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武漢政治分會李主席宗仁演說詞

國民革命軍前敵總指揮部政治訓練部印

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今日承各友邦諸公光臨，相聚一堂，不勝榮幸，鄙人到漢以來，軍政諸務，均極匆忙，與諸君雖有過從，但無暢談機會，今日乘此盛會，略罄一二、

中國自改建共和後，國家政權，為無政治常識的武人所把持，十餘年來，糾紛百出，追革命軍北伐後，共產黨混入活動，致國民革命真義，無由表現，敵國人民固深感痛苦，即各國僑商，亦受了許多驚擾，實在是很不幸的事、

中國政治將來趨勢，與世界各國發生何等關係，甚有研究價值，就鄙人所見，約有三點，願與諸君一談、

第一、在今日世界人類，從經濟方面觀察，若資本集中於少數人手裏，國家政權，即為此少數人把持，一般人民除入工廠作工外，便難謀生，則社會必造成有產無產兩階級了，如果世界各國執政權的政黨，知道調和勞資，以消除階級的差別，則共產黨員主張的階級鬥爭，從何處運用，馬克思主張的真正無產專政，更永遠不能發生了，溯自蘇俄主盟的國際共產黨、

利用一般貧民、對資本家不平的觀念、主張無產階級革命、用種種方法、奪取人民財產、使造成無產階級、然後再把他收集在同一旗幟之下、做革命的工具、並且此種運動、不分國界、要成一極大的聯合、所以創立第三國際、決定把世界現狀下的政治經濟的組織、完全打破、以遂其把持世界政權之陰謀、據國際共產黨宣稱、「世界革命目的、以打倒全世界私有財產制度的資本國家爲勝利、以殲滅私有財產制度的敵人、漸進改變其習慣心理、澈底進行世界革命、使全世界插遍紅旗、」這種陰險兇狠的居心、和言大而誇的口吻、白根海說、他是強盜的集團、真是毫不冤枉、像他只知共產國際、不知有國家、只知有無產階級、不知有人類、把承認私有財產的國家、都看做是他的敵人、就是我們今日聚會的朋友、無不係何國籍、及其所屬國家之大小強弱、在國際共產黨眼裏、都認爲是他的敵人、國家越強、他的啣恨越深、若有強大的國家、去侵略弱小的國家、他就認爲是掘自己的墳墓、就很可能地說、是挑撥離間的機會到來了、中國國民黨看透這種詭謀、所以趕緊起來清黨、這與美

國前年和日本最近檢舉共產黨、第一步爲拔除本國的禍根、進一步爲斷絕若輩世界革命的亂源、是出於同一目的的、所以今日世界很明顯的兩條戰線、一邊是共產國際的戰線、一邊是我們承認私有財產制度國家的戰線、但是共產國際、雖然頂着無產階級招牌、其物質享用、過於貴族、還要說什麼經濟平等、以欺騙世人、然而他們的欺騙手段、却是高明、且運用此手段的策略、又是有條不紊、究不失爲一條戰線、再問我們的國際呢、在理論上彷彿是聯合戰線、但按了事實、却大不然、國際聯盟、等於虛設、即偶有工作、也不過爲強國利用罷了、這豈不是叫共產國際、冷眼看我反共產國際一件可痛的事嗎、

第二、從來革命、大概分爲政治革命和社會革命兩種、政治革命、是推翻現在不良的政治、與社會組織根本不生影響、社會革命、就是經濟革命、乃推翻現有社會一切經濟的組織、無條件沒收私有財產、俄國革命、屬於後者、中國國民黨的國民革命、是屬於前者、這就是中國革命和俄國革命根本不同的地方、與各先進國之政治革命、却是大略相似、中國國民

革命標的爲三民主義、即民族民權民生、若說到這種的意義、非短時間所能盡述、簡單言之、民族主義、在求中國民族之自由平等、一面還和平贊助其他的弱小民族的解放、民權主義、求人民政治上的自由平等、以實現全民政治、民生主義、在求人民經濟上的自由平等、其方法爲平均地權、節制資本、由國家司全民經濟的總樞機、以杜絕階級爭鬥的根苗、使其產業的挑撥離間、皆無所施其技、似此和平博大的意義、自然是深入人心、無往弗屆、所以一切主義、遇了三民主義、不是自行退却、便當被其吸收、況且中國本沒有特殊階級、像歐洲從前皇帝專制、貴族僧侶與平民、顯分階級者、既不相同、而且產業未臻發達、並沒有形成資產階級和無產階級的絕對區分、所以相信共產主義、在中國殊無實現之可能、共產黨雖用盡殺人放火的手段、企圖製造無產階級、爲其工具、然而中國國民黨、已經窺見他的底蘊、天天設法防禦、想他也無可奈何了、

