CHINA'S DESTINY

Declassified and Approved For Release 2013/10/30 : CIA-RDP13X00001R000100190002-2

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] This book will not receive further dissemination. I much dislike, accepting the one copy needed by the Intelligence group, to try [redacted] and send to Headquarters.

In view of our immediate relations with Hsiang Hsi-shih, we think was a little course since about this. Anyone having a copy for personal use will turn it in at once.

W. J. D.

[redacted]

[redacted] The Executive Office

[redacted] Consideration of [redacted]

[redacted] is the opinion of this office that the following considerations of the consideration of Chiang Kai-Shek's book "Chinese Destiny" is indicated.

a) One copy to Mr. Smith.

b) Three copies to the Department of State.

c) If GSS is interested, I feel that they are probably more likely request on the State Department.

d) In order unnecessary, at the moment, to comply at this the interest in [redacted]

For the Deputy Director, GSS - Intelligence Service

[redacted] A. Bross
Mr. Smith, GSS

[redacted]

SECRET

22 March 1944

[redacted]

[redacted]

1. I attach file containing translation of Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek's "China's Destiny" for your recommendations concerning dissemination.

2. To date one copy each has been distributed to MID, OWI and Lauchlin Currie. The attached is the only remaining copy.

3. Mr. Currie has requested another copy "because of the interest in high quarters". OWI, State Department and MO desire copies. OWI and State had representatives at meetings held by Mr. Currie and know of the book through these meetings.

4. The Generalissimo definitely did not want the book translated into English. Hence the danger to be kept in view is that if the Generalissimo learns of the translation, relations with him may be prejudiced. Thus use of the book for MO or OWI purposes in any active sense would be precluded. Knowledge of the psychology of the people with whom we are dealing as allies might, however, be useful to these agencies apart from using the material for black or white propaganda or news purposes. Also, there are five or six Chinese copies, and refusal by us to disseminate it might merely necessitate a retranslation by another agency. Dissemination could be accompanied by appropriate words of caution.

5. I present the above facts and views merely as some of the considerations which make it desirable that your views be secured before further dissemination and, possibly, that General Donovan approve the final dissemination.

Robert Thrun
Assistant to Executive Officer

SECRET

Chungking, China

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Allman, N.F.
Translation
Navy Dept.

March 28, 1943

Miss Grace Tully,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

NOT SENT

Dear Grace:

Will you please bring the attached to the attention of the President.

Sincerely,

William J. Donovan

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 28, 1943

Not Sent

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

We learn that General Chiang Kai-shek has written a book called "China's Destiny". An English version of this book is being prepared under the editorship of Dr. Wang-hui, China's former Foreign Minister and Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

It is said that the official version would come out in China during April or May. The Chinese text is intended for home consumption. They are to get out a translation of their own for here.

There are 212 pages of Chinese text which we are having translated. I am attaching a copy of the summary which you may wish to have.

Sincerely,

William J. Donovan
Director

China's Destiny
Contemporary China
Translation
Navy Dept

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

March 26, 1943

SECRET

[redacted]

To: Colonel William J. Donovan

From: Lt. Commander Hallinell and N. F. Allman

Subject: "China's Destiny"

You will recall that as a result of information which fell into our hands, I inquired of Captain Miles whether this book was available to us in this country. The result was that a microfilm print was delivered to the writer within approximately twenty-four hours of the time when my query was made.

Immediately subsequent to this query, Captain Zacharias, who is one of Admiral Train's top men, called me on the telephone and wanted to know whether we were able to make a literal translation, under rigid regard for security, and further, what were our intentions in respect to the microfilm copy.

After consulting with you, it was agreed if Judge Allman was able to make a quick inspection of this book in its original, probably the best thing to do was to make a summary and then consult with Captain Zacharias as to what would be the next best step in order to prevent duplication of work. Attached, under date of March 25th, is Judge Allman's report on this document. The microfilm pages remain in Judge Allman's possession.

SECRET

SECRET

I wished to get you on the telephone before you left this afternoon, but during your absence, I am taking the liberty of delivering a copy of Judge Allman's report to Captain Zacharias at the Navy Department tomorrow morning, at which time I will consult with him as to whether or not it is more practicable for the translators available at the Navy Department or secure translators available to us to be instructed to make a complete literal translation.

It is estimated that a complete literal translation will take several weeks.

R. Dwight Challiwell
Lt. Commander, USNR
Deputy Chief, SO

SECRET

[illegible]

SECRET

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

(a) [illegible]

(b) [illegible]

(c) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

"China's Destiny" p. 57
Contemporary China

SECRET

SECRET

MEMORANDUM

TO : General Donovan DATE 3/25/43

SUBJECT : "China's Destiny"

With reference to the Chinese text of the above book I find that "Contemporary China" put out by Dr. C. L. Hsia in New York, picked up a radio summary of this book in English some ten days ago. Without disclosing anything I asked Dr. Hsia if anyone in this country had a copy of the Chinese text, and he said, "No", but that he was expecting one through U. S. Army sources but had not received it as yet. He was somewhat annoyed at the delay and mentioned that perhaps the Army authorities were looking the copy over. The original version in Chinese was published in Chungking and elsewhere in China on February 5, 1943.

I asked Dr. Hsia if he intended to make a translation or wanted one made, and he said that the Chinese didn't want any translations of this book made in this country, as an original English version was being prepared under the editorship of Dr. Wang-hui. Dr. Wang is China's former Foreign Minister and Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Dr. Hsia said that the official English version would come out in Chungking during April or May.

[redacted]
[redacted]

3/25/43

I understand that absolute security is necessary in regard to the Chinese text of this book and any translation thereof. I would recommend however that a full translation be made in order to get at what the Generalissimo really considers "China's Destiny". The Chinese text is intended for home consumption and their wariness about not wanting an English translation made in the United States might indicate that the official English version which they are preparing will be prepared to fit the American Domestic consumption. It will take a good deal of time to make a careful translation as there are 212 pages of Chinese text.

I have read over the English summary as published in "Contemporary China" and have read over the Chinese text of the book which has been secretly obtained. I made notes as I read through the Chinese text and found on comparison that the radio summary in English which Dr. Hsia received is fairly good and I am quoting it below with a few corrections to conform more closely to the Chinese text. I have added at the end of this memorandum a free translation of the Generalissimo's concluding summary which appears at the end of his book. This part of the book was not included in the radio English summary.

The English summary from "Contemporary China" with a few changes is as follows:

CHAPTER I.- "Growth and Development of the Chinese Nation"

"The Generalissimo attributes the continued existence

of the Chinese Nation for five thousand years to the fact that the Chinese people have been able to cultivate the virtue of integrity and a sense of honor, to endure trials and shoulder responsibilities! It is because the Chinese people possess these moral qualities that they will not encroach upon other people's possessions nor will they suffer theirs to be encroached by others. The territories which China has hitherto possessed are all essential to her national existence. During the past five thousand years China, in fact, has not advanced beyond her territorial possessions or encroached upon those of other nations. Should other nations, however, encroach upon China's territorial possessions essential to her national existence, the Chinese people would rise to avenge the injustice done. They would not rest until their lost territories were recovered.

CHAPTER II

"Origin of National Humiliation and Cause of the Revolution."

The Generalissimo first deals with the deterioration during the Manchu regime of China's political and social institutions as well as of Chinese arts and sciences. This deterioration resulted in the national humiliation caused by the unequal treaties concluded one after another. Resolved to wipe off this national humiliation, the Chinese people, under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen struggled and succeeded in 1911 in overthrowing the 3,000-year-old monarchical system of government and the 300-year old despotism of the Manchu regime. After the Revolution of 1911 the Chinese people did not follow wholeheartedly and steadfastly Dr. Sun Yat-sen's plan of national reconstruction. Instead they laid stress merely on form of democratic institutions, failing to build a solid foundation for popular government. This caused regional domination by warlords and uninterrupted encroachment by foreign powers.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

"[redacted]"

Chapter Three consists of five sections dealing with the political, economic, social, moral and psychological effects of the unequal treaties. The presence of foreign concessions, settlements, and garrisoned areas rendered China's defense system ineffective. With the prosperity in the concessions and settlements and the depression in the interior forming a glaring contrast, not only the livelihood of the Chinese people became impoverished but the national strength of the country was also weakened. There was a violent change in the inherent social structure and customs of the Chinese people as the result of which the practice of mutual health and the habit of simplicity and frugality were completely abandoned. The prevalence of opium-smoking, gambling, and prostitution in the concessions and settlements greatly affected the morals of the Chinese people and brought about their degeneration. The Chinese people psychologically gradually lost their self-confidence, fell a prey to xenophobia, and played the nebulous ape to everything foreign.

[redacted]

"[redacted]"

This chapter is subdivided into five sections. It deals first with the reorganization of the Kuomintang which had as its major object the overthrow of the war-lords and the abolition of the unequal treaties. The Generalissimo then gives a resume of the efforts made by the National Government in obtaining for China tariff autonomy, which met with partial success, and in recovering jurisdictional rights, the negotiations for which were brought to a standstill by the Shanghai outrage on September 18, 1931. The author also gives an account of his unceasing efforts from September 18, 1931, to July 7, 1937, in taking over the difficult internal situation and making of the same time all preparation within his power for a final reckoning with Japan. He dwells at length on the great significance and consequence of China's

resistance which deprived Japan of the initiative in the present World War. In this regard the Generalissimo says:

> 'The Japanese militarists thought that they could work wonders with their tricks and treacheries. In fact they are extremely foolish. In making aggressive war upon us they thought that the initiative was all on their side and that they had China completely under their control. They still fail to realize that since the beginning of the war their national policy and military strategy have always had to depend upon circumstances of our making. As a result, their military operations have had to be constantly readjusted because of our strategy which frustrated their original plan. The Japanese militarists are thus compelled to take the road which leads inevitably to their ultimate doom.'

In the four preceding chapters the Generalissimo, in recounting the events of the past century in China, points out China's traditional national spirit and the Chinese people's moral qualities which together constitute the foundation of the Chinese state. He also explains that the decadence of the national spirit and morals has been responsible for the country's weakness.

CHAPTER V

"Formulation of Unequal Treaties and the Essentials of Future National Reconstruction."

This chapter describes the attitude of the Chinese people towards the new treaties based upon equality and reciprocity. The Generalissimo points out that the Chinese people's efforts in revolution and reconstruction henceforth should be devoted to psychological, ethical, social, political, and economic rebuilding so that China may become a state in which culture national defense, and economics form one harmonious whole.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

China has entered upon a new phase in national reconstruction with the abolition of the unequal treaties. Of the various aspects of national rehabilitation, however, economic reconstruction as outlined in the fundamentals of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's industrial plan is the most urgent and essential.

The Generalissimo proposes a ten-year reconstruction plan on a practicable scale. Among other things he urges the construction of 50,000 kilometers of railways and the production of 250,000 automobiles and 10,000 transport planes. Taking into account China's 400,000,000 people and her vast area of 10,000,000 square kilometers such estimates are extremely conservative.

This ten-year plan also calls for 2,400,000 graduates from various grades of technical and vocational schools. In the past five years graduates from such schools totaled only 417,000. The author assures his fellow countrymen that there need be no fear of unemployment if one possess any kind of technical qualifications. Furthermore, " if a man does not abandon himself he will not be forsaken by his state".

A special appeal is made to the youth of China. He urges them to aspire to become primary school teachers, rural community self-government administrators, air pilots, border settlers, or engineers. He is confident that if China's youths will exert themselves in these five new directions the country is bound to prosper.

From the foregoing one may see that in enlightening and directing his fellow countrymen Generalissimo Chiang is markedly practical and sympathetic.

[redacted] VI.

" [redacted] Problems of Revolution and National Reconstruction."

This chapter is divided into three sections. The question of how to evolve a sound philosophy is raised. Historical events of the last century and the revolutionary struggle during the last fifty years have given China a lesson of far-reaching significance which furnishes the correct answer to the question of "knowledge" and "Action" --

a question which has been the center of discussion among Chinese philosophers in ancient times.

The answer is summed up in Dr. Sun's statement, "Knowing is difficult, acting is easy," and in Generalissimo Chiang's maxim, "Knowledge is unattainable without action." It is through positive action that there can be true knowledge and it is only through knowledge that action can be made easy. On the basis of this philosophical theory the Generalissimo declares that the Chinese people must adhere to Dr. Sun's teachings to use revolutionary methods in reconstruction so that China's full independence and freedom once recovered through the abolition of the unequal treaties may never be lost again.

The Chinese people are called upon to reform their social habits and customs. Vanity and extravagance must give way to sincerity and honesty before national rebuilding can be completed. Particular attention is directed to reforms to be introduced into the schools.

In the last part the Generalissimo instructs the Chinese people to foster the spirit of government by law. A state can truly be said to be governed by law only when each and every citizen enjoys liberty.

CHAPTER VII

"The Nerve Center of China's National Reconstruction and the Turning Point in China's Destiny."

The author deals correctly with the Kuomintang and the San Min Chu I Youth Corps. He says the Kuomintang functions as the nerve center in the task of national reconstruction while the Youth Corps may be likened to corpuscles. In this chapter he states repeatedly his liberal and frank attitude towards other parties.

