

**The Nagani Project**  
**BOOK REVIEW: The Burmese version of Sun Yat-sen’s**  
**“The Three Principles”**

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**PART I**

**Introduction**

This book review is part of the Nagani Project initiated by Dr. Hans-Bernd Zoellner. It aims to research the work of the Nagani Book Club of colonial Burma. The original Chinese version of the book is known as “*San Min Chu-i*”. The English translation was done by an anonymous author and described by the publisher as a “Well-known Sinologue.” It was printed by the North China Daily News & Herald, Ltd. SHANGHAI in 1927. This book is just one among a series of books the Nagani Book Club translated into Burmese.

To participate in this research and to review the translated version of the book, Dr. Zoellner provided both, the English and Burmese versions. The English version consists of lectures given by Dr. Sun Yat-sen on Nationalism, Democracy and Social Welfare – all in a single volume. The translation into Burmese was done in three separate parts and published by the Nagani Book Club in 1938. The three separate books of the Burmese translations only dealt with the first two lectures of which the Lecture on Nationalism was translated by *Ba Cho (Dee Doke)* into one book under the title “လူမျိုးရေးတရား” and the Lecture on Democracy was separated and translated into two books titled “ပြည်သူ့ အာဏာနှင့်အင်္ဂလိပ်-အမေရိကန် အရေးတော်ပုံများ” (People’s Power and English-American Revolutions) and “ပြည်သူ့ အာဏာနှင့်ပြင်သစ်အရေး တော်ပုံ” (People’s Power and the French Revolution) by *Moe Gyoe* and *Thein Pe* respectively in 1938. The last part or Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s Lecture on Social Welfare was not translated into Burmese.

In order to review the books, the researcher thoroughly read all the translated versions as well as the translated English version including the last lecture, which was not translated into Burmese.

The reviewer of this book was born in 1948 after Burma gained Independence. In the early 1960s, the reviewer started reading political literature written in Burmese. I realized that when the Nagani Book Club began translations—during colonial times, Burmese political terminology was rather undeveloped. That is, Burmese political terminology has evolved a great deal since that time. So, reading these old texts was pleasing as well as interesting in that I was able to compare and track the evolution of political terminology.

As a person familiar with books written by Mao Tse Tung and the leftist views of the Chinese struggle for freedom during my younger days, I enjoy reading through Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s book for it fills my knowledge gap and at the same time allows me to compare the differing views and political concepts of the nationalist (Kuo-Ming Tang) leaders and the left wing Chinese (Communist Party).

It is also a great pleasure to contemplate on how the minds of the young Burmese readers could be influenced by these texts and one way or the other shape the future destination of our country - Burma.

## 1. A BRIEF COMMENT ON THE TITLES OF THE BURMESE VERSIONS

### 1.1. Lecture on Nationalism

“လူမျိုးရေးတရား”

Translated by Ba Cho (Dee Doke)

The first thing that attracts the reviewer’s attention is the translation of the word “nationalism” itself. The translator, U Ba Cho, used the Burmese word “လူမျိုးရေးတရား” which in contemporary political literature may be more appropriate for the English word “racism”. In other words, the title itself is, for contemporary readers, shockingly misleading since “racism” was not at all the subject, content or intent of the original text. The modern usage in our time, so to say, would be “အမျိုးသားရေးဝါဒ” to exactly translate the word “nationalism”. The Burmese word “တရား” is nowadays more associated with religious teachings or philosophies and for secular ideologies and thought the appropriate usage is “ဝါဒ” which stands for the English suffix “-ism”.

### 1.2.

#### LECTURE ON DEMOCRACY

“ပြည်သူ့ အာဏာနှင့်အင်္ဂလိပ်-အမေရိကန် အရေးတော်ပုံများ”

People’s Power and the English-American Revolutions

Translated by *Moe Gyoe*

and

“ပြည်သူ့ အာဏာနှင့်ပြင်သစ်အရေး တော်ပုံ”

People’s Power and the French Revolution

Translated by *Thein Pe*

In translating the word “democracy” *U Moe Gyoe* and *U Thein Pe* both used the word “ပြည်သူ့ အာဏာ” which means “people’s power” or “people’s authority”. Even though this Burmese word is the direct translation of the very meaning of the word “democracy” nowadays one would more often hear or see the Burmese using “ဒီမိုကရေစီ” (*de-mo-ka-ray-cy*) instead of saying or writing “ပြည်သူ့ အာဏာ”. One would not see so often such a direct adaptation of foreign words in the Burmese contemporary political literature. In other word the Burmese literature is rich with terminology of its own especially in political and social fields. Another word to be mentioned is the usage of “အရေး တော်ပုံ” for “revolution”. Nowadays the word “တော်လှန်ရေး” is often used to describe “revolution” even though the word “အရေး တော်ပုံ” is not rendered out of date. It is still used as part of political slogans such as “အရေး တော်ပုံ အောင်ရမည် ! ” (Victory to the Noble Cause!). Moreover, in contemporary Burmese political literature the word “အရေး တော်ပုံ” (the Noble Cause) is used to express the term “တော်လှန်ရေး” or “revolution” in its deepest sense. It is worth mentioning here that the word “တော်လှန်ရေး” itself is quite a new entity in Burmese

political literature; it was coined or first used by the well-known and respected modern Burmese writer, the late U Thein Pe Myint. In the olden days a similar word used was “တော်လှန်၊ ပုန်ကန်၊ ခြားနားသည်” which describes rebellion against the king, for instance. U Thein Pe Myint coined the word “တော်လှန်ရေး” to describe mass-based serious struggles for a noble cause or to bring about radical change for the whole nation or people – i.e. revolution - different from that of rebellion “တော်လှန်၊ ပုန်ကန်၊ ခြားနားသည်” against an aristocratic ruler mostly of personal feuds among the ruling elite as in the olden days and the motive behind these rebellions used to be for personal gain, authority or fame. Apart from the above mentioned Burmese political terms used in text titles, the content of the books warrant attention as well. However, doing so would be too lengthy. This review aims to focus on the political and social impact of the book; so it may be superfluous. At the same time, I believe that detailed analysis properly done by relevant scholars would be a valuable contribution to Burmese literature.

### **1.3. The Cover Description**

The following addresses the cover of the text written in Burmese designed to attract readers’ attention “လူမျိုးရေးတရား”

- The policy of a Chinese leader who, for forty years, worked for the emancipation of 400 million Chinese.
- A document of highest standard among the world literatures.
- Designated as school curriculum throughout China.
- The ethic that will change a slave nation into a master nation.

