先知先覺的人要有一分，後知後覺的人要有一分，就是不知不覺的人也要有一分。我們要知道民權不是天生的，是人造成的，我們應該造成民權，交到人民，不要等人民來爭，才交到他們。前幾天有一位在高麗做官的日本人來見我，和我談天，談了頗久之後，我順便問他一句話說：「現在高麗的革命，是甚麼樣情形呢？能不能夠成功呢？」那位日本人沒有甚麼話可答。我又問他說：「日本在高麗的官吏，對於高麗的民權態度，又是怎麼樣呢？」他說：「只看高麗人將來的民權思想，究竟是怎麼樣；如果高麗人都曉得來爭民權，我們一定是把政權交還他們的。但是現在的高麗人還不曉得爭民權，所以我們日本還是不能不代他們治理高麗。」這種說話，未嘗不冠冕堂皇，但是我們革命黨對待全國人民，就不可像日本對待高麗一樣，要等到人民曉得爭民權的時候才去給他。因為中國人民都是不知不覺的多，就是再過幾千年，恐怕全體人民還不曉得要爭民權。所以自命為先知先覺和後知後覺的人，便不可像日本人一樣，專是為自己打算，要預先來替人民打算，把全國的政權交到人民。

照以前所講的情形，歐美對於民權問題，還沒有解決的辦法；今日我們要解決民權問題，如果做效歐美，一定是辦不通的。歐美既無從做效，我們自己便應該想一種新方法，來解決這個問題。這個新方法，是像瑞士的學者最新的發明，人民對於政府要改變態度。但要改變態度，就是要把權與能來分開。權與能要怎麼樣分開呢？我們要把他研究到清楚，便應該把前幾回所講的情形，重提起來再說。第一件甚麼是叫做民權呢？簡單的說，民權便是人民去管理政治。詳細推究起來，從前的政治是誰人管理呢？中國有

兩句古語說：「不在其位，不謀其政。」又說：「庶人不議」。可見從前的政權，完全在皇帝掌握之中，不關人民的事，今日我們主張民權，是要把政權放在人民掌握之中，那麼人民成了一個甚麼東西呢？中國自革命以後，成立民權政體，凡事都是應該由人民作主的；所以現在的政治，又可以叫做民主政治。換句話說，在共和政體之下，就是用人民來做皇帝。照中國幾千年的歷史看，實在負政治責任為人民謀幸福的皇帝，只有堯、舜、禹、湯、文、武，其餘的那些皇帝，都是不能負政治責任為人民謀幸福的，所以中國幾千年的皇帝，只有堯、舜、禹、湯、文、武能夠負政治責任，上無愧於天，下無忤於民。他們所以能夠達到這種目的，令我們在幾千年之後，都來歌功頌德的原因，是因為他們有兩種特別的長處：第一種長處，是他們的本領很好，能夠做成一個良政府，為人民謀幸福。第二種長處，是他們的道德很好，所謂「仁民愛物」，「視民如傷」，「愛民若子」，有這種仁慈的好道德。因為他們有這兩種長處，所以對於政治能夠完全負責，完全達到目的。中國幾千年來，只有這幾個皇帝令後人崇拜；其餘的皇帝不知道有多少，甚至於有許多皇帝，後人連姓名都不知道。歷代的皇帝，只有堯、舜、禹、湯、文、武，有很好的本領、很好道德的，其餘都是沒有本領、沒有道德的多。那些皇帝雖然沒有本領、沒有道德，但是很有權力的。大家都把中國歷史看得是很多的，尤其是三國演義，差不多人人都看過了，我們可以拿三國演義來證明。譬如諸葛亮是很有才學的，很有能幹的。他所輔的主，先是劉備，後是阿斗。阿斗是很庸愚的，沒有一點能幹。因為這個原因，所以劉備臨死的時候，便向諸葛亮說：「可輔則輔之，不可輔則取而代之。」劉備死了以後，諸葛亮的道德還是很好，阿斗雖然沒有用，諸葛亮依然是忠心輔佐，所謂「鞠躬盡瘁，死而後已。」由這樣看來，在君權時代，君主雖然沒有能幹，但是很有權力，像三國的阿斗和諸葛亮，便可以明白。諸葛亮是有能沒有權的，阿斗是有權沒有能的。阿斗雖然沒有能，但是把甚麼政事都付託到諸葛亮去做；諸葛亮很有能，所以在西蜀能夠成立很好的政府，並且能夠六出祁山（註三）去北伐，和吳魏鼎足而三。用諸葛亮和阿斗兩個人比較，我們便知道權和能的分別，專制時代，父兄做皇帝，子弟承父兄之業，雖然沒有能幹，也可以做皇帝，所以沒有能的人也是很有權。現在成立共和政體，以民為主，大家試看這四萬萬人是那一類的人呢？這四萬萬當然不能都是先知先覺的人，多數的人也不是後知後覺的人，大多數都是不知不覺的人，現在民權政治，是要靠人民作主的，所以這四萬萬人都很有權的。全國很有權力能夠管理政治的人，就是這四萬萬。大家想想現在的四萬萬人，就政權一方面說，是像甚麼人呢？照我看起來，這四萬萬人都是像阿斗。中國現在有四萬萬個阿斗。人人都是很有權的，阿斗本是無能的，但是諸葛亮有能，所以劉備死了以後，西蜀還能夠治理。現在歐美人民反對有能的政府，瑞士學者要挽救這種流弊，主張人民改變態度，不可反對有能的政府。但是改變了態度以後，究竟是用甚麼辦法呢？他們還沒有發明。我現在所發明的，是要權與能分開，人民對於政府的態度，才可以改變。如果權與能不分開，人民對於政府的態度，總是不能改變。當時阿斗知道自己無能，把國家全權託到諸葛亮，要諸葛亮替他去治理。所以諸葛亮上出師表，便獻議到阿斗，把宮中和府中的事要分開清楚；宮中的事，阿斗可以去做，府中的事，阿斗自己不能去做。府中的事，是甚麼事呢？就是政府的事。諸葛亮把宮中和府中的事分開，就是把權和能分開。所以我們治理國家，權和能一定要分開的。究竟要怎麼樣才可以分開呢？大家要拿一個遠大眼光和冷靜見解，來看世界上的事，才可以把他分別清楚。大家此時對於政府，有一種特別觀念，這種觀念是怎麼樣發生的呢？是由於幾千年專制政體發生的。因為幾千年的專制政體，多是無能力的人做皇帝，人民都是做皇帝的奴隸；在中國的四萬萬人，就做過了幾千年奴隸。現在雖然是推翻專制，成立共和政體，表面上固然是解放，但是人民的心目中，還有專制的觀念，還怕有皇帝一樣的政府來專制。因為再怕有皇帝一樣的政府來專制，想要打破他，所以生出反對政府的觀念，表示反抗政府的態度。所以現在人民反抗政府的態度，還是由於從前崇拜皇帝的心理反動生出來的。換句話說，人民對於政府的態度，就是由於從前崇拜皇帝的心理，一變而為排斥政府的心理。從前崇拜皇帝的心理，固然是不對，現在排斥政府的心理，也是不對的。我們要打破這種不對的心理，便要回顧到幾萬年和幾千年以前的政治歷史，才可以看破。比方在專制皇帝沒有發達以前，中國堯舜是很好的皇帝，他們都是公天下，不是家天下。當時的君權還沒有十分發達，中國的君權，是從堯舜以後才發達的。推到堯舜以前，更沒有君權之可言，都是奉有能的人做皇帝，能夠替大家謀幸福的人。才可以組織政府。譬如從前所講人同獸爭的野蠻時代，國家的組織沒有完全，人民都是聚族而居，靠一個有能的人來保護。在那個時候，人民都怕毒蛇猛獸來侵害，所以要奉一個有能的人，負保護的責任。當時保護的任務，就是在有能力去打，能夠打勝毒蛇猛獸的人，就是當時很有能幹的人。當時人同獸打，沒有武器，都是靠赤手空拳，要個人體魄很強壯，所以在當時體魄很強壯的人，大家便奉他做皇帝。除了會打的人可以做皇帝以外，中國還有例外（註四），譬如燧人氏鑽木取火，教人火食，既可避去生食動植物的危險，復可製出種種美味，適於口腹之欲，所以世人便奉他做皇帝。鑽木取火，教人火食，是什麼人的事？就是廚子的事，所以燧人氏鑽木取火教人火食便做皇帝，就可以說廚子做皇帝。神農嘗百草，發明了許多藥性，可以治疾病，可以起死回生，便是一件很奇怪、很有功勞的事，所以世人便奉他做皇帝。嘗百草是甚麼人的事呢？就是醫生的事，所以神農由於嘗百草便做皇帝，就可以說醫生做皇帝。更推到軒轅氏教民做衣服也是做皇帝，那就是裁縫做皇帝。有巢氏教民營宮室，

也做皇帝，那就是木匠做皇帝。所以由中國幾千年以前的歷史看起來，都不是專以能夠打得的人才做皇帝，凡是有大能幹、有新發明、在人類立了功勞的人，都可以做皇帝，都可以組織政府。像廚子、醫生、裁縫、木匠那些有特別能幹的人，都是做過了皇帝的。從前有一位美國教授，叫做丁韋良，有一天到北京西山去遊玩，遇到了一個農夫，和農夫談起話來，那個農夫便問丁韋良說：「外國人為甚麼不到中國來做皇帝呢？」丁韋良反問農夫說：「外國人可以來做皇帝嗎？」那個農夫便指田邊所掛的電線說：「能做這種東西的人，便可以做中國皇帝了。」那個農夫的思想，以為只有一根鐵線，便可以通消息傳書信，做這種鐵線通消息的人，當然是很有本領的；有這樣大本領的人，當然可以做皇帝。由此便可以證明中國人的一般心理，都以為是大本領的人，便可以做皇帝。中國自堯舜以後，那些皇帝便漸漸變成專制，都要家天下，不許人民自由擁戴有本領的人去做皇帝。假若現在四萬萬人用投票的方法選舉皇帝，如果給以充分的民權，人民能夠自由投票，絲毫不受別種勢力的干涉，同時又有堯舜復生，究竟是選舉誰來做皇帝呢？我想一定是舉堯舜來做皇帝。中國人對於皇帝的心理，不像歐美人對於皇帝的那樣深惡痛絕，因為中國皇帝的專制，沒有歐洲皇帝的那麼利害。歐洲在兩三百年以前，皇帝專制達到了極點，人民都視為洪水猛獸，非常的怕他，所以人民不但是對於皇帝要去排斥，就是和皇帝很相近的東西像政府一樣，也是一齊要排斥。歐美現在實行了民權，人民有了大權，要排斥政府，實在是很容易的。像西蜀的阿斗，要排斥諸葛亮，那還不容易嗎？如果阿斗要排斥諸葛亮，試問西蜀的政府能不能夠長久呢？能不能夠六出祁山去北伐呢？阿斗見到了這一層，所以便把政治的全權都付託到諸葛亮，無論是整頓內部是由他，南征是由他，就是六出祁山去北伐也是由他。我們現在行民權，四萬萬人都是皇帝，就是有四萬萬個阿斗；這些阿斗當然是應該歡迎諸葛亮來管理政事，做國家的大事業。歐美現在實行民權，人民所持的態度，總是反抗政府，根本原因就是由於權和能沒有分開。中國要不蹈歐美的覆轍，便應該照我所發明的學理，要把權和能劃分清楚。人民分開了權與能，才不致反對政府，政府才可以望發展。中國要分開權與能，是很容易的事，因為中國有阿斗和諸葛亮的先例可援。如果政府是好的，我們四萬萬人便把他當作諸葛亮，把國家的全權都交到他們。如果政府是不好的，我們四萬萬人可以實行皇帝的職權，罷免他們，收回國家的大權。歐美人民對於政府，不知道分別權與能的界限，所以他們的民權問題，發生了兩三百年，至今還不能解決。

我們現在主張要分開權與能，再拿古時和現在的事實，比較的來說一說。在古時能打的人，大家便奉他做皇帝。現在的富豪家庭，也請幾位打師來保護，好像上海住的軍閥官僚，在各省劃了地皮、發了大財之後，搬到上海的租界之內去住，因為怕有人去打他和他要錢，他便請幾個印度巡捕在他的門口保護。照古時的道理講，能保護人的人便可以做皇帝，那末保護那些官僚軍閥的印度巡捕，便應該做那些官僚軍閥的皇帝。但是現在的印度巡捕，決不能問那些官僚軍閥的家事。從前赤手空拳的打師都是做皇帝，現在有長鎗的印度巡捕，更是應該要做皇帝。那些官僚軍閥不把他當作皇帝，只把他當作奴隸；那種奴隸有了鎗，雖然是很有能力，那般官僚軍閥只能夠在物質一方面給些錢，不能夠在名義上叫他做皇帝。像這樣講，古時的皇帝，便可以看作現在守門的印度巡捕，現在守門的印度巡捕，就是古時的皇帝。再進一層說，保護人民的皇帝，既是可以看作守門的印度巡捕，大家又何必要排斥他呢？現在有錢的那些人，組織公司，開辦工廠，一定要請一位有本領的人來做總辦，去管理工廠。此總辦是專門家，就是有能的人；股東就是有權的人。工廠內的事，只有總辦能夠講話，股東不過監督總辦而已。現在民國的人民便是股東，民國的總統便是總辦，我們人民對於政府的態度，應該要把他們當作專門家看；如果有了這種態度，股東便能夠利用總辦整頓工廠，用很少的成本，出很多的貨物，可以令那個公司發大財。現在歐美民權發達的國家，人民對於政府都沒有這種態度，所以不能利用有本領的人去管理政府。因為這個原因，所以弄到在政府之中的人物都是無能，所以弄到民權政治的發達反是很遲，民主國家的進步反是很慢，反不及專制國家的進步，像日本和德國那樣的迅速。從前日本維新，只有幾十年，便富強起來。從前德國也是很貧弱的國家，到了威廉第一和俾士麥執政，結合聯邦，勵精圖治，不到幾十年，便雄霸歐洲。其他實行民權的國家，都不能像日本和德國的進步，一日千里。推究此中原因，就是由於民權問題的根本辦法沒有解決，如果要解決這個問題，便要把國家的大事付託到有本領的人。現在歐美人無論做甚麼事，都要用專門家。譬如練兵打仗，便要用軍事家；開辦工廠，便要用工程師；對於政治也知道要用專門家，至于現在之所以不能實行用政治專家的原因，就是由於人民的舊習慣還不能改變。但是到了現在的新時代，權與能是不能分開的，許多事情一定是要靠專門家的，是不能限制專門家的。像最新發明在人生日用最便利的東西，是街上的汽車。在二十多年前初有汽車的時候，沒有駕駛的車夫，沒有修理的工匠。我從前有一個朋友，買了一架汽車，自己一方面要做駕駛的汽車夫，又一方面要做修理的機器匠，那是很麻煩的，是很難得方方面面都做好的。到了現在，有許多的汽車夫和機器匠，有汽車的主人，只要出錢僱他們來，便可以替自己來駕駛，替自己來修理。這種汽車夫和機器匠，就是駕駛汽車和修理汽車的專門家；沒有他們，我們的汽車便不能行動，便不能修理。國家就是一輛大汽車，政府中的官吏就是一些大車夫。歐美人民始初得到了民權，沒有相當的專門家，就像二十多年前有錢的人得了一輛汽車一樣，所以事事便非靠自己修理，自己去駕駛不可。到了現在，有了許多有本領的專

門家，有權力的人民便應該要聘請他們，不然就要自己去駕駛，自己去修理，正所謂自尋煩惱，自找痛苦。就這個比喻，更可分別駕駛汽車的車夫是有能而無權的，汽車的主人是無能而有權的，這個有權的主人便應該靠有能的專門家，去代他駕駛汽車。民國的大事，也是一樣的道理，國民是主人，就是有權的人；政府是專門家，就是有能的人。由于這個理由，所以民國的政府官吏，不管他們是大總統、是內閣總理、是各部總長，我們都可以把他們當作汽車夫，只要他們是有本領，忠心為國家做事，我們就應該把國家的大權付託於他們，不限制他們的行動，事事由他們自由去做，然後國家才可以進步，進步才是很快。如果不然，事事都是要自己去做，或者是請了專門家，一舉一動都要牽制他們，不許他們自由行動，國家還是難望進步，進步還是很慢。要明白這個道理，我有一段很好的故事，可以引來證明。我從前住在上海的時候，有一天和一個朋友約定了時間，到虹口去商量一件事。到了那一天，把所約定的時間忽然忘記了，一直到所約定的時間十五分鐘之前，才記憶起來。當時我所住的地方是法國租界，由法國租界到虹口是很遠的，用十五分鐘的時間，很不容易趕到，我便着急起來，找着汽車夫，慌忙的問他說：「在十五分鐘之內，可以不可以趕到虹口呢？」那個車夫答應說：「一定可以趕到」。我便坐上車，由車夫自由去駕駛，向目的地出發。上海的道路，我是很熟悉的，由法國租界到虹口，好比由廣州沙基到東山一樣，一定要經過長堤和川龍口，才是捷徑。但是我的汽車夫從開車以後，所走的路，便不經過長堤和川龍口，他先由豐寧路再繞道德宣路，走小北門然後才到大東門，才抵東山。當時汽車走得飛快，聲音很大，我不能夠和車夫說話，心裏便很奇怪，便非常的恨那個車夫，以為車夫和我搗亂，是故意的走灣曲路阻遲時候。此時的情形，好比是政府有特別原故，要做非常的事，國民不知道，便生出許多誤會來非難政府一樣。至于那個車夫選擇那一條路走，不過十五分鐘便到了虹口，我的怨氣才平，便問那個車夫說：「為甚麼要這樣灣灣曲曲走這一條路呢？」那個車夫答應說：「如果走直路，便要經過大馬路，大馬路的電車、汽車、人力車和行人貨物的來往是很擁擠的，是很不容易走通的。」我才明白從前誤會的道理，才曉得我所要走的大馬路和外擺渡橋是從空間着想；那個車夫是有經驗的，知道汽車能夠走得很快，每小時可以走三四十英里，雖然走灣一點，多走幾里路，但是把汽車的速度加快一點，還是在限定鐘點以內可以趕到。他的這樣打算，是從時間上着想。那個車夫不是哲學家，本不知道用甚麼時間空間去打算，不過他是專門家，知道汽車有縮地的能力，如果把汽車的速度加快，就是多走灣路，還能夠于十五分鐘之內趕到虹口。假若當時我不給車夫以全權，由他自由去走，要依我的走法，一定是趕不到。因為我信他是專門家，不制他的肘，他要去那一條路便走那一條路，所以能夠在預約時間之內，可以趕到。不過我不是這種專門家，所以當時那個車夫走灣路，我便發生誤會，便不知道他何以要走灣路的道理。民國的人民都是國家的主人，對於政府的態度，應該要學我那次到虹口對於車夫的態度一樣，把他當作是走路的車夫。能夠有這樣的眼光，人民對於政府的態度，才可以改變。歐美人民現在對於政府，持反對的態度，是因為權與能沒有分開，所以民權的問題至今不能解決。我們實行民權，便不要學歐美，要把權與能分得清清楚楚。民權思想，雖然由歐美傳進來的，但是歐美的民權問題，至今還沒有辦法。我們現在已經想出了辦法，知道人民要怎麼樣，才對於政府可以改變態度。但是人民都是不知不覺的多，我們先知先覺的人，便要為他們指導，引他們上軌道去走，那才能避了歐美的紛亂，不蹈歐美的覆轍。歐美學者現在只研究到了人民對於政府的態度不對，應該要改變；但是用甚麼方法來改變，他們還沒有想到。我現在把這個方法已經發明了，這個方法是要權與能分開。講到國家的政治，根本上要人民有權，至於管理政府的人，便要付之于有能的專門家。把那些專門家不要看作是很榮耀很尊貴的總統、總長，只把他們當作是趕汽車的車夫，或者是當作看門的巡捕，或者是弄飯的廚子，或者是診病的醫生，或者是做屋的木匠，或者是做衣的裁縫。無論把他們看作是那一種的工人，都是可以的。人民要有這樣的態度，國家才有辦法，才能夠進步。

(註一) 原無年月日，今據「會本」。

(註二) 「胡本」及「會本」均作「想通」。今仍依原文及「週刊」第二十八期(民國十三年七月六日)。

(註三) 原文為「析山」，今據「週刊」及「會本」改，下同。

(註四) 「會本」有「別種人都可以做皇帝」九字，今依原文及「週刊」。

## 民權主義 第六講

第六講 民國十三年四月二十六日講 (註一)

現在歐美的政治家同法律學者，都說政府是機器，法律是機器之中的工具。中國很多的政治法律書籍，都是從日本譯過來的，日本人把政治組織，譯作機關，這個機關的意思，就是中國人所常說的機器一樣。

我們中國人從前說機關，是機會的意思，從日本人把政治組織譯成了機關之後，就和機器的意思相同；所以從前說政府衙門，現在說是行政機關、財政機關、軍事機關、教育機關，這種種機關的意思，和日本人所說的政府機關，是一樣的解釋，沒有絲毫分別。現在說機關，就是機器，好比說機關鎗就是機器鎗一樣。由此便知道機關和機器兩個名詞是一樣的意思。因為機關和機器的意思相同，所以行政機關，就可以說是行政機器。至於行政機器和製造機器，有甚麼分別呢？製造機器，完全是用物質做成的，譬如用木料、鋼、鐵和皮帶種種東西湊合起來，便做成製造機器。行政機器，完全是用人組織成的，種種動作都是靠人去活動，不是靠物去活動。所以行政機器和製造機器，有太大的分別。最要緊的分別，就是行政機器是靠人的能力去發動的，製造機器是靠物的能力去發動的。

照前幾次所講的民權情形，便知道近來的歐美文化是很發達的，文明是很進步的。分析起來說，他們的物質文明，像製造機器那些東西的進步，是很快的。至於人為機器，像政府機關這些東西的進步，是很慢的。這個理由，是在甚麼地方呢？就是物質機器做成了之後，易于試驗；試驗之後，不好的易于放棄，不備的易于改良。人為機器成立了之後，很不容易試驗；試驗之後，很不容易改良。假若是要改良，除非起革命不可。如果不然，要把他當作不好的物質機器看待，變成廢鐵，那是做不來的。因為這個理由，所以歐美的製造機器，進步很快，行政機器，進步很慢。譬如民權風潮，在歐美發生之後，各國都想實行民權。最早的是美國，美國自開國至今，有了一百四十多年，開國時所行的民權，和現在所行的差不多相同。現在所用的憲法，就是開國時候的聯邦憲法。那種聯邦憲法經過了一百多年，根本上沒有大更改，至今還是應用他。至於大多數的製造機器，發明的年代也不過一百多年。在一百多年以前的舊機器，現在有沒有人去用他呢？從前的舊機器，老早變成了廢鐵。現在農工商業中所有的機器，沒有十年以前的舊東西。因為每過十年，便有此很多的新發明，很多的新改良，沒有那一年不是有進步的。說到一百多年以前的行政機關，至今還是應用他，這便是由于用人活動的機關，當中活動的人，固然可以隨時改換，但是全體組織，不容易根本改造。因為習慣太久，陳陳相因，如果不想革命，要在平時去改造，把舊組織完全廢棄，那是做不到的。由於這個道理，歐美的物質機器近來很容易進步，進步是很快的；人為機器向來便難于進步，進步是很慢的。

我在前兩次講演民權，便說歐美對於民權政治，至今沒有根本辦法。他們為甚麼沒有辦法呢？就是因為他們把人為的機器，沒有精良去試驗。說到物質的機器，自最初發明時代以至於現在，不知道古人經過了幾千次的試驗，和幾千次的改良，才有今日我們所見的機器。由現在所見的機器，回顧到最初發明時代，是甚麼情形呢？如果大家讀過了機器史，便知道有一段很有趣味的故事。譬如就發動機的歷史說，在最初發明的時候，只有一個方向的動力，沒有和現在一樣的兩個方向之動力。現在做種種工作的機器，像火車輪船，都是有來回兩個方向的動力。那個動力的來源，是把水盛在鍋內，再用煤在爐底燒很大的火，把水燒到沸騰，變成蒸汽，到了水變成蒸汽之後，便有很大的膨脹力，用一個汽管，把蒸汽由鍋中導入一個機器箱，這個機器箱，中國話叫做活塞，外國話叫做比士頓。這個活塞就是令機器發動的東西，是機器全體中最要緊的一部分。機器之所以發動，是由于活塞之一端，接收了蒸汽以後，由蒸汽之膨脹力，便推動活塞，令活塞前進。蒸汽力在活塞之一端，用盡了以後，更由他端注入新蒸汽，再把活塞推回。由是蒸汽推動活塞，來往不息，機器的全體便運動不已。運動的原料，從前用水，現在用油，叫做瓦斯油，就是很容易揮發的油，化為氣體去推動活塞。各種機器發動的原料，不管他是用水，或者是用油，都是一樣的道理。由於活塞的運動，往返不已，便旋轉機器，我們要想用來做甚麼工作，便可以做甚麼工作。譬如行船拉車，就是走路的機器，一天可以走幾千里；就是運輸的機器，要運多少貨物，便可以載多少貨物。到現在看起來，是妙極了的東西，但是推到最初發明的時候，是甚麼情形呢？最初發明的活塞，構造極簡單，只能夠在一端接收蒸汽，把活塞推過去，再不能夠在他端接收蒸汽，把活塞推回來。所以當初活塞的運動，只有一個前進的方向，再沒有回頭的方向。因為這個原因，從前用機器做工，便有許多的不方便。譬如最初用新發明的機器去彈棉花，每用一架機器，便要用一個小孩子，站在機器的旁邊，等到活塞前進了之後，小孩子便要用手把活塞棒拉回來，然後才由蒸汽，再把活塞推過去；所以一往一返，便要用小孩子來幫助。比較現在的活塞，往返自如，不要人幫助，該是何等的不利便呢？後來是怎麼樣造成現在這樣便利的活塞呢？當中所經過的階級，是甚麼情形呢？當時做那種機器的工程師，毫不知道要怎麼樣才能夠把活塞拉回來。至於在那個時候的棉花工廠，本不很大，所用的機器力，雖然是只有一個方向，但是在一個工廠之內，只有十多架機器。不過一架機器，要用一個小孩子去幫助，有了十多架機器，便要用十幾個小孩子。那些小孩子天天去拉那種機器，時時刻刻做一個動作，便覺得很無趣味，很覺得討厭。因為那些小孩子，覺得那種工作討厭，所以要有工頭去監視，那些小孩子才不躲懶。工頭一離開了工廠，那些小孩子便不拉機器，便去玩耍。其中有一個很聰明又很懶怠的小孩子，不情願總是用手去拉那架機器，想用一個方法代手去拉，于是乎用一條繩和一根棍，槓在那架機器的上面，令活塞推過去了之後，又可以自動的拉回來；那個小孩子不必動手去拉他，便可以自動的來回，運轉不已。由於那一個小孩子的發明，便傳到那十幾個小孩子的全體。那些全體的小孩子因為都得了棍和