> 'My views concerning the nation, the people, revolution, and reconstruction are firm and unalterable,"

says the Generalissimo,

> 'but I have no preconception against the various ideologies and organizations.'

We earnestly hope that other parties will not impede national reconstruction by illegal measures such as maintaining troops under certain regional domination but that they will give up any rash preconceived ideas and join in the common effort of national reconstruction.

CHAPTER VIII

"China's Destiny and the Future of the World"

Chapter eight sets forth the author's opinions on world peace organization. He says that, according to China's indigenous political philosophy, war arises from man's being a slave to his productivity and fighting prowess. China's traditional political philosophy demands that technical knowledge should be made to serve mankind. If this philosophy can spread throughout the world there will be hope for an enduring world peace. The Generalissimo holds that the international , economy, and culture should be founded on the principles of freedom for all people and equality for all states. Only when this is realized can the cause of war be removed so that the world will not again be devastated by brute force.

CONCLUSION

A free translation of the Generalissimo's summary follows:

The foregoing chapters may be summarized into two phases. First, speaking from the point of view of history:

The unequal treaties of the past one hundred years produced national humiliation but served greatly to arouse all of our people to avenge such humiliation; to overthrow the Ching Dynasty and to create the Republic. That we are now resisting aggression and building a strong China originates from such causes. We have learned from experience that only by revolution of the people can we accomplish our aim. Already the People's Revolution has succeeded in its first stage. Our people should hereafter follow the course of fighting aggression in order to attain our goal.

Second, speaking from the point of view of ever changing world conditions:

China is one of the fighting nations in World War II,

China must fight on before we can have a stabilized Asia and freedom among the Asiatic nations. This will be the final victory of the present war. After the close of the war there must be equality among peoples and every nation will be free. We must make freedom of the people in Asia our paramount issue. All nations in Asia should be equal in standing among other nations. Out of all this an independent China is of first importance. In other words when China wins her freedom and independence there will be freedom and equality in Asia. When Asia is stabilized, world peace can be guaranteed and the people of Asia can be liberated as the people of the whole world can be liberated.

At present China has attained a position of independence and has abolished the unequal treaties. This resets powerfully upon the mind of the Chinese people. They are much encouraged and have more courage to fight on. They have more patriotism and they look forward to the material and spiritual upbuilding of a strong nation. For this we must sacrifice.

"There is nothing easy in the world. There is nothing difficult." We should have faith and hope in our National Government. We should work together along the lines of the Three Peoples Principles and recognize the aim of the People's Revolution. If we can do this there is nothing in the world that can stop us from attaining our final goal of success. Fellow citizens, the unequal treaties are now abrogated. Let us look back 100 years and remember the humiliation and sufferings we encountered. We must follow the steps of our forefathers and our heroes who have sacrificed their lives for the Republic. We must remember our five thousand years of history and civilization. We must safeguard our virtue and honor. Make up your mind and determination to do your job efficiently whatever position you now hold. Each should follow his or her conscience and wisdom. Let's all together build a better society, a better political system, a better form of government. Nourish the concept of law. Make known our principal five items upon which to build and which are:

Ethics — Will-power
Society — Government
Economics.

[redacted]

2/21/41

[redacted] to build and plan for civilization, national economy, defense, and the practical application of power. [redacted] together among ourselves and among the nations of the world to build a better world, a peaceful world and a free world.

Chiang's destiny

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D.C.

25 March 1944

MRC O'Donnell
Intel

[redacted] The Executive Office

[redacted] Translation of China's Destiny

It is the opinion of this office that the following disposition of the translation of Chiang Kai-Shek's book "China's Destiny" is indicated:

a) One copy to Mr. Currie.

b) Three copies to the Department of State.

c) If OWI is interested, I feel that they may properly make their request on the State Department.

d) It seems unnecessary, at the moment, to supply MO with the material in question.

For the Deputy Director, OSS - Intelligence Service

Edward A. Tenney
Lt. Comdr. USNR

[redacted]

SECRET

General Donovan

23 March 1944

Executive Office

1. I attach file containing translation of Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek's "China's Destiny" for your recommendations concerning dissemination.

2. To date one copy each has been distributed to MID, OWI and Laughlin Currie. The attached is the only remaining copy.

3. Mr. Currie has requested another copy "because of the interest in high quarters". OWI, State Department and MO desire copies. OWI and State had representatives at meetings held by Mr. Currie and know of the book through those meetings.

4. The Generalissimo definitely did not want the book translated into English. Hence the danger to be kept in view is that if the Generalissimo learns of the translation, relations with him may be prejudiced. Thus use of the book for MO or OWI purposes in any active sense would be precluded. Knowledge of the psychology of the people with whom we are dealing as allies might, however, be useful to these agencies apart from using the material for black or white propaganda or news purposes. Also, there are five or six Chinese copies, and refusal by us to disseminate it might merely necessitate a retranslation by another agency. Dissemination could be accompanied by appropriate words of caution.

5. I present the above facts and views merely as some of the considerations which make it desirable that your views be secured before further dissemination and, possibly, that General Donovan approve the final dissemination.

Robert Thrun
Assistant to Executive Officer

SECRET

SECRET

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

INTEROFFICE MEMO

TO: General Magruder

FROM: Executive Office

SUBJECT:

DATE: 23 March 1944

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Robert Thrun 7081

Robert Thrun
Assistant to Executive Officer

SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SECRET

January 22, 1944

MEMORANDUM

TO: General W. J. Donovan

FROM: W. P. Allman

SUBJECT: Translation of China's Destiny.

You may recall that this is a book by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and that he did not wish any English translation of it as he apparently intended it primarily for domestic consumption. We completed the translation during your absence, but, in view of the Generalissimo's prohibition against translation of the book, our translation should have a restricted circulation. The translation has been sent to the Reporting Board for dissemination, and I wonder whether you would wish a copy yourself.

[redacted]

Date: 12-21-43

TO: Reporting Board

FROM: W. F. Altman

SUBJECT: Book China's Destiny

The attached is a full translation of the above book, and is, as far as we know, the only full translation that has been made. This translation was made by Lt. [illegible], Mr. Sargent and myself, with some help from Mr. Stelle of R & A. No attempt has been made to make a literary or idiomatic translation, but rather to make a full and complete copy.

In view of the Generalissimo's reluctance to have this book translated in English, the English translation should be confined to a restricted circulation.

By previous arrangement a copy has been sent to Dr. Laughlin Currie, OWI and [illegible] directly. State, R & A and doubtless other departments of the Government will be interested in a copy and it may be worthwhile having the translation photostated. The New York office, but being so crowded with work could probably do this.

ATTACHMENT - Translation above referred.

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

Accession No. 16715

Date Rec'd SA 2/19/44

To	Room No.	Date Rec'd	Date For'd	Officer's Initials	Comments
1. Allen	104	2/19	2/19	[illegible]	
2. [illegible]				[illegible]	
3. Redlich				[illegible]	
4. Allen			2/19	[illegible]	
5. Stott					
6. Rg Bd	411				
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					

Each comment should be numbered to correspond with number in To column.
A line should be drawn across sheet under each comment.
Officer initials should be used in To column.
Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing.
Action desired or action taken should be indicated in Comments column.
Routing sheet should always be returned to Registry.
For Officer Instructions see reverse side.

SECRET

[redacted]

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

INTEROFFICE MEMO

[redacted] Judge E. F. Allman

DATE 19 February 1944

[redacted] Virginia H. Terhune

[redacted] China's Destiny

Answering your memorandum requesting that the Reporting Board send a copy of the above to MO, we have still not received this material in this section. We have checked with the Mail Room, Central Files, and the Registry, but their records do not show that this translation was sent to the Reporting Board. If it is possible for your office to let us have their file copy we will have it photostated immediately and take care of the requested dissemination.

V. H. T.

Dr John K Fairbank does want a copy.
HDA

SECRET

CHINA'S DESTINY

BY

[redacted]

([redacted])

Declassified and Approved For Release 2013/10/30 : CIA-RDP13X00001R000100190002-2

II. [illegible] of national institutions and causes of the revolution

1. [illegible] social and institutional decline of the Ming dynasty and its fundamental errors in [illegible] government.
2. [illegible] of the unequal treaties and popular [illegible].
3. Accomplishments of the Revolution of 1911 and lessons from its failure.

III. Analysis of the effects of the unequal treaties.

1. Effects of the unequal treaties on government and law.
2. " " " " " " economics.
3. " " " " " " society.
4. " " " " " " morality.
5. " " " " " " psychology.

IV. From the Northern Expedition (1927) to the War of Resistance (1937)

1. Reorganization of the Kuomintang and steps for putting into effect the Three People's Principles.
2. Accomplishments of the Northern Expedition and lessons of the Revolution.
3. Domestic worries and anxieties in foreign relations following transfer of the national capital to Nanking.
4. Effects of the War of Resistance on domestic affairs.
5. The relationship of China's war of resistance to the international situation.

V. Abolition of the Unequal Treaties and essentials for the work of future national reconstruction.

1. Abolition of the unequal treaties and China's responsibility to the world.

2. Tendencies in future popular undertaker and essential points for national reconstruction.

VI. Fundamental questions of revolution and national reconstruction.

1. Lessons of enlightened revolution.
2. The question of reforming social and intellectual systems.
3. The questions of developing the concept of administration by law.

VII. The roles of China's revolution and reconstruction, and essentials determining their destiny.

VIII. China's destiny and the future of the world.

CONCLUSION

[redacted]

[redacted]

Declassified and Approved For Release 2013/10/30 : CIA-RDP13X00001R000100190002-2

CHAPTER I

[illegible]

Five thousand years ago our Chinese race built a nation on the continent of Asia. Other nations of five thousand years ago are now only historical records. But only in our China the only ancient nation still in existence, but also, in company with democracy and anti-aggression states, it is fighting for independence and human liberty, and to obtain a brilliant victory. We are advancing on the road of everlasting peace in a struggle unequalled in the world's history.

We all know that a race is formed naturally, but a nation is built by the strength of the masses. During the process of natural formation of the Chinese race, resistance against foreign aggression and the [illegible] of self-preservation have established China as a nation. Our race is of one stock, and, due to its fertility, the population has greatly increased and became stronger. Consequently, the area and size of the country have grown. Nevertheless, the Chinese race has never overstepped the limits of its natural growth, and so to this day the nation started military force to expand. If any foreign aggressor forcibly invades our boundaries and occupies our territory, upon which our people must depend for their livelihood, then we have no alternative but to rise and fight until it is restored to us. Our sense of humiliation and our need to survive impel us to act. Yet, our Chinese race has sought neither revenge nor to enslave invaders.

According to its historic development, our Chinese race was formed by the blend of many hundred tribes. This blending of various tribes increased, generation after generation, but the ruling power was cultural rather than military, and its methods were by mutual understanding rather than by suppression. Three thousand years ago many groups of people spread along the valleys of the Yellow, Yangtze, Hsiangkiang and Pearl Rivers. After the Five Emperors,records were more frequently kept, so the formation of different tribes can be studied in sequence. Within the Four Seas, people of the various localities are either descendants of one ancestor or are inter-related through marriage. The Book of poetry states:

> The descendants of Wen Wang extend to hundreds of generations, but all come from the same family tree.

This means they all belong to the same blood stream. This book again states:

> He is not an outsider but a cousin or uncle.

That is to say, among all the people there are either blood relations or marriage connections. This is how the Chinese race was formed in ancient times. Therefore, at present, all Chinese citizens have the same idea and it is said that within the Four Seas, all are brothers, and possess the same magnificent spirit of kindness.

[illegible]

During the period of the Three Kingdoms, although the central area was divided and unruled, the governments of the three kingdoms worked for the welfare of their people, following the guidelines of the Han Dynasty, either organizing the frontiers or enlarging their lands. The Mongol Chin (Tsin) people suffered from border attacks; the Chinese moved southwards the tribes of Kingdo occupied the Yellow River Valley. However, these tribes were gradually acquired Chinese civilization. As a result, the Mongol Chin and the Mongolian peoples, though they sooner or later occupied themselves along the Yellow River, adopted Chinese civilization and adopted Chinese methods of government. The civilization which was achieved Chinese methods of government. The civilization accomplished by the Jin and Tang dynasties was also the fruit of four hundred years of assimilation of different tribes. During these periods, the race was composed of many different tribes whose [illegible] were rich. Thus, in the area east of the Liaoheigh [illegible], west of the Yellow Sea, south of the Gobi Desert and north of the Southern Sea, the various sorts of religion, philosophy, literature, science, astronomy, mathematics, civics, law and sociology were collected together and mixed in one pot.

