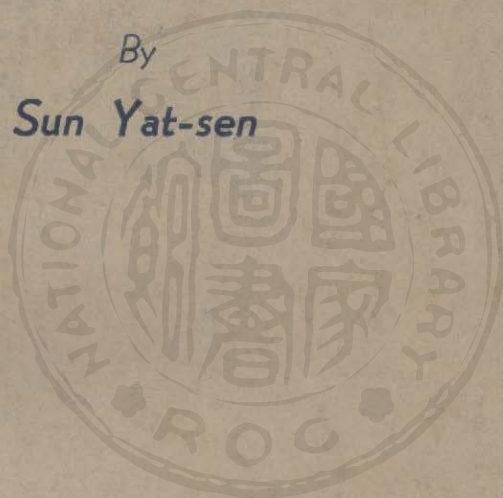


THE PRINCIPLE OF
LIVELIHOOD

(With Chinese Text)

By
Sun Yat-sen



民
生
主
義

(中英文對照本)



由國家圖書館數位化、典藏

羅
剛
教
授
遺
書

THE PRINCIPLE OF LIVELIHOOD

By
SUN YAT-SEN

Translated into English by Frank W. Price (畢範宇)

Abridged and edited by the Commission for the Compilation of the History of the Kuomintang



國
父
遺
著



中央文物供應社出版

(中英文對照本)

主
義

Published by
CHINA CULTURAL SERVICE
Taipei, Taiwan

THE PRINCIPLE OF
LIVELIHOOD

BY
SUN YAT-SEN

Translated into English by Frank W. Price (ed. 1917)
Revised and edited by the Commission for the Translation
of the Works of Sun Yat-sen

孫
君
之
生
活
原
則



中華民國
二十
年
五月
一日

Published by
CHINA CULTURAL SERVICE
Taipei, Taiwan

25.128
8674

PREFACE TO THE ABRIDGED EDITION

Dr. Sun Yat-sen uprooted one of the oldest systems of monarchical rule, which had enjoyed a continuous existence for upward of about four thousand years in China, to establish the first republic in the Far East. Yet he was not merely a great revolutionary leader. He was a great thinker and far-sighted statesman, with clear vision and lofty ideals. In the early part of his revolutionary career, he had already envisaged the irresistible forces of social and economic democracy which must be incorporated in the programme of nationalist revolution in its broader sense. Furthermore, he realized that without a proper adjustment of political rights, social justice and economic equity, any achievement in a nationalist revolution would prove to be fruitless as national stability and prosperity could never be attained. Hence, he was the first leader in China to combine nationalism and political and social democracy into an integral system of political and social philosophy of his own, known as *San Min Chu I*, which provides today the guiding principles for the freedom-loving people of China.

Dr. Sun had the Socratic habit of expounding his system of thought without manuscripts provided beforehand. An eloquent and moving orator, he delivered most of his speeches extemporaneously, interspersed with stories and explanations in popular language to suit the intellectual level and psychological reactions of his audience. The present volume, *San Min Chu I*, was based upon the

stenographic notes, often haphazard, of a series of lectures which he delivered before a mixed audience in the auditorium of the Teachers' College, Canton, in 1924. It was his original plan to deliver six lectures on each of his three principles, but he left the last two lectures on the Principle of the People's Livelihood undelivered, because he had to leave the city in order to lead an expedition against the Northern militarists. Recently I am happy to learn that his disciple, President Chiang Kai-shek, is preparing to make the finishing touches for the third part of this work in the form of two additional chapters.

Because of the extemporaneous origin of these lectures, Dr. Frank W. Price, the translator of this book, stated that he had encountered many difficulties in preparing the English translation, as "the constant repetition for the sake of emphasis and the looseness of Chinese *Pai-hua* (spoken language) construction make the original quite a lengthy book." The present abridged edition, prepared by Prof. Wen-yen Tsao, J.S.D., in conformity with an abridged Chinese text recently published in Taiwan, renders a useful and valuable service to readers who are interested in promoting "a better understanding abroad of the great forces that are now driving China forward."

Since the time when Dr. Sun delivered those lectures, the political, military and economic situation, both national and international, has greatly changed. Some of the passages that suited the circumstances and temperament of that period may at present retain only a historical value. With this historical perspective in mind, one can have a deeper understanding and better appreciation of this great political literature of historical significance.

Taipei, Taiwan

November 12, 1953

Chia-luen Lo.

英文三民主義節本序 羅家倫

剷除繼續到四千餘年的君主專制政體，他是世界上歷史最長久的一個，而建立中華民國，他更是遠東第一個民主共和國，這偉大工作的完成者就是孫逸仙博士。他是一位偉大的革命領袖，但是他不僅是革命領袖；他是大思想家，是有遠大眼光和崇高理想的政治家。當他從事革命的初期，他早已認清社會民主和經濟民主是不可抵抗的力量，必須把他們合併到廣義的、民族革命的計劃裏面來。他更體會到，若是政治的權力，社會的公道，和經濟的平等三者不能得到妥善的配合，則任何國民革命運動的成就，都是白費氣力的，因為不如此首先就不能得到國家的安定和繁榮。因此他是中華民族第一領導者，能把三民主義、民主政治、和社會經濟的民主思想，融合為一整體，是為「三民主義」。這是他自己的政治和社會哲學的系統，也就是今天愛好自由的中國人所遵守的指導原則。

孫博士有希臘大哲蘇格拉底的習慣，隨時隨地發揮他思想的系統，而並無事前準備的講稿。他是一位動人的演說家，「信口拈來，都成妙諦」，有時更常用通俗的詞句，加以反復的說明，乃至夾入淺顯的故事，總期適合聽眾高低不同的知識水準，得到他所希望的心理反應。這本「三民主義」就是根據民國十三年他在廣東高等師範學校講演的記錄編印成書的。他原來計劃把其中每一主義，作六篇演講，但是講到最後將完的時候，因督師北伐，竟無暇將民生主義的最末兩講講完。最近我很高興的知道他的大弟子蔣總統介石，添寫了講「育」和「樂」的兩篇，以完成這都偉大著作的未竟之功。