## **2. SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS**

### **2.1. Lecture On Nationalism**

“လူမျိုးရေးတရား”

Translated by Ba Cho (Dee Doke)

#### **2.1.1. The preface**

In the preface, the translator U Ba Cho describes political situations of the world and, specifically, the Chinese struggle for democracy. He also mentions a brief biography of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. First, the translator informs the readers about the two big crisis of the world after the World War ended in 1918 which was awaiting a final solution sooner rather than later:-

- 1) The conflict between the imperialist countries that are content (those countries whose wishes are fulfilled: England, America and France) and the imperialist countries that are discontent (those countries whose wishes are not fulfilled: Italy and Germany);
- 2) The conflicts between the imperialists and their subjects (oppressed peoples).

The translator further informed that: -

Among the imperialist countries that are vying for China, Japan’s situation is unique. Even though England gained superiority with its mighty global naval power, it needs to balance the ever rising naval power of the Americans in the Far East. To fill the power

vacuum it needs to help strengthen the naval power of Japan. Since 1894 England provided Japan with technology and know-how on building battleships. In 1902 to make up the naval strength needed to protect its own country, England signed a mutual defense treaty with Japan so that its imperial interests in East Asia would be secured with Japan's friendly naval strength at the rear. For this reason Japan became even more aggressive and daring than ever before in China despite its second class imperialist status. Even more so, Japan managed to promote herself to a first class imperialist status during the world war by strengthening herself economically and technologically while the European countries were occupied by fighting the war. America, which became one of the richest and most powerful countries after the war began to worry about the rising strength of Japan. It initiated a naval treaty to limit the naval power of the signatory nations that included America, Japan, the UK, Italy, Germany and France (*the translator mentioned about a nine-country treaty here.*) Worst still for Japan, the treaty also effectively restricted newly industrialised Japan's search for wider markets in China. So, Japan becomes a discontent imperialist nation. The contented imperialist countries tried to preserve the status quo and protect their own interests; to do so they co-operated against the discontent countries. Germany and Italy are now trying to expand their imperial ambitions into central Europe and Africa respectively and Japan aims to grab the whole of China. The English, who have befriended Japan for fear of the Americans, are realising Japan's ambition to kick all the "white" imperialists out of China. Ironically it has to have good relations with America for fear of the Japanese. The conflicts between these imperialists (both content and discontent) and the colonized people are becoming potentially explosive and these countries are accumulating weapons in preparation for the precedented world war that will break out soon. Can our country Burma simply stay away from such world conflicts? Are we going to waste our time focusing only on our internal affairs and ignore these world affairs? We need to first consider this point.

### **2.1.2. Looking forward**

The great war to be fought in the near future as the final solution of the second world crisis between the empire builders will take place in the pacific ocean and the countries in the East. \*A slave nation like India and a half-slave nation like China should not sit idle with folded arms. That will only lead them to end up with being transfered from one master's hand into another's or simply a change of colours on the world map. Both China and India are very much aware of this fact and for this reason they are consolidating the unity mong themselves and preparing to take an active part in the final solution of the world's second crisis. The unity they are building is not only confined to their internal unity but it is the unity of all those slave nations under various empires. Theses include 350 million Indians and 450 million Chinese and also the 200 million Russians who have already triumphed over imperialists-capitalists - the destroyers of world peace - and have established communism which is truly the poor people's road to riches. It is necessary for a country like Burma with a population of 14 million to take the strength from those 1000 million people to free themselves from the colonial yoke and the future of Burma is intertwined with the second crisis of the world. Even though the Burmese are ignorant at this moment they will definitely need to join the Chinese and Indians if they want to set themselves free from a slave nation status. The conflict is not only confined between imperialism and the oppressed people but also involving conflicts within the imperialist countries where struggles against capitalism to establish poor people's government is gaining momentum.....so the Burmese, who are dreaming of building a nation of a new era need to be prepared. At the same time it is important for them to educate and

equip the Burmese people with the spirits that are in harmony with the time..... and in this way one man's strength could become the strength of the whole nation.

Today the Irish leader *de Valera's* strength has become the strength of the Irish people. Likewise *Lenin's* strength become Russia's strength. *Mahatma Gandhi's* strength become the strength of India, *Dr. Sun-yat Sen's* strength has today been transformed into a powerful strength of the entire Chinese people. The emancipation of the whole of China from the notorious Manchu Kings and the successful establishment of the people's government was attributed to Dr. Sun-yat Sen and his policy enshrined in his book "The Three Principles" (ပြည်သူ့ တရားသုံးပါး).

FOOTNOTE as described in the Burmese version of the book, (in English), as below:-

"The storm centre of the world has shifted to ..... China" P.T. Moon's "Imperialism and World Politics".

"The scene has shifted away from Europe to the Pacific. The problems of the Pacific are ... The World's problems of the next 50 Years or more" General Smuta speech to the Imperial Conference in 1921.

### 2.1.3. Dr. Sun-yat Sen

Dr. Sun-yat Sen left two testaments (last will) - one for his family and another for the Chinese people. In his short testament to his family he mentioned that as he had dedicated his whole life to work for the interest of his country, he had no time to accumulate wealth for his wife and children.....except his house and some of his belongings.... He further instructed his children to carry on his work for the freedom of his country.

In his last will or testament to the Chinese people he urged them to follow his writings handed down to the people's representatives and other documents including "The Three Principles" and carry on the struggle for China's freedom. He also mentioned that from his forty years of experience he believed that for the Chinese people to reach their ultimate goals of freedom, they must arouse the people's awareness; united with those who treat them equally and form alliance with other nations struggling for freedom.

During his forty years of political activities, he had tirelessly worked to free China from the Manchu Kings and to establish people's government; to abolish all treaties signed between China and foreign empires which one-sidedly favoured the later; and to establish a modern China equal to the nations of the world.

China, like our country Burma, is also struggling to free herself from the yoke of foreign colonial empires. Dr. Sun-yat Sen also pointed out that all those struggling for freedom must form an alliance. India, Burma and China are neighbours and we all are facing the same fate and enemy. Sooner or later we all must form an alliance. Burma had been under one umbrella with India until 1937 so we are familiar with the political developments in India. There are many things we can learn from India's experience and we have done so. So, we also need to learn about China and its leaders.

After graduating from the school of medicine with the support of a [Christian] missionary and while working as a physician in Portuguese Macao Dr. Sun-yat Sen submitted a paper. It urged Peking for reformation. When the proposal was rejected (on the ground that the ancient Chinese way is superior to Dr. Sun-yat Sen's proposals of Western "barbarian" methods) he started to organize an armed revolt. When the plan was exposed, he fled to Honolulu, where his brother lived, and with financial support from his brother, he organised Chinese associations and started his political campaigns.