National defence during the Sung Dynasty was not adequate to protect its realm nor to ensure survival of its people. The Liao and Chin (Tsin) Tartars were tribes from the north, and the [illegible] of Chinese whose way of life had not been completely assimilated by the Chinese. They took advantage of the Sung dynasty's low morale, political chaotic and military corruption, and conquered their neighbors to form a strong aggressive power. Although they sooner or later occupied China, they were eventually assimilated by Chinese culture. The rise of the Mongols to powerful similar to that of the Liao and Chin (Tsin) Tartars. The area [illegible] conquered down by the hordes of Genghis Khan's horses extended far beyond any territory essential to the livelihood of the Chinese people. But after Kublai proclaimed himself emperor, these regions [illegible] separated from the Chinese form of government, and [illegible] which were subsequently absorbed by the Chinese. The Mongols then occupied China. They were absorbed by the culture. Therefore, after the Revolution of 1911, the Liao, the Jin, the Chinese were blended into one body. But there is [illegible] the Mongolian tribes of any difference.

[illegible] This is the [illegible] of our struggle for the [illegible] of the people.

Speaking of territory essential to the people's livelihood, [illegible] be fixed by the [illegible]. Therefore, [illegible] a hundred years ago, within the [illegible] of China [illegible] there was not a single [illegible] square kilometers, [illegible] to the livelihood of the people and [illegible] essential [illegible]. When the population [illegible] the people's livelihood is adversely affected and [illegible]. Therefore, all citizens must feel this [illegible] until we have recovered all lost [illegible] the movement for avenging this humiliation [illegible] our country.

[illegible] China's [illegible] the customs of the peoples and ways of life of [illegible] are different. Yet, by combining the [illegible] Chinese culture is [illegible] and by [illegible] the Chinese [illegible] of all [illegible] history. [illegible] geographical [illegible] and [illegible] political [illegible] historical [illegible].

As for geographical environment, China's mountains and [illegible]. From west to east, [illegible] from the [illegible] of Asia and the high [illegible] the Yellow River and [illegible] (Manchuria), [illegible] by the central [illegible] and the [illegible] the North Central [illegible] there are the [illegible] and Pearl River systems. China's [illegible] in these river systems not a [illegible] be divided or separated, and there is not a single [illegible] that can exist by itself.

As for the economic system, under the complete system of [illegible] each district has its special [illegible] of the soil. In each district the [illegible] of life, such as [illegible]. Before the [illegible] there was already a [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of history, consisted in the people's livelihood, [illegible] the people's economy and day by national life. Therefore, [illegible] the end of about a hundred years ago, within the [illegible] against imperialism, there was not a single [illegible] not connected to the livelihood of the people and [illegible] not connected by our culture. Then the prohibition [illegible] the people's livelihood is obviously affected and [illegible] economy, culture, thought, all systems and full this [illegible] and we will be here removed all back [illegible] and [illegible] the movement for changing this livelihood [illegible] and culture.

Within China's realm, the customs of the people and ways of life of each locality are different. Yet, by combining the [illegible] of these social groups, Chinese culture is formed and by combining the ways of life of all systems, the Chinese nation is created. This is the outstanding fact of history. This [illegible] that is based on geographical circumstances, economic [illegible], national defense requirements, and similar events in [illegible] and was born of political demands.

As for geographical environment, China's mountains and rivers form a complete system in themselves. From west to east, [illegible] we go from the roof of Asia and the high [illegible] of the northern plain with the Yian River and Ahwei system; [illegible] to the Shen Mountain Provinces (Shensi-Kansu), then by the central [illegible] of the Hukuan Mountain and the northeastern plain. Yet we look south along the Shantung to the South Central [illegible]. Between these three great mountain ranges there are the [illegible] Yellow, Hai, Huaiho and Yangtse River systems. China's [illegible] and economic [illegible] in these river systems are [illegible] and be divided or separated, and there is not a single [illegible] that can exist by itself.

As for the economic system, under the complete system of [illegible] and [illegible], each district has its special [illegible] and products of the soil. In each district the [illegible] have their own way of life, such as hunting, [illegible] fishing, [illegible] and farming, adapting their special [illegible] to the [illegible] of life. Before the [illegible] of the [illegible] and railroads, there was already a [illegible]

[illegible] a piece of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

As to the requirements of national defense, since the [illegible] [illegible] of mountains and rivers, if any section [illegible] is severed and occupied by an alien people, then the whole nation and the entire people will lose their natural barriers [illegible]. In the area of the Yellow, Yangtze and Han [illegible], there is no place that can be strongly defended. Therefore, Formosa, the Pescadores, the Four Northeastern Provinces (Manchuria), Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet are each an important fortress for the defense of our people's existence. The breaking of such points means destruction of China's national defense. As to natural resources which support the nation, there are iron, coal and farm products in the northeast, horses and wool in the northwest, copper and [illegible] in the southwest, wolfram and lead in the southeast. All these are important strategic material safeguarding the existence of the people. Loss of such resources means destruction of the foundations of our nation.

History shows that, in shaping the destiny of the various tribes, the moral quality early possessed by our Chinese people was sufficient to bind [illegible] together with good will towards one another and to [illegible] peculiar characteristics each might have. In return for the tribute submitted by her neighbors, China sent [illegible] gifts. Never was there any intention of economic exploitation. Towards the conflicts among the neighbors China always maintained the policy of aiding [illegible] and peoples in difficulty, and on no occasion has taken advantage of the precarious position of another country to occupy its territory. Therefore, the neighboring tribes that came within Chinese territory were assimilated by the Chinese. The peaceful status changed from tribute bearers to [illegible] and from dependencies to self-governing entities; each was granted according to its needs, for its well-being and the degree of its civilization. Such dependency had a long history [illegible] in the scope of assimilation. Take Mongolia for instance. The [illegible] in the Chou Dynasty and the Tartars in the [illegible] [illegible] started the first stage of assimilation. Thereafter, from the [illegible] during the early Tang and the Liao, the later Tang and the Chin dynasties, to the Mongols in the Ming and Ching dynasties, all had a history of gradual assimilation. Sinkiang goes back to the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals, when the Chin conquered the [illegible] tribe and was succeeded by the Han, who extended the [illegible] dominions, and by the Tangs who established [illegible], and finally by the dynasties of Yuan and Ching which succeeded in uniting [illegible]. These two areas have been influenced by Chinese [illegible] for over two thousand years. Following the conversion of [illegible] to Buddhism, Tibet began to follow the Sui and Tang. It came under the control of the Department of State during the Yuan Dynasty and subject to the Department of Territorial Control in the Ching Dynasty. It went through a period of evolution and assimilation lasting over thirteen hundred years.

The [illegible] [illegible] inclined towards the interior each [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. The [illegible] started the [illegible] [illegible] in the [illegible] Dynasty. The [illegible] tribe expanded greatly in the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] was all governed by the [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] long history, based on the morality of the Chinese people, [illegible] Chinese culture civilization. We have that the ethical [illegible] of the Chinese people as citizens are loyalty, filial piety, [illegible], kindness, humanity, peace and righteousness, and the [illegible] principle for which China stands as a nation are propriety, [illegible], sincerity and humiliation.

Because of the teachings of these eight virtues and four points, the Chinese people will [illegible] that they have but will not fight for [illegible] in others. Where duty lies we shall do our best, and where [illegible] we shall not be selfish. We shall not be afraid of our [illegible], and we shall not take advantage of the weak and [illegible] [illegible].

By the experience of five thousand years of rule and the vicissitudes of disappointments and dealing, our people have acquired the virtues of understanding humanity, having humiliation, enduring disgrace and [illegible] hardships. Because of understanding humanity, we are capable of [illegible] our lot. Because of having humiliation, we are capable of [illegible]. Because we are capable of accepting our lot, we do not [illegible] of [illegible] other [illegible]. Because we are capable of perseverance, we do not [illegible] [illegible] from other [illegible]. Because we are capable of enduring disgrace, the strength of our race is accumulated [illegible] and is not [illegible] [illegible]. Because we are capable of [illegible] hardships, the [illegible] of our people is enduring and is not [illegible]. Thus, from possessing these virtues, we Chinese, are [illegible] of sacrificing [illegible] for the benefit of the masses, [illegible] capable of [illegible] self for the benefit of others, we encourage [illegible] and thus strengthen their endurance. Knowing the [illegible] of [illegible], we further promote the benevolent attitude of [illegible] the law, [illegible] aggression, relieving the feeble, and [illegible] the fallen. We can also rule the loyal and intelligent [illegible] [illegible] and thus establishing others and of understanding [illegible] and thus understanding others." Consequently, during the past five thousand years each of the various clans of East Asia, [illegible] by [illegible] alliance and joint cultural development, or by [illegible] and maintaining joint protection, or by independence [illegible] subjugation, responding to the aspirations and [illegible] of the people and following the national disposition and its [illegible], has developed the accomplishments of its culture in [illegible] to the joint progress of humanity.

[illegible]

[illegible]

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The deterioration of our national position and the low morale of the people during the past hundred years can be attributed in large measure to the unequal treaties. The condition of our national fortunes is a complete record of China's national humiliation. To find the cause of this national humiliation and suffering, we have to the political corruption, and educational and moral decay of the Manchu dynasty.

As the Manchus was originally a small tribe, how could it conquer China? At the end of the Ming dynasty the government's policy was lax, her officials were divided, her political parties fought against each other, her people were disunited and hostile towards each other, her people were disunited and hostile towards each other. The Ming's reign of three hundred years was overthrown by the bandits of Li Tzu and Chang Hsien-chung and the soldiers of the Manchus were attacked from within and without. After the entry of the Manchus, the thinking of the Chinese people was gradually impoverished. The fathers of our country truly said:

"After [redacted] overthrew the Ming dynasty and occupied China, the Ming's loyal ministers and heroic citizens rose in various parts of the country and offered resistance until the beginning of the K'ang-hsi reign. Thus, at that time China was not yet conquered by the Manchus."

In again said:

During the K'ang-hsi and Yung-cheng reigns, [illegible] among the followers of the Ming [illegible] feeling. Therefore, at that time many books still flourished. Therefore, at that time many books were published such as "Understanding Virtues and Rectification", stating that the Chinese should not [illegible] to the Manchus becoming emperors. Thus [illegible] and that Chien was a foreigner from the east, [illegible] was a foreigner from the west, the Manchus, [illegible] foreigners from the east, could be [illegible] foreigners from the west. At the time of the [illegible] of China, the two races Han (Chinese) and [illegible] (Manchu) were not permitted. Any part holding [illegible] the superior relation between the King and [illegible] and between the King and [illegible] were altered or altered. All [illegible] in my book were edited or altered and further [illegible] the Manchus, Mongols and [illegible] were [illegible] in my book, but comprising [illegible] in the language [illegible]

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[illegible]

By some this period brings upon the Kuomintang Bolshevik [illegible] in Canton, the Nanking Treaty, marks the most progressive [illegible] with China under the unequal treaties. The [illegible] influence upon China's economic and political life was deeper in the two Nanking treaties [illegible] and it was there that the people's resistance was the strongest. The Kuomintang [illegible] the opening of the commercial port and objecting to the entry of foreign citizenship into the interior, became artificially [illegible] up. Shortly after signing the Nanking Treaty, in the 6th year of Tao-kuang (1826), Ling Ssu-ch'un revolted in Hsin T'ien, [illegible] and spreading from there toward the Yangtze Valley, almost [illegible] the Ch'ing government. At the same time, the allied armies of England and France suddenly attacked Canton, invaded Tientsin and [illegible] Peking. The Ch'ing government, ignorant and cowardly, signed the Tientsin Treaty under the threat of the allied army. Prior to that time, the Ch'ing government, in reaction to any foreign pressure, generally had followed an over-confident psychology, underestimating other nations and adopting anti-foreignism as its only foreign policy. But by that time, the Ch'ing Government, in the face of the people's revolution within the country, and the increased pressure and authority of the foreign powers, began to wait on the pleasure of foreign nations. All treaties contained continual extensive concessions. Those officials who came in contact with foreign governments gradually changed their attitude. Before such contact they also had a regulatory caution, similar to that of the Ch'ing government. By [illegible] that time the majority of them were still in the fog and had "never seen" [illegible] foreign nations without considering them. Some of them, feeling the mighty effect of foreign military and naval power, gradually acquired the feeling of fear and cowardice, and initiated the plan of following foreign practices and traditions. At that time, Liang Kuang, the Hunan-Hupeh and Li Hung-chang, the suppressed the Taiping revolution, were the pioneers. What they learned foreign nations were the building of factories for the manufacture of capital of guns and ammunition, construction and establishing of schools to teach foreign languages. But learning languages does not necessarily [illegible] the promotion of diplomatic ability. Manufacturing of guns, [illegible] steamships and railroads, only shows imitation of the materialistic prosperity of foreign countries and does not help in the [illegible] of building the nation. The funds raised to [illegible] were also used by the imperial family for enjoyment, [illegible] conspiracies. All officials, therefore, took advantage of the new policy as a means of increasing personal wealth, taking part in foreign problems to seek profits. The "long fingers" and in office [illegible] of the minor rulers [illegible] foreign [illegible] in office in some way, became a place of profit [illegible] the interests and imperial family, by the use of the [illegible] of life, [illegible] through. In the end [illegible] to open to the [illegible]

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The subject matter are as follows:

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Under this agreement, in addition to the points covered by extraterritoriality as pointed out before, involves the following two special privileges:

(1) Privilege of extending trials - The phrase "joint trial" originated in all treaties concluded after the Nanking Treaty and is the translation made by officials of the Ch'ing Government. When the Nanking treaties were signed, the powers, taking advantage of this misconception, insisted upon the privilege of extending trials. Whenever a civil case between a Chinese and foreigner arises, the foreign consul can send a representative to attend such trial.