繩的幫助，機器都可以自動，所以大家都去玩耍，不管機器的工作。等到工頭回廠之後，看見那些小孩子都在玩耍，都沒有站在機器旁邊去拉回活塞棒，便驚訝起來說：「為甚麼這些小孩子不拉機器，機器還能夠自動的來往，繼續作工呢？這些小孩子是玩的甚麼把戲呢？這真是奇怪的很呀！」工頭在當時因為覺得很奇怪，便去考察機器之所以自動來回的原故，更把考察的結果，去報告工程師。後來工程師明白那個小孩子的方法是很奇妙的，便照他的方法逐漸改良，做成了今日來回自如的機器。民權政治的機器，至今有了一百多年，沒有改變。我們拿現在民權政治的機器來看，各國所行的民權，只有一個選舉權。這就是人民只有一個發動力，沒有兩個發動力，只能夠把民權推出去，不能夠把民權拉回來，這好像最初的發動機一樣。但是從前有一個幫助機器的懶小孩子，知道了加一條繩和一根棍，借機器本體的力量，可以令機器自動的來回。至於現在的民權政治中，還沒有這種懶小孩子，發明那種拉回民權的方法。因為這個原因，所以民權政治的機器，用過了一百多年，至今還只有一個選舉權。從有了選舉權以後，許久都沒有別的進步。選舉出來的人，究竟是賢與不肖，便沒有別的權去管他。像這種情形，就是民權政治的機器不完全。因為這種機器不完全，所以民權政治至今還沒有好辦法，還沒有大進步。我們要這種機器進步，是從甚麼地方做起呢？照前一次所講的道理，是要把權和能分清楚。現在還是用機器來比喻，機器裏頭各部的權和能是分得很清楚的，那一部是做工，那一部是發動，都有一定的界限，譬如就船上的機器說，現在最大的船，有五六萬噸，運動這樣大船的機器，所發出來的力量，有超過十萬匹馬力的機器，只用一個人，便可以完全管理。那一個管理的人，要全船怎麼樣開動；便立刻開動，要全船怎麼樣停止，便立刻停止。現在機器的進步，到了這種妙境。在最初發明機器的時候，如果一種機器發出來的力量，到了幾百匹或者幾千匹馬力，便不敢用他，因為馬力太大，便沒有人能夠管理。通常說機器的大小，都是用馬力做標準，一匹馬力是多少呢？八個強壯人的力合攏（註二）起來，便是一匹馬力。如果說一萬匹馬力，便是有八萬個人的力。現在大商船和兵船上的機器所發出的原動力，有從十萬匹到二十萬匹馬力的，像這樣大力的機器，是沒有別樣東西可以抵當得住的。在尋常的機器，一萬匹馬力便有八萬個人的力，若是那麼樣大力的機器，管理的方法不完全，那麼機器全體一經發動之後，便不能收拾，所謂能發不能收。因為這個理由。所以從前發明機器的人，去試驗機器，常常自己打死自己。由于這種結果，在機器界打死的發明家，世界歷史中不知道有了多少。外國有一個名詞叫做化蘭京士丁，就是能發不能收的機器。到了後來，機器的構造，天天改良，天天進步，雖然有十萬匹或者二十萬匹馬力的機器，只用一個人，便可以從容去管理，沒有一點危險。說到十萬匹馬力，便是有八十萬個人的力，二十萬匹馬力，便是有一百六十萬個人的力，若是專有這樣大的人力，是不是容易管理呢？現在軍隊的力量，到了一兩萬人，便不容易管理。機器的力量，就是有一百六十萬人之多，一個人還可以從容管理。由此便可見近來的機器，是很進步的；管理的方法，是很完全的。

現在的政治家和法律學者，都以政府為機器，以法律為工具。此刻的民權時代，是以人民為動力，從前的君權時代，是以皇帝為動力，全國的動作，是發源于皇帝。在那個時代，政府的力量越大，皇帝越顯尊嚴，有了強有力的政府，皇帝的號令才容易實行；因為皇帝是發動機器的人，所以政府的力越大，皇帝高高在上，便可以為所欲為。譬如修內治，勤遠略，整軍經武，他要想做甚麼，便可以做甚麼，故在君權時代，政府的力越大，對於皇帝，只有利而無害。到了民權時代，人民就是政府的原動力，為甚麼人民不願意政府的能力太大呢？因為政府的力量過大，人民便不能管理政府，要被政府來壓迫。從前被政府的壓迫太過，所受的痛苦太多，現在要免去那種壓迫的痛苦，所以不能不防止政府的能力。在最初發明機器的時代，一個機器推過去了以後，只用一個小孩子便可以拉回來，由此便知道在那個時候，一個機器的力量是很小的，最大的不過是幾匹馬力。如果有了一萬匹馬力以上的機器，當然不是一個小孩子可以拉得回來的。當時因為管理機器的方法不完全，一定要有那樣小力的機器，人民才是敢用他；現在是民權初發達的時代，管理政府的方法也是不完全。政府的動力，固然是發源于人民，但是人民發出了動力之後，還要隨時可以收回來，像那樣小力的政府，人民才是敢用他。若是有了幾萬匹馬力的政府，人民不能夠管理，便不敢用他。所以現在歐美各國的人民，恐怕強有力的政府，好比從前的工廠，怕有大馬力的機器是一樣的道理，當初那種小力的機器，如果不想方法來改良，那種機器一定是永遠沒有進步，一定是永遠還要去拉。但是後來日日求改良，一直到現在，便可以不必用人力去拉，只要機器的自身便可以來回自動。至於政治的機器，人民總不知道想方法來改良，總是怕政府的能力太大，不能拉回，反常常想方法去防止，所以弄到政治不能發達，民權沒有進步。照現在世界的潮流說，民權思想是一天一天的進步，管理民權政治的機器，還是絲毫沒有進步。所以歐美的民權政治，至今沒有根本辦法，就是這個理由。照我前一次所講的根本辦法說，權與能要分別清楚。用機器來做比喻，甚麼是有能力的東西呢？機器的本體，就是有能力的東西，譬如十萬匹馬力的機器，供給了相當的煤和水之後，便可以發生相當的能力。甚麼是有權的人呢？管理機器的工程師，就是有權的人。無論機器是有多少馬力，只要工程師一動手，要機器開動便立刻開動，要機器停止便立刻停止。工程師管理機器，想要怎麼樣便可以怎麼樣。好像輪船火車，一開機器，便可以要輪船火車走得很慢，一停機器，馬上就可以要他不走。所以機器是很有能的東西，工程師是很有權的人。人民管理政府，如果把權和能分開了，也要像工程師

管理機器一樣。在民權極盛的時代，管理政府的方法很完全，政府就是有大力，人民只要把自己的意見在國民大會上去發表，對於政府加以攻擊，便可以推翻，對於政府加以頌揚，便可以鞏固。但是現在的權與能不分，政府過於專橫，人民沒有方法來管理，不管人民是怎麼樣攻擊，怎麼樣頌揚，政府總是不理，總是不能發生效力。

現在世界上的政治不進步，民權思想很發達，無論那一國的人民，對於政治機關的現狀，總是不合他們心理上的用法。中國此刻正是改革時代，我們對於政治，主張實行民權，這種民權思想，是由歐美傳進來的。我們近來想學歐美的新思想，造成一個完全的民治國家。最初想造成這種國家的時候，一般革命志士，都以為完全做效歐美，步歐美的後塵，把歐美的東西完全抄過來，中國的民權便算是很發達，便可以算是止境。當初的這種思想，並不是全錯，因為中國從前的專制政體過於腐敗，我們如果實行改革，打破了專制以後，做建設的事業，能夠學到像歐美，就比較上說當然是很好。但是歐美人民對於自己國家社會的現狀是不是心滿意足呢？如果我們細心考察歐美的政治社會，所謂革命的先進國家，像美國法國的人民，現在還是主張改良政治，還是想要再來革命。他們革命不過一百多年，為甚麼還要再來革命呢？由此便可以證明我們從前以為學到了像歐美，便算是止境，那便是不對。由此便知就令是我們學到了像美國法國一樣，法國美國現在還是要革命，我們到了百十年之後，一定也是免不了再起革命的。因為法國美國現在的政治機器，還是有很多的缺點，還是不能滿足人民的慾望，人民還是不能享圓滿的幸福。像這樣講來，所以我們現在提倡改革，決不能夠說學到了像現在的歐美，便算是止境，便以為心滿意足。我們步他們的後塵，豈不是一代更不如一代，還要再起革命嗎？若是再起革命，那麼此次的革命，豈不是徒勞無功嗎？我們要現在的革命不是徒勞無功，想存一個長治久安之計，所謂一勞永逸，免將來的後患，要怎麼樣才可以做得到呢？歐美的方法，可不可以完全搬到中國來行呢？我們試學歐美最新的物質文明說，譬如交通上最要緊的東西是鐵路，東方國家做造鐵路，最早的是日本，中國近來才知道鐵路的重要，才知道要建築鐵路。所以中國做造鐵路，是在日本之後。但是用中國和日本現在的鐵路來比較，中國和日本的火車，大家如果都是坐過了的，便知道日本的鐵軌是很窄的，車是很小的；中國的滬寧和京漢鐵路，那些鐵軌都是很寬的，車是很大的。為甚麼中國建築鐵路在日本之後，所做的車和軌，還是比日本的寬大呢？就是因為中國所學的，是歐美的新發明，日本所學的，是歐美的舊東西。若是中國建築鐵路，不照歐美的新發明，只學日本的舊東西，可不可以算是滿足呢？歐美從前只有那樣的窄鐵路和小火車，日本最初去學他，便在無形之中，上了大當。我們現在建築鐵路，可不可以也學那種不便利的舊東西呢？但是中國近來建築鐵路，不學日本不便利的舊東西，要學歐美很便利的新發明，所以中國現在的鐵路好過日本，這所謂是後來者居上。因為這個原故，我們現在改良政治，便不可學歐美從前的舊東西，要把歐美的政治情形考察清楚，看他們政治的進步，究竟是到了甚麼程度，我們要學他們的最新發明，才可以駕乎各國之上。

我在前一次講過了，歐美對於民權問題的研究，還沒有澈底。因為不澈底，所以人民和政府日日相衝突。因為民權是新力量，政府是舊機器，我們現在要解決民權問題，便要另造一架新機器。造成這種新機器的原理，是要分開權和能，人民是要有權的，機器是要有能的。現在有大能的新機器，用人去管理，要開動就開動，要停止就停止。這是由於歐美對於機器，有很完全的發明。但是他們對於政治，還是沒有很完全的發明。我們現在要有很完全的改革，無從學起，便要自己想出一個新辦法。要我們自己想出一個新辦法，可不可以做得到呢？中國人從經過了義和團之後，完全失掉了自信力。一般人的心理，總是信仰外國，不敢信仰自己，無論甚麼事，以為要自己去做成，單獨來發明，是不可能的，一定要步歐美的後塵，要做效歐美的辦法。至於在義和團之前，我們的自信力是很豐富的，一般人的心理，都以為中國固有的文明，中國人的思想才力，是超過歐美，我們自己要做到甚麼新發明，都是可能的事，到了現在，便以為是不可能的事。殊不知歐美的文明，只在物質的一方面，不在其他的政治各方面。專就物質文明的科學說，歐美近來本是很發達的。一個人對於一種學問，固然是有特長，但是對於其餘的各科學問，未必都是很精通的。還有許多都是盲然的。他們的物質科學，一百多年以來，發明（註三）到了極點，許多新發明，真是巧奪天工，是我們夢想不到的。如果說政治學問，他們從前沒有想到的，我們現在也想不到，那便是沒有理由。歐美的機器，近來本有很完全的進步，但是不能說他們的機器是進步，政治也是進步。因為近兩百多年以來，歐美的特長只有科學，大科學家對於本行的學問固然是有專長，對於其餘的學問，像政治哲學等，未必就有兼長。有一段很好的故事，可以引來證明一證明。

英國從前有一位大科學家，在近來世界上的學問家之中，沒有那一個能夠駕乎他之上的，是叫做紐頓。紐頓是甚麼人呢？他是一個很聰明很有學問的人，他在物理學中，有很多超前絕後的發明，最著名的是「萬有引力」。紐頓推出來的萬有引力，是世界上頭一次的發明，至今科學中的根本原理。近來世界上許多科學原理的新發明，沒有那一種能夠駕乎「萬有引力」學說之上的。紐頓對於科學，既是有這樣的特別聰明，試看他對於別的事情，是不是一樣的聰明呢？照我看起來，卻有大大的不然。有一件很有趣味

的故事，可以證明紐頓做事，不是件件事都是很聰明的。紐頓一生，除了讀書試驗之外，還有一種嗜好；他的嗜好是愛貓。他養了大小不同的兩個貓，出入總是跟着他。因為他很愛那兩個貓，所以貓要怎樣行動，他便怎麼樣去侍候。譬如他在房內讀書試驗，貓要出門，他便停止一切工作，親自去開門，讓貓出去；如果貓要進到房內，他又停止一切工作，去打開房門，讓貓進來。那兩個貓，終日總是出出入入，弄到紐頓開門關門，是麻煩不堪的。所以有一天紐頓便要想一個方法，讓那兩個貓自己出入自由，不致擾亂他的工作，總是去開門關門。他所想出來的是甚麼方法呢？就是把房門開兩個孔，一個是很大的，一個是很小的。在紐頓的思想，以為在門上所開的大孔，便可以令大貓出入；在門上所開的小孔，便可以令小貓出入。像這種思想，還是大科學家的聰明，這件事實還是大科學家做出來的。照普通的常識講，開一個大孔，大貓可以出入，小貓也當然是可以出入，那麼開一個大孔便夠了，又何必必要枉費工夫，多開一個小孔呢？在常人都知道，只要開一個孔，大科學家的純頓偏要開兩個孔，這是不是可笑呢？科學家做事，是不是件件事都是很聰明呢？由此便可以證明科學家不是對於件件事都是很聰明的。科學家有了一藝的專長，未必就有種種學問的兼長。

歐美科學在近幾十年以來，本來是進步到了極點，所以做出來的物質機器，有往返的兩面動力，來回可以自動；但是做成的政治機器，還只有一面的動力，人民對於政府的權力，只能夠發出去，不能夠收回來。我們現在主張民權來改造民國，將來造成的新民國，一定是要澈底，要造成澈底的新民國。在歐美的先進國家，無從完全做效，我們自己便要另想一個新辦法。這種新辦法，歐美還沒有完全想到，我們能不能夠想到呢？要答覆這個問題，自己便不可以輕視自己，所謂妄自菲薄。此刻民權潮流傳進中國來了，我們歡迎這種潮流，來改造國家，自己的新辦法是不是完全的想到了呢？中國幾千年以來都是獨立國家，從前政治的發達，向來沒有假借過外國材料的。中國在世界之中，文化上是先進的國家，外國的材料，向來無可完全做效。歐美近來的文化，才比中國進步。我們羨慕他們的新文明，才主張革命；此刻實行革命，當然是要中國駕乎歐美之上，改造成世界上最新最進步的國家。我們要達到這種目的，實在是有這種資格。不過歐美現在的民權政府，還是不能完全做效，他們的政府已經成了舊機器，我們另要外造出一架新機器，才可以達到我們的目的。此刻想要造出一架新機器，世界上有沒有新材料呢？現在散在各國的新材料是很多的，不過要先定一個根本辦法。我在前一次所主張的分開權與能，便是這一種的根本辦法。根本辦法定了之後，去實行民權，還要分開國家的組織，與民權的行使。歐美的根本辦法沒有想通，不能分開權與能，所以政府能力不能擴充；我們的根本辦法已經想通了，更進一步，就是分開政治的機器。要分開政治的機器，先要明白政治的意義。我在第一講中，已經把政治這個名詞下了一個定義，說政是眾人之事，治是管理眾人之事。現在分開權與能，所造成的政治機器，就是像物質的機器一樣，其中有機器本體的力量，有管理機器的力量。現在用新發明來造新國家，就要把這兩種力量分別清楚。要怎麼樣才可以分別清楚呢？根本上還是要再從政治的意義來研究，政是眾人之事，集合眾人之事的大力量，便叫做政權，政權就可以說是民權；治是管理眾人之事，集管理眾人之事的大力量，便叫做治權，治權就可以說是政府權。所以政治之中，包含有兩個力量，一個是政權，一個是治權。這兩個力量，一個是管理政府的力量，一個是政府自身的力量。這是甚麼意思呢？好比有十萬匹馬力的輪船機器，那架機器能夠發生十萬匹馬力來運動輪船，這便是機器本體的力量。這種力量，就好比是政府自身的力量一樣，這種自身的力量，就是治權。至於這樣大的輪船，或者是要前進，或者是要後退，或者是要向左右轉，或者是要停止，以及所走的速度，或者是要快，或者是要慢，更要有很好的工程師，用很完全的機器，才可以駕駛，才可以管理。有了很完全的駕駛管理之力量，才可以令那樣大力的輪船，要怎麼樣開動，便是怎麼樣開動；要怎麼停止，便是要怎麼樣停止。這種開動停止的力量，便是管理輪船的力量；這種力量，就好比是管理政府的力量一樣。這種管理的大力量，就是政權。我們造新國家，好比是造新輪船一樣，船中所裝的機器，如果所發生的馬力很小，行船的速度當然是很慢，所載的貨物當然很少，所收的利息當然是很微。反過來說，如果所發生的馬力很大，行船的速度當然是極快，所載的貨物當然是極多，所收的利息也當然是極大。假設有一隻大輪船，其中所裝的機器可發生十萬匹馬力，每小時可以走二十海里，來往廣州上海一次，在兩個星期之內，可以賺十萬塊錢。如果是另造一隻極大的輪船，其中裝一架新機器，可以發生一百萬匹馬力，每小時可以走五十海里，照比例算起來，那麼來往廣州上海一次，只要一個星期，便可賺一百萬塊錢。現在世界上最快的大輪船，每小時不過走二三十海里，如果我們所造的新輪船每小時可以走五十海里，世界上便沒有別的輪船能夠來比賽。我們的輪船就是世界上最快最大的新輪船。創造國家也是一樣的道理，如果在國家之內所建設的政府，只要他發生很小的力量，是沒有力的政府，那麼這個政府，所做的事業當然是很小，所成就的功效當然是很微。若是要他發生很大的力量，是強有力的政府，那麼這個政府，所做的事業當然是很大，所成就的功效也當然是極大。假設在世界上的最大國家之內，建設一個極強有力的政府，那麼這個國家，豈不是駕乎各國之上的國家？這個政府豈不是無敵于天下的政府？歐美到了今日，為甚麼還是只造有大馬力的機器之輪船，不造極強有力的政府之國家呢？因為他們現在的人民，只有方法來管理大馬力的機器，沒有方法來管理強有力的政府。而且不要小馬力的舊船，另外造一隻大馬力的新船，是很容易的事。至於國家，已

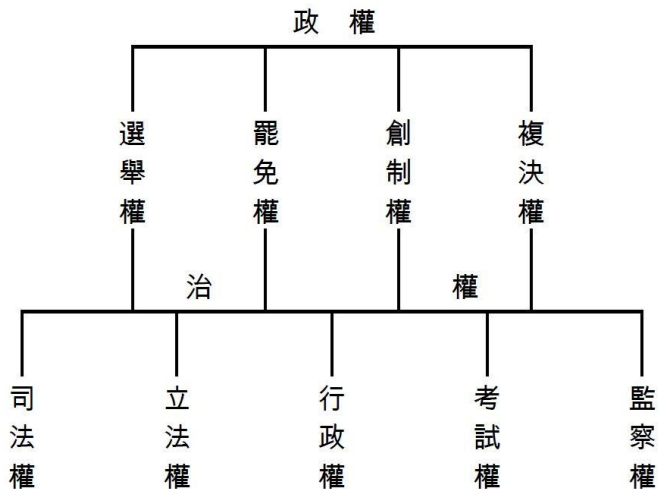
經是根深蒂固，有了沒有力的舊政府，要另外造成一個強有力的新政府，那是很不容易的事。說到我們中國人口，有了四萬萬，是世界上人口最多的國家，領土寬濶，物產豐富，都要在美國之上。美國成了現在世界上最富最強的國家，沒有那一國可以和他並駕齊驅，就天然的富源來比較，中國還應該要駕乎美國之上。但是現在的實情，不但是不能駕乎美國之上，並且不能夠和美國相提並論。此中原因，就是我們中國，只有天然的資格，缺少人為的工夫，從來沒有很好的政府。如果用這種天然的資格，再加以人為的工夫，建設一個很完全很有力的政府，發生大力量，運動全國，中國便可以 and 美國馬上並駕齊驅。

中國有了強有力的政府之後，我們便不要像歐美的人民，怕政府的力量太大，不能夠管理。因為在我們的計畫之中，想造成的新國家，是要把國家的政治大權，分開成兩個：一個是政權，要把這個大權，完全交到人民的手內，要人民有充分的政權，可以直接去管理國事。這個政權，便是民權。一個是治權，要把這個大權，完全交到政府的機關之內，要政府有很大的力量，治理全國事務。這個治權，便是政府權。人民有了很充分的政權，管理政府的方法很完全，便不怕政府的力量太大，不能夠管理。歐美從前不敢造十萬匹馬力以上的機器，只敢造十萬匹馬力以下的機器，就是因為機器的構造不完全，管理的方法不周密，所以便怕機器的力量太大，不敢管理。到了現在，機器很進步，機器本體的構造既是很完全，管理機器的方法又是很周密，所以便造極大馬力的機器。我們要造政治的機器，要政治的機器進步，也是要跟這一樣的路走，要有構造很完全和有大力度的政府機關，同時又要有管理這個機關很周密的民權方法。歐美對於政府，因為沒有管理很周密的方法，所以他們的政治機關，至今還是不發達。我們要不蹈他們的覆轍，根本上要人民對於政府的態度，分開權與能，把政治的大權分開成兩個：一個是政府權，一個是人民權。像這樣的分開，就是把政府當作機器，把人民當作工程師，人民對於政府的態度就好比是工程師對於機器一樣。現在機器的構造很進步，不但是有機器知識的人可以來管理，就是沒有機器知識的小孩子也是可以來管理。譬如現在所用的電燈，從前發明的時候，是甚麼情形呢？因為電是和雷一樣是很危險的東西，如果管理的方法不好，便打死人。因為這個原故，從前發明電的科學家不知道受過了多少犧牲。因為所受的犧牲太多，危險太大，所以發明了電光很久，還不敢拿來做燈用；後來發明了管理電的方法很周密，只要一轉接電鈕，便可以開閉，這樣一轉手之勞，是很便利很安全的，無論是那一種沒有電學知識的人，不管他是城市的小孩子，或者是鄉下極無知識愚民，都可以用手來轉他，所以現在便把極危險的電光，拿來做燈用。其他各種機器的進步，也是和這一樣的情形。比方最新發明大機器，是飛天的機器，也是一種很危險的東西。最初發明的時候，不知道死了多少人。像從前廣東的馮如，他是甚麼人呢？就是製造飛機的人，就是駕駛飛機跌死了的人。在從前發明飛機的時候，沒有人知道用這個機器去飛，所以製造飛機的人，又要做飛機師。最初做飛機師的人，一來由於管理這種機器的方法不周密，二來由於向來沒有經驗，不知道怎麼樣來用這種機器，所以飛到天空之中，常常跌到地下，死了許多人。因為死了很多人，所以普通人便不敢去坐飛機。現在管理這種機器的方法很周密，許多人都知道飛到了天空之中，像鳥雀一樣，來往上下，非常的便利，非常的安全，所以就是普通人，都敢去坐飛機。因為普通人都敢去坐這種機器，所以近來便把他用作交通的機器。好像我們由廣東到四川，道路很遠，當中又有敵人，水陸路的交通很不便利，便可坐飛機，由天空之中一直飛到四川。現在中國有了民權的思想，但是關於這種思想的機器，世界上還沒有發明完全，一般人民都不知道用他。我們先知先覺的人，便應該先來造好這種機器，做一個很便利的放水制，做一個很安全的接電鈕，只要普通人一轉手之勞，便知道用他，然後才可以把這種思想做成事實。中國人得到民權思想本是在歐美之後，好像築鐵路是在日本之後一樣。日本築鐵路，雖然是在我們之先，但是所築的鐵路，是舊東西，不合時用，我們新築成的鐵路，是很合時用的東西。至於我們在歐美之後，要想有甚麼方法才可以來使用民權呢？這種方法想通了，民權才可以供我們的使用。若是這種方法沒有想通，民權便不能供我們使用。如果一定要去使用，便是很危險，便要打死人。現在世界上有沒有這種方法呢？在歐洲有一個瑞士國，已經有了這幾部分的方法，已經試驗了這幾部分的方法，這是澈底的方法，是直接的民權，不過不大完全罷了。至于歐洲的那些大國，就是這不完全的方法，還是沒有試驗，因為試驗這幾部分之方法的國家，只有瑞士的一個小國，沒有別的大國，所以許多人便懷疑起來，說這幾部分的方法，只有在小國能夠使用，在大國不能夠用。歐洲的大國為甚麼不用這幾部分的方法呢？這個理由，就是像日本已經有了小鐵路，再要改造大鐵路，便要費很久的時間，花很多的錢，是很不經濟的事。因為畏難苟安，注重經濟，所以他們的先進國家，就是知道了這些新式的發明，還是不採用他。說到我們中國，關於民權的機器，從前沒有舊東西，現在很可以採用最近最好的新發明。