第三、中國國民黨最大的要求、我們總理孫先生遺囑已聲明、係求中國之自由平等、達到此

目的後，絕不肯對於其他民族，再施侵略，曾受過他人壓迫者，絕不持狹隘的國家主義，把同一手段，來壓迫他國，以爲快心之事，並且孫先生遺訓，又主張天下爲公，對於人類主博愛互助，不主自相殘殺，如共產黨之所爲，以謀人類共同生存和發展，期漸進世界於大同的境界，等到中國統一完成，種種建設進行的時候，孫先生實業計劃的遺訓，果能一一見之實行，各國生產過剩之困難，在現狀下，也可以得到一條出路，至中國目前雖有偶然不安的現象，也是革命過程中不可避免的事實，各革命成功的先進國，也都已飽嘗，其時間或且較中國更爲延長，中國在此努力革命的時期，各友邦若不明此理，立意妨害，成反有摧殘和阻碍的事實發生，在中國固取不妥協的精神，決不因之而中止吾人之前進，照剛纔所說，我們爲國際共產黨共同敵人的理論，那就是自亂戰線，不特爲共產黨所竊笑，簡直替他造出種種機會，幫助他的成功了，美國有位朋友，克伯屈有言，「時代落伍者，固守其武力政策，壓迫中國的新民族精神，適足造成共產黨的操縱的局面，若中國人與外國人有衝突發生，必

使共產黨收漁人之利、外國人對不平等條約修改稽延一天、不啻幫助共產黨活動一天、軍隊軍艦在中國多駐一天、不啻幫助共產黨宣傳一天、列強不能實行、美國獨行其是、予中國以切實幫助、自動廢除一切不平等條約、即無異使共產黨失却活動的根據、各友邦若能深味此言、由同仇敵愾的關係、生出互助精神、豈不是兩利之道嗎、再說國家主權、爲維持一國獨立生存的必要、且中國主權在人民全體、若主權受有侵害、人民當然要出於抵抗、雖有高壓手段、也無從遏止、土耳其波斯阿富汗斯坦、近東的往事、何曾不是逼他走到這一條路呢、第三國際以外同一戰線內的國家和國家、彼此來往、應該互相尊重主權、譬如人家有一花園、鄰居的人們若得了主人允許、在不妨礙他的主權內、儘可進入遊玩、倘強硬闖進、摧殘花木、不但侵害園主的主權、且爲公理所不許、中國地大物博、人民又酷愛和平、若尊重其主權、在合理範圍內、自可像花園一樣、許人進入遊玩、與以相當禮貌、所以不平等條約若不廢除、另訂彼此互惠條約、實爲國際友誼上之大障礙、日本從前可不是也同中國一



樣、受過此種痛苦嗎、國際共產黨在中國曾有一口號、「中國革命、乃世界革命之一部、」此種危險的標題、各友邦應該用最巧妙最靈敏的手腕、共同設法防止、纔算是可戰線的人們、纔算明白世界狀況的政治家、

今日清黨的必要、在中央應負全國之責任、在兩湖的地方、就是鄙人的責任了、各友邦旅漢僑民的生命和財產、也不消說也應由鄙人擔負完全責任、鄙人發表的意見止此、請諸君更進一步、並祝諸君的健康、

and employ the most effective means at **their** disposal for its prevention. No statesman with world vision can let pass this phenomenon unnoticed.

While the task of exterminating communists in the whole country rests with the central government, the responsibility of doing the same in Hupeh and Hunan falls on my shoulder. It goes without saying that I bear the entire responsibility of protecting the life and property of all the foreign residents in Hankow. This is all what I wish to say, and now let me drink to your health.

Given by Marshal Li Tsung-jen  
on June 11, 1928, at a dinner for  
the consuls in Hankow.

seriously and build up the co-operative spirit for the fact that we are fighting against a common foe ?