(2) The privilege of joint trial - In the 7th year of T'ung-Chih (1868), local authorities in Shanghai and American and British Consuls conferred and formulated "Regulations for foreign representatives in joint trials." Therefrom, not only civil cases involving Chinese and foreigners were to be tried by a joint court, but also all cases involving only Chinese within the concessions were ordered to be tried by joint courts. Subsequently, every country successively followed precedent, and thus against the French concession "joint court" in Shanghai, Nankin's "Foreign Office," Hankin's "Land Office of Railroad Student" and Mukong's "Joint Court," all were these peculiar cases of organization.

Since the records of foreign powers in China obtained the special privilege of extending trials and joint trials the foreigners not only positively avoided the jurisdiction of Chinese law but also actively interfered with enforcement of Chinese law. They not only positively refused to be tried by Chinese courts, but actively tried Chinese citizens.

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During that period, concessions in different localities were sooner or later established. In addition to Shanghai's International Settlement formed in the 20th year of Tao-Kuang and the French Concession in Shanghai, formed in the 29th year of Hsien-Feng, there were the British Concession in Ying K'ou dream in the 7th year of Kuangsu (1881), the British Concession in Kowloon dream in the 19th year of Hsien-Feng (1860), the French Concession in Tientsin, the British Concessions in Amoy, Hankow, Chiukiang and Amoy, the British and French Concessions in Kuang-chou, formed in the 11th year of Hsien Feng (1861) and the International Settlement in Mukden made in the 8th year of T'ung-Chih (1869).

Extraterritoriality was originally intended to be applied to persons and not the places or localities. After establishment of concessions, extraterritoriality was applied to all designated areas. Thus the Chinese in concessions, many reaches within the territory of China.

[illegible]

[illegible] all directions.

[illegible]

[illegible] was filled by a foreign [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] as follows:

(1) [illegible]

(2) [illegible] at half of the regular [illegible]

(3) [illegible] per ton.

(4) [illegible] every ten years.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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(2) [redacted]

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(3) [redacted]

[redacted]

(4) [redacted]

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(5) [redacted]

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(2) Concessions.

The concessions subsequently granted during that period were the Port Arthur, the Kiaochow and Kowloon German concessions in Kiaochow, Russian Concession, Kowloon's French Concession, Tientsin's Japanese Concession in the 32nd year, Soochow's Japanese Concession in the 33rd year, Tientsin's Japanese Concession, Hankow Japan Concession, Hankow's Japanese Concession in the 34th year, and Amoy's Japanese Concession and Foochow's Japanese Concession in the 35th year.

(3) Rights to Station Troops.

During that period Imperial Russia stationed the so-called "Eastern Railroad Guards" along the Eastern Railroad by force. Thereafter, the powers had the right to station troops in China.

(4) The employment of foreign postal employees and foreign post offices.

France, in the 24th year of Kwang Hsu, forced the Ch'ing Government to employ foreign clerks in post offices and the Powers then opened their own post offices in China. Thereafter China's communications fell under the control of the Powers.

(5) The right to establish factories.

Japan, in the Ma-Kwan Treaty, inserted a provision to permit Japanese subjects in China's treaty ports "to pursue the manufacturing of articles and to transport and import machineries, provided only that a fixed import duty be paid". All articles manufactured in factories in the treaty ports were exempt from duty and taxed at the reduced rate prevailing in that port. Other countries, using the "most favored nation clause" also enjoyed these special privileges.

China's national affairs entered their "3rd period" when the Sino-Ch'en Peace Treaty was signed. In the "1st period" imperialisms competed in China equally; in the "2nd period" it changed from equality to rivalry; the Anglo-Japanese alliance and the Franco-French alliance were products of international rivalry. In the war of the Allied Armies Expeditionary for 8 conditions of international rivalry revolved around two policies: the Open Door, and Equal Participation. The Open Door policy was originated by the United States and responded by Great Britain. But Japan was not willing to give in with respect to the Liaotung Peninsula, and Imperial Russia continued her own plan of occupation in the Northeast. In the 30th year of Kwang Hsu (1904), the war between Russia and Japan, which took place in Manchuria, was fought over the division of spheres of influence - our national humiliation. Japan thereafter laid the foundation of her Greater Asia Policy, the starting point of the present troubles in Asia and the world.

From the unequal treaties of that period, such as the Nan ch'ang Peace Treaty, the Sino British Ma-Kwan Treaty of the 32nd year of Kwang Hsu, the Sino-American Commercial Treaty of the 33rd year of Kwang Hsu, the Sino-Japanese Shipping Agreement, the Sino-Portuguese Treaty of the 35th year of Kwang Hsu, the [illegible]

(c) [illegible]

[illegible]

(d) Right to station foreign troops.

According to the Peking Treaty, aside from the stationing of foreign troops in the legation area and along the Peking-Shanhaikuan and Peking-Mukden railways, foreign troops were withdrawn [illegible] from Peking to the sea. The fortifications at Taku and Shanhaikuan were demolished and China's right to control railways was withdrawn.

(e) Japan's sphere of influence.

After the Russo-Japanese war, the Japanese occupied Port Arthur, Dairen and the southern section of the Eastern Railway and its branches. The Ch'ing Government in the so-called "Peking Treaty" in discussion of matters pertaining to Manchuria" recognized all such Japanese rights thereby making the southern Manchuria, including Port Arthur, a Japanese "sphere of influence" and Port Arthur and Dairen a Japanese leased territories.

(f) Concessions.

The additional concessions opened during this period were the Shanhaikuan Concession, the Kulgian Concession and the Chinkiang Japanese Concession, in the 17th year of Kuang Hsu, the Yuchiatun Concession in the 20th year of Kuang Hsu, and the Tientsin Japanese Concession in the 23rd year of Kuang Hsu.

(g) The Right to Control Postal Rates.

In the 33rd year of Kuang Hsu, Japan obtained the control of the Customs House in Dairen.

(h) The Right to Control Tariff Rates.

Changes were made with respect to custom regulations in the Sino-Sino Peace Treaty and Mukden (Shenyang) Treaty. The important points follow:

(1) Changing duties on imports to an ad valorem basis of 5%.

(2) Transfer of tax income from inside ports to the control of the Customs House.

(3) Changing methods for the increase of tariff rates. In the conclusion of these two treaties, the rate of duty on imports to be increased to 12.5% and on exports to 7.5%. This specification was changed to could raise duties on foreign imports. The Mukden Treaty stipulated that China should pay a large indemnity from China, and China had to borrow from foreign countries to pay it. But foreign imports exceed [illegible] of national tariff rates, and [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The [illegible] Treaty granted to foreign countries the rights to [illegible] the [illegible] River (from the [illegible] delta) [illegible] and the [illegible] River (from the [illegible] delta). It also gave them the privilege of [illegible], erecting buoys, navigation marks, lighthouses and watch towers. Thereafter China's important harbors and [illegible], their natural surroundings and points of strategic importance were well known to the imperialists and subject to their control. What can one say about coastal defense?

In this period, there was first the [illegible] Treaty, granting an indemnity for the sake of peace, and as a result the [illegible] of the Ch'ing Government became [illegible] and the economic [illegible] of the people became worse each day. China, in the [illegible] of [illegible] partition, retained her independence due to the inconsistencies of international policy among the powers, but the Ch'ing Government's fear of foreign powers was at its peak point, leading to her mental state of pleasing the foreign countries at all costs. Secondly, there was the Russo-Japanese war, which was won by Japan, making a deep impression upon the minds of the Government and people of China. The Ch'ing Government, sensing the trend toward revolution which she knew could not be suppressed, [illegible] adopted new governmental policies, abolishing "civil" examinations, establishing modern schools, training new armies, [illegible] and [illegible] diplomats, preparing a constitution, and [illegible] a congress in order to cover up its political corruption and diplomatic failures and humiliations and in order to mislead the people. The people saw the danger of the chaotic foreign and domestic situation and the stupidity and helplessness of the Ch'ing Government. They also saw that the movement for forming a constitutional government was only a trick for cheating them of their [illegible] rights. Our National Father therefore [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] starting from the popular base of [illegible] society [illegible]. The reputation of the constitutionalists [illegible] became worse each day. Revolutionary [illegible] society. Under the [illegible] of the Ch'ing Government, [illegible] became places for spread of revolutionary [illegible], and the new army became [illegible] of the revolutionary [illegible]. The [illegible] of [illegible] in our National [illegible]. [illegible] of this the country was led by [illegible] from abroad [illegible]. [illegible] within the country and abroad were [illegible] that the revolutionary movement could not be suppressed.

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Section 1, Article I, demands [illegible] Manchuria and Jehol [illegible] Section 2, Article II demands extension of the leases of the Kwantung Leases, the South Manchurian and An-Tung Railroads [illegible] the right for Japanese subjects in "Southern Manchuria" and "Eastern Inner-Mongolia" to own or lease lands, to live, travel and conduct business, and to mine coal and ores; the right to employ foreigners in these two areas as political, financial and military advisers and instructors; the right to control and manage the Kirin-Changchun Railway and to permit other countries to build roads or import capital in these two areas. In summary, Japan demanded the dismemberment of the southern part of the three Eastern Provinces and the eastern part of Inner-Mongolia as her "sphere of influence."

Article III concerns the Hanyeh-p'ing Company.

The second section of this Article demands the "Joint management of the Hanyeh-p'ing Company by Japan and China, and permits Japan to mine the deposits independently and conduct operations in other areas of the Company.

Article IV and Article V concern the whole of China.

Section 1 of this Article concerns Japan's demand for [illegible] recognition of [illegible] harbors and islands along the entire China coast. Section 1, Article V, demands that China employ Japanese as political, financial and military advisers, as well as [illegible] in the interior of China, to joint supervision [illegible] to supply China's arsenals and to joint management of China's [illegible] the right to build railroads between [illegible] Nanking and Shanghai, and Nanking and Hangchow, and Nanchang [illegible] the entire Province of Fukien as her [illegible] and to allow Japanese subjects to conduct [illegible] in China. In summary, Japan wanted to occupy all [illegible] and share China.

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[illegible] both efforts the course one takes is bound to be determined and remain in one course. This is very difficult. Why do we not escape the hardship of course? Because it is only hundreds of thousands of years will elapse before we take [illegible], and I fear there will be no definite time schedule. Hence understanding we human beings must act even without complete understanding.

At the time of reorganization of the Chinese Kuomintang there was already complete but problems and discussions on methods of revolution was started. The National Father instructed us, saying:

> If we determinedly desire to make the nation rich and strong, there is a method. If the method is clearly thought out, and if we do not say from difficulties but consistently go forward in action, we shall succeed.

From this we can know that revolutionary action must follow a revolutionary method, and the revolutionary movement may alter or improve the method. Therefore, one can say: The Three Peoples Principles are unchangeable, but the plan for putting into effect the principles is not unalterable.

Previously, the members of the Revolutionary Party and the public [illegible] confidence; therefore, the National Father considered the entire burden himself in reorganizing the Chinese Revolutionary Party. Reviewing the situation at that time, our National Father said:

> The fact that, although our revolution had several successes, all were military successes, and revolutionary works had not been completed was because the party itself lacked solid foundation. Therefore, all party members did not observe party rules, and acted independently, each accepting to his own way, without even having the old virtue of following the leaders blindly and unfamiliar with confidence, also without the new idea of living in liberty. At that time, I had no alternative but alone to take the burden of the revolution single-handed and organize the Chinese Revolutionary Party anew.

Also, he said,

> There is one thing everyone must note. Previously, the point at which our party was unable to gain a solid foundation was not because there were people using their strength to attack us, but solely because we were against one another among ourselves due to the little knowledge and experience of our members, thereby causing unnecessary misunderstandings. Consequently, the strength of the whole party was uncoordinated and the revolution, because of this, was defeated.

Therefore, our National Father reorganized the Chinese Kuomintang and aimed at unitedly to recognize the solid organization and strict regulations and carry out the aims and methods of the people's revolution.

[illegible]

[illegible] the Indonesian [illegible]

[illegible] and [illegible] the development of Chinese industries, and [illegible] the [illegible] to be [illegible] the foreign goods in China. Chinese industrial [illegible] compete with foreign goods in China. The [illegible] [illegible] will not be limited to depriving [illegible] the people's political livelihood, but will include [illegible] and economic livelihood.

Therefore, the growth of the people's revolution in imperialism and its [illegible] the need to establish the unequal treaties and overthrow the ruling [illegible] and thus further to prepare broad [illegible] of the present condition of cooperation between militarism and imperialism.

The [illegible] and stage of the People's Revolution are, from military government and [illegible] government, to advance to constitutional government. Since the beginning of these stage have been followed and never [illegible] [illegible] the important points of the first National Revolutionary [illegible], regarding the work during the military stage:

After consolidation of this Party, the foundation of this party's organization should rest on strict discipline and spirit. Party organization should employ various suitable methods and apply education [illegible] [illegible] in order to [illegible] the principles, expand the masses, and [illegible] political [illegible]. Simultaneously, we should use all the power of this party to conduct general propaganda work among the people of the entire country, inducing them to join the revolutionary movements, to obtain political power, and to conquer the minds of the people.

