A Study of the Influence of the Chinese Rhetorical Tradition on Current Speeches by Chinese speakers in the Republic of China

Jian Koh-cheng

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A STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHINESE RHETORICAL
TRADITION ON CURRENT SPEECHES BY CHINESE
SPEAKERS IN THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

BY

JIAN KOH-CHENG

A thesis submitted
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree Master of Arts, Major in
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1984
A STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHINESE RHETORICAL
TRADITION ON CURRENT SPEECHES BY CHINESE
SPEAKERS IN THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

This thesis is approved as a creditable and
independent investigation by a candidate for the degree,
Master of Arts, and is acceptable for meeting the thesis
requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis
does not imply that the conclusions reached by the
candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major
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Jian Koh-cheng
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

No one word in the Chinese language bears the exact meaning of the word, "rhetoric," as defined by ancient Western orators. However, rhetorical concepts have existed in and been applied by Chinese people. Rhetorical models and instruction exist in Cong-Meng philosophy and have influenced communication among the people. This study is designed to isolate rhetorical concepts from Cong-Meng philosophy and to determine the influence of that rhetorical tradition on current speeches by Chinese speakers in the Republic of China.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to determine the nature of the rhetorical tradition in China and its influence on the current rhetorical situation in the Republic of China. Speeches delivered from 1975 to 1983 were examined to see whether this tradition still influences speakers. This study sought to find the relationship of Chinese traditional rhetoric to modern rhetoric in the ROC. Answers to these questions were sought:

1. What is the rhetorical tradition of China as found in the philosophy of Confucius and Mencius?
2. Does this rhetorical tradition still influence speakers in Taiwan, Republic of China?

To answer these major questions, the following questions were considered.

1. What rhetorical concepts are found in the ideas of Confucius?
2. What rhetorical concepts are found in the ideas of Mencius?
3. To what extent does the Chinese rhetorical tradition include concepts similar to the Western rhetorical tradition?
4. Does an examination of the speeches of modern speakers in Taiwan, Republic of China, reveal the influence of traditional Chinese rhetorical concepts?

**Origin and Justification of the Study**

Confucius and Mencius tried to put their idealism to practical use in their ages but they did not succeed under the situations of those days. Yet, by the way of peripatetic rhetoric and education they had tremendous impact on the society. Their rhetoric emerged from some ten schools of thought and still has influence. Its structure has not been formalized.

My father taught Chinese literature and Chinese culture emphasizing Cong-Meng learning for thirty years until his death. His teaching and his efforts to live the ideals
which he taught had great impact on his own community and
the culture of central Taiwan. He was recognized as a
great man and was called "The Sage of Tsao Tun." After
his death people built a hall and made a statue in memory
of him. This, again, makes me want to know the answers to
questions this study will investigate.

In recent years, the Republic of China in Taiwan
stands stably in the torrent of the international situations.
The traditional rhetoric may have influenced the rhetorical
situation from 1975 to 1983 in Taiwan. This study attempted
to clarify any such influence.

An examination of research materials available
justifies a study of the influence of the Chinese rhetorical
tradition on current speeches.

Justification of the Study Through Examination
of Cong-Meng Philosophy

A reading of the works of Confucius and Mencius
revealed varied advice to speakers. The following excerpts
suggested the existence of a Cong-Meng rhetoric:

Confucius said, "Clever words and insinuating
appearances are seldom associated with benevo-
ence." (The Analects, 1. 3.)

Confucius said, "To spread hearsay is to cast
away our virtue." (The Analects, 17. 14.)

Confucius said, "The reason why the ancients did
not readily give utterance is that they feared
their conduct might fall short of what they said." (The Analects, 4. 24.)
Confucius said, "I could describe the ceremonies of the Hsia dynasty, but Ji cannot sufficiently attest what I say; I could describe the ceremonies of the Yin dynasty, but Sung cannot sufficiently attest what I say. They cannot do so because of the insufficiency of documental records. If sufficient, I could adduce them to support my words." (The Analects, 3. 9.)

Mencius said, "In persuading great men, despise them somewhat... don't see them as in high positions..." (The Works of Mencius, 7. B. 34.)

Mencius said, "Words which are simple but their meaning is far-reaching are good words. Principles which are compendious but their application is extensive are good principles..." (The Works of Mencius, 7. B. 32.)

Justification of the Study Through Examination of Recent Research

A reading of the works of modern researchers revealed that they have identified some of the rhetorical ideas of Chinese philosophy. James I. Crump and John J. Dreher said,

Starting from about the sixth century B.C. China was governed intellectually and morally by the precepts of four major philosophies [i.e. Confucianism, Taoism, Mohism, and Legalism]. Most familiar to us today are the thoughts contained in such Confucian canons as the Analects, the Book of History, and the Book of Odes. Robert T. Oliver in "The Rhetorical Tradition in China: Confucius and Mencius" quoted Charles H. Parker's words, "The Chinese like to discuss things; they like to put their ideas down in the form of Confucian dialogues." Oliver mentioned that Confucius considered that speech was important in social functions and Mencius was notable for his
own fresh rhetorical insights and for his penetrating understanding of the subjectivity of the human mind.\(^2\)

Both the interest of the author and an examination of the work of Confucius, Mencius, and others suggests the likelihood of a Cong-Meng rhetoric.

**Procedures**

The following procedures have been completed in an attempt to answer the questions which are shown in the "Purpose of the Study."

**Survey of Literature**

The following literature has been surveyed to see if any previous studies relating to the influence of the Chinese rhetorical tradition on the speeches by Chinese speakers have been undertaken.


Western literature related to the study

The survey of the above literature revealed no duplicate studies. An observation found seven articles and one Masters thesis which are relevant to the study of Chinese rhetoric:

In Beatrice K. Reynolds', "Lao Tzu: Persuasion Through Inaction and Non-speaking," the author introduced Lao Tzu's philosophy. In Tao-tê ching Lao Tzu considered that man should live a simple life and for this he must rid himself of his ego and that the sage managed affairs without
action and spread doctrines without words. Reynolds considered that Tao-tê ching was philosophical in nature and not rhetorical but it gave some insight into the relationship between persuasive techniques and philosophy. The philosophy of Lao Tzu discussed by Reynolds was attacked by Confucius and Mencius. 3

Chang Yuh-Sheng in "Speech Training and Speech Activities in Institutions of Higher Education in Taiwan," Masters thesis, South Dakota State University, 1971, arranged in a systematic compilation the information and materials concerning speech instruction in Taiwan, Republic of China. His survey revealed that there were four schools (universities or colleges) which offered the course of Chinese Rhetoric. The author did not mention the definition of "rhetoric" used in Taiwan, ROC, and no detailed information about the course of Chinese Rhetoric was discussed. 4

Frank E. X. Dance in "The Tao of Speech" explained what tao is and compared it with the Logos of Heraclitus and with the Word of Saint John. He considered that "speech serves as a 'path,' as a 'tao,' to our becoming ever more human and increasingly humane." The author applied the narrow definition of tao (the way) in his conclusion, while Confucius and Mencius saw speech as the way to achieve jen tao (the principles of human conduct), heaven-unification, and tien tao (the principles of the
heaven, the nature). **Tao** was an important concept in its broad meaning in Cong-Meng philosophy and Chinese culture. ⁵

James I. Crump and John J. Drehler in "Peripatetic Rhetors of the Warring Kingdoms" considered that from the sixth century B.C. China was governed intellectually and morally by the precepts of four major philosophies—Confucianism, Taoism, Mohism, and Legalism. They discussed the derivation of peripatetic persuasion and its character. Those peripatetic persuaders the authors talked about belonged to **Chung Heng** School (Peripatetic School) and were unethical. Their goals of persuasion were opposite to that of Cong-Meng rhetoric. ⁶

John Drehler and James I. Crump, Jr. in "Pre-Han Persuasion: The Legalist School" discussed the School of Legalism. They pointed out three distinct steps in Legalistic doctrine: **fa** (law), **shih** (autocratic power), and **shu** (statecraft). They cited Han Fei's excerpts from his works to explain his ideas in persuasion. The School of Legalism was opposite to the School of Confucianism in political theory and practice. ⁷

Robert T. Oliver in "The Confucian Rhetorical Tradition in Korea During the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910)" discussed the deviant schools of Confucianism that grew vigorously during the first several generations of the Korean Yi dynasty. Before he discussed those schools, he
mentioned that "to win an argument by the wrong means, or to argue for wrong ends, would be a denial of the very heart of his [Confucian] rhetorical principle." This viewpoint appears to be true in Cong-Meng rhetoric.  

Robert T. Oliver in "The Rhetorical Implication of Taoism" attempted to determine the nature and extent of Lao Tzu's contribution to rhetorical method. Instead of thinking that Taoism is an argument against rhetoric, the author considered that Lao Tzu was a rhetorician. Taoism is often cited as the leading opponent of Confucianism.  

Robert T. Oliver in "The Rhetorical Tradition in China: Confucius and Mencius" discussed some of the rhetorical concepts of Confucius and Mencius as the rhetorical tradition in China. He considered that Confucius and Mencius had great contribution to Chinese rhetoric and that it had greatly influenced Chinese people. However, he did not systematically analyze all their rhetorical concepts neither did he organize those concepts.  

The above-mentioned articles are relevant to Chinese rhetoric. Some of them have closer relationship to the present study than the others.  

Chinese literature related to the study  

Professor Wang Chao-hui, former chairman of the Department of Oriental Languages and Cultures, National
Chengchi University, Taiwan, Republic of China, indicated that in Taiwan there are no such studies as this present one. Professor Wang examined indexes and contacted leading scholars in Taiwan. After investigation, he suggested examining the following books. Each book has some concern with Chinese rhetoric.

Chen Ta-chi in *The Reasoning of Mencius and His Debate Examples* discussed the basic thought of Mencius and his concepts of expediency, judgment, and reasoning. The author also criticized Mencius' analytical practices. This book helped to explain the rhetorical concept of Mencius but it is confined to the aspect of logic.\(^{11}\)

Chung Yeow-lien, *Philosophical Method of the Mohist School*, in his Chapter Three mentioned that to get correct knowledge Moh Tzu set three models to check knowledge. The author considered that those models did not meet the dialectic form and they are only the criteria of Mohist School, not an effective and overall criteria for the dialectic of human beings. These models can be seen as the initial concept of logic.\(^{12}\)

Han Fei Tzu in *Han Fei Tzu* presented an important rhetorical concept in Section Twelve, Volume One, of his book. This section called *Shuei Nan* (Difficulties in the Way of Persuasion) talks about the difficulties and dangers of persuasion caused from the persuadee's interest.
His philosophy is different from that of Confucius and Mencius in that Confucius and Mencius considered that a speaker should not bend his ethical philosophy.\textsuperscript{13}

Lao Su-kuang in \textit{A History of Chinese Philosophy}, Volume I, mentioned the concept of "opposition" in Taoism. He mentioned the six debate approaches of Moh Tzu, some of which are similar to the concepts of modern logic. The author also mentioned the concept of Han Fei Tzu about debate. Han Fei Tzu considered that when the sovereign was good enough, his order and law would be the best and no debate was necessary. The author mentioned the concept of Chuang Tzu about debate. Chuang Tzu considered that debate cannot prove that what the winner advocates is true. The author also mentioned the concepts of Ming School (the School of Name). The position of the Ming School was to research knowledge. The subject of Ming School was logical problems and metaphysics; its approach was meditation; and its theory belonged to the initial step of metaphysics.\textsuperscript{14}

Pao Kuo-shun in \textit{An Analysis of the Scholarship of Shyun Tzu} discussed the scholarship of Shyun Tzu including his concept of debate. He mentioned that Shyun Tzu considered that speech should have its practical function. He discussed the concepts of Shyun Tzu about why a chiun
tzu (gentleman, good man) should debate in some cases and
should not in some others. 15

The examination of the above-mentioned books
reveals that these books have discussed Chinese rhetoric
more completely than other books available. It also
reveals that a systematic analysis and organization of
Cong-Meng rhetoric has not been made.

Development of the Rhetorical Model

The rhetorical model which was used for the study
was developed from Western rhetorical tradition and from
Cong-Meng philosophy, the philosophy of Confucius and
Mencius.

Sources of Western rhetorical tradition

The study used three sources for material which
reflects Western rhetorical tradition: James L. Golden,
Goodwin F. Berquist, and William E. Coleman, The Rhetoric
of Western Thought, 2d ed. (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publish-
ing Company, 1978); Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird,
Speech Criticism (New York: Ronald Press, 1948); Lester
Thonssen, A. Craig Baird, and Waldo W. Braden, Speech
1981). The basic aspects of Western rhetoric taken from
these sources included the definition; the three essential
elements of rhetoric, the speaker, the audience, and the speech; and the canons of invention, disposition and style.

Sources of Cong-Meng rhetorical concepts

The study used The Analects (of Confucius) and The Works of Mencius as the major sources of rhetorical concepts in Cong-Meng rhetoric. In these two books, all references by Confucius and Mencius concerning concepts of rhetoric were sought and discussed. Rhetorical practices found in their works were also used as models of their rhetorical concepts.

The rhetorical model developed from the sources

The rhetorical model developed from the works of Confucius and Mencius for Cong-Meng rhetoric includes a definition of rhetoric and the statements from Cong-Meng philosophy which relate to speaker, message, and audience. Further, specific comments in Cong-Meng philosophy were isolated which fitted with the three canons of invention, disposition, and style. The research yielded more specific information related to invention. The "topics" of Western rhetorical tradition were reflected in "topics" evolved from Chinese tradition. Advice on ethical, logical, and emotional proof was found within Cong-Meng philosophy. Patterns of disposition were identified in the works of
Confucius and Mencius. The stylistic concepts of Cong-Meng philosophy were identified through specific statements of the two philosophers and through examination of their written works. Chapter III of this study provides a detailed discussion of this Cong-Meng rhetoric drawn from Cong-Meng philosophy. Three modern speeches were analyzed to determine whether Cong-Meng rhetoric influenced modern Chinese speeches.

Application of the Cong-Meng Rhetorical Model

The model of Cong-Meng rhetoric was used to analyze three modern speeches to determine its influence, if any, on these speeches. These speeches are the "Youth Day Message" by late President Chiang Kai-shek on March 29, 1975 (See Appendix A); the "New Year's Day Message" by former President Yen Chia-kan on January 1, 1977 (See Appendix B); and the "Double Tenth National Day Message" by President Chiang Ching-kuo on October 10, 1983 (See Appendix C).

The reason for choosing these three speeches was because New Year's Day, Youth Day, and Double Tenth National Day are the most important national holidays. Each speaker's latest or most recent message in their presidency was chosen. However, because President Yen Chi-kan's messages in his last year's presidency were not available,
his "New Year's Day Message" of the earlier year was chosen.

**Contributions of the Study**

The study provides an organized approach to Cong-Meng rhetorical concepts. It demonstrates that such concepts are reflected in selected speeches by modern speakers in the Republic of China in Taiwan. The speeches selected for analysis may have been influenced by Cong-Meng rhetorical principles.

The Cong-Meng rhetoric established in this study may be used as the basis for the teaching of rhetoric in the public schools, colleges, and universities in the Republic of China.

Scholars doing additional studies of Chinese rhetoric may find this study useful as a basis for further investigation of rhetorical theory and practice in China and other countries influenced by the philosophy of Confucius and Mencius.
ENDNOTES


8 Robert T. Oliver, "The Confucian Rhetorical Tradition in Korea During the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910)," Quarterly Journal of Speech 45 (December 1959):363-373.


13 Han Fei Tzu, "Shuei Nan," *Han Fei Tzu*, 1. 12. (Translated by Jian Koh-cheng.)


CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL INFORMATION

Cong-Meng philosophy has significantly influenced Chinese people throughout history. Charles H. Parker, quoted by Robert T. Oliver, indicated that "the Chinese like to discuss things; they like to put their ideas down in the form of Confucian dialogues." Oliver then said, "Indeed, while our society offers many avenues of advancement, in Asia the only way to rise from poverty to wealth and influence was by mastery of the Confucian classics and skill in expounding them..." Cong-Meng philosophy includes rhetorical precepts which have influenced communication among Chinese people.

Chinese people in Taiwan live in the climate of Confucian (Cong-Meng) philosophy. Students in every grade of schools are taught to follow the Confucian doctrines in The Four Books. Newspapers often emphasize the importance of Confucianism. In many meetings, dialogues of Confucius and Mencius are cited as evidence and guidance. Cong-Meng philosophy has become Chinese tradition.

This chapter will discuss the concept of and relationships among Cong-Meng philosophy and rhetoric, and Chinese culture, the background and life of Confucius.
and the rhetorical situation, the background and life of Mencius and the rhetorical situation, the derivation of Cong-Meng rhetoric, and the maintenance and application of Cong-Meng rhetoric.

**Cong-Meng Philosophy, Cong-Meng Rhetoric and Chinese Culture**

In Chinese history the concept of rhetoric has rarely been discussed separately from philosophy; nor have its historical influences been discussed separately from the influence of philosophy. It is apparently because few people in China did the systematic research work in the area of the concept of rhetoric because rhetoric itself is included as an aspect of philosophy and is interwoven with other aspects—especially in the canon of invention.

In the ancient Western World, public address was emphasized. The courts and legislative bodies required public speeches, and a tradition of ceremonial speeches also developed. In ancient China, where there was no similar concept of "public speaking," scholars such as Confucius and Mencius spoke to individuals—specific princes, kings, and their own disciples. Their subject matters were political ideals and viewpoints of life, including virtues and profit and injury. Philosophy was emphasized and rhetorical skills were not systematically taught or discussed. In *The Analects* and *The Works of*
Mencius, Confucius and Mencius taught or talked only briefly about speaking skills. The significant concern was their philosophy. Confucianism emerged as the philosophy from some ten schools of scholarship. Its view of life has been so overwhelming that its references to speaking skill were eclipsed by the larger philosophy. The organization of society in China did not encourage public speaking nor create demand for a rhetoric, but Cong-Meng philosophy--Confucianism--established and maintained its influence.

In Western thinking, "Confucianism" is used not only to refer to Confucius but also Mencius and to the followers of both Confucius and Mencius. As used in the Western World, it refers to those concepts which Chinese scholars call Cong-Meng teachings, Cong-Meng learning (Cong-Meng scholarship), Ju (Scholar) School teachings and Cong-Meng philosophy.

Cong-Meng philosophy is derived from Chinese tao tung, and it became the center of Chinese culture. Tao means the way, the principle, or the Word as used in John 1:1. It may refer to morality or virtues. Tung means tradition. Tao tung means the tradition of explaining the truth of universe and of directing the way of human conduct. "Chinese tao tung is the way upon which our country relies to exist, the national spirit,
the good tradition, which was succeeded from Yao, to Shoo, Yu, Tang, Wen, Wu, Chou Kung, and Confucius without stop," according to Chu Shou-liang in his article, "To Understand Chinese Culture by the Word 'Chung.'"5

Chen Li-fu in his "Confucianism and the Oriental cultures" clearly discussed the relationships of Confucius and Chinese culture:

Since the Age of Spring and Autumn,6 people have had the concept of tao tung. Confucius praised the ancient kings [and tried to make their virtues practiced everywhere]. Mencius [tried to put Confucian teachings to use and to preach the teachings and] succeeded this tradition. Since that time, though many scholars have offered advice, hundreds of thought schools have emerged, and cultural influences have come from other tribes and nations, Confucianism has always played the role as the essential body of Chinese culture to absorb and meld other scholarships and cultures. This essential body, this traditional thought, always the same, has never been destroyed. Therefore, the core of Chinese culture is the traditional virtues and those concepts which conform to this tradition are all called Ju learning. Ju learning also represents Chinese culture. In the meaning of culture, Ju learning, Ju thought, and Chinese culture are a trinity.7

The Background and Life of Confucius and the Rhetorical Situation

Confucius was born in the feudal state of Lu in the area now called Shan Tung Province, eastern China, and lived from 551 to 479 B.C. It was in the second half of Chou dynasty. With the corruption of the feudal system, much of the empire was in disorder. It was "an age of corrupt speeches and tyrannous actions,"8 as Mencius said
in *The Works of Mencius*, chapter 3B, section 9. However, the cultural background of Confucius was good.  