The sovereignty of a state is essential for its independent existence. In China, the sovereignty belongs to the people as a whole. Should it be violated, the people would naturally rise in opposition and no oppressive policy could be of any avail. The nations, outside of the Third International, which are standing on the same battle line, should mutually respect each other's right in their dealings. For instance, here is a garden. If the neighbors obtain the permission of the owner under the condition of not impairing his rights, they may freely go in and enjoy whatever they find in the garden. But, if they force their entrance, pluck the flowers and injure the trees, not only they infringe upon the rights of the owner, but their action is condemnable in the light of justice. China possesses vast territory, abundant resources, and peace-loving people. If her rights are respected, she would, within reasonable limits, allow other peoples to come in and have full enjoyment of what she can offer just as in the case of a garden. Therefore, I say, unless the unequal treaties are abolished and reciprocal ones are concluded to take their place, there will always be a great obstacle to real friendship. Some time ago, Japan had the same bitter experiences such as China is having now. The Communist Party in China has a slogan: "The Chinese revolution is a part of the world revolution". Such a slogan is rather dangerous, and our friendly nations should co-operate

had similar experiences. Indeed, their time of disturbance might have been even longer. If, during this active revolutionary period, our friendly nations should fail to understand the real situation, and purposely hamper and obstruct its progress, China would necessarily have to maintain a sort of uncompromising attitude and fight the revolutionary battle to the end. Should such unfortunate event occur, it would discredit the theory that China and the other non-communistic states are common enemies of the International Communist Party, because we would confuse our own battle line and give the Communist Party a chance for success. Our American friend, professor Kilpatrick, said: "The reactionary leaders of the Great Powers obstinately applied their military policy to suppress the new national spirit of China, not knowing that this would only give the communist Party a chance to control the nation. If the Chinese and foreigners have any Conflict, the Communist Party would reap the benefit. The postponement of the revision of the unequal treaties by the foreign nations for one more day simply means helping the Communist Party to be active one day longer. The stationing of troops and battleships in China for one more day also means helping the propaganda work of the Communist Party one day longer. If the Powers could not do these, the United States should take action and help China by automatically abolishing all the unequal treaties. By so doing, the Communist Party would lose its base of activity." Now, is it not mutually beneficial if our friendly nations take these words

munism has no possibility of having a foothold in China. Though the Communist Party has employed all the means, violent and cruel, for creating a non-property class to be its tools, yet the Nationalist Party of China has taken every precaution against the evil designs of the communists who will find China no fertile ground for their propaganda.

III. The predominant aim of the Chinese Nationalist Party, as announced in the will of Dr. Sun, our late president, is the elevation of China's position to freedom and equality among other nations. When this is achieved, China will never herself contemplate any aggressive policy toward other peoples, for she has experienced oppression and naturally will not adhere to the narrow-minded nationalism and try to oppress other peoples. Moreover, Dr. Sun stood for the "world-for-all" principle, emphasized fraternity and mutual aid for all men and denounced all violent actions which may lead to the mutual destruction in mankind. He worked for the elevation of mankind to a stage of common livelihood and development, and for their gradual advance to the era of cosmopolitanism. After the task of unifying China has been completed, all sorts of reconstructive works will begin. If Dr. Sun's industrial plans could all be realized, there would be an outlet for the surplus production of friendly nations.

It is true that China is now still in a condition of unrest, yet this is unavoidable in the course of a revolution; and all those nations where there have been revolutions have

Principles of the People or "San Min Chu I", namely, the principles of nationalism, democracy, and livelihood. These terms need lengthy explanations. But, briefly, the Principle of Nationalism calls for the elevation of the Chinese nation to a position of freedom and equality among other nations and supporting with peaceful means, other weak and small nations to free themselves. The Principle of Democracy aims at Political freedom and equality of the people with the end that every citizen has a voice in the government. The Principle of Livelihood is for economic freedom and equality of the people. The methods by which this Principle is to be carried out are the equalization of land-ownership and the regulation of capital. The nation is to control the whole economic system of the people so as to prevent the possibility of class struggle. Under such circumstances, there is no room for the activities of the communists. These principles, being of such a peaceful and broad nature, are readily accepted and strike root wherever they go. Any other principle in the face of these would either be absorbed or disappear entirely.