Regarding the work of the period of training, it [illegible]:

Once political power has been secured and the government has been formed, in order to organize contemporaneously [illegible] [illegible] the training and the consolidation of imperialism to [illegible] the People's Livelihood and [illegible] all [illegible] to [illegible] of the Revolutionary's principles, we should make the Party the center of control of political power.

The responsibility of the masters of China's Revolution is to [illegible] the [illegible] revolution to be [illegible] recognized by the people and [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible]. In the [illegible] to [illegible] our National [illegible] [illegible]

The foundation of a nation is built on the people's [illegible].

[illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]:

By example, the [illegible] [illegible] of the Chinese in [illegible] was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. This is called [illegible] [illegible]. This [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] is very powerful.

[illegible] [illegible] purpose and mobilize [illegible] force we first should [illegible] the people a true understanding of the Three Peoples Principles and the [illegible] [illegible]. Based on true understanding, the people's thinking [illegible] [illegible], the people's spirit of purpose may be unified, and the [illegible] strength may be mobilized. Therefore, our National Father said:

The reason for our previous inability to act was lack of knowledge.

[illegible] [illegible] said:

The ancients said that to know is easy, but to act is hard; my theory is that to know is hard, but to act is easy. The reason that all Chinese affairs were corrupt in the past was due to error in thinking. Since the discovery of my theory, the thinking of the Chinese people needs general reform. Apply my theory to each and any task can be accomplished.

Based on his theory that to know is hard and to act is easy, our National Father, during that period, determined the plan and wrote the methods for national reconstruction and presented the Three Peoples Principles as the [illegible] [illegible] for the people's revolution. If our members can [illegible] our National Father's teachings, and by using the idea of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] "[illegible] others' hunger as your own hunger," "others' drowning as your own drowning," "whether the world is up or down, the responsibility rests on each individual," and carry out this idea, leading the people to [illegible] the national characteristics of [illegible] unity and work together with one thought in mind, then the great task of building the nation on the Three Peoples Principles and Five Power Constitutional [illegible] will be accomplished.

The principle being clear, the target having been raised, steps having been fixed, and the method having been [illegible] pointed out, our National Father's hope for us was that we determine [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and carry it out in [illegible] [illegible]. Regarding this point, our National Father said:

In the revolution, this time we definitely shall succeed. However, it is necessary that first we all have this ambition and set our mind to proceed with the work.

[illegible] [illegible] our ambition, our National Father wanted us to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and strongest nation in the world within [illegible] [illegible]. Regarding "revolution," our National Father instructed us emphatically:

If we really understand the principles of revolution, we shall have [illegible]. However, a revolution has its objects, and shall [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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The destiny of a nation rests in the determination of the people.

Therefore, the object of calling the People's Convention was to have all the people of the whole country, at the Convention, choose the unequal treaties and decide China's domestic problems, and to have the enslaved militarists in all localities with their military force side with the people and change military force under a national army, thus becoming the military power for all the people.

The Peking Government did not have any honest desire than to accept our National Father's proposal to hold a People's Convention, and it was deeply concerned with the idea of going out of its way to please foreign nations, thinking intervention by foreign powers; thus it was afraid of our National Father's attempt to abolish the unequal treaties. Because of these two opinions, our National Father, even in the environment of counter-revolutionary Peking, disregarding everything, was determined to struggle. Knowing he was unable to succeed, and he died on March 12, 1925, with a long heart, but in his dying will, drawn on his deathbed, our National Father profoundly and sincerely placed the responsibility of holding a People's Convention and abolishing the unequal treaties upon the members of the Chinese Kuomintang and the people of the whole nation, hoping that these things would never disappear. At that time, the People's Revolutionary Army was called the "Kuomintang's rebellious army" along the lines of Hunan, and in the speech of despair mourn, suggested the rebel force, Middle Hunan, and held the President of the military wings of the Revolution. In July, 1926, the People's Revolutionary Army, following the last wish of our National Father, held the unequal and sacred north-ward. The aim of the Northern Expedition was placed in the Restoration of the People's Revolutionary Army for this month.

The aim of the revolutionary war is to build an independent and free China, applying the Three Peoples Principles to protect the interests of the nation and the people. Therefore, we must mobilize all revolutionary power under the Three Peoples Principles and must crush the warlords and the imperialists upon which the nation depend for their existence.

Now, whenever the People's Revolutionary Army reaches, nationals [illegible] by [illegible] and [illegible], the [illegible] by the

[illegible]

[illegible]

The United States Government, in Secretary of State Kellogg's [illegible] for the unity and independence of China.

The United States wishes to discuss with a representative of the government of China China's customs and tariff autonomy and abolition of consular jurisdiction.

Unfortunately, at the beginning of the reoccupation of Nanking by the People's Revolutionary Army, the unfortunate Nanking Incident [illegible]

At this time, we must painfully remember the opening speech our National Father delivered to the First National Representative Convention. It is necessary here to reiterate part of that speech made at the opening of the Convention.

> There is one thing we must note. That is, in the past we have [illegible]

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[illegible]

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Section 8

[illegible]

The first step for success in the work of the Northern Expedition was accomplished under troublesome and dangerous circumstances and under unfavorable conditions. After this, the Nationalist Government believed that it would advance from destruction to reconstruction, especially hoping to employ the force of national unity for the foundation for liberation of the people. Then the People's Revolutionary Army recovered Peiping and Tientsin. I, Sun-Pei-chih, took it upon myself to carry out eight assignments and solemnly announced this to the soul of our National Father. The last two assignments were my most treasured hopes. One of them concerned post-war reconstruction. I said:

> After destruction, reconstruction is urgently needed. In our National Father's outlines and plans of national reconstruction, the order and outline for this have long been set forth, and it only requires the sincere effort of all our comrades to found a nation under the Three Peoples Principles and without undue difficulties to attain the success of the People's Revolution. Now, when the phase of military government is reported complete, if practical policies are not applied to show the ability of the revolution in national reconstruction, accomplishments won by our military comrades on the battlefield will not be easily preserved because the people will lose hope.

The other assignment concerned the movement for the people's independence after the war, concerning which I said:

> Because of the stubbornness of the warlords and politicians, my leader's [illegible] policy of national reconstruction by peaceful means could not be actually carried out, and our Party, intending to eliminate all obstacles, had to resort to force. But long before it turned to war, witness the sufferings of our citizens in the northern areas and the heavy sacrifices made by our soldiers at the front. I have always felt that a definite plan must be made for complete elimination of civil war after the success of the revolution. It should be remembered that the military force of a nation is employed to protect the interests of the people. All civil wars are the most humiliating of all wars. In this civil war, the lives in action numbered over a million. Between hundreds, the troops in action numbered hundreds of miles, but the [illegible] that fought numbered hundreds of miles, but the [illegible] the dead and the wounded [illegible]

[illegible] can not be easily overcome by force. Therefore, the [illegible] was that until we had a healthy thing and [illegible] the entire China the national outlook, being conscious of [illegible] and being taught the art of war only for self-defense, we should be prepared by its bitter experience to carry out the will of our leadership, [illegible] respect to the independence and freedom of the people.

Therefore, the Nationalist movement, under difficult and perilous circumstances, followed the originally adopted design throughout and [illegible]. Up to the present, our China has been able to fight our way for this long, also because our ability has been born of this spirit of reconstruction by revolution.

According to the order of the [illegible], after the military phase, the period of political tutelage follows, and its main aim is to practice local self-government. The practice of self-government, however, is based on our Political Program handbook the [illegible] [illegible] local self-government. Commencement of the [illegible] [illegible] is reflected in practical local self-government. The steps in this program are unquestionably logical. Yet, after removal of the capital to Nanking, for a period of ten years, both from the theoretical and the practical points of view, circumstances hindered progress of the basic work of political tutelage, causing the National Government to be unable to carry out its program. From the practical point of view, the greatest political obstacle suffered by the Nationalist Government was obstructions to national unity. From the theoretical point of view, during the past ten years, not only has the way to carry out the work of political tutelage become a problem, but when the questions as to whether or not this political tutelage should be conducted in sections, or when such training should be concluded, have also been hotly debated. Such confusion not only provided the feudalists and counter-revolutionists with excuses, but also gave excuses within the Party intentionally or unintentionally the appearance of wrecking, thereby causing arguments to become more numerous and serious to be disregarded. We all know that political tutelage is the path to be followed in establishment of a democratic government by the people, that without this the foundations of a government of the people cannot be erected, and that otherwise the constitution to be framed in the future can only become a valueless piece of white paper with black ends. After the Revolution of 1911, our people did not realize the need for a revolution of reconstruction, and they devoted their efforts to the criticism of constitutional law and to creating a political system, thereby opening the way for the secret schemes of the warlords and giving the imperialists the opportunity to extend their exploitation. The lesson of "closing the door in front" was then forgotten by all, and even by the country, the themselves had been subjected to suffering. This truly was distressing.

Plans for industry were important to China's material rehabilitation. However, during the ten years after the National Government moved its capital to Nanking, from the practical point of view, economic rehabilitation did not develop according to schedule, due to interference by the imperialists and hindrance from counter-revolutionary influences; but from the theoretical point of view, the economists at that time were equally divided between the theories of democracy and economics. The economists planned their efforts to a so-called "land revolution" and a "peasants movement" and carried their action extent, thousands of miles because [illegible], thereby [illegible] our peaceful villages. Towards industry and commerce of the people, they had no intention of preserving or protecting [illegible] they [illegible] and [illegible] to the point of the country in [illegible] and to the economic [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Section 4

[illegible]

On July 7, [illegible], the Japanese army, pretending, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of the War of Resistance in International Relations

The effects of our Chinese War of Resistance upon the nations may be divided into two phases. One phase is the responsibility that should be assumed towards international peace and towards the world war during China's War of Resistance, and the other phase is the recognition of China's War of Resistance by the foreign powers.

As to the responsibility that should be assumed towards international peace and towards the World War during her War of Resistance, I want to point out first that our Nationalist Government knows that world peace cannot be divided. Thus, before the outbreak of the World War, China definitely was unwilling to shed her responsibilities towards international peace. After explosion of the World War, China did not intend to decrease her assumption of sharing the burden of the war. During five and a half years of the War of Resistance, we have shattered Japan's wild dream of dividing the world and placing herself in a position of power. Therefore, China must continue her vigorous efforts and, together with the United Nations, jointly destroy completely Japan's and her Axis partners' power and their secret schemes to disturb the world.

After the incident of "September 18th," the Japanese imperialists, following their continental policy, proposed the so-called "Three Principles" and tried to force their acceptance on our Nationalist Government. These "three principles" are "Mutual alliance between China and Japan," "Joint defense against Communism," and "Economic cooperation." "Mutual alliance between China and Japan," in reality was political union of China with the Japanese imperialists. Economic cooperation was monopoly of our country by Japanese imperialism. "Joint measures against Communism" was their scheme to use our Northeastern Four Provinces [illegible] as a base from which gradually to occupy Chinese territory, to bring pressure upon the Chinese Government, and to secure cooperation with the Axis countries in Europe to concentrate the military power of the East and West in an attack on Soviet Russia from both sides. Our Nationalist Government saw that these were the steps intended by Japan's continental policy, and it adopted a firm attitude in refusing the demands of these "three principles." China then signed the non-aggression treaty with Soviet Russia in August, 1937, to frustrate Japan's secret plan. Japan then changed her method of diplomatic discussions, hoping that under the name of "local incidents" and by means of quick action she could cover the Peiping-Hankow Railway, occupy Peiping and Tientsin, and designate the north and east of the Yung-ting River as her base from which to attack and occupy Siberia of the Soviet Union in the north. Our Nationalist Government not only was not moved by her, but decided to send troops northward, to increase our garrisons in Peiping and Tientsin, and to fight the War of Resistance. Following the outbreak of the war in Tsungpu and Shanghai on August 13, Japan's secret plan for aggression on the mainland was completely thwarted by our long resistance. Therefore, China fought the war single-handed for two years before the European War started four years before the Pacific War commenced. China's policy has been identical from the beginning to the end, without moving in the slightest. If you look back on Japan's national policy, however, you can see that there is no definite content and that eventually she must abandon the national policy she has adopted and fundamentally alter her continental policy carried on since Meiji. Therefore, we conclude: from the incident of "July 7" to the incident of "August 13," the commencement of China's total War of Resistance, politically and militarily, we already had broken Japan's historical national policy and definitely established our foundation for victory.

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[illegible] (1931). [illegible] and points of military importance.

[illegible] War of [illegible] on January 1, [illegible] revolutionary spirit of [illegible] in fighting [illegible] already adopted [illegible] signed the declaration with other anti-[illegible] and our country became one of the four great powers.