關於民權一方面的方法，世界上有了一些甚麼最新式的發明呢？第一個是選舉權。現在世界上所謂先進的民權國家，普遍的只實行這一個民權，專行這一個民權，在政治之中是不是夠用呢？專行這一個民權，好比是最初次的舊機器，只有把機器推到前進的力，沒有拉回來的力。現在新式的方法除了選舉權之外，第二個就是罷免權，人民有了這個權便有拉回來的力。這兩個權是管理官吏的，人民有了這兩個權，對於政府之中的一切官吏，一面可以放出去，又一面可以調回來，來去都可以從人民的自由。這好比是新

式的機器，一推一拉，都可以由機器的自動。國家除了官吏之外，還有甚麼重要東西呢？其次的就是法律，所謂有了治人，還要有治法。人民要有甚麼權，才可以管理法律呢？如果大家看到了一種法律，以為是很有利於人民的，便要有一種權，自己決定出來，交到政府去執行，關於這種權，叫做創制權，這就是第三個民權。若是大家看到了從前的舊法律，以為是很不利於人民的，便要有一種權，自己去修改，修改好了之後，便要政府執行修改的新法律，廢止從前的舊法律，關於這種權，叫做複決權，這就是第四個民權。人民有了這四個權，才算是充分的民權，能夠實行這四個權，才算是澈底的直接民權。從前沒有充分民權的時候，人民選舉了官吏議員之後，便不能夠再問，這種民權是間接民權。間接民權就是代議政體，用代議士去管理政府，人民不能直接去管理政府。要人民能夠直接管理政府，便要人民能夠實行這四個民權。人民能夠實行四個民權，才叫做全民政治。全民政治是甚麼意思呢？就是從前講過的，用四萬萬人來做皇帝。四萬萬人要怎麼樣才可以做皇帝呢？就是要有這四個民權來管理國家的大事。所以這四個民權，就是四個放水制，或者是四個接電鈕。我們有了放水制，便可以直接管理自來水；有了接電鈕，便可以直接管理電燈；有了四個民權，便可以直接管理國家的政治。這四個民權，又叫做政權，就是管理政府的權。至於政府自己辦事的權，又可以說是做工權，就是政府來替人民做工夫的權。人民有了大權，政府能不能夠做工夫，要做甚麼樣的工夫，都要隨人民的志願。就是政府有了大權，一經發動做工夫之後，可以發生很大的力量，人民隨時要他停止，他便要停止。總而言之，要人民真有直接管理政府之權，便要政府的動作，隨時受人民的指揮，好像外國的舊兵船，從前如果是裝了十二門大礮，便分成六個礮台，要瞄準放礮，打甚麼敵人，都是由許多礮手去分別執行，做指揮的人不能直接管理。現在的新兵船，要測量敵人的遠近，在桅頂便有測量機，要瞄準放礮，在指揮官的房中，便有電機直接管理。如果遇到了敵人，不必要許多礮手去瞄準放礮，只要做指揮官的人坐在房中，就測量機的報告，按距離的遠近，撥動電機，要用那一門礮打那一方的敵人，或者是要十二門礮同時瞄準，同時放礮，都可以如願，都可以命中。像這樣才叫做是直接管理。但是要這樣來直接管理，並不是要管理的人，自己都來做工夫，不要自己來做工夫的機器，才叫做靈便機器。

人民有了這四個大權來管理政府，要政府去做工夫，在政府之中要用甚麼方法呢？要政府有很完全的機關，去做很好的工夫，便要用五權憲法。用五權憲法所組織的政府才是完全政府，才是完全的政府機關。有了這種的政府機關，去替人民做工夫，才可以做很好很完全的工夫。從前說美國有一位學者，對於政治學理上的最新發明，是說在一國之內，最怕的是有了一個萬能政府，人民不能管理；最希望的是要一個萬能政府，為人民使用，以謀人民的幸福。有了這種政府，民治才算是最發達。我們現在分開權與能，說人民是工程師，政府是機器，在一方面要政府的機器是萬能，無論甚麼事都可以做；又在他一方面要人民的工程師也有大力量，可以管理萬能的機器。那麼在人民和政府的兩方面，彼此要有一些甚麼的大權，才可以彼此平衡呢？在人民一方面的大權，剛才已經講過了，是要有四個權。這四個權是選舉權、罷免權、創制權、複決權。在政府一方面的，是要有五個權，這五個權是行政權、立法權、司法權、考試權、監察權（註四）。用人民的四個政權，來管理政府的五個治權，那才算是一個完全的民權政治機關。有了這樣的政治機關，人民和政府的力量，才可以彼此平衡。我們要詳細明白這兩種大權的關係，可以用一個圖來說明。就這個圖看，在上面的政權，就是人民權；在下面的治權，就是政府權。人民要怎麼樣管理政府，就是實行選舉權、罷免權、創制權和複決權。政府要怎麼樣替人民做工夫，就是實行行政權、立法權、司法權、考試權和監察權。有了這九個權，彼此保持平衡，民權問題才算是真解決，政治才算是有了軌道。至于這九個權的材料，並不是今日發明的，譬如就政權說，在瑞士已經實行過了三個權，不過是沒有罷官權。（圖表：五權憲法）在美國的西北幾省，現在除採用瑞士的三個政權以外，並加入一個罷免權。至於選舉權，更是世界上各國最通行的民權。所以就世界上民權的情形說，瑞士已經實行過了三權，美國有四分之一的省分，已經實行過了四權。他們在那幾部分的地方，實行這四個民權，有了很周密的辦法，得了很好的成績。就是這四個民權，實在是經驗中的事實，不是假設來的理想。我們現在來採用，是很穩健的，並沒有甚麼危險。至於說到政府權，從前都是由皇帝一個人壟斷，革命之後才分開成三個權，像美國獨立之後便實行三權分立，後來得了很好的成績，各國便都學美國的辦法。不過外國從前只有三權分立，我們現在為甚麼要五權分立呢？其餘兩個權是從甚麼地方來的呢？這兩個權是中國固有的東西。中國古時舉行



考試和監察的獨立制度，也有很好的成績，像滿清的御史，唐朝的諫議大夫，都是很好的監察制度。舉行這種制度的大權，就是監察權，監察權就是彈劾權。外國現在也有這種權，不過把他放在立法機關之中，不能夠獨立成一種治權罷了。至於歷代舉行考試，拔取真才，更是中國幾千年的特色。外國學者近來考察中國的制度，便極贊美中國考試的獨立制度，也有倣效中國的考試制度去拔取真才。像英國近來舉行文官考試，便是說從中國倣效過去的；不過英國的考試制度，只考試普通文官，還沒有達到中國考試權之獨立的真精神。所以就中國政府權的情形講，只有司法、立法、行政三個權是由皇帝拿在掌握之中，其餘監察權和考試權還是獨立的，就是中國的專制政府從前也可以說是三權分立的，和外國從前的專制政府，便大不相同。從前外國在專制政府的時候，無論是甚麼權，都是由皇帝一個人壟斷。中國在專制政府的時候，關於考試權和監察權，皇帝還沒有壟斷。所以分開政府的大權，便可以說外國是三權分立，中國也是三權分立。中國從前實行君權、考試權和監察權的分立，有了幾千年；外國實行立法權、司法權和行政權的分立，有了一百多年。不過外國近來實行這種三權分立，還是不大完全，中國從前實行那種三權分立，更是有很大的流弊。我們現在要集中外精華，防止一切的流弊，便要採用外國的行政權、立法權、司法權加入中國的考試權和監察權，連成一個很好的完璧，造成一個五權分立的政府。像這樣的政府，才是世界上最完全最良善的政府。國家有了這樣的純良政府，才可以做到民有、民治、民享的國家。

我們在政權一方面，主張四權；在治權一方面，主張五權。這四權和五權，各有各的統屬，各有各的作用，要分別清楚，不可紊亂。現在許多人都不能分別，不但是平常人不能分別，就是專門學者也是一樣的不能分別。像近來我會見了一個同志，他是從美國畢業回來的，我問他說：「你對於革命的主義是怎麼樣呢？」他說：「我是很贊成的。」我又問他說：「你是學甚麼東西呢？」他說：「我是學政治法律。」我又問他說：「你對於我所主張的民權有甚麼意見呢？」他說：「五權憲法是很好的東西呀！這是人人都歡迎的呀！」像這位學政治法律的專門學者，所答非所問，便可以知道他把四權和五權，還沒有分別清楚；對於人民和政府的關係，還是很糊塗，殊不知五權是屬於政府的權，就他的作用說，就是機器權。一個極大的機器，發生了極大的馬力，要這個機器所做的工夫很有成績，便要把他分成五個做工的門徑。民權就是人民用來直接管理這架大馬力的機器之權，所以四個民權，就可以說是機器上的四個節制。有了這四個節制，便可以管理那架機器的動靜。政府替人民做事要有五個權，就是要有五種工作，要分成五個門徑去做工。人民管理政府的動靜要有四個權，就是要有四個節制，要分成四方面來管理政府。政府有了這樣的能力，有了這些做工的門徑，才可以發出無限的威力，才是萬能政府。人民有了這樣大的權力，有了這樣多的節制，便不怕政府到了萬能，沒有力量來管理。政府的一動一靜，人民隨時都是可以指揮的。像有這種情形，政府的威力便可以發展，人民的權力也可以擴充。有了這種政權和治權，才可以達到美國學者的目的，造成萬能政府，為人民謀幸福。中國能夠實行這種政權和治權，便可以破天荒在地球上造成一個新世界。

至於民權之實情與民權之行使，當待選舉法、罷免法、創制法和複決法規定之後，乃能悉其真相與底蘊。在講演此民權主義之中，固不能盡述也。閱者欲知此中詳細情形，可參考廖仲愷所譯之全民政治。

(註一) 原文僅標「四月二十六日」，今增「民國十三……講」。

(註二) 原文為「合壟」，今據「週刊」第三十期(民國十三年七月二十日)及「會本」改。

(註三) 「會本」作「發達」。原文、「週刊」及「胡本」均為「發明」。今依原文。

(註四) 「會本」為「立法權、司法權、行政權、考試權、監察權」，今依原文及「週刊」，下同。

## 民生主義 第一講

民生主義(註一)第一講 民國十三年八月三日講(註二)

諸君：今天來講民生主義。甚麼叫做民生主義呢？民生兩個字是中國向來用慣的一個名詞，我們常說甚麼國計民生，不過我們所用的這句話(註三)，恐怕多是信口而出，不求甚解，未見得涵有幾多意義的。但是今日科學大明，在科學範圍內，拿這個名詞來用於社會經濟上，就覺得意義無窮了。我今天就拿這個名詞來下一個定義，可說民生就是人民的生活、社會的生存、國民的生計、羣眾的生命便是。我現在就是用民生二字，來講外國近百十年來所發生的一個最大問題，這個問題就是社會問題。故民生主義就是社會主義，又名共產主義，即是大同主義。欲明白這個主義，斷非幾句定義的話，可以講得清楚的，

必須把民生主義的演講從頭聽到尾，才可以澈底明白了解的。

民生問題，今日成了世界各國的潮流，推到這個問題的來歷，發生不過一百幾十年。為甚麼近代發生這個問題呢？簡單言之，就是因為這幾十年來，各國的物質文明極進步，工商業很發達，人類的生產力忽然增加。着實言之，就是由於發明了機器，世界文明先進的人類，便逐漸不用人力來做工，而用天然力來做工，就是用天然的汽力、火力、水力及電力來替代人的氣力，用金屬的銅鐵來替代人的筋骨。機器發明之後，用一個人管理一副機器，便可以做一百人或一千人的工夫，所以機器的生產力和人工的生產力，便有大大的分別。在沒有機器以前，一個最勤勞的人最多不過是做兩三個人的工夫，斷不能做得十個人以上的工夫。照此推論起來，一個人的生產力，就本領最大、體魄最強和最勤勞的人說，也不過是大過普通人十倍；平常人的生產力，都是相等的，沒有甚麼大差別。至於用機器來做工的生產力，和用人做工的生產力兩相比較，便很不相同。用人來做工，就是極有能幹而兼勤勞的人，祇可以駕乎平常人的十倍；但是用機器來做工，就是用一個很懶惰和很尋常的人去管理，他的生產力也可以駕乎一個人力的幾百倍，或者是千倍。所以這幾十年來機器發明了之後，生產力比較從前就有很大的差別。我們拿眼前可以證明的事實來說一說，比方在廣州市街上所見最多的人，莫如運送的苦力，這種苦力就叫做挑夫。這種挑夫的人數，佔廣州市工人中一大部分。挑夫中之體魄最強壯的人，最重祇可以挑二百斤東西，每日不過是走幾十里路遠，這種挑夫是很不容易得的。尋常的挑夫，挑了幾十斤重，走了幾十里路遠，便覺得很辛苦。如果拿挑夫和運送的機器來比較，是怎樣的情形呢？像廣州市黃沙的火車，運送貨物，一架火車頭可以拖二十多架貨車，一架貨車可以載幾百担重的貨物；一架貨車能夠載幾百担，二十多架貨車便能夠載一萬担。這一萬担貨物，用一架火車頭去拉，只要一兩個人管理火車頭的機器，或者要幾個人管理貨車，一日便可以走幾百里。譬如廣東的粵漢鐵路，由黃沙到韶關，約有五百里的路程，像從前專用人力去運送貨物，一個人挑一担，一百個人一百担，如果有一萬担貨物，就要有一萬個工人。用工人所走的路程計算，一個人一天大概只能夠走五十里，五百里的路程就要走十天的時間。所以一萬把貨物，從前專用人力去運送，就要一萬工人，走十天之久。現在用火車去運送，只要八點鐘的時間，一直便由黃沙到韶關（註四），所用的工人，最多不過是十個人。由此便知道用十個人所做的工，便可以替代一萬人，用八點鐘便可以替代十天。機器和人工比較的相差，該是有多呢？用火車來運送的工，不但是用一個人可以替代一千人，用一點鐘可以替代一日，是很便利迅速的。就是以運貨的工錢來說，一個工人挑一担貨物，走五十里路遠，每天大約要一元。要用一萬工人，挑一萬担貨物，走十天的路，統共就要十萬元。如果用火車來運送，頂多不過是幾千元。機器和人工的比較，單拿挑夫來講，便有這樣的大差別。其他耕田、織布、做房屋以及種種工作，也是有幾百倍或千倍的差別。所以機器發明了之後，世界的生產力便生出一個大變動。這個大變動，就是機器佔了人工，有機器的人便把沒有機器人的錢都賺去了。再像廣州沒有經過鴉片戰爭以前，是中國獨一的通商口岸，中國各省的貨物，都是先運來廣州，然後再由廣州運去外洋；外國的貨物也是先運到廣州，然後再由廣州運進各省。所以中國各省的進出口貨物，都是經過湖南、江西，走南雄、樂昌，才到廣州。因為這個原因，所以南雄、樂昌到韶關的這兩條路，在當時沿途的挑夫是很多的，兩旁的茶館飯店也是很熱鬧的。後來海禁大開，各省的貨物或者是由海船運到廣東，或者是由上海、天津直接運送到外洋，都不經過南雄、樂昌到韶關的這兩條路，所以由南雄、樂昌到韶關兩條路的工人，現在都減少了。從前那兩條路的繁盛，現在都變成很荒涼了。到了粵漢鐵路通了火車之後，可以替代人工，由廣州到韶關的挑夫更是絕迹。其他各地各國的情形都是一樣。所以從機器發明了之後，便有許多人一時失業，沒有工做，沒有飯吃。這種大變動，外國叫做實業革命。因為有了這種實業革命，工人便受很大的痛苦；因為要解決這種痛苦，所以近幾十年來，便發生社會問題。

這個社會問題，就是今天所講的民生主義。我今天為甚麼不學外國直接來講社會主義，要拿民生這個中國古名詞來替代社會主義呢？這是很很有道理，我們應該要研究的。因為機器發明以後，經過了實業革命，成為社會問題，便發生社會主義，所以社會主義之發生，已經有了幾十年。但是這幾十年中，歐美各國對於社會主義，還沒有找出一個解決方法，現在還是在劇烈戰爭之中。這種學說和思想，現在流入中國來了，中國一班新學者也是拿他來研究。因為社會主義，現在中國很流行，所以共產主義，現在中國也是很流行。中國學者拿社會主義和共產主義來研究，想尋出一個解決方法，也是很艱難的。因為外國發明這種學理，已經有了幾十年，到現在還不能夠解決，此時傳入中國，我們就想要解決，當然是不容易的。我們要研究這個問題，便要先把他的源委、性質和定義來研究清楚。共產主義和社會主義兩個名詞，現在外國是一樣並稱的。其中辦法雖然各有不同，但是通稱的名詞，都是用社會主義。現在中國有人把社會主義同社會學兩個名詞作一樣的看法，這實在是混亂。這種混亂，不但專是中國人有的，就是外國人也是一樣有的。因為社會這個名詞，在英文是「梳西乙地」，社會學是「梳西柯羅之」，社會主義是「梳西利甚」。這三個字頭一半的英文串字，都是相同的，所以許多人便生出混亂。其實英文中的社會主義「梳西利甚」那個字，是從希臘文變出來的；希臘文社會主義的原意是同志，就像中國俗話說是夥計兩個字

一樣。至于說到社會學的範圍，是研究社會的情狀、社會的進化和羣眾結合的現象。社會主義的範圍，是研究社會、經濟和人類生活的問題，就是研究人民生計問題。所以我用民生主義來替代社會主義，始意就是在正本清源，要把這個問題的真性質表明清楚，要一般人一聽到這個名詞之後，便可以了解。因為社會主義已經發生了幾十年，研究這種學理的學者，不知道有千百家，所出的書籍，也不知道有千百種，其中關於解決社會問題的學說之多，真是聚訟紛紛。所以外國的俗語說，社會主義有五十七種，究竟不知那一種才是對的。由此便可見普通人對於社會主義無所適從的心理了。歐戰發生了之後，社會的進步很快，世界潮流已經到了解決社會問題的時期，凡是從前不理會社會主義的人，在此時也跟上社會主義的路來走。就時勢的機會講，社會黨應該可以做很多事，應該可以完全解決社會問題，但是社會黨的內部，便生出許多紛爭。在各國的社會黨，一時風起雲湧，發生種種派別，其中最著名的有所謂共產黨、國家社會黨和社會民主黨。各黨派之複雜，幾乎不只五十七種。所以從前旁觀者對於社會黨派別複雜的批評，至此時正所謂不幸而言中。至於歐戰沒有發生以前，世界各國只有贊成社會主義和反對社會主義的兩種人。反對的那種人，大多數都是資本家。所以從前只有反對社會主義的資本家同社會黨來戰爭。到歐戰發生了之後，反對的人都似降服了，社會黨似乎可以乘機來解決社會問題。不過當時贊成社會主義的人，在事前沒有想到好辦法，所以社會黨內部，便臨時生出許多紛爭。這種紛爭，比較從前反對派和贊成派的紛爭，更要厲害。所以社會問題，至今不能解決，我們到了今日，還是要來研究。在從前資本家、工人和學者反對社會主義的時候，所有世界各國贊成社會主義的人，不論是本國外國，都是認為同志。到了近來，不但是德國的社會黨反對俄國的社會黨，或者是俄國的社會黨反對英國、美國的社會黨，有國際的紛爭，就是一國的社會黨內部，也演出種種紛爭。所以社會問題愈演愈紛亂，到現在還找不出一個好方法來解決。

今天我所講的民生主義，究竟和社會主義有沒有分別呢？社會主義中的最大問題，就是社會經濟問題。這種問題，就是一班人的生活問題，因為機器發明以後。大部分人的工作，都是被機器奪去了，一班工人不能夠生存，便發生社會問題。所以社會問題之發生，原來是要解決人民的生活問題。故專就這一部分的道理講，社會問題便是民生問題。所以民生主義，便可說是社會主義的本題。現在各國的社會主義，各有各的主張，所以各國解決社會問題的方法，也是各有不同。社會主義到底是民生主義中的一部分呀，或者民生主義是社會主義中的一部分呢？實業革命以後，研究社會問題的人，不下千百家。其中研究最透澈和最有心得的，就是大家所知道的馬克思，馬克思對於社會問題，好像盧騷對於民權問題一樣。在一百多年以前，歐美研究民權問題的人，沒有那一個不是崇拜盧騷為民權中的聖人，好像中國崇拜孔子一樣。現在研究社會問題的人，也沒有那一個不是崇拜馬克思做社會主義中的聖人。在馬克思的學說沒有發表以前，世界上講社會主義的，都是一種陳義甚高的理論，離事實太遠。而馬克思專從事實與歷史方面用功，原原本本把社會問題的經濟變遷，闡發無遺。所以後來學者把社會主義的人分作兩派：一是叫做烏托邦派，這個烏托邦和中國黃老所說的華胥氏之國，意思相同。一是叫做科學派，專從科學方法去研究社會問題之解決。至于烏托邦派是專從理想上來把社會來改良，成一個安樂的國家，便有這種子虛烏有的寄託。這種寄託，是由于人類受了很多痛苦，那些極有道德和悲天憫人的人，見了很不忍心，但是又沒有力量去改良，所以祇好說理想上的空話，作一種寄託。中國俗語說：天生一條蟲，地生一片葉；天生一隻鳥，地生一條蟲，這幾句話的意思，就是說有了蟲就有葉來養，有了鳥就有蟲來養。但是人類的天然形體不完全，生來沒有羽毛，必需衣以禦寒，必需食以養生。在太古吃菓實的時候，地廣人稀。人人都是很容易覓食，不必做很多的工就可以生活。到了漁獵時代，人民就要打魚獵獸，才可以有魚肉吃，才可以生活，就是要做工才有飯吃。到了游牧時代，人類要從事畜牧才可以生活，當時人人都是逐水草而居，時常遷徙，所有的工作便是很辛苦勤勞。至于農業時代，人類要樹藝五穀才可以生活，彼時人類的生活更是複雜，所有的工作更是辛苦勤勞。到了工商時代，遇事都是用機器，不用人力，人類雖然有力，也沒有用處，想去賣工，找不到僱主。在這個時候，便有很多人沒有飯吃，甚至于餓死，所受的痛苦，不是一言可盡。一般道德家，見得天然界的禽獸，不用受痛苦，尚且可以得衣食，人類受了痛苦，反不容易得衣食，這是很可憫的。想要減少這些痛苦，令人人都可以得衣食，便發明了社會主義的學說，來解決這個問題。所以從前一般講社會主義的人，多半是道德家，就是一般贊成的人，也是很有良心很有道德的。祇有在經濟上已經成功自私自利不顧羣眾生活的資本家，才去反對，才不理社會問題。這個問題既然是為世界大多數人謀生活的問題，先知先覺的人，發明了這個道理之後，自然可以得多數人的同情心來表示贊成。所以這個學說一經出世之後，便組織得有社會黨；社會黨一經成立之後，團體便一天發達一天，一天加大一天，擴充到各國。但是從前講社會主義的人，都是烏托邦派，祇希望造一個理想上的安樂世界，來銷滅人類的痛苦，至于怎麼樣去銷滅的具體方法，他們毫沒有想到。到了馬克思出世之後，使用他的聰明、才智和學問經驗，對於這些問題，作一種極透澈的研究，把古人所不知道和所不能解決的，都通通發明出來。他的發明是全憑着經濟原理，他照經濟原理作透澈的研究之後，便批評從前主張社會主義的人，不過是有個人的道德心和羣眾的感情作用。其實經濟問題，不是道德心和感情作用可以解決得了的，必須把社會的情狀和社會的進化，研究清楚了之後，才可以解決。這種解