因為這部原書所根據是當時演講的記錄，所以原書的譯者畢範宇

博士在他的譯序裏，說明他在翻譯時遇着了許多困難，如演講時「爲引起聽衆注意而常加重複的解釋，和中國口話中常有在文法上鬆散的句法，以致原文的組織，不免過長。」現在這部畢譯的節本，乃是根據最近臺北中央文物供應社出版的中文節本，由曹文彥教授對照節錄而成的。節錄後文字頗覺緊湊，氣勢也較流暢，更容易引起他國讀者的興趣，而能增加他們對於中國革命原動力的了解。

自從孫博士發表這本系統的演講到現在，中國國內的和國際間的政治、軍事同經濟的情形，都經過了重大的變化。有些適合那時期的情況和情緒的字句與章節，到現在自然仍保持着歷史上的價值。存着這種歷史的眼光，則讀者對於這部在歷史上有重要性的偉大政治文獻，便能得到更深層的了解，和更進一步的讚揚。



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，必須喚起民衆，及聯合世界上以平等待我之民族，共同奮鬥！

現在革命尙未成功，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！

(Signed) SUN YEN-SEN

March 11, 1925

Written on February 29, 1925

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

This translation of "*San Min Chu I*"* is made from the tenth edition of the Chinese book issued by the Commercial Press in May, 1927. The text in recent editions is more accurate, as several typographical errors of earlier editions have been corrected.

The extemporaneous style of Dr. Sun's lectures, the constant repetition for sake of emphasis and the looseness of Chinese Pai-hua (spoken language) construction make the original quite a lengthy book. A complete translation will seem redundant to many Western readers; yet it has seemed wise, in view of the prominent and influential place which *The Three Principles of the People* holds in the Chinese Nationalist movement and because of the difficulty involved in making a fair selection of passages for an abridged edition, to translate the entire book. A full translation will also be of assistance, I hope, to some Westerners who are reading the book in Chinese and to Chinese students who are interested to know English equivalents for Dr. Sun's phrases and terms.

I have tried to make the translation faithful to the original and yet clear to the English reader. This is not an easy task, as many terms and expressions do not have exact English equivalents and a phrase is frequently used in different senses. *Mints'u* for example, is used by Dr.

* Literally, "Three-People-Principles." The last two syllables are pronounced like "joo-ee."

Sun in the sense of nation, nationality, or race, depending upon the context. *Ch'uan* sometimes means sovereignty, sometimes right, and at other times power or authority. Some terms have been transliterated as well as translated. Quotation marks usually mean that a Chinese idiom or proverb has been literally translated.

The generally accepted Romanization of familiar Chinese proper names has been followed; the Wade system has been used in the spelling of all other names. Geographical and historical references have been verified as far as possible.

Three features not in the original Chinese text have been added in the translation, for which the translator assumes full responsibility. The number of paragraphs has been increased. A few brief notes have been added to explain generally unfamiliar names and references. And in order to facilitate a rapid survey of the book and reference to various passages, a brief summary has been placed at the beginning of each chapter.*

Many friends have aided in the production of this translation. Mr. L. T. Chen has edited it and has written an introductory biographical sketch of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Dr. Fong F. Sec has taken a deep interest in the work and has given many valuable suggestions. I am especially indebted to Mr. Ho Ping-song (何炳松), formerly professor of history at the Peking National University and now head of the Chinese Literature Department of the Commercial Press, for his thorough and painstaking revision of the translation. His cooperation has been invaluable. The proof pages have been read by Mrs. O. D. Rasmussen and

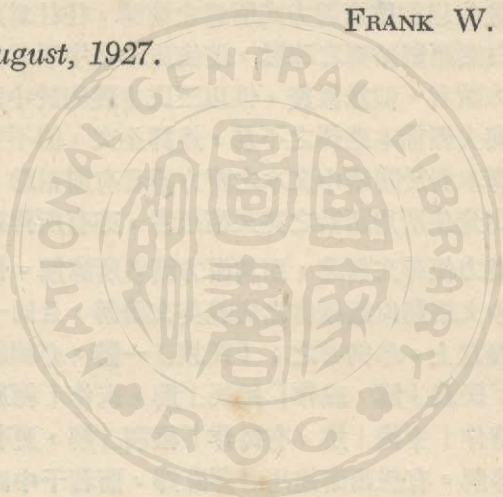
* In this abridged form of the book, the brief summary placed at the beginning of each chapter is left out.

by Miss Alice M. Roberts of the Commercial Press staff, by Rev. Frank R. Millican, who has made a careful study of the Chinese text, and by my Hangchow College colleague, Professor C. B. Day. My wife helped me in the preparation of the typewritten copy for the press.

This translation is issued under the auspices of the China Committee, Institute of Pacific Relations, as a volume of the "International Understanding Series," with the hope that it will promote a better understanding abroad of the great forces that are now driving China forward.

FRANK W. PRICE

Shanghai, August, 1927.



序

畢範宇

本書之遂譯，係以民國十六年五月商務印書館印行之三民主義（中文本）第十版為依據。該書係新近印行之版本，已將前幾版若干誤排之處，加以改正，故較為正確。

孫中山先生以卽席演說方式所為之演講，往往為加強語氣而反覆申述，且因白話語辭結構之疎鬆，遂使原本文字頗為冗長。若全部譯出，對於西方讀者，似嫌累贅，惟以三民主義對於中國國民黨革命運動影響之大與夫刪節本選擇之不易，遂譯全文，似不失為明智之舉。我希望全文譯本對於閱讀中文本之西方讀者有所幫助，而對於中國學生欲瞭解中山先生所用語辭之英文術語者，亦有所裨益也。