At that time American and British preparations in the Pacific were not adequate. The Japanese [illegible] of aggression [illegible] whatever it [illegible] "victory wherever it went." But [illegible] defeat in the battle of Changsha, thereby [illegible] In this battle, Japanese morale definitely [illegible] in this first stage of the Pacific war. [illegible] the strength of our army which would eventually be [illegible] As a result, her army on the northern front dared not attack [illegible] the Malay Peninsula and Burma on the southern [illegible] to land on the Australian mainland [illegible] Netherlands East Indies and the Philippines [illegible] could not fulfill her long planned desire to [illegible] the attack on the Aleutian Islands. As Japan was [illegible] Britain and America had the oppor-[illegible] battle lines in Western Asia and the South Pacific, [illegible] defenses of North America, while Russia [illegible] war with Germany. Since November, 1942, victories of the United Nations in various theaters of war have placed Japan in a [illegible] position, surrounded on four sides. The Axis also showed dis-[illegible] because of her failure to adhere to the agreement, thereby [illegible] However, Japan was unable to advance on the [illegible] or northern fronts to complete her "Great East [illegible] important obstructing force, which was [illegible] and the importance of our War of Resistance [illegible] Therefore, the position of [illegible] particularly the Pacific War, has [illegible] the old proverb calls "an anchorage in [illegible] the raging flood."

As China's War of Resistance occupied such an important position [illegible] of our nation and our people [illegible] At the beginning of our war, the [illegible] within a short period. The [illegible] by Japan, and [illegible] Germany and Italy [illegible] China's War of [illegible] the World War. [illegible]

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Section I.

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[redacted] The [illegible] appreciation of China coupled with development of [illegible] has [illegible] clear. The attainment of our objective [illegible] will depend upon the vigorous diplomatic [illegible] of the Nationalist Government. During the past five years, foreign relations [illegible] have demonstrated the spirit of our nation [illegible] in the guiding future. This direction [illegible] and, therefore, can be reconciled with the present [illegible] of maintaining the unequal treaties.

Let us first discuss China's spirit in her existence as a nation. Although [illegible] has been a weak country because of the bondage of the unequal treaties, [illegible] has regained international equalities when she desired to resist [illegible] by militarists, yet having action on the instruction of "It all depends [illegible] and a half years of the war of resistance, the Nationalist Government [illegible] the principle of "save yourself by your own strength." In [illegible] the elements of the Nationalist Government's foreign relations, however, have been uniform throughout, but definitely the government has [illegible] disengaged by anti-aggressive, but not disengaged by dangerous situations. It does not underestimate the enemies, nor is it willing to give in. It [illegible] the opportunity to ask for help from friendly countries, nor [illegible] the spirit of "Charity begins at home."

Let us review the aim of the war of Resistance. China is not fighting only for her own independence and her people's existence alone; she is fighting also [illegible] the Nationalist Government of the war, these two objectives were already [illegible] in the eyes of despair and disunity among the great powers, [illegible] the International front against aggression must be formed. The [illegible] Nationalist Government firmly believes that world peace cannot be [illegible] and time, during disturbances in the world cannot be [illegible] the power of aggressive countries of the United Nations, it [illegible] the world's righteous peace and the victory of human freedom and liberty [illegible] the victory of human freedom and liberty [illegible] the survival and conditions of the [illegible] of the war of resistance are such that the Nationalist Government in [illegible] and, yet, [illegible] the only has maintained the theory that [illegible] "to help oneself [illegible]

[illegible] the reason why China's foreign relations [illegible] in the past be [illegible]

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[illegible]

(c) [illegible]

[illegible]

(d) Special Courts

[illegible] American and British Special Courts in the concessions are abolished.

(e) Foreign river pilots and other special rights.

The special privileges for American and British naval vessels to cruise in Chinese waters are abolished. Hereafter, naval vessels of China and these two countries [illegible] each other will be accorded courteous treatment according to international traditions.

(f) Special rights to employ a British subject as Chief Commissioner of Customs.

Britain gives up her demands of a special right to employ a British subject as Chief Commissioner of the Maritime Customs.

(g) Coastal trade and inland navigation rights.

The rights for American and British nationals to conduct coastal trade and inland navigation are abolished.

(h) Other subjects affecting China's sovereignty.

Questions not touched on by these new treaties, if they are related to national sovereignty, should be determined by China and America and Britain and [illegible] according to generally recognized principles of international law and modern international traditions.

The movement for abolition of Unequal Treaties [illegible] after the Northern [illegible] of [illegible] rights [illegible] been accomplished. [illegible] with the spirit of equality and mutual benefit [illegible] between China and America and Britain and the other [illegible] complete solution. If we [illegible] the previous unequal treaties, they [illegible] the great significance of the new treaties.

However, in regard to these new treaties, our people are not without [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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Section 2.

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If the people cannot fulfill their duty towards the country, the country cannot exist, the people cannot survive, and international problems cannot be solved. This is a fact beyond any doubt. China's future heavy responsibility will most probably increase, and certainly the responsibility of our people [redacted] and the world becomes heavier each day.

There is no easy task in the world, there is no difficult task in the world. The first stage of success in the People's Revolution was due to our people, [redacted] efforts during the past hundred years, and in the longest [redacted] of five and a half years of heroic sufferings in the War of Resistance. From this it may be said that "there is no easy task in the world." But during the last thirty years, the People's Revolution finally was able to overcome the [redacted] of these thousand years, the obstinate monarchy of the Manchus, [redacted] the evilest and strongest unequal treaties in the world, to [redacted] the world. If we children value our place and pack our efforts with faith [redacted] in the inheritance and popularizing these People's principles [redacted] of success that the end of the people's revolution, there is nothing that [redacted] to accomplishment. (By National Fellow said)

A nation is formed by creating together the people, and a person is the [redacted] of his work. Political affairs, however, are no evidence of [redacted] knowledge. If we what believe that it can work, then [redacted] knowledge and doubting of it can successfully can be accomplished. [redacted] of a person is the work, in this task, can be not for the [redacted] of the world, but of the people, with an feeling the heart of working a small [redacted] of the people of commission of [redacted] [redacted] by the [redacted] [redacted] of the people [redacted] by the [redacted]

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[illegible]

The national leader stated the order of revolution and reconstruction into three phases - Military Government Period, Political Training Period and Constitutional Government Period - but the fundamental work throughout these periods is economic, military affairs and education. These three subjects are interrelated and cannot be divided. It can be stated that with these three [illegible], the nation may be rich and strong, but when these three lose their power, the people become defeated. This is not only true as to the basic principle of national reconstruction of modern nations, but it is also true according to the history of China's national reconstruction. We want to build a Three People's Principles country in order to survive in the world and, further, to complete our responsibility to this world. It is necessary, therefore, that we first have coordination, education, military affairs and economy before total national reconstruction can be completed. We should base our educational program on the essential principles of China's Six Arts; and by promoting enlightenment and developing the ability of each one, we should train our children, making each each one exert his efforts in production and willing to offer himself for national defense, with his body and soul, his wisdom and virtue, and thus change the old and bad traditions of physical weakness and undisciplined character. In economy, based on China's gaining independence and liberty, we must cause the people's economy to develop evenly, forming a foundation for national life and the people's livelihood for the purpose of correcting past errors of disunity, despair and impairment of our national defense and the people's livelihood. In the conduct of military affairs, we must coordinate national defense and culture, and national defense and the people's livelihood must be coordinated. If we can do this, China will be a strong organization for the people and national defense, able to survive in the world and able to fulfill our responsibility of safeguarding world peace and realizing human liberty.

The fundamental work of national reconstruction rests on coordinating education, military affairs and national economy. To complete the fundamental work, it is necessary to employ psychological reconstruction, moral reconstruction, and [illegible] to determine a precise program and cause it to be put actually into effect. In capitalistic countries, politics are affected by economics, even to the extent that they are controlled by economics. If we desire to change our hundred year old backward and corrupt colonial economic condition and develop an independent and free economy, hoping to satisfy the requirements of national defense, we must apply political power to guide economic development. If we desire political reconstruction to be healthy and efficacious, we must have social reconstruction as the solid foundation for carrying out political planning. For the success of social reconstruction, the previous attitude towards the nation and the people must be changed. Therefore, psychological reconstruction and moral reconstruction in reality are the starting points of all reconstruction. With results in these five directions, then it is possible to bring about results in national reconstruction through coordination of education, military affairs and economics.

In my lecture, [illegible] of the Three Doctrines, I already have [illegible] the principles and program of national reconstruction [illegible]. In this I pointed out these five types of reconstruction, [illegible] and important points, and explained their cause. Every [illegible] in the profession and position, should grasp one of these [illegible] in order to develop his ability. If each citizen can do this, national reconstruction will be successful, and existence of the nation may be

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

It may be charged that the responsibility of social reconstruction first rests on members of the village council. Since one is a member of the village council, one can monitor a rural area and become a good direct the responsibility of village self-government and especially in a time to help government, can encourage a development of "assessments" and surveyhouses of "education." If one can centre all people's requests the country, to centre to national reconstruction, to know that all activities to overcome the country must pass through the stage of such village [illegible] ie, and become familiar with such of self-government, must recognize that village [illegible] and mayors are the foundation for social reconstruction. [illegible] of course [illegible] the citizens, [illegible] feeling by empty fame; accept a sample; assume responsibility for the foundation work of national reconstruction. Even each individual may lay the foundation

[illegible]

[illegible] the people's only life and not full [illegible] and rehabilitation [illegible] on the only life of the people. The Far [illegible] as regards the general rehabilitation of the [illegible] and should be the foundation for subsequent [illegible] The most important part of its program is building [illegible] and providing "amusement" and "education" for the [illegible] In discussing local self-government, one should bear that the pro[illegible] in the mind, there is the clan, and then including those of the [illegible] the community, and then to the village where indi[illegible] by mutual assistance. From the villages it en[illegible] to the districts and the provinces, forming the organization of China's [illegible] In the villages, because of this, although the Chinese system of [illegible] and democratic, yet the spirit that the people are the basis of [illegible] the country and that the rule is their rule was preserved. Unfortunately, [illegible] the village rules of many hundred years were destroyed by the Ch'ing Dynasty. [illegible] the latter part of the Ch'ing Dynasty, all theories and ideas have come [illegible] and only in the Republic that communities and villages are the [illegible] for constructing a nation. Now, if we work on social reconstruc[illegible] we must develop local self-government. Reconstruction in the villages [illegible] be essential for local self-government. When there is success in re[illegible] the village, local self-government will be welcome. When lo[illegible] self-government is welcome, it will be the foundation for realizing the [illegible] of the people's rights and the people's livelihood. Discussing ar[illegible] for popular "amusement" and "education," these necessarily are ne[illegible] of the village society. Developing "amusement" and cultivating "edu[illegible] along with the four essentials of clothing, food, shelter and activity, [illegible] the fundamental problems of the people's livelihood; amusement and edu[illegible] are particularly suited material life, and are the foundation of spiritual [illegible] Looking to provide for, regulate and penetrate the people with "amuse[illegible] and "education," we can hope to put them into effect only through in[illegible] and institutions in the village society. It requires coordinated [illegible] and efforts in the village society to put into practical use such things [illegible] as children's centers, university centers, social clubs, public hospitals and [illegible] centers of public interest. This must be the foundation, and then it [illegible] possible to create the new society in which there is "provision for the [illegible] support for the aged, support for the widows, widow, children, [illegible] and pathetic."

It may be charged that the responsibility of social reconstruction [illegible] of the village council. Then one is a member of the [illegible] council, all the problems rural areas and measures and direct the [illegible] of village self-government, and especially in addition to self-[illegible] the development of "amusements" and enrichment of "edu[illegible] [illegible] the number all people throughout the country to aspire to re[illegible] [illegible] be here that all activities to change the country must [illegible] the work of such village councils, and become familiar with work [illegible] such responsible that village councils and mayors are the [illegible] social reconstruction. Do not wonder in the village we will be [illegible] [illegible] greater responsibility for the foundation [illegible] reconstruction. Then can individual say how the foundations

[redacted] will have such [redacted] in military, [redacted]

(3) [redacted]

[redacted] political [redacted] and [illegible] the [illegible] five [illegible] and political [illegible] [illegible] is [illegible] for any political system or political [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] and initiative are essential for independent [illegible] I always say, "We must have a strong mind before we can be [illegible] before we can be independent." If the [illegible] will be lost after being been regained. The people are, therefore, [illegible] power in political reconstruction, and the spirit of independence [illegible] political reconstruction, [illegible] will be lasting, and the constructive work of the [illegible] people. Therefore, future political reconstruction should [illegible] the people's [illegible] of the spirit of independence and [illegible] and the system of a developing [illegible] national defense. It should be [illegible] the [illegible] system of people's government certainly will not be modeled [illegible] system of people's government of individualism and class [illegible] political reconstruction of our country must be built on the [illegible] and government by the entire people, not being fooled by [illegible] by [illegible] approaches, following gradual steps according [illegible] other nations. In this question, I hope all young men in the country [illegible] political officers will have their great and far-sighted objectives, [illegible] high ambitions, according to the needs of the country and [illegible] the binding restrictions of the unequal treaties, cities were [illegible] developed and became congested by people, and political reconstruction [illegible] in a few cities. As a result, [illegible] in the country become [illegible] of the country were deserted, thereby depriving the country and [illegible] of [illegible] locations. For that the unequal treaties have been abolished, [illegible] political [illegible] must eliminate all the evils and unhealthy habits of [illegible] past, hoping that all evil ways in the country will be evenly developed. Thus, [illegible] of border areas should be the objective of young students. I hope [illegible] young men will revive the spirit of Ho Pao (Ho Bao) and Fan [illegible] (Fan Chou), choosing their children beyond the border areas, and devoting [illegible] to political reconstruction, keeping their hands in work, [illegible] and learning workers of [illegible] and brain. Our National Father [illegible] our students on doing big works, and not on being big officials." [illegible] development of the border areas henceforth is the first big [illegible] in national reconstruction. [illegible] the constitution of [illegible] political reconstruction [illegible] in accomplishing [illegible] of the city workers and officials, but times over. Young men [illegible] big hopes for the nation and to contribute blessings to [illegible] and long for immediate results and must not be impatient for results, [illegible] their objectives in order to serve the country and [illegible] their [illegible] responsibility.

