Program for the Reconstruction of China

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FOREWORD.

Conscious of the great calamity which has befallen us and the Chinese people as a whole through the death of our great leader and father of the Chinese Republic, we, the Kuo Min Tang students in Greater New York, in this hour of profound grief, do solemnly reaffirm our faith in the principles of our Party. We firmly believe that in these principles lies the salvation of our fatherland. We pledge ourselves anew to the support of our Party principles with unflinching and determined fidelity. We believe that although the founder and the leader of our party is dead, the principles that he and his followers have championed for more than thirty years will live and continue to live.

It is our great regret to know that in the past few years the principles and activities of our Party have been generally misinterpreted and misunderstood. When our Party fought for the overthrow of the bribe-ridden, illegal and oppressive regimes, our political enemies regarded it as a disturbing factor. When our Party urged the revision of unrighteous treaties in order to emancipate our own people from foreign oppression, the imperialists branded it as "Red." When our Party advocated the improvement of the living conditions of the mass our opponents labeled it as "Bolshevistic." These charges are unjust and were actuated by motives that are unworthy of those who harbored them.

In refutation of the false charges which have been levelled at our Party we publish in these pages a trans-
lation of the manifesto issued by the National Convention of the Kuo Min Tang held recently in Canton. In this the principles and platforms are clearly stated. Let us, who believe that the principles and platforms of Kuo Min Tang will effect the salvation of China, band ourselves together and march forward under its banner.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
Kuo Min Tang Students League
in Greater New York.

New York City, March 19, 1925.
PART I.

China In Thralls.

The Chinese revolution which took root in the period following the war with Japan in 1895, and grew rapidly around 1900, reached its peak in the final overthrow of the monarchical form of government, in 1911-1912. No revolutions were made overnight. Internally, ever since the domination of China by the Manchus, racial feeling had loomed large on China's political horizon; and since the opening up of the country by the Westerners, the situation was further complicated by a rapid and continuous influx of imperialistic forces which, in the forms of military conquest and economic exploitation, soon reduced the country to a state of semi-independence. The Manchu government, although impotent in warding off foreign aggression, dealt in a high-handed manner with the internal problem, thus encouraging the Powers so much the more to practice a policy of aggrandizement.

We, members of the Kuo Min Tang, who had been following our leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen for years, knew that without overthrowing the Manchu rulers, there was no hope of reconstructing China, and had therefore come forward to assume the leadership of the revolutionary
forces. As a result we were able finally to bless the Chinese people with the republican form of government. Hence it is clear that the object of our revolution did not consist in undermining the then ruling dynasty, but really in the reconstruction of the nation. We discerned at that time new trends of development along different lines. Racially, it pointed to the transition from the domination of one group in the country to the equal participation of all groups; politically, absolutism seemed to be giving way to democratic control; and, economically, handicraft production was about to be replaced by one based on capitalistic lines. Had these tendencies been brought to their full fruition, the transformation of China from a semi-independent country to a full fledged member in the family of nations, vested with the same rights and privileges as any other sovereign power, would have been extensively aided.

The actual outcome was just the opposite from what was expected. The Revolution was in a sense successful, in that it opened a path for the gradual emancipation of the heretofore oppressed racial groups in the country; and in that sense only. For no sooner had the revolutionary forces laid down their arms, than a compromising agreement, partly necessitated by the circumstances, was brought about between the new leaders and the old regime, which soon proved to be an irretrievable concession to monarchism; and herein was rooted the first failure of the movement.

At the head of the old regime was Yuan Shih-kai; his menacing power was at first not particularly strong, and, had it not been for the fact that the revolutionary leaders were extremely anxious to avoid further civil strife, and also for the fact that they as yet lacked an organized, disciplined, purposeful and conscientious political party, he could have been defeated. Such a political party, had it existed at that time, could easily frustrate Yuan Shih-kai’s intrigues and lead the movement to a final victory,
instead of letting it be coaxed into a tool for his ascendency. Yuan Shih-kai was the evil genius of the military class of the north; he had the established sympathy of the foreign powers; and, what is worse, he formed the nucleus around which all the anti-revolutionary forces, be they military or civil, parasitically gathered. It was to this man that the concessions by the revolutionary leaders were made. What wonder the failure!