譯者曾盡力使譯文信達，而為西方讀者所瞭解。惟此事實非易易。蓋以若干中文語辭尚無確當之同義英文語辭，且同一名辭常被用於數種不同之義意上。舉例言之：「民族」一辭，必須視其文義而定其涵義，或作「民族」解，或作「國民」解，或作「種族」解。「權」之一辭，有時作「主權」解，有時作「權利」解，更有時作「權力」或「權威」等解。有些語辭遂用音譯直譯，而若干中國成語及格言則以直譯方法譯出，另加引號。

中國專有名詞（如人名地名等）為衆所習知者，採用通行之羅馬拼音，至其他專有名詞，則採用韋德制。有關史地之參考資料，則盡其可能，加以引證。

本書有三特點，而為原本所無者，譯者願負全責，即一為譯文分段、分節，較原文為增多，一為罕見名詞及參考資料，附以簡注，一為使讀者易於速檢全書及查閱章節，於每篇之首，冠以提要。（編者註：此項篇首提要，經已刪去。）

本書之成，多承友人之賜助。陳立廷先生參與編輯，並為本書撰孫中山先生傳略。鄺富灼博士對此事至感興趣，並提供許多寶貴建議，前國立北京大學史學教授現任商務印書館中國文學部主任何炳松先生，曾予以縝密辛勤之校訂，此譯者所尤深感謝者。何氏之合作，實極可貴。校對工作，係由商務印書館 Mrs. O. D. Rasmussen, Miss Alice M. Roberts 及 Frank R. Millican 牧師及之江文理學院同事 C. B. Day 教授等擔任。而 Frank R. Millican 牧師則於中文原本曾精為核對。丙子則協助打字，以備付印。

本書承太平洋關係學會中國分會之贊助，列為國際知識叢書之一，期能增進國外人士對此復興中國之偉大力量，獲一更深之瞭解。（編者附註：此文原係畢範宇先生以英文寫出，茲經編者譯為中文，特此註明）。



AUTHOR'S PREFACE

After the three volumes of my *Plans for National Reconstruction—Psychological Reconstruction, Material Reconstruction, Social Reconstruction*—had been published,* 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 unexpectedly revolted, on June 16, 1922, and turned his guns upon Kwan-yin Shan.** 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 re-

* In 1918.

** A hill in Canton near the headquarters of Dr. Sun,

organized and our comrades are beginning to engage in a 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 *The Quintuple-Power Constitution* as material for publicity. So I have been delivering one lecture a week. Mr. Hwang Ch'ang-ku is making stenographic reports of the lectures and Mr. Tsou Lu 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.

自序

自建國方畧之心理建設、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。國家建設一書，較前三書爲獨大，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、外交政策、國防計畫八冊。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，亦大畧規畫就緒，俟有餘暇，便可執筆直書，無待思索，方擬全書告竣，乃出而問世，不期十一年六月十六陳炯明叛變，砲擊觀音山，竟將數年心血所成之各種草稿，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，爲宣傳之資。故於每星期演講一次。由黃昌穀君筆記之，由鄒魯君讀校之。今民族主義適已講完，特先印單行本，以饗同志。惟此次演講，既無暇晷以預備，又無書籍爲參考，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。尙望同志讀者，本此基礎，觸類引伸，匡補闕遺，更正條理，使成爲一完善之書，以作宣傳之課本，則其造福於吾民族、吾國家，誠未可限量也。民國十三年三月三十日孫文序於廣州大本營。

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF

DR. SUN YAT-SEN

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Chinese Republic and leader of the Revolution, was born of peasant parentage on November 12, 1866, in a little village near Hsiangshan, a small city in the province of Kwangtung. Here he spent an uneventful childhood attending the village school with the children of the neighborhood. At thirteen years of age he made a trip to Honolulu, where he remained for five years and completed his high school course. There he breathed the spirit of liberty and absorbed freely the influences of American life. When he returned, therefore, to Hongkong and entered Queen's College, he was already dissatisfied with the political life of his own beloved country. Graduating at the age of twenty, he undertook to prepare himself for the medical profession and completed his training in the Hongkong Medical College in the year 1892.

His professional practice, however, was short-lived, for he gave it up to respond to a higher call following China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). This was by no means a new enthusiasm but rather a forward step in the career which he had chosen early in his college days. Every day he spent in Hongkong under British rule and every defeat China suffered at the hands of other countries added vigor to his conviction that the

government of his own country was rotten to the core. Nothing short of a revolution would provide the remedy. He had dedicated himself to this cause, and among his fellow students he had found a few with whom he could share his deepest aspirations. The task of building up a free and enlightened China became his sole purpose in life.

From the very beginning the undertaking was fraught with dangers. After a hasty attempt at revolt that failed, he embarked in 1895 on his life of exile. Pursued by personal danger he went first to Japan, then to America, and was finally kidnapped on the streets of London and carried off to the Chinese legation, where he was kept hidden for twelve days. Thanks to the loyalty and ingenuity of his friend Dr. James Cantlie he escaped, and the scheme to smuggle him back to China for execution came to naught. He proceeded to Europe and spent the next few years studying the social and political institutions in the countries he visited. During this time he formulated his *Three Principles of the People* and spread his gospel of revolution among his compatriots wherever he went.

After the Boxer trouble in 1900, the cause of the Revolution gained in momentum. The overthrow of the Manchu regime had become a definite program and large numbers of Chinese men and women in all parts of the world joined in the crusade. A conference was held in Tokyo in 1905, at which two important resolutions were passed: (1) that the Revolutionists be united under the name of the Tung Meng Hui, and (2) that the reigning dynasty be deposed and China transformed into a republic. The membership of the conference included representatives from all the provinces of China and numerous persons

from the ranks of Chinese merchants in other lands. The former engaged themselves in an active campaign of secret propaganda in the homeland and the latter opened their purses in unstinted support of these efforts. But for the generous giving of these patriotic businessmen abroad it is improbable that the Revolution could have materialized.