(4) [redacted]

[redacted]

[illegible]

Now I want also about my point to our young people interested in [illegible]. Regardless of the unequal treaties already has caused the [illegible] in Shanghai. Chinese intellectuals hereafter should [illegible] and [illegible] many commitments, and then thought which the [illegible] of China and who is able to compete with the well-equipped [illegible] of other nations. Secondly, our young men must aspire to become [illegible], to improve their qualitative knowledge, and to devote themselves to [illegible] of industrialization. Especially, they should work to manufacture and think [illegible], and then China's economic reconstruction can succeed.

In summary, the program, plan, framework, and the determination and ability to carry out the plan of national reconstruction should be worked out by [illegible] from the lessons of China's five thousand years of history, and in the light of the 9,600,000 square kilometers of territory of China, and the [illegible] international conditions. With respect to practical application, we should proceed from the little tasks to big ones, and from what is near at hand to what is distant. The order of application must have a central idea and a [illegible] point. It should be noted that, if there are no fixed plans and [illegible] policy, the beginning and the end cannot be coordinated; if we do not [illegible] policy and then act, we will attempt to reach high and far without any foundation. Therefore, in this section, holding the plan and practical operation of national reconstruction, adhering the central idea and the fundamental point, I have claim those to all our people and, furthermore, have determined the course that should become the guide for ambitious of all the youth of the country.

Previously, some of China's enterprises were able to be carried on [illegible], and we can trace the cause to the bonds of unequal treaties. However, this today, now that the unequal treaties already have been abrogated, if the enterprises cannot flourish rapidly it will be the fault of the owners, the responsibility rests on those of us who are leaders.

Our citizens should shoulder the responsibility of all types of reconstruction. First, we should ask ourselves, do we have the ability? Secondly we should ask ourselves, have we the necessary faith? Is there any type of construction that does not require capable and faithful personnel? Is China's man power sufficient to shoulder the responsibility for various enterprises? Planning and working for enterprises must have a central idea and a foundation. The [illegible] of reconstruction that we have described should be conducted simultaneously [illegible] with one without, and the point of emphasis must be on economics. Our [illegible] leader pointed out to us "The first reconstruction should be of the people's livelihood," and the foundation of the People's livelihood is economics. Economics is not only the point of emphasis for all reconstruction, but also is the foundation of all of them. Economic reconstruction of the people's livelihood is based on the principle of "enjoyment by the people." We must [illegible] the planned economy and established legislation to ensure the livelihood and [illegible] of every individual to have guarantees and absolutely to accomplish "[illegible] of capitalists enslaving, enjoy the air of the masses," and [illegible] the planned economy and established legislation to realize the revolution of the people's livelihood. Economic reconstruction must be assured by

[redacted]

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Item	Quantity to [redacted]	Quantity for [redacted] first 10 years
(a) [redacted]		
[redacted]	140,000	10,000
[redacted]	1,[redacted],000	150,000
[redacted]	100,000,000 capacity	[redacted],000 capacity
(b) Machinery		
Locomotives	11,200	3,700
Passenger and freight cars	100,000	35,000
Automobiles	3,000,000	225,700
Rolling stock	15,[redacted],400 tons	1,[redacted],000 tons
(c) Electric motors		
Electric power	20,000,000 Kw	2,000,000 Kw
(d) Water Power (Hydraulic electric power is included in preceding electric motors)		
Water irrigation		
For agriculture	20,000 ll	7,500 ll
For fishing	500,000 ll	12,000 ll
Ship canals for shipping	5,000 ll	1,500 ll
Commercial City	1,000	300
Piles	15,000 ll	4,[redacted] ll
Irrigation	250,000,000 mm	20,000,000 mm
(e) Building		
Houses	50,000,000	5,000,000
(f) Clothing		
Cotton looms	10,000,000 pieces	1,000,000 pieces
Spinning machines	300,000	22,000
Linen looms	577,000	37,700
Spinning machines	15,700	1,500
Silk looms	225,000	23,000
Knitting machines	24,000	3,400
Wool looms	500,000	35,000
Sewing machines	15,000	1,000
Spinning machines (a)	114	37
(b)	251	30
Knitting machines	15,500	1,500
Sewing machines	300,000	10,000

[illegible]

[illegible] required [illegible] first two years of [illegible] [illegible] chemical [illegible] clothing [illegible]

(4) Number of university and technical school graduates required [illegible]

1.	Civil engineering	[illegible]
2.	Mechanical engineering	12,[illegible]
3.	Electrical engineering	[illegible]
4.	[illegible]	27,[illegible]
5.	Construction engineering	[illegible]
6.	Chemical engineering	[illegible]
7.	[illegible] & [illegible]	4,[illegible]
8.	Geology or geography	[illegible]
9.	[illegible]	27,[illegible]
10.	Textile or chem. dye engineering	1,1[illegible]
11.	Hydraulic engineering	4,[illegible]
12.	Automobile engineering	2,700
13.	All other sciences	[illegible]

(5) Number of graduates from vocational school courses required.

1.	Civil engineering	74,[illegible]
2.	Mechanical engineering	13,4[illegible]
3.	Electrical "	12,[illegible]
4.	Construction "	2,[illegible]
5.	Mining "	17,[illegible]
6.	Textile or chemical dye	2,750
7.	Chemical engineering	1,350

(6) Number of graduates from high school or higher vocational school courses required.

67,404

(7) Number of graduates from grammar school or vocational schools

1[illegible]7,6[illegible]

(8) Graduates of pharmacy or nursing schools [illegible],1[illegible]

(9) Midwife schools [illegible]

Total 1,[illegible],4[illegible]

(10) [illegible] required during first two years of proposed [illegible] (Based on the needs of 11 [illegible] electric power, [illegible] power, radio, clothing, [illegible] and [illegible])

[illegible]

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[illegible]

As to manpower, however, the carrying out of the industrial plan requires the number of college, high school and grade school graduates as listed above. Are our present schools sufficient to train such manpower to supply the needs of economic reconstruction? Take our present college, technical and high schools, for instance. In the five years from [illegible] to 1948 graduates from all classes numbered only 471,930. In the first ten years of the industrial plan it will require 5,000,000 graduate students, excluding those outside of the industrial plan. We must, therefore, in these few years [illegible] up compulsory education and expand the schools, in order to prepare the necessary personnel. It may be noted here that after the War of Resistance, as long as we have some special knowledge we need not worry about chances of employment, in order our ability for national reconstruction [illegible]. It should be further noted that persons in service in all kinds of national reconstruction work should such do the [illegible] of the people and gain day perform two days work before [illegible] apply the needs of our country and society. As [illegible] said, 'Making a statesman will take one fifth of the cost of [illegible].' A proverb says, 'To achieve the [illegible] of [illegible], the water is not so than as to prepare the [illegible] of [illegible].' We have been observing the wealth and plight of [illegible] nations. We must [illegible] survival and go forward to seek [illegible] for our own China. In order to make [illegible] strong, each citizen should do more than a [illegible] work. One should not give up himself, and [illegible] the country; one should exert himself [illegible] the fifty millions to do likewise to carry [illegible] to [illegible]. Therefore, I earnestly hope that [illegible] will [illegible] independent through self-encouragement [illegible] voluntary. I particularly hope that [illegible] will make their plans for the [illegible] and [illegible] consolidation, completing the organization and [illegible] the course of reconstruction to go for-

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[redacted]

[redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

After the liquidation of [illegible], some of the public and party cadres did not realize the necessity of counterrevolution, and even some of the cadres felt counterrevolution must be carried out by revolutionary methods. Although they had the knowledge of the truth as their guide, the public and party cadres still believed that to have the way of the new hard, neglected counterrevolution, and especially could not understand the direction of the people's livelihood, but regarded the [illegible] of the direction of nationalism and people's rights as sufficient by themselves, so that the counterrevolutionary revolution failed.

The old saying, "To know is not hard but only to act is hard" was not the revolutionary psychology of China. In ancient people act according to the law of nature, but there are very few who know the law of nature. Confucius said: "The public may be directed to follow a course of action, but they may not be expected to understand it." Those who have been naturally and according to law of nature, but those who do not know why they follow the law of nature in their actions. Mencius said: "To act as a matter but not attain results is due to the fault of not cultivating the origins. There are many who follow an action through life without understanding it." The teachers of the Sung said: "The way which the superior man pursues, in nourishing and subtle, the ignorance of the common man may participate in the knowledge of it; yet in its utmost reaches there is that which even the sage does not know. Common men and women, however such below the ordinary standard of character, can carry it into practice; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage is not able to carry into practice." It is sufficient to note that all things in the universe follow certain laws which are easy to act in accordance with but difficult to understand.

The knowledge of the moderns come from experiences of experience and lifelong practice. Thus I always say: "If one does not act to obtain knowledge, only the knowledge gained from forceful action is true knowledge." Only true knowledge is it easy to act. Confucius taught the people the way and expected his disciples to acquire true knowledge from actually [illegible] the [illegible]. Purification, correct behavior, ordinary [illegible], literature and calculation, all may enable the student to [illegible] by proceeding from study to accomplishment true knowledge. Mencius [illegible] "Seek your true knowledge, followed by their [illegible] of experience and lifelong hard work, to an easy [illegible]." The teachers counsel that it was easy to know and difficult to [illegible]. The old saying "To know is not hard but only to act is hard" has an [illegible] meaning, emphasized the [illegible]'s ability, [illegible] distinction [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] of the [illegible] and the darkness [illegible] to be [illegible]. They

[illegible]

The source of knowledge is in human minds, and does not have to be [illegible]. Actually, superficially, in seeking knowledge we must [illegible] the experience of the Chinese people and study foreign [illegible] and experience, but actually, fundamentally, knowledge can be [illegible] only by and through [illegible] practice. Only "all genuine knowledge [illegible] from direct experience," and not only is it real knowledge but then it is to apply. [illegible] of the revolution, at the end of the [illegible] ignorance and [illegible] of the Kuomintang, [illegible] through fire and other [illegible] regard to [illegible] their "knowledge" [illegible] that only revolution could save the [illegible] and the people, and they devoted their efforts to revolutionary work [illegible] the danger of life or death, fame or humiliation. Their "knowledge" [illegible] of their national character, and their "doubt" grew from real knowledge. [illegible] they were able to complete the great task of overthrowing 2000 years [illegible] and more than 100 years of the hereditary system of [illegible]. After the Revolution of 1911, why could not the party comrades [illegible] the people continue the accomplishments of our great forerunner and achieve [illegible] of Dr. Sun? Their theories and definitions were merely [illegible] by here and there, repetitions of what others had said, but when they [illegible] referred back to their own consciousness, they were not self inspired. [illegible] "knowledge" did not come from great honesty, their "doubt" did not [illegible] from great courage. After the first year of the Republic, society and government were in a state of confusion for more than 10 years. War lords [illegible] the country and oppressed the people, while the counter-revolutionary party also [illegible] revolution without fear.

Why were the people still unable to recognize the correct course to be [illegible] after it had been definitely established by past events? The reason [illegible] was, from the theoretic point of view, they were unable to "look for the [illegible] truth" in searching for real knowledge, and also they could not humble [illegible] to accept the real truth which had been proven by events. From the [illegible] point of view of action, they were unable to decide that one right and that was [illegible] the direct obstacles of numerous habits, nor could they follow the [illegible] of the pioneers and decide definitely to act with vigor. In general, [illegible] resulting arose from the inability to have thoroughly; lack of effective [illegible] in action arose from the inability to act vigorously. Only with [illegible] clarity can one acquire true knowledge; only with extreme clarity [illegible] can one devote oneself to vigorous action. Only with true knowledge [illegible] vigorous action can one march forward without hesitation or doubt, to carry [illegible] the trend and problem. The discovery of the truth said: "Without clarity [illegible] there is nothing." If the psychology of the people and the spirit of society [illegible] to a genuine clarity, the work of national reconstruction can [illegible] be successful. Therefore after the Revolution of 1911, during the most [illegible] period, Dr. Sun is interpreting our comrades and teaching the people, [illegible] "Knowing is not easy but to have is hard," as the premises and [illegible] philosophy for revolutionary reconstruction and the rehabilitation of [illegible]. The success or failure of national reconstruction hinges [illegible] the people can or cannot understand this true philosophy. I only [illegible] of the entire nation will accept the lessons from the [illegible] and, using Dr. Sun's true philosophy, of "to act is easy," [illegible] our complete five phase reconstruction, [illegible] program of culture, national defense, and [illegible] may certainly be accomplished at the appropriate time.