決社會問題的原理，可以說是全憑事實，不尚理想。至于馬克思所著的書和所發明的學說，可說是集幾千年來人類思想的大成。所以他的學說一出來之後，便舉世風從，各國學者都是信仰他，都是跟住他走。好像盧騷發明了民權主義之後，凡是研究民權的人，都信仰盧騷一樣。從馬克思以後，社會主義裏頭，便分為兩派：一個是烏托邦派，一個是科學派。烏托邦派的情形，剛才已經講過了。至於科學派是主張用科學的方法來解決社會問題。因為近幾十年來，物質文明極發達，科學很昌明，凡事都是要憑科學的道理才可以解決，才可以達到圓滿的目的。就是講到社會問題的解決方法，也是要从科學一方面研究清楚了之後，才可以得出結果。講到這地，便要歸宿到我的學說知難行易。天下事情，如果真是知道了，便容易行得到，比方今天講堂裏很熱，我們不用人力，祇用電氣風扇，便可以解熱。這件事如果是古人或者是鄉下毫沒有知識的人看見了，一定以為是神鬼從中搖動，所謂巧奪天工，對於這種奇怪的風扇，一定要祈禱下拜。現在大家雖然不明白電氣風扇的詳細構造，但是已經明白電磁吸引的道理。因為由電能夠吸引風扇，所以風扇能夠轉動，決不以為是很奇怪的事。難道古人的聰明，不及我們嗎？推論這個原因，就是由于古人不知道科學，故不能發明風扇，不是古人沒有本領，不能用風扇。近來因為知道科學，有了科學家，能夠發明風扇，所以大家便能夠用這種風扇來享清涼。如果古人知道科學，以古人的聰明才智，所做出來的東西，或者要比我們做的還要巧妙得多。講到社會問題，在馬克思以前，以為是一種希望，是做不到的事。到馬克思本人，也以為單靠社會主義的理想去研究，還是一種玄想，就令全世界人都贊成，也是不成功，一定要憑事實，要用科學的方法去研究清楚，才可以做得到。所以他一生研究社會主義，便在科學方法上去做工夫。他研究社會主義的工作，更是很辛苦的。當他亡命在英國的時候，英國是近代世界上頂文明的國家，沒有那一國可以駕乎英國之上的。所以英國在當時，關於文化的設備，也是很齊備。有一間圖書館，其中所藏的書籍，總有好幾百萬種，無論關於甚麼問題的書籍，都是很豐富的。馬克思便每天在那間圖書館內去研究，用了二三十年的功，費了一生的精力，把關於社會主義的書籍，不管他是古人著作的，或者是時人發表的，都搜集在一處，詳細參考比較，想求出一個結果。這種研究社會問題的辦法，就是科學方法。故馬克思所求出解決社會問題的方法，就是科學的社會主義。由於他這種詳細深奧的研究，便求出一個結果，說世界上各種人事的動作，凡是文字記載下來，令後人看見的，都可以作為歷史。他在這種歷史中所發明的最重要之一點，就是說世界一切歷史都是集中於物質，物質有變動，世界也隨之變動。並說人類行為，都是由物質的境遇所決定，故人類文明史，祇可說是隨物質境遇的變遷史。馬克思的這種發明，有人比之牛頓發明天文學之重心學說一樣。現在馬克思發明物質是歷史的重心，因為他的研究透澈，理由充足，所以從前許多反對社會主義的人，後來都變為贊成社會主義。如果是過細研究了馬克思學說的人，更是信仰他。經過歐戰以後，世界上差不多沒有反對社會主義的人，社會黨可以為所欲為，本來可以解決各國的社會問題。當時勢力最大的社會黨是馬克思派，馬克思派是科學派，從前的是烏托邦派。在當時各國的社會，秩序一亂，社會黨內的科學派和烏托邦派，固然是發生了衝突，就是科學派的社會黨，也是互相衝突，因為內部有衝突，所以歐戰之後，至今還不能解決社會問題。至于推到社會黨的聖人馬克思，以物質為歷史的重心，這個道理，究竟是怎麼樣呢？馬克思的門徒，于一千八百四十八年，在比利時開了一個國際社會黨大會，定了許多辦法，現在各國馬克思派的社會黨所用的辦法，許多還是奉行那年所定的大綱。當歐戰發生以後，俄國便拿那種主義去實行，現在俄國已經把那種主義改變了，其中理由到底是怎麼樣？我們研究俄國的情形不多，不敢判斷。但是照俄國人自己說，俄國從前所行的革命辦法，並不是馬克思主義，是一種戰時政策。這種戰時政策，並不是俄國獨行的，就是英國、德國和美國當歐戰的時候，把全國的大實業像鐵路、輪船和一切大製造廠都收歸國有。同是一樣的辦法，為甚麼英國、美國實行出來，就說是戰時政策，在俄國實行出來，大家便說是馬克思主義呢？理由就是由于俄國革命黨是信仰馬克思主義，而欲施之實行的原故。照俄國人說，俄國現在的實業和經濟，還沒有大發達，實在夠不上實行馬克思主義，要像英國、美國之實業經濟的那樣發達，才可以實行馬克思主義。所以在理論一方面講，馬克思的信徒，在歐戰以後，便大家爭論起來。德國、法國和俄國的社會黨，本來都是服從馬克思主義，成了國際派。但是到了爭論的時候，彼此互相擊攻，互相詆毀，攻擊的人總是說被攻擊的人不是服從馬克思主義，這一派攻擊那一派，這一國的社會黨攻擊那一國的社會黨。由于這些攻擊詆毀，馬克思的學說便發生了問題。就是物質到底是不是歷史的重心呢？牛頓考究得太陽在宇宙之間，是我們的中心。照天文學和各種科學去研究，那個道理是很對的。馬克思發明物質是歷史的重心，到底這種道理是對不對呢？經過歐戰後幾年的試驗以來，便有許多人說是不對。到底甚麼東西才是歷史的重心呢？我們國民黨提倡民生主義，已經有了二十多年，不講社會主義，祇講民生主義。社會主義和民生主義的範圍是甚麼關係呢？近來美國有一位馬克思的信徒威廉氏，深究馬克思的主義，見得自己同門互相紛爭，一定是馬克思學說還有不充分的地方，所以他發表意見，說馬克思以物質為歷史的重心是不對的，社會問題才是歷史的重心；而社會問題中又以生存為重心，那才是合理。民生問題就是生存問題，這位美國學者最近發明，適與吾黨主義若合符節。這種發明就是民生為社會進化的重心，社會進化又為歷史的重心，歸結到歷史的重心是民生，不是物質。我們提倡民生主義二十多年，當初詳細研究，反覆思維，就是覺得用民生這兩個字來包括社會問

題，較之用社會或共產等名詞為適當，切實而且明瞭，故採用之。不圖歐戰發生之後，事理更明，學問更進，而馬克思宗徒亦有發明相同之點，此足見吾黨之提倡民生主義，正合夫進化之原理（註五），非同時髦學者之人云亦云也。

照這位美國學者主張，他說古今人類的努力，都是求解決自己的生存問題；人類求解決生存問題，才是社會進化的定律，才是歷史的重心。馬克思的唯物主義，沒有發明社會進化的定律，不是歷史的重心。我們明白這兩家的學說，究竟那一家的主張是對的，便要詳細研究他們的主義和近世社會進化的事實，是不是相符合。馬克思研究社會問題，是專注重物質的。要講到物質，自然（註六）不能不注重生產，沒有過量的生產，自然不至有實業革命。所以生產是近世經濟上的頭一件事。要知道近世的經濟情形，便先要知道近世的生產情形。近世的生產情形是怎麼樣呢？生產的東西，都是用工人和機器，由資本家與機器合作，再利用工人，才得近世的大生產。至於這種大生產所得的利益，資本家獨得大分，工人分得少分。所以工人和資本家的利益常常相衝突，衝突之後，不能解決，便生出階級戰爭。照馬克思的觀察，階級戰爭不是實業革命之後所獨有的，凡是過去的歷史，都是階級戰爭史。古時有主人和奴隸的戰爭（註七），有地主和農奴的戰爭，有貴族和平民的戰爭。簡而言之，有種種壓迫者和被壓迫者的戰爭。到了社會革命完全成功，這兩個互相戰爭的階級，才可以一齊銷滅。由此便可知馬克思認定要有階級戰爭，社會才有進化，階級戰爭是社會進化的原動力，這是以階級戰爭為因，社會進化為果。我們要知道這種因果的道理，是不是社會進化的定律，便要考察近來社會進化的事實。近幾十年來社會是很進化的，各種社會進化的事實更是很複雜的。就是講到經濟一方面的事實，也不是一言可盡。但是用概括的方法來講，歐美近年來之經濟進化可以分作四種：第一是社會與工業之改良；第二是運輸與交通事業收歸公有；第三是直接徵稅；第四是分配之社會化。這四種社會經濟事業，都是用改良的方法進化出來的，從今以往，更是日日改良，日日進步的。這四種社會經濟事業，是些甚麼詳細情形呢？譬如就第一種，就是要用政府的力量改良工人的教育；保護工人的衛生；改良工廠和機器，以求極安全和極舒服的工作。能夠這樣改良，工人便有做工的大能力，便極願意去做工，生產的效力便是很大。這種社會進化的事業，在德國施行最早，並且最有成效。近來英國、美國也是一樣的做行，也是一樣的有成效。就第二種的情形說，就是要把電車、火車、輪船以及一切郵政、電政、交通的大事業，都由政府辦理。用政府的大力量去辦理那些大事業，然後運輸才是最迅速，交通才是最靈便。運輸迅速，交通靈便，然後各處的原料，才是很容易運到工廠內去用；工廠內製造的出品，才是很容易運到市場去賣，便不至多費時間，令原料與出品在中道停滯，受極大的損失。如果不用政府辦，要用私人辦，不是私人的財力不足，就是壟斷的阻力極大。歸結到運輸，一定是不迅速，交通一定是不靈便，令全國的各種經濟事業，都要在無形之中受很大的損失。這種事業的利弊，在德國明白最早，所以他們的各種大運輸交通事業，老早就是由國家經營。就是美國私有的大運輸交通事業，在歐戰期內也是收歸政府辦理。至於第三種直接徵稅，也是最近進化出來的社會經濟方法。行這種方法，就是累進稅率，多徵資本家的所得稅和遺產稅。行這種稅法，就可以令國家的財源，多是直接由資本家而來。資本家的入息極多，國家直接徵稅，所謂多取之而不為虐。從前的舊稅法，祇是錢糧和關稅兩種。行那種稅法，就是國家的財源，完全取之於一般貧民，資本家對於國家，只享權利，毫不盡義務，那是很不公平的。德國、英國老早發現這種不公平的事實，所以他們老早便行直接徵稅的方法。德國政府的歲入，由所得稅和遺產稅而來的，佔全國收入約百分之六十至百分之八十。英國政府關於這種收入，在歐戰開始的時候，也到百分之五十八。美國實行這種稅法，較為落後，在十年之前，才有這種法律。自有了這種法律以後，國家的收入，便年年大形增加。在一千九百一十八年，專就所得稅一項的收入而論，便約有美金四十萬萬。歐美各國近來實行直接徵稅，增加了大財源，所以更有財力來改良種種社會事業。第四種分配之社會化，更是歐美社會最近的進化的事業。人類自發明了金錢，有了買賣制度以後，一切日常消耗貨物，多是由商人間接買來的。商人用極低的價錢，從出產者買得貨物，再賣到消耗者，一轉手之勞，便賺許多佣錢。這種貨物分配制度，可以說是買賣制度，也可以說是商人分配制度。消耗者在這種商人分配制度之下，無形之中，受很大的損失。近來研究得這種制度，可以改良，可以不必由商人分配，可以由社會組織團體來分配，或者是由政府來分配。譬如英國所發明的消費合作社，就是由社會組織團體來分配貨物。歐美各國最新的市政府，供給水電煤氣以及麵包、牛奶、牛油等食物，就是用政府來分配貨物。像用這種分配的新方法，便可以省去商人所賺的佣錢，免去消耗者所受的損失。就這種新分配方法的原理講，就可以說是分配之社會化，就是行社會主義來分配貨物。以上所講的社會與工業之改良，運輸與交通收歸公有，直接徵稅與分配之社會化。這四種社會經濟進化，便打破種種舊制度，發生種種新制度。社會上因為常常發生新制度，所以常常有進化。至於這種社會進化，是由於甚麼原因呢？社會上何以要起這種變化呢？如果照馬克思的學說來判斷，自然不能不說是由於階級戰爭。社會上之所以要起階級戰爭的原故，自然不能不說是資本家壓制工人，資本家和工人的利益，總是相衝突，不能調和，所以便起戰爭。社會上因為有這種戰爭，所以才有進化。但是照歐美近幾十年來，社會上進化的事實看，最好的是分配之社會化，銷滅商人的壟斷，多徵資本家的所得稅和遺產稅，增加國家的財富，更用這種財富，來把運輸和交通收歸公有，以及改良工人

的教育、衛生和工廠的設備，來增加社會上的生產力。因為社會上的生產很大，一切生產都是很豐富，資本家固然是發大財，工人也可以多得工錢。像這樣看來，資本家改良工人的生活，增加工人的生產力。工人有了大生產力，便為資本家多生產，在資本家一方面可以多得出產，在工人一方面也可以多得工錢，這是資本家和工人的利益相調和，不是相衝突。社會之所以有進化，是由于社會上大多數的經濟利益相調和（註八），不是由于社會上大多數的經濟利益有衝突。社會上大多數的經濟利益相調和，就是為大多數謀利益；大多數有利益，社會才有進步。社會上大多數的經濟利益之所以要調和的原因，就是因為要解決人類的生存問題。古今一切人類之所以要努力，就是因為要求生存；人類因為要有不間斷的生存，所以社會才有不停止的進化。所以社會進化的定律，是人類求生存。人類求生存，才是社會進化的原因。階級戰爭，不是社會進化的原因，階級戰爭，是社會當進化的時候，所發生的一種病症。這種病症的原因，是人類不能生存。因為人類不能生存，所以這種病症的結果，便起戰爭。馬克思研究社會問題所有的心得，只見到社會進化的毛病，沒有見到社會進化的原理，所以馬克思只可說是一個社會病理家，不能說是一個社會生理家。

再照馬克思階級戰爭的學說講，他說資本家的盈餘價值，都是從工人的勞動中剝奪來的。把一切生產的功勞，完全歸之於工人的勞動，而忽略社會上其他各種有用分子的勞動。譬如中國最新的工業，是上海、南通州和天津、漢口各處所辦的紗廠布廠。那些紗廠布廠，當歐戰期內紡紗織布是很賺錢的，各廠每年所剩的盈餘價值，少的有幾十萬，多的有幾百萬。試問這樣多的盈餘價值，是屬於何人的功勞呢？是不是僅僅由于紗廠布廠內紡紗織布的那些工人的勞動呢？就紡紗織布而論，我們便要想想布和紗的原料，由此我們便要推及於棉花，因為要研究棉花的來源，我們便要推到種種農業問題。要詳細講到棉花的農業問題，便不能不推及到研究好棉花種子，和怎麼種植棉花的那些農學家。當未下棉種之初，便不能不用各種工具和機器去耕耘土地，及下棉種之後，又不能不用肥料去培養結棉花的枝幹。我們一想到那些器械和肥料，便不能不歸功到那些器械和肥料的製造家和發明家。棉花收成之後，再要運到工廠內來紡紗織布；布和紗製成之後，再運到各處市場去賣，自然要想到那些運輸的輪船火車。要研究到輪船火車之何以能夠運動，首先便要歸功到那些蒸汽和電氣的發明家。要研究到構造輪船火車是些甚麼材料，自然不能不歸功於金屬的採礦家、製造家和木料的種植家。就是布和紗製成之後，社會上除了工人之外，假若其餘各界的人民都不穿那種布、用那種紗，布和紗當然不能暢銷；布和紗沒有大銷路，紗廠布廠的資本家怎麼樣可以多賺錢、可以多取盈餘價值？就這種情形設想，試問那些紗廠布廠的資本家，所取得的盈餘價值究竟是屬於誰的呢？試問紗廠布廠內的工人，怎麼能夠說專以他們的勞動便可以生出那些布和紗的盈餘價值呢？不徒是紗布工業盈餘價值的情形是這樣，就是各種工業盈餘價值的情形都是一樣。由此可見所有工業生產的盈餘價值，不專是工廠內工人勞動的結果，凡是社會上各種有用有能力的份子，無論是直接間接，在生產方面或者是在消費方面，都有多少貢獻。這種有用有能力的份子，在社會上要佔大多數。如果專講工人，就是在工業極發達的美國，工人的數目，也不過是二千多萬，只佔全美國人口五分之一。至於其他工業不發達的國家，像我們中國做工的人數，更是很少。像這樣講，就令在一個工業極發達的國家，全國的經濟利益不相調和，發生衝突，要起戰爭，也不是一個工人階級和一個資本階級的戰爭，是全體社會大多數有用有能力的份子和一個資本階級的戰爭。這些社會上大多數有用有能力的份子，因為都要求生存，免去經濟上的戰爭，所以才用公家來分配貨物，多徵資本家的所得稅、遺產稅，來發達全國的運輸和交通事業，以及改良工人的生活和工廠的工作，做種種大多數的經濟利益相調和的事業。歐美各國從這種經濟利益相調和的事業發達以後，社會便極有進化，大多數便很享幸福。所以馬克思研究社會問題，只求得社會上一部分的毛病，沒有發明社會進化的定律。這位美國學者所發明的人類求生存才是社會進化的定律，才是歷史的重心。人類求生存是甚麼問題呢？就是民生問題。所以民生問題才可說是社會進化的原動力。我們能夠明白社會進化的原動力，再來解決社會問題，那才容易。

馬克思認定階級戰爭才是社會進化的原因，這便是倒果為因。因為馬克思的學說，顛倒因果，本源不清楚，所以從他的學說出世之後，各國社會上所發生的事實，便與他的學說不合，有的時候並且相反。譬如他的門徒在一千八百四十八年開過一次國際共產大會，發表了種種主張，這次所組織的國際共產黨，在普法戰爭的時候，就被銷滅了。後來又成立第二次的國際共產黨。第二次國際共產黨和第一次國際共產黨不同的地方，是第一次國際共產黨要完全本階級戰爭的原理，用革命手段來解決社會問題，主張不與資本家調和，所謂不妥協。至于黨員加入國會去活動，是共產黨所不許可的，以為這不是科學的方法。但是後來德國的共產黨，通同走到國會去活動。延到今日，英國工黨又在君主立憲政府之下組織內閣。照這些事件來看，世界上所發生許多的政治經濟變動，都不是第一次國際共產黨所定的辦法。因為第一次國際共產黨和第二次國際共產黨的主張，太不相同，所以後來馬克思黨徒的紛爭更是利害，這都是馬克思在當時所沒有料到的。由于這些不能料到的事情，便知道我的學說是知難行易。馬克思主張用科學來解決社會問題，他致力最大的地方，在第一次國際共產黨沒有成立以前，用很多工夫把從前的歷史和

當時的事實，都研究得很清楚。由於他研究從前的歷史和當時的事實所有的心得，便下一個判斷，說將來資本制度一定要銷滅。他以為資本發達的時候，資本家之中，彼此因為利害的關係，大資本家一定吞滅小資本家，弄到結果，社會上便只有兩種人：一種是極富的資本家，一種是極窮的工人。到資本發達到了極點的時候，自己便更行破裂，成一個資本國家，再由社會主義順着自然去解決，成一個自由社會式的國家。依他的判斷，資本發達到極點的國家，現在應該到銷滅的時期，應該要起革命。但是從他至今有了七十多年，我們所見歐美各國的事實和他的判斷，剛剛是相反。當馬克思的時代，英國工人要求八點鐘的工作時間，用罷工的手段向資本家要挾。馬克思便批評以為這是一種夢想，資本家一定是不許可的，要得到八點鐘的工作時間，必須用革命手段，才可以做得到。到了後來，英國工人八點鐘的要求，不但是居然成為事實，並且由英國國家定為一種通行的法律，令所有全國的大工廠、銀行、鐵路中的工人都是作工八點鐘。其他許多事實，在馬克思當時，自以為是料到了的，後來都是不相符合，令馬克思自己也說所料不中。別的事實不說，只就資本一項來講，在馬克思的眼光，以為資本發達了之後，便要互相吞併，自行銷滅。但是到今日，各國的資本家不但不銷滅，並且更加發達，沒有止境，便可以證明馬克思的學理了。

我們再來講德國社會問題的情形，德國當俾士麥執政的時代，用國家力量去救濟工人的痛苦，作工時間是由國家規定了八點鐘；青年和婦女作工的年齡與時間，國家定了種種限制；工人的養老費和保險費，國家也有種種規定，要全國的資本家担任去實行。當時雖然有許多資本家反對，但是俾士麥是一位鐵血宰相，他便有鐵血的手腕去強制執行。當實行的時候，許多人以為國家保護工人的辦法改良，作工的時間減少，這是一定於工人有利，於資本家有損的。再照比例的理想來推，從前十六點鐘工作的生產力，自然要比八點鐘的生產力大得多。但是行了之後的結果是怎麼樣呢（註九）？事實上八點鐘的工作，比較十六點鐘的工作，還要生產得多。這個理由，就是因為工人一天作八點鐘的工作，他的精神體魄不至用盡，在衛生上自然是健康得多。因為工人的精神體魄健康，管理工廠內的機器，自然是很周到，機器便很少損壞；機器很少損壞，便不至於停工修理，便可以繼續的生產，生產自然是加多。如果工人一天做十六點鐘的工，他們的精神體魄便弄到很衰弱，管理機器不能周到，機器便時常損壞，要停工修理，不能繼續生產，生產力自然要減少。如果大家不信，我可舉一個比喻，請諸君各人自己去試驗。比方一個人一日要讀十五六點鐘的書，弄到精神疲倦，就是勉強讀得多，也不容易記清楚。如果一日只讀八點鐘的書，其餘的時間，便去休息遊戲，保養精神，我想讀過了的書，一定是很容易記得，很容易了解。講到時間的關係，馬克思在當時所想到了的，以為作工八點鐘，生產力一定要減少。後來德國實行時間減少政策，生產力反為加多，駕乎各國之上。於是英國、美國便奇怪起來，以作工時間減少，工人保護費加多，生產應該要減少，何以德國行這種政策，生產力反加多呢？因為奇怪，便去考察德國的情形，後來英國、美國也明白這個道理，便做效德國的辦法。馬克思在當時總是不明白這個道理，所以他便斷錯了。再照馬克思的研究，他說資本家要能夠多得盈餘價值，必須有三個條件：一是減少工人的工錢；二是延長工人作工的時間；三是擡高出品的價格。這三個條件是不是合理，我們可以用近來極賺錢的工業來證明。大家知道美國有一個福特汽車廠，那個廠極大，汽車的出品極多，在世界各國都是很銷行的，該廠內每年所賺的錢，有過萬萬。至于那個廠內製造和營業的情形是怎麼樣呢？不管是製造廠或者是辦事房，所有一切機器陳設，都是很完備，都是很精緻，很適合工人的衛生。工人在廠內做事，最勞動的工作，最久不過是做八點鐘，至於工錢，雖極不關重要的工夫，每日工錢都有美金五元，合中國錢便有十元，稍為重要的職員，每日所得的薪水，更不止此數。廠內除了給工人的工錢薪水以外，還設有種種遊戲場，供工人的娛樂；有醫藥衛生室，調治工人的疾病；開設得有學校，教育新到的工人和工人的子弟；並代全廠的工人保人壽險，工人死亡之後，遺族可以得保險費，又可以得撫卹金。說到這個廠所製出來汽車的價格，這是大家買過汽車的人都是很知道的，凡是普通汽車，要值五千元的，福特汽車最多不過是值一千五百元。這種汽車價值，雖然是很便宜，機器還是很堅固，最好的是能夠走山路，雖使用極久，還不至於壞。因為這個車廠的汽車有這樣的價廉物美，所以風行全球。因為這種汽車銷路極廣，所以這個廠便發大財。我們用這個發財車廠所持的工業經濟原理，來和馬克思盈餘價值的理論相比較，至少有三個條件，恰恰是相反。就是馬克思所說的是資本家要延長工人作工的時間，福特車廠所實行的是縮短工人作工的時間。馬克思（註十）所說的是資本家要減少工人的工錢，福特車廠所實行的是增加工人的工錢。馬克思所說的是資本家要擡高出品的價格，福特車廠所實行的是減低出品的價格。像這些相反的道理，從前馬克思都是不明白，所以他從前的主張便大錯特錯。馬克思研究社會問題，用功幾十年，所知道的都是已往的事實，至於後來的事實，他一點都沒有料到，所以他的信徒要變更他的學說。再推到馬克思社會主義的目的，根本上主張要推倒資本家。究竟資本家應該不應該推倒，還要後來詳細研究，才能夠清楚。由此更可見知是很艱難的，行是很容易的。

馬克思盈餘價值的精華，是說資本家所得的錢是剝奪工人的盈餘。由此便推到資本家生產要靠工人，工人生產要靠物質，物質買賣要靠商人。凡是一種生產，資本家同商人總是從中取利，剝奪工人的血汗錢。

由此便知資本家和商人，都是有害於工人，有害於世界的，都應該要銷滅。不過馬克思的判斷，以為要資本家先銷滅，商人才能夠消滅。現在世界，天天進步，日日改良，如前所講之分配社會化就是新發明，這種發明叫做合作社。這種合作社是由許多工人聯合起來組織的，工人所需要的衣服飲食，如果要向商人間接買來，商人便從中取利，賺很多的錢，工人所得的物品，一定是要費很多的錢。工人因為想用賤價去得好物品，所以他們便自行湊合，開一間店子，店子內所賣的貨物，都是工人所需要的。所以工人常年需要貨物，都是向自己所開的店子內去買，供給既便利，價值又便宜。到了每年年底，店中所得的盈利，便依顧主消費的多少分派利息。這種店子分利，因為是根據于顧主消費的比例，所以就叫做消費合作社。現在英國許多銀行和生產的工廠，都是由這種消費合作社去辦理。由於這種合作社之發生，便銷滅了許多商店，所以從前視此種合作社為不關重要的商店，現在便看作極有效力的組織。英國因為這種組織很發達，所以國內的大商家，現在都變成生產家。就是像美國的三達火油公司，在中國雖然是一家賣油的商店，在美國便是製造火油的生產家。其他英國的各種大商家，現在都有變成生產家的趨勢。用這種合作社來解決社會問題，雖然是旁枝的事情，但是馬克思當時的判斷，以為要資本家先銷滅，商人才可以銷滅；現在合作社發生，商人便先銷滅。馬克思的判斷，和這種事實又是不相符合。馬克思的判斷既然是和事實不對，可見我的學說，知難行易，是的確不能磨滅的。