At the beginning of Chou dynasty (1122 B.C.), after the Wu Wang destroyed the Yin dynasty, Chou government began, for the sake of strengthening the empire, to carry out the feudal system. The territory was divided into feuds given to princes who were originally the ruler's family and people of merits. The power of the Chou tien tzu (the ruler of the whole empire) was based upon the dual foundation of feudalism and the tsung fa system (a system of social positions and inheritance). As Chen Chih-ping and Chen Shih-fu said in *Chinese History*, at that time

> Woven into the feudal structure were the rules of *li* [correctness, propriety, rituals, ceremony] and *yueh* [music] which, working hand in hand with educational and political forces, gave rise to a well-regulated social order. The daily life of the Chou nobility was governed by complexity of ceremonial rituals, including various forms of music, singing, and dancing. . . . There was a hereditary system of royal offices in the central government and a complete rural organization at the local level. Education was widespread. . . . This was, indeed, a period in which scholars, writers, and thinkers were held in the highest esteem, and culture flourished as it had never flourished before.

At the time of Confucius (551-479 B.C.), the empire was corrupted in political, social, and cultural aspects. When Ping Wang, a Chou tien tzu, moved the capital eastward to Luo Yang, the Age of Spring and
Autumn (722-481 B.C.) began. In this period, there was a marked decline in royal authority and political power was vested in the hands of feudal lords. At first, the princes grasped power and did not treat Chou tien-tzu as a tien tzu. Then the subordinates of the princes seized power, and, in turn, the smaller officers seized power. During the 240 years of the Age of Spring and Autumn, there were thirty-six regicides in the feudal states. For the power and territory, the states attacked one another. Civil wars happened in one state.

The corruption of the feudal system brought with it a disregard for accepted social mores and conduct. The tsung fa system lost what it relied upon and dissolved. The sovereigns did not do what the sovereigns should do, the subordinates did not respect and obey their sovereigns, the fathers ignored their duties to children, and the sons ignored the will of their fathers. The thirty-six murders of sovereigns which occurred in this period included some cases of parricide.

When Ping Wang moved the capital eastwards to Luo Yih, many of the cultural products and documents got lost, and cultural tradition and system disappeared. Fortunately, in the State of Lu, where Confucius was born, most cultural products and ritual systems of Chou dynasty were kept.
In ancient times, especially in the Chou dynasty, governmental administration was carried out according to strict interpersonal regulations by way of proprieties and appropriate rituals. So, "ritual systems" might be used to mean the governmental system. In the State of Lu, therefore, Confucius had the opportunity to study the governmental system, documents, and cultural ideals such as li, yueh, history, odes, and yih (philosophy of change).

Confucius was educated from the age of eleven to the age of twenty. He studied li, mathematics, etymology, sheh (odes), shu (history), yueh, sacrifice (worship), making friends, archery and other skills. He tried to learn every course perfectly, and he could apply them. These courses helped form his philosophy.

When Confucius was twenty, his mother died, and in that year he began to work as a government official. He continued to study and was recognized as a scholar. Because of his wisdom, family background, and study, he was very concerned for the people of the age of disorder. He wanted to improve their lives through improved political practice. At the age of twenty-three, he began to teach others his ideas.

Though Confucius was still young, his knowledge, morality, and humility were respected by his contemporaries. He was famous not only for his modesty but also
for his dedication to a thorough search into rituals and the ceremonial system. Although the cultural products and ritual system in the State of Lu were more complete than in other feudal states, when Confucius was thirty-five, he decided to go to the Chou area to learn li with Lao Tzu, a famous philosopher and creator of Taoism.

Lao Tzu emphasized the tao which "is generally translated as 'the Way.' It is presented as the way to find one's true relations to eternal and immutable essence." Lao Tzu asserted that "the chief guideposts along this way are 'wu-wei' [avoidance of action], 'wu-hsin' [negation of mind], and 'te' [the principle of spontaneous functioning]." Lao Tzu believed that the 'images' of reality existed dimly within the shadowy forms that are perceived by man. Therefore, he decided to live as a recluse and he urged Confucius to follow his thought. While Confucius saw the ancient Chinese rulers as the best examples of political ideas, Lao Tzu said, "Those whom you talk about are all dead and their bones are all decayed. Only their words exist. . . ." He wanted Confucius to ignore people and to live a reclusive life. However, Confucius thought that living as a recluse in the age of disorder was not practical and could not save people and apply his ideal.
When he came back from Lao Tzu, he said to his disciples,

I know that birds can fly, fish can swim, and wild animals can walk. But as for the dragon, I cannot see it riding the wind and cloud unto the sky. Lao Tzu may be a dragon. [21]

As Liao Ching-tsen interpreted these words, Confucius meant that

Birds are born to fly, fish are born to swim, wild animals are born to walk, and human beings are born to live in a practical way and cannot leave the secular world. With the thought of wu-wei, Lao Tzu has left the reality. It is like the dragon which, only a thing of fancy, cannot fly unto the sky. His thought is also the same as a dragon, a thing of fancy. [22]

Because his thought differed from that of Lao Tzu, Confucius decided to work in the political field.

By the time Confucius was thirty-five, the State of Lu was in great confusion. The three dai-fu's (the subordinates of the prince or duke of a feudal state) Meng-soon, Chi-soon, and Shu-soon, with their low position, used the rituals and ceremony of tien tzu. The duke of Lu was expelled to the State of Chi. Confucius saw li as so important that he left Lu for Chi because of this incident. When asked by Duke Ching of Chi about political policy, he answered, "A sovereign must act as a sovereign should; a subordinate must act as a subordinate should; a father must act as a father should; a son must act as a son should." [23] He also advised the Duke to save money for
political use. However, the Duke did not follow his advice and indulged in personal entertainment. Besides, the subordinates of the Duke were jealous of Confucius. So, without putting his political ideas to use, he came back to Lu.\(^{24}\) At the time he was thirty-eight.

He wanted to enter the political field, yet he did not want to serve in the government of Lu while it was in turmoil and rebellion and not controlled by the Duke of Lu. Therefore, he devoted himself to books and teaching. At the age of forty-six, he modified *Sheh Ching* (*The Book of Odes*), *Shu Ching* (*The Book of History*), *Li Chi* (*The Book of Li*, rituals, ceremony, etc.), *Yueh Ching* (*The Book of Music*). More disciples gathered to study with him. At the age of forty-seven, he began to study *Yih Ching* (*The Book of Changes*).\(^{25}\)

When the rebellion in the State of Lu ended, Confucius, now at the age of fifty-one, began to work at the government of Lu as *chung-to-tzai*.\(^{26}\) After no more than one year, his merits were so eminent that other people began to imitate. Later, he was promoted as *su-kung*, then *su-kou* and the premier of the State of Lu.\(^{27}\) He was very successful in the interior affairs in the State of Lu. He was also very successful in diplomatic affairs because of his wisdom and bravery. As premier for the Duke of Lu, Confucius was the chief adviser in
negotiations with the much stronger state of Chi. In one incident, the Duke of Chi set a trap to capture the Duke of Lu. Confucius was able to convince the Duke of Chi that such conduct was unethical and unreasonable. The trap was not sprung. Confucius and his ruler were allowed safe passage out of the hand of the Duke of Chi. In the same meeting, he persuaded the Duke of Chi to return occupied land back to the Duke of Lu. At this time Confucius was successful in his rhetorical technique. However, as the Duke of Lu indulged himself with the beautiful concubines that Chi gave him and ignored the affairs of government, Confucius resigned his position and left the State of Lu.

From that time Confucius led his disciples to state after state, urging the rulers to follow his philosophy and political ideas, but the rulers did not listen. Instead, the princes and dukes attacked their neighbors, attempting to seize more power and territory. Wars were unceasing. The people of every state suffered. To save people from such agony, Confucius tried to persuade the princes and dukes to abandon arms and to unite the nation through peace and reason, by the practice of virtues. Unfortunately, for about fourteen years of his peripatetic persuasion, he had no chance to put his ideas to practice. He returned to the State of Lu at the age of sixty-eight and began to preach his tao and to teach the knowledge. It
was said that he had three thousand disciples, among them seventy-two were expert in the six arts: li, yueh, archery, driving, shu, and mathematics. 30

In his life, Confucius served in the government for a short time. He arranged Shu Ching, edited Sheh Ching, set Li and Yueh, interpreted Yih Ching and wrote The Spring and Autumn (a book of history). He spent a long time for peripatetic persuasion. He taught his disciples until his death.

While Confucius devoted his life to his political ideal of persuading the princes, kings and dukes by using clear words, the situation was that in the empire there were not only violent actions but also heterodox theories and speeches other than the tradition of virtues in China. Among them, Lao Tzu's philosophy was eminent. His philosophy of wu-wei led him to say, "Root out your preachers, discard your teachers, and the people will benefit a hundredfold," and "True words may not sound fine and fine words may not be true." 31 Chuang Tzu, one of Lao Tzu's disciples, also chose to live as a recluse. When he lived in the secular world, he "alone communicated with the spirit of the heaven and the earth." 32

Another heterodox theory was from the hermits who were disappointed in the corruption of the age and preferred living a simple life and not interfering in
secular affairs. They kept their names unknown to people and sometimes even acted in strange ways. In The Analects we see six of these persons. One hermit of Chu State, when passing by Confucius, said,

O phoenix! O phoenix! How is the morality degenerated! For the past it cannot regain but for the future there is still time. Give up your vain pursuit! Give up your vain pursuit! Peril awaits those who now engage in affairs of the government.

Confucius alighted and wished to talk with him, but he hastened away and Confucius had no chance to talk with him. The hermit, also called wild man in The Analects, compared Confucius to the phoenix, the bird of luck, and urged him not to pursue government office. He meant that in that age of disorder morality was degenerated and it was no use trying to change the world. Confucius tried to explain his responsibility and his ideal but he had no chance.

The time of Confucius was the age of disorder. Princes, dukes, and even lower subordinates tried to snatch power and territory. Profits were seen as more important than virtues and morality degenerated. Wars continued everywhere. China was a long way from the harmonious world—the World of the Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity which Confucius sought. Some were so disappointed with the world that they gave up the hope of improving it and lived the life of the recluse.
They tried to persuade Confucius to abandon his efforts to improve government and society. However, Confucius considered that it was a responsibility to change the world. His seeking official position, his peripatetic persuasion, and his education were all for this end. For this idea, his rhetoric emerged.

The Background and Life of Mencius and the Rhetorical Situation

Mencius (372-289 B.C.) was born in the Age of Warring Kingdoms (403-221 B.C.). It was about one hundred years after Confucius. In the Age of Spring and Autumn (722-481 B.C.), the feudal landlords owned farmers and handicraft manufacturers and controlled economic power. At the end of that period, the economic system changed gradually. With the prosperous economy, rich merchants appeared and the purchase and sale of land became common. Cities developed and society changed. In the Age of Warring Kingdoms, farmers became soldiers. When they returned from their battles, they became wanderers and scholars. The society was in great change and dru tzu pai chia, literally translated as scholars and a hundred schools, came to existence. The scholars had no fixed jobs yet each had his own theory and speeches. 34

In the Age of Warring Kingdoms, rulers of the various states sought men of ability to help expand and
strengthen their governments. The importance of blood relationship had declined. This was the time of expanding the king's power by actual strength. "To enrich the country [state] and strengthen the arms" was the slogan. Rulers became aware that agricultural technology, the tax system, and the military system were important elements of a strong state. With success in improving these systems, some larger independent states absorbed the territories of their small neighbors. It became even more important to get men of ability to govern the enlarged territory.

With the fall of the old influential families, the scholars tried to seek new lords. The new governments met their need. In this situation, those scholars who were skilled in government and military affairs, no matter what family backgrounds, were promoted to high positions in the government. Many young men sought and attained the political positions. Most of them emphasized profits instead of virtues and tricks were usually used to attain their goals. As in the Age of Confucius, scholars who disapproved of the practices of the period sought refuge in rural villages or wildland and meditated on their philosophy. Many schools of thought emerged. Therefore, the Age of Warring Kingdoms is also called "Drus Tzu times," the Age of Scholars. Mencius was one of the scholars.
Mencius was born in the State of Jou, not far from the State of Lu. His father died when he was three years old, and his mother was an excellent mother. His mother tried to educate him as perfectly as possible. In early childhood the family first lived near a cemetery and Mencius learned funeral rituals. His mother felt that it was not good and moved to a house near a market. Mencius began to imitate the calling of businessmen. His mother thought that it was not good and moved, again, to a house near a school. He then began to emulate students and learned to bow as a scholar. This pleased his mother.  

In his youth, Mencius knew and respected the ideas of Confucius and went to the State of Lu to study. His teacher was a disciple of Tzu Su, a grandson of Confucius. After Confucius died, Ju learning was maintained by Cheng Tzu and Tzu Su and then by the teacher of Mencius. After the death of Tzu Su, Ju learning began to decline. Though the courses which scholars studied included li, yueh, archery, driving, history and mathematics, what Mencius wanted to learn was the practical and influential field of Ju scholarship. He thought that the ideal of Confucius should not be so obscure. However, in the State of Lu, he read the records about Confucius and the books written by Confucius. He studied those records and books
well and also visited the Temple of Confucius to meditate about the great sage. 39

With what he learned of Confucius, Mencius decided that political activities were the best approach to save people from cruel wars and achieve the World of the Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity. He thought it was important to persuade the kings to follow his political philosophy—strengthening the country through wang tao, the way of right as opposed to the way of might. In that period premiers of many of the independent governments in China spent much money to support scholars and those who were capable in some field and treated them very well. For these, Mencius began his peripatetic persuasion with a retinue of hundreds of students. At that time, he was already more than fifty years old. 40

Like Confucius, Mencius always emphasized virtues as topics of persuasion. As first concern of his peripatetic persuasion, he proposed jen (benevolence) and yi (righteousness, justice) as we see in The Works of Mencius:

Mencius went to see King Hui of Liang. The king said, "Venerable sir, since you have not counted it far to come here, a distance of a thousand lih [measurement unit], may I presume that you are likewise provided with counsels to profit my kingdom?" Mencius replied, "Why must your Majesty mention the word 'profit'? What I am going to provide you with are counsels to jen and yi and these are my only topics. If
Your Majesty says 'How can I profit my state?' and the great officers say, 'How can I profit my family?' and the inferior officers and the common people say 'How can I profit our persons?' then those above and those below will try to profit themselves at one another's expense and the state will be imperilled.

His advice was not accepted by King Hui of Wei (Liang). Then he went to the State of Chi and later came back to Jou. After that, he went to the states of Teng and Lu. Unfortunately he got no chance to serve in the government. Among the various rulers, only Duke Wen of Teng accepted his ideas. At the age of seventy he came home to teach students and write The Works of Mencius.

The period in which Mencius lived was an age of corrupt speeches and tyrannous actions, much like the time when Confucius lived. Mencius worked to spread his political ideal, which was derived from Confucius. In the Age of Warring Kingdoms, utilitarianism was overwhelming. For example, a man called Pai Kui told Mencius, "I am better than Yu of Hsia dynasty in resolving floods." Mencius said, "You are wrong! Yu regulated water according to the character of water and he used seas as the gathering place for water. Now you use your neighbor country as the gathering place of water." Since all the princes and kings ignored morality and just tried to seize profits, utilitarianism and selfishness were seen as necessary.
In this situation, the peripatetic persuaders just tried to carry out their schemes without thinking morally. Ethics to them was worth nothing. Usually they used tricks to support their persuasion and used persuasion to support their tricks. Among the scholar schools, Chung Heng School (Peripatetic School) was notorious for its dishonesty and tricks. To sell morality for profits was common. Friendship declined and the persuaders saw it as common to betray friends, classmates and even relatives.  

The corrupt speeches, as Mencius called them, were from Yang Dru and Moh Di (the creator of Mohism). Yang Dru asserted that selfishness was a must. If his picking one of his hairs could profit the whole world, he would not do so. On the contrary, Moh Di considered that love should be the same to anyone, no difference between one's own parents and others.

Mencius hated the aggressive wars and felt compassion for the people. He believed that the only way to achieve his ideal, which was derived from Confucius, should be through the power of morality. Under the situation of debauchery by princes and kings, the dishonest persuaders, and the corrupt speeches, he considered that it was necessary to debate. About his debate, Kung-tu Tzu said, "outsiders all say that you, Master, are fond of debate. May I ask why?" Mencius replied, "Am I really fond of debate?"
I am but compelled to do it. . . . I also wish to rectify men's hearts, to stop depraved doctrines, to oppose biased conduct, and to banish away licentious words and thus to carry on the work of the three sages. Am I really fond of it?"

To carry on the work of the three sages, Yu, Chou Kung, and Confucius, under the bad situation and through a virtuous way, Mencius had to debate and to persuade and his rhetoric emerged.

The Derivation of Cong-Meng Rhetoric

Cong-Meng rhetoric may be derived from the works of Confucius and Mencius, their rhetorical practices and the books they studied thoroughly. Such rhetorical ideas are also found in The Spring and Autumn and The Four Books.

Cong-Meng rhetoric is an aspect of Cong-Meng philosophy. Cong-Meng philosophy focuses on Chinese humanity. Therefore, to understand the derivation of Cong-Meng rhetoric, we must know something about Chinese humanity as well as other sources which had impact on the forming of Cong-Meng rhetoric.

Chinese humanity was begun with the thought in Yih Ching (The Book of Changes), applied by those in Shu Ching (The Book of History), expressed in Sheh Ching (The Book of Odes), settled in Li Ching (The Book of Li), and Yueh Ching (The Book of Music), and corrected in The Spring and Autumn (The Chronicle History of the Age of
These are called "Six Chings." Ching refers to classic books and it bears the meaning of "words of fundamental principles." Confucius edited Sheh and Shu, settled Li and Yueh, interpreted the phenomena in Yih, and wrote The Spring and Autumn. Thus, he compiled the elements of Chinese humanities, clarified them, and gave them new brilliance.

In Chinese humanity, The Four Books is also very important. It includes The Great Learning, The Doctrine of the Mean, The Analects (of Confucius), and The Works of Mencius. The Great Learning was written by Tzeng Tzu, a disciple of Confucius; The Doctrine of the Mean was written by Tzu Su, a disciple of Tzeng Tzu; The Analects was the conversations of Confucius with his disciples and his contemporaries and the conversations between his disciples, recorded by the disciples. The Works of Mencius was conversations of Mencius with princes (kings), dukes, and his disciples, written by Mencius.

Of the above-mentioned books, Yih Ching is the learning of tien tao (The Way of the Heaven or the Way of Nature), The Doctrine of the Mean is the learning of tien jen ho yi (heaven-human unification). The Great Learning, The Analects, and The Works of Mencius are the learning of jen tao (The Way of Human Beings; the Humanity).
The derivation of Cong-Meng rhetoric, especially the subject matter in speeches, is revealed through the concepts of *tien tao*, *tien jen ho yi*, and *jen tao*. The derivation of Cong-Meng rhetoric began with *tien tao* and Chinese traditional virtues, which were clarified by Confucius, preached by Mencius and therefore handed down from generation to generation.

**The traditional virtues and tien tao**

Chen Li-fu said that Confucius praised ancient kings. Actually the tradition of virtues in China was begun by those ancient rulers—Fu Hsi, Shun Nung, Huang Ti, Yao, Shoon, Yu, Tang, and then Wen Wang, Wu Wang, and Chou Kung. It was roughly from 3000 to 1100 B.C. Their virtues were analyzed and synthesized in Cong-Meng philosophy and were used as subject matter in Cong-Meng rhetoric. Confucius and Mencius always talked about virtues, and in their speeches there were many quotations from *Shu Ching* (*The Book of History*) and *Sheh Ching* (*The Book of Odes*). *Shu Ching* was the book of records of ancient rulers' words which revealed their political administration. *Sheh Ching* was the ancient collection of lyric poetry usually set to music, most of which was to persuade implicitly the rulers to follow the virtues. Confucius and Mencius saw virtues as the core of
persuasion. However, the value of maintaining virtue is not only because people agreed that "virtues are good," but also following virtue assures that human beings conform to their ideal Nature. This principle was established by the original philosophy of Chinese people—tien tao.  

Tien means sky, heaven, or nature. Tao means the way, the principles, or the Word as used in John 1:1. Tien tao, the Way of the Nature, means the natural principle of the universe which contains what we know as scientific principles and what we do not know as mysterious power. Knowledge of tien tao comes from Yih Ching, The Book of Changes. Yih Ching, also called Chou Yih, began its existence in the last period of Yin dynasty. Originally, it was used for divining or fore-telling. However, the philosophical principles of Yih Ching are very profound and abstruse. It contains an ancient Chinese philosophical system for discussing and judging universal phenomena and the principles of their changes, from which a man may induce and foretell all tracks of the regulated and the disordered, the rising and the falling. It can be applied to political, social, and life aspects. It also contains many historical facts and the arts of poetry and music.
Yih Ching was derived from pa kuah (the Eight Diagrams) which was designed by Fu Hsi roughly before 3000 B.C. The Eight Diagrams consists of an arrangement of single and divided lines in eight groups of three lines each. With the Eight Diagrams, Fu Hsi explained the origin of the universe, from nothing to one, from one to two (dark vs. bright, down vs. up, female vs. male, etc.), from two to four, to eight, and then to sixty-four, etc., including all changes in the universe and all theories of philosophy. In the philosophy of the Eight Diagrams and The Book of Changes, what we should note here is the nature of "harmony." The dark and the bright, the down and the up, the female and the male, were originally harmonious as one. No matter how confused we see the world or the universe is, the universe should be as harmonious as a single "one." Everything which exists or happens should be harmoniously concordant with the Nature or Heaven. This is the Way of the Nature. This is tien tao.

