

「獨立評論」中有關三民主義的討論

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獨立評論發行於1932年迄1937年，是由胡適主編的一份政論雜誌，主要的撰稿人是來自北京大學、清華大學的教授。1930年代是中國國民黨訓政的時代，也是中日關係緊張的時代，獨立評論的主要撰稿人大都站在自由主義的立場，對當時的憲政、外交、經濟、教育等等問題提出評論，本文只是在分析他們對三民主義的看法。

孫中山晚年提倡的「反帝」運動，在1920乃至1930年代蔚為風潮，胡適、蔣廷黻則認為反帝口號不切實際，中國人應該反省自己文化上、政治上的弊病，在胡適的心目中，批駁固有文化與他的民族主義信仰毫不衝突。關於統一中國應以武力或和平的方式為宜，獨立評論中頗有爭議，這方面的主張大抵與民主、獨裁的立場有關。在民權主義方面，胡適、張佛泉、蕭公權對「訓政」的批評不遺餘力，陳之邁對「五院制」的批評亦值得注意，不過自獨立評論中看不出明顯的替代方案，因為他們相信政制沒有絕對的標準，只有此時此地的標準。民生主義方面，對於1930年代中國是否適行「統制經濟」亦有爭論，主張獨裁的丁文江認為中國尚沒有施行「統制經濟」的條件；對於農民問題，原則上「耕者有其田」無人反對，但是對於地主與佃農的負擔輕重則各有證據，看法不一。以上種種，隱約可以看出自由主義者對各種問題的一貫立場。

一、前言

二、民族主義方面

- (一)不倡「打倒帝國主義」
- (二)統一的方略與均權制度
- (三)固有文化與民族自信心

三、民權主義方面

- (一)檢討訓政論
- (二)對五權憲法的批評

四、民生主義方面

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The Discussions Related to San-min-chu-i in *Independent Critic*

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Abstract

Independent Critic, published from 1932 to 1937 and edited chiefly by Hu Shih, was a weekly magazine of political comment, and the main contributors were the professors of National Peking University and National Tsing Hua University. The 1930s was not only a time of KMT's tutelage but also a time of tension between China and Japan. The main contributors of *Independent Critic* stood on the position of liberalism, criticizing the problem of constitutionalism, diplomacy, economy, education, etc. at that time. But this article only concentrated to analyze their views about "San-Min-Chu-I".

In Sun Yet-sen's late years, he promoted "anti-imperialism", which did become the trend from the 1920s to the 1930s, but Hu Shih and Chiang Ting-fu thought the slogan of "anti-imperialism" impractical and that Chinese should have had self-examinations of their cultural and political weakness. In Hu Shih's mind, to criticize the traditional culture did not conflict with his belief of nationalism. There were controversies in *Independent Critic* about whether it was better to unite China by force or in a peaceful way, and this kind of controversies to some extent were originally related to the different standing of democracy or dictatorship.

Hu Shih, Chang Fo-chüan, and Hsiao Kung-chuän did their best to give criticism about the theory of tutelage on Min-Chuän-Chu-I (democracy), and the criticism of five-yuan system given by Chen Chih-mai was worth mentioning, but it was difficult to find an obvious replaceable design in *In-*

dependent Critic, because they believed that, with regard to political systems, there wasn't any perfect and unique standard but the standard at the right time and in the right place.

As for the respect of Min-Sheng-Chu-I (socialism), there were controversies in whether China was suitable to perform "controlled economy" in the 1930s. Ting Wen-chiang, who advocated dictatorship, thought that there was not the condition for China to perform "controlled economy" yet. Regarding the tenant farmers' problems, there was no objection to "land to the tiller" in principle, but there were different evidences and views about the degree of burdens between land-owners and tenant farmers. This means that, they were searching for a reformative way rather than a revolutionary way to resolve countryside problems. From the above, the consistent standing of the liberalism to the various problems seems to be found.