The culmination of these efforts came in the autumn of 1911, when the battle cry was sounded in Wuchang. This capital of Hupeh quickly fell to the Revolutionists. Although the outbreak was precipitated by mistake before the plans were completed, the response in other parts of the country was so widespread that the Revolution was a *fait accompli* in less than one hundred days! The effete Manchu government was overthrown, and Dr. Sun's dream of years had become a reality. His undaunted spirit had won the day and his weary body had earned a momentary rest. He was called upon, however, to become the first president of the new Republic, and hopes ran high that a rejuvenated China would turn a new page in history.

But the events of 1911 proved to be only the beginning of a long process. Broadly speaking, two schools of thinking came to dominate the minds of young China, the one led by Yuan Shih-kai and the other by Sun Yat-sen. The former believed in military force, the latter pinned his hope on the awakening of the masses of the people. In order that he might better accomplish his purpose, Dr. Sun yielded the presidency to Yuan after he had held it for only three months. He chose to devote himself to the task of educating the people to an understanding of the fundamentals of democracy and of uplifting their economic standards. The Tung Meng Hui was reorganized as a political party with a broader program under the name

Kuomintang, and a nation-wide plan of railroad building was undertaken as the first step towards the industrialization of the country. But the personal ambition of Yuan Shih-kai interfered. Instead of giving himself unselfishly to the political reconstruction of the country, he saw in the situation an opportunity for self-aggrandizement. He disregarded Parliament and set out to make himself emperor. Dr. Sun realized too late that his confidence had been misplaced and that the Revolution had been smothered by treason.

This fatal mistake delayed the Revolution until the autumn of 1926, when Chiang Kai-shek finally stepped into the shoes of his deceased leader and led the Nationalist forces on their victorious march from Canton toward the north. Yuan meanwhile had left a legacy of militaristic oppression under which China continues to groan.

But it would be a mistake to think that these sixteen years following the initial success of the Revolution were wasted. Dr. Sun's untiring efforts guided the people of China into a constantly growing patriotism and national consciousness. He attracted to his side many leaders and numberless patriots eager to undertake the task of carrying on the Revolution to a finish. The more he met with reverses the stronger became his hold on his followers. Several times he set up a separate government in Canton and as often his plans were frustrated, until finally in 1923 a stable regime was established and a demonstration of efficient and effective government was made. During this period he reorganized the Kuomintang for the third time and made clear the practice of party government. He elaborated his political philosophy of the Three Principles in a series of popular lectures, and sounded the clarion call

with respect to the unequal treaties. These achievements constitute the basic ideals and policies of the Revolutionary movement. The Three Principles inspired the people with a political ideal, and the denunciation of the unequal treaties released a latent force in the hearts of the people nurtured by the inarticulate desires of many years. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was a diligent student, a farsighted statesman, an indefatigable worker, an irrepressible optimist and, above all, he was China's beloved leader, clear of vision and steadfast in purpose. He not only blazed the trail in the reconstruction of new China, but he also laid down the highways leading towards the successful consummation of his ideals in the future. Out of his years of trial and travail he discovered for coming generations a sure way for the recovery of national freedom.

On March 12, 1925, when the unification of China was apparently within reach, he died in Peking. For a short while rumors were rife reporting the disintegration of the party which he had founded and had taken pains to build up. But the fact was quickly revealed that the party was stronger than ever after his death. His indestructible spirit gripped the lives of his followers even more powerfully than before. It is sometimes even suggested that his death has actually served to accelerate the progress of the Revolution.

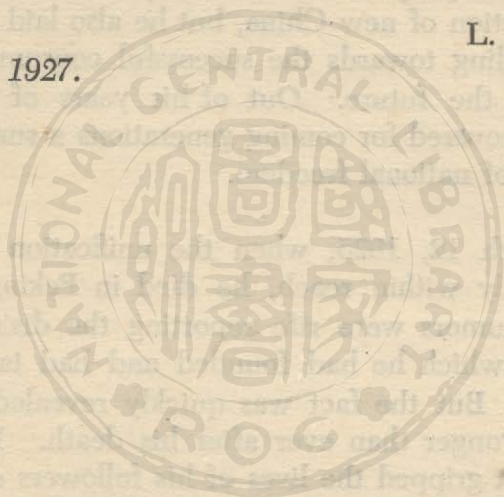
But in the thinking of Dr. Sun the Revolution is a continuous process. This "period of military achievement" represents only its beginning and is of less importance than the "period of training" which is to follow. Only when the training process is completed can the Revolution bring the country to the full enjoyment of democracy. In his

own words uttered on his deathbed, "The Revolution is not yet completed. All my comrades must strive on."

Dr. Sun died a comparatively poor man, leaving behind no property except a house which his adherents overseas had bought for him over ten years ago, and a library said to be one of the best on social and political sciences in existence. For forty years he toiled "in order to achieve freedom and equality from China." He is the father of new China, taking his place among the foremost leaders in history.

L. T. CHEN

Shanghai, 1927.



孫中山先生傳略

陳立廷

中華民國創造者，革命領袖 孫中山先生於民國紀元前四十六年（清同治五年西元一八六六年）十一月十二日誕生於廣東省香山縣（即今之中山縣）翠亨村農家。幼年與隣童入村塾讀書，年十三赴檀香山旅居五年，完成其中學學程。並在該地吸取自由之精神，大受美國生活之影響。自檀島回里後，即入香港皇仁書院肄業。對當時政治已不滿意。年二十畢業於皇仁書院。嗣決投身習醫，於民國前二十年（西元一八九二年）完成其學業於香港西醫書院。

先生執醫業為時甚暫，蓋以甲午之役（西元一八九四至一八九五年）中國為日本所敗，先生遂棄醫業而從事革命工作。此非由於當時一時熱忱所激動，蓋其於求學時即矢志從事於革命，此不過其事業之初步耳。時先生在英人統治下之香港，每值清廷受挫於列強，益感滿清政府之腐敗，舍革命外無他策。先生乃委身於革命並從其同學中，覓得志同道合者數人。其畢業生唯一志願在求建立一自由開明之中國。

