

LECTURE VI

LESSON XXV

THE government is a machine. It differs from a manufacturing machine in that the former is operated by human power, while the latter is operated by mechanical power. It is easier for material civilization to progress since machines run by mechanical force can be experimented with. Any shortcomings discovered by experiments may be corrected. Machinery formed of human beings cannot easily be experimented with. Even when experiments are made it is difficult to make improvements. Reform is sometimes only possible by means of revolution. We cannot scrap a human machine as easily as a manufacturing machine. Manufacturing machines of ten years ago, not to say of a hundred years, are now on the scrap pile. This shows the rapid progress of material civilization. Human machinery in the form of government has been experimented with for many thousands of times and yet how little progress it has made!

The invention of the engine affords us an interesting story. When the engine was first invented, the power of the machine could only

move the piston in one direction. When the piston was pushed forward it was to be pulled back by human force. The engine was used at first in cotton mills. For each engine a small boy had to be employed to pull back the piston. Engineers tried hard to improve the machine so that the pistons would come back of themselves, but failed.

It happened that in one cotton mill a number of boys pulling pistons were very lazy and they found the work too monotonous. One clever but lazy boy thought of a plan. He used a piece of cord and a rod which was fastened to the engine to pull back the piston automatically. This boy told the method to the other boys. With the aid of rods and pieces of cord the boys were able to leave the engines alone to do the work so that they could play all the time.

When the foreman found the boys playing, he was much surprised at how the engines could be made to work themselves. He reported his findings to the engineer. The latter was also surprised at the ingenious method devised by the children. He studied the method and improved it and finally perfected the engine so that the piston after being pushed forward would come back itself.

In a democratic government we have tried to make the machinery go, yet this machine goes

in only one direction. We have not yet found a method of pulling back the piston of this machine. As we do not have complete control of the machine, we are afraid to give it too much power. We now have engines with more than one hundred thousand horse power. An engine of such large power certainly cannot be controlled by the old method of pulling back the piston; but as we now have complete control of the engine, we can safely manufacture machines of high horse power. On some great steamships and men-of-war, engines with one hundred to two hundred thousand horse power are now in use. If one horse power is equal to the strength of eight persons, how could we then manage an engine of over ten thousand horse power if we had no method of control?

LESSON XXVI

IN DAYS of autocracy the emperor was the motive power. All the activities of a nation originated from him, so the larger power he had, the more dignified and majestic he was, the stronger would be his government. He could do whatever he wanted to. The increase of the power of the government was therefore entirely advantageous to the emperor. In the period of democracy the people are the motive power, and

the government, representing the people in ruling the nation, derives its power from the people. As the people have to control the government, they are afraid that when the power of the government should become too large, they might not be able to control it. They have thus in every way checked the growth of the power of the government.

This is similar to the time when the engine was first invented. The strength of the boy was too small to control an engine of large power. What we need in political machinery is the same power of control which we have in engines. A machine has the power to do work, but it is controlled by the engineer. A light operation can either start or stop the machine. Trains and steamers move and stop quickly at the will of the engineer. In political machinery, when the controlling method is perfected, the management will be just as simple. As soon as the people express their dislike, the government can no longer stand. When they show their confidence, the government is at once strengthened. At present, since power and ability are not separate, people's opinions are often neglected, and the actions of a government cannot represent strictly the wishes of the people.

Since we have adopted the republican form of government, we should try to introduce a system that is superior to Western methods, because

in the West the political machinery is still imperfect. Why should we merely pattern after the present form of Western government and later have another revolution to change that form of government? When Japan began to construct railways, she adopted the earlier, foreign system of narrow-gauge tracks and light-weight cars. She still has the old system. When we began to build railways we adopted the newest system. Our track is of broad gauge and the cars are heavy and spacious. Our railways are therefore much better. In adopting a form of government we should also adopt the best. In our new machinery we should separate power from ability. The machine should have the ability to perform work, but its control should be in the hands of an engineer.

In learning from the West we should limit ourselves to natural sciences and not politics and philosophy. We cannot say that because the progress of material civilization is great in the West, the advancement of politics and philosophy should also be rapid. Here is an interesting story to prove that there is a distinction. Newton was one of the leading scientists of England. He was most clever and well educated. He discovered the law of gravity. His discoveries have far-reaching influence on the recent development of sciences

in the West. So Newton was a superior genius in sciences, but was he as wise in other things ?

Besides laboratory experiments, he was greatly fond of cats. He kept a cat and a kitten. When they wanted to come into his laboratory, he always got up and opened the door for them, and when they wanted to go out, he did the same. The frequent interruptions interfered with his work, so he devised a means to allow them to come in and go out freely without the need of his opening the door for them. He told a carpenter to make two holes in the door, one small and the other large. The large hole was for the cat and the small one for the kitten. Was he clever ? A common person would know that one large hole would be enough for both the cat and the kitten. A hole that the cat could get through would suffice for the kitten. No additional small hole would be needed. But the wise scientist could not see it. Can a person then be wise in everything ?

LESSON XXVII

CHINA has been independent for thousands of years. She has developed her civilization and established her government without imitating foreigners. Her civilization excelled that of other countries until the last few centuries. So in perfecting the political machinery, it is not

necessary for us to follow foreigners. The method that I have suggested is new and is capable of solving the problem of democracy. When we start to build government machinery, we should separate ability from power.

In politics we have two contending forces,—one is the power of the people and the other that of the government. The former is the power of control, while the latter is the power to function. The power of the engine is similar to that of the government. It is the power to function. The power of the engineer is the same as the power of the people. It is the power of control. When the power of an engine is small and the speed of the boat low, the goods carried will be of a small quantity and the earnings will be limited; but when the engine is of high horse power and the speed of the boat is great, large quantities of goods can be carried, and the possible earnings will be large.

A steamer with an engine of one hundred thousand horse power can run twenty knots an hour. Plying between Shanghai and Canton it can make a round trip in two weeks, and earn one hundred thousand dollars. If a larger steamer were constructed with an engine of one million horse power and of a speed of fifty knots an hour, it would be able to run a round trip in one week, and earn one million dollars. Now, the quickest boats in the world have only a speed of twenty to thirty knots

an hour. If we could make a boat with a speed of fifty knots an hour, no boat would be able to compete with her. So should our new political machinery be of larger power than that of any other country and be perfectly controlled, then our country would surely be superior to foreign nations.

So far as population, territory, and resources are concerned, China should, at least, be able to become as strong as, if not stronger than, the United States; but at present she is much weaker. She has natural resources but no human work. Had she a strong government, capable of managing the whole nation, she could soon keep abreast with the United States.

When we have a strong government, we should not fear that the government might have too much power, because, according to our plan, we are going to divide the national power into two parts. One part of the power will be in the hands of the people, so that they can supervise the government. This is democratic power, the power of control. The other part of the power will be invested in the government for managing national affairs. It is executive power, the power to function.

When the people have full political power to supervise the government, there is no need for them to be afraid of the strength of the government.

We would not commit the blunders of the West should our government be like a machine and we the engineer.

When a machine is perfected, even an innocent child can control it. For instance, the electric light. Electricity is a most dangerous thing and, when not properly controlled, it is apt to kill any person. Now as the method of control is perfected, we can either continue or discontinue the current by a turn of the switch. The turn of a switch is so simple an action that even a child or an ignorant farmer can do it without danger.

The aëroplane is also a most dangerous machine. Many people have been its victims. Feng Ju was one of them. He was an engineer who manufactured aëroplanes. One day, when he was flying, the machine fell and he was killed. At that time nobody knew how to manufacture the machine, so he had to be both a manufacturer and an aviator. The early engineers were inexperienced. They thought that they had perfected the method of control of the aëroplane, but when they ascended into the sky they often lost control and fell to their death.

If aëroplanes could be made safe, many people would enjoy flying. Should we have enemies now both on land and on water, we could yet go from Canton to Szechwan, in spite of the long

distance, by taking aëroplanes. So the method of control is essential. Similarly, when we have perfect control, there can be no danger in giving large powers to the government.

In Switzerland a few new political rights have been introduced. They are direct democratic rights. These rights, though imperfect, are yet unknown to the great nations. The reason that the latter fail to recognize these rights is just the same as Japan's adoption of the narrow-gauge railway. They have been used to the old method, and it is not easy for them to make a change.

LESSON XXVIII

WHAT are the rights of democracy? First, the right to vote, which is now enjoyed by all democratic countries. But this power alone is not sufficient. As an old engine it cannot pull the piston back. Second, the power of recall. It gives the people power to pull back the piston. Should any of the public officials elected fail to measure up with the expectation of the people, the former could be recalled. Next in order is the power to make laws. When there are rulers, there must be laws. In what manner can we control laws? Should there be certain laws that would be beneficial to the people, the latter should

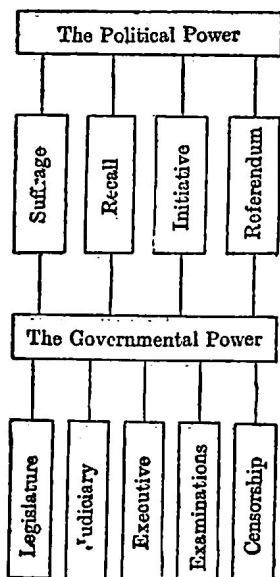
have power to initiate them and require the government to put them into force. This is the power of initiative. Should there be certain laws which are disadvantageous to the people, the latter should have the right to reject them. This fourth power is called referendum.

When people possess all these four rights, they may be said to exercise full sovereign powers and to have won complete democracy. At first, after the election of officials, the people had no more right to question the actions of such officials directly. This right had to be exercised through Parliament. It is an indirect power of supervision. It is insufficient. The people must enjoy all the four rights before a complete democratic government can be established.

How can we make our four hundred million the sovereign of China? It is through the invention of a faucet or a switch to control the government as we do water and electricity. These four powers are political switches. They can be used to control the government. The power of the government to execute business may be called the power to work, namely, the power of the government to work for the people. The government should do nothing except for the purpose of carrying out the will of the people, because the people have the right to stop the operation of the government at any moment they desire.

In an old battleship, if there were a dozen guns, many gunners would be needed to operate and control the guns. But in a new battleship, the distance of the enemy is measured by a surveying machine fixed at the top of the mast. The control of the guns is in the captain's room. It is connected by wire with the guns. There is no need of many gunners, but the captain may fire any gun or all the guns at once by pressing a button. This is direct control. When a machine can thus be controlled, it is safe.

FIGURE 4



If the people should have four democratic rights to supervise the government, what power should the government have? To have a complete organization and do good work, there should be a five-power constitution. With a five-power constitution the government will be able to do good work. An American student of politics recently announced an important principle. He said that the most dangerous thing in a country is an all-powerful government that cannot be controlled

by the people; but on the other hand, the most desirable thing is also an all-powerful government, that will obey the will of the people to promote national welfare.

The five powers that should be vested in the government are the executive power, the legislative power, the judicial power, the power of examination, and the supervisory power. Against the four political powers of the people at the top, are the five governmental powers below to insure a proper balance between the people and the government. With this balance of power we can solve the democratic problem.

LESSON XXIX

THESE nine powers are by no means new. Three of the political powers have already been carried out in Switzerland. In a few of the northwestern states in America the power of recall has been added to the power of suffrage. About one fourth of the American states have adopted the four political powers with satisfactory result. It will thus be perfectly safe for us to adopt these four powers, since they have been successfully experimented.

As to the powers of the government, they were formerly concentrated in the emperor. Since her independence, the United States has always

recognized the three separate governmental powers as described in her constitution, which apparently worked satisfactorily. Then, why should we have five separate powers? Where do we get the other two powers? These are the old powers which have existed in China for centuries. Their results have been very satisfactory. The censor system of the Ch'ing dynasty exercised an efficient supervision over public officials. It corresponds to the modern system of impeachment which exists in Western nations, except that the power of impeachment is not recognized as independent.

The examination system of China, in getting the best brains of the whole nation to rule the country, has been an old and efficient system. It was copied to some extent by England. Her civil officials are now examined. The examination power, however, is not truly independent as it was in China. So in China the legislative, judicial, and executive powers were formerly in the hands of the emperor, but the supervisory and examination powers were independent. Owing to the independence of these powers, autocracy was not so intolerable in China as in foreign countries.

Now, if we add these two good systems of supervision and examination to the Western system of three separate powers, we shall be able to produce an efficient government. For the

people we advocate the four political powers and for the government five separate governmental powers. Though the distinction may not always be easy, yet the separation should be made as definite as possible.

Some time ago a Chinese student who had returned from the United States called on me. "What do you think about my Three Principles?" I asked him.

"They are very good," he replied.

"What did you study in America?"

"I studied politics and law."

"What is your opinion on my proposed political powers?"

"The five-power constitution you have suggested seems to me to be very good. I think everybody will welcome it."

Now, although he was a student of politics and law, he did not answer my question right, because he did not know the distinction between the four political powers and the five governmental powers. The five governmental powers are the powers of the machine. They are used to do work. The four political powers are powers enjoyed by the people to control the governmental machine with a large horse power. These four powers are the four switches, with which we can control the national machine of government. On the other hand, the government must have five kinds of

power to carry out the wishes of the people. With such a balance of power, we can safely have a powerful government. There need be no fear because the people can have full control. When China has a strong government working for the welfare of the people, she will become a strong nation in the world.