In Chinese words, "China" is called Chung Kuo, "the Central Country (Nation)." However, in the early ancient ages, chung meant "harmony" rather than "center." This is an evidence of the relationship between tien tao and Chinese people. 56
With the philosophy of tien tao, ancient Chinese rulers managed people unselfishly. They were inventors, experts, and educators. They became the rulers because they invented medicine, or created words, or designed clothes, or made bows and arrows, or made boats, or built houses, or regulated the water and solved the flood, or taught people to grow plants to eat, or instructed five personal relationships. Their purposes were not to grasp power but to help people to make progress so that the society would be harmonious.\textsuperscript{57}

Among the ancient rulers, Yao abdicated his throne to Shoony, who was famous for his filial piety and capability; Shoony abdicated his throne to Yu, who for eight years fought with the flood and resolved the flood problem. Yu was loyal to his work and when he became the ruler of Hsia dynasty, he loved people and always examined himself. When the last ruler of Hsia was cruel and his conduct was not concordant with the Way of the Nature, Tang revolted and built Yin dynasty. Tang's revolution was concordant with tien tao and people's need, according to Mencius.\textsuperscript{58} Tang was polite to his subordinates and liked to follow good advice and was ready to correct himself. At the time of a cruel ruler of Yin dynasty, Wen Wang and his Son Wu Wang were famous for their virtues. To save the people from cruelty, Wu Wang revolted and
established Chou dynasty. When the revolution succeeded, he punished only the ruler of Yin and managed people according to good political principles. After his death, his son Cheng Wang was too young to manage people and his younger brother Chou Kung helped manage and gave back the power to Cheng Wang when Cheng Wang grew up. 59

The many good deeds of those ancient rulers and kings cannot all be listed here. What is emphasized is that all of them felt that whatever was done, including revolution, should conform to tien tao. Since human beings are a part of the Nature, humans should be unified with Nature or Heaven. To achieve the heaven-human unification, men should do things according to virtues. That means that men should follow jen tao, the Way of Human Beings.

Confucius is the sage who analyzed and synthesized the Chinese traditional philosophy. His ideal was to make the world harmonious and achieve the Age of Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity. He wanted to achieve the ideal by way of jen tao. Mencius continued his ideal.

Heaven-human unification, jen tao, and clear speeches

The basic idea of Chinese traditional thought refers to the relationship between heaven and human beings.
The Doctrine of the Mean, which includes the words of Confucius and Tzu Su's explanation of those words, reveals this relationship interpreted by Confucius. However, Confucius saw tao as to be applied, not to be talked about only. Therefore, his rhetoric emphasized the practical jen tao instead of the metaphysical tien tao.

In The Doctrine of the Mean, Confucius gave us the idea that Heaven silently endowed human beings and things with reason (principle) and then they have the "nature." Following the "nature," the essence of the universe is called tao. To temper and systematize according to this essence is called "education" (civilization). Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu wanted to leave all things as they were, so their philosophy was limited in the natural tao. Cong-Meng learning, following the natural tao, established jen tao to temper and systematize people so that people would become educated. To temper and organize people by rituals and virtues is the field of ethical tao, jen tao.

Sincerity or truth, is the nature of the universe. To make sincerity have influence in human affairs requires a system of rituals and other virtures to make people accordant with the heaven. The end or goal of human beings is to be concordant with the heaven. This is heaven-human unification. The Cong-Meng ideal was to
achieve this unification by preaching jen tao, which could be clearly taught and followed.

Jen means human beings. Jen tao means the way of human beings. The word jen (見) here bears the same sound as the jen (仁) of morality and benevolence. However, Mencius said, "Jen [仁, benevolence] means jen [人, human beings]. To speak of both, they mean tao [道, way]." He meant that human beings should be concordant with jen (仁, benevolence), and if so, human beings are concordant with the natural way, the natural principles. In the present study, the spelling of jen is interpreted as "仁" (morality and benevolence, etc.) unless in jen tao or explained.

According to the spirit of Confucian jen tao, man should not leave everything as it is, as Taoists do, but should try to change the environment to help meet our purpose. With this in mind, Cong-Meng scholars thought that we should identify and conquer the obstacles in the natural environment. We should not leave human affairs unduly to heaven.

The center subject of Confucian rhetoric is jen (benevolence). The essence of jen is tien tao and its function is jen tao—a secular function. However, tien tao cannot be explained clearly nor proved perspicuously. This is why "In his conversation, Confucius
seldom spoke of profit, destiny, or *jen*.\(^6\)\(^5\) Destiny was not easy to explain. Actually, Confucius did talk about *jen* but he saw it as a very high standard of conduct.

Confucius devoted himself to human affairs. He was so busy preaching to people about conduct that he did not like to discuss what he could not explain clearly—*tien tao*.\(^6\)\(^6\) People did note this tendency:

_Tzu Kung said, "You will have chances to hear the Master [Confucius] speak on the subject of art and literature, but you will never hear him speak on the subject of nature or *tien tao*."

Confucius always refused to talk of supernatural phenomena, or extraordinary feats of strength, of unnatural depravity of men or of spiritual beings.

Even if he was asked about what he could not explain clearly, Confucius always tried to talk from the point he could explain perspicuously:

_Tzu Chang asked whether the affairs of ten generations from then on could be known. Confucius said, "The Yin dynasty followed the ritual system of the Hsia dynasty; the modifications they made are known. The Chou dynasty has followed the ritual system of the Yin dynasty; the modifications they made are known. Some other may follow the Chou dynasty, but even if it should be one hundred generations from now, its affairs may be known."

Succeeding Confucian philosophy, Mencius also discussed *jen tao* using clear speeches. To make his ideas clearly understood, he saw debate as a necessary method. In his debates he used his logical thinking which conforms to the clear views of Western logics. For example:
Mencius replied, "Is there any difference between killing a man with a stick and with a knife?" The king said, "There is no difference." "Is there any difference between doing it with a knife and with misrule?" "There is no difference."

Mencius then said, "There is fat meat in your kitchen and there are well-fed horses in your stables, yet the people look hungry and in the outskirts of cities men drop dead from starvation."

To achieve heaven-human unification, Cong-Meng rhetoric emphasized jen tao and tried to express their ideas by clear speeches. Some principles for developing clear speeches conform to Western rhetoric.

The Five Chings and Cong-Meng rhetoric

From Six Chings and The Four Books we may know the derivation and the topics of Cong-Meng rhetoric. Yih Ching explaining tien tao was the basic philosophy. Shu Ching talked about political principles. Sheh Ching and Li Ching talked about social affairs. Yueh Ching helped carry out li and also direct emotion to harmony, a state of calmness. The spirits and contents of the Five Chings were the source of Confucian philosophy and rhetoric. Confucius wrote The Spring and Autumn using exact words to record chronologically what happened in the history of the Age of Spring and Autumn and by the exact words he might mean to imply his praises and blames. It referred to the
virtue of *yì* (righteousness and justice) and *yì* was one of the topics of Cong-Meng philosophy.

Of the Five *Chings* Confucius seemed to emphasize *Sheh* and *Shu* which he used as teaching materials and from which the concepts of *chung* (loyalty, faithfulness), *hsiao* (filial piety, love to parents and ancients), and *jen* derived, as Chu Ting-hsien mentioned in his *Essay Collection on Cong-Meng Researches.*

*Shu Ching* was a record of ancient rulers (kings) and included documents of the ancient times. Confucius studied it thoroughly and edited it. He used it as teaching materials of history as well as quoted it as evidence for his persuasion. *The Analects* reveals this fact:

Someone asked, "Why do you, Master, not take part in the government?" Confucius answered, "What does *Shu Ching* say of *hsiao* (filial piety)? 'Be brotherly to your brothers.' [This concept can be applied to government.] When we discharge this family duty this way, it is the same as we are in the government. Why must we enter the government?"

Confucius quoted *Shu Ching* to explain his ideal of political administration: governmental affairs should follow the basic concept of filial piety beginning with brotherhood; a man in government should treat people as his own parents and brothers. Confucius did not mean that he did not want to serve in the government.

In the last chapter of *The Analects* we see another quotation from *Shu Ching* which bears the concept of *jen*:
When Yao abdicated the throne in his old age to Shoon, Yao said, "Hail to thee, O Shoon! The Heaven-ordained order of succession now rests upon thy person. Hold fast with thy heart and soul to the doctrine of the mean. If there shall be distress and want among the people within the empire, the title and honor which Heaven has given to thee will be taken away from thee forever." [When Shoon abdicated the throne to Yu], Shoon also spoke the same to Yu.

Confucius considered that lyric poetry was the literary source which expressed what men thought and provided allusions and quotations for use in conversation. He thought that poetry was valuable to teach students how to get along with and manage people. His emphasis on poetry was revealed in these excerpts from The Analects:

[Once his son Po-yu was passing him, Confucius] asked, "Have you studied Sheh Ching?" Po-yu answered, "Not yet." He said, "If you do not study Sheh Ching, you will not be able to carry on a conversation."

Confucius said, "My students! Why do you not study Sheh Ching? The odes can stimulate the mind, help to observe the rise and the fall, teach the art of sociability, and regulate feelings of resentment. At the near we may apply it to serve parents; at the remoter we may apply it to serve the sovereign. Furthermore, it helps us to learn more names of birds, beasts, and plants."

Confucius said to Po-yu, "Did you give yourself to the study of 'Chou-nan' and 'Shao-nan'?" One who has not studied 'Chou-nan' and 'Shao-nan' is like a man who stands with his face right against the wall [i.e., he can see nothing and go nowhere]. Is it not so?"

Confucius said, "'Kuan-chi' is expressive of enjoyment without being licentious, and of grief without being hurtfully excessive."
Confucius considered that odes conformed to human natural emotion and the natural principles of the outside world. Therefore, if one had learned Sheh Ching well and applied it to political work, he would be able to discern what people liked and disliked and know the sorrow of the people and therefore to manage them well. On the contrary, if one did not learn it, he would not be able to manage people well, nor could he converse with princes and dukes or negotiate with them successfully. 79

The foregoing passages suggest the influence of the Five Chings on the forming of Cong-Meng rhetoric.

Major topics of Cong-Meng rhetoric
in The Four Books

In The Four Books, The Doctrine of the Mean, as earlier described, reveals the thought of heaven-human relationships of Confucius; The Great Learning concerned the steps of learning, teachings, and governing which were proposed by Confucius and interpreted by Tzeng Tzu. In the other two books, The Analects and The Works of Mencius, are found the following major topics of Cong-Meng rhetoric.

The most important topic is jen. Jen is often interpreted as "benevolence." However, it connotes all of the qualities which are essential to the "good man," who loves his fellow human beings and all living things.
The meaning of  

"the way to be a man;" the way to do 

is to try one's best to do good things and to treat 
others as well as ourselves; the function of jen is to 
direct all virtues and thus establish harmonious ethical 
relationships.

The original meaning of jen is ai (love). "Love" 
expressed to parents is hsiao (filial piety); expressed 
to sons and daughters is tsu (love to children and off-
springs); to brothers is ti (goodness to brothers, sisters, 
and cousins); to friends is hsin (sincerity, truth, and 
trustworthiness); to one's nation and sovereign is chung 
(fidelity, loyalty, faithfulness); to teachers and elders, 
love is jing (respect, reverence). These expressions 
are all topics of Cong-Meng rhetoric.

With the spirit of jen, human beings begin to have 
ethical virtues. Jen is the base of jen tao (the way of 
human beings). To achieve jen is to achieve heaven-human 
unification by way of jen tao.

Chih and yung are also major topics of Confucius. 
Confucius saw chih, jen (in its narrow definition), and 
yung as three universally recognized virtues of man. Chih 
means knowledge, reason, and wisdom. Confucius 
emphasized the wisdom in knowing morality. He considered 
that a wise man was a man who knew human reason. He 
also considered that the wisdom of individuals is different
from one another. To teach, one should see the difference. A wise man will decide in what situation he should talk, and in what situation he should not. Yung means courage and bravery. It means controlling fear and doing what should be done, even if life and family are threatened. Not doing right would be shameful. Courage does not mean to face death only, it must meet the requirement of yi (righteousness).

The topics of li and yi have the function of guidance and temperance. Li means politeness, manners, propriety, correctness, rituals, and ceremony. It also means to yield to others and to be modest. Confucius saw li as the basic requirement to be a social man and to do things. To see, to hear, to talk, and to act should all conform to li. Yi means righteousness and justice. It means to do things in a right way and to do what should be done and not to do what should not. It is to do right things in specific situations.

In speeches of Mencius, jen, yi, li, chih, and the nature of man were emphasized topics. He thought that the origin of a man's heart was good and from the good beginning man could have the four virtues.

Confucius classified men into four groups: sages, perfect men; the superior men; chiun tzu, the gentlemen or men of virtues; and shiao jen, men of low status or
bad men. To be a sage was not easy to achieve and he considered that every man could be a chiun tzu and thus in his speeches chiun tzu was an important topic.

The Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity was an important topic in Cong-Meng rhetoric. Confucius pointed out the steps of achieving it which we find in The Great Learning and which were also speech topics: investigating things, getting complete knowledge, making thought sincere, rectifying the mind, cultivating the person, regulating the family, rightly governing the country, and making the world tranquil and happy.

Besides virtues, the topics of Cong-Meng rhetoric covered political, economic, social and educational systems. However, they are derived from the virtues.

From the contents of the Five Chings and the topics we have mentioned here, we know that the basic philosophy and the topics of Cong-Meng rhetoric basically derived from the Five Chings as well as from the backgrounds, lives, and wisdom of Confucius and Mencius, and the rhetorical situation.

The Maintenance and Application of Cong-Meng Rhetoric in History

A history of China suggests that Cong-Meng philosophy has had profound influence on Chinese people. It includes rhetorical advice for those who wish to
persuade others to accept ideas from that philosophy, the thought of virtues and the steps of achieving the Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity, which derived from *tien tao* and heaven-human unification. The skills of speakers, those included in Western rhetoric as invention, disposition, and elocution, were discussed by Confucius and Mencius in *The Analects* and *The Works of Mencius*.

Since Cong-Meng philosophy has greatly influenced the history of China, those who studied and memorized the words of Confucius and Mencius were probably influenced by rhetorical advice from these philosophers. This section will examine the process through which philosophical ideas and the rhetorical concepts which were imbedded in philosophy were maintained and applied in the cultures of China.

The Maintenance and Application of Cong-Meng Concepts in the Empire Dynasties

When the ruler of the State of Chin absorbed all the territories of the Warring Kingdoms, he established an empire and ruled the people cruelly. He called himself "Chin Sheh Huang," the First Emperor of Chin, and wanted his offspring to succeed him as the second, the third, and the millionth emperor. For this purpose, he burned *The Five Chings* and *The Four Books* and killed scholars by
burying them alive. However, his dynasty lasted only fifteen years and fell in his son's time. His hostility to Cong-Meng rhetoric led him to failure.\textsuperscript{84}

The establisher of the Han dynasty, Liou Pang, also wanted to keep the empire forever but he knew the power of Cong-Meng learning, and he used scholars to help him. However, the scholars in the central government found it difficult to manage affairs according to Cong-Meng concepts such as democratic thought. Some scholars therefore retreated to local government and applied Cong-Meng ideas and thus good customs emerged. Some other scholars refused to serve in the government and taught in their home villages and thus handed Cong-Meng thought to the young generations, and those scholars had more influence than the high officials on the people.\textsuperscript{85}

Generally speaking, Han emperors respected Cong-Meng ideas and \textit{Ju} scholars. Wen Ti (\textit{Ti} means "emperor") was compassionate to the poor people and liked people to give him advice. Wu Ti used Dung Chung-shu's policy, degrading all other scholar schools, and promoted only the \textit{Ju} School (Confucian School).\textsuperscript{86} The government of the Han dynasty selected people for office through testing their knowledge of The Five \textit{Chings} and by choosing respected persons from each locality. Virtues were emphasized in this dynasty.\textsuperscript{87} The scholars generally followed the
Cong-Meng doctrines and loved people. The authors of history gave good comments on Ju tao (Cong-Meng principles).

The Han dynasty was followed by some four hundred years of warring times and two short dynasties. This is considered the dark age of Chinese culture and development. Few rulers respected Cong-Meng learning. The Shwei dynasty once emphasized the Ju books, but Yang Ti was cruel and his policy conflicted with the traditional virtues. The dynasty lasted less than thirty years.

After the dark age, Emperor Tai Chung of the Tang dynasty emphasized Ju ideas and summoned eighteen scholars to discuss how to manage people. He himself emphasized jen and love. He said, "The ruler relies on the nation; the nation relies on the people. . . ." This conformed to the concept of Mencius: people are more important than the rulers. He followed the suggestion of Mencius to Shyuan Wan of Chi, not to summon people to work or fight for him at the working season on the farm. He wanted people to be rich and to respect one another. Thus, the empire was as good as what Confucius called the Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity. In the Tang dynasty, Hsiao Ching (The Book of Filial Piety) and The Analects were required courses.
The Shooong dynasty also exalted Ju learning, working hard in education. High officials were scholars. An official, Chao Pu, once said, "With a half book of The Analects, we could rule the whole world very well." Emperor Tai Tzu once ordered with oath that the succeeding emperors never kill high officials and the Officials of Advice. Some scholars in this dynasty began to study how to apply the five personal relationships (ethics). They wanted to make the country peaceful and prosperous and control their own lives strictly according to virtues. When not in the government, they taught and directed people to good customs. When in the government, they were loyal and courageous and they gave sound advice to the emperors. It was in this dynasty that Mencius was promoted as the second sage of China. In this dynasty, The Analects and The Works of Mencius were important courses in the schools. The Spring and Autumn was also taught. Knowledge of The Nine Chings (The Five Chings and The Four Books) was used as a test when selecting officials for office.

The establisher of Yuan dynasty was a foreigner, a Mongolian. However, Emperor Cheng Chung said, "Those sages who were born before Confucius could not be known without Confucius; those sages who were born [will be born] had no [will not have] principles to follow without
Confucius." He called Confucius "Wen Shyuan King, the Most Holy Sage of the Complete." In this dynasty, *The Four Books, Yih, Shu, Sheh,* and *The Spring and Autumn* were included in school courses and used for selecting officials.

The establisher of Ming dynasty, Emperor Tai Tzu, saw Cong-Meng rhetoric as his enemy because Mencius had said, "when the sovereign regards his ministers as mud or as grass, they regard him as a robber and an enemy." Tai Tzu wanted to degrade Confucius and Mencius but the ministers advised him not to do so. One minister even risked his own life to protect the reputation of Mencius. Tai Tzu therefore took out some sections from *The Works of Mencius* and allowed it to be used. In this dynasty schools also taught *The Four Books.* *The Four Books* and *The Five Chings* were used to test for selecting people for office. However, the answers to the test were required to be *pa ku wen,* a composition of parallel sentences and of eight paragraphs. No personal ideas should be expressed other than the standard interpretations for the books.

In this situation, scholars began to discuss the topic that what we do should match what we know and began to attack the contemporary rulers by pointing out the goodness of ancient rulers. Scholars exalted the philosophy
of unselfishness of ancient sages and the theory of Confucius and Mencius.\textsuperscript{100}

The Ching dynasty was also established by foreign people. However, Emperor Kang Hsi emphasized virtues such as filial piety and probity. He kept the scholars of Ming dynasty as his advisers. Unfortunately, his successors controlled Chinese thought strictly and killed those scholars whose works were interpreted as attacking the government. \textit{Paku wen} was continued for tests of officials and Cong-Meng thought was strictly limited. Thus, the empire did not make progress in the political field and neither did it make great progress in other fields.\textsuperscript{101}

From the history of the empire dynasties we have an impression that the ages when the emperors exalted Cong-Meng philosophy were peaceful and prosperous. Those who ignored or attacked Cong-Meng philosophy were usually not successful and their empires soon fell. Cong-Meng philosophy and its underlying rhetoric had great influence on the dynasties of the empires. Cong-Meng philosophy continues to have influence in modern China.