當革命事業開始之際，險象環生，民國前十七年（清光緒二十一年，西元一八九五年）倉卒舉義於廣州，以事機洩露，遂告失敗，先生乃渡海出走，先赴日本，繼往美洲，復至英國，終在倫敦街上被誘禁於中國公使館，經十二日之久，幸經英人康德黎博士竭智盡力為之營救，始得脫險，清廷密謀運送先生回國治罪之惡計，卒未得酬。此後數年先生漫游歐陸，考察各國社會政治設施，在此期間揭櫫其三民主義之學說，履及之處，並將其革命主義傳播於各地之僑胞。

民國前十二年（光緒二十六年，西元一九〇〇年），經義和團擾亂後，革命之進行，逐漸加速。推翻滿清統治，成為明確之計劃，海內外仁人志士，無分男女，聞風興起，紛紛踴躍參加革命行列。民國前

七年（光緒三十一年，西元一九〇五年）在日本東京舉行集會，獲致二項重要決議：一為併合各革命團體於同盟會，一為推翻滿清締肇共和。當時與會同志，包括各省代表及國外各地有財力人士，前者在國內從事於積極之秘密宣傳運動，後者則踴躍捐款支助革命。若非海外愛國僑商，慷慨解囊，革命偉業，恐無實現之可能。

革命行動至民國前一年秋間（辛亥，宣統三年，西元一九一一年）已臻頂點。武昌義旗一舉，不旋踵間，此湖北省會即為革命軍所佔領。雖然武昌發難事起非常，但全國各省，聞風響應，不及百日，而革命告成。清社既屋，先生若干年來夢寐以求者乃得實現。先生之大無畏精神贏得勝利，而疲憊之身遂獲片刻之休憩。次年先生被推選為中華民國第一任大總統。行見新生之中國，將展開歷史之新頁，寄予無限之希望焉。

惟辛亥之役僅為艱巨革命事業之開端。概言之，當時有兩派思想存在於少年中國之心中，一為袁世凱所領導之思想，一為中山先生所領導之思想，前者迷信武力，後者希望喚醒民衆。先生為欲完成其志願，就任未及三月，即讓位於袁。乃周遊各省，宣傳主義，教育民衆使了解民主政治之本質，並謀國民經濟水準之提高。嗣改組同盟會，為具有宏大政綱之政黨，定名國民黨，並着手計劃全國鐵路建設，以為促進全國實業化之初步。但袁世凱為野心所迷，不圖國家政治之建設，而妄欲乘機坐大，視國會若無睹，並着手自建朝廷，竊據九五。迨中山先生洞悉所託非人，惜為時已晚而革命幾被叛逆所斫喪矣。

由於袁世凱叛國，遂使革命之完成，為之遲滯甚久，彼所遺留軍閥專制之餘毒，迫使中國遭受頻年戰亂之痛苦。直至民國十五年秋，蔣公中正，秉中山先生之遺志，率師北伐，由穗而上，底定南北。

自革命初步成功以還，十六年之時間，並未虛擲。中山先生不斷之努力，領導國民，激發其日益增長之愛國良知，與民族意識。不少社會首領與無數愛國志士受其感召，皆集於先生之左右，熱望繼續革命巨業，使其底於完成。遭遇愈逆而團結愈堅。數度在穗組織政府，其計劃亦數度受挫。最後至民國十二年穩固之政權遂告建立，強有

力之政府，因以實現。在此一時期內，先生改組國民黨。建立政黨政治並精心詳述其三民主義之政治哲學，舉行有系統之演講，並大聲疾呼取銷不平等條約。上述各項成就皆構成革命運動之基本理想與政策。三民主義以一種政治理想感召國人，廢除不平等條約之主張，則使若干年來蘊藏國人內心之潛在力量，得以激發無遺。中山先生為一嗜學不厭之學者，目光遠大之政治家，不厭不倦之實行家，不屈不撓之樂觀者，尤要者，為全國愛戴之領袖，觀察確實而意志堅定。先生不僅畢生盡瘁革命重建新中國，亦且為他日達到其成功之理想，開就康莊大道，集多年之艱苦辛勞，為下一代恢復民族自由，發現一正確之途徑。

民國十四年三月十二日，當全國將趨統一之際，先生逝世於北平，當時曾謠傳先生辛勞手創之政黨行將趨於分裂，惟事實旋即證其非是。而自先生逝世後，黨更趨堅強。先生永不泯滅之精神，感召同志精誠團結，反較生前更甚。或竟謂中山先生逝世後，革命之進行益形加速云。

依先生之意見，革命實為一連續程序。「軍政時期」僅為革命程序之開始，而繼之以更為重要之「訓政時期」，訓政結束之後，革命方能登國民於民主政治衽席之上。先生臨終時謂「革命尙未成功，同志仍須努力。」

中山先生平生無積蓄，遺產僅住宅一所，圖書館一處而已。其住宅係十餘年前海外同志集資購贈者，而圖書館則為當時收藏社會科學政治科學書籍最豐富者之一。中山先生四十年之辛勞勞瘁，其目的在求中國之自由平等。國人尊中山先生為新中國之國父。歷史上偉大領袖中山先生實占有崇高之地位。（編者附註：此文譯自陳立廷先生於民國十六年寫成之英文原著。）

CONTENTS

目 錄

PREFACE TO THE ABRIDGED EDITION	i
三民主義節本序	
DR. SUN YAT-SEN'S WILL	v
總理遺囑	
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE	vii
序	
AUTHOR'S PREFACE	xiii
自序	
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF DR. SUN YAT-SEN	xvii
孫中山先生傳略	
LECTURE ONE	1
第一講	
LECTURE TWO	29
第二講	
LECTURE THREE	50
第三講	
LECTURE FOUR	73
第四講	

CONTENTS

i	FOREWORD TO THE REVISED EDITION	三民主義紀念序
v	DR. SUN YAT-SEN'S WILL	孫君遺囑
vii	ILLUSTRATOR'S PREFACE	序
xiii	AUTHOR'S PREFACE	自序
xvii	BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SUN YAT-SEN	孫中山先生傳
1	LECTURE ONE	第一講
29	LECTURE TWO	第二講
50	LECTURE THREE	第三講
73	LECTURE FOUR	第四講



THE PRINCIPLE OF LIVELIHOOD

民生主義

LECTURE ONE*

第一講

民國十三年八月三日講

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，不過我們所用這句話，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，在科學範圍之內，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個定義，可說民生就是人民的生活：社會的生存、國民的生計、群眾的生命便是。我現在就是用民生二字，來講外國近百年來所發生的一個最大問題，這個問題就是社會問題。

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

* Delivered on August 3, 1924.