China has never had any hard and fast class line among her people as in the case of Europe, where there was a distinct class consciousness between the nobility, clergymen, and peasants. Furthermore, China's industry is still in a stage of infancy, and the way is not yet paved for a clear separation between the property class and the non-property class. Therefore we believe that com-

The communists, though styling themselves as the proletariat, enjoy material comforts such as exceed that of the nobility. Therefore, with nothing but deception in mind, they talk about economic equality. Their ways of deceiving, however, display great skill and, besides, their activities to this end are orderly and disciplined. And they are able to maintain an opposing battle line. Now let us look at ourselves. In theory, we offer a united front, but, in point of fact, it is not so. The League of Nations is nothing but a name. It is merely an instrument in the hands of the stronger powers. This is a deplorable phenomenon of the anti-communistic group which is viewed with satisfaction by the international organization of the communists.

II. Generally, revolution may be divided into two categories: political revolution and social revolution. Political revolution aims at overthrowing the existing unhealthy political institution without fundamentally affecting the social organization. Social revolution or economic revolution means to overthrow all the economic structures of the present society and to abolish private property unconditionally. The Russian revolution is of the latter type, while the Chinese revolution belongs to the former. This is the fundamental difference between the Russian revolution and the Chinese revolution which resembles closely the political revolutions which have taken place in those progressive nations.

The purpose of the Nationalist revolution in China is to put into effect the Three

a thorough manner, a revolution which will make the red flag fly all over the world. In view of such a malicious intention and boasting tone, it is not too much for the Earl of Birkenhead to say that the Communist Party is an organization of robbers.

The communists accept only the Third International and deny the existence of the Individual nations. They recognize only the proletariat and refuse to admit the entire mankind. They regard, as enemies, all the nations recognizing private property. Our friends here today, whatever may be the country they come from and whatever may be the size and strength of the country, are, in the eyes of the communists, all their enemies, a stronger nation, of course, arousing more intense hatred. When a powerful state has any encroachment upon a weaker one, the communists joyously declare that the former is digging its own grave and see the chance to incite suspicion and animosity.

The Nationalist Party of China, realizing their sinister scheme, has lost no time in eliminating the communistic elements from the party. Our effort in this respect resembles that of the United States some time ago and that of Japan recently. The object is to remove the source of trouble in this country and, at the same time, to stop the attempted world revolution at its start. It is clear today that the world is divided into two camps, on the one side the international organization of the communists and on the other the nations recognizing private property.



unable to earn a living except by being workers in the factories. The society will then be naturally divided into two classes, the property class and the non-property class.

If the parties in power in various states realize the necessity of reconciling capital and labor, take steps to minimize the class differences and thus remove the class line, the communistic theory of class struggle will die a natural death and the exclusive rule of the proletariat according to Maxism will never become a fact.

The International Communist Party led by the Soviet Russia, making use of the feeling of discontent on the part of the poor towards the capitalists, preaches a proletariat revolution, endeavors to create a non-property class by various means, aiming at depriving people of their property, and then rally those propertyless people under its flag and employ them as tools for the revolution.

This movement, unlimited by national boundaries, needs a world-wide organization. The Third International was organized for this end. What it has resolved to do is to demolish the existing political and economic structures in order to seize the political power of the world. The International Communist Party has declared that the object of the world revolution is to destroy the capitalist nations maintaining the system of private property, to annihilate the enemies recognizing private property, to change, in the people, their habit and their way of thinking and to promote, in

**I**T is a privilege and pleasure that you have come and made possible a pleasant gathering in which all the friendly nations are represented. Since my arrival in Hankow, although we have met each other several times, the military and political affairs have prevented me from having with you longer conversations such as I desire; I take this opportunity to say a few words.

Since the establishment of the Republic of China, the political power has fallen into and remained in the hands of the military who know nothing of the science and art of government. For more than ten years, complications of all kinds have presented themselves. After the Nationalist Army had started the Northern Expedition, the communists gained their entrance into the Nationalist Party and carried on their activities. As a result, the true idea of the Nationalist Revolution sank into obscurity. The people of this country were thus made to face untold sufferings and foreigners of all nationalities, residing in China, were likewise involved in endless trouble. This is, indeed, a great misfortune.

It is worth while to see what may be the bearing of the political tendencies of China upon the other nations. In my opinion, three points deserve our attention.

**I.** From the economic point of view, if the capital be in the hands of a few, the political power will also be monopolized by that small minority. The rest of the people will be

廿六年五月四日

趙伯聲先生贈送

樓上

雲霧桃開黃鶴

吳子玉撥政音吹

旅園塔

笛玉

望山外  
新魚卷