The Maintenance and Application of Cong-Meng Concepts in Modern Time

In the last period of Ching dynasty Dr. Sun Yat-sen noticed the corruption of the government. He knew the good
points of Western culture on one hand and knew the good points of Chinese culture on the other. He wanted to use Chinese culture as the philosophical basis and Western culture as the tool to strengthen China and achieve the Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity. For this, he wrote *San Min Chu I* (*The Three Principles of the People*) and devoted himself to revolution. His philosophy of revolution was clear in his answer to a Communist representative in 1921,

> China has a *tao tung* [traditional thought of *tao*]: from Yao, to Shoon, Yu, Tang, Wen, Wu, Chou Kung to Confucius. It did not cease. My thought basis is this *tao tung*. My revolution is to recreate this *tao tung* and restore its brilliance.

Dr. Sun's Three Principles of the People, which derived from Cong-Meng learning, have been the philosophical basis for national policy of the Republic of China. A comparison of the basic principles of Cong-Meng learning with The Three Principles of the People clearly demonstrates that Dr. Sun's work extended Cong-Meng philosophy and applied it to the concerns of modern society.

The *jen* and love concept of *wang tao* policy is the basis of The Three Principles of the People. *Wang tao* means right, the contrary of *pa tao* (might). It is a thought of politics of *jen* deriving from the thought of *jen* and love. The core thought of Confucius and
Mencius was *jen*. It emphasized *jen tao* and used *jen* for its ethical basis and moral regulations. The man of *jen* extends, from loving his own parents, his love to others and things and the whole world. Cong-Meng learning saw people as more important than the rulers and killing tyrants as concordant with *tien tao*. In The Three Principles of People, the Principle of Nationalism proposes that all the oppressed peoples in the world be released from oppression; the Principle of Democracy asserts that all people have political rights and people are the basis of the politics; the Principle of National Livelihood asserts that those who plow should own the farm and that the right to hold land should be shared by all. Thus, The Three Principles of the People derived from the *wan tao* thought of Cong-Meng learning.\(^{104}\)

The Principle of Nationalism is based upon ethical consciousness beginning with filial piety. Yu Tzu said in *The Analects*,

> The gentleman bends his attention to the fundamental principle of life. That being established, all practical courses naturally grow up. Filial piety and fraternal submission! Are they not the root of all benevolent actions?\(^{105}\)

Confucius said, "A youth, when at home, should be filial, and abroad, respectful to his elders."\(^{106}\) Mencius considered that "no little children don't know to love their parents."\(^{107}\) Filial piety is an individual's original
ethical consciousness which can be extended to love of country as "loyalty" and "fidelity" and to love the nation (a people) as "great filial piety." The Principle of Nationalism has as its goal to recover the position of the nation and the national consciousness, to recover original virtues and knowledge, and then to unite the people. It is to apply the original ethical consciousness beginning with filial piety to love of the country and the people and to save the people and the whole world.

The Principle of Democracy is based upon the democratic concept including people-as-rulers and people-as-basis. The concept of people-as-rulers began in the age of Yao and Shoon. The concept of people-as-basis was revealed in Shu Ching. Confucius said,

To rule a country of a thousand chariots, one must pay close attention to the affairs and be faithful, must be economic in expenditure and love people, and must summon people to work or fight only at the proper seasons.  

Mencius said, "People are the most important; the altars to the gods of earth and grain [a state symbol of independence] are the next; the sovereign is the least." Confucius advised governments to select officials from the good and the capable instead of the members of ruler's families. The Principle of Democracy asserts that all people should have political rights and the government should be capable and respect people's opinions. This is
to apply the people-as-rulers and people-as-basis concept
to manage the country and to achieve the Great Common-
wealth of Peace and Prosperity.\textsuperscript{110}

The Principle of National Livelihood includes the
scientific spirit of investigating all matters thoroughly
and is rooted in Cong-Meng learning. Confucius said in
\textbf{The Great Learning}, "Things have their roots and their
branches. Affairs have their beginning and their end. To
know what is first and what is last will lead near to the
tao [Way]."\textsuperscript{111} He then proposed an order of the tao of
the Great Learning--investigating things, getting complete
knowledge, making thought sincere, rectifying the mind,
cultivating the person, regulating the family, rightly
governing the country, and making the world tranquil and
happy.\textsuperscript{112} This is the scientific spirit of investigating
matters thoroughly and orderly. The Principle of National
Livelihood applies the wan tao concept to helping people
have equal wealth and equal comfort. Achieving this
purpose relied upon the scientific theory and technology.
Applying the scientific spirit and learning technology from
other countries are what the Principle of the National
Livelihood asserts.\textsuperscript{113}

The ideal of the Great Commonwealth of Peace and
Prosperity is the end of the Three Principles of the
People. Confucius said in reference to the Three Dynasties (Hsia, Shang, and Chou):

When the Great Way prevailed, every person was a part of public society, and public society belonged to everyone. The virtuous and the able were chosen for public office. Fidelity and friendliness were valued by all. People not only loved their own parents and children, but loved the parents and children of others as well. The elderly lived their last years in happiness; able-bodied adults were usefully employed; children were reared properly. Widowers, widows, orphans, the childless aged, the crippled and the ailing were well cared for. All men shared their social responsibilities, and all women had their respective roles. Natural resources were fully used for the benefit of all, and not appropriated for selfish ends. People wanted to contribute their strength and ability to society for public good—but not for private gain. Trickery and intrigue could not occur in such a society. Robbery, larceny and other crimes all disappeared. Gates and doors were not locked, no one ever thought of stealing. This was the Age of the Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity.

The Three Principles of the People aim to manage the country well and then to make the whole world tranquil and happy. The final end is to achieve the Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity, which Cong-Meng rhetoric advocated.

Briefly speaking, the Three Principles of the People continues the traditional tao tung of Chinese culture. It is derived from the ethical concept of jen and its end is happiness for all the world. Because of this, a scholar said,
Chinese culture has been handed down traditionally; Cong-Meng learning was the first complete collection and the Three Principles of the People is the second. . . . With Cong-Meng learning, the Three Principles has its distance source; with the Three Principles, Cong-Meng learning has its long continuance.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People has been discussed. His successor, late President Chiang Kai-shek, talked about the relationships between the Three Principles of the People and Cong-Meng philosophy in the Assemblies of Cong-Meng Association and other meetings. It is he who mentioned the nature of the Three Principles of the People as ethical, democratic, and scientific. He added the elements of education and entertainment to the four major needs of national livelihood--food, clothes, housing, and transportation--which had been proposed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. President Chiang Kai-shek also scientifically interpreted *The Great Learning* and *The Doctrine of the Mean*. He studied *The Four Books* and *The Five Chings* and brought them together to clarify the political thought of Chinese tradition. He used the Chinese traditional thought to criticize Communism. ¹¹⁶ Most important, he led the people of the Republic of China to apply the Three Principles of the People. Even after 1949 when the government retreated from the Mainland, the political policy did not change. In 1966 when the Cultural Revolution spread through the Mainland, he led the people
of Taiwan in the Campaign of Chinese Cultural Renaissance and emphasized the importance of Cong-Meng learning.

After the death of President Chiang Kai-shek in April of 1975, Vice President Yen Chia-Kan became the President. He led the people to continue the policy of the Three Principles of the People. He emphasized Cong-Meng philosophy and Chinese culture. He said that beginning with life regulations everyone should apply ethical virtues in the styles of life and put them into the types of consciousness.\textsuperscript{117} He also said,

Today we want to thoroughly carry out the Three Principles of the People and expand the national spirit. For this, nothing is more important than to advocate, broadcast, and apply Cong-Meng learning.\textsuperscript{118}

In 1978 President Yen recommended that Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo, the Premier of the Republic of China, seek to be elected as President.

President Chiang Ching-kuo is the son of late President Chiang Kai-shek. President Chiang Ching-kuo was reared under his father's strict guidance. His father instructed him to emphasize The Four Books, especially \textit{The Works of Mencius}.\textsuperscript{119} His father repeatedly told him to study the speeches of Mencius, its style, and specifically the paragraphs concerning love to people, filial piety, the fraternal submission, \textit{jen} and \textit{yi}, and perseverance. Therefore, he follows the late President
Chiang Kai-shek and the former President Yen Chia-kan in leading the people of the Republic of China in Taiwan, using the Three Principles of the People and Cong-Meng philosophy.

Since 1949, the Republic of China in Taiwan has continued to follow the Three Principles of the People and Cong-Meng philosophy. The national anthem upholds the Three Principles as the master policy for building a democratic country, a republic, and achieving the Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity. However, since the Republic of China left the United Nations in 1971 and President Nixon visited the Mainland in 1972, the international situation has changed greatly. The political relationship between the Republic of China and Japan ceased in 1972. In 1978 the United States of America recognized The People's Republic of China as the legal government of Mainland China and ended the close political relationship with Taipei. The Republic of China in Taiwan has been in such situations. An analysis of the works of Confucius and Mencius and an examination of the speeches by the three Presidents will be used to determine the nature and possible influence of rhetorical concepts in Cong-Meng philosophy.
ENDNOTES


2 Ibid.


5 Chu Shou-liang, "To Understand Chinese Culture by the Word 'Chung,'" Cong-Meng Research 35 (March 1978):238. (Translated by Jian Koh-cheng.)

6 722-481 B.C. Confucius wrote the history of this period and named it The Spring and Autumn. In the history this period has been called "The Age of Spring and Autumn."


8 Chen Shu-koong, A Comparison of Confucian and Platonistic Ethical Educational Thought (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Publishing Company, 1975), p. 5. (Translated by Jian Koh-cheng.)

9 Ibid., p. 13.

Once he attended a ceremony of sacrifice to ancestors, he asked about everything when he entered the grand temple. "Someone said, 'Who will say that the son of the man of Tzou knows the rules of propriety! He has entered the grand temple and asked about everything.' He heard and said, 'This is a rule of propriety.'" See The Analects, 3.15.


Ibid.


Ibid.

Ibid., p. 25.


Ibid.


Ibid., p. 11.


Ibid., pp. 28-29.
29 Ibid., p. 29.
30 Ibid., p. 38.
31 Robert T. Oliver, "The Rhetorical Implication of Taoism," p. 3.
33 The Analects, 18. 5
35 Ibid., p. 16.
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid., p. 17.
38 After Confucius, there were two subschools of Ju learning. One was succeeded by Cheng Tzu, Tzu Su, the teacher of Mencius and then Mencius. Another was by Tzu Hsia to some generations and then Syuin Tzu. See Miou Tien-shou, [An Interpretation of] the Works of Mencius (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Publishing Company, 1976), p. 3. (Translated by Jian Koh-cheng.)
40 Ibid., p. 22.
44 The Works of Mencius, 6. B. 11.

48. Ibid., p. 2.


50. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

51. Ti means emperor, wang means king, and kung means duke.

52. Chen Shu-koong, A Comparison of Confucian and Platonistic Ethical Educational Thought, p. 64.

53. Yin dynasty (1766-1122 B.C.), also called Chang dynasty, was established by Tang.


55. Explained by General Chiang Wei-kuo in his public addresses.


60. Ibid., p. 12.


63. Ibid.


68. Ibid., 7. 21.

69. Ibid., 2. 23.


72. The Analects, 2. 21.

73. Ibid., 20. 1.

74. Ibid., 16. 13.

75. Ibid., 17. 9.

76. "Chou-nan" includes eleven poems and "Shao-nan" includes fourteen; both are from Sheh Ching and talk about the tao of husband and wife, the beginning principles of harmonizing the world.

77. The Analects, 17. 10.

78. Ibid., 3. 20.


80. Chen Shu-koong, A Comparison of Confucian and Platonistic Ethical Educational Thought, p. 91.

81. Ibid., p. 90.

82. Ibid., p. 74.


85 Ibid., pp. 88-89.

86 History Course Editing Committee for High School, History for Senior High School (Taipei: National Editing and Translating Office, 1970), p. 72. (Translated by Jian Koh-cheng.)

87 Jin Jao-feng, A Comprehensive History of China (Taipei: Taiwan Chung Hua Book Company, 1957), pp. 622-624. (Translated by Jian Koh-cheng.)

88 Ibid., p. 603.


90 Ibid. 1. A. 7.

91 Hsiao Ching was written by Confucius or a disciple of his to describe what Confucius taught Tzeng Tzu about hsiao (filial piety). See Liou Ming-shui, A Summary of Chinese Scholarships, pp. 65-66.


93 Ma Wen-keng, A Summary of the Development of Chinese Traditional Thought, p. 115.

94 Ibid., pp. 114-118.


98 The Works of Mencius, 4. B. 3.


100 Ma Wen-keng, A Summary of the Development of Chinese Traditional Thought, p. 126-129.

101 Ibid., pp. 129-133.


The Analects, 1. 2.

Ibid., 1. 6.


The Analects, 1. 5.


Ibid., 4.


Ma Wen-keng, *A Summary of the Development of Chinese Traditional Thought*, pp. 188-244.


119 Chiang Ching-kuo, The Serenity in the Storm (Taipei: College Students Training Class, 1972), p. 69. (Translated by Jian Koh-cheng.)
CHAPTER III

DEVELOPING ANALYSIS MODEL

A Framework of Western Rhetoric

To answer the question "To what extent does the Chinese rhetorical tradition include concepts similar to the Western rhetorical tradition?" it is necessary to have a framework of Western rhetoric. This section will examine ideas from Western rhetoric and arrange them into a framework which may be useful to be compared with Chinese rhetoric.

Definition and Three Essential Elements of Rhetoric

Plato considers that rhetoric is not an instrument for the determination of scientific truth, nor for mere persuasion regardless of the cause; it is an instrument for making the will of God prevail.¹ Aristotle defines rhetoric as "the faculty of discovering in every case the available means of persuasions."² Golden, Berquist, and Coleman interprets Aristotle's definition that

Rhetoric, which seeks to discover all types of verbal and non-verbal means of persuasion appropriate to a given situation, deals with probable knowledge designed to promote truth and justice. It recognizes the contingent nature of propositions, and the need to speak in self-defense.
Since rhetoric seeks all means of persuasion, it always involves three essential elements: the orator, the audience, and the speech.

An orator, Cicero maintained, must conform to high and exacting qualifications. He must be a man of great learning. He remarks that the "proper concern of an orator, . . . is language of power and elegance accommodated to the feelings and understandings of mankind." Quintilian considers that an orator should be a good man and morality is important. In Institutes of Oratory he says,

A good man cannot be conceived to exist without virtuous inclinations, and virtue, though it receives certain impulses from nature, requires notwithstanding, to be brought to maturity by instruction. The orator must above all things study morality, and must obtain a thorough knowledge of all that is just and honorable, without which no one can either be a good man or an able speaker.

Since an orator should be a good man, must obtain a thorough knowledge, and must know the feelings of mankind, the traditional proofs of ethos, logos, and pathos have been discussed and used in the canon of invention in speech. With universal knowledge, an orator may, to some extent, deal with other canons of rhetoric: disposition, style, memory, and delivery.

The audience is the individual or group an orator wants to persuade. Whether members of the audience change
their attitudes or beliefs determines whether the orator's speech is successful or not. Therefore, rhetoric is audience oriented. Since all individuals interpret what they observe in reference to past experience and different individuals will have different responses to a speech, audience analysis is very important to the orator. The authors of *Speech Criticism* indicate that in some cases, "it may be necessary to alter the natural order sharply to accommodate the speech to certain people." The orator must consider the nature of the audience in planning the speech.

The speech is to the traditional rhetoric what the message and channel are to the modern communication. It is the media an orator uses to persuade the audience. To prepare and deliver the speech, an orator should consider all variables of persuasion, including the audience and the speaker himself as in the rhetorical situation.

Three Types of Oratory

The tradition of oratory presented by Aristotle delineated three types of speeches: forensic, deliberative, and epideictic. Each had its place for a particular audience and situation.

*The Rhetorica ad Herennium*, sometimes ascribed to Cicero, also mentioned the three kinds of oratory--judicial,
deliberative, and demonstrative oratory. They represent the types of cause that an orator may consider.\footnote{Aristotle in his \textit{Rhetoric} gives us the audience, situations, and the details of emphasized matters for the three kinds of oratory. We may put them in the following brief framework.}

**Forensic speaking**

Forensic (judicial, legal) speaking tries in a law case to establish the justice or injustice of some action. It either attacks or defends somebody and concerns the past time.\footnote{The forensic speaker, whether a member of the prosecution or the defense, stresses justice or injustice with respect to an accused person's alleged action.}

The subject matters of forensic speaking are (1) human actions which include causes of human actions (chance, nature, compulsion, habit, reasoning, anger, and desire) and aims (good and pleasant) and (2) nature of wrong doing which includes disposition of wrong-doers (believe action possible, escape detection, and penalty less than pain), victims (possess needed things, distant and near, unsuspecting, easy going and retiring, frequently wronged, unpopular, friends, and enemies, lacking friends, lack speaking ability, foreigners, and criminals), special law (written law), and universal law (unwritten equity).\footnote{The subject matters of forensic speaking are (1) human actions which include causes of human actions (chance, nature, compulsion, habit, reasoning, anger, and desire) and aims (good and pleasant) and (2) nature of wrong doing which includes disposition of wrong-doers (believe action possible, escape detection, and penalty less than pain), victims (possess needed things, distant and near, unsuspecting, easy going and retiring, frequently wronged, unpopular, friends, and enemies, lacking friends, lack speaking ability, foreigners, and criminals), special law (written law), and universal law (unwritten equity).}
Deliberative Speaking

Deliberative (political) speaking tries to establish the expediency or the harmfulness of a proposed course of action. It urges us to do, or not to do, something and concerns the future time.\textsuperscript{13}

Speakers in legislative bodies and related groups recommend actions which an assembly should take in order to guarantee success in the future. Elements of happiness and good are emphasized.\textsuperscript{14}

The subject matters of deliberative speaking are (1) happiness (good birth, good children, many children, good friends, many friends, health, honor, fame, good fortune, virtue, power, and avoid opposites), (2) goods (happiness, virtues of soul, excellence of body, wealth, friends, honor-reputation, power in speaking, power of action, memory, aptness in learning, quickness of thought, arts and sciences, life, and justice), (3) deliberations (ways and means—finances of a country, peace and war, national defense, food supply—imports and exports, and legislation), and (4) forms of government (democracy, oligarchy, aristocracy, and monarchy).\textsuperscript{15}

Epideictic speaking

Epideictic (panegyric, demonstrative, ceremonial) speaking tries to prove a man either worthy of honor or
the reverse. It either praises or censures somebody and concerns the present time.\textsuperscript{16}

An individual who exemplifies the cardinal virtues is an honorable person meriting praise. One who violates the virtues deserves blame.\textsuperscript{17}

The subject matters are (1) virtue (justice, temperance, courage, magnificence, magnanimity, liberality, gentleness, prudence, and wisdom) and (2) acts of nobleness which are grounded in virtue (act of courage, just deeds, honor, unselfish deeds, absolute goods, gifts of nature, goods for after-life, goods done for others, goods not beneficial to doer, deeds opposite of shame, concern without fear, virtues of a class, gratification for others, avenge against enemy, memorable things, unique possessions, non-yielding possessions, special traits of people, distinctive marks of habit, independence, opposites for blame, and victory).\textsuperscript{18}

Canons of Rhetoric

In The Rhetorica ad Herennium, the author divides rhetoric into five canons (aspects): \textit{inventio} (invention), \textit{dispositio} (disposition), \textit{elocutio} (elocution, style), \textit{memoria} (memory), and \textit{pronuntiatio} (pronunciation, delivery). He maintains that each of these five parts can be acquired by an orator through art, imitation, and
practice. About this division of canons, the authors of Speech Criticism say,

This fivefold division is fairly standard in all major works after Aristotle until the eighteenth century. Minor changes in the meaning of the terms are developed in various treatises, but the pattern remains the same until the time of George Campbell, when "memory" practically drops out of the analysis.

The tradition of the fivefold division has been persistent and influential and "even to this day, with some modifications, it serves to divide the essential aspects of the art, both in theory and in criticism." Invention finds what an orator should say. "It is an investigative understanding, embracing a survey and forecast of the subject and a search for the arguments suitable to the given rhetorical effort." Disposition covers the concept of arrangement, or orderly planning and movement of the whole idea. Style embraces "the concept of expression in language, basically resulting from the choice of words and their arrangement or composition." "Memory is the firm mental grasp of matter and words." It concerns the ability "to recall all of the 'cause' complete with arguments, opinions, instructions, and arrangement of the language." Delivery embraces, in its broad conception, the orator's method of preparing his speeches, his method of delivering the speeches, the physical factors conducive to his effectiveness as a
speaker, his bodily action in making the speeches, and his use of the voice as an instrument of persuasion.