Once, while visiting England, he was lured by the Chinese Embassy and was secretly arrested. He was released when the incident was leaked to one of his former British lecturer who campaigned for his release. Many a time he clandestinely returned to China risking arrest or death and attempted ten times to start an armed revolution even under the big sum of reward the Chinese authorities had put on his head. The difficulties facing Dr. Sun-yat Sen in his relentless attempts to stage armed revolts against the Manchu Kings despite all the hardships and his courage and persistence were remarkable. Owing to such moral qualities he possessed Dr. Sun-yat Sen became one of the world's most reknown persons.

Even though he struggled to abolish the aged old system and to establish modern China by means of revolution, Dr. Sun-yat Sen clearly understood that there were many old ways that needed to be preserved. So all of us Burmese youth who are determined to modernize our country must also be prepared not to totally discard all things old but to preserve those old ways and methods for they continue to be useful.

After years of attempts to bring down the Manchu Kings to emancipate China the revolution started by Dr. Sun-yat Sen came to an end in December 1911. In 1912 dawned a new era for China. Dr. Sun-yat Sen was elected as the first president of Democratic China. The Manchu Kings gave up power when persuaded by one of their generals who eventually joined Dr. Sun-yat Sen's revolution. When this general asked Dr. Sun-yat Sen the post of presidency in return for his successful efforts to bring down the Manchu King he easily gave him his post for the sake of his country. After many years of carrying all the brunts of hardships on his shoulders and sacrifices, Dr. Sun-yat Sen was ready to sacrifice such a desirable positions—one he very much deserved. Further he even denied other lucratic positions offered to him. These examples were clear proof of Dr. Sun-yat Sen's firm principle not to pursue personal interests through politics and we Burmese should record this fact and take him as our model.

After the revolution, his brother from Honolulu asked him for a post of governor of the Canton province. He rejected outrightly stating that the province is a big province and this kind of position could only be given to a qualified person based on merit but not on feelings of gratitudes. His brother, in reciprocation, angrily submitted a financial bill he had offered to Dr. Sun-yat Sen during the long period of armed revolution. Dr. Sun-yat Sen had to get loan from friends to clear the bill of 20,000 dollars and for this reason he had no other belongings except the house his friends bought for him. When he died he died a poor man.

This is the first translation of "Nationalism," which is the first part of the book, "The Three Principles" written by Dr. Sun-yat Sen who possessed such a high moral qualities and as the events in China had not been so different from what happened to our country Burma. It is accepted that this book should serve as a handbook for the Burmese who are also struggling to build a new nation. Hence, the Nagani Book Club decided to publish this book. I am personally overjoyed in writing this preface with the knowledge and hope that this little work will serve as a foundation for the freedom and construction of modern Burma.

Ba Cho (Dee-doke)  
Rangoon 1938 (?)

Note: The above is an excerpted and rough translation of the preface written by the Burmese translator U Ba Cho.

Further on some interesting parts of the contents of the English version will be excerpted part by part for the purpose of presenting a cross section of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's views on various subjects. Though scholars may find some of his views questionable it is worth mentioning that these were the guiding principles in transforming the Chinese nation into a new era. The final part are my personal comments.

### **3.0. LECTURE ON NATIONALISM**

#### **3.1. The First Lecture on Nationalism**

On the Chinese People's historical **lack of Nationalism** Dr. Sun-yat Sen wrote:-

*The Chinese have always hold in highest reverence the ideas of The Family and of the Ancestors, but only these ideas, and not that of Nationalism. "Foreign observers say that the Chinese have no principle of cohesion. Why is this! Because most of them only think of the Family and Ancestors, and not of the Nation. This cohesion with reference to the Family and to Ancestors is very powerful, and they have always been ready to sacrifice even life itself, in order to preserve the ancestral unity, as may be seen in the feuds between any two clans in Kuangtung. No matter how much of property or life is given up, they are never willing to cease fighting. This is because of their inordinate attachment to the Ancestral idea. This having entered deeply into their life, they have been able to uphold it to the point of sacrifice. With reference, however, to the nation, there has never been one instance of such sacrifice. Therefore we see that the cohesion amongst the Chinese stops short at the Ancestral idea and has never extended to the nation as a whole. [Excerpted from Page 1]*

On the difference between **Nation and People**:-

*..... there is a distinct difference between the two. .... The best way is to discover first how the two have originated. In a few words we may say that the people are the product of the action of natural forces, and the nation is the result of military power. To illustrate this from the history of Chinese government, the Chinese say that the rule of the ancient kings, when right was might, followed the natural order of things. To put it another way, the natural forces are the royal rule of right, and the body politic formed by this rule is the people. On the other hand, military power is the rule of might rather than right, and the organization which results from it is the nation. This can be illustrated by the origin and growth of Hongkong. It did not originate because the many thousands of the people of Hongkong welcomed the British, but because the British used military force to obtain it.*

*.....Therefore we say that a community based on the rule of the ancient kings, the rule of right, with its inherent power, may be called a people, whilst a community based on military force and the strength of men is a nation. Such is the difference between a people and a nation. [Excerpted from Page 2]*

On the importance of **language in the formation of people**:-

*.....The third important factor is that of language. Supposing an outside tribe learns our language, they easily come under our influence, and by degrees become one with us as a people. On the other hand, if we learn the language of a foreign nation, we easily come under that nation's influence. If people have a common kinship and ancestry, and have the same language, they are more than ever open to transforming influences. So we see that language plays a most important part in the formation of a people. [Excerpted from Page 3]*

On **religion as a tremendous power in the making of a nation**:-

*.....When men worship similar deities, or believe in the same ancestry, they are able to form themselves into a people. Religion is a tremendous power in the making of a nation. Take for instance Arabia or Judea. These kingdoms have been defunct for a very long time, but the Arabs and the Jews remain to this day. The reason for their continued existence lies in their religion, although their kingdoms are no more. You all know that the Jews of the present day are to be found in all lands. Some of the most famous scholars of the world, such as Marx and Einstein, are Jews. Moreover, they hold, as capitalists, the chief financial power both in England and America. The Jews as a race are exceedingly intelligent and clever, and this fact, coupled with their religion, keeps them together as a nationality, although dispersed throughout many*

countries. The reason why the Arabs have also been able to preserve their nationality is because they are Mohamedans. [Excerpted from Page 3]

#### **On the importance of custom:-**

.....If a number of men unitedly observe any special customs, in process of time these customs bind them together as a people. So if we study the diverse branches of mankind we find that the reasons for their becoming distinct peoples are shown in the five forces above mentioned - kinship, mode of living, language, religion and custom. These five factors are evolved naturally and are not the outcome of conquest by military aggression. In comparing therefore these forces with military power, we are able to distinguish between what is a people and what is a nation. [Excerpted from Page 4]

#### **On the importance of understanding the principle of Nationalism:-**

...we must understand the principle of Nationalism; then we shall be able to flourish as a nation. But the Chinese only know a unity of family or of religion; they have no national spirit. Therefore, although the 400,000,000 constitute the Chinese nation, it is really a body without cohesion, and has become at the present time the poorest and weakest country in the world. We hold the lowest position in the community of nations.....and if we do not emphasize our character as a people, and consolidate ....into a strong nation, we are doomed to destruction. [Excerpted from Page 4]

#### **On the need to take Japan as a model:-**

.....The basis of the nation that has developed into the British Empire is the Anglo-Saxon race; their country is England and Wales, and they number only about 38,000,000. These may be called the pure British stock. They form the strongest nation in the world.