Since the death of Yuan Shih-kai, the revolutionary movement has continued to experience failures; and with every failure on our part there was a proportional ascendency on the part of the military class, thus augmenting and perpetuating their avarice and atrocities, at the expense of the innocent populace. No constructive work has been done. Quite on the contrary. The militarists, having a class interest which is often diagonally opposite to that of the people, have been in constant anxiety over their chance of survival, and, consequently, have been driven into all sorts of connections with the imperialistic forces of the foreign powers. And what has been the outcome? The so-called Chinese republican government passed entirely into the grip of the militarists, and has ever since been prostituted towards the gratification of the foreign Powers, and thereby, toward insuring the survival of the militarists themselves. In other words, the militarists have made use of the Powers, and have in turn been taken advantage of by them. Big foreign loans to defray military expenses were made to the factions, thus prolonging and intensifying the civil strife, and during the confusion, the Powers were enabled to get away with bounties of spoliation, in the form of spheres of influence. When thus viewed, the internal trouble of China is certainly also traceable to the Powers, who have sought to dodge the mutual restriction imposed upon them by themselves through the instrumentality of these militarists. Furthermore, the
civil wars have been the chief impediment to the development of a strong home industry; to this day the market is swelled with foreign goods; Chinese capital, even with Chinese territory, is far from being able to compete with foreign capital. Thus we witness that the life of the Chinese people have been robbed not only politically but also economically. A glance over the whole country will convince one that ever since the first failure of the revolutionary movement, the middle classes were the ones that have suffered most; small entrepreneurs have turned bankrupt, and artisans of many walks have been forced from their employment into vagabondage and banditry; the farmers, unable to hold their own, have found their final resort in selling their lands at very low prices. There has been a rapid rise in the cost of living, and correspondingly, an increase in taxation—to no purpose. Misery is to be seen everywhere; and shall we not say that we are on the eve of a national collapse?

In fine, the China of the past thirteen years has not enjoyed progress, but has rather experienced retrogress. The absolutism of the militarists from within and the aggression of the Powers from without have ever been on the increase, and have steadily pulled the country into a slough-pond of semi-independence and servitude. There is no wonder that the country has been all along clamoring because of their grievances, and that a few far-sighted individuals have thought and fought for a solution.

Let us turn, then, to the various solutions that have been suggested by different political parties or groups, and even by patriotic individuals and sympathetic foreigners. A summary of these solutions and their criticisms follow:

1. The Constitutionalists. This group assumes that the real trouble with China is the lack of a constitution. If there were one, they maintain, it could be
used as the basis for an appeal for unity, and the present state of disintegration and dissolution can be saved. But in so assuming, this group has ignored the salient fact that unless there is the backing of the people as a whole, such a constitution is no more effective than a mere piece of written document; it can neither safeguard the rights of the people, nor can it prevent itself from being trampled down under the foot of the militarists. We have had a Provisional Constitution ever since the Revolution; but what good has it done? The “remnants” of the old regime, the officials and the militarists have kept on being destructive and abusing every power delegated to them. In a word, as long as these elements survive, no really effective constitution can be established; it can no more advance the rights of the people than a bit of scrap paper. Only recently Tsao Kun stole the presidency through force and bribery, and even he made the ostensible gesture of living up to a constitution! What he actually did was as far from being constitutional as the North Pole is from the South. From this incident alone we should have learned that a workable constitution presupposes an ability on the part of the people to support it; else it would be like trying to understand the effect without first knowing the cause, and it leads one nowhere. In the absence of such an organized support, be it further noted, the constitution will remain as something merely documentary even if it manages to escape the abuse of the militarists. Thus we see that this group of solutionists knows only the necessity of a constitution, but fails to provide measures as to how this constitution, once drawn, should be maintained and utilized. This failure tends to mark the group itself as one knowing little about organization and methodicity and wanting in courage to stand by a constitution, fighting for it when necessary. To us, no effective constitution can be drawn until the domination of imperialism from without and militarism from within shall have been first withdrawn.
2. The Federalists. The premise of this group is that the whole trouble lies in the fact that the central government is too heavily loaded; hence it follows that the solution must be found in relieving this load by apportioning it to the different provinces. So it is the argument that when a system of self-government will have been introduced in every province, over-centralization will come to an end and the government will be no longer a source of alarm. This group, again, errs in not taking into account the origin and the nature of the present government. The existing government at Peking is one which has not been lawfully recognized, nor popularly ratified; but it represents, rather, the machination of a few strong militarists, who by brutal force, have imposed themselves upon the machinery, and through the machinery, they have sought to further their own power. It is certainly bewildering that while no forces have been brought to bear upon these supermilitarists so that they would sooner relinquish their hold upon the government, suggestions are forthcoming, such as we would naturally infer from the premise of this group, that we should rely more upon the militarists of the provinces in order to curb over-centralization! The working out of such a suggestion can easily be anticipated; further disintegration of the country will then result, and every province will be in the hard grip of a single selfish and greedy militarist. There will also ensue, due to conflicts of interest, a general confusion between the provincial militarists and those of the central government until an equilibrium of powers is reached. Is this self-government? True self-government is indeed something proper and desirable and fits in well with the spirit of our race. But it can not be realized, we hold, until China will have gained complete independence. At present, the people as a whole is not yet free; while the whole is not free, can one expect the part to be? Thus it will be seen that the struggle for self-government must go hand in hand with the struggle for
national independence. If there is no free China, there can be no free province within China. The province certainly has its own economical, political, and social problems, but for a final solution of them, they must be treated as parts of the bigger problems of the whole nation. It is obvious, then, that the advent of true self-government is dependent upon the ultimate triumph of the revolutionary movement. This deserves the careful consideration of all Chinese people.

3. The Peace Advocates. The constant civil warfare in China has led to the suggestion that a peace conference or conferences must be first called before anything else can be done. To this suggestion many, Chinese as well as foreigners, have catered. Were such a conference feasible, it should certainly enlist the loyal support of all Chinese people. But it is not. The reason is obvious. It is the militarists who, with their selfishness and mutual jealousy, are only responsible for this chronic state of disruption in the country. Shall we expect peace when such a group is in power? A temporary peace agreement may be reached; but such an agreement signifies nothing except that there now obtains a balance of power among the factions; it certainly does not affect the people at large. Unification among the militarists is not identical with unification of the country; the latter is what the people really needs. The outcome of such a peace conference or conferences can well be surmised from our past experience with the peace in Europe after the Great War. It is the clash of interests among the big Powers that have prevented the unification of the lesser countries; and this clash, as we have noted, even affects our own country. Thus it seems that the reliance upon a peace conference to solve all problems is illusory; and far more so is the desire that the factions may be reconciled to one another on the basis of a balance of interests, thus bestowing upon the
people at least a peaceful respite. It seems to us a material impossibility to prevent one faction from encroaching upon the interests of another; and, besides, let us remember, every faction is in command of an inordinate number of mercenary troops who must find their functional outlet either in warfare or in pillage; and it is vastly easier to perpetrate the pillage in a neighboring province than in their own.

4. The Capitalists and Pro-Capitalists. The thesis of this group is that in order to oust militarism and officialdom, some other powerful group must be called upon—the capitalists. Our reply, in the first place, is that inasmuch as the militaristic officials have incurred the enmity of the people because they do not and cannot represent the interests of the people, can the capitalists so represent those interests? Secondly, the militarists have obsequiously solicited the support of foreign powers and have thus all the more antagonized the country; but are we sure that during the past few decades of the development of Chinese capitalism, it has not also received the patronage of foreign Powers? We have no grudge against capitalistic government as such, but we do maintain that a government must be originated from and organized by the people as a whole, that it must represent their welfare and interest; that it must not be limited to the commercial class or any other class; and that its central governing body must be independent, free to exercise the will of the people and unhampered by any foreign influence.

