"He who uses force in the place of virtue is a *pa*. He who is virtuous and practices human-heartedness is a *wang*. When one subdues men by force, they do not submit to him in their hearts but only outwardly, because they have insufficient strength to resist. But when one gains followers by virtue, they are pleased in their hearts and will submit of themselves as did the seventy disciples to Confucius." (*Mencius*, IIa, 3.)

This distinction between wang and pa has always been maintained by later Chinese political philosophers. In terms of contemporary politics, we may say that a democratic government is a wang government, because it represents a free association of people, while a Fascist government is that of a pa, because it reigns through terror and physical force.

The sage-king in his kingly government does all he can for the welfare and benefit of the people, which means that his state must be built on a sound economic basis. Since China has always been overwhelmingly agrarian, it is natural that, according to Mencius, the most important economic basis of kingly government lies in the equal distribution of land. His ideal land system is what has been known as the "well-field system." According to this system, each square *li* (about one third of a mile) of land is to be divided into nine squares, each consisting of one hundred Chinese acres. The central square is known as the "public field," while the eight, surrounding squares are the private land of eight farmers with their families, each family having one

square. These farmers cultivate the public field collectively and their own fields individually. The produce of the public field goes to the government, while each family keeps for itself what it raises from its own field. The arrangement of the nine squares resembles in form the Chinese character for "well", which is why it is called the "well-field system." (Mencius IIIa, 3.)

Describing this system further, Mencius states that each family should plant mulberry trees around its five-acre homestead in its own field so that its aged members may be clothed with silk. Each family should also raise fowls and pigs, so that its aged members may be nourished with meat. If this is done, everyone under the kingly government can "nourish the living and bury the dead without the least dissatisfaction, which marks the beginning of the kingly way." (*Mencius*, Ia, 3.)

It marks, however, only the "beginning," because it is an exclusively economic basis for the higher culture of the people. Only when everyone has received some education and come to an understanding of the human relationships, does the kingly way become complete.

The practice of this kingly way is not something alien to human nature, but is rather the direct outcome of the development by the sage-king of his own "feeling of commiseration." As Mencius says: "All men have a mind which cannot bear [to see the suffering of] others. The early kings, having this unbearing mind, thereby had likewise an unbearing government." (*Mencius*, IIa, 6.) The "unbearing mind" and feeling of commiseration are one in Mencius' thought. As we have seen, the virtue of human-heartedness, according to the Confucianists, is nothing but the development of this feeling of commiseration; this feeling in its turn cannot be

developed save through the practice of love; and the practice of love is nothing more than the "extension of one's scope of activity to include others," which is the way of *chung* and *shu*. The kingly way or kingly government is