Here in the East is an island kingdom .....Japan, and its people have a distinct nationality. .... From the beginning of the nation they have never been conquered, not even by the Mongols when the Yuan Dynasty was in its might. Beginning a reform movement 50 years ago, they have developed into the strongest nation in Asia, and are on an equality with Europe and America, which to-day dare not treat them with impunity. We Chinese, however, though very much more numerous, are lightly esteemed by others, simply because they have emphasized the principles of Nationalism which we have not. Before Japan's reform, her authority was very weak ..... But because they possessed the national spirit, they were able to rouse themselves until they have become exceedingly powerful. In the space of 50 years they have developed from a weak into a strong nation. In order to make China strong, we must take Japan as a model.

To-day, because in Asia we have a powerful Japan, the white races not only dare not despise Japan, but dare not despise the people of Asia. So we see that now Japan has risen, and as a united people enjoys the honour and prestige of a first-class power, the other peoples of Asia may also be lifted into the position of highly exalted international relationship. Formerly we thought we could not accomplish the things that Europeans do, but now that Japan has been able to copy Europe, we are also able to copy Japan. Now that we know we can become like Japan, we also know that we can become like Europe. [Excerpted from Page 4 and 5]

### **3.2 The Second Lecture on Nationalism**

#### **On China's imperialism:-**

In the period of China's greatest might to which I have referred, she overawed all the surrounding nations; in South- Western Asia every country was proud to be called a feudatory state of China. At that time the imperialism of Europe had not appropriated land in Asia. Of Asiatic countries, China was the only one that was imperialistic, and in consequence all the small and weak states were afraid of her, dreading the use of her power to subdue them. Even up to the present, the small and weak states of Asia are not quite at ease with regard to China. Recently we held an important meeting of the Kuomintang in Canton, and Mongolia sent representatives to find out if our Southern Government was still intending to carry out an imperialistic policy with regard to the smaller State. When they had seen that the policy determined upon by the meeting was to support and help the small and weak States., without the slightest thought of any imperialistic aims, they manifested their approval, and were willing to unite in order to establish a great eastern nation. Not only did Mongolia agree with this idea, but all the other smaller states also. To-day the great European Powers are oppressing China by their imperialism and economic policy, and Chinese territory is gradually decreasing even from within the eighteen provinces we have lost a considerable amount. [Excerpted from Page 10]

### 3.3. The Third Lecture on Nationalism

#### On Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism:-

*Those who wish to be rulers of the world advocate this Cosmopolitanism, in order to bring the whole world under their sway.....Suppose some Chinese become British subjects or American citizens and help Britain or America to conquer China, then it will be said that we assent to the principle of Cosmopolitanism. Let me ask you, will our consciences be at rest? If we are not happy, it will be because of Nationalism. This being the cause of our unhappiness, we must see that Nationalism is the precious thing that makes men seek to preserve their own continuity. For instance, what does a scholar use by which to earn his living. It is the pen in his hand which is the instrument by which he lives. Nationalism is the implement by which men are able to exist. If this principle does not survive, when Cosmopolitanism is an accomplished fact, we shall not be able to continue and will be weeded out. .... [Excerpted from Page 21]*

*.....Let me illustrate by a story. ....Formerly there was a coolie who every day frequented the steamer jetties, taking a bamboo pole and two lengths of rope, with which he carried passengers' luggage. This was his daily occupation and means of livelihood, and before long he had saved up over ten dollars. At that time the Manila Lottery was being advertised, and he bought a ticket with the money. Being without a home this coolie had nowhere to keep his things, and of course no place for his ticket. His only means of livelihood were the bamboo pole and the two ropes and he carried them with him everywhere, so he placed the ticket inside the bamboo pole. Being unable to refer to it at any time, he committed the number firmly to memory, and constantly repeated it to himself. When the day of the announcement of the prizes arrived, he went to the Lottery Bureau to compare the numbers, and found that he had won the first prize, and gained 100,000 dollars. He was so delighted that he was almost beside himself. Realizing that henceforth he would be a wealthy man, and would have no more need of his pole and ropes, in his joy he threw them all into the sea.*

*To apply this illustration, let me say that the Manila Lottery ticket is the principle of Cosmopolitanism, by which to become wealthy. The bamboo pole is Nationalism, the means by which one gains a living. Gaining the first prize is like the time of China's greatest Imperialism developing into the principle of Cosmopolitanism. Our ancestors considered China to be the strongest country in the world, and so it was said, "There are not two suns in the sky, nor can there be two rulers of the people," and "The nobles of all kingdoms worship the emperor." They said that from, that time on the world would always be at peace. For ever afterwards they only needed to emphasize the idea of world dominion and require all nations to bring tribute, and henceforth there would be no need of any nationalism. Therefore they would take the bamboo pole and throw it into the sea. When it came to the time of conquest by the Manchus, not only were they unable to be masters of the world, but were not able to preserve their own little inheritance, and the nationality of the people was destroyed. This was like having thrown the bamboo pole into the sea.....*

*.....Nowadays the students who talk about the new culture, advocate this Cosmopolitanism, and consider that Nationalism is not in accordance with the tide of opinion in the world.*

*This argument, if advanced by Britain or America, even by our own ancestors, would be quite appropriate, but not at all fitting when coming from modern Chinese. Formerly Germany did not suffer from oppression; the Germans did not speak of nationalism, but only of world dominion. I think the Germany of today has nothing to say about world dominion, but much about nationalism. If our ancestors had not thrown away "the bamboo pole" we should have been able to regain "the first prize;" unfortunately it has been thrown away too long now, and we don't know whether "the lottery ticket" is inside or not. So as we have already suffered from foreign aggression, and economic pressure, and will afterwards be weeded out by the process of natural selection, there is nothing for us but loss of country and the extinction of our race [Excerpted from Page 22 and 23].*