From the above summary it is seen that some of the suggested solutions are impractical despite the sincerity of their proponents, while others are fallacious and devoid of sincerity.

The Kuo Min Tang has always maintained that a real national revolution followed by the application of the so-called "San-Min-Chu-I" or three democratic princi-
pies, is the real and only solution to the problem. Re-
viewing the present situation China is in, we feel all the
more keenly that a thorough national reconstruction can-
not be further delayed. A reiteration and elaboration of
principles and policies of our Party is now in order.

PART II.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE KUO MIN TANG.

The principles of our party are three in number. They
have been for a long time championed by our leader,
Dr. Sun Yat-sen. We feel that no sound policies for
the salvation of the country can be put into effect unless
they are based on these principles. The gradual realiza-
tion of our program of national reconstruction, must
have constant reference to the same fundamentals. It
was with this in view that the recent reorganization of the
Party was decided upon, and special emphasis was laid
upon consolidation and discipline of the members, so that
henceforth they will exert their best to stand by and
fight for these principles to the last. The following is
a symposium of Dr. Sun's address on November 25,
1923, and another on "China Today and the Reorganiza-
tion of the Kuo Min Tang," delivered during the recent
conference. A thorough understanding of the well
known "Three Democratic Principles" will prove in-
dispensable to the formulation of policies for the redeem-
ing of China.

(I) FOLK DEMOCRACY OR NATIONALISM.

The principle of racial democracy of the Kuo Min
Tang has two different aspects. First, and with refer-
ence to foreign national groups, it is the emancipation
and self-determination of the Chinese folk or nation.
Second, it is the recognition of equality of all racial
groups within the nation.

(a) The principle of folk democracy aims at putting
China on an equal and independent footing with the
other nations of the world. Before 1911, China was
dominated on the one hand by one racial constituent of
the nation, the Manchus; and on the other, she was cir-
cumscribed by imperialistic forces of the foreign nations;
so it was natural that the movement for folk democracy
at that time had as its object the freeing of the country
from the heavy yoke of the Manchus and the prevention
of impending partition by the Powers. Since 1911, the
exclusive control of the Manchus has disappeared from
the scene, but foreign imperialism has persisted. The
alarming bugle blast of partition has changed into a
milder and more courteous tone of international control;
in other words, political and military aggrandizement has
taken a turn to become pure economic exploitation. But
what is the difference? The net result is one and the
same—the slow but sure elimination of China as a free
and independent nation. The militarists have for a long
time conspired with foreign imperialists in exploiting
their own country; and the capitalistic class have begun
with expectant eyes to await the falling crumbs. And as
a result, arrested development and even decay of na-
tional life, both politically and economically, have set in
and are every day becoming more threatening. There-
fore, the movement, led by our party, with its renewed
and continuous efforts must fall back for support upon
the great majority of the people composed chiefly of
the educated intellectual class, the farmers, the artisans,
and the traders. Nationalism, or folk democracy, can
have but one meaning for all classes. In the field of in-
dustry, the absence of nationalism will only leave room
for more and greater foreign economic oppression and
the increase of home production will remain impossible.
In the field of labor, unless the participants are welded together by a strong sense of nationalism, their life can be easily crushed out by the conspired action of the militarists and capitalists, both foreign and native, all of whom are parasitic upon imperialism. Against the latter, it is obvious then, the majority of the people must muster their forces no matter what class interests they may cherish. A strengthened nationalism or folk democracy would mean a weakened imperialism, and thus it would eventually mean an increased and sustained prosperity of the common people, as it can be easily proved from historical facts. If we do believe that nationalism or folk democracy, as afore stated, is really a form of healthy anti-imperialism, it is incumbent upon us to prove it by enlisting our efforts to the support of various organizations for promoting the welfare of the common people, and developing their possibilities. It is extremely desirable, therefore, that the Kuo Min Tang should properly work into the sympathy of, and co-operate with, the common people, else the hope for a truly free and independent Chinese nation is but meagre.