Since the tradition of the five canons of oratory is so influential and important in Western rhetorical tradition, it can be used to examine the rhetoric of other languages and cultures.

Rhetorical concepts from the philosophy of Confucius and Mencius fits the framework of three traditional canons: invention, disposition, and style.

For the convenience of comparison with Chinese rhetoric in the following sections, emphasis is made on constituents of the canons, not on their history.

**Invention**

As Charles Sears Baldwin remarks, invention refers to "the investigation, analysis, and grasp of the subject matter." "The concept of invention includes the entire investigative understanding, the idea of the status, and the modes of persuasion--logical, emotional, and ethical--in all of their complex interrelations." Therefore, the orator's painstaking investigation of the facts is indispensable to inventive skill. In this concept, the material sources, the status, and the three proofs are essential.
The concept of "topoi" and "status"

Since *topoi* (topic) refers to courses of proofs and status (state of a cause) is a complex concept in logical proof, it is necessary to discuss them before going to the three proofs—ethical, pathetic, and logical.

**Topic.** Topic is "any matter treated of in speech or writing; a theme for discussion." Topics are "the part that treats of the selection and arrangement of the proofs; also, the places or classes in which the various kinds of proofs are to be found." Cicero defines a topic as "the seat of an argument, and . . . an argument is a reason which causes men to believe a thing which would otherwise be doubtful." Therefore, topics concern the sources or places which furnish arguments.

About topics, the authors of *Speech Criticism* interpreted Aristotle's ideas that

The rhetorician may draw his material from either universal or particular topoi. Universal topics are broad, general sources which are equally applicable to physics or politics. The four common (universal) sources are the possible and impossible, past fact, future fact, and size or degree. Special topics . . . are associated with a "particular species or class of things." They provide the speaker with a thorough insight into a specific problem.

Aristotle drew twenty-eight valid lines of argument and nine sham ones. "Whenever one of these lines of argument is combined with a premise derived from a general or
special topic, an enthymeme is formed."\(^{37}\) As the authors of *Speech Criticism* put it, the enthymeme is

a rhetorical syllogism which draws its premises from probabilities, signs, and examples. It derives its materials from particular or universal topoi, and then combines that material with the various lines of argument. Further, while the enthymeme is technically a form of logical proof, it frequently produces an emotional and ethical effect.\(^{38}\)

Seeing this, we know that the topic is important in that it is what the enthymeme is based on and it results in the ethical, logical, and pathetic proof.

**Status.** The status of which the first formal embodiment is found in the *ad Herennium* and in Cicero's *On Invention* is the location of a center of argument.\(^{39}\) Caplan translates the term "status," or "constitutio," as issue, and defines it as "the conjoining of two conflicting statements, thus forming the center of the argument and determining the character of the case . . . ."\(^{40}\) "The author of *ad Herennium* deals with three kinds of issues: conjectural, legal, and juridical."\(^{41}\) Cicero remarks that these considerations apply to all the three types of oratory—forensic, deliberative, and panegyric.\(^{42}\)

Quintilian regards "status" as "the state of the cause, which is the strongest point in it and on which the whole matter chiefly turns."\(^{43}\) "Through the medium of the status, . . . the investigator or orator was able to find out what the body of material in the case meant."\(^{44}\)
Quintilian discusses two general states--the legal and the ratiocinatory. The former, depending upon legality, has many species and various forms. The latter, depending upon reasoning, includes the status of conjectures or fact, of definition, and of quality. "Briefly, they deal with these possible points in a case whether a thing is--a matter of fact; what it is--a matter of definition; and of what species it is--a matter of quality." With the concept of "status," Quintilian considers that the "places" where arguments and information are to be found are cause, place, time, manner, and means. The "status" is important in that it is the central turning point in a case--the issue upon which a debate may hinge.

The three proofs

Aristotle tells us that proof may be divided into two categories: non-artistic and artistic. Non-artistic proof is already existent, which we have only to apply, such as laws (written and universal), witnesses (ancient and recent), contracts, fortunes, and oaths. Artistic proof is invented for the occasion. Artistic proofs are ethical, logical, and pathetic proofs, which we have to invent. About the artistic proofs the authors of Speech Criticism say,

Rhetoricians since Aristotle have generally accepted his concept that the modes of persuasion, depending upon the effect they produce
in hearers, are of three kinds. . . . These . . . are usually called the ethical, the pathetic or emotional, and logical. 49

"Aristotle's threefold analysis of proof is every bit as appropriate to persuasion today as it was when written twenty centuries ago," 50 the authors of The Rhetoric of Western Thought maintained. Basically the three proofs are discussed in the canon of invention. 51

Ethical proof. Ralph Waldo Emerson says,

The reason why anyone refuses his assent to your opinion, or his aid to your benevolent design, is in you. He refuses to accept you as a bringer of truth, because, though you think you have it, he feels that you have it not. You have not given him the authentic sign. 52

This explains why rhetoricians since Aristotle have considered ethos important.

Aristotle sees ethos as the audience's perception of a speaker based on the speech itself. 53 He considers that the proof of the character is the most effective proof and "he holds that there are three sources of personal credibility in oratory . . . viz., sagacity, high character, and good will." 54

Cicero remarks that "feelings of the hearers are conciliated by a person's dignity, by his actions, by the character of his life . . ." 55 and that it is . . . of peculiar advantage that indications of good nature, of liberality, of gentleness, of piety, of grateful feelings, free from selfishness and avarice, should appear in him; and
everything that characterizes men of probity and humility, not acrimonious, not pertinacious nor litigious, nor harsh, very much conciliates benevolence, and alienates the affections from those in whom such qualities are not apparent.

Thonssen and Baird mention that all these sources of credibility resolve to the essentials set forth by John Ward in his System of Oratory: wisdom, integrity, benevolence, and modesty.

With the concept of these virtues, Quintilian directly connects excellence in presentation with nobility of character. He insists that an orator should be a good man and only a good man can be a good orator--because of the ethical proof.

Logical proof. Aristotle looked upon logical argument as the most important element in the speech.

Fundamentally, the constituents of logical proof are evidence and argument or reasoning.

Evidence is the raw material used to establish proof, as the authors of Speech Criticism put it:

It may include the testimony of individuals, personal experiences, tables of statistics, illustrative examples, or any so-called "factual" items which induce in the mind of the hearer or reader a state of belief.

Reasoning includes induction and deduction.

Thonssen, Baird and Braden say

Induction begins with specific materials, facts, events, "data" . . . . From these concrete elements more general conclusions may be arrived at.
Deduction ... frames a conclusion which in turn relates to premises. It sets up assumptions, or hypotheses that either prove themselves as the outcomes of the inductive method or tentatively furnish the guideposts in the framing and solution of the problem. These two methods are complementary. All inductive inferences have a deductive element.61

Every thought process is really both deductive and inductive and can be exhibited as either a deduction or an induction according to the point of view used in interpreting it.62

Aristotle recognized these two general modes of inference— from the specific to the general (induction), and from the general to the more concrete conclusions (deduction).63 The heart of Aristotle's theory of logical proof is the enthymeme. Enthymeme has the same relationship to rhetoric that syllogism has to logic. Both enthymeme and syllogism begin with a general premise and proceed to a particular case. The ideas are both presented in three steps: a major premise, a minor premise, and a conclusion. The difference between enthymeme and the syllogism is that the syllogism draws its major premise from scientific truth and the enthymeme from probable knowledge. An example of syllogism is this: Major premise--All men are mortal. Minor premise--Socrates is a man. Conclusion--Socrates is mortal. An example of enthymeme is: Major premise--All Athenians love to argue. Minor premise--Socrates is an Athenian. Conclusion--Socrates loves to argue. Aristotle considers that there are three sorts of premises
from which enthymemes are drawn: probabilities, signs, and examples. "He tells us that enthymemes taken from examples are those which proceed by induction from one or more parallel cases until the speaker abstracts a general rule, from which he argues to the case in point." 

An induction may be illustrated as follows. Example 1: Beaver A fells trees to build a dam. Example 2: Beaver B fells trees to build a dam. Example 3: Beaver C fells trees to build a dam. Conclusion: Beavers fell trees to build dams.

Stephen Toulmin designed a model including the induction and deduction elements: data (evidence), claim (conclusion), warrant, backing, rebuttal and qualifier. This model is a useful tool to explain the traditional concept of induction and deduction.

Pathetic proof. Pathetic proof is important, as Aristotle reminded us, because "proofs may be conveyed through the audience, when it is worked up by the speech to an emotional state." 

"Pathetic proof includes all those materials and devices calculated to put the audience in a frame of mind suitable for the reception of the speaker's ideas," as Thonssen, Baird, and Braden maintained.
Aristotle analyzed human emotions by the method of contrast. For this method he discussed the pairs of emotions as: anger and mildness, friendship and enmity (love and hatred), fear and boldness, shame and shamelessness, gratitude and ingratitude (benevolence and unkindness), pity and indignation, envy and emulation. He also considers that a person's age, heritage, wealth, and power all influence his emotions. He maintains that an orator should know these factors to adapt to emotional traits of the audience.

Cicero also considered emotion as very important in rhetoric. The authors of Speech Criticism say that Cicero indicates that "mankind makes far more determinations through hatred, or love, or desire, or anger, or grief, or joy, or hope, or fear, or error, or some other affection of mind, than from regard to truth, or any settled maxim, or principle of right, or judicial form or adherence to the law." He therefore comments on the way to make audience analyses, to move people to various emotional states, and to make the speaker's character aid in the persuasive undertaking.

Campbell's treatment of emotional proof is also worthy of being mentioned here. He considers audience from two points of view, "as men in general, and as such men in particular." When discussing pathetic impact, we should also consider this deviation.
Disposition

Rhetoricians have a variety of explanations of "disposition." Aristotle treated it as chiefly planned adaptation to the audience and speech. He sees thesis and proof as the essential part of speech and considers that, if necessary, there can be four parts totally: exordium (introduction), exposition (statement), proof, and peroration (epilogue). He offers advice on selecting, ordering, and adapting the materials according to the audience, the subject, and the speaker. Cicero stressed adaptation of the product of inventio to the particular situation. He considers the process of disposition as the grouping of ideas invented in the natural order and he considers that an orator's invention is revealed in six sections of an address: exordium, narratio (narration), divisio (division), confirmatio (evidence), confutatio (contradiction), and conclusio (conclusion). The main object of disposition is the exercise of prudence and judgment. Quintilian considers disposition as arrangement.

Like Cicero, he said that disposition included selection, elimination, ordering, massing, or proportioning, and coloring. The time, place, speaker, purpose, and audience would determine the proper handling of structure.
In view of the full meaning of disposition as contained in the older works, Russell Wagner defines it as "the functional selection and use of materials for a particular purpose." Therefore, it deals with the selection, orderly arrangement, and proportioning of the parts of an address. "In its broadest sense, disposition embraces the emergence of a central theme, the general method of arrangement adopted for the speech, the order in which the parts of the discourse are developed, and the proportioning, of materials."

The concept of thematic emergence and selecting materials

The examination of some of the specific matters related to disposition has been considered by Thonssen, Baird, and Braden through the process of thematic emergence:

Selection of the materials of a given discourse is centered in the propositions or thesis. The purpose of the speaker or writer is to reduce his thesis to a clearcut statement that embodies both his over-all idea and his rhetorical aim of informing, entertaining, persuading, convincing, inspiring, or combining some of these ends. This proposition, the working idea or plan of the discourse, is sufficiently definite for the writer or speaker to refer to at every step in his preparation.

The thesis or proposition and its analysis are of course dependent upon the subject itself. Since the choice of purpose and topic is made, the whole vista of materials is open. The reading, thinking, interaction with people and events, including the speaker's previous
experiences, all openly or subtly play for inclusion and primacy in what is to be uttered.

In addition to the subject itself, the personality of the speaker and the adjustment of the speaker with his audience and the occasion itself become major determinants of what is included, excluded, and expanded.

General method of arranging the subject matter

The general method of arrangement means to look for a way of division (analysis) and then order the selected materials. Generally, the method of analysis dictates the sequence of presentation, as the authors of Speech Criticism maintained.

Some method of grouping materials into basic divisions are the historical, distributive, logical, and psychological. In historical method, material is arranged in chronological order. In distributive method, matters having a common thought center and an obvious connection among themselves are grouped in certain sections. In logical method, the arrangement of materials is determined by the continuity of the reasoning process. In psychological method, material is arranged by the psychological order which is determined by the predisposition or inclination of the listeners.

Thonssen, Baird, and Braden in their Speech Criticism give us a tabular analysis presenting the
common bases of division. It is helpful to quote this tabular analysis here. To reduce the length, only the major divisions are included. Detailed explanation is omitted.

I. Historical Order
   A. Material can be divided as to time units.
   B. It can be from past to future, or from present to past to future, or any other derivative of this pattern.

II. Distributive Order
   A. Material can be divided according to the parties involved in the problems, for example, capital and labor; or the Northerners and the Southerners; etc.
   B. The division can be made according to legal and ethical implications.
   C. The nature of the subject matter can determine the division.
   D. The division can be made according to the fields of inquiry involved in the subject. These fields may, for example, be the economic, political, social, etc.
   E. The division can be made according to the definitional requirements of the case.

III. Logical Order
   A. Material can be divided according to proof requirements implicit in the problem-solving technique.
   B. The material can be divided according to the framework of a logical pattern for discussion of policy.
   C. The material can be divided according to issues developed by the proponents of a proposed course of action.
   D. The materials can be divided according to issues developed by the opponents of a proposed course of action.
   E. Material can be divided according to refutative requirements inherent in the subject.
   F. The materials can be divided according to proof requirements for developing a proposition of fact (to determine the truth or falsity of a proposition or an alleged fact).
IV. Psychological Order
   A. Relative importance of the main and subpropositions.
   B. Complexity of the main and subpropositions.
   C. Interestingness.
   D. Acceptability.

The authors of *Speech Criticism* give us this tabular analysis. However, they mention that "these schematic representations are not intended to suggest that a single basis of division necessarily prevails throughout an orator's speech. The principles often work in combination."^83^ 

The order for development of the parts of a speech

"Plato remarked that 'every speech ought to be put together like a living creature,'" say Thonssen, Baird, and Braden. "In other words, a speech should have a beginning, a middle, and an end."^84^ Aristotle's suggestion for four parts of a speech is worthy to explain: (1) The introduction is intended to arouse the audience and make them eager to accept the speaker's idea. (2) The statement of the case explains clearly and concisely the nature of the subject to be developed. (3) The proof contains the elaboration of subject matter through which the ideas are enforced. (4) The conclusion is "to inspire the audience with a favorable opinion of yourself and an unfavorable one of your adversary, to amplify or depreciate the subject, to excite the emotions of the audience and to
recall the facts to their memory." 85 Other rhetoricians have their own classifications of the parts of a speech. However, they are in virtual agreement. Aristotle's classifications explained here is enough for us to understand the order in which the parts of a speech are developed.

Proportion of materials

Proportion is another principle of disposition dealing with the position and space of the content. Its aim is to secure vividness by setting forth the most important ideas and parts so that the audience can properly understand them. For position, "proportion calls for a significant beginning. The end should similarly be impressive. Summaries and restatement of the major points also contribute to satisfactory proportioning." 86 For space, "Thus repetition of ideas--in one and more places through explanation, illustration, logical detail, comparison and contrast with other ideas or information--all help ordinarily to make the more important concepts impressive." 87

Style

Style is "the skillful adaptation of expression to thought." 88 It is to make ideas acceptable and to get the response sought by the speaker. 89 Style deals with word
choice, composition, and the various ornaments of speech. It is interwoven with the other canons of rhetoric. For example, since the conception of thought and its expression are virtually inseparable, the style and invention play interactive roles. The position an idea occupies in the total discourse may influence how language is used to express it, so the disposition and style also play interactive roles. The ramifications of style are elaborate, extending deeply into the fundamentals of invention and disposition and losing themselves in them, so that style becomes indistinguishable from the other elements. However, to make it possible to compare Chinese rhetoric with Western rhetoric, we will frame style by presenting its classifications, its qualities, and its constituents.

The classifications of style

The author of ad Herennium lists three kinds of style—attenuata (plain, simple), mediocris (moderate, middle), and gravis (grand) style. In The Orator, Cicero also described and analyzed the same three styles. "These types arise from the orator's attempt to prove, to please, and to move; and the skilled orator should be able to do all three."

Plain style. Cicero says that in the plain style "the hearers . . . feel confident that they could speak in
that manner." In this style, we should "release it from the fetters of rhythm." This style must be a sort of easy style. "The language will be pure and Latin; it will be arranged plainly and clearly." The nature of this style seems, as Quintilian says, "adapted to the duty of stating facts" and he postulates its necessary condition is perspicuity.

**Moderate style.** The moderate style should, as Cicero says, be "somewhat more forcible than the plain style but tamer than the highest class of oratory." It should have "little vigour yet greatest possible quantity of sweetness." It should be fuller than the plain style but more plain than the grand style which is highly ornamented and copious. "Every kind of ornament in speaking is suitable to this style." It "admits of all sorts of figures of expressions." "Orators of this class usually come from the schools of philosophers." This style is for pleasing or conciliating and its necessary condition is gentleness of manner, as Quintilian maintained.

**Grand style.** According to Cicero, the orator of grand style "is the sublime, copious, dignified ornate speaker, in whom there is the greatest amount of grace." This style "sometimes . . . implants new opinions in men, and eradicates others which have been long established."
However, a person without high principles who develops and uses this style may be "very much despised." 99 Quintilian considers that this style is for the purpose of moving the feelings and its necessary condition is energy. 100

Qualities of style

The necessary qualities of a good style, as Cicero interpreted Theophrastus' teaching, were correctness, clearness, appropriateness, and embellishment (ornament). This concept has generally been accepted by classical tradition. However, these essential qualities were not necessarily applied to all styles. For example, Cicero did not ascribe ornamentation to the plain style. He reserved part of it for the Middle, and wholly for the Grand. 101 To frame these qualities, each is explained briefly.

**Correctness.** "Correctness refers chiefly to word choice or usage. Fundamentally, it deals with the selection of the best word for the particular task," say the authors of *Speech Criticism*. 102 It is, as Aristotle believed, the foundation of all good style. Aristotle listed its constituent elements as these: (a) proper use of connecting words; (b) use of specific rather than general words for things; (c) avoidance of ambiguity; (d) accurate
classification of nouns as to gender; and (e) correct
expression of plurality, fewness, and unity. \(^{103}\) Correct-
ness "deals with word choice that insures accuracy in
developing the speaker's thought. . . . It facilitates the
use of language as an effective vehicle for conveying
thought." \(^{104}\)

**Clearness.** Clearness deals with both the choice
of words and their arrangement. It derives from simplicity
and perspicuity which are the first virtue of composition
as Quintilian believed. On one hand, we should avoid
the barriers to clearness: obscurity, double meaning, and
unintelligibility (failure to convey meaning at all), as
Campbell remarked. \(^{105}\) On the other hand, we may apply the
elements of clearness which Thonssen and Baird listed:
(a) thorough knowledge and understanding of the ideas;
(b) discerning word selection; (c) simplicity of sentence
structure; (d) use of definitions to clarify ideas; (e)
use of examples; (f) use of illustrations; (g) control
over details in the speech; (h) orderly sequence of ideas--
organizational integrity; (i) proper transition materials
designed; (j) adequacy of logical materials--assumptions,
evidence, argument; (k) suitable summaries designed. \(^{106}\)

**Appropriateness.** Appropriateness means that the
style of expression should be appropriate to the subject,
the audience, and the speaker. More detailed explanations derive from the following rhetoricians' concepts. Aristotle "affirms that when weighty matters are being discussed, the casual manner of expression should not be used; when trivial topics are being considered, there should not be a manner of solemnity." Cicero sees that "copiousness of matter produces copiousness of language." Quintilian says that style should be adapted not only to the cause, but to the particular parts of the cause. Hugh Blair "insists that we suit the tropes and figures to the subject," and not vice versa. Aristotle considers that "style must also be appropriate to the type of oratory and to the particular audience." Aristotle and Cicero agreed that the style should be consistent with the speaker--the speaker's age, rank, and authority.107

**Embellishment.** Embellishment "is to adorn or elevate through the judicious use of tropes and figures," as the authors of *Speech Criticism* maintained. They quoted Gibbons' *Rhetoric* to explain tropes and figures: The trope "is a change of a word or sentence from one sense into another." The figure is "not to change the sense of words, but to illustrate, enliven, ennoble, or in some manner or another embellish our discourses."108 When using tropes and figures, we should remember that "the
figures must help to reinforce thought, but should not be regarded as the thought, per se," as the above mentioned authors interpreted Gibbons' concept.109

The constituents of style

The fundamental constituents of style—word choice, composition, and the various ornaments of speech—are what the author of *ad Herennium*, Cicero, and Quintilian consider as important to be discussed.110

Word choice. The choice of words "deals with the selection of the best possible words for the particular task." It should be correct and clear. "It is a highly individual matter, the eventual choices varying with a large number of circumstances, including the speaker's knowledge, his language facility, his understanding of the nature of the speaking problem and of the audience, and the character of the response sought through the speech."111

Composition. Composition is "the orderly arrangement of the words chosen," as Thonsseen and Baird indicated.112 Dionysius defined "composition" as "a certain arrangement of the parts of speech, or elements of diction."113 It should also be correct and clear. Two aspects of composition are structure and rhythm. (a) "Structure has to do with the way in which words are assembled and related so as to convey thought with economy
of effort and effectiveness of purpose." The judicious use of interaction of three kinds of sentences--the periodic, the loose, and the balanced--are important.  