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

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。爲甚麼近代發生這個問題呢？簡單言之，就是因爲這幾十年來，各國的物質文明極進步，工業很發達，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

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 ac-

力，都是相等的，沒有什麼大差別。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。

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，有機器的人便把無機器人的錢都賺去了。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

count 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.

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。我今天爲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？這是很有道理，我們應該要研究的。因爲機器發明以後，經過了實業革命，成爲社會問題，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。

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，就是社會經濟這種問題。這種問題就是一班人的生活問題。因爲機器發明以後，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

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* 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 except 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

。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。學者把社會主義的人分作兩派：一是叫做烏託邦派，這個烏託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。至於烏託邦涉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。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，也是要從科學一方面研究清楚了之後，才可以得出結果。

馬克斯求出一個結果，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

* A Chinese philosopher of the fifth century before Christ.

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, 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

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。並說人類行爲，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。

馬克思以物質爲歷史的重心，這個道理，究竟是怎麼樣呢？馬克思的門徒，於一八四八年，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，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，彼此互相攻擊，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

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 William,* 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 prob-

會黨。由於這些攻擊詆毀，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？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。所以他便發表意見說，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

* Referring to Maurice William, author of "Social Interpretation of History."

lem of livelihood is the problem of subsistence. The new theory of this American scholar tallies exactly with the third principle of our party. William's 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 we 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

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，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

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 these 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

的定律，不是歷史的重心。我們要明白這兩家的學說，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，自然不能不先注重生產，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，必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，那是用工人和機器，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，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

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

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，才可以一齊消滅。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，這是以階級戰爭爲因，社會進化爲果。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。

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 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

這四種社會經濟事業，是些甚麼詳細情形呢？譬如就第一種說，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。能够這樣改良，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。這種社會進化學業，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，然後運輸才是很迅速，交通才是很靈便。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

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 intangible 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 in-

，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，就是用累進稅率，多徵資本家的所得稅和遺產稅。行這種稅

come 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

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。

第四種分配之社會化，更是歐美社會最近的進化事業。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

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 capitalist 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

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。就這種新分配方法的原理來講，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

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

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，消滅商人的壟斷，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，是由於社會上大多數的經濟利益相調和，不是由於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

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 society's unceasing 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 agricul-

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。就紡紗織布而論，我們便要想布和紗的原料，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

ture. 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

種農業問題。要詳細講到棉花的農業問題，便不能不推及研究好棉花種子，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够運動，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鑛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

the capitalists make large profits and create a large surplus value? When you put these facts before you, to whom do you think the surplus value 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

，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份子和一個資本階級

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.

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 and 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。我們能够明白社會進化的原動力，再來解決社會問題，那才容易。

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 noncooperation. 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

馬克思認定階級戰爭才是社會進化的原因，這便是倒果爲因。因爲馬克思的學說，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。譬如他的門徒在一八四八年開過一次國際社會黨大會，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，就被消滅了。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。至於黨員加入國會去活動，是共產黨所不許可的，以爲這不是科學的方法。但是後來德國的共產黨，通通走到國會去活動。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。因爲第

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.

一次國際共產黨和第二次國際共產黨的主張，大不相同，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。由於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，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消滅。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，現在應該消滅的時期，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。

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

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，以為工作時間減少，工人保護費加多，生產力應該要減少，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，他說資本家要能够多得益餘價值，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，三是抬高出品的價格。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輻特汽車廠，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

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 that the capitalist would 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

所賺的錢，有過萬萬。

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工作的時間，福特車廠所實行的是縮短工人工作的時間。馬克思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抬高出品的價格，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，才能够清楚。由此更可見知是很難的，行是很容易的。

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

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，都應該要消滅。不過馬克思的判斷以為要資本家先消滅，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

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 organization 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.

給既便利，價值又便宜。到了每年年底，店中所得的盈利，便依顧客消費的多少，分派利息。這種店子分利，因為是根據於顧客消費的比例，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，便消滅了許多商店，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。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，以為要資本家先消滅，商人才可以消滅。現在合作社發生，商人便先消滅，馬克思的判斷，和這個事實，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。

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.

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。照馬克思的學理講，漢冶萍公司既是有鋼鐵的好出產，又有大資本，應該要賺錢，可以大發展，爲甚麼總是要虧本呢？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。因爲實業的中心，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？就是解決衆人的生存的問題，也就是民

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 lead 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

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，所以計算曆數，每三年便有一個月的大差，後來改正太陽是宇宙的中心，每三年後的曆數，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，都歸之於民生問題，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。

we have made a thorough investigation of this central problem, then we can find a way to a solution of the social problem.



LECTURE TWO*

第二講

民國十三年八月十日講

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

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，至今還是紛紜其說，莫衷一是。照馬克思派的辦法，主張解決社會問題，要農工專制，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

* Delivered on August 10, 1924.

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 prob-

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。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。用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。他們所想得的方法，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。

lem; 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.

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，第三是直接徵稅，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。

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.

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。民生主義能够實行，社會問題才可以解決，社會問題能够解決，人類才可以享很大的幸福。

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够定出方法，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，能够實行，才可以說是真學理。所以我們解決社會問題，一定根據事實，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

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.* When the feudal system was in existence, the nobles who owned land were the rich, and the people without land were the poor. Although China broke away

，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，是由於封建制度。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

* 246-207 B.C.