(b) As has already been said, before 1911, the Manchus had the exclusive control of the national government. Since 1911, after the overthrow of the Manchus as an exclusive national constituent, it was supposed, as it was always the aim of our Party, that henceforth all the racial groups forming the nation will enjoy equal rights and privileges. But unfortunately, the government soon fell into the hands of the militarists, the "carrying over" of the old regime, and in the atmosphere of the disguised form of monarchism, this promise of the Revolution was smothered, and consequently those racial groups other than the one dominating have repeatedly shown signs of unrest. But it is far more unfortunate that this contingent failure of promise has been taken by a few of these groups to indicate a general insincerity on the part of the advocate—the Kuo Min Tang. Hence-
forth it will be necessary, therefore, for our party to solicit more earnestly the sympathetic understanding of all the racial groups, making known to them from time to time their common interest and mutual welfare for which the revolutionary movement has always worked. The Kuo Min Tang is just now gathering force, and it will be wise, as the movement spreads, to endeavor to come into closer contact with all more outlying racial groups, and to confer with them as to the best methods of solving many problems among them. The Kuo Min Tang hereby formally declare: we recognize the right of all racial groups of China to self-determination; and as soon as militarism and imperialism have been expelled from the land as the result of our movement, we will do our best to organize (upon the voluntary agreement of all racial groups) a free and unified Republic of China.

(2) Political Democracy.

The principle of political democracy as we understand it should have two phases: the direct and the indirect. By the latter we mean the right to vote. By the former we mean the rights of initiative, of referendum, and of recall. The formula for guaranteeing these rights ought to be definitely embodied in the constitution, which in turn should be based on the five divisions of power: to wit, the legislative, the judicial, the executive, the selectional, and the prosecutory. The above principles will prove adequate not only in meeting deficiencies of representative government, but also in correcting the defects of suffrage. While in other modern countries the so-called democratic machinery is frequently run for the exclusive interests of the propertied class to the detriment of the common people, for whom the machinery was ostensibly intended, the kind of political democracy which we champion shall be in full possession of the majority of the citizenry, and shall not be monopolized by the privileged few. A point is to be noted. Our democracy
is quite different from the traditionally accepted one based upon the theory of natural rights; we rather seek to develop a democratic system to meet the special needs of a reconstructive period. It is only on those groups that are loyal to the Republic that political rights, as stated above, are to be conferred; and, needless to say, from those who sell themselves to the service of the imperialists and militarists, such rights are to be withheld.

(3) Economic Democracy

The economic democracy of the Kuo Min Tang consists of two parts: first, equalization of the right to land, and second, the regulation of capital. We hold the first principle essential, because economic inequality is primarily traceable to the fact that land is usually monopolized by a few. It is therefore imperative that the state make Land Laws, Laws Regulating the Use of Land, Laws Governing the Taxation of Land Produce and of the Assessed Value of Land. The value of lands privately owned, after having been properly assessed by their owners, must be reported to the government which will levy taxes on them proportionate to their value; and if necessary, the government will exercise the right of eminent domain. These, in fine, are the essentials of our conception with respect to the equality of the right to land.

All enterprises, be they in the hands of Chinese citizens or of foreigners, which partake of the nature of a monopoly, or assume proportions incommensurate with the financial resources of the individual entrepreneurs, such as banking and shipping industries, will be undertaken by the state, so that the economic life of the nation shall not pass into the control of the capitalistic few. This, in short, is our notion of the regulation of capital. With the attainment of these two principles, economic democracy may be said to have been put on a firm footing.
In this connection, a word about the farmers. Despite the fact that Chinese economic life is mainly agricultural, of all the classes of the nation, the farmers are the ones who are suffering most. It is the opinion of our party that those farmers who do not possess land of their own and who therefore have become tenants receiving lands for cultivation from rich landlords, ought to be given farms by the state in order to enable them to earn a living by the soil; and they should also be provided with irrigation facilities, and, whenever necessary, they are to be induced to settle and cultivate the more outlying regions of the country, so as not to exhaust unduly the richer lands. As to those who stand in urgent need of capital and are therefore forced to borrow on usurious terms, thus reducing themselves to life-long debtors, the state will establish agencies such as agricultural banks, etc., to supply farmers with assistance and relief. In this way, the farming population may enjoy the inalienable right to happiness.