再照馬克思的學理說，世界上的大工業，要靠生產，生產又要靠資本家。這幾句話的意思，就是有了好生產和大資本家，工業便可以發展，便可以賺錢，就我們中國工業的情形來證明，是怎麼樣呢？中國最大的工業是漢冶萍公司，漢冶萍公司是專製造鋼鐵的大工廠。這個公司內最大的資本家，從前是盛宣懷。這個工廠每年所出的鋼鐵，在平常的時候，或者是運到美洲舍路埠去賣，或者是運到澳洲去賣，當歐戰的時候，都是運到日本去賣。鋼鐵本來是中國的大宗進口貨，中國既是有了漢冶萍可以製造鋼鐵，為甚麼還要買外國的鋼鐵呢？因為中國市面所需要的鋼鐵，都是極好的建築鋼、槍砲鋼和工具鋼；漢冶萍所製造的，只是鋼軌和生鐵，不合市面的用途，所以市面要買外來的進口貨，不買漢冶萍的鋼鐵。至于美國每年所出的鋼有四千萬噸，鐵有四五千萬噸，中國只有漢冶萍，每年出鐵二十萬噸，出鋼十幾萬噸。中國所出這樣少數的鋼鐵，為甚麼還要運到美國去賣呢？美國出那樣多的鋼鐵，為甚麼還可以銷受中國的鋼鐵呢？就是因為漢冶萍沒有好鍊鋼廠，所出的生鐵，要經過許多方法的製造，才可以有用，在中國不合用途，所以要運到外國去賣。美國有極多的製鋼廠，只要有便宜鐵，不管他是那裏來的，便可以消納，便可以製造好鋼來賺錢。所以本國雖然出很多的鋼鐵，就是中國運去的便宜鐵，還可以買。漢冶萍公司所出的鋼鐵，因為是運到外國去賣，所以在歐戰的時候，對於工人減時間，加工價，還是很賤錢，現在是虧本，許多工人失業。照馬克思的學理講，漢冶萍公司既有鋼鐵的好出產，又有大資本，應該要賺錢，可以大發展，為甚麼總是要虧本呢？由漢冶萍這一個公司的情形來考究，實業的中心是在甚麼地方呢？就是在消費的社會，不是專靠生產的資本。漢冶萍雖然有大資本，但是生產的鋼鐵，在中國沒有消費的社會，所以不能發展，總是不能賺錢。因為實業的中心，要靠消費的社會，所以近來世界上的大工業，都是照消費者的需要，來製造物品。近來有知識的工人，也是幫助消費者。消費是甚麼問題呢？就是解決眾人的生存的問題，也就是民生問題。所以工業實在是要靠民生。民生就是政治的中心，就是經濟的中心，和種種歷史活動的中心，好像天空以內的重心一樣。從前的社會主義錯認物質是歷史的中心，所以有了種種紛亂。這好像從前的天文學，錯認地球是宇宙的中心，所以計算歷數，每三年便有一個月的大差；後來改正太陽是宇宙的中心，每三年後的歷數，才只有一日之差一樣。我們現在要解除社會問題中的紛亂，便要改正這種錯誤，再不可說物質問題是歷史的中心，要把歷史上的政治、社會、經濟種種中心都歸之于民生問題，以民生為社會歷史的中心。先把中心的民生問題研究清楚了，然後對於社會問題，才有解決的辦法。

(註一) 據「民生主義」，孫文題著本。(中國國民黨中央執行委員會編，民國十三年十二月出版。黨史會藏[042/20]。通稱「民生主義大字本」。)

(註二) 原文僅標「十三年八月三日」，今增「民國……講」。

(註三) 原文為「所用這句話」，今據「胡本」及「會本」增「的」字。

(註四) 原文為「韶間」，今據「胡本」及「會本」改。

(註五) 「胡本」及「會本」為「社會進化之原理」，今依原文。

(註六) 原文為「自無」，今據「胡本」及「會本」改。

(註七) 原文為「奴的戰爭」，今據「胡本」及「會本」增「隸」字。

(註八) 原文為「經濟相調和」，今據「胡本」及「會本」增「利益」二字

(註九) 原文為「怎樣樣呢」，今據「胡本」及「會本」改。

(註十) 原文為「馬克」，今據「胡本」及「會本」增「思」字。

## 民生主義 第二講

第二講 民國十三年八月十日講 (註一)

民生主義這個問題，如果要從學理上詳細來講，就是講十天或二十天也講不完全。況且這種學理，現在還是沒有定論的，所以單就學理來講，不但是虛耗很多時間，恐怕講演理論，越講越難明白；所以我今天先把學理暫且放下不說，專拿辦法來講。

民生主義的辦法，國民黨在黨綱裏頭老早是確定了。國民黨對於民生主義定了兩個辦法：第一個是平均地權；第二個是節制資本。只要照這兩個辦法，便可以解決中國的民生問題。至於世界各國，因為情形各不相同，資本發達的程度也是各不相同；所以解決民生問題的辦法，各國也是不能相同。我們中國學者，近來從歐美得到了這種學問，許多人以為解決中國民生問題，也要做效歐美的辦法。殊不知歐美社會黨解決社會問題的辦法，至今還是紛紛其說，莫衷一是。照馬克思派的辦法，主張解決社會問題，要平民和生產家即農工專制，用革命手段來解決一切政治、經濟問題，這種是激烈派。還有一派社會黨，主張和平辦法，用政治運動和妥協的手段去解決。這兩派在歐美常常大衝突，各行其是。用革命手段來解決政治經濟問題的辦法，俄國革命時候已經採用過了。不過俄國革命六年以來，我們所看見的，是他們用革命手段，只解決政治問題。用革命手段解決政治問題，在俄國可算是完全成功。但是說到用革命手段來解決經濟問題，在俄國還不能說是成功。俄國近日改變一種新經濟政策，還是在試驗之中。由此便知純用革命手段不能完全解決經濟問題。因為這個原因，歐美許多學者便不贊成俄國專用革命的手段去解決經濟問題的方法，主張要用政治運動去解決這種問題。行政治運動去解決政治經濟問題，不是一日可以做得到的，所以這派人都主張緩進。這派主張緩進的人，就是妥協家同和平派。他們(註二)所想像的方法，以為英美資本發達的國家，不能用馬克思那種方法，立時來解決社會問題，要用和平的方法才可以完全解決。這種方法就是前一次已經講過了的四種方法：第一是社會與工業之改良；第二運輸與交通事業收歸公有；第三直接徵稅，就是收所得稅；第四為分配之社會化，就是合作社。這四種方法，都是和馬克思的辦法不同；要主張行這種方法，來改良經濟問題，就是反對馬克思用革命手段來解決經濟問題。歐美各國已經陸續實行這四種方法，不過還沒有完全達到所期望的目的。但是大家都以為用這四種方法，社會問題便可以解決。所以英美便有許多社會黨很贊成這四種方法。這四種方法都是和平手段，所以他們便很反對馬克思革命手段。俄國當初革命的時候，本來想要解決社會問題，政治問題還在其次。但是革命的結果，政治問題得了解決，社會問題不能解決，和所希望的恰恰是相反。由於這種事實，反對馬克思的一派便說：「俄國行馬克思辦法，經過這次試驗，已經是辦不通，歸於失敗。」至於馬克思的黨徒便答覆說：「俄國行革命手段來解決社會問題，不是失敗，是由於俄國的工商業還沒有發達到英美那種程度，俄國的經濟組織還沒有成熟。所以不能行馬克思的方法。如果在工商業極發達、經濟組織很成熟的國家，一定可以行馬克思的辦法。所以馬克思的方法，若是在英美那種國家去實行，一定是能夠成功的，社會問題一定是可以根本解決的。」照這兩派學說比較起來，用馬克思的方法，所謂是快刀斬亂麻的手段；反對馬克思的方法，是和平手段。我們要解決社會問題，究竟是用快刀斬亂麻的手段好呀，還是用和平手段，像上面所講的四種政策好呢？這兩派的辦法，都是社會黨所主張的，和資本家所反對的。現在歐美的工商業進步到很快，資本發達到極高，資本家專制到了極點，一般人民都不能忍受。社會黨想為人民解除這種專制的痛苦，去解決社會問題，無論是採用和平的辦法或者是激烈的辦法，都被資本家反對。到底歐美將來解決社會問題，是採用甚麼方法，現在還是看不出，還是料不到。不過主張和平辦法的人，受了資本家很多的反對，種種的激烈，以為用和平手段來改良社會，於人類極有利益，於資本家毫無損害，尚且不能實行，便有許多人漸漸變更素來的主張，去贊成激烈的辦法，也一定要用革命手段來解決社會問題。照馬克思的黨徒說，如果英國工人真能夠覺悟，團結一致，實行馬克思的辦法，來解決社會問題，在英國是一定可以成功的。美國的資本發達和英國相同，假若美國工人能行馬克思主義，也可以達到目的。但是現在英美各國的資本家，專制到萬分，總是設法反對解決社會問題的進行，保守他們自己的權利。現在資本家保守權利的情形，好像從前專制皇帝要保守他們的皇位一樣。專制皇帝因為要保守他們的皇位，恐怕反對黨來搖動，便用很專制的威權，極殘忍的手段，來打銷他們的反對黨。現在資本家要保守自己的私利，也是用種種專制的方法來反對社會黨，橫行無道。歐美社會黨，將來為勢所迫，或者都要採用馬克思的辦法，來解決經濟問題，也是未可定的。

共產這種制度，在古人時代，已經是實行了，究竟到甚麼時代才打破呢？依我的觀察，是在金錢發生之後。大家有了金錢，便可以自由買賣，不必以貨易貨；由交易變成買賣，到那個時候，共產制度便漸漸消滅了。由于有了金錢，可以自由買賣，便逐漸生出大商家。當時工業還沒有發達，商人便是資本家。後來工業發達，靠機器來生產，有機器的人便成為資本家。所以從前的資本家是有金錢，現在的資本家是有機器。由此可見古代以貨易貨，所謂「日中為市，交易而退，各得其所。」的時候，還沒有金錢；一切交換，都不是買賣制度，彼此有無相通，還是共產時代。後來有了貨幣，金錢發生，便以金錢易貨，便生出買賣制度，當時有金錢的商人，便成為資本家。到近世發明了機器，一切貨物都靠機器來生產，有機器的人，更駕乎有金錢的人之上。所以由于金錢發生，便打破了共產，由于機器發明，便打破了商家。現在資本家有了機器，靠工人來生產，掠奪工人的血汗，生出貧富極相懸殊的兩個階級；這兩個階級，常常相衝突，便發生階級戰爭。一般悲天憫人的道德家，不忍見工人的痛苦，要想方法來解除這種戰爭，減少工人的痛苦，是用甚麼方法呢？就是想把古代的共產制度恢復起來。因為從前人類頂快活的時代，是最初脫離禽獸時代所成的共產社會，當時人類的競爭，祇有和天鬥，或者是和獸鬥。後來工業發達，機器創出，便人與人鬥（註三），從前人類戰勝了天同獸之後，不久有金錢發生，近來又有機器創出，那些極聰明的人把世界的物質都壟斷起來，圖他個人的私利，要一般人都做他的奴隸。于是變成人與人爭的極劇烈時代。這種爭鬥要到甚麼時候才可以解決呢？必要再回復到一種新共產時代，才可以解決所謂人與人爭，究竟是爭甚麼呢？就是爭麵包，爭飯碗。到了共產時代，大家都有麵包和飯吃，便不至于爭，便可以免去人同人爭；所以共產主義就是最高的理想，來解決社會問題的。我們國民黨所提倡的民生主義，不但是最高的理想，並且是社會的原動力，是一切歷史活動的重心。民生主義能夠實行，社會問題才可以解決；社會問題能夠解決。人類才可以享（註四）很大的幸福。我今天來分別共產主義和民生主義，可以說共產主義是民生的理想，民生主義是共產的實行，所以兩種主義沒有甚麼分別；要分別的，還是在方法。

我們國民黨在中國所佔的地位所處的時機，要解決民生問題，應該用甚麼方法呢？這個方法，不是一種玄妙理想，不是一種空洞學問，是一種事實。這種事實，不但是外國所獨有的，就是中國也是有的。我們要拿事實做材料，才能夠定出方法，如果單拿學理來定方法，這個方法是靠不住的。這個理由，就是因為學理有真的，有假的，要經過試驗才曉得是對與不對。好像科學上發明一種學理，究竟是對與不對，一定要做成事實，能夠實行才可以說是真學理。科學上最初發明的許多學理，一百種之中，有九十九種是不能夠實行的，能夠實行的學理不過是百分之一。如果通通照學理去定辦法，一定是不行的。所以我們解決社會問題，一定是要根據事實，不能單憑學理。在中國的這種事實是甚麼呢？就是大家所受貧窮的痛苦。中國人大家都是貧，並沒有大富的特殊階級，祇有一般普通的貧。中國人所謂貧富不均，不過在貧的階級之中，分出大貧與小貧。其實中國的頂大資本家，和外國資本家比較，不過是一個小貧，其他的窮人都可說是大貧。中國的大資本家，在世界上既然是不過一個貧人，可見中國人通通是貧，並沒有大富，只有大貧、小貧的分別。我們要把這個分別弄到大家平均，都沒有大貧，要用甚麼方法呢？大概社會變化和資本發達的程序，最初是由地主，然後由地主到商人，再由商人才到資本家。地主之發生，是由于封建制度。歐洲現在還沒有脫離封建制度，中國自秦以後，封建制度便已經打破了。當封建制度的時候，有地的貴族便是富人，沒有地的人便是貧民，中國到今日脫離封建制度，雖然有了二千多年，但是因為工商業沒有發達，今日的社會情形，還是和二千多年以前的社會情形一樣。中國到今日，雖然沒有大地主，還有小地主。在這種小地主時代，大多數地方，還是相安無事，沒有人和地主為難。不過近來歐美的經濟潮流，一天一天的侵進來了，各種制度都是在變動。所受的頭一個最大的影響，就是土地問題。比方現在廣州市的土地，在開闢了馬路之後，長堤的地價，和二十年以前的地價，相差是有多多少呢？又像上海黃浦灘的地價，比較八十年前的地價，相差又是有多多少呢？大概可說相差一萬倍。就是從前的土地，大概一塊錢可以買一方丈，現在的一方丈便要賣一萬塊錢。好像上海黃浦灘的土地，現在每畝要值幾十萬，廣州長堤的土地，現在每畝要值十幾萬。所以中國土地，先受歐美經濟的影響，地主便變成了富翁，和歐美的資本家一樣了。經濟發達，土地受影響的這種變動，不獨中國為然，從前各國也有這種事實。不過各國初時不大注意，沒有去理會，後來變動越大才去理會，便不容易改動，所謂積重難返了。我們國民黨對於中國這種地價的影響，思患預防，所以要想方法來解決。

講到土地問題，在歐美社會主義的書中，常說得有很多有趣味的故事。像澳洲有一處地方，在沒有成立市場以前，地價是很平的。有一次政府要拍賣一塊土地，這塊土地，在當時是很荒蕪的，都是作攔堆之用，沒有別的用處，一班人都不願意出高價去買。忽然有一個醉漢闖入拍賣場來，當時拍賣官正在叫賣價，眾人所還的價，有一百元的，有二百元的，有還到二百五十元的，到了還到二百五十元的時候，便沒人再加高價。拍賣官就問有沒有加到三百元的？當時那個醉漢，醉到很糊塗，便一口答應，說我出價三百元。他還價之後，拍賣官便照他的姓名定下那塊地皮。地既賣定，眾人散去，他也走了。到第二天，拍賣官開出賬單，向他要地價的錢，他記不起昨天醉後所做的事情，便不承認那一筆賬；後來回憶他醉

中所做的事，就大生悔恨。但對於政府，既不能賴賬，祇可費了許多籌畫，盡其所有，才湊夠三百元來給拍賣官。他得了那塊地皮之後，許久也沒有能力去理會。相隔十多年，那塊地皮的周圍，都建了高樓大廈，地價都是高到非常。有人向他買那塊地皮，還他數百萬的價錢，他還不放手。他只是把那塊地分租與人，自己總是收地租。更到後來，這塊地便長價到幾千萬，這個醉漢便變成澳洲第一個富翁。推到這位澳洲幾千萬元財產的大富翁，還是由三百元的地皮來的。講到這種事實，在變成富翁的地主，當然是很快樂，但是考究這位富翁原來祇用三百元買得那塊地皮，後來並沒有加工改良，毫沒有理會，祇是睡覺，便坐享其成，得了幾千萬元。這幾千萬元是誰人的呢？依我看來，是大家的。因為社會上大家要用那處地方來做工商事業的中心點，便去把他改良，那塊地方的地價，才逐漸增加到很高。好像我們現在用上海地方做中國中部工商業的中心點，所以上海的地價比從前要增漲幾萬倍。又像我們用廣州做中國南部工商業的中心點，廣州的地價也比從前要增漲幾萬倍。上海的人口不過一百多萬，廣州的人口也是一百多萬，如果上海的人完全遷出上海，廣州的人完全遷出廣州，或者另外發生天災人禍，令上海的人或廣州的人都銷滅，試問上海、廣州的地價，還值不值現在這樣高的價錢呢？由此可見土地價值之能夠增加的理由，是由于眾人的功勞，眾人的力量；地主對於地價漲跌的功勞，是沒有一點關係的。所以外國學者認地主由地價增高所獲的利益，名之為不勞而獲的利，比較工商業的製造家，要勞心勞力，買賤賣貴，費許多打算、許多經營才能夠得到的利益，便大不相同。工商業家壟斷物質的價值來賺錢，我們已經覺得是不公平，但是工商業家還要勞心勞力；地主只要坐守其成，毫不用心力，便可以得很大的利益。但是地價是由甚麼方法才能夠增漲呢？是由於眾人改良那塊土地，爭用那塊土地，地價才是增漲。地價一增漲，在那塊地方之百貨的價錢，都隨之而漲。所以就可以說眾人在那塊地方經營工商業所賺的錢，在間接無形之中，都是被地主搶去了。

至於中國社會問題，現在到了甚麼情形呢？一般研究社會問題和提倡解決社會問題的人，所有的這種思想學說，都是從歐美得來的。所以講到解決社會問題的辦法，除了歐美各國所主張的和平辦法和馬克思的激烈辦法以外，也沒有別的新發明。此刻講社會主義，極時髦的人是贊成馬克思的辦法，所以一講到社會問題，多數的青年便贊成共產黨，要拿馬克思主義在中國來實行。到底贊成馬克思主義的那般青年志士，用心是甚麼樣呢？他們的用心是很好的。他們的主張是要從根本上解決。以為政治社會問題要正本清源，非從根本上解決不可。所以他們便極力組織共產黨，在中國來活動。我們國民黨的舊同志，現在對於共產黨生出許多悞會，以為國民黨提倡三民主義，是與共產主義不相容的。不知道我們一般同志，在二十年前，都是贊成三民主義互相結合。在沒有革命以前，大多數人的觀念，只知道有民族主義。譬如當時參加同盟會的同志，各人的目的都是在排滿，在進會的時候，我要他們宣誓，本是贊成三民主義，但是他們本人的心理，許多都是注意民族主義，要推翻清朝。以為只要推翻滿清之後，就是中國人來做皇帝，他們也是歡迎的。就他們宣誓的目的，本是要實行三民主義，同時又贊成中國人來做皇帝，這不是反對民權主義嗎？就是極有思想的同志，贊成三民主義，明白三民主義是三個不同的東西，想用革命手段來實行主義，在當時以為祇要能夠排滿，民族主義能夠達到目的，民權主義和民生主義便自然跟住做去，沒有別樣枝節。所以他們對於民權主義和民生主義，在當時都沒有過細研究。在那個時候，他們既是不過細研究，所以對於民權主義固然是不明白，對於民生主義更是莫明其妙。革命成功以後，成立民國，採用共和制度，此時大家的思想，對於何以要成立民國，都是不求甚解。就是到現在，真是心悅誠服實行民權、贊成共和的同志，還是很少。大家為甚麼當初又來贊成民國，不去反對共和呢？這個頂大的原因，是由於排滿成功以後，各省同志，由革命所發生的新軍人，或者滿清投降革命黨的舊軍人，都是各據一方，成了一個軍閥，做了一個地方的小皇帝，想用那處地盤做根本，再行擴充。像拿到了廣東地盤的軍人，便想把廣東的地盤去擴充。拿到雲南、湖南地盤的軍人，便想把雲南、湖南的地盤去擴充。拿到了山東、直隸的軍人，也想把山東、直隸的地盤去擴充。擴充到極大的時候，羽毛豐滿了之後，他們便拿自己的力量來統一中國，才明目張胆來推翻共和。這種由革命所成的軍閥，或由滿清投降到民國的軍閥，在當時都是懷抱這種心事。他們以為自己一時的力量，不能統一中國，又不願意別人來統一中國，大家立心便沉機觀變，留以有待。所以這種軍閥，在當時既不明白共和，又來贊成民國，實在是想做皇帝；不過拿贊成民國的話來做門面，等待他們的地盤擴充到極大之後，時機一到，便來反對民國，解決國家問題。因為這個原因，所以當初的民國還能夠成立。在這十三年之中的民國，便有許多人想來推翻，但是他們的力量都不甚大，所以民國的名義還能夠苟延殘喘，繼續到現在。由此便可見當時同盟會人的心理，對於民權主義便有許多都是模稜兩可，對於民生主義更是毫無心得。

現在再來詳細剖解，革命成功之後，改大清帝國為中華民國，我們國民黨至今還是尊重民國，一班革命同志對於國民黨的三民主義是甚麼情形呢？民國政治上經過這十三年的變動，和十三年的經驗，現在各位同志對於民族、民權那兩個主義，都是很明白的，但是對於民生主義的心理，好像革命以後，革命黨有兵權的人對於民權主義一樣，無所可否，都是不明白的。為甚麼我敢說我們革命同志對於民生主義還沒有明白呢？就是由于這次國民黨改組，許多同志因為反對共產黨，便居然說共產主義和三民主義不同，

在中國只要行三民主義便夠了，共產主義是決不能容納的。然則民生主義到底是甚麼東西呢？我在前一次講演，有一點發明，是說社會的文明發達，經濟組織的改良和道德進步，都是以甚麼為重心呢？就是以民生為重心。民生就是社會一切活動中的原動力，因為民生不遂，所以社會的文明不能發達，經濟組織不能改良，和道德退步，以及發生種種不平的事情。像階級戰爭和工人痛苦，那些種種壓迫，都是由於民生不遂的問題沒有解決。所以社會中的各種變態都是果，民生問題才是因。照這樣判斷，民生主義究竟是甚麼東西呢？民生主義就是共產主義，就是社會主義。所以我們對於共產主義，不但不能說是和民生主義相衝突，並且是一個好朋友。主張民生主義的人，應該要細心去研究的。共產主義既是民生主義的好朋友，為甚麼國民黨員要去反對共產黨員呢？這個原因，或者是由於共產黨員也有不明白共產主義為何物，而嘗有反對三民主義之言論，所以激成國民黨之反感。但是這種無知妄作的黨員，不得歸咎於全黨及其黨中之主義，只可說是他們個人的行為。所以我們決不能夠以共產黨員個人不好的行為，便拿他們來做標準去反對共產黨。既是不能以個人的行為，便反對全體主義，那麼，我們同志中何以發生這種問題呢？原因就是由於不明白民生主義是甚麼東西。殊不知民生主義就是共產主義，這種共產主義的制度，就是先才講過並不是由馬克思發明出來的。照生物進化家說，人類是由禽獸進化而來的。先由獸類進化之後，便逐漸成為部落。在那個時候，人類的生活，便與獸類的生活不同。人類最先所成的社會，就是一個共產社會。所以原人時代，已經是共產時代。那個原人時代的情形，究竟是怎麼樣？我們可以考察現在非洲和南洋羣島的土人生番，毫未有受過文明感化的社會，是甚麼制度？那些土人生番的社會制度，通通是共產。由於現在那些沒有受過文明感化的社會都是共產，可見我們祖先的社會，一定也是共產的。

近來歐美經濟的潮流侵入中國，最先所受的影響，就是土地。許多人把土地當作賭具，做投機事業，俗語說是炒地皮。原來有許多地皮毫不值錢，要到了十年二十年之後，才可以值高價錢的。但是因為有投機的人從中操縱，便把那塊地價預先抬高，這種地價的昂貴，更是不平均。

由於土地問題所生的弊病，歐美還沒有完善方法來解決。我們要解決這個問題，便要趁現在的時候。如果等到工商業發達以後，更是沒有方法可以解決。中國現在受歐美的影響，社會忽生大變動，不但是漸漸成為貧富不齊，就是同是有土地的人，也生出大不齊。比方甲有一畝地是在上海黃浦灘（註五），乙有一畝地是在上海鄉下。乙的土地，如果是自己耕種，或者每年可以得一二十元，如果租與別人，最多不過得五元至十元；但是甲在上海的土地，每畝可租得一萬幾千元。由此便可見上海的土地，可以得幾千倍，鄉下的土地，祇能夠得一倍。同是有一畝土地，便生出這樣大的不平。我們國民黨的民生主義，目的就是把社會上的財源弄到平均，所以民生主義就是社會主義，也就是共產主義，不過辦法各有不同。我們的頭一個辦法，是解決土地問題。解決土地問題的辦法，各國不同，而且各國有很多繁雜的地方，現在我們所用的辦法，是很簡單很容易的，這個辦法，就是平均地權。講到解決土地問題，平均地權，一般地主自然是害怕，好像講到社會主義，一般資本家都是害怕，要起來反對一樣。所以說到解決土地問題，如果我們的地主是像歐洲那種大地主，已經養成了很大的勢力，便很不容易做到。不過中國今日沒有那種大地主，一般小地主的權力，還不甚大，現在就來解決，還容易做到。如果現在失去了這個機會，將來更是不能解決。講到了這個問題，地主固然要生一種害怕的心理，但是照我們國民黨的辦法，現在的地主還是很可以安心的。這種辦法是甚麼呢？就是政府照地價收稅和照地價收買。究竟地價是甚麼樣定法呢？依我的主張，地價應該由地主自己去定。比方廣州長堤的地價，有值十萬元一畝的，有值一萬元一畝的，都是由地主自己報告到政府。至於各國土地的稅法，大概都是值百抽一，地價值一百元的，抽稅一元；值十萬元的，便抽一千元，這是各國通行的地價稅。我們現在所定的辦法，也是照這種稅率來抽稅。地價都是由地主報告到政府，政府照他所報的地價來抽稅。許多人以為地價由地主任意報告，他們以多報少，政府豈不是要吃虧麼？譬如地主把十萬元的地皮，到政府只報告一萬元。照十萬元的地價，政府應該抽稅一千元，照地主所報一萬元的地價來抽稅，政府只抽得一百元，在抽稅機關一方面，自然要吃虧九百元。但是政府如果定了兩種條例，一方面照價抽稅，一方面又可以照價收買，那麼地主把十萬元的地皮只報一萬元，他騙了政府九百元的稅，自然是佔便宜；如果政府照一萬元的價錢去收買那塊地皮，他便要失去九萬元的地，這就是大大的吃虧。所以照我的辦法，地主如果以多報少，他一定怕政府要照價收買，吃地價的虧；如果以少報多，他又怕政府要照價抽稅，吃重稅的虧。在利害兩方面互相比較，他一定不情願多報，也不情願少報，要定一個折中的價值，把實在的市價報告到政府。地主既是報折中的市價，那麼政府和地主自然是兩不吃虧。