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,

，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。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。經濟發達土地受影響的這種變動，不獨中國爲然，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，思慮預防，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，都是作垃

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

圾堆之用，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，衆人所還的價，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，衆人散去，他也走了。到第二天，拍賣官開出賬單，向他耍地價的錢，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，祇可費了許多籌劃，盡其所有，才湊够了三百元來給拍賣官。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

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

把那塊地分租與人，自己總是收地租。更到後來，這塊地便漲價到幾千萬，這個醉漢便變成澳洲第一富翁。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。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益，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

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 can-

營，才能够得到利益，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，便可得很大的利益。但是地價是由甚麼方法才能够增漲呢？是由於衆人改良那塊土地，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。所以就可以說衆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。

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，都是以甚麼爲重心呢？就是以民生爲重心。民生就是社會一切活動中的原動力，因爲民生不遂，所以社

not 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

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。

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，便在趁現在的時候，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，不但是漸漸成爲貧富不齊，

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

就是同是有土地的人，也生出不齊。我們國民黨的民生主義，目的就是要把社會上的財源弄到平均，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。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

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 regulations: 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

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。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，政府祇抽得一百元，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

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 a 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 improvements 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

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

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 land-ownership, 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

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，還是由衆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，應該歸之大衆，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，那塊地價漲價一百萬元，這個所漲高的九十九萬元，照我們的辦法，都收歸衆人公有，以酬衆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衆人公有的辦法，才是國民黨所主張的平均地權才是民生主義。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。土地問題能够解決，民生問題便可以解決一半了。

文明城市實行地價稅，一般平民可以減少負擔，並有種種利益。

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 per cent 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 improve-

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，祇能抽一百元。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。

ments 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,

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，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。第二是礦產，中國礦產極其豐富，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，都是靠外國製造運輸而來，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

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

工作。到全國的工人都
有工做，都能够用機器
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，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，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
能够比得上呢？又怎麼
能够實行馬克思的辦法
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。

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

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，這就是不知中國今是患貧，不是患不均。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

industries. The details of this scheme can be found in the second volume of my *Plans for National Reconstruction*,* 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

計劃已詳於建國方略第二卷之物質建設，又名曰實業計劃。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。能够這樣做去才是事半功倍。如是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

* Written in 1918. In three parts: Psychological Reconstruction, Material Reconstruction, Social Reconstruction.

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 6,000,000,000 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

的鐵路，要能够敷用，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，我們要

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."

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。

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，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。

LECTURE THREE*

第三講

民國十三年八月十七日講

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

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，如果吃飯問題不能夠解決，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。

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，至於要全國人民都有飯吃，像要中國四萬萬人都是足食，提到

* Delivered on August 17, 1924.

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 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."

這個問題，便是很重要，便不容易解決。到底中國糧食是够不够呢？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，可見廣東是不够飯吃的。這是就廣東一省而言，其他有許多省分，都是有和廣東相同的情形。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，其次就是由於受外國經濟的壓迫。

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。

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

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

白言之，就是吃風。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。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，謀生的方法只是打漁獵獸，捉水陸的動物做食料。後來文明進步，到了農業時代，便知道五穀，便靠植物來養生。中國有了四千多年的文明，我們吃飯的文化是比歐美進步得多，所以我們的糧食多

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

是靠植物。植物雖然是靠土地來生長，但是更要費許多工夫，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，有甚麼方法可以到達目的呢？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，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

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

一種保障，讓農民自己可以多得收成。我們要怎麼樣能够保障農民的權利，要怎麼樣令農民自己才可以多得收成，那便是關於平均地權的問題。至於將來民生主義真是達到目的，農民問題真是安全解決，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，大多是屬於地主的，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

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

，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。

我們對於農業生產，除了上說之農民解放問題以外，還有七個增加生產的方法要研究：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

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 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

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，既是都能够耕種，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，挽回外濫的利權。

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，和各種腐壞的植物，沒有用過化學肥料的。近來才漸漸用智利硝做肥料。除了智利硝之外，海中各種甲殼動物的磷質，和礦山岩石中的鉀質，也是很好的肥料。如果硝質磷質

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 salt-peter was long ago used by the Chinese in the manufacture of gun-powder. 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

和鉀質三種東西，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。像智利硝那一種原料，中國老早使用來造火藥。世界向來所用的肥料，都是南美洲智利國所產。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，所以各國便樂於用這種肥料。

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.

但是電又是用甚麼造成的呢？普通價錢極貴的電，都是用蒸汽力造成的，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，電力既然是很便宜，所以由此製造出來的人工硝也是很便宜。

如果能够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。

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

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，或者同是種一樣的植物，在今年是種廣東的種子，明年便種湖南的種子，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，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。農民應該用科學的道理，研究怎麼樣治療那些草稗，以去植物之災害，同時又要研究怎麼樣去利用草稗，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

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

很多，最普通的是蝗蟲，和其他各種害蟲。當植物成熟的時候，如果遇着了害蟲，便被蟲蝕壞了，沒有收成。其他害植物的蟲是很多的，國家要用專門家對於那些害蟲來詳細研究，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蟲的方法，美國農業的收入，每年才可以增加幾萬萬元。我們要用國家的大力量，做效美國的辦法，來消除害蟲，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：一種是曬乾，一是醃鹹，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

introduced in the West: the food is first thoroughly cooked by 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* 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

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處的不足。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。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。

* Later, Manchuria was divided into nine provinces.

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, Yanchow, 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.

中國古時運送糧食最好的方法，是靠水道及運河。有一條運河很是長的，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，自然更加利便。不過近來對於這條運河，都是不大理會。我們要解決將來吃飯問題，可以運輸糧食，便要恢復運河制度。已經有了的運河，便要修理，沒有開闢運河的地方，更要推廣去開闢。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。

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

其次便宜的方法便是鐵路，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，才能够賺錢，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，於是在大城市運糧食，便可以用大火車，在小村落運糧食便可以用自動車。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，

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.