A word about the laboring class too. As the life of Chinese laborers is absolutely without protection, our Party stands committed to the relief of the unemployed by the state, and to the enactment of labor legislation for the improvement of working conditions.

Finally, economic democracy includes also a system of universal education; the relief of the aged, the young, the sick and dependent; and other similar measures that may contribute to the general welfare of the community.

Poverty and misery being so prevalent among the farming and laboring classes all over the land, causing a great deal of unrest and calling forth a strong insistence for emancipation, it is to be expected that anti-imperialistic sentiments must be running high among them. There leaves no room for doubt that in order to be successful the movement for national reconstruction must have the support of the farmers and workers. Such being the case, advocates of effective reconstruc-
tion on the one hand and the farmers and workers on the other must band together in order to fight their common enemies, the imperialists and the militarists. Thus, on the one hand advocates of effective reconstruction should seek to assist those people with a view to increasing their economic strength, and on the other, they should be encouraged to participate actively in the nation-wide campaign for re-organization. For it goes without saying that the task our Party is engaged in of fighting the militarists and imperialists, is one for which they should also take a deep interest. In other words, they and our Party have a common enemy in the militarists and imperialists; and in opposing the latter, we are at the same time achieving their emancipation. In short, they, the farmers and laborers are the reapers of the net profit accruing from this struggle with militarism and imperialism.

Such are the three democratic principles of the Kuo Min Tang.

PART III.

Political Program of the Kuo Min Tang.

Though we have been aiming at the carrying out of our political progress, it is not sure that we have succeeded in any eminent degree. In the present chaotic state of our country, we should do well to put our programs into action as a means of national relief. Here-with we append a number of concrete demands which we may designate as our political program. It is hoped that these demands will enlist the hearty approval of those who place the welfare of the nation at large above the interests of some particular individual or clique.

I. Foreign Policies.

(1) The abolition of all treaties not based on the
equality of both contracting parties. Under this head, extra-territoriality, the foreign-controlled customs duties, and all political rights which foreign nations now exercise in the country ought to be abolished, and new treaties, based on the principle of the mutual recognition of sovereign rights to be concluded.

(2) All nations which voluntarily relinquish their special rights mentioned and are willing to abrogate all treaties derogatory of China's sovereignty, China recognizes as most favored nations.

(3) All other treaties which infringe upon the national interests of China ought to be reconsidered. During their reconsideration mutual respect for the sovereign rights of both contracting powers is to be recognized as the fundamental principle.

(4) China's external debts ought, within the limits of political and industrial security, to be guaranteed and refunded.

(5) All of China's external debts which have been negotiated by irresponsible governments, such as the Peking Government that came into power in October, 1923, have not been used for the promotion of the people's welfare, but for the maintenance of personal honors and offices, and the prosecution of civil wars are unwarranted. The Chinese people are not responsible for the repayment of such debts.

(6) A national convention to which professional groups of all provinces (such as Banking Associations and Chambers of Commerce) ought to be called in order to devise ways and means for the funding of China's external debts, thus enabling her to escape from the semi-independent state into which she has been thrown.

II. Domestic Policies.

(1) We advocate neither extreme centralization nor
extreme decentralization. A middle course between these two is to be preferred. All that concern the nation at large ought properly to belong to the central government; and all that affect the interests of particular localities fall properly to the respective local governments concerned.