地價定了之後，我們更有一種法律的規定。這種規定是甚麼呢？就是從定價那年以後，那塊地皮的價格，再行漲高，各國都是要另外加稅。但是我們的辦法，就要以後所加之價完全歸為公有。因為地價漲高，是由於社會改良和工商業進步。中國的工商業，幾千年都沒有大進步。所以土地價值常常經過許多年代，都沒有大改變。如果一有進步，一經改良，像現在的新都市一樣，日日有變動，那種地價便要增加幾千

倍，或者是幾萬倍了。推到這種進步和改良的功勞，還是由眾人的力量經營而來的，所以由這種改良和進步之後，所漲高的地價，應該歸之大眾，不應該歸之私人所有。比方有一個地主，現在報一塊地價是一萬元，到幾十年之後，那塊地價漲到一百萬元，這個所漲高的九十九萬元，照我們的辦法，都收歸眾人公有，以酬眾人改良那塊地皮周圍的社會，和發達那塊地皮周圍的工商業之功勞。這種把以後漲高的地價收歸眾人公有的辦法，才是國民黨所主張的平均地權，才是民生主義。這種民生主義，就是共產主義，所以國民黨員既是贊成了三民主義，便不應該反對共產主義。因為三民主義之中的民生主義，大目的就是要眾人能夠共產，不過我們所主張的共產，是共將來不是共現在。這種將來的共產，是很公道的辦法，以前有了產業的人，決不至吃虧，和歐美所謂收歸國有，把人民已有了的產業都搶去政府裏頭，是大不相同。地主真是明白了我們平均地權辦法的道理，便不至害怕。因為照我們的辦法，把現在所定的地價，還是歸地主私有。土地問題能夠解決，民生問題便可以解決一半了。文明城市實行地價稅，一般貧民可以減少負擔，並有種種利益。像現在的廣州市，如果是照地價收稅，政府每年便有一宗很大的收入，政府有了大宗的收入，行政經費便有着落，便可以整理地方。一切雜稅固然是可以豁免，就是人民所用的自來水和電燈費用，都可由政府來負擔，不必由人民自己去負擔。其他馬路的修理費和警察的給養費，政府也可向地稅項下撥用，不必另外向人民來抽警捐和修路費。但是廣州現在漲高的地價，都是歸地主私人所有，不是歸公家所有，政府沒有大宗收入，所以一切費用便不能向一般普通人民來抽種種雜捐。一般普通人民負擔的雜捐太重，總是要納稅，所以便很窮，所以中國的窮人便很多。這種窮人負擔太重的原故，就是由于政府抽稅不公道，地權不平均，土地問題沒有解決。如果地價稅完全實行，土地問題可以解決，一般貧民便沒有這種痛苦。外國的地價雖然是漲得很高，地主的收入固然是很多，但是他們科學進步，機器發達，有機器的資本家便有極大的生產，這種資本家所有極大生產的收入，比較地主的收入更要多得利害。中國現在最大收入的資本家，只是地主，並無擁有機器的大資本家。所以我們此時來平均地權，節制資本，解決土地問題，便是一件很容易的事。

講到照價抽稅照價收買，就有一重要事件要分別清楚，就是地價是單指素地來講，不算人工之改良及地面之建築。比方有一塊地，價值是一萬元，而地面的樓宇是一百萬元，那麼照價抽稅，照值百抽一來算，只能抽一百元。如果照價收買，就要給一萬元地價之外，另要補回樓宇之價一百萬元了。其他之地，若有種樹、築堤、開渠各種人工之改良者，亦要照此類推。

我們在中國要解決民生問題，想一勞永逸，單靠節制資本的辦法，是不足的。現在外國所行的所得稅，就是節制資本之一法。但是他們的民生問題，究竟解決了沒有呢？中國不能和外國比，單行節制資本是不足的。因為外國富，中國貧，外國生產過剩，中國生產不足，所以中國不單是節制私人資本，還是要發達國家資本。我們的國家現在四分五裂，要發達資本，究竟是從那一條路走？現在似乎看不出、料不到。不過這種四分五裂，是暫時的局面，將來一定是要統一的。統一之後，要解決民生問題，一定要發達資本，振興實業。振興實業的方法很多，第一是交通事業，像鐵路、運河，都要興大規模的建築；第二是鑛產，中國鑛產極其豐富，貨藏於地，實在可惜，一定是要開闢的；第三是工業，中國的工業，非要趕快振興不可，中國工人雖多，但是沒有機器，不能和外國競爭。全國所用的貨物，都是靠外國製造輸運而來，所以利權總是外溢。我們要挽回這種利權，便要趕快用國家的力量來振興工業，用機器來生產，令全國的工人都有工作。到全國的工人都有工做，都能夠用機器生產，那便是一種很大的新財源。如果不用國家的力量來經營，任由中國私人或者外國商人來經營，將來的結果，也不過是私人的資本發達，也要生出大富階級的不平均。所以我們講到民生主義，雖然是很崇拜馬克思的學問，但是不能用馬克思的辦法，到中國來實行。這個理由很容易明白，就是俄國實行馬克思的辦法，革命以後，行到今日，對於經濟問題還是要改用新經濟政策。俄國之所以要改用新經濟政策，就是由於他們的社會經濟程度還比不上英國、美國那樣的發達，還是不夠實行馬克思的辦法。俄國的社會經濟程度，尚且比不上英國、美國，我們中國的社會經濟程度，怎麼能夠比得上呢？又怎麼能夠行馬克思的辦法呢？所以照馬克思的黨徒，用馬克思的辦法來解決中國的社會問題，是不可能的。我記得三十多年前，我在廣州做學生的時候，西關的富家子弟，一到冬天，便穿起皮衣。廣州冬天的天氣，本來不大冷，可以用不着皮衣的；但是那些富家子弟，每年到冬天，總是要穿皮衣，表示他們的豪富。在天氣初冷的時候，便穿小毛；稍為再冷，便穿大毛；在深冬的時候，無論是甚麼天氣，他們都是穿大毛。有一天他們都是穿了大毛皮衣，到一個會場，天氣忽然變暖，他們便說道：「現在這樣的天氣，如果不翻北風，便會壞人民了。」照這樣說法，以不翻北風便壞人民，在他們的心理，以為社會上大家都是有皮衣穿，所以不翻北風，大家便要受熱，是于大家衛生有害的。其實社會上那裏個個人有皮衣穿呢？廣州人民在冬天，有的穿棉衣，有的是穿夾衣，甚至於有許多人只是穿單衣，那裏還怕不翻北風呢？現在一般青年學者信仰馬克思主義，一講到社會主義，便主張用馬克思的辦法來解決中國社會經濟問題，這就是無異不翻北風就壞人民一樣的口調。不知中國今是患貧，不是患不均。在不均的社會，當然可用馬克思的辦法，提倡階級戰爭去打平他，但在中國實業尚未發達的時候，馬克思的階級戰爭無產專制使用不着。所以我們今日師馬克思之意

則可，用馬克思之法則不可。我們主張解決民生問題的方法，不是先提出一種毫不合時用的劇烈辦法，再等到實業發達以求適用，是要用一種思患預防的辦法，來阻止私人的大資本，防備將來社會貧富不平均的大毛病。這種辦法才是正當解決今日中國社會問題的方法，不是先穿起大毛皮衣，再來希望翻北風的方法。

我先才講過，中國今日單是節制資本，仍恐不足以解決民生問題，必要加以製造國家資本，方可解決之。何謂製造國家資本呢？就是發展國家實業是也。其計畫已詳於建國方略第二卷之物質建設，又名曰實業計畫，此書已言製造國家資本之大要。前言商業時代之資本為金錢，工業時代之資本為機器，故當由國家經營，設備種種之生產機器為國家所有。好像歐戰時候，各國所行的戰時政策，把大實業和工廠都收歸國有一樣，不過他們試行這種政策，不久便停止罷了。中國本來沒有大資本家，如果由國家管理資本，發達資本，所得的利益歸人民大家所有，照這樣的辦法，和資本家不相衝突，是很容易做得到的。照美國發達資本的門徑，第一是鐵路，第二是工業，第三是礦產。要發達這三種大實業，照我們中國現在的資本學問和經驗，都是做不來的，便不能不靠外國已成的資本。我們要拿外國已成的資本，來造成中國將來的共產世界，能夠這樣做去才是事半功倍。如果要等待我們自己有了資本之後，才去發展實業，那便是很迂緩了。中國現在沒有機器，交通上不過是六七千英里的鐵路，要能夠敷用，應該要十倍現在的長度，至少要有六七萬英里，才能敷用。所以不能不借助外資，來發展交通運輸事業；又不能不借用外國有學問經驗的人材，來經營這些實業。至於說到礦產，我們尚未開闢。中國的人民比美國多，土地比美國大，美國每年產煤有六萬萬噸，鋼鐵有九千萬噸，中國每年所產的煤鐵，不及美國千分之一，所以要趕快開採礦產，也應該借用外資。其他建造輪船，發展航業，和建設種種工業的大規模工廠，都是非借助外國資本不可。如果交通、礦產和工業的三種大實業，都是很發達，這三種收入，每年都是很大的。假若是由國家經營，所得的利益歸大家共享，那麼全國人民便得享資本的利，不致受資本的害，像外國現在的情形一樣。外國因為大資本是歸私人所有，便受資本的害，大多數人民都是很痛苦，所以發生階級戰爭，來解除這種痛苦。我們要解決中國的社會問題，和外國是有相同的目標，這個目標，就是要全國人民都可以得安樂，都不致受財產分配不均的痛苦。要不受這種痛苦的意思，就是要共產。所以我們不能說共產主義與民生主義不同。我們三民主義的意思，就是民有、民治、民享，這個民有、民治、民享的意思，就是國家是人民所共有，政治是人民所共管，利益是人民所共享。照這樣的說法，人民對於國家，不只是共產，一切事權都是要共的，這才是真正的民生主義，就是孔子所希望之大同世界。

(註一) 原文僅標「八月十日」，今增「民國十三年……講」。

(註二) 原文為「他」，今據「胡本」及「會本」增「們」字。

(註三) 原文為「人與之鬥」，今據「胡本」及「會本」改。

(註四) 原文為「亨」，今據「胡本」及「會本」改。

(註五) 原文為「黃埔灘」，今據「胡本」及「會本」改。

## 民生主義 第三講

第三講 民國十三年八月十七日講 (註一)

今天所講的是吃飯問題。大家聽到講吃飯問題，以為吃飯是天天做慣了的事。常常有人說，天下無論甚麼事都沒有容易過吃飯的。可見吃飯是一件很容易的事，是一件常常做慣了的事。為甚麼一件很容易又是做慣了的事還有問題呢？殊不知吃飯問題就是頂重要的民生問題，如果吃飯問題不能解決，民生主義便沒有方法解決。所以民生主義的第一個問題，便是吃飯問題。古人說：國以民為本，民以食為天。可見吃飯問題是很重要的。未經歐戰以前，各國政治家總沒有留意到吃飯問題。在這個十年之中，我們留心歐戰的人，研究到德國為甚麼失敗呢？正當歐戰劇烈的時候，德國都是打勝仗，凡是兩軍交鋒，無論是陸軍的步隊、砲隊和騎兵隊，海軍的驅逐艦、潛水艇和一切戰鬥艦，空中的飛機、飛艇，都是德國戰勝，自始至終，德國沒有打過敗仗；但是歐戰結果，德國終歸于大敗，這是為甚麼原因呢？德國之所以失敗，就是為吃飯問題。因為德國的海口都被聯軍封鎖，國內糧食逐漸缺乏，全國人民和兵士都沒有飯吃，甚至於餓死，不能支持到底，所以終歸失敗。可見吃飯問題，是關係國家之生死存亡的。

近來有飯吃的國家，第一個是美國，美國每年運送許多糧食去接濟歐洲。其次是俄國，俄國地廣人稀，全國出產的糧食也是很多。其他像澳洲、加拿大和南美洲阿根廷那些國家，都是靠糧食做國家的富源，

每年常有很多糧食運到外國去賣，補助各國糧食之不足。不過當歐戰時候，平時許多供運輸的輪船，都是被國家收管，作軍事的轉運，至于商船是非常缺乏。所以澳洲和加拿大、阿根廷那些地方多餘的糧食，便不能運到歐洲；歐洲的國家便沒有飯吃。中國當歐戰的時候，幸而沒有水旱天災，農民得到了好收成，所以中國沒有受到饑荒。如果在當時遇着像今年的水災，農民沒有收成，中國一定也是沒有飯吃。當時中國能夠逃過這種災害，不至沒有飯吃，真是一種天幸了。現在世界各國有幾國是有飯吃的，有許多國是沒有飯吃的。像西方三島的英國，一年之中所出的糧食，只夠三個月吃，有九個月所吃的糧食，都是靠外國運進去的。所以當歐戰正劇烈的時候，德國的潛水艇把英國的海口封鎖了，英國便幾乎沒有飯吃。東方三島的日本國，每年也是不夠飯吃，不過日本所受糧食缺乏的憂愁，沒有像英國那些利害。日本本國的糧食，一年之中可以供給十一個月，不夠的約有壹個月。德國的糧食，一年之中可以供給十個月，還相差約兩個月。其他歐洲各小國的糧食，有許多都是不夠的。德國的糧食在平時已經是不夠，當歐戰時候，許多農民都是去當兵士，生產減少，糧食更是不夠。所以大戰四年，歸到結果，便是失敗。由此可見全國的吃飯問題很重要的。

如果是一個人沒有飯吃，便容易解決；一家沒有飯吃，也很容易解決，至于要全國人民都有飯吃，像要中國四萬萬人都是足食，提到這個問題，便是很重要，便不容易解決。到底中國的糧食是夠不夠呢？中國人有沒有飯吃呢？像廣東地方每年進口的糧食要值七千萬元，如果在一個月之內，外間沒有米運進來，廣東便馬上鬧饑荒，可見廣東是不夠飯吃的。這就廣東一省而言，其他有許多省分，都是有和廣東相同的情形。至于中國土地的面積，是比美國大得多，人口比美國多三四倍，如果就吃飯這個問題，用中國和美國來討論，中國自然比不上美國。但是和歐洲各國來比較，德國是不夠吃飯的。故歐戰開始之後兩三年，國內便有饑荒。法國是夠吃飯的，故平時不靠外國運進糧食，還可足食。用中國和法國來比較，法國的人口是四千萬，中國的人口是四萬萬，法國土地的面積，為中國土地面積的二十分之一；所以中國的人口比法國是多十倍，中國的土地是比法國大二十倍。法國四千萬人口，因為能夠改良農業，所以得中國二十份一的土地，還能夠有飯吃。中國土地的面積比法國大二十倍，如果能夠做效法國來經營農業，增加出產，所生產的糧食，至少要比法國多二十倍。法國現在可以養四千萬人，我們中國至少也應該可以養八萬萬人，全國人口不但是不怕饑荒，並且可以得糧食的剩餘，可以供給他國，但是中國現在正是民窮財盡。吃飯問題的情形到底是怎麼樣呢？全國人口現在都是不夠飯吃，每年餓死的人數大概過千萬，這還是平時估算的數目。如果遇着了水旱天災的時候，餓死的人數更是不止千萬了。照外國確實的調查，今年中國的人數只有三萬萬一千萬。中國的人數在十年以前是四萬萬，現在只有三萬萬一千萬，這十年之中便少了九千萬，這是一件很可怕的事，是應該要研究的一個大問題。中國人口在這十年之中所以少了九千萬的原故，簡而言之，就是由于沒有飯吃。中國之所以沒有飯吃，原因是很多的，其中最大的原因，就是農業不進步，其次就是由于受外國經濟的壓迫。在從前講民族問題的時候，我曾說外國用經濟勢力來壓迫中國，每年掠奪中國的利權，現在有十二萬萬元。就是中國因為受外國經濟的壓迫，每年要損失十二萬萬元。中國把這十二萬萬元，是用甚麼方法貢獻到外國呢？是不是把十二萬萬元的金錢運送到外國呢？這十二萬萬元的損失，不是完全用金錢，有一部分是用糧食，中國糧食供給本國已經不足，為甚麼還有糧食運送到外國去呢？從甚麼地方可以看得出來呢？照前幾天外國的報告，中國出口貨中，以雞蛋一項，除了製成蛋白質者不算，只就有殼的雞蛋而論，每年運進美國的便有十萬萬個，運進日本及英國的也是很多。大家如果是到過了南京的，一抵下關，便見有一所很宏偉的建築，那所建築，是外國人所辦的製肉廠，把中國的豬、雞、鵝、鴨各種家畜，都在那個製肉廠內製成肉類，運送到外國。再像中國北方的大小麥和黃豆，每年運出口的也是不少。前三年中國北方本是大旱，沿京漢、京奉鐵路一帶，餓死的人民本是很多；但是當時牛庄、大連還有很多的麥豆運出外國，這是甚麼原故呢？就是由于受外國經濟的壓迫。因為受了外國經濟的壓迫，沒有金錢送到外國，所以寧可自己餓死，還要把糧食送到外國去。這就是中國的吃飯問題還不能夠解決。

現在我們講民生主義，就是要四萬萬人都有飯吃，並且要有很便宜的飯吃，要全國的個個人都有便宜飯吃，那才算是解決了民生問題。要能夠解決這個問題，究竟是從甚麼地方來研究起呢？吃飯本來是很容易的事，大家天天都是睡覺吃飯，以為沒有甚麼問題。中國的窮人常有一句俗話說：天天開門七件事，柴米油鹽醬醋茶。可見吃飯是有問題的。我們要解決這個問題，便要詳細來研究。

我們人類究竟是吃一些甚麼東西才可以生存呢？人類所吃的東西，有許多是很重要的材料，我們每每是忽略了。其實我們每天所靠來養生活的糧食，分類說起來，最重要的有四種：第一種是吃空氣，淺白言之，就是吃風。我講到吃風，大家以為是笑話，俗語說：你去吃風。是一句輕薄人的話，殊不知吃風比較吃飯還要重要得多。第二種是吃水。第三種是吃動物，就是吃肉。第四種是吃植物，就是吃五穀果蔬。這個風、水、動、植四種東西，就是人類的四種重要糧食。現在分開來講：第一種吃風，大家不可以為是笑話。如果大家不相信吃風是一件最重要的事，大家不妨把鼻孔口腔都閉住起來，一分鐘不吃風，

試問要受甚麼樣的感覺呢？可不可以忍受呢？我們吃風每分鐘是十六次，就是每分鐘要吃十六餐。每天吃飯最多不過是三餐，像廣東人吃飯，連消夜算起來，也不過每天吃四餐。至於一般窮人吃飯，大概都是兩餐；沒有飯吃的人，就是一餐也可以渡生活。至於吃風，每日就要吃二萬三千零四十餐，少了一餐，便覺得不舒服；如果數分鐘不吃，必定要死。可見風是人類養生第一種重要的物質。第二種是吃水，我們單獨靠吃飯不吃水，是不能夠養生的。一個人沒有飯吃，還可以支持過五六天，不至於死；但是沒有水吃，便不能支持過五天。一個人有五天不吃水，便要死。第三種是吃植物，植物是人類養生之最要緊的糧食。人類謀生的方法很進步之後，才知道吃植物，中國是文化很老的國家，所以中國人多是吃植物。至於野蠻人多是吃動物，所以動物也是人類的一種糧食。風、水、動、植這四種物質，都是人類養生的材料。不過風和水是隨地皆有的，有人居住的地方，無論是在河邊或者是在陸地，不是有河水，便有泉水，或者是井水，或者是雨水，到處皆有水；風更是無處不有。所以風和水雖然是很重要的材料，很急需的物質，但是因為取之無盡，用之不竭，是天給與人類，不另煩人力的，所謂是一種天賜。因為這個情形，風和水這兩種物質不成問題，但是動植物質便成為問題。原始時代的人類和現在的野蠻人都是在漁獵時代，謀生的方法只是打魚獵獸，捉水陸的動物做食料。後來文明進步，到了農業時代，便知道種五穀，便靠植物來養生。中國有了四千多年的文明，我們食飯的文化是比歐美進步得多，所以我們的糧食多是靠植物。植物雖然是靠土地來生長，但是更要費許多功夫，經過許多生產方法，才可以得到；所以要解決植物的糧食問題，便先要研究生產問題。

中國自古以來，都是以農立國，所以農業就是生產糧食的一件大工業。我們要把植物的生產增加，有甚麼方法可以達到目的呢？中國的農業，從來都是靠人工生產，這種人工生產在中國是很進步的，所收穫的各種出品都是很優美的，所以各國學者都極力贊許中國的農業。中國的糧食生產既然是靠農民(註二)，中國的農民又是很辛苦勤勞，所以中國要增加糧食的生產，便要在政治、法律上制出種種規定，來保護農民。中國的人口，農民是佔大多數，至少有八九成，但是他們由很辛苦勤勞得來的糧食，被地主奪去大半，自己得到手的幾乎不能夠自養，這是很不公平的。我們要增加糧食生產，便要規定法律，對於農民的權利，有一種鼓勵，有一種保障，讓農民自己可以多得收成。我們要怎麼樣能夠保障農民的權利，要怎麼令農民自己才可以多得收成，那便是關於平均地權問題。前幾天我們國民黨在這個高師學校，開了一個農民聯歡大會，做農民的運動，不過是想解決這個問題的起點。至於將來民生主義真是達到目的，農民問題真是完全解決，是要耕者有其田，那才算是我們對於農民問題的最終結果。中國現在的農民，究竟是怎麼樣的情形呢？中國現在雖然是沒有大地主，但是一般農民，有九成都是沒有田的。他們所耕的田，大都是屬於地主的，有田的人自己多不去耕。照道理來講，農民應該是為自己耕田，耕出來的農品，要歸自己所有。現在的農民，都不是耕自己的田，都是替地主來耕田，所生產的農品，大半是被地主奪去了。這是一個很重大的問題，我們應該馬上用政治和法律來解決，如果不能夠解決這個問題，民生問題便無從解決。農民耕田所得的糧食，據最近我們在鄉下的調查，十分之六是歸地主，農民自己所得到的不過十分之四，這是很不公平的。若是長此以往，到了農民有知識，還有誰人再情願辛辛苦苦去耕田呢？假若耕田所得的糧食完全歸到農民，農民一定是更高興去耕田的；大家都高興去耕田，便可以多得生產。但是現在的多數生產，都是歸於地主，農民不過得回四成。農民在一年之中，辛辛苦苦所收穫的糧食，結果還是要多數歸到地主，所以許多農民便不高興去耕田，許多田地便漸成荒蕪，不能生產了。

我們對於農業生產，除了上說之農民解放問題以外，還有七個加增生產的方法要研究：第一是機器問題，第二是肥料問題，第三是換種問題，第四是除害問題，第五是製造問題，第六是運送問題，第七是防災問題。

第一個方法就是機器問題。中國幾千年來耕田都是用人工，沒有用過機器，如果用機器來耕田，生產上最少可以加多一倍。費用可減輕十倍或百倍。向來用人工生產，可以養四萬萬人，若是用機器生產，便可以養八萬萬人。所以我們對於糧食生產的方法，若用機器來代人工，則中國現在有許多荒田不能耕種，因為地勢太高，沒有水灌溉，用機器抽水，把低地的水抽到高地，高地有水灌溉，便可以開闢來耕種。已開闢的良田，因為沒有旱災，更可以加多生產。那些向來不能耕種的荒地，既是都能夠耕種，糧食的生產自然是大大增加了。現在許多耕田抽水的機器，都是靠外國輸運進來的，如果大家都用機器，需要增加，更要我們自己可以製造機器，挽回外溢的利權。

第二個方法就是肥料問題。中國向來所用的肥料，都是人與動物的糞料，和各種腐敗的植物，沒有用過化學肥料的。近來才漸漸用智利硝做肥料，像廣東、河南有許多地方，近來都是用智利硝來種甘蔗，甘蔗因為得了智利硝的肥料，生長的速度便加快一倍，長出來的甘蔗也加大幾倍；凡是沒有用過智利硝做肥料的甘蔗，不但是長得很慢，並且長得很小。但是智利硝是由南美洲智利國運來的，成本很高，賣價很貴，只有種甘蔗的人才能夠買用，其他普通的農業都用不起。除了智利硝之外，海中各種甲殼動物的