### 3.4 The Fourth Lecture on Nationalism

#### On Self-Determination of the Peoples, Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism:-

*At the time of the war the American President, Wilson, uttered a dictum that met with universal approval. It was "Self-Determination of the Peoples."*

*Because Germany used military power to oppress the people of the Allied Commercial Nations, Wilson held that the might of Germany ought to be broken in order that the small and weak nations of the world should have opportunities of self-government; and this met with the world's approval. So the common people of India supported Britain, although that country had been already destroyed by her. But a great many of the small nations, hearing that Wilson had said that the war was for the liberty of the small and weak countries, very gladly assisted Britain in the conflict. The people of Annam, although conquered by France, and hating every day her despotism, assisted her during the war because they realize the justice of Wilson's policy. They sympathized with the small and weak States of Europe such as Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania, and so united with the Allied Powers to fight against the Confederate Nations [in the beginning made up of Germany and Austria; Turkey and Bulgaria joined later], because they had heard this dictum of Wilson's about the Self-determination of the Peoples. We Chinese were also encouraged by*

America to join in the war, and although we did not send troops, we let them have several hundreds of thousands of labourers to dig trenches and perform afterwar services. The Allied Commercial Powers [Servia, Russia, France, Britain and Japan; Italy and America joined later], having invented this excellent pretext, were able to influence all the oppressed countries, whether in Europe or Asia, to unite and help them to smash the Confederate Nations.

Wilson's policy at that time was to ensure the future peace of the world, and so he enumerated the Fourteen Points, the most; important of which was the right of each nation to self-determination. Before the result of the war was definitely decided, Britain and France were in cordial agreement with this policy; but after the war, when peace proposals were being discussed, Britain, France, and Italy, realizing that Wilson's policy of liberty for the nations was at variance with imperialistic advantage, when the Peace Conference opened used all sorts of methods to discredit Wilson's proposals. On account of this, the terms fixed by the Peace Conference were exceedingly unjust; the small and weak nations were not only unable to secure self-determination and liberty, but were oppressed to an even greater extent than before. From this we can learn that the powerful nations and strong peoples had already commandeered the entire globe; no matter what nation or country, all were to be exploited by them. They intended to secure permanently their coign of vantage, and not allow the weak nations to recover their position, so they daily advertised their **Cosmopolitanism**, saying that **Nationalism** was too narrow in its sphere; but really the **Cosmopolitanism** they manifested was only imperialism and aggression in another form.

Fortunately, Wilson's policy, having once been advocated, it was impossible to withdraw it, because each of the small and weak States, having helped the Allied Powers to destroy the Confederate Nations, hoped that after the war they would all be independent. By and by the results of the Peace Conference caused them to lose hope entirely. Then Annam, Burma, Java, India, and Oceania, along with Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and Egypt, and several small nations of Europe, all woke up to the fact that they had been fooled by the Great Powers in their advocacy of self-determination of the people, so, on their own initiative, they began to determine their own national status. [Excerpted from Page 25 and 26]

#### **On Russian Revolution:-**

The results of several years of fierce fighting in Europe showed that Imperialism was not yet destroyed.....What was left was still Imperialism, but from this conflict there emerged unconsciously a great hope for mankind. This hope was the Russian Revolution..... the Russian people, having passed through this experience of war, became wide awake. Russia was one of the Allied Powers.

.....Why did the Allied Powers attack Russia [now]? Because the Russian people had awakened to a new consciousness of things, and realized ,that their daily sufferings were entirely owing to Imperialism. Now in order to release themselves from their sufferings, there was nothing for it but the elimination of Imperialism, and the maintenance of the principle of self-government. All the other countries opposed this idea, so they united and sent troops to attack Russia. This principle held by the Russian people coincided with the principle advocated by Wilson; that is self-determination and liberty for the small and weak nations. After this idea of Russia had been widely made known, all the small States gladly assented, and unitedly sought self-government. Europe, having passed through the disastrous experiences of this great war, has not reaped much advantage as far as Imperialism is concerned; but the Russian Revolution is the outcome of it, and all mankind are now possessed of a great hope. [Excerpted from Page 26 and 27]

#### **On his disapproval of China joining the European war:-**

Let me tell you, .....another very interesting story. When the European war was at its fiercest ..... a British Consul came to the headquarters of the Commander-in Chief, to consult with me about the Southern Government joining with the Allied Powers and sending soldiers to Europe. I said to that British Consul, "Why do you want soldiers?" He replied, "I want you to fight Germany because that country has appropriated Chinese territory and seized Tsingtao. China ought to go to war in order to recover the territory. I said to him: " Tsingtao is very far from Canton; the nearest place to Canton is Hongkong. A little farther away are Burma, Bhutan and Nepal. To which country did such places as these formerly belong? Now you want to come and take Tibet. Just at this juncture, we Chinese have no power to take back territory. If we had the power perhaps we first recover the land taken from us by Britain. Tsingtao, which the Germans seized is very small; Burma is larger, but Tibet is larger still. If we take back territory, we ought to begin with the large places."....."Our civilization is more than 2,000 years ahead of you. We are waiting for you to catch up with us, but we shall not retreat or allow you to drag us back, because more than 2,000 years ago we discarded the principle of Imperialism and advocated peaceableness. Today the thoughts of the Chinese people are entirely directed towards this object. At the present time the standard which you have erected, and around which you are fighting, is that of peaceableness, of which you are so fond; but the real state of the case is that you are out for war, and not for peace; for Might rather than Right. In my opinion, your actions in upholding Might are extremely barbarous, so go on fighting; we shall

*not come in to help. We'll wait until you have had enough of it. Perhaps a day will come when you will really advocate peaceableness; when that day comes we, shall be on your side, all together seeking for the peace of the world. Moreover, I am opposed to China supplying troops, and for a very important reason, which is that I am very unwilling that China should become like you are, a strong nation that does not advocate Right. Suppose we accept your suggestion, and China joins the Allied Powers, you will send officers to China to drill our men. By the use of experienced officers, and the addition of the most effective weapons, in six months time you will certainly have produced some 300,000 to 500,000 trained soldiers, which you will send to Europe to conquer Germany. It will be a bad thing when that happens."*