(2) The peoples of the various provinces have the right to make their own provincial constitutions and to elect their own governors. But it is to be understood that such provincial constitutions so made are not to be in conflict with the National Constitution. The governors are on the one hand administrators of the rights of self-government in their respective provinces, and on the other, representatives of the Central Government from which they receive orders for the administration of national affairs.

(3) Recognition of the Hsien as the unit of self-government. The people of all such self-governed Hsien have the rights of directly electing and revoking officials, as well as those of initiative and referendum.

All tax proceeds from lands, accretion in land values, the produce of public lands, revenues derived from the utilization of forests and rivers, receipts from mining and water power—all these accrue to the local government which undertakes to use them for administering local affairs, providing institutions for the care of the young, the aged and the poor and dependent, aiding sufferers from famines and other natural disasters, and promoting sanitation and other kinds of public welfare.

When the financial capacity of the Hsien is insufficient to exploit its natural resources or to undertake large scale industrial and commercial enterprises, the Central Government is to render such aid as is necessary. The net profits therefrom are to be equally shared by the central and local governments.

Each Hsien undertakes to contribute a certain percentage of its receipts to the treasury of the Central
Government, the minimum and maximum of such contribution being limited to 10\% and 50\% respectively.

(4) The abolition of existing electoral laws based on property as the criterion, and the promulgation of universal suffrage.

(5) Recognition of the rights of the people to assemble, to organize, to express themselves either in speech or in print, to reside wherever they please and to enjoy the freedom of belief.

(6) The gradual transformation of the present mercenary to conscriptive military service. At the same time attention will be given to the improvement of the economic conditions of non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and also their legal status; agricultural and vocational training for the soldiers, stricter and more specific qualifications of officers, and the revision of the procedure of dismissal.

(7) In co-operation with the industrial world, the rehabilitation of the idle and the vicious, making them productive social factors again.

(8) The enactment of laws governing the rate of rent, both urban and rural, and prohibiting over-charge and fraud; the abolition of Likin, etc., included.

(9) Census taking. Conservation of arable land, regulation of production and consumption of farm produce, thus guaranteeing equal distribution and sufficiency of food.

(10) The betterment of agricultural communities and the amelioration of rural life.

(11) Labor legislation; the improvement of the living conditions of workers, and protection and encouragement of labor organizations.

(12) The recognition of the principle of sex equality,
legally, economically, educationally, and socially, and the endorsement of the feministic movement.

(13) Universal education based upon the principle of individualization; the reorganization of the educational system; the increase and protection of educational funds.

(14) The enactment of land laws, laws regulating the use of land, laws governing the taxation of land-produce and of the assessed value of land. The value of lands privately owned, after having been properly assessed by their owner, must be reported to the government which will levy taxes on them proportionate to their value, and if necessary, the government will exercise the right of eminent domain.

(15) All enterprises which partake of the nature of a monopoly, or assume proportions incommensurate with the financial resources of individual entrepreneurs, such as railroads and shipping industries shall be undertaken and administered by the state.

The above itemized program embodies the indispensable minimum of our party platform, and constitutes an immediate step to the salvation of China.
SUN YAT SEN'S PARTING MESSAGE TO HIS PEOPLE.

For forty years I have been engaged in the democratic reconstruction of China. It has been my cherished aim to elevate China to a state of freedom and independence. The experience of these eventful years has deeply convinced me that in order to attain this great end we should and must enlist the support of the common people at home and gain the sympathetic co-operation of those nations which are treating with us on a basis of equality.

The revolutionary movement has not yet succeeded. It is imperative that all my fellow-workers, basing their efforts upon my "Reconstruction Plan," "Outline of Reconstructive Policies," "The Three Democratic Principles," and "The Manifesto of the Kuo Min Tang at the First National Convention," do continue to exert their ardent energies toward the achievement of our common cause. Lately we advocated the calling together of a People's Convention, and the abolition of unjust treaties with foreign nations. Attend to them with vigilance, so that they may be realized in the shortest possible time!

(Signed) SUN WEN.