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[illegible] to the Chinese people in different generations, we will [illegible] the people, [illegible] the people but always we support with [illegible] the people. The Chinese people had given 'freedom' in the early days [illegible] "We shall fight for it." So, he said, "The [illegible] of the Chinese Revolution is equivalent to that of the European Revolution." [illegible] but no freedom they had to fight for it. Because of the such 'freedom' there had no organization, no revolutionary power, [illegible] subjected to the aggression of foreign imperialism. In order to organize we must have some 'personal freedom' of speech, [illegible] organization, like passing speech in the house and to make a [illegible] of [illegible]." In other words, the Chinese people must unite together to form a [illegible], establish national defense organization, and, nevertheless to say, an individual will be able to enjoy the 'irresponsible freedom' of [illegible]. Further, when final victory will be to win, we must establish a [illegible] form of national defense. Such organization will be required to [illegible] possess international peace for the liberation of other [illegible] and [illegible] after the war. As to the relation between such [illegible] and the nation, whether during the war or after the war, irresponsible 'individual freedom' cannot be permitted to exist.

The relation between the individual freedom and government by law cannot be separated. China is a country organized by four hundred and fifty million citizens. The country realizes that each of the four hundred and fifty million citizens have "freedom". Therefore, the boundary of the [illegible] of each individual must be drawn, and each individual "freedom" must be [illegible]. Such freedom would be real freedom. This view of freedom must be carefully preserved during our program of national reconstruction in order that each citizen can enjoy the privileges of freedom. Freedom must be within the law before there is real freedom. If it is outside the limits of law, it will be unruly. If everybody is unruly, the strong will bully the weak and the majority will take advantage of the minority. Every person must stay within the law if individuals are to obtain the benefits of "freedom." Each person must have a "free" country before it may be called a "[illegible]" country. Therefore, a law abiding country definitely cannot permit people to be unruly or the strong to bully the weak and the majority to take advantage of the minority. It may thus be noted that it will not be logical to call for the protection of national law if one breaks that national law himself, or to criticize the nation for not respecting the law when one himself disrespects the law himself. Such an illogical point of view can only confuse popular opinion with respect to government by law and increase the people's tendency not to observe the law, and if this is not thoroughly corrected, the creation of a law abiding nation cannot be successful.

The most unruly people in the world are the "gangsters." We all know that the division of the "gangsters" is nothing but disturbance and [illegible]. They have no law among themselves and towards outsiders they commit [illegible] crimes [illegible] to protect their own safety. Therefore, they have become the lowest and most backward group in the world, discussed by others and subject by others wherever they go. So Chinese people cannot [illegible] the class of "gangsters" on the one hand and talk greatly about [illegible] and high [illegible] on the other. We should have that [illegible] in the minds of generations of ancestors, and the present generation is the [illegible] of the accumulation for thousands of years to come. The [illegible] of [illegible] and national reconstruction is a [illegible] [illegible] in any way possess superficial ideas and

[illegible]

After the signing of the unequal treaties, Chinese intellectuals lost [illegible] and faced threats. As a result, some [illegible] Chinese intellectuals thus recognized our [illegible] of the rule of law. Taking upon themselves responsibility [illegible] Chinese argued that China's revolution and the [illegible] of the 19th century were expressions of the same fight for [illegible] and that Sun's theory did not fit the historical [illegible] of the time. By the light of evolution, the rights of man [illegible] by the trend and circumstances of the time. [illegible] theory of evolution there is no evidence of man's [illegible] by humanity. There was no historical basis for [illegible] in the theory known as the [illegible] of the rights of [illegible] Sun's theory known as the [illegible]

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The Three Tasks of China's Revolutionary Reconstruction and National Conference Delivering Our Destiny

From the previous statements, we know that the success or failure in national reconstruction hinges upon changes in social customs. Changes in social customs depend upon those people in the villages, districts, provinces, and the whole nation who have knowledge, courage, nerve and responsibility, who can think and knowledge and others as leaders and cause the people in each village, district, province and the entire nation to carry out and practice their civilian consciously and spontaneously so that changes in social customs may be accomplished. Previously it was pointed out that the people of our entire national should make it their ambition to interpret the work that others does not understand, and bear sufferings that others cannot bear, going through dangers and difficulties, proceeding to the frontiers and isolated regions where others does not go, to serve the needs of our society and enrich the lives of the nation and the people; if these things are done, rejuvenating the nation and society will be as easy as turning the palm of the hand. I want here to enlarge upon this discussion. It should be known that change in social customs and practical application of the work of national reconstruction are the greatest enterprises in the rehabilitation of the people and regular entering culture. If a single individual struggles independently his results can not be great or his accomplishment enduring. Therefore, all adult citizens and ambitious young men in every village, district, province, and in the entire nation must have a united structure, a systematic affiliation, a general organization for self-and reconstruction and individual enterprise. Only when each individual is within such a general organization can we accomplish Dr. Sun's notes "Use each individual's few years of mortal life to establish the immortal foundation for the countless ages of the nation."

If China's adult citizens cannot form a vast union, such union cannot long endure, and we shall have the humiliation of being a "bit of scattered sand" and be laughed at for our "few moments of talking blank." We discriminate, if we cannot unite together, the union is ambiguous, and that the seeking for personal interest cannot compare with serving the public good. When a union cannot long endure, it is because of falsity; to correct falsity nothing compares with being sincere. The thought directed toward the public good will benefit the people. The thought of sincerity can promote a project. Only the Three Peoples' Principles are based upon absolute public good and developed from absolute sincerity. The The Book of the Revolution can contain all and enfold all, and the activities of the Revolution are "a choice of the best and a selection of the original." These have been pointed out in my description of the recognization point of the Revolution.

The fundamental reason for the great flaw in our public body and their individual lack of accomplishment and wasted lives is that societies does not accomplish its mission. People do not accept the direction of their teachers, do not realize the importance of the revolution between "organization" and their individual success of failure and consequently do not have the meaning of "organization" and "duty" therefore their individual drifts into worthlessness, and their

[illegible]

[illegible]

"Every citizen of the nation not only has the privilege of joining the Party, but also the duty to join it."

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CHAPTER [illegible]

[illegible] and the Future of the World

We have that lack of development in science and mechanics in traditional China was disadvantageous for China's existence. During the past hundred years the Chinese people, desiring to study foreign science and technical skill, repudiated all foreign philosophies and did not understand the innate spirit of the Chinese people and the virtuous character of the citizens, both of which have made our fine points. China's native political philosophy and especially the product of the people's innate spirit. Political philosophy cannot produce and production to serve the [illegible] that man is the servant of war and production. Mencius said: "Do not [illegible] material things, but love the people." Mencius said that the rulers should dispense of dispense of material things for the livelihood of the people, and should not make the people to servants to materials. The Great Learning said: "When there is man, there is land; when there is land, there is wealth; when there is wealth, there is [illegible]," which means that the [illegible] system should be based on the people's livelihood, and the production skill should not be permitted to predominate over the character of man. For three thousand years this political philosophy and economic principle directed the psychology of the Chinese people, and the virtuous character of the people was affected by and related simultaneously with this political philosophy and economic principle. It has been previously stated that the Chinese people's inherent virtuous character is composed of endurance under difficulties, acceptance of heavy responsibility, understanding of [illegible], and a sense of conscience. Because the Chinese people possess this virtuous character, they are not afraid of strong enemies and do not take advantage of minorities and the weak, but rather apply their hereditary doctrine of loyalty and reciprocity [illegible] to themselves and them to others, thereby bearing the responsibility of [illegible] of India for thousands of years in "preserving the [illegible] and sustaining those who might be destroyed," in "helping the weak and lifting up the fallen." As a consequence, there is no historical evidence of economic exploitation nor political oppression of the peoples of Asia, during the period when China was strong. Nor was there any imperialism or colonialism. This political philosophy and political virtue was developed and not practiced by modern [illegible] ideology. Its capitalistic subordinated human life to technique of production, and strove for profits. Its imperialistic subordinated human life to the [illegible] of war, sought to develop colonial possessions. Due to these interlocking ideologies, internal class struggle and international wars fill the pages of modern world history. At the dawn of the Great War, when the human race so painfully realized on its past suffering, war were philosophers placed the blame on science, stating that science had improved the instruments of killing and thereby caused the horrors of war to spread to all mankind. They did not realize that the coming of modern wars is a [illegible] of the machine itself, and not in the limitation of the [illegible] of war. Mencius said: "Is there any difference between a man with a club or with a sword?" If mankind cannot enlarge the [illegible] and moral character to put an end to war, what difference [illegible] whether people are killed by bows and arrows or by airplanes? They did not know that civilization in the human science, [illegible] to become more moral as science advances, but that the

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[illegible] China's objective is to [illegible] of the world and [illegible] and other nations in accordance [illegible] principle of equality. In other words, China's [illegible] is the realization of democratization, and we have proved [illegible] principle of equality. Therefore, China represents the [illegible] of democracy in the world. It cannot not to follow [illegible] of imperialism and fall into imperialistic trap.

Being the best behaved power, while China experienced [illegible] has fulfilled her bounden duty of [illegible] and has shouted that the anti-[illegible] is the real cause of world war; therefore, [illegible] efforts to obtain for Asia liberty of the [illegible] and equality among nations. Asia occupies a quarter of the [illegible] Asia's population is more than half of that of the world. [illegible] people in Asia have been, on the whole, subjected to similar [illegible] from oppression as has China, and their sufferings [illegible] have been deep and long lasting. If China cannot be free and independent, the other peoples of Asia will each fall under the iron [illegible] of the enemy, and world peace cannot have any solid foundation. Therefore, China's independence and rehabilitation are for the rehabilitation of Asia; and the liberation of the people and the stability of the nations of Asia are for the guarantee of permanent world peace and the rooting out of the causes of war, so that the evil of war will not again arise in the world to destroy human safety and happiness.

The principle of people's freedom and national equality ought to be applied to the system of international peace after the war. The eventual failure of the League of Nations formed after the end of the first World War was due to the defiance of this principle. The concepts of "World Powers" and "Spheres of Influence" together with the system based on such concepts ought not to be allowed to reappear in post-war organization for international peace.

The principle of people's liberty and equality among the nations should also be applied to the rehabilitation and development of postwar international economics and culture. In international [illegible], cooperation in natural resources and freedom of trade are the principles naturally to be observed by all peoples and nations is also an important idea. The Japanese imperialists hope to proclaim in Asia their monstrous desire of "Industrial Japan, Agricultural Asia," and its poisonous effect is the same as that of Hitler Germany's so-called "Great European Policy." If the productive power of all the peoples in the world cannot develop equally, political freedom and equality will be affected by economic differences due to the extent of being impaired through economic exploitation. With respect to world culture, cultural freedom and independence are [illegible] elements in the freedom and independence of peoples and [illegible]. The "Great Japan Policy" as proposed by the Japanese imperialists and the "Japan Super Race Theory" of Hitler are both [illegible] to international peace. Therefore, theories of [illegible] and superior races must be eliminated forever from the world, if international peace is to be guaranteed against [illegible].

The three additional clauses were first formulated when China was in the [illegible] of Chungking. Since the outbreak of the European [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Since, the People's Revolution has achieved its first stage of success. Therefore, our Chinese People must follow this successful road to attain their objectives in the W. of Resistance, and to carry into practical effect the idea of National Reconstruction.

2. Speaking from the point of view of the changing international situation:

During the progress of the second World War, after China's War of Resistance, the peoples of Asia have established their faith in opposition to aggression; and the strength of the Asiatic peoples' is really dependent upon victory or defeat in the World War. After the close of the Second World War, the search for permanent world peace and human liberty must take as its starting point the freedom and equality of the peoples and of Asia. China's independence and freedom are the forerunner of other Asiatic peoples' liberty and national equality. That is, if China can obtain her freedom and independence, then Asia can be stabilized and advance into the realm of liberty and equality. Asia's stabilization is the guarantee of world peace; emancipation of the peoples of Asia will save the emancipation of all mankind.

China's independent and free position has today been obtained by the abrogation of the unequal treaties. The proper reaction of our Chinese people should be an aroused feeling of duty and a strengthened idea of responsibility. The responsibility of the nation and the duty of the people will become greater hereafter. Completion of the work of national reconstruction, and the practical application of this idea, both depend on a vigorous fight and great sacrifices on our part.

"There is no easy task in the world, there is no difficult task in the world." Our entire people need only have sincere confidence in our own national people, enthusiastically preserve and actively carry out the principle of national reconstruction and the Three Peoples' Principles, and unite together in propagating and fighting for the purpose and objectives of the People Revolution; then, even though future difficulties are as great as removing a mountain or emptying the sea, there is no reason why we shall not succeed. By contrast, the unequal treaties have been abrogated [illegible] in the aggression of the last hundred years, we should not [illegible] the [illegible] conditions of our relative [illegible]

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