*The Consul said, "Why will it be a bad thing?" I replied, "You have already been using many millions of soldiers for several years, and yet have not defeated Germany, and now you only need a few hundred thousand Chinese troops to beat her. Thus it will be possible to speak of the superior military qualities of the Chinese soldiers, and these few hundred thousand men will be able to infuse their spirit into the millions of trained troops. This won't be to your advantage in the least. Now Japan has joined in with you, and become one of the Great powers of the world. Her military strength dominates Asia, her Imperialism is the same as that of the Great Powers, and you are very much afraid of her. With regard to the population and wealth of Japan, they are not to be compared with those of China. Suppose we agree to your plan, and China joins with you; in less than 10 years she will have become like Japan. According to population and size of territory, she will have become at least equal to ten Japans. When that time comes, you, with all the might of the world, will not be sufficient for even one fight with us Chinese. But because we have progressed 2,000 years ahead of you, and rid ourselves of the barbarous fighting spirit, at the present time we really are a peaceable nation. I hope that China will always hold fast to the principles of peace; therefore we are unwilling to enter into this present great war."*

*That British Consul, who half an hour previous almost wished to fight with me, after he had heard what I had to say emphatically agreed, and moreover said, "If I were a Chinese, my ideas would certainly be the same as yours." [Excerpted from Page 28 to 30]*

### **3.5 The Fifth Lecture on Nationalism** **On restoring Chinese Nationalism:-**

*Being now the slaves of all Nations.....if we cannot devise any method of restoring our nationalism, not only will the Chinese nation be destroyed, but also our race, therefore in order to save China we must devise some effective method of recovering our nationalism.....China has been conquered because she did not know that she was in danger of being conquered; if she had known at first, the probability is she would not have succumbed. The ancients said, "If there are no enemy countries and outside disturbances, the nation is permanently lost." They also said, "Many distresses make the State prosperous." ..... if we want to restore our nationalism we must know that China at the present time is a country with many distresses, and that we are in a helpless condition. Knowing that we have already lost our nationality, we must seek to recover it. If we do not really know that we need to regain our nationalism then we are for ever without hope, and before long the Chinese race will be eliminated. [Excerpted from Page 31 to 32]*

*Knowing this, we must proclaim it in all quarters, and tell everyone that we Chinese are already in such a position that we cannot escape the destruction of our own nation. When everybody has learnt this, what ought we to do? The proverb says, "When the beast is cornered it will fight." When we are pressed to the point where there is no escape, we must rouse up and risk our lives to fight the enemy. When we arrive at that juncture, shall we be able to fight? Yes, certainly. But it will be only if we realize that our end is near, and death is certain.*

*Therefore to advocate Nationalism, our 400,000,000 must know that their end is near, and not only be cornered like the beast, but fight as well. We who are about to die, shall we fight or not? Gentlemen, you are scholars, soldiers, politicians, all with keen minds, and you must let our 400,000,000 people know that they are in great peril. If they do not learn this, we shall not be able to recover our nationalism.*

*Foreigners constantly say that Chinese are only sand. As far as the nation is concerned, the Chinese are only sand, they are not a corporate body. But apart from nationality, is there no other principle of cohesion? I have already said that the Chinese have a very great solidarity in family matters and in religion; with reference to these things their ideas are very profound. For instance, if Chinese meet anywhere on the road, and have a chat, asking each others' names and the like, as soon as they know they have a common ancestry they become very friendly, and acknowledge their special relationships. To apply this in a wider sense we shall have, instead of the family principle, the principal of nationality. We who have lost our nationalism must become a corporate body, and that an extensive one, in order to recover it. To form such a corporate society we need a nucleus, and that can be obtained by uniting.*

*The nucleus that we can best make use of is that of common ancestry or kindred, and in addition to it that of the family. Chinese ideas about the family are also very profound. If the members live in the same province the same town or village, it is especially easy for them to join together. In my opinion, if we take these two factors of kindred and family as a nucleus, we shall find it quite easy to unify the whole of the nation. In order to attain this object everyone must so act, and by so doing our nationalism will be restored.*

*We shall find this easier than it would be for foreigners, because they make the individual the unit. Their laws with relation to the rights of father and son, brother and sister, husband and wife, are all for the protection of the individual. In a law-suit no questions are asked about family circumstances, but simply whether the individual is in the right or wrong. Again, a multiplicity of individuals makes the nation; but between the individual and the nation there is no strong widespread bond of society; therefore in the relationships between the individual and the nation, foreign countries are not equal to China. This is because in China much is made of the family apart from the individual. If any trouble arises, the person responsible is the head of the family. ....*

*According to my opinion, in the relationship between the people of China and the nation, we have first the family, then the common ancestry, and finally the nation. This arrangement is one of a series of gradually enlarging classes, dearly defined, and the mutual relationship between each is very real. If we take the clans as units, and reform the organization, joining them altogether into a nation, it will naturally be much easier to unite a larger number than in foreign countries where the unit is the individual. If in a country the individual is a unit, then at the least you have several millions of units. For instance, in China there are 400,000,000 units, and to unite this great number of units is of course very difficult. If we take the clan as the unit, according to common parlance the people of China all arrange themselves under the Hundred Family Names, which have been used for many generations. Each name may represent a different ancestor, but there are probably more than 100 clans, though not more than 400, and each clan must be connected in some way or other.*

*For instance, each genealogical tree ranges from a few tens of generations of ancestry to several hundred generations. To trace these back several thousands of years, the first ancestral families were mostly formed from families of another name. There are very few who can trace their names back to very ancient times. This old method of tracing back the ancestry of persons has obtained in China for thousands of years and is very reliable, but is considered of no use by foreigners. Unfortunately this idea of the worship of ancestors, having for thousands of years been in the minds of the Chinese, they have not troubled about the destruction of the nation, only considering that to whoever was Emperor they should pay their taxes. If, however, the clan was in danger of destruction, it meant the breaking of the ancestral line, and they couldn't help but fight.*

*In Fukien and Kuangtung many family feuds take place between people of different names over slight wrongs, either from a sense of obligation or for private reasons. Much sacrifice of money and life is made in these angry disputes, but though the thing itself is barbarous, the principle can be applied. If they only realized the foreign oppression of the present time, they would know that before long the people will be destroyed. When the people are destroyed the family will not be able to survive.*

*For instance, to-day, the line of ancestry of the Miao and Yao aboriginal tribes of China is already broken. If we do not enlarge our outlook and unite, the strength of our different clans to form a nation, in order to resist foreign countries, some day our ancestral line will be broken in the same way as that of the Miao and the Yao. If we do, we can alter our clan fights to fights with outsiders, and all our barbarous feuds will cease. Secondly, the fear of extermination will make it easy to combine, and we shall become an exceedingly strong country, using the clan as the basis from which to expand to a nation. ....*