When assembling related sentences into a paragraph, we should express in the paragraph a specific unit of thought. (b) Rhythm is considered a pleasing attribute of prose style. The sources of rhythmical prose "rest in the structure of the sentences; in their arrangement in the paragraph; in the combination of metrical feet; in the delivery accorded the material by the speaker, and, according to Cicero, in the figures of speech."  

Ornament. Ornament is not only one of the constituents of style but also a kind of quality of style. Its primary function is to adorn or to elevate through the judicious use of tropes and figures. This point has been discussed, using the term "embellishment," under the title "Qualities of style" in this section. Therefore it is not repeated here. 

This overview has framed the traditional concepts, with the exceptions of memory and delivery, of Western rhetoric which may be compared with Chinese rhetoric--Cong-Meng rhetoric and modern speeches. Since no one work exists which fully organizes Chinese rhetorical concepts, those which are found in traditional Chinese sources will be examined and related to Western rhetorical structures.
Analysis of Cong-Meng Rhetorical Concepts

In this section the rhetorical concepts of Confucius and Mencius will be extracted from The Analects and The Works of Mencius and organized in a pattern based on the framework of Western rhetoric. These concepts will be used as a basic pattern for the analysis of the modern speeches in the next chapter to determine the influence of Cong-Meng rhetoric on those speeches.

Definition and Three Essential Elements of Rhetoric

Definition

In the Chinese language there is no word bearing the meaning of "rhetoric" as defined by ancient Western orators. Generally, "rhetoric" is translated into Chinese language only as "how to make words expressed better as well as to make them accordant with grammar rules" or "the skill of debating eloquently." In Chinese language there are such words as dialogue, conversation, debate, advice, and persuasion. In ancient China there was no allusion of the concept of public address; but in modern China there is. Thus, when the word "rhetoric" is used as a broader concept in modern Chinese, it may basically bear the meanings of dialogue, conversation, debate, advice, persuasion, and public speaking, as well as the concept of implicit message.
While Plato saw rhetoric as an instrument for making the will of God prevail, Confucius and Mencius saw speaking as one's ethical responsibility and as a tool to improve human society and to achieve heaven-human unification and tien tao. This statement from The Works of Mencius clearly establishes this relationship.

Kung-tu Tzu said, "Outsiders all say that you, Master, are fond of debate. May I ask why?" Mencius replied, "Am I really fond of debate? I am but compelled to do it . . . . I also wish to rectify men's hearts to stop depraved doctrines, to oppose biased conducts, and to banish away licentious words and thus to carry on the work of the three sages. Am I really fond of debate? I am but compelled to do it." 117

Confucius felt that the persuadee might either accept or reject the persuasive message. Further, the following quotation from The Analects suggests that persuasion be moderate:

Tzu Kung asked about friendship. Confucius said, "Be faithful in what you advise. Lead him gently to what is good! If you find he won't follow, stop. Do not quarrel with him to get insulted." 118

The Analects indicates that persuasion which angered those who were powerful could jeopardize one's life or position. It cites three examples: Wei Tzu withdrew [from the court because the ruler did not follow his persuasion], Chi Tzu became a slave [because of his persuasion to the ruler], and Bi Kan was killed [by the emperor for his persuasion]. 119 However, such persuasion
for the good of the people was praiseworthy even if it caused sacrifice. Confucius said of the three, "these were three men of *jen*.

**Three elements of rhetoric**

The speaker

Quintilian defined an orator as "a good man speaking well." Confucius offers a somewhat different statement, "A gentleman would rather be better in conduct than in speech." Both recognize that a man's character relates to his speaking. Confucius stresses conduct as more important than speech. He was somewhat skeptical of those whose speech was good but whose benevolence was not established. A student asked,

"How about Kung-hsi Chih?" Confucius replied, "With his sash girt [in his uniform] and standing in a court, Chih might be employed to converse with the visitors and guests, but I don't know if he is a man of benevolence."

Confucius was also suspicious of some speech behavior. He said, "Clever words and insinuating appearance are seldom associated with benevolence."

He had advice for those who wished to avoid problems. "The man of perfect virtue is cautious and slow in speech."

Mencius seemed to agree with Confucius. He said, "He who speaks readily does so simply because he is
not charged with any responsibility." He warns of the consequences of thoughtless criticism, "When [one] speak[s] ill of others, be careful of its consequence."  

While Confucius and Mencius do not provide the varied treatment of the speaker found in Western rhetoric, they do recognize that qualities of the speaker influence rhetoric.

The audience

Western rhetoric has dealt at length with qualities of the audience, and Confucius and Mencius recognize that concern for the audience is important.

Confucius saw rhetoric as audience-oriented and audience deviations should be considered. He said, "To those whose talents are above the average men, you can speak of high subjects; to those whose talents are below the average men, you cannot speak of high subjects."  

Confucius felt that a speaker should not bend his ethical principles. Therefore, sometimes he even refused to talk with some individuals. He said, "A scholar, whose mind is set on tao yet who is ashamed of bad clothes or bad food, is not worthy to discourse with."  

Like Confucius, Mencius sees the speaker's principles as more important than persuading the audience. He would rather hold a principle and fail to achieve the
persuasive purpose than achieve the purpose yet lose his own principle of being a man of jen himself. He said, "In perusading great men, despise them somewhat, don't see them as in high positions." Mencius, like Confucius, felt that it was useless to talk with those people who did not have sound ethical principles. His statement can be paraphrased: It is not possible to persuade those who are not benevolent. If it were, countries would not continue to be destroyed and families would be saved from ruin.

Confucius considered that man had the responsibility of accepting good advice:

Can we not follow straight and serious advice? The important thing is to change our conduct accordingly. Can we not be pleased with gentle and pleasant advice? The important thing is to understand its implications. If pleased but not understand or if changed in appearance but not changed in conduct, I don't know how to deal with such a person!

A good audience was considered very important. Confucius praised Yen Hui, "The man who was never tired and inattentive when I talked was Hui!"

Mencius had the same concept as Confucius that man had the responsibility of accepting good advice. This point is revealed in his words praising Yu and Shoon. He said of Yu, "Yu hated good wine but loved good advice." He talked of Shoon, "But when he heard a single good word or saw a single good deed, he was like the water bursting
through the banks of the river and creating an irresistible flood." 133

While Western rhetoric uses audience analysis to accommodate the speech to certain people, Confucius and Mencius seem to be less willing to do so. They recognize that subject matter must be appropriate to the audience, but they would accept no modification of ethical principles. They saw ethical principles as so important that an audience had the responsibility to accept them readily. A good audience or person would accept good advice from a wise speaker.

The speech or message

Western rhetoric was concerned with the speech. It was a planned message which fitted into one of three types: deliberative, forensic, or epideictic. The rhetorical concepts found in the rhetorical precepts of Confucius and Mencius do not fit neatly into these categories. No tradition of public speeches developed. The persuasion and public discourse which is recorded exists as dialogues, rather than as speeches. The court system did not rely on forensic speeches by individuals. Political persuasion did occur and public praise was offered in dialogues. The educational process relied on public discourse, but it, too, seems to have been structured as dialogue.
Examples exist in *The Analects* and in *The Works of Mencius* which suggest methods of persuading and educating. This section will consider such political persuasion, messages of praise, and educational discourse.

**Political messages.** Confucius and Mencius both provide examples which demonstrate desirable approaches to persuasion. *The Analects* records those of Confucius. One of many included suggests the nature of such discourse:

> The Duke Ai asked, "What should be done in order to secure the submission of the people?" Confucius replied, "Advance the upright and set aside the crooked, then the people will submit. Advance the crooked and set aside the upright, then the people will not submit."\(^\text{134}\)

Mencius also saw the importance of political persuasion. This excerpt suggests that sort of political message which he offered to rulers:

> Mencius went to see King Hui of Liang. The king said, "Venerable sir, since you have not counted it far to come here, a distance of a thousand lih [Chinese mile], may I presume that you are likewise provided with counsels to profit my kingdom?" Mencius replied, "Why must Your Majesty mention the word 'profit'? What I am going to provide with are counsels to benevolence and righteousness and these are my only topics."\(^\text{135}\)

**Messages of praise and blame.** Messages of praise and blame also occur in the works of both Confucius and Mencius and might still influence speakers who know of their works. Confucius praised the attentiveness of Yen
Hui, "The man who was never tired and inattentive when I talked is Yen Hui!" He also praised a ruler:

Great indeed was Yao as a sovereign! It is only Heaven that is grand, and only Yao corresponded to it. How vast was his virtue! The people could find no name for it! How majestic was he in the works which he accomplished! How glorious in the elegant regulations which he instituted!

Mencius blamed two tyrants strictly:

King Shyuan of China asked, "Is it true that Tang[119] banished Chieh[120] and King Wu[121] smote Jou?[122] Mencius answered, "It is so recorded." "Is regicide permitted?" "A man who outrages benevolence is called a robber, while one who outrages rightness is called a ruffian. He who is a robber and ruffian is called a pariah. I have indeed heard of the punishment of the pariah Jou, but I have not heard of any regicide."

Educational messages. Education was emphasized by Confucius. Therefore, many excerpts can be found which have the function of education. Talking about litigation, he considered that to educate people not to commit crime and avoid litigation were more important than settling the forensic problems. He said, "I can judge on litigation as well as others [other judges]. What is necessary, however, is to cause the people to have no litigations." Talking about government, he taught the audience the principle of non-government. He said,

Shoon was perhaps the one man who successfully carried out the principle of government. Then what did he do? A ruler needs only to be earnest in his personal conduct and to behave in a manner worthy of his position.
Talking about knowledge, he said, "Yiu, shall I teach you what knowledge is? Recognize that you know when you really know; admit that you don't know when you do not actually know. This is knowledge."\textsuperscript{145} His emphasis on educational function of discourse is also revealed in this excerpt:

Hushiang was notorious for the bad character of its people. When Confucius allowed a young man of that place to be presented to him, his disciples were astonished. Confucius said, "We should encourage people to become better and should not leave them to become worse. Why should we be too severe? When a man reforms and comes to seek my advice, I accept him for his reformation but not inquire about his past life."\textsuperscript{146}

Mencius seemed to have the same interest in educational function of discourse. The following excerpt is an example of such function:

Mencius said, "If you love others and get no requitement, turn inward and examine your own benevolence; if you try to rule others and get no response from them, turn inward and examine your own wisdom; when you do not get what you expect, you must in all cases turn inward and examine yourself."\textsuperscript{147}

Western rhetoric was concerned with the speech which fitted, according to its purpose, into one of the three types: deliberative, forensic, or epideictic. Cong-Meng rhetoric was concerned with political persuasion, messages of praise and blame, and educational discourse; they are all structured as dialogue.
Rhetorical Situations

Western rhetoric traditionally recognizes the importance of the rhetorical situation for determining the appropriateness of a speech or message. This was also significant in the feudal societies in which Confucius and Mencius lived.

Confucius was fully aware that speech must fit the time, place, and customs. The writers of *The Analects* call attention to his speech behavior: "When in his home village, Confucius looked diffident, as if he were not able to speak. When in ancestral temple or in the prince's court, he spoke readily, but cautiously."

Confucius offered clear advice about fitting speech to the political situation:

Confucius said, "When there is justice and order in the country, a man may be bold and lofty in the expression of his opinions as well as in his actions. When, however, there is no justice and order in the country, a man may be bold and lofty in his action, but he should be reserved in the expression of his opinions."

His concern for the correct approach to communication is reflected in his concern with the propriety and timing of messages:

Confucius said, "There are three kinds of errors a man who stands in the presence of a gentleman is liable to commit. First, to speak when one is not called upon to speak: that is called 'forwardness.' Secondly, to keep silent when called upon to speak: that is called 'disingenuousness.' Thirdly, to
speak without noticing the hearer's countenance: that is called 'blindness.'

Mencius emphasizes this same idea:

Mencius said, "... When a scholar speaks at the time he ought not to, he is using his words as a bait [to gain some end]; when a scholar doesn't speak at the time he ought to, he is using his silence as a bait [to gain some end]. In either case he is the same as those who break a wall to steal."

While Western rhetoric saw rhetorical situation as important to the effect of speech, Cong-Meng rhetoric saw it as an important factor to decide to speak or not to speak and how to speak. In the society emphasizing li, rhetorical situation seems to be more important than that in other societies.

Canons of Rhetoric

The traditional five canons of rhetoric from Western tradition can provide a framework for the analysis of Chinese rhetoric. However, the canons of memory and delivery are not useful, for they receive no mention in Cong-Meng philosophy. In this section, the concepts of Cong-Meng rhetoric in the canons of invention, disposition, and style will be analyzed.

Invention

In Western rhetoric, invention refers to investigative understanding. It includes the idea of topics and status and the modes of persuasion—ethical, logical, and
emotional. These concepts can be used to analyze the elements in Cong-Meng rhetoric.

Topic and Status

**Topic.** A topic is a theme for discussion and the part that treats of the selection and arrangement of the proofs. It concerns the sources or places which furnish arguments. Aristotle classified topics into general and specific topics. In Cong-Meng rhetoric some specific topics are emphasized.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the topics of Cong-Meng rhetoric emphasized virtues. Though their rhetoric also covered political, economic, social, and educational systems, these topics were derived from the concept of virtues. In this section, most of the virtues Confucius and Mencius mentioned repeatedly will be quoted from The Analects and The Works of Mencius. These virtues are: 

- **jen** (benevolence, connoting all of the qualities essential to the good man),
- **ai** (love),
- **hsiao** (filial piety),
- **ti** (goodness to brothers, sisters, and cousins),
- **chung** (fidelity, loyalty, faithfulness to men or earnestness to things),
- **hsin** (sincerity, truth, trustworthiness),
- **chih** (knowledge, reason, wisdom),
- **yung** (courage, bravery),
- **li** (politeness, manners, propriety, correctness, rituals, ceremony),
- **yi** (righteousness, rightness, justice),
- **lien**
(freedom from covetousness, probity), tseh (feeling of shame), yen (sternness, strictness, majesty, dignity, graveness), hsu (sympathy, forgiveness, consideration), etc. Besides these, chiu tzu (the gentlemen, men of virtues) was an important topic of Confucius and the nature of man was an important topic of Mencius. Both will also be mentioned here.

Chih, jen, and yung were considered by Confucius as "the three universally recognized virtues of man." These three are important topics of Confucius. About jen, he said, "Clever words and insinuating appearance are seldom associated with benevolence." He talked about jen and chih, "The best neighborhood is one where a benevolent life prevails. If a person choose not to live in such a neighborhood, how can he be considered wise?" About the topic of yung, he said, "For a man to worship a ghost which does not belong to him is flattery. To see what is right but not to do it is want of courage."

Confucius considered that a complete man should have many virtues with him. Therfore, the topics of chih, lien, yung, talents, li, yueh, yi, and hsin are revealed in his dialogue with Tzu Lu about a complete man:

Tzu Lu asked what constituted a complete man. Confucius said, "Suppose a man has the knowledge [wisdom] of Tsang Wu-chung, the freedom from covetousness of Kung-chuo, the bravery of Chuang-tzu of Pien, and the varied talents of Zan Chiu, and he also cultivates himself by the study of
rites and music, he would then be considered a complete man." "But," Confucius continued, "nowadays what is the necessity for a complete man to have all these things? A man, who in the view of gain thinks of righteousness, who in the view of danger is ready to give up his life, and who does not forget an old agreement however far back it extends, may be reckoned a complete man." 156

Hsiao and ti were considered by Confucius as basic principles of a man. In the following segment there are these two topics as well as the topics of circumspectness, hsin, love, jen, and chih:

Confucius said, "A youth, when at home, should be filial, and abroad, respectful to his elders. He should be circumspect and truthful. He should overflow in love to all, and be intimate with men of benevolence. If it is possible, after achieving these things, he may then pursue scholarship." 157

According to Confucius, a man of hsiao should not only respect his parents but also never complain of them:

In serving his parents, a son should mildly remonstrate with them; but should he find that they will not listen, he should still not fail in respect nor disregard their wishes; however much anxiety they give him, he should never complain." 158

Li was also considered by Confucius as a basic principle of a man. Li should be the expression of sincere feeling, not for observances. This dialogue reveals the concept of Confucius about the topic of li:

Lin Fang asked what was the foundation of the rites. Confucius said, "A great question indeed: As regards the practice of the rites, it is better to be simple than expensive; in
rituals for the dead, it is better that there should be heartfelt grief than minute attention to observances."

The concept of Confucius about li is also revealed in the words of Yu Tzu, one of his famous disciples:

In practicing the rules of propriety, what is precious is natural spontaneity. In the ways prescribed by the ancient kings, this is the excellent quality. Yet it does not always work with every small and great thing. If one, knowing how to be spontaneous, manifests it without regulating it by the rules of propriety, this likewise does not work.

Chiu Tzu, yen, and chung were also important topics of Confucius. This excerpt exemplifies these three topics as well as hsin and yung:

Confucius said, "If a gentleman be not grave, he will not be majestic and his learning will not be solid. Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles. Have no friends who are not equal to or better than yourself. When you have faults, do not fear to correct it."

Confucius saw chung and hsu as two elements with which he followed the tao and thus they were his important topics:

Confucius said [to Tzeng Tzu], "Shen! In the tao I follow, there is one unifying connected principle." Tzeng Tzu said, "That's right." When Confucius went out, the other disciples asked [Tzeng Tzu], "What do his words mean?" Tzeng Tzu said, "The principle in the Master's tao consists of only two elements: faithfulness and sympathy."

Confucius saw hsu as so important that it could be followed all through life. Tzu Kung inquired, "Is there any single word which one may follow for all of his life?"
Confucius replied, "Is 'sympathy' not the word? What you don't want others to do unto you, do not do unto them." 163

The major topics of Mencius were also virtues. He saw *jen*, *yi*, *li*, and *chih* as the four expressions of natural feelings. These four virtues and *hsu* and *tseh* were mentioned in his words, "The feeling of compassion is the beginning of benevolence; the feeling of shame and dislike, of righteousness; the feeling of courtesy and modesty, of propriety; the feeling of right and wrong, of wisdom." 164

*Jen*, *hsu*, *hsiao*, *ti*, *chung*, and *hsin* were considered important not only by Confucius but also by Mencius:

Mencius replied, "... If Your Majesty rules the people with a benevolent government, lightens punishment and taxation, makes the people plough deeply and weed properly, and if the able-bodied men spend their spare time in learning filial piety, goodness to brothers, loyalty, and sincerity, so that they will serve their fathers and elder brothers at home and their elders and superiors outside the home, then they will be able, even though armed with mere canes, to overpower the strong armor and sharp weapons of Chin and Chu." 165

Mencius thought that man's nature was good and that ancient rulers practiced the goodness in government. Thus, the nature of man and the virtues of ancient rulers became his important topics:

When the Duke Wen of Teng was crown prince, having to go to Chu, he went by way of Sung and visited Mencius. Mencius discoursed to him about the goodness of human nature and, when speaking, always made laudatory reference to Yao and Shoon. 166
While Western rhetoricians discussed and separated topics into general and specific topics, Confucius and Mencius did not define such categories. However, the material sources they drew were mostly from virtues and thus the specific topics of virtues as well as chiun tzu and human nature emerged repeatedly in their dialogues.

**Status.** The term "status" means "issue." It is the central turning point in a case--the issue upon which a debate may hinge. Confucius and Mencius did not discuss what status was, yet their words reveal that they did have the concept of "the central turning point in a case," the concept of "issue."

Confucius saw status in speech as important. He praised the men whose speech stuck to the point. Here is an example. Jih, a minister of Duke Chao of Lu, was too strong and Duke Chao was threatened. The duke wanted to destroy Jih but there were too many of Jih's spies. The duke lived in Chang Treasury to keep arms and money and wait for suitable time to attack Jih. (A treasury in that time was for storing arms and money.) Duke Chao was considering rebuilding the treasury for his purpose when Min Tzu Chien identified the central issue:

Some people in Lu proposed to build a new Chang Treasury. Min Tzu-chien remarked, "Why not keep the old building and modify it to suit the present circumstances? Why construct a new building?" [Referring to his disciple
Min Tzu-chen,] Confucius said, "That man seldom speaks; but when he does speak, he always hits the point."

In this case Min Tzu-chien implied that to avoid being suspected by Jih was an issue and Confucius praised him for this.

Mencius was skilled in debate because he discerned the issues:

Chun-yu Kun said, "Is it li that males and females shall not allow their hands to touch in giving or receiving anything?" Mencius replied, "It is li." Kun asked, "If a man's sister-in-law be drowning, shall he rescue her with his hand?" Mencius said, "He who would not rescue his drowning sister-in-law is a wolf. For males and females not to allow their hands to touch in giving and receiving is [the general rule of] li; when a sister-in-law is drowning, to rescue her with the hand is a peculiar expediency." Kun said, "The whole empire is drowning. Why is it that you will not rescue it?" Mencius answered, "A drowning empire must be rescued with right principles, as a drowning sister-in-law has to be rescued with the hand. Do you want me to rescue the empire with my hand?"

In this case, the issues were "Which is more important--the life or the general rule of li?" and "What method should be used to save the empire?" Mencius discerned the issues.

Western rhetoricians have thoroughly discussed status or issue. This concept was applied but was not discussed by Confucius and Mencius. It seems profitable to borrow this Western term and its explanation to clarify some Cong-Meng concepts.
The three proofs: ethos, pathos, and logos

Western rhetorical tradition discussed three elements of proof: ethos, ethical proof; logos, logical proof; and pathos, pathetic or emotional proof.

Ethos. Aristotle saw ethos as the audience's perception of a speaker based on the speech itself, and Cicero remarks that "feelings of the hearers are conciliated by a person's dignity, by his actions, by the character of his life." Confucius and Mencius seem to agree more with Cicero than with Aristotle.

Confucius considered that ethical proof existed in the speaker's acts rather than in what he said. When blaming Tzai Yu for sleeping in the day time, Confucius said,

At first, when I wanted to judge a man, I listened to what he said and would believe what he did. But now, when I want to judge a man, I have to look at what he does as well as listen to what he says. Because of Yu, I have changed my viewpoint. Confucius considered that ethical proof might exist before speaking. Therefore, a trustworthy man had ethical proof with him. Confucius said, "If there is a man whose onesided statement can be used to settle litigations, that is Yiu! Tzu Lu [Yiu] never made a promise which he did not carry out until the following day."
Confucius also recognized that ethical proof existed in one's words as well as in one's actions; he saw ethical proof as very influential:

Confucius said, "If faithful and trustful in what you say and if earnest and serious in what you do, then even in barbarous countries, you will get along well with men. If not faithful and trustful in what you say and if not earnest and serious in what you do, then even in your own country and home town, can you get along well with men?"

Under the teaching of Confucius, Tzu Hsia saw ethical proof might be the most important thing in persuasion:

Tzu Hsia said, "A gentleman should obtain the confidence of the people before imposing labors on them. If no confidence, they will regard it as oppression. [A gentleman] should obtain the confidence of the ruler before giving advice to him. If no confidence, he will regard it as vilification."

When Confucius persuaded, he sometimes strengthened his ethical proof by authority:

Confucius said, "Clever words, an insinuating appearance, and excessive respect are considered as shameful by Tzuo Chio-ming [a famous good man] and also by me. To conceal resentment against a person and to make friends with him is considered as shameful by Tzuo Chio-ming and also by me."

Though Confucius considered that a speaker's ethical proof was important and the speaker should be a man of virtue, he also considered that, when judging speeches, we should have more objective viewpoints. He said, "A
gentleman never upholds a man because of what that man says nor does he discard what a man says because of the speaker.  

Mencius did not mention much about the concept of ethical proof. However, The Works of Mencius reveals that Mencius, like Confucius, also considered that ethical proof might exist before speaking:

Mencius went to see the king Hsiang of Liang. Coming out, Mencius said to some persons, "When I looked at him from a distance, he did not appear like a sovereign; when I went close to him, I saw nothing venerable about him. Abruptly he asked me, 'How can the empire be settled?'"  

In ethical proof, the concept of Confucius and Mencius was similar to that of Cicero; Tzu Hsia, a disciple of Confucius, seemed to have a concept similar to 'identification" suggested by Kenneth Burke.  

Logical proof. Aristotle emphasized logical proof, and Thonssen, Baird, and Braden said that fundamentally the constituents of logical proof were evidence and argument (or reasoning). Evidence may include the testimony of individuals, personal experiences . . . , and documents. Reasoning includes deduction and induction. The Analects and The Works of Mencius reveal that Confucius and Mencius saw evidence as important and used more deductive arguments than inductive arguments.
(Evidence) Thonssen, Baird and Braden consider that evidence is the raw material used to establish proof. Confucius asserted that when speaking, evidence was very important. He said, "To spread hearsay is to cast away our virtue." He also said,

I could describe the ceremonies of the Hsia dynasty, but Ji cannot sufficiently attest what I say; I could describe the ceremonies of Yin dynasty, but Sung cannot sufficiently attest what I say. They cannot do so because of the insufficiency of documental records. If sufficient, I could aduce them to support my words.

Confucius considered that sayings could be cited as evidence when the speaker thought those sayings could induce in the mind of the hearer a state of belief. He cited a saying in this excerpt: "The southern people have a saying, 'A man without perseverance cannot be a doctor or a magician.' How true!"

Mencius also cited sayings. He said,

The people of Chi have a saying, 'A man may have wisdom but it is more important to seize a favorable opportunity; he may have farming implements, but it is more important to wait for the right season.' The present time is the favorable time [to attain to the imperial dignity].

Both Confucius and Mencius liked to quote testimonies from Sheh Ching and Shu Ching. From Sheh Ching there are seven items used in The Analects and thirty-four in The Works of Mencius. From Shu Ching there are fifteen
Reasoning includes induction and deduction. Induction is a process of reasoning from specific to the general and deduction is from the general to the more concrete conclusions.

Confucius used deduction but sometimes he omitted a part of the deduction. One of his categorical deductive arguments is found in this excerpt:

Confucius said, "I have not seen a firm and unbending man." Someone replied, "There is Shen Chang." Confucius said, "Chang is a man of strong passions; how can he be firm and unbending?"

In this example, Confucius implied this major premise: Those who have strong passions cannot be firm and unbending men. He provided this minor premise: Shen Chang has strong passions. The conclusion: Shen Chang cannot be a firm and unbending man. This is a deductive categorical argument and can be illustrated by this: A cannot be B; C is A; therefore, C cannot be B.

Confucius also used hypothetical deductive argument. He said, "Po-yi and Shi-chu forgave old wrongs; therefore, they got few resentments."

This example suggests an implied major premise: If one forgives old wrongs, he will get few resentments. It included a minor premise: Po-yi and Shi-chu forgave old
wrongs. The conclusion: Po-yi and Shu-chi got few resentments. This is a deductive hypothetical argument and can be illustrated by this: If p, then q; affirm, p; therefore, q.

Confucius also used a series of arguments:

[Tzu Lu asked Confucius when the Duke of Wei wanted Confucius to serve in the government, what he would do first. Confucius said that the first step should be to rectify the names of things to be done. Tzu Lu said that that would be impractical. Confucius explained,] "If names of things be not correct, words cannot be in accordance with the facts, affairs cannot be carried on to success. If affairs are not carried on to success, proprieties and music will not flourish. If proprieties and music do not flourish, punishments will not be properly awarded. If punishments are not properly awarded, the people will not know what to do." 187

Confucius constructed a sorites using hypothetical structure to demonstrate the need for correct names: If p, then q; if q, then r; if r, then s; if s, then t; if t, then u. Confucius had already affirmed that the names of things to be done were not correct. Therefore, the people would not know what to do.

Categorical deductive arguments are found in The Works of Mencius. This is an example: Mencius said, "I do not dare to set forth anything before the king but the Way of Yao and Shoon. Therefore, there is no man of Ch'i who respects the king so much as I do." 188

In this example, Mencius implied this major premise: Those who set forth before the king only the
Way of Yao and Shoo respects the king most. He provided this minor premise: I set forth before the king only the Way of Yao and Shoon. The conclusion: I respect the king most. This is a deductive categorical argument and can be illustrated by this: A is B; C is A; therefore, C is B.

Mencius also used hypothetical deductive arguments. Mencius said, "If I do not correct him, the Way will not be apparent. So let me correct him." In this example, the initial premise was this: If I do not correct him, the Way will not be apparent. An additional premise is implied: If I do correct him, the Way will be apparent. Mencius affirms the implied antecedent," So let me correct him." The conclusion follows: The Way will be apparent. This is a deductive hypothetical argument and can be illustrated thus: If not p, then not q; if p, then q; affirm p; therefore, q.

Other hypothetical arguments are also found in The Works of Mencius: Mencius said, "Chieh and Jou lost their empire because they lost the people; they lost the people because they lost the people's hearts." Other hypothetical arguments are also found in The Works of Mencius: Mencius said, "Chieh and Jou lost their empire because they lost the people; they lost the people because they lost the people's hearts." 

This is clearly based on a hypothetical syllogism having these premises: if leaders lose people's hearts, they will lose the people; if leaders lose their people, they will lose their empire. Mencius affirmed that Chieh and Jou lost their people's hearts; therefore, they lost their empire.
There are no clear examples of deductive disjunctive argument by Confucius and Mencius in *The Analects* and *The Works of Mencius*. However, Mencius had an example of destroying a dilemma by using practical situations. The king of Chi did not follow the advice of Mencius and it resulted that the people of Yen rebelled. The king felt shameful. An official Chen Chia wanted to find an excuse for the king's fault. Chen thought that if Mencius admitted that Chou Kung (the Duke of Chou), an ancient sage, had committed any fault, then it was not shameful for the king's fault. Chen set a dilemma that Mencius might admit that Chou Kung was either not *jen* (benevolence) or not *chih* (wise):

Chen Chia accordingly saw Mencius and asked, "What kind of man was Chou Kung?" "An ancient sage," was the reply. "Is it the fact that he appointed Kuan Shuh to oversee the heir of Yin and that Kuan Shuh with the state of Yin staged a rebellion?" "It is." "Did Chou Kung know that he would rebel?" [If so, then Chou Kung was not benevolent to appoint him; if not, then Chou Kung was not wise.] Mencius said, "He did not know." "Then even a sage still committed a mistake?" "Chou Kung was the younger brother, and Kuan Shuh was his elder brother [therefore, Chou Kung believed him]. Was it not natural to Chou Kung's fault? [And then Mencius rebuked Chen Chia for trying to find an excuse for the king's fault.]" 191

In this dialogue, Chen Chia used a deductive disjunctive argument as a dilemma. However, Mencius pointed out that Chen Chia ignored the refutation as Toulmin used in his model. To make this issue easy to be understood, the argument may be illustrated as follows:
Chou Kung did not know that Kuan Shuh would rebel.

Chou Kung was not wise.

(Refutation)

Unless they were brothers.

(Warrant)

1. If Chou Kung knew that Kuan Shuh would rebel, then Chou Kung was not benevolent.
2. If he did not know that Kuan Shuh would rebel, then he was not wise.
3. Chou Kung either knew or did not know that Kuan Shuh would rebel.

No clear examples for the concept of inductive argument of Confucius were found in The Analects. In The Works of Mencius, there were only a few examples of Mencius among which is the following:

Mencius said, "Shoon rose from the fields; Fu Yueh was raised to office from amongst the builders; Chiao Ke from amongst the fish and salt; Kuan E-woo from the hands of the prison officer; Sun-shu Ao from his hiding by the sea; and Pai-li Hsi from the market. Thus, when Heaven is about to place a great responsibility on a man, it always first tests his resolution, wears out his sinews and bones with toil, exposes his body to starvation, subjects him to extreme poverty; frustrates his efforts, so as to stimulate his mind, harden his nature, and supply his incompetencies."

In this speech Mencius used specific examples to draw a general conclusion. All those people he cited lived very difficult lives before they were raised to high positions in the government, and all of them had great
merits after the rise. Thus, Mencius concluded that when Heaven wanted to place a great responsibility on a person, it would train him in an ordeal to make him qualified. The examples Mencius cited were typical, they were enough, and there were no negative examples found. Thus, this argument may be considered a good inductive argument in the concept of Western rhetoric.

In Western rhetoric, logical proof includes evidence and reasoning; reasoning includes deduction and induction. Confucius and Mencius both used evidence, and they seemed to emphasize deduction more than induction.

**Pathetic proof.** The purpose of pathetic proof is to make the audience willing to follow the advice. Therefore, Western rhetoricians consider audience analysis and its application important. Confucius and Mencius recognized the importance of audience analysis. However, the application of Confucius might be beyond the Western rhetoricians' application.

Confucius seemed to believe that if his ideas were right then the audience would accordingly be ready to accept the ideas. Therefore, his analysis of audience was sometimes for good ideas that should be accepted by the audience, not for how to attract the audience to accept the already prepared ideas. Thus, to different disciples he gave different answers to the same question. For example,
Yiu asked if he should immediately carry what he heard into practice and Confucius gave a negative answer. But Confucius gave a positive answer to Chiu to the same question. Confucius explained his reason to another disciple, "Chiu is diffident; so I urged him forward. Yiu is eager to do as much as two men; so I kept him back."¹⁹³

To the question of what filial piety was, Confucius had different answers to four different disciples, as found in the following segments:

Meng Yi Tzu asked what filial piety was. Confucius said, "Do not disobey what is required of you."¹⁹⁴

Meng Wu-po asked what filial piety was. Confucius said, "Think how anxious your parents are when you are sick."¹⁹⁵

Tzu Yiu asked what filial piety was. Confucius said, "The filial piety of nowadays means the support of one's parents. But dogs and horses likewise are able to do something in the way of support; without reverence, what is the difference?"¹⁹⁶

Tzu Hsia asked what filial piety was. Confucius said, "The difficulty is with the countenance. If, when their elders have some work to be done, the young do the work and if, when there are wine and food, the young serve them to the elders, is that enough to be considered as filial piety?"¹⁹⁷

One of these disciples Meng Wu-po was weak and got sick very often. Confucius wanted him to take care of himself and therefore said, "Think how anxious your parents are when you are sick." To the other three disciples Confucius also gave different answers according to each one's character.
Confucius was aware of the influence of audience emotions. He saw whether the listeners would welcome his words or not as important and thus he talked in different ways with different persons. This segment is found in The Analects, "At court, in conversation with the junior officers, he [Confucius] spoke pleasantly; with the senior officers, he spoke seriously."

Mencius also applied audience analysis. However, when he persuaded, he considered not only individual character but also general feeling which everyone might have. For example, before giving tough advice, he first made the receiver feel easy:

[Mencius went to see the king of Chi and] said, "Is it true that Your Majesty told Chuang Tzu that you were fond of music?" The king blushed and said, "I am unable to claim fondness for the music of ancient sovereigns. All I can appreciate is popular music." "If you have a great fondness for music, is there not some hope for the state of Chi? In a sense, the music of today is the same as the music of antiquity." ... [With these words Mencius tried to make the king feel easy and then he said,] "Please let me talk about music [and then Mencius began to preach his political ideal using the topic of music]."

Confucius had some ideas of the analysis of a person which could be used by a speaker to analyze audience or used by audience to analyze a speaker. He analyzed a person by examining the body language or implicit message. He said, "A man of distinction ... examines people's words, and looks at their countenances." In another
segment he said, "See how a man acts; look into his motives; examine what he is content with. How can a man conceal his true self? How can a man conceal his true self?" 202

Mencius also analyzed people by examining implicit messages:

[Mencius said,] "From biased words I know that the mind of the speaker is clouded over by self desire. From licentious words, I know that his mind is ensnared. From depraved words I know that his mind is away from the right path. From evasive words I know that his mind is at his wit's end." 203

The following segment is another example that explains the application of body language, an aspect of implicit messages, by Mencius:

Mencius said, "There is in man nothing better than the pupils of his eyes. They cannot conceal his wickedness. When he is upright within his breast, his pupils are clear and bright; when he is not, they are murky and dull. If you listen to the words and observe the pupils of the eyes, how can a man conceal his true self?" 204

Western rhetoricians emphasized audience analysis for the use of pathetic proof. Confucius and Mencius were good in audience analysis not only before speaking but also at the time of speaking. They discerned humans' implicit messages and applied them in analysis. With the analysis, they considered the audience's emotions when they talked. Confucius sometimes used the result of analysis to give different answers to different people for one question.
Disposition

In Western rhetoric, disposition embraces the emergence of a central theme or proposition, the general method of arrangement adopted for the speech, the order in which the parts of the discourse are developed, and the proportioning of materials. \(^{205}\)

In the aspect of the emergence of a central theme or proposition, the speaker reduces his thesis to a clear-cut statement from which he selects topics and materials. The general method of arrangement dictates the sequence of presentation. The methods may be historical, distributive, logical, or psychological, or combined methods. The order of the parts of the discourse is to put the whole speech like a living thing and the parts should include at least three parts: the beginning, the middle, and the end. According to Aristotle, they may include four parts: introduction, statement, proof, and conclusion. The proportioning deals with the position and place of the content. It is to secure vividness by emphasizing important ideas and parts.

It seems that Confucius and Mencius did not talk about disposition. However, their own words reveal that they recognized the methods of disposition.

When Confucius spoke, it seemed that he thought of a central theme and a proposition from which he developed
his speech; he used distributive and logical methods of arrangement more than other methods. Most of his messages are not long, and thus the order of parts of speech is not as important as the general method of arrangement. Sometimes he would use emphasis for proportioning, but not very often.

The following excerpt reveals his concept of thematic emergence and general method of arrangement:

Confucius said, "A gentleman, in matters of food, should never seek to indulge his appetite; in lodging, he should not be too solicitous of comfort. He should be diligent in business and careful in speech. He should seek out the company of men of virtue and learning, in order to profit by their example. In this way he may be considered a man who has a love of learning." 206

In this example, "A gentleman should pursue learning instead of easy life" is the proposition from which Confucius used his own ideas to explain what specific things a gentleman should do or should not do. He used a distributive order to develop his central theme. Another example of the concept from proposition to selecting materials and the concept of arrangement is as follows:

Tzu Chang was learning with a view of official position. Confucius said, "Hear much and keep aside what is in doubt and speak carefully of the others, then you will get few chances for blame. See much and keep aside what seems perilous, treat others with care, then you will have few chances for repentance. When one gets few chances for blame in his words and has few chances for repentance in his conduct, he is on the way to an official position." 207
In this example, "To reduce chances of blame and repentance will get an official position" was the proposition. Confucius selected the topics hearing, speaking, seeing, and conducting to develop the speech. He proposed a rule for hearing and speaking and then pointed out that the result would be the reduction of blame. He then proposed a rule for seeing and conducting and then pointed out that the result would be the reduction of repentance. At last he concluded that if the two rules were followed, then the result would be the chance of an official position. In this short speech he used distributive order for "blame" and "repentance" and used logical order for the whole speech. This speech may exemplify not only a good disposition but also a good style as far as "composition" is concerned.

Sometimes Confucius considered different orders of arrangement at the same time:

Tzu Chang asked whether the affairs of ten generations from then on could be known. Confucius said, "The Yin dynasty followed the ritual system of the Hsia dynasty; the modifications they made are known. The Chou dynasty has followed the ritual system of the Yin dynasty; the modifications they made are known. Some other may follow the Chou dynasty, but even it should be one hundred generations from now, its affairs may be known."

In this example, Confucius used historical order and at the same time there were logical concepts in it.
Proportioning seemed not to be emphasized by Confucius yet he still noticed:

Some one said, "Yung is a man of benevolence, but he is not ready with his tongue. Confucius said, "Why is it necessary to be ready with the tongue? Those who encounter men with clever tongues are often hated by men. Why is it necessary to be ready with the tongue?"

In this example Confucius revealed his concept of proportion in disposition by emphasizing his ideas with repetition at the end.

Speeches of Mencius are, as Luo Chien-jen said, clear in order, thorough in analyses, and accurate in themes. The words of Mencius reveal that Mencius seemed to emphasize method of arrangement and order of parts of speech. This segment reveals his concept of proposition and method of arrangement:

Mencius said, "When anyone told Tzu Lu that he had a fault, he rejoiced. When Yu heard good words, he bowed to the speaker. The great Shoon was even greater. He liked himself to be the same as others. Giving up his own way and following theirs, he delighted to take from them what could make him do good. From the time he was a farmer, a potter, and a fisherman to the time he became Emperor, there was nothing he did that was not due to what he took from others. To take from others what can make one do good is to help them do good. Hence, there is nothing more important to a gentleman than helping others do good."

In this passage, Mencius proposed that we should follow the good advice of others when it leads to good results. He used the historical order "from now to past" and the psychological order "from less importance to more
Mencius said, "Every man has a heart which cannot bear to see the sufferings of others. Such a compassionate heart was possessed by the ancient kings, and for this reason they practiced compassionate government. A ruler who can practice compassionate government with a compassionate heart can rule the Empire as if rolling it in his palm.

"The reason why I say that all men have a heart which cannot bear to see the sufferings of others is this: Suppose a man, all of a sudden, saw a child falling into a well, he would invariably be moved to compassion, not because he wished to make friends with the parents, . . . nor yet because he disliked the cry of the child. From this it can be seen that those who have no feeling of compassion are not human, those who have no feeling of shame and dislike are not human, those who have no feeling of courtesy and modesty are not human, and those who have no feeling of right and wrong are not human.

"The feeling of compassion is the beginning of benevolence; the feeling of shame and dislike, of righteousness; the feeling of courtesy and modesty, of propriety; the feeling of right and wrong, of wisdom. These four beginnings are like the four limbs of a man. When a man possessing these four beginnings denies his own potentialities, he cripples himself. When he denies the potentialities of his sovereign in a similar case, he cripples his sovereign.

"If a man is able to develop all these four beginnings, it will be like a fire starting up or a spring commencing its flow. When these are fully developed, they will enable him to protect the whole realm within the Four Seas, but if he fails to develop them, he will not even be able to serve his parents."212

Mencius separated this speech into four parts: the beginning, the succeeding, the turning, and the closing parts. In the beginning part he proposed that every man had a compassionate heart which could and should be
developed to practice government. In the succeeding part he used an example to explain why he said that every man has a compassionate heart and he led from the topic "feeling of compassion" to other topics: feeling of shame and dislike, feeling of courtesy and modesty, and feeling of right and wrong. In the turning part he turned these topics to his political ideas, the topics of jen, yi, li, and chih. He compared the four beginnings of the four virtues to the limbs to make his explanation vivid. He argued that, since men had the beginning of the four virtues, men had potentialities. He asserted that man should admit his own and his sovereign's potentialities, and implied that the potentialities could and should be developed to practice government. In the closing part he concluded explicitly that these four beginnings which derived from compassionate heart and which have their potentialities could and should be developed. In the last sentence he emphasized the importance of developing the four beginnings. The "beginning part" which Mencius used in the speech is accordant with the introduction in the Western rhetoric; the "succeeding part" and "turning part" are accordant with the narrative and proof parts, but not respectively; the closing part is accordant with the conclusion. In each part of the speech Mencius used the logical order.
This speech reveals the concept of Mencius about disposition by an accurate theme, a clear order of arranging the subject matters by thorough analysis, a clear order of developing parts of speech, and the appropriate proportion of materials.

Disposition in Western rhetoric includes the aspects of emergence of central theme or proposition, method of arrangement, parts of discourse, and the proportioning of materials. Both Confucius and Menicus seemed to consider central theme or proposition and method of arrangement as important. Mencius adopted the beginning, the succeeding, the turning, and the closing parts as the order of parts of discourse. Though they may not have emphasized it, both show careful proportioning of material in their messages.

Style

Style is the skillful adaptation of expression to thought. Traditionally Western rhetoric classified it into three kinds: the plain, the moderate, and the grand styles. The fundamental constituents of style include word choice, composition, and ornaments of speech. Cicero mentioned that a good style should have the qualities of correctness, clearness, appropriateness, and embellishment (ornament). Correctness refers chiefly to word choice or usage; clearness deals with both choice of words and their arrangement; appropriateness means that the style of expression should be
appropriate to the subject, the audience, and the speaker; embellishment is to adorn or elevate through the judicious use of tropes and figures.

Confucius and Mencius did not discuss much about style as defined by the Western rhetoricians. However, they saw language as a tool to express ideas and thus how to use simple words to transmit meanings clearly was essential. Confucius said, "The sole function of speech is to communicate ideas clearly." Mencius said, "Words which are simple but their meanings far-reaching are good words. Principles which are compendious but their application is extensive are good principles."

Confucius seemed to like to use simple style. His words reveal the qualities of good style. In the following segment, the qualities and the structure of composition were revealed:

Duke Ting asked how a sovereign should employ his minister and how a minister should serve his sovereign. Confucius replied, "A sovereign should employ his ministers with proprieties and a minister should serve his sovereign with loyalty."

In this example Confucius used the simple style. The words he chose were specific and simple words. Correctness and clearness were their characters. The structure was parallel in form and because of this kind of structure, the rhythm was pleasant. In answering Duke Ting's question, Confucius caught the chance to persuade him to follow the
virtue of **li** for the loyalty from his subordinates. This revealed that Confucius considered the subject, the audience, and his own philosophy for choosing appropriate words.

The quality of appropriateness was emphasized by Confucius. A speech cited in the section "status" in this present study is another example for appropriateness:

Some people in Lu proposed to build a new Chang Treasury. Min Tzu-chien remarked, "Why not keep the old building and modify it to suit the present circumstances? Why construct a new building?" [Referring to his disciple Min Tzu-chien,] Confucius said, "That man seldom speaks; but when he does speak, he always hits the point." 216

Confucius praised Min Tzu-chien for hitting the issue of the subject and for expressing the ideas appropriately in that rhetorical situation including the audience, the subject, and the speaker himself.

Words with embellishment may still be simple style. However, in the following example, the words of Confucius in Chinese language may be considered as moderate style.

Confucius said, "He who rules people by means of virtues may be compared to the Polar Star which keeps its place and all stars turn towards it." 217

In this example, Confucius used a metaphor to describe how a ruler should manage people. It showed the quality of embellishment in style. This speech may be considered as a moderate style in Chinese language. With
few exceptions such as this, the style used by Confucius may be considered as simple style.

Confucius liked to use parallel structure in composition. When Confucius heard what his disciple Tzai-wo explained wrongly to Duke of Ai about wood emblem for gods of earth and grain, he blamed Tzai-wo by saying, "It is useless to speak of a thing that is done, to persuade to change a course that is begun successfully, or to blame what is past and gone." In original Chinese language, this example was a balanced parallel structure of composition in style. Actually, most speeches by Confucius were parallel structures which could not be translated into foreign languages or even modern Chinese as balanced as they were in original ancient Chinese language.

Besides structure, another aspect of composition, rhythm, also exists in most of the words of Confucius. Even in the simple style, there were pleasant rhythms because of the parallel structure and the expletives which were usually at the ends of sentences as metrical feet. Expletives helped to form the mood of the sentences and thus to express the subtle emotion or motivation of the speaker. Regretfully, this rhythmical character cannot be expressed when the words are translated into other languages.
The above sample speeches clearly revealed the concept of style of Confucius--simple and moderate styles, the qualities of correctness, clearness, appropriateness, and embellishment in his word choice and composition, as well as the parallel structure and rhythm.

Mencius liked to illustrate things by means of comparison, embellishment, and quality of style; yet he always used simple words to treat what he compared. Therefore most of his speeches were easy to understand and might be considered as simple style. Comparing to speeches by Confucius, his speeches did not emphasize parallel structure and hence the rhythmical character was not as clear as that in the words of Confucius. The following segment reveals the stylistic technique of Mencius:

Mencius said to King Hsyuan of Chi, "Suppose one of Your Majesty's subjects asked his friend to take care of his wife and children and then went on a trip to Chu yet found, upon his return, that his wife and children were suffering from cold and hunger, what should he do about it?" "Break with his friend." "If the Marshal of Guards lost his control over his guards, what should be done?" "Dismiss him from office." "If within the borders the whole country was misgoverned, what should be done?" The King looked to the left and right and changed the subject.

This dialogue was a simple style. Mencius showed his concept of "climax" in style. At first he set a case and asked a question to which the answer should be the
predicted one. After the king gave the response as Mencius predicted, Mencius set another case and asked a question. He got also a predicted response. At last he set a case of which the master role was implied to be the king himself and asked the king a question to which the answer was also supposed to be punishing the master role in the case. This time the king knew that he had no excuse not to follow the persuasion of Mencius. To escape the embarrassing situation, the king changed the subject. Mencius applied psychology here and began with a case which was far from the role of the king instead of directly persuading the king to do or not to do something. This was a very good application of "climax" in the embellishment quality of style. Besides, the word choice and orderly arrangement of the words were correct, clear, and appropriate. For the psychological order of structure, this dialogue exemplified not only a good style but also a good disposition, according to the Western concept of rhetoric. The concept of Mencius in style may also be found in the following words which he spoke:

A man from Chi lived with his wife and concubine. Each time their husband went out, he always came back after partaking of an abundance of food and drink. His wife asked about his companions; they were all supposed to be wealthy and honorable men. His wife said to the concubine, "When our husband goes out, he always comes back after partaking of an abundance of food and drink. When I asked about his companions, they are all
supposed to be wealthy and honorable men, yet no one of distinction has ever visited us. I will spy out where our husband goes."

She got up early and followed her husband everywhere he went. Not a single person in the whole city stopped to talk to him. Finally he went to the eastern outskirts of the city amongst the graves and begged for what was left over from someone who was offering sacrifices to the dead. This not being enough, he looked around and went up to another. This was how he got himself satiated.

His wife went home and said to the concubine, "A husband is someone to whom one looks up for one's whole future, and ours turns out like this." Together with the concubine she reviled their husband and wept in the courtyard. The husband, unaware of all this, came in with self-gratification to show off to his wife and concubine.

In the eyes of the gentleman, few of those who seek wealth and position can fail to bring disgrace and tears on their wives and concubines.  

In this example, Mencius used a story to satirize those who seeked wealth and position in his time and to persuade them to seek in an honest way, not by means of flattery.

Mencius said at the beginning that a man from Chi lived with his wife and concubine. In ancient China, a man could have more than one wife but only those men who were able to afford to support them should do so. The man from Chi was not rich enough. In this case, the words wife and concubine were a sarcastic usage bearing the embellishment function. Mencius said that this man always came back after satiating food and drink; his companions were all supposed to be wealthy and honorable; his wife would spy out where he went and for this purpose she got up early to follow him;  
not a single person in the whole city stopped to talk to him; he begged for what was left over from someone; this not being enough, he looked around and went up to another; this was how he got himself satiated; his wife and concubine reviled him and wept; the husband came in with self-gratification to show off to his wife and concubine. All the italicized words and expressions were accurate and clear for the purpose of transmitting the sarcastic ideas of Mencius and attracting the listeners. The arrangement of the words in each sentence and the historical order of sentences in the story were also correct and clear in original Chinese language.

Though in ancient Chinese language, there were no paragraph separations nor any punctuations, this story could be separated into four paragraphs (as shown above) according to each complete unit of thought: the first paragraph which is the "beginning part" described the suspicion of that man's life; the second, which is the "succeeding part," described the finding of his secret; the third, the "turning part," was the climax and was the comparison of his wives' disappointment and his self-gratification and showing off; the last, the "closing part," was the conclusion of the whole speech, the speech or parable story for persuasion.
Thus, this speech revealed the basic concepts of style of Mencius. The qualities of correctness, clearness, appropriateness, and embellishment were all applied in his word choice and composition.

While Western rhetoric discusses the details of a style, Confucius and Mencius did not talk much about style. However, when compared to the Western concept of style, their words reveal that both of them liked to use simple style and the qualities of correctness, clearness, appropriateness, and embellishment were all applied. Confucius liked to use the parallel structure and Mencius liked to illustrate things by comparison. Thus, the parallel structure is a distinguishing style of Confucius and comparison is a distinguishing style of Mencius.

Cong-Meng philosophy contains significant rhetorical concepts that can be classified into the categories suggested by Western rhetoric. Such concepts could guide speakers in the process of invention, in disposition, in guidance toward style or use of language. This rhetorical model will be used in the analysis of speeches of the three modern presidents of the Republic of China.
ENDNOTES


3 Golden, Berquist, and Coleman, The Rhetoric of Western Thought, p. 57.


9 Ibid., pp. 84-85.

10 Golden, Berquist, and Coleman, The Rhetoric of Western Thought, p. 58.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid., pp. 48-49.

13 Ibid., p. 57.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid., pp. 57-58.
16 Ibid., p. 59.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
20 Ibid., p. 86.
21 Ibid., p. 117.
22 Ibid., p. 86.
23 Ibid.
24 Ibid., p. 87.
30 Ibid., p. 91.
31 Ibid., p. 101.
33 Ibid.

35 Golden, Berquist, and Coleman, The Rhetoric of Western Thought, p. 49.

36 Ibid., pp. 49-50.

37 Ibid., p. 50.

38 Ibid.


41 Thonssen, Baird, and Braden, Speech Criticism, reprint ed., p. 102.

42 Ibid., p. 92.


44 Thonssen, Baird, and Braden, Speech Criticism, reprint ed., p. 102.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 Golden, Berquist, and Coleman, The Rhetoric of Western Thought, p. 68.

48 Ibid., p. 48.


51 Ibid., pp. 60-61.


58 Ibid., p. 448.

59 Ibid., p. 446

60 Ibid., p. 399.

61 Ibid., pp. 402-403.


64 Golden, Berquist, and Coleman, *The Rhetoric of Western Thought*, p. 49; Thonssen, Baird, and Braden say, "Aristotle said there were two forms of proof . . . the example and the enthymeme." See *Speech Criticism*, reprint ed., p. 70.


66 Ibid., pp. 288-289.

68 Ibid., p. 421.


70 Ibid., p. 61.


74 Ibid., p. 85 & 470.

75 Ibid., p. 470.


78 Ibid., p. 471.

79 Ibid., pp. 471-472.

80 Ibid., pp. 472-473.

81 Ibid., pp. 473-474.

82 Ibid., pp. 474-476.

83 Ibid., p. 476.

84 Ibid., p. 477.


87 Ibid.


90 Ibid., pp. 85 & 93.

91 Thonssen, Baird, and Braden, *Speech Criticism*, reprint ed., p. 489; style and delivery are also interwoven in that they linked indissolubly to mark the speaker of skill, see p. 491.


93 Ibid., pp. 85, 87, 94, 491.

94 Ibid., p. 94.


99 Ibid., p. 96.

100 Ibid., pp. 491-492.
101 Ibid., pp. 97 & 494.
102 Ibid., p. 494.
103 Ibid.
104 Ibid., p. 498.
105 Ibid., pp. 498-499.
109 Ibid., p. 506.
110 Ibid., pp. 85, 93, 198.
112 Ibid.
115 Ibid., p. 418.
116 Ibid., p. 417-419.
118 The Analects, 12. 23.
119 Ibid., 18. 1.
120 Ibid., 4. 24.
121 Ibid., 5. 7.
122 Ibid., 1. 3. and 17. 17.
123 Ibid., 12. 3.
126 The Analects, 6. 19.
127 Ibid., 4. 9.
128 The Works of Mencius, 7. B. 34.
130 The Analects, 9. 23.
131 Ibid., 9. 19.
133 Ibid., 7. A. 16.
134 The Analects, 2. 19.
137 Ibid., 8. 19.
138 The establisher of Yin dynasty.
139 The last ruler of Hsia dynasty who was a cruel tyrant.
140 The establisher of Chou dynasty.
141 The last ruler of Yin dynasty who was a cruel tyrant.
143 The Analects, 12. 13.
144 Ibid., 15. 4.
145 The Analects, 2. 17.
146 Ibid., 7. 28.
148 The Analects, 10. 1.
149 Ibid., 14. 4.
150 Ibid., 16. 6.
152 The Doctrine of the Mean, Section 19.
153 Ibid., 1. 3.
154 Ibid., 4. 1.
155 Ibid., 2. 24.
156 Ibid., 14. 13.
157 Ibid., 1. 6.
158 Ibid., 4. 18.
159 Ibid., 3. 4.
160 Ibid., 1. 12.
161 Ibid., 1. 8.
162 Ibid., 4. 15.
163 Ibid., 15. 23.
165 Ibid., 1. A. 5.
166 Ibid., 3. A. 1.
169 Golden, Berquist, and Coleman, The Rhetoric of Western Thought, p. 52.

171 *The Analects*, 5. 9.

172 Ibid., 12. 12.

173 Ibid., 15. 5.


175 Ibid., 5. 24.

176 Ibid., 5. 22.


180 Ji was a kingdom of the offsprings of the rulers of Hsia dynasty.

181 Sung was a kingdom of the offsprings of the rulers of Yin dynasty.


183 Ibid., 13. 15.


185 *The Analects*, 5. 9.

186 Ibid., 5. 22.

187 Ibid., 13. 3.


189 Ibid., 3. A. 5.


191 Ibid., 2. B. 9.
The music of ancient sovereigns was considered as very important to management of a country.


216 Ibid., 11. 13.

217 Ibid., 2. 1.

218 Ibid., 3. 21.


220 Ibid., 4. B. 33.
CHAPTER IV

THE INFLUENCE OF CONG-MENG RHETORIC
ON THE MODERN SPEECHES

To determine if the rhetorical tradition of China still influences speakers in Taiwan, Republic of China, three speeches made by the most recent three Presidents will be analyzed in this chapter. These speeches are "Youth Day Message" by late President Chiang Kai-shek on March 29, 1975, "New Year's Day Message" by former President Yen Chia-kan on January 1, 1977, and "Double Tenth National Day Message" by President Chiang Ching-kuo on October 10, 1983.

For each speech, a brief background and philosophy of the speaker and the current situation of the country will be introduced; the speech will be summarized and analyzed, applying rhetorical concepts of Confucius and Mencius patterned in the Western rhetorical structures which provide a basis for organization: the canons of invention, disposition, and style.

Youth Day Message by President Chiang Kai-shek on March 29, 1975

Youth Day is a national holiday of the Republic of China in memory of the young martyrs who revolted against
Ching dynasty and died on March 29, 1911. Their heroic spirit encouraged the uprising of other revolutionists on October 10, the same year, to bring an end to the tyrannical government and establish the Republic. While all the people were celebrating this national holiday on March 29, 1975, Chiang Kai-shek, the President of the Republic of China, presented this message to the youths of the country. Pointing out that the Communists on the mainland China were repudiating Confucianism and destroying Chinese culture, he encouraged the youths to rise up under the banner of ethics, democracy and science; to emulate the dedication and great deeds of the martyrs in founding the Republic and preserving it; to exert themselves to preserve and foster the history, the culture, the morality and the intellectual capacity of the people; and to carry out the counterattack which would bring national recovery.

The Speaker: Chiang Kai-shek

On Youth Day, March 29, 1975, Chiang Kai-shek was President of the government of the Republic of China in Taiwan. His whole life had provided him with the right to be chosen for this position. His education and experience provided the knowledge and the reputation which made him a most appropriate speaker for this occasion.

Chiang Kai-shek was given a good education both in China and Japan. At his graduation in 1909, at the age of
twenty-two, he met Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He joined the revolution against the Ching dynasty and became the leader in the Republic of China after the death of Dr. Sun in 1925.¹

Starting in 1926, Chiang Kai-shek led the National Revolutionary Armed Force to attack the northern warlords and brought all of China under the National Government of the Republic of China by 1928. In 1934 he drove the Chinese Communists into remote areas. In 1936, he was seized by anti-government conspirators at Sian and became a prisoner. Because of his personality, the captor finally escorted him back to Nanking, the capital. During the eight years of Sino-Japanese War which began July 7, 1937 and ended in 1945, he led the country in the fight against Japan and was the Generalissimo of China War Section of the allies in World War II.²

In 1948 Chiang Kai-shek was elected as the first constitutional President of the Republic of China but he retired from the presidency in 1949, hoping to open the way to peaceful settlement of civil conflict. Yet the situations compelled him to lead the people to fight against Communists. After the government retreated to Taiwan in 1949, he was asked to resume exercise of presidential powers and he did so on March 1, 1950.³ He was re-elected President four times and served until his death on April 5, 1975. During those years, he led the people to establish