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

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。要完全解決吃飯問題，防災是一個很重大的問題。關於水災，是怎麼樣去防呢？我去年在東江，看見那些高堤，都是築得很堅固，可以防水患，不致被水冲破。這是築堤來防水災的方法，是一種治標的方法，這種治標的方法，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濬深，把沿途的淤積沙泥都要除去，海口沒有淤積來阻礙河水。河道又很深，河水便容易流通。有了大水的時候，便不致氾濫到各地，水災便可以減少。所以濬深河道

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 tremend-

和築高堤岸兩種工程要同時辦理，才是完全的治標方法。

至於防水災的治本方法，是怎麼樣呢？近來的水災，爲甚麼是一年多過一年呢？古時的水災爲甚麼是很少呢？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

ous 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 prevent-

治本方法，還是森林。所以對於吃飯問題，要能够防水災，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。

水災之外，還有旱災，旱災問題是用甚麼方法解決呢？這種旱災，從前以爲是天數，不能够挽救，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。這種方法是甚麼呢？治本方法也是種植森林。有了森林，空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

ing 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,

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，和建築高堤與濬深河道。這種治標與治本兩個方法，能够完全做到，水旱天災可以免，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够得到了圓滿解決的時候，吃飯問題還是沒有完全解決。大家都知道歐美是以工商立國，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

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 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

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，爲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

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

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，都是向着一個目標來進行。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。我們要實行三民主義，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。我們的民生主義，目的是在打破資本制度。中國現在是已經不夠飯吃，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

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

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。要能够照這樣做去來實行民生主義，以養民爲目標，不以賺錢爲目標，中國的糧食才能够很充足。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爲目的，民生主義是以養民爲目的。有了這種以養民爲目的的主義，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，不能够馬上推翻。我們的目的是，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。

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

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。行也是一種很重要的需要，行就是走路。我們要解決民生問題，不但要把這四種需要弄到很便宜，並且要全國的人民都能够享受。所以我們要實行三民主義造成一個新世界，就要大家對於這四種需要，都不可短少，一定要國家來擔負這種責任。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。

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.* 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 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 public granaries distributed grain to the poor in time of need.

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，才能够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。

LECTURE FOUR*

第四講

民國十三年八月二十四日講

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

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。宇宙萬物之中，祇是人類才有衣穿，而且祇是文明的人類才是有衣穿。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。人類文明愈進步，衣服愈完備。

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

* Delivered on August 24, 1924.

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 lux-

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，是於需要之外，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，於適體之外，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，最初只求清茶淡飯的飽食，後來由飽食，便進而求有酒

urious 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

有肉的肥甘美味，更進而求山珍海味。

我們現在要解民生問題，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。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。絲是由於一種蟲叫做蠶吐出來的，毛是由於羊和駱駝及他種獸類生出來的。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

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.

，這種材料是中國最先發明的。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。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原料，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原料，雖然有了幾千年，但是我們四萬萬人的穿衣問題，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。

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

Investigation will show that the decline of the Chinese silk industry is due to poor methods of production. A great many Chinese silkworms 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

法不好，中國所養的蠶，很多都是有病的，一萬條蠶蟲裏頭，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，不合外國織綢機器之用。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，便歸之於命運，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，於是安於命運。後來科學家發生物學，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

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

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，如果不能够除去，受病的動物便要死。他用了很多工夫，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，於是病蠶便少了很多。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。

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

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 silkworm 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

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。至於中國的綾羅綢緞，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，改良養蠶和紡絲方法來造成很好的絲，還要學外國用機器來織造綢緞，

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

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。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

—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 the 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* 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

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。要能够這樣改良，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

* Referring to what is commercially known as "Indian cottons."

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

外國的洋布，輸入中國，外國洋布比中國土布好，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，便被洋布打消了。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。中國人天天穿的衣服，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。這就是中國受外國經濟壓迫的現狀。

外國壓迫中國，不但是專用經濟力，到了經濟力有時而窮，不能

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

達到目的的時候，便用政治來壓迫。當從前中國用手工和外國用機器競爭的時代，中國的工業歸於失敗，那還是純粹經濟問題，到了歐戰以後，中國所開紗廠布廠，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，外國便壓迫中國，立了許多不平等條約。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。

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，自己能够來

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

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。

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，世界上所需要的貨物，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者值百抽一百的重稅，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

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, 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,

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。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，要民生問題能够解決得通，便要先從政治上來着手，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。能够實行保護政策，外國貨物不能侵入，本國的工業自然可以發達。

講到民生主義的穿衣問題，現在最重要的材料，就是絲、麻、棉

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 woollens 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 the 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 na-

、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，也可以和棉業同時發達。毛工業能够發達，中國人在冬天所需要的絨呢，便可以不用外國貨，有益餘的時候，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

tion 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

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，就有騰圖其身的，就是用顏色塗畫其身，即古人所謂文身是也。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。近代窮奢鬪侈，不獨材料時時要花樣翻新，就衣裳之款式，亦年年有寬狹不同。而習俗之好尚，又多有視

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 *litterati* 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.

人之衣飾以爲優劣之別，所以有衣冠文物就是文化進步之別稱。

迨後君權發達，則又以衣服爲等級之區別，所以第三個作用，衣服即爲階級之符號。至今民權發達，階級削平，而共和國家之陸海軍，亦不能除去以衣飾爲等級之習尚。照以上這三個衣服之作用，一護體、二彰身、三等差之外，我們今天以穿衣爲人民之需要，則在此時階級平等勞工神聖之潮流，爲民衆打算穿衣之需要，則又要加多一個作用，這個作用，就是要方便。故講到今日民衆需要之衣服之完全作用，必要能讓體能美觀又能方便，不礙於工作，乃爲完美之衣服。

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.*

* The lectures upon the Principle of Livelihood were never completed by Dr. Sun.

國家爲實行民生主義，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，這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，就是國家人羣之蝨賊，政府必當執行法律以強迫之，必使此等流氓，漸變爲神聖之勞工，得以同享國民之權利。如此流氓盡絕，人人皆爲生產之份子，則必豐衣足食，家給人足，而民生問題便可以解決矣。