*.....For instance, if those who are of the Chen family, living according to their original organization in a village or town or province, only unite with others of the same name, I think that in two or three years those who are called Chen will constitute a vast corporation. When every family has in this way formed itself into a great association, then they are mutually unite with other families that are closely connected, and form a great many very large communities. Then let each great family association know that calamity is upon them and death is near, and they will unite and form the great organization of the Chinese National Republic.*

*When we have this national corporation, what outside evils shall we fear then? Shall we be afraid that the State will not flourish? The History Classic speaks of the time of Yao in this way: "He made illustrious his exalted virtue, to show an example to the nine tribes. When they were at peace, the people were also quiet.*

*The people manifesting their goodness, all the States were also united." This constant harmony of the black-haired people was owing to his wise rule in regulating the family, which gradually extended to the populace, and eventually to the whole country.*

*Was not this unification of the Chinese, by which the clans became the nation in order to maintain its position and ward off outsiders a good example? If we do not begin from the 400 clans rather than the 400,000,000 people, our people who are merely sand will not know how to unite. Formerly the Japanese: established their great united nation by the use of the nobles and aristocracy, and this method is similar to that which I advocate of uniting clans in China. If everyone realized that we are an oppressed nation and already in a hopeless case, and each family and clan united until we had formed ourselves into a huge national organization, we should have an actual method by which to oppose foreigners. Just now we have no method because we have no corporate unity. If we had, it wouldn't be difficult to resist foreigners.*  
[Excerpted from Page 34 to 36]

### **3.6 The Sixth Lecture on Nationalism On reviving ancient Chinese virtues:-**

*Not only must we revive our ancient virtues, but all our native wisdom. Since the Manchu conquest, our 400,000,000 have been asleep; not only have our virtues slumbered, but also our intelligence. To restore our national spirit, we must not only wake up ethically but also intellectually. But what special wisdom has China? Speaking of the nation, China has had from ancient times a very fine philosophy of government. We think that the countries of Europe and America have recently progressed rapidly, but their new culture is not equal to our philosophy of government. China has a system that the statesmen of foreign lands do not know nor understand. It is that contained in the "Great Learning," which, starting from the investigation of things, proceeds to the rectification of heart and life, thence to the regulating of the family and finally to the pacification of the empire. It means the manifestation of the inner man, beginning with his thoughts and motives and ending with his actions in the rule of the empire. This theory, which goes into such particulars of development, has never been noticed by foreign statesmen. It is the most precious thing in our philosophy of government and must be preserved. Its sphere is that of morality, but it also has to do with intellect. Our ancestors carried it out, but lost the spirit of nationalism, and in so doing also lost sight of its intellectual worth, so today it is merely a matter of empty talk and not real wisdom.*

*.....Foreigners seeing that we can not govern our country, have undertaken to do it for us.*

*How is it that we cannot govern our nation? 'Where have foreigners got this idea? In my view they probably have not understood our family system, but with regard to personal cultivation we Chinese are certainly very faulty. Chinese in their actions are very careless; you can see that at once. The impression made by Chinese on foreigners who have lived 20 or 30 years in the country, or on famous professors of philosophy like Bertrand Russell, who have a broad outlook, is that the civilization of China is superior to that of Europe and America, and they extol China. But ordinary foreigners say that China is uncivilized. This is because we have paid so little attention to the cultivation of the person, and made no effort to excel in these ordinary things. For instance, when Chinese first went to America they were treated by the Americans as equals, with no difference whatever. Afterwards the Americans would not allow Chinese to live in large hotels, and would not allow them to eat in the restaurants. This was because Chinese had no manners.*

*Once I was eating with an American captain on his ship, and he told me that on his last voyage a Chinese envoy who travelled with them went spitting about all over the ship, even on the costly carpets, which was a beastly thing to do. I asked him what he did about it? He replied, "I could do nothing but wipe up the mess in his presence with my silk handkerchief; but even whilst I did this it made no impression on him." Now most Chinese do the same sort of thing, and from this you can see that they are all lacking in personal manners. Formerly Confucius said he would not sit down except in a correct position, and thus we see that he paid most particular attention to the cultivation of the person. The Sung scholars were even more careful with regard to this question; but present-day Chinese don't trouble about it. There are other things; even more unpleasant, but I hope that our countrymen will alter. They must look upon this cultivation of personal manners as most important; then foreigners will have more respect for us. You young gentlemen of China ought to copy foreign civilization, and first of all attend to personal cultivation before you think of regulating the family or the State.....This being achieved, we shall restore our national, spirit and position.*

*Apart from intelligence we also have our own natural ability. When the Chinese see how foreign machinery has developed and how science has progressed, they think that their cleverness is not equal to that of the foreigners. But what sort of ability had we thousands of years ago? Then it was much greater*

than that of foreigners. The most important things seen in foreign lands were all first seen in China. For instance, in the world of navigation, the compass cannot be neglected for a single moment, but this compass was first invented in China several thousands of years ago. If the Chinese had no ability then, the compass would not have been produced. We have had it for many years, and it is now used by foreigners, so we can see that the natural ability of the Chinese is greater than that of the foreigners. Then again, amongst civilized men a very important thing is printing. The improved machinery of foreigners can produce in one hour tens of thousand of newspapers, but the origin of the printing machine was in China. Then, again, porcelain, which in common use amongst men, was first produced in China, and is a speciality which foreigners copy but which they cannot make as well. The smokeless powder used in warfare today is an improvement on the old smoky powder which was first discovered in China. Foreigners know how to use these inventions of the Chinese, so today they are very powerful.

Then as to food, clothing and all the necessities connected with dwelling and locomotion enjoyed by mankind, these were all formerly produced by us. Take, for instance, things to drink. The Chinese produce tea, which is a world-wide necessity. All civilized countries use it as a substitute for wine, and whilst it prevents drunkenness it is also beneficial. As to clothing, a foreigners look upon silk-woven garments as the best, and the number of silk wearers increases every day. Clothes made from silk were first produced in China thousands of yars ago As to dwelling-houses, those erected by foreigners are naturally very fine, but the original idea of building houses and the necessary accessories all came from China. For instance, the arch was first used in China. As to locomotion, foreigners think that the swinging chair is a new invention, but those who have penetrated to Szechuan of Tibet have seen Chinese carried over mountains of rivers by this method. Formerly those who had not seen the Chinese hanging chair thought it a foreign invention but when seen, the credit was attributed to China. From this we can gather that the ancient Chinese were not without ability. But having lost this ability, our national position has gradually declined. To regain this position we must restore our own native ability.