磷質，和礦山巖石中的質，也是很好的肥料。如果硝質、磷質和質三種東西再混合起來，更是一種很好的肥料，栽培甚麼植物，都很容易生長，生產也可以大大的增加。比方耕一畝田，不用肥料的，可以收五籬穀，如果用了肥料，便可以收多二三倍。所以要增加農業的生產，便要用肥料；要用肥料，我們便要研究科學，用化學的方法來製造肥料。製造肥料的原料，中國到處都有，像智利硝那一種原料，中國老早便用來造火藥。世界向來所用的肥料，都是由南美洲智利國所產。近來科學發達，發明了一種新方法，到處可以用電來造硝，所以現在各國便不靠智利運進來的天然硝，多是用電去製造人工硝。這種人工硝和天然硝的功用相同，而且成本又極便宜，所以各國便樂于用這種肥料。但是電又是用甚麼造成的呢？普通價錢極貴的電，都是用蒸氣力造成的；至於近來極便宜的電，完全是用水力造成的。近來外國利用瀑布和河灘的水力來運動發電機，發生很大的電力，再用電力來製造人工硝。瀑布和河灘的天然力，是不用費錢的，所以發生電力的價錢是很便宜。電力即然是很便宜，所以由此製造出來的人工硝也是很便宜。這種瀑布和河灘，在中國是很多的，像西江到梧州以上，便有許多河灘，將近南寧的地方，有一個伏波灘，這個灘的水力是非常之大，對於來往船隻是很阻礙危險的。如果把灘水蓄起來，發生電力，另外開一條航路給船舶往來，豈不是兩得其利嗎？照那個灘的水力計算，有人說可以發生一百萬匹馬力的電。其他像廣西的撫河、紅河也有很多河灘，也可以利用來發生電力。再像廣東北部之翁江，據工程師的測量說，可以發生數萬匹馬力的電力，用這個電力來供給廣州各城市的電燈和各工廠中的電機之用，甚至于把粵漢鐵路照外國最新的方法，完全電化，都可以足用。又像揚子江上游夔峽的水力，更是很大。有人考察由宜昌到萬縣一帶的水力，可以發生三千餘萬匹馬力的電力，像這樣大的電力，比現在各國所發生的電力都要大得多。不但是可以供給全國火車、電車和各種工廠之用，並且可以用來製造大宗的肥料。又像黃河的龍門，也可以生幾千萬匹馬力的電力，由此可見中國的天然富源是很大的。如果把揚子江和黃河的水力用新方法來發生電力，大約可以發生一萬萬匹馬力，一匹馬力是等於八個強壯人的力，有一萬萬匹馬力便是有八萬萬人的力。一個人力的工作，照現在各國普通的規定，每天是八點鐘，如果用人力作工，多過了八點鐘，便於工人的衛生有礙，生產也因之減少，這個理由，在前一回已經是講過了。用人力作工，每天不過八點鐘，但是馬力作工，每天可以作足二十四點鐘。照這樣計算，一匹馬力的工作，在一日夜之中，便是等於二十四個人的工作，如果能夠利用揚子江和黃河的水力，發生一萬萬匹馬力的電力，那便是有二十四萬萬個工人來做工。到了那個時候，無論是行駛火車汽車，製造肥料和種種工廠的工作，都可以供給。韓愈說：「工之家一，而用器之家六。」國家便一天窮一天，中國四萬萬人到底有多少人做工呢？中國年輕的小孩和老年的人，固然是不作工，就是許多少年強壯的人，像收田租的地主，也是靠別人做工來養他們。所以中國人大多數都是不做工，都是分利，不是生利，所以中國便很窮。如果能夠利用揚子江和黃河的水力，發生一萬萬匹馬力，有了一萬萬匹馬力，就是有二十四萬萬個人力，拿這麼大的電力，來替我們做工，那便有很大的生產，中國一定是可以變貧為富的。所以對於農業生產，要能夠改良人工，利用機器，更用電力來製造肥料，農業生產自然是可以增加。

第三個方法就是換種問題。像一塊地方，今年種這種植物，明年改種別種植物，或者同是一樣的植物，在今年是種廣東的種子，明年是種湖南的種子，後年便種四川的種子。用這樣交換種子的方法，有甚麼好處呢？就是土壤可以交替休息，生產力便可以增加（註三），而種子落在新土壤、生於新空氣，強壯必加，結實必夥。所以能換種則生產增加。

第四個方法是除物害問題。農業上還有兩種物害：一是植物的害，一是動物的害。像稻田本來是要種穀，但是當種穀的時候，常常生許多稗和野草；那些草和稗比禾生長得快，一面阻止禾的生長，一面吸收田中的肥料，於禾稻是很有害的。農民應用科學的道理，研究怎麼樣治療那些稗草，以去植物之災害，同時又要研究怎麼樣去利用那些稗草，來增加五穀的結實。至於動物的害是些甚麼呢？害植物的動物很多，最普通的是蝗虫，和其他各種害虫。當植物的成熟時候，如果遇着了害虫，便被虫食壞了，沒有收成。像今年廣東的荔枝，因為結果的時候，遇着了毛虫，把那些荔枝花都食去了，所以今年荔枝的出產，是非常之少。其他害植物之虫是很多的，國家要用專門家對於那些害虫來詳細研究，想方法來消除。像美國現在把這種事當作是一個大問題，國家每年耗費許多金錢來研究消除害虫的方法，美國農業的收入，每年才可以增加幾萬萬元。現在南京雖然是設了一個昆虫局，來研究消除這種災害，但是規模太小，沒有大功效。我們要用國家的大力量，做美國的辦法，來消除害虫，然後全國農業的災害，才可以減少，全國的生產，才可以增加。

第五個方法就是製造問題。糧食要留存得長久，要運送到遠方，就必須要經過一度之製造方可。我國最普通的製造方法就有兩種：一是晒乾，一是鹹鹹。好像菜乾、魚乾、肉乾、鹹菜、鹹魚、鹹肉等便是。近來外國製造新法，就有將食物煮熟或烘熟，入落罐內而封存之，存留無論怎麼長久，到時開食，其味如新，這是製造食物之最好方法。無論甚麼魚、肉、果、蔬、餅食，皆可製為罐頭，分配全國或賣出外洋。

第六個方法就是運送問題。糧食到了有餘的時候，我們還要彼此調劑，拿此地的有餘去補彼地的不足。像東三省和北方是有豆有麥沒有米，南方各省是有米沒有豆和麥，我們就要把北方東三省多餘的豆麥拿來供給南方，更要把南方多餘的米拿去供給北方和東三省。要這樣能夠調劑糧食，便要靠運輸。現在中國最大的問題，就在運輸，因為運輸不方便，所以生出許多耗費。現在中國許多地方，運送貨物，都是靠挑夫，一個挑夫的力量，頂強壯的每日祇能夠挑一百觔，走一百里路遠，所需要的工錢，總要費一元。這種耗費，不但是空花金錢，並且空費時間，中國財富的大部分，於無形中便在運輸這一方面消耗去了。講到中國農業問題，如果真是能夠做到上面所說的五種改良方法，令生產加多，但是運輸不靈，又要成甚麼景象呢？像前幾年我遇着了一位雲南土司，他是有很多土地的，每年收入很多租穀。他告訴我說：每年總要燒去幾千担穀。我說：穀是很重要的糧食，為甚麼要把他來燒去呢？他說：每年收入的穀太多，自己吃不完，在附近的人民都是足食。又無商販來買，轉運的方法，祇能夠挑幾十里路遠，又不能運去遠方去賣。因為不能運到遠地去賣，所以每年總是新穀壓舊穀，又沒有多的倉庫可以儲蓄，等到新穀上了市，人民總是愛吃新穀，不愛吃舊穀，所以舊穀便沒有用處。因為沒有用處，所以每年收到新穀的時候，只好燒去舊穀，騰出空倉來儲新穀。這種燒穀的理由，就是由於生產過剩、運輸不靈的原故。中國向來最大的耗費，就是在挑夫，像廣州這個地方，從前也有很多挑夫，現在城內開了馬路，有了手車，許多事便可以不用挑夫。一架手車可以抵得幾個挑夫，可以省幾個挑夫的錢；一架自動車更可以抵得十幾個挑夫，可以省十幾個挑夫的錢。有手車和自動車來運送貨物，不但是減少耗費，並可省少時間。至於西關沒有馬路的地方，還是要用挑夫來搬運。若是在鄉下，要把一百觔東西運到幾十里路遠，更是不不可不用挑夫，甚至於有錢的人走路，都是用轎夫。中國從前因為這種運輸方法不完全，所以就是極重要的糧食，還是運輸不通，因為糧食運輸不通，所以吃飯問題便不能解決。

中國古時運送糧食最好的方法，是靠水道及運河。有一條運河是很長的，由杭州起，經過蘇州、鎮江、揚州、山東、天津以至北通州，差不多是到北京，有三千多里路遠，實為世界第一長之運河。這種水運是很便利的，如果加多近來的大輪船和電船，自然更加便利。不過近來對於這條運河，都是不大理會。我們要解決將來的吃飯問題，可以運輸糧食，便要恢復運河制度。已經有了運河，便要修理，沒有開關運河的地方，更要推廣去開關。在海上運輸，更是要用大輪船，因為水運是世界上運輸最便宜的方法。其次便宜的方法就是鐵路，如果中國十八行省和新疆、滿洲、青海、西藏、內外蒙古都修築了鐵路，到處聯絡起了，中國糧食便可以四處交通，各處的人民便有便宜飯吃，所以鐵路也是解決吃飯問題的一個好方法。但是鐵路祇可以到繁盛的地方，才能夠賺錢，如果到窮鄉僻壤的地方去經過，便沒有甚麼貨物可以運輸，也沒有很多的人民來往，在鐵路一方面，不但是不能夠賺錢，反要虧本了。所以在窮鄉僻壤的地方，便不能夠築鐵路，祇能夠築車路；有了車路，便可以行駛自動車。在大城市有鐵路，在小村落有車路，把路線聯絡得很完全，于是在大城市運糧食，便可以用大火車，在小村落運糧食便可以用自動車。像廣東的粵漢鐵路，由黃沙到韶關，鐵路兩旁的鄉村是很多的，如果這些鄉村都是開了車路，和粵漢鐵路都是聯絡起來，不但是粵漢鐵路可以賺許多錢，就是各鄉村的交通也是很方便。假若到兩旁的各鄉村也要築許多支鐵路，用火車去運送，不用自動車去輸送，那就一定虧本。所以現在外國鄉下就是已經築成了鐵路，火車可以通行，但是因為沒有多生意，便不用火車，還是改用自動車。因為每開一次火車要燒許多煤，所費成本太大，不容易賺錢；每開一次自動車，所費的成本很小，很容易賺錢，這是近來辦交通事業的人不可不知道的。又像由廣州到澳門，向來都是靠輪船，近來有人要籌辦廣澳鐵路。但是由廣州到澳門，不過二百多里路程遠，如果築了鐵路，每天來往行車，能開三次，還不能夠賺錢，至於每天祇開車兩次，那便要虧本了。而且為節省經費，每天少開幾次車，對於交通還是不大方便。所以由廣州到澳門，最好是築車路，行駛自動車。因為築車路比築鐵路的成本是輕得多，而且火車開行一次，一個火車頭最少要拖七八架車，才不致虧本，所費的人工和煤炭的消耗是很多的。如果乘客太少，便不能賺錢，不比在車路行駛自動車，隨便可以開多少架車，乘客多的時候，便可開一架大車，更多的時候，可多開兩三架大車，乘客少的时候，可以開一架小車，隨時有客到，便可以隨時開車。不比火車開車的時候有一定，如果不照開車的一定時候，便有撞車的危險。所以由廣州到澳門築車路和築鐵路比較起來，築車路是便宜得多。有了車路之後，更有窮鄉僻壤，是自動車不能到的地方，才用挑夫。由此可見我們要解決運輸糧食的問題，第一是運河，第二是鐵路，第三是車路，第四是挑夫。要把這四個方法做到圓滿的解決，我們四萬萬人才有很便宜的飯吃。

第七個方法就是防天災問題。像今年廣東水災，在這十幾天之內，使可以收頭次穀，但是頭次穀將成熟的時候，便完全被水淹沒了。一畝田的穀最少可以值十元，現在被水淹沒了，便是損失了十元。今年廣東全省受水災的田，該是有多少畝呢？大概總有幾百萬畝，這種損失便是幾千萬元。所以要完全解決吃飯問題，防災便是一個很重大的問題。關於這種水災，是怎樣去防呢？現在廣東防水災的方法，設得有治河處，已經在各江兩岸低處地方修築了許多高堤，那種築堤的工程都是很堅固的，所以每次遇到大水，便可以抵禦，便不至讓大水汎濫到兩岸的田中。我去年在東江打仗，看見那些高堤都是築得很堅固，可

以防水患，不至被水冲破。這種築堤來防水災的方法，是一種治標的方法，只可以說是防水災的方法之一半，還不是完全治標的方法。完全治標的方法，除了築高堤之外，還要把河道和海口一帶來浚深，把沿途的淤積沙泥都要除去。海口沒有淤積來阻碍河水，河道又很深，河水便容易流通。有了大水的時候，便不至汎濫到各地，水災便可以減少。所以浚深河道和築高堤岸兩種工程要同時辦理，才是完全治標方法。至於防水災的治本方法，是怎麼樣呢？近來的水災，為甚麼是一年多過一年呢？古時的水災為甚麼是很少呢？這個原因，就是由於古代有很多森林，現在人民採伐木料過多，採伐之後，又不行補種，所以森林便很少，許多山嶺都是童山，一遇了大雨，山上沒有森林來吸收雨水和阻止雨水，山上的水便馬上流到河裏去，河水便馬上泛漲起來，即成水災。所以要防水災，種植森林是很有關係的，多種森林，便是防水災的治本方法。有了森林，遇到大雨的時候，林木的枝葉可以吸收空中的水，林木的根株可以吸收地下的水，如果有極隆密的森林，便可以吸收大量的水。這些大水，都是由森林蓄積起來，然後慢慢流到河中，不是馬上直接流到河中，便不至於成災。所以防水災的治本方法，還是森林。所以對於吃飯問題，要能夠防水災，便先要造森林，有了森林便可以免去全國的水禍。我們講到了種植全國森林的問題，歸到結果，還是要靠國家來經營；要國家來經營，這個問題才容易成功。今年中國南北各省，都有很大的水災，由於這次大水災，全國的損失總在幾萬萬元。現在已經是民窮財盡，再加以這樣的大損失，眼前的吃飯問題便不容易解決。

水災之外，還有旱災，旱災問題是用甚麼方法解決呢？像俄國在這次大革命之後，有兩三年的旱災，因為那次大旱災，人民餓死了甚多，俄國的革命幾乎要失敗，可見旱災也很利害的。這種旱災從前以為是天數，不能夠挽救；現在科學昌明，無論是甚麼天災，都有方法可以救，不過這種防旱災的方法，要用全國大力量通盤計劃來防止。這種方法是什麼呢？治本方法也是種植森林。有了森林，天氣中的水量便可以調和，便可以常常下雨，旱災便可以減少。至於地勢極高和水源很少的地方，我們更要用機器抽水，來救濟高地的水荒。這種防止旱災的方法，好像是築堤防水災，同是一樣的治標方法。有了這種的治標方法，一時候的水旱天災，都可以挽救。所以我們研究到防止水災與旱災的根本方法，都是要造森林，要造全國大規模的森林。至於水旱兩災的治標方法，都是要用機器來抽水和建築高堤與浚深河道。這種治標與治本兩個方法能夠完全做到，水災天災可以免，那麼糧食之生產便不致有損失之患了。

中國如果能解放農民和實行以上這七個增加生產之方法，那麼吃飯問題到底是解決了沒有呢？就是以上種種的生產問題能夠得到了圓滿解決的時候，吃飯問題還是沒有完全解決。大家都知到歐美是以工商立國，不知道這些工商政府，對於農業上也是有很多的研究。像美國對於農業的改良和研究，便是無微不至，不但對於本國的農業有很詳細的研究，並且常常派專門家到中國內地並滿洲蒙古各處來考察研究，把中國農業工作的方法和一切種子，都帶回美國去參考應用。美國近來是很注重農業的國家，所有關於農業運輸的鐵路，防災的方法，和種種科學的設備，都是很完全的。但是美國的吃飯問題，到底是解決了沒有呢？依我看起來，美國的吃飯問題還是沒有解決。美國每年運輸很多糧食到外國去發賣，糧食是很豐足的，為甚麼吃飯問題還沒有解決呢？這個原因，就是由於美國的農業，還是在資本家之手，美國還是私人資本制度。在那些私人資本制度之下，生產的方法太發達，分配的方法便完全不管，所以民生問題便不能夠解決。我們要完全解決民生問題，不但是要解決生產的問題，就是分配的問題，也是要同時注重的。分配公平方法，在私人資本制度之下，是不能夠實行的；因為在私人資本制度之下，種種生產的方法，都是向住一個目標來進行。這種目標是甚麼呢？就是賺錢。因為糧食的生產是以賺錢做目標，所以糧食在本國沒有高價的時候，便運到外國去賣，要賺多錢。因為私人要賺多錢，就是本國有饑荒，人民沒有糧食，要餓死很多人，那些資本家也是不去理會。像這樣的分配方法，專是以賺錢為目標，民生問題便不能夠完全解決。我們要實行民生主義，還要注重分配問題。我們所注重的分配方法，目標不是在賺錢，是要供給大家公眾來使用。中國的糧食，現在本來是不夠，但是每年還有數十萬萬個雞蛋和穀米、大豆運到日本和歐美各國去。這種現象，是和印度一樣的，印度不但是糧食不夠，且每年都是有饑荒，但是每年運到歐洲的糧食數目，印度還佔了第三個重要位置。這是甚麼原因呢？這個原因就是由於印度受了歐洲經濟的壓迫，印度尚在資本制度時代，糧食生產的目標是在賺錢。因為生產的目標是在賺錢，印度每年雖是有饑荒，那般生產的資本家，知道拿糧食來救濟饑民，是不能夠賺錢的，要把他運到歐洲各國去發賣，便很可以賺錢；所以那些資本家寧可任本地的饑民餓死，也要把糧食運到歐洲各國去賣。我們的民生主義，目的是在打破資本制度。中國現在已經是不夠飯吃，每年還要運送很多的糧食到外國去賣，就是因為一般資本家要賺錢。如果實行民生主義，便要生產糧食的目標不在賺錢，要在給養人民。我們要達到這個目的，便要把每年生產有餘的糧食，都儲蓄起來，不但是今年的糧食很足，就是明年後年的糧食都是很足。等到三年之後的糧食，都是很充足，然後才可以運到外國去賣；如果在三年之後，還是不大充足，便不准運出外國去賣。要能夠照這樣做去，來實行民生主義，以養民為目標，不以賺錢為目標，中國的糧食才能夠很充足。所以民生主義和資本主義根本上不同的地方，就是資本主義是以賺錢為目的，民生主義是以養民為目的。有了這種以養民為目的好主義，從前不好的資本制度便

可以打破。但是我們實行民生主義來解決中國的吃飯問題，對於資本制度，祇可以逐漸改良，不能夠馬上推翻。我們的目的，本是要中國的糧食很充足，等到中國糧食充足了之後，更進一步便容易把糧食的價值弄到很便宜。現在中國正是米珠薪桂；這個米珠薪桂的原因，就是由於中國的糧食被外國奪去了一部分，進出口貨的價值不能相抵，受外國的經濟壓迫，沒有別的貨物可以相消，只有拿人民要吃的糧食來作抵。因為這個道理，所以現在中國有很多人沒有飯吃；因為沒有飯吃，所以已生的人民要死亡，未生的人民要減少。全國人口逐漸減少，由四萬萬減到三萬萬一千萬，就是由於吃飯問題沒有解決，民生主義沒有實行。

對於吃飯的分配問題，到底要怎麼樣呢？吃飯就是民生的第一個需要。民生的需要，從前經濟學家都說是衣、食、住三種。照我的研究，應該有四種，於衣食住之外，還有一種就是行。行也是一種很重的需要，行就是走路。我們要解決民生問題，不但是要把這四種需要弄到很便宜，並且要全國的人民都能夠享受。所以我們要實行三民主義來造成一個新世界，就要大家對於這四種需要，都不可短少，一定要國家來負擔這種責任。如果國家把這四種需要供給不足，無論何人都可以來向國家要求。國家對於人民的需要，固然是要負責任，至於人民對於國家又是怎麼樣呢？人民對於國家應該要盡一定的義務，像做農的要生糧食，做工的要製器具，做商的要通有無，做士的要盡才智。大家都能各盡各的義務，大家自然可以得衣食住行的四種需要。我們研究民生主義，就要解決這四種需要的問題。今天先講吃飯問題，第一步是解決生產問題，生產問題解決之後，便在糧食的分配問題。要解決這個問題，便要每年儲蓄，要全國人民有三年之糧，等到有了三年之糧以後，才能夠把盈餘的糧食運到外國去賣。這種儲蓄糧食的方法，就是古時的義倉制度，不過這種義倉制度，近來已經是打破了。再加以歐美的經濟壓迫，中國就變成民窮財盡。所以這是解決民生問題最着急的時候，如果不趁這個時候來解決民生問題，將來再去解決，便是更難了。我們國民黨主張三民主義來立國，現在講到民生主義，不但是要注重研究學理，還要注重實行事實。在事實上，頭一個最重要的問題就是吃飯。我們要解決這個吃飯問題，是先要糧食的生產很充足，次要糧食的分配很平均；糧食的生產和分配都解決了，還要人民大家都盡義務。人民對於國家能夠大家盡義務，自然可以得到家給人足。吃飯問題才算是真解決。吃飯問題能夠先解決，其餘的別種問題也就可以隨之而解決（註四）。

（註一） 原文僅標「十三年八月十七日」，今增「民國……講」。

（註二） 原文為「農工」，今據「胡本」及「會本」改。

（註三） 原文為「增」，今據「胡本」及「會本」增「加」字。

（註四） 原文為「而決」，今據「胡本」及「會本」增「解」字。

## 民生主義 第四講

第四講 民國十三年八月二十四日講（註一）

今天所講的是穿衣問題。在民生主義裏頭，第一個重要問題是吃飯；第二個重要問題是穿衣。所以在吃飯問題之後，便來講穿衣問題。我們試拿進化的眼光來觀察宇宙間的萬物，便見得無論甚麼動物、植物都是要吃飯的，都是要靠養料才能夠生存，沒有養料便要死亡。所以吃飯問題，不但是在動物方面是很重要，就是在植物那方面也是一樣的重要。至于穿衣問題，宇宙萬物之中，祇是人類才有衣穿，而且祇是文明的人類才有衣穿。他種動物植物都沒有衣穿，就是野蠻人類也是沒有衣穿。所以吃飯是民生的第一個重要問題，穿衣就是民生的第二個重要問題。現在非洲和南洋各處的野蠻人都是沒有衣穿，可見我們古代的祖宗也是沒有衣穿，由此更可見穿衣是隨文明進化而來，文明愈進步，穿衣問題就愈複雜。原人時代的人類所穿的衣服是天衣，甚麼叫做天衣呢？像飛禽走獸，有天生的羽毛來保護身體，那種羽毛便是禽獸的天然衣服；那種羽毛是天然生成的，所以叫做天衣。原人時代的人類，身上也生長得有許多毛，那些毛便是人類的天衣。後來人類文明進化，到了游牧時代，曉得打魚獵獸，便拿獸皮做衣；有了獸皮來做衣，身上生長的毛漸漸失了功用，便逐漸脫落。人類文明愈進步，衣服愈完備，身上的毛愈少。所以文明愈進步的人類，身上的毛便是很少，野蠻人和進化不久的人，身上的毛才是很多。拿中國人和歐洲人來比較，歐洲人身上的毛都是比中國人多，這個原因就是歐洲人在天然進化的程度，還不及中國人。由此可見衣的原始，最初是人類身上天然生長的毛，後來人類進化，便打死猛獸，拿獸肉來吃，拿獸皮來穿；獸皮便是始初人類的衣。有一句俗語說：食肉寢皮這是一句很古的話。這句話的意思，本是罵人做獸類；但由此便可證明古代人類打死獸類之後，便拿他的肉來做飯吃，拿他的皮來做衣穿。後來

人類漸多，獸類漸少，單用獸皮便不夠衣穿，便要想出別種材料來做衣服，便發明了別種衣服的材料。甚麼是做衣服的材料呢？我前一回講過，吃飯的普通材料，是靠動物的肉和植物的菓實。穿衣的材料和吃飯的材料，是同一來源的。吃飯材料要靠動物和植物，穿衣材料也是一樣的要靠動物和植物，除了動物和植物以外，吃飯穿衣便沒有別的大來源。

我們現在要解決穿衣問題，究竟要達到甚麼程度呢？穿衣是人類的一種生活需要，人類生活的程度，在文明進化之中，可以分作三級：第一級是需要，人生不得需要，固然不能生活，就是所得的需要不滿足，也是不能充分生活，可說是半死半活，所以第一級的需要，是人類的的生活不可少的。人類得了第一級需要生活之外，更進一步便是第二級，這一級叫做安適；人類在這一級的生活，不是為求生活的需要，是于需要之外，更求安樂，更求舒服。所以在這一級的生活程度，可以說是安適。得了充分安適之後，再更進一步，便想奢侈。比方拿穿衣來講，古代時候的衣服，所謂是夏葛冬裘，便算了滿足需要。但是到了安適程度，不祇是夏葛冬裘，僅求需要，更要適體，穿到很舒服。安適程度達到了之後，于適體之外，還要再進一步，又求美術的雅觀。夏葛要弄到輕綃幼絹，冬裘要取到海虎貂鼠。這樣穿衣由需要一進而求安適，由安適再進而求雅觀，便好像是吃飯問題，最初只求青菜淡飯的飽食，後來由飽食便進而求有酒有肉的肥甘美味，更進而求山珍海味。好像現在廣東的酒席，飛禽走獸、燕窩魚翅，無奇不有，無美不具，窮奢極慾，這就是到了極奢侈的程度。我們現在要解決民生問題，並不是要解決安適問題，也不是要解決奢侈問題，祇要解決需要問題。這個需要問題，就是要全國四萬萬人都可以得衣食的需要，要四萬萬人都都是豐衣足食。我在前一回講過，中國人口的數目是由四萬萬減到三萬萬一千萬，我們現在對於這三萬萬一千萬人的穿衣問題，要從生產上和製造上通盤計畫，研究一種方法來解決。如果現在沒有方法來解決，這三萬萬一千萬人，恐怕在一兩年之後還要減少幾千萬。今年的調查已經只有三萬萬一千萬，再過幾年，更是不足。現在只算三萬萬人，我們對於這三萬萬人，便要統籌一個大計劃來解決這些人數的穿衣問題。要求解決這種問題的方法，首先當要研究是材料的生產。就穿衣問題來講，穿衣需要的原料是靠動物和植物，動物和植物的原料，一共有四種。這四種原料，有兩種是從動物得來的，有兩種是從植物得來的。這四種原料之中：第一種是絲；第二種是麻；第三種是棉；第四種是毛。棉和麻是從植物得來的原料，絲和毛是從動物得來的原料。絲是由于一種蟲叫做蠶吐出來的，毛是由于羊和駱駝及他獸類生出來的。絲、毛、棉、麻這四種物件，就是人生穿衣所需要的原料。

現在先就絲來講，絲是穿衣的一種好材料，這種材料是由中國最先發明的。中國人在極古的時候便穿絲，現在歐美列強的文化雖然是比我們進步得多，但是中國發明絲的那個時候，歐美各國還是在野蠻時代，還是茹毛飲血。不但是沒有絲穿，且沒有衣穿；不但是沒有衣穿，並且身上還有許多毛，是穿着天衣，是一種野蠻人。到近兩三百年來，他們的文化才是比我們進步，才曉得用絲來做好衣服的材料。他們用絲不只是用來做需要品，多是用來做奢侈品。中國發明絲來做衣服的材料，雖然有了幾千年，但是我們三萬萬人的穿衣問題，還不是在乎絲的問題，我們穿衣的需要品，並不是絲，全國人還有許多用不到絲的。我們每年所產的絲，大多數都是運到外國，供外國做奢侈品。在中國最初和外國通商的時候，出口貨物之中，第一大宗便是絲。當時中國出口的絲很多，外國進口的貨物很少。中國出口的貨物和外國進口的貨物價值比較，不但是可以相抵，而且還要超過進口貨。中國出口貨物除了絲之外，第二宗便是茶。絲、茶這兩種貨物，在從前外國都沒有這種出產，所以便成為中國最大宗的出口貨。外國人沒有茶以前，他們都是喝酒，後來得了中國的茶，便喝茶來代酒（註二）；以後喝茶成為習慣，茶便成了一种需要品。因為從前絲和茶，祇有中國才有這種出產，外國沒有這種貨物，當時中國人對於外國貨物的需要，也不十分大，外國出產的貨物又不很多，所以通商幾十年，和外國交換貨物，我們出口絲茶的價值，便可以和外國進口貨物的價值相抵消，這就是出口貨和進口貨的價值兩相平均。但是近來外國進口的貨物天天加多，中國出口的絲、茶天天減少，進出口貨物的價值便不能相抵銷。中國所產的絲，近來被外國學去了，像歐洲的法蘭西和意大利現在就出產許多絲。他們對於養蠶、紡絲和製絲的種種方法，都有很詳細的研究，很多的發明，很好的改良。日本的絲業，不但是做效中國的方法，而且采用歐洲各國的新發明，所以日本絲的性質便是很進步，出產要比中國多，品質又要比中國好。由於這幾個原因，中國的絲、茶，在國際貿易上，便沒有多人買，便被外國的絲、茶奪去了。現在出口的數量，更是日日減少。中國絲、茶的出口既是減少，又沒有別的貨物可以運去外國來抵消外國進口貨的價值，所以每年便要由通商貿易上，進貢於各國者約五萬萬元大洋，這就是受了外國經濟的壓迫。中國受外國的經濟壓迫愈利害，民生問題愈不能夠解決。中國絲在國際貿易上，完全被外國絲奪去了。品質沒有外國絲的那麼好，價值也沒有外國絲那麼高；但是因為要換外國的棉布棉紗，來做我們的需要品，所以自己便不能夠拿絲來用，要運去外國換更便宜的洋布和洋紗。至於講到絲的工業，從前發明的生產和製造方法，都是很好的，但是一成不易，總不知道改良。後來外國學了去，加以近來科學昌明，更用科學方法來改良，所以製出的絲，便駕乎中國之上，便侵佔中國蠶絲的工業。我們考究中國絲業之所以失敗的原因，是在乎生產方法不好。中國所養的蠶，很多都是有病的，一萬條蠶虫裏頭，大半都是結果不良，半途死去；就是幸而不死，這

些病蠶所結的繭，所出的絲，也是品質不佳，色澤不好。而且繅絲的方法不完全，斷口太多，不合外國織網機器之用。由於這些原因，中國絲便漸漸失敗，便不能敵外國絲。在幾十年以前，外國養蠶的方法也是和中國一樣。中國農民養蠶，有時成績很優，有時完全失敗。這樣結果，一時好一時不好，農民沒有別的方法去研究，便歸之于命運；養蠶的收成不好，便說是命運不佳。外國初養蠶的時候，也有許多病蠶，遇着失敗，沒有方法去挽救，也是安于命運。後來科學家發明生物學，把一切生物留心考察，不但是眼所能看得見的生物，要詳細考究，就是眼看不見，要用幾千倍顯微鏡才能看見的生物，也要過細去考究。由於這樣考究，法國有一位科學家叫做「柏斯多」，便得了一個新發明。這個發明，就是一切動物的病，無論是人的病或是蠶的病，都是由於一種微生物而起。生了這種微生物，如果不能夠除去，受病的動物便要死。他用了許多功夫，經過了許多研究，把微生物考究得很清楚，發明了去那種微生物來治療蠶病的方法，傳到法國、意國的養蠶家，法國、意國人民得了這個方法，知道醫蠶病，于是病蠶便少了很多。到繅絲的時候，成績便很好，絲業便很進步。後來日本學了這個方法，他們的絲業也是逐漸進步。中國的農家一向是守舊，不想考究新法，所以我們的絲業便一天一天的退步。現在上海的絲商，設立了一間生絲檢查所，去考究絲質，想用方法來改良。廣東嶺南大學也有用科學方法來改良蠶種，把蠶種改良了之後，所得絲的收成是很多，所出絲的品質也是很好。但是這樣用科學方法去改良蠶種，還只是少數人才知道，大多數的養蠶家還沒有知道。中國要改良絲業來增加生產，便要一般養蠶家都學外國的科學方法，把蠶種和桑葉都來改良，蠶種和桑葉改良之後，更要把紡絲的方法過細考究，把絲的種類、品質和色澤都分別改良，中國的絲業便可以逐漸進步，才可以和外國絲去競爭。如果中國的桑葉、蠶種和絲質沒有改良，還是老守舊法，中國的絲業不止是失敗，恐怕要歸天然的淘汰，處於完全消滅。現在中國自己大多數都不用絲，要把絲運出口去換外國的洋布洋紗，如果中國的絲質不好，外國不用中國絲，中國絲便沒有銷路，不但是失了一宗大富源，而且因為沒有出口的絲去換外國洋布洋紗，中國便沒有穿衣的材料。所以中國要一般人有穿衣的材料，來解決穿衣問題，便要保守固有的工業，改良蠶種桑葉，改良紡絲的方法。至于中國絲織的綾羅綢緞，從前都是很好，是外國所不及的，現在外國用機器紡織所製出的絲織品，比中國更好得多。近來中國富家所用頂華美的絲織品，都是從外國來的，可見我們中國的國粹工業，現在已經是失敗了。我們要解決絲業問題，不但要改良桑葉、蠶種，改良養蠶和紡絲的方法來造成很好的絲，還要學外國用機器來織造綢緞，才可以造成頂華美的絲織品，來供大眾使用。等到大眾需要充足之後，才把有餘的絲織品運去外國去換別種貨物。

穿衣所需要的材料，除了絲之外，第二種便是麻。麻也是中國最先發明的，中國古代時候，便已經發明了用麻製布的方法，到今日大家還是沿用那種舊方法。中國的農工業總是沒有進步，所以製麻工業，近來也被外國奪去了。近日外國用新機器來製麻，把麻製成麻紗，這種用機器製出來的麻紗，所有的光澤都和絲差不多。外國更把麻和絲混合起來織成種種東西，他們人民都是很樂用的。這種用麻、絲混合織成的各種用品，近來輸入中國很多，中國人也是很歡迎，由此便奪了中國的製麻工業。中國各省產麻很多，由麻製出來的東西，只供夏天衣服之用，只可以用一季。我們要改良製麻工業，便要根本上從農業起，要怎麼樣種植，要怎麼樣施用肥料，要怎麼樣製造細麻線，都要過細去研究，麻業才可以進步，製得的出品才是很便宜。中國製麻工業，完全是靠手工，沒有用機器來製造，用手工製麻，不但是費許多工夫，製出的麻布不佳，就是成本也是很貴。我們要改良麻業，造出好麻，一定要用一種大計劃。這種計劃，是先從農業起首來研究，自種植起以至於製造麻布，每步工夫都要採用科學的新方法。要能夠這樣改良，我們才可以得到好麻，才可以製出很便宜的衣料。

絲、麻這兩種東西，用來做穿衣的材料，是中國首先發明的。但是現在穿衣的材料，不只是用絲麻，大多數是用棉，現在漸漸用毛。棉、毛這兩種材料，現在都是人人穿衣所需要的。中國本來沒有棉，此種吉貝棉，是由印度傳進來的。中國得了印度的棉花種子，各處種植起來，便曉得紡紗、織布，成了一種棉花工業。近來中國的洋布，輸入中國，外國洋布比中國的土布好，價錢又便宜，中國人便愛穿洋布，不愛穿土布，中國的土布工業，便被洋布打銷了。所以中國穿衣的需要材料，便不得不靠外國，就是有些土布小工業，也是要用洋紗來織布。由此可見中國的棉業，根本上被外國奪去了。中國自輸入印度棉種之後，各處都是種得很多，每年棉花的出產，也是很多。世界產棉的國家，第一個是美國，其次是印度，中國產棉花是世界上的第三等國。中國所產的棉雖然是不少，天然品質也是很好，但是工業不進步，所以自己不能夠用這種棉花來製成好棉布棉紗，只可將棉花運到外國去賣。中國出口的棉花，大多數是運到日本，其餘運到歐美各國。日本和歐美各國來買中國棉花，是要拿來和本國的棉花混合，才能夠織成好布，所以日本大阪各紡紗織布廠所用的原料，不只一半是中國的棉花，他們拿中國的棉花織成布之後，再把布又運到中國來賺錢。本來中國的工人是頂多的，工錢也是比各國要便宜的，中國自己有棉花，又有賤價的工人，為甚麼還要把棉花運到日本去織布呢？為甚麼自己不來織布呢？日本的工人不多，工價又貴，為甚麼能夠買中國棉花，織成洋布，運回中國來賺錢呢？推究這個原因，就是由於中國的工業不進步，不能夠製造便宜布。日本的工業很進步，能夠製造很便宜的布，所以要解決穿衣問題，便要解

決農業和工業的兩個問題。如果農業和工業兩個問題不能夠解決，不能夠增加生產，便沒有便宜衣穿。中國自己既是不能織造便宜布，便要靠外國運布進來。外國運布來中國，他們不是來盡義務，也不是來進貢，他們運貨進來，是要賺錢的，要用一塊錢的貨，換兩塊中國錢，中國的錢被外國賺去了，就是要受外國的經濟壓迫。追究所以受這種壓迫的原因，還是由於由於工業不發達。因為工業不發達，所以中國的棉花，都要運去外國，外國的粗棉布，還要買進來。中國人天天穿的衣服（註三），都是靠外國運進來，便要出很高的代價，這種很高的代價，便是要把很貴重的金、銀、糧食運到外國去抵償。這樣情形，便很像破落戶的敗家子孫，自己不知道生產，不能夠謀衣食，便要把祖宗留傳下的珍寶玩器那些好東西賣去換衣食一樣。這就是中國受外國經濟壓迫的現狀。

我從前在民族主義中已經是講過了，中國受外國經濟的壓迫，每年要被外國奪去十二萬萬至十五萬萬元，這個十五萬萬元的損失之中，頂大的就是由於進口貨同出口貨不相比對。照這兩三年海關冊的報告，出口貨比進口貨要少三萬萬餘兩。這種兩數是海關秤，這種海關秤的三萬萬餘兩，要折合上海大洋便有五萬萬元，若果折合廣東毫銀便有六萬萬元，這就是出口貨同進口貨不能相抵銷的價值。進口貨究竟是些甚麼東西呢？頂大的是洋紗洋布，這種洋紗洋布都是棉花織成的，所以中國每年進口的損失，大多數是由於棉貨。據海關冊的報告，這種進口棉貨的價值，每年要有二萬萬海關兩，折合上海大洋便有三萬萬元，這就是中國用外國的棉布，每年要值三萬萬元。拿中國近來人口的數目比較起來，就是每一個人要用一塊錢來穿洋布，由此可見現在中國民生的第二個需要，都是用外國材料。中國本來有棉花，工人很多，工錢又賤，但是不知道振興工業來挽回利權，所以就是穿衣便不能不用洋布，便不能不把許多錢都送到外國人。要送錢到外國人，就是受外國的經濟壓迫，沒有方法來解決；我們直接穿衣的民生問題，更是不能解決。大家要挽回利權，先解決穿衣問題，便要減少洋紗、洋布的進口。要解決這個問題，有甚麼好方法呢？當歐戰的時候，歐美各國沒有洋布運進中國，到中國的洋布，都是從日本運來的。日本在那個時候，供給歐洲協約國的種種軍用品，比較運洋布來中國，還要賺錢得多，所以日本的大工廠，都是製造軍用品去供給協約國，祇有少數工廠才製造洋紗洋布運到中國來賣。中國市面上的布便不夠人民穿，布價便是非常之貴。當時中國的商人要做投機事業，便發起設立許多紗廠、布廠，自己把棉花來紡成洋紗，更用洋紗織成洋布。後來上海設立幾十家工廠，都是很賺錢，一塊錢的資本，差不多要賺三四塊錢，有幾倍的利息。一般資本家見得這樣的大利，大家更想發大財，便更投許多資本去開紗廠、布廠，所以當時在上海的紗廠、布廠真是極一時之盛。那些開紗廠、布廠新發財的資本家，許多都稱為棉花大王。但是到現在，又是怎麼樣情形呢？從前有幾千萬的富翁，現在都是虧大本，變成了窮人。從前所開的紗廠、布廠，現在因為虧了本，大多數都是停了工；如果再不停工，還更要虧本，甚至於要完全破產。這是甚麼原因呢？一般人以為外國的洋布洋紗之所以能夠運到中國來的原故，是由于用機器來紡紗織布。這種用機器來紡紗織布，比較用手工來紡紗織布，所得的品質是好得多，成本是輕得多，所以外國在中國買了棉花，運回本國織成洋布之後，再運來中國，這樣往返曲折，還能夠賺錢，推究他們能夠賺錢的原因，是由於用機器。由於他們都是用機器，所以中國一般資本家都是學他們，也是用機器來織布紡紗，開了許多新式的大紗廠大布廠，所投的資本，大的有千萬，小的也有百幾十萬。那些紗廠和布廠在歐戰的時候，本賺了許多錢，但是現在都是虧本，大多數都是停工；從前的棉花大王現在多變成了窮措大。推到我們現在的紗廠和布廠，也是用機器，同是一樣的用機器，為甚麼他們外國人用機器織布紡紗便賺錢，我們中國人用機器織布紡紗便要虧本呢？而且外國織布的棉花，還是從中國買回去的，外國買到棉花運回本國去，要花一筆運費，織成洋布之後，再運來中國，又要花一筆運費，一往一返，要花多兩筆運費。再者外國工人的工錢，又比中國高得多，中國用本地的土產來製造貨物，所用的機器和外國相同，而且工價又便宜，照道理是應該中國的紗廠布廠能夠賺錢，外國的紗廠布廠要虧本。為甚麼所得的結果恰恰是相反呢？這個原因，就是中國的棉業受了外國政治的壓迫。外國壓迫中國，不但是專用經濟力。經濟力是一種天然力量，就是中國所說的王道。到了經濟力有時而窮，不能達到目的的時候，便用政治來壓迫。這種政治力，就是中國所說的霸道。當從前中國用手工和外國用機器競爭的時代，中國的工業歸于失敗，那還是純粹經濟問題；到了歐戰以後，中國所開的紗廠布廠，也學外國用機器去和他們競爭，弄到結果是中國失敗，這便不是經濟問題，是政治問題。外國用政治力來壓迫中國，是些甚麼方法呢？從前中國滿清政府和外國戰爭，中國失敗之後，外國便強迫中國，立了許多不平等的條約，外國至今都是用那些條約來束縛中國。中國因為受了那些條約的束縛，所以無論甚麼事，都是失敗。中國和外國如果在政治上是站在平等的地位，在經濟一方面可以自由去和外國競爭的，中國還可以支持，或不至於失敗。但是外國一用到政治力，要拿政治力量來做經濟力量的後盾，中國便沒有方法可以抵抗、可以競爭。外國束縛中國的條約，對於棉業問題是有甚麼關係呢？現在外國運洋紗到中國，在進口的時候，海關都是要行值百抽五的關稅；進口之後，通過中國內地各處，再要行值百抽二五的厘金，統計起來，外國的洋紗洋布，只要納百分之七五的厘稅，便可以流通中國各處，暢行無阻。至于中國紗廠布廠織成的洋布，又是怎麼樣呢？在滿清的時候，中國人都是做夢，糊糊塗塗，也是聽外國人主持，凡是中國在上海等處各工廠所出的布疋，都要和外國的洋布一樣，要行值百抽五的關稅；經過內地各處的時候，

又不能和外國洋布一樣，只納一次厘金，凡是經過一處地方，便要更納一次厘金，經過幾處地方，便要納幾次厘金。講到中國土布納海關稅，是和外國洋布一樣，納厘金又要比外國洋布多幾次，所以中國土布的價錢，便變成非常之高。土布的價錢太高，便不能流通各省，所以就是由機器織成的布，還是不能夠和外國布來競爭。外國拿條約來束縛中國的海關厘金，厘金廠對於外國貨不能隨便加稅，對於中國貨可以任意加稅。好像廣東的海關，不是中國人管理，是外國人管理，我們對於外國貨物，便不能自由加稅；中國貨物經過海關，都由外國人任意抽稅，通過各關卡，更要納許多次數厘金，外國貨物納過一次稅之後，便通行無阻，這就是中外貨物的稅率不平均。因為中外貨物的稅率不平均，所以中國的土布便歸失敗。至於歐美平等的獨立國家，彼此的關稅都是自由，都沒有條約的束縛，各國政府都是可以自由加稅。這種加稅的變更，是看本國和外國的經濟狀態來定稅率的高下。如果外國有很多貨物運進來，侵奪本國的貨物，馬上便可以加極重的稅來壓制外國貨，壓制外國貨，就是保護本國貨，這種稅法，就叫做保護稅法。譬如中國有貨運到日本，日本對於中國貨物，最少也要抽值百分之三十的稅，他們本國的貨物，便不抽稅。所以日本貨物原來成本是一百元的，因為不納稅，仍是一百元，日本貨物如果賣一百二十元，便有二十元的利。中國貨運到日本去，若賣了一百二十元，便要虧十元的血本。由此日本便可以抵制中國貨，可以保護本國貨。這種保護本國貨物的發達，抵制外國貨物的進口，是各國相同的經濟政策。

我們要解決民生問題，保護本國工業，不為外國侵奪，便先要有政治力量，自己能夠來保護工業。中國現在受條約的束縛，失了政治的主權，不但是不能保護本國工業，反要保護外國工業。這是由於外國資本發達，機器進步，經濟方面已經是佔了優勝，在經濟力量之外，背後還有政治力量來做後援。所以中國的紗廠布廠，當歐戰時候，沒有歐美的洋布洋紗來競爭，才可以賺錢；歐戰之後，他們的洋布洋紗，都是進中國來競爭，我們便要虧本。講到穿衣問題裏頭，最大的是棉業問題，我們現在對於棉業問題，沒有方法來解決。中國棉業還是在幼稚時代，機器沒有外國的那麼精良，工廠的訓練和組織，又沒有外國的那麼完備，所以中國的棉業，就是不抽釐金關稅，也是很難和外國競爭；如果要和外國競爭，便要學歐美各國的那種政策。歐美各國對於這種政策是怎麼樣呢？在幾十年以前，英國的工業是佔世界上第一個地位，世界所需要的貨物，都靠英國來供給。當時美國還是在農業時代，所有的小工業，完全被英國壓迫，不能夠發達。後來美國採用保護政策，實行保護稅法，凡是由英國運到美國的貨物，便要行值百抽五十或值百抽一百的重稅，因此英國貨物的成本，便變成極大，便不能夠和美國貨物去競爭，所以許多貨物便不能運去美國。美國本國的工業，便由此發達，現在是駕乎英國之上。德國在數十年之前，也是農業國，人民所需要的貨物，也是要靠英國運進去，要受英國的壓迫；後來行了保護政策，德國的工業，也就逐漸發達，近來更駕乎各國之上。由此可見我們要發達中國的工業，便應該做效德國、美國的保護政策，來抵制外國的洋貨，保護本國的土貨。現在歐美列強，都是把中國當做殖民地的市場，中國的主權和金融，都是在他們掌握之中。我們要解決民生問題，如果專從經濟範圍來着手，一定是解決不通的，要民生問題能夠解決得通，便要從政治上來着手，打破一切不平等的條約，收回外人管理的海關，我們才可以自由加稅，實行保護政策。能夠實行保護政策，外國貨物不能侵入，本國的工業自然可以發達。中國要提倡土貨，抵制洋貨，從前不知道運動了好幾次，但是全國運動不能一致，沒有成功；就令全國的運動能夠一致，也不容易成功。這個原因，就是由於國家的政治力量太薄弱，自己不能管理海關。外國人管理海關，我們便不能夠自由增減稅率；不能夠自由增減稅率，沒有方法令洋布的價貴，土布的價賤，所以現在的洋布便是便宜過土布。洋布便宜過土布，無論是國民怎麼樣提倡愛國，也不能夠永久不穿洋布，來穿土布。如果一定要國民永久不穿洋布來穿土布，那便是和個人的經濟原則相反，那便行不通。比方一家每年要用三十元的洋布，如果抵制洋布，改用土布，土布的價貴，每年便不只費三十元，要費五六十元，這就是由於用土布每年便要多費二三十元。這二三十元的耗費，或者一時為愛國心所激動，寧可願意犧牲，但是這樣的感情衝動，是和經濟原則相反，決計不能夠持久。我們要合乎經濟原則，可以持久，便要從打破不平等的條約，自己能夠管理海關，可以自由增減稅率，令中國貨和外國貨的價錢平等。譬如一家每年穿洋布要費三十元，穿土布也只費三十元，那才是正當辦法，那才可以持久。我們如果能夠更進一步能令洋布貴過土布，令穿外國洋布的人一年要費三十元，穿本國土布的人一年只費二十元，那便可以戰勝外國的洋布工業，本國的土布工業便可以大發達。由此可見我們講民生主義，要解決穿衣問題，要全國穿土布，不准外國洋布進口，便要國家有政治權力，穿衣問題才可以解決。

講到民生主義的穿衣問題，現在最重要的材料，就是絲、麻、棉、毛四種。這四種材料之中的毛，中國也是出產好多，品質也是比外國好。不過中國的這種工業不發達，自己不製造，便年年運到外國去賣；外國收中國的毛，製成絨呢，又再運回中國來賣，賺中國的錢。如果我們恢復主權，用國家的力量來經營毛業，也可以和棉業同時來發達。毛工業能夠發達，中國人在冬天所需的絨呢，便可以不用外國貨，有盈餘的時候，更可以像絲一樣，推廣到外國去銷行。現在中國的製毛工業不發達，所以只有用帶皮的

毛；脫皮的散毛，在中國便沒有用處，便被外國用賤價收買，織成絨呢和各種氈料，運回中國來賺我們的錢。由此可見中國的棉業和毛業，同是受外國政治經濟的壓迫。所以我們要解決穿衣問題，便要用全國的大力量統籌計劃，先恢復政治的主權，用國家的力量來經營絲、麻、棉、毛的農業和工業，更要收回海關來保護這四種農業和工業，加重原料之出口稅及加重洋貨之入口稅，我國之紡織工業必可立時發達，而穿衣材料之問題方能解決。

衣服的材料問題可以解決，我們便可來講穿衣之本題。穿衣之起源，前已講過，就係用來禦寒，所以穿衣之作用，第一就係用來保護身體。但是後來文明漸進，就拿來彰身；所以第二之作用就係要來好看，叫做壯觀瞻。在野蠻時代的人，無衣來彰身，就有騰圖其體的，就是用顏色塗畫其身，即古人所謂文身（註四）是也。至今文明雖進，而穿衣作用，仍以彰身為重，而禦寒保體的作用反多忽略了。近代窮奢鬥侈，不獨材料時時要花樣翻新，就衣裳之款式，亦年年有寬夾不同。而習俗之好尚，又多有視人衣飾以為優劣之別，所以有衣冠文物就是文化進步之別稱。迨後君權發達，則又以衣服為等級之區別，所以第三個作用，衣服即為階級之符號。至今民權發達，階級削平，而共和國家之陸海軍，亦不能除去以衣飾為等級之習尚。照以上這三個衣服之作用，一護體、二彰身、三等差之外，我們今天以穿衣為人民之需要，則在此時階級平等勞工神聖之潮流，為民眾打算穿衣之需要，則又要加多一個作用；這個作用，就是要方便。故講到今日民眾需要之衣服之完全作用，必要能護體，能美觀，又能方便，不礙於作工，乃為完美之衣服。

國家為實行民生主義，當本此三穿衣之作用，來開設大規模之裁縫廠，於各地就民數之多少，寒暑之節候，來製造需要之衣服，以供給人民之用。務使人人都得到需要衣服，不致一人有所缺乏，此就是三民主義國家之政府對於人民穿衣需要之義務。而人民對於國家，又當然要盡足國民之義務，否則失去國民之資格。凡失去國民之資格者，就是失去主人之資格。此等游惰之流氓，就是國家人羣之蠹賊，政府必當執行法律以強迫之，必使此等流氓漸變為神聖之勞工，得以同享國民之權利。如此流氓盡絕，人人皆為生產之分子，則必豐衣足食，家給人足，而民生問題便可以解決矣。

（註一） 原文僅標「十三年八月二十四日」，今增「民國……講」。

（註二） 原文為「便喝來代酒」，今據「胡本」及「會本」增「茶」字。

（註三） 原文及「胡文」均為「天天的衣服」，今據「會本」增「穿」字。

（註四） 原文為「所文身」，今據「胡本」及「會本」增「謂」字。



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