In copying foreign countries we must keep ahead of them and not merely follow. For instance, in the study of science, if we start level with them, we can save 200 years of time. In our present position, if we still keep on sleeping and make no effort to restore our nationalism, not only will our nation be destroyed, but the race will be exterminated. Now that we are in the stream of world movements and can learn the best things that foreign countries have, we are able to do them even better than they as we say, "The last shall be first." Although we have up to the present been a few hundred years behind, yet we only need a few years more to forge ahead.

Japan is a good example. Japan's civilization was originally delivered from China, and was on a much lower level, but recently she has copied solely the civilization of Europe and America, and in a few years has become one of the Great Powers of the world. I think that Chinese intelligence and ability are quite equal to Japanese, and from this time on we shall find it easier than they did to copy Europe and America, so this next ten years will mark a crisis. If we wake up like Japan and get back our national position, in ten years time we can be free from the political, economic and numerical pressure of foreign countries, and from all sorts of evils. Japan has only needed a few tens of years to become one of the Great Powers, but our population is ten times as great, our territory 30 times as large, and our sources of wealth much greater. If China copied Japan we could be equal to ten Great Powers; and the world at present has only five: Britain, America, France, Japan, and Italy. Even if Gernany and Russia recover their status, there will only be six or seven powerful countries then. If China can only copy Japan, it only needs our one country to become equal to ten powerful nations, and when that time comes we shall have recovered our original premier position.

But how is China to reach this premier position? In ancient times China always advocated "the aid of the weak and the uplifting of the fallen," and because of this wise policy of government, was a strong nation for thousands of years. The small kingdoms of Annam [Vietnam], Burma, Korea and Siam were able to keep their independence. But now that European influences have penetrated the East, Annam has been destroyed by France, Burma by Britain, and Korea by Japan. Therefore, if China can become powerful once again, we shall not only recover our position, but will also have to assume a great responsibility for the world. If China cannot take that responsibility, then a strong China will be amenance and not a blessing. [excerpted from Page 37 -40]

#### **4.0 ASSESSMENT**

The following is my personal assessment on the translated version of the book titled “လူမျိုးရေးတရား” which is one part of Dr. Sun-yat Sen’s “The Three Principles”

In choosing to translate the “Lecture on Nationalism” because I believe the Nagani Book Club made a right choice at a right time. For the young Burmese readers of that time

(1938 - 1940s) the book would have been a very exciting and inspiring one leading or helping them to deeply think further about their country's destiny. They were facing almost the same situation as China under colonial powers. Many a time Dr. Sun-yat Sen urged the Chinese to learn from the West but on many occasions whenever appropriate he also pointed out the differences between the two cultures and histories and why and how it would be irrelevant to copy or adopt the Western ways. Dr. Sun-yat Sen's ability to analyze and differentiate what to learn and what not to adopt from the West is truly remarkable. Even though Japan was seen as one imperial power with the ambition to enslave China, Dr. Sun-yat Sen praised Japan It learned from the West and tried to reach the stage of a modern developed country equal and respected by the West. He urged the Chinese people to take Japan as an example and to learn from them. However, when it comes to imperialism he disapproved of Japan's aggressive ambitions towards other countries after strengthening herself by acquiring knowledge from the West.

As made clear in the preface written by the translator U Ba Cho, the book was aimed to inspire young Burmese leaders to take example from the Chinese experience and take Dr. Sun-yat Sen as their role model. But when it comes to moral quality it is very rare to find political or military leaders with dignity and integrity comparable to Dr. Sun-yat Sen among the Burmese with the exception of General Aung San, the Burmese national hero. Nepotism and corruption has been rampant among the Burmese leaders especially since the military rule began in 1962. Different from Dr. Sun-yat Sen, who could outrightly say "no" to his brother when the later asked for political favour, it is common to hear about the wives of Burmese leaders (military or civilians) yielding powers or reaping the fruits of their husband's political or military positions and taking advantages from their kitchen back doors to line their own pockets. It is nepotism at best!

Even though no two countries can be exactly the same, there were a lot of similarities and many of the political ideas and principles laid down in these lectures of Dr. Sun-yat Sen could be directly or indirectly adopted. On the other hand it was also equally dangerous for the young Burmese leaders of that time to have overlooked some important facts that were fundamentally and historically totally different or dissimilar and fall on the mistake of adopting ideas or principles that may be irrelevant for Burma. More of these will be covered later in Part II and III.

Burma, India and China – the three neighbouring countries had faced the same fate and the same enemy to fight against at that time – i.e. imperialism. In order to liberate their people and their countries, the political leaders of these countries made tremendous sacrifices and remain to this day as exemplary leaders. Aung San of Burma and Mahatama Gandhi of India and China's Dr. Sun-yat Sen all died as poor men and all three of them are most revered and respected not only by their own people but also by the outside world as men of dignity and integrity.

The Burmese translator of the "Three Principles" wrote in the preface that "India, Burma and China are neighbours and ....are facing the same fate and enemy" and highlighted the fact that "Dr. Sun-yat Sen also pointed out that all those struggling for freedom must form an alliance." Contrary to this in the course of history, the three countries struggled in their own ways and all gained independence after World War II. The Burmese, different from the Chinese first learned military skills from Japan and later switched sides and formed an alliance with Britain to kick out the Japanese and eventually secured Independence for the country.

Even though he struggled hard to abolish the aged old system and establish modern China by means of revolution, Dr. Sun-yat Sen clearly understood that there were many old ways that need to be preserved. Likewise the Burmese youth who are determined to modernize our country should also be prepared not to totally discard all things old but to preserve those old ways and methods that are still useful or progressive in the modern day.

Dr. Sun-yat Sen's true spirits of revolution and sacrifices were vividly displayed when he handed over the position of the first president of democratic China to the Chinese general who joined him during the last moments of the struggle for freedom from the Manchu King. He even denied other lucrative positions offered to him. These examples were clear examples of Dr. Sun-yat Sen's firm principle not to pursue personal interests through politics and we Burmese should record this fact and take him as our model.

Other than that I have excerpted heavily from the English version those parts I feel need more attention to analyse the core political thinkings of Dr. Sun-yat Sen and to better understand the Chinese struggle for freedom.

**END of PART I**

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**Book Reviews on the other Lectures of Dr. Sun-yat Sen will be continued and described separately as follow:-**

**PART II**

**LECTURE ON DEMOCRACY**

”ပြည်သူ့ အာဏာနှင့်အင်္ဂလိပ်-အမေရိကန် အရေးတော်ပုံများ”

People's Power and the English-American Revolutions

Translated by *Moe Gyoe*

**PART III**

**LECTURE ON DEMOCRACY**

“ပြည်သူ့ အာဏာနှင့်ပြင်သစ်အရေး တော်ပုံ”

People's Power and the French Revolution

Translated by *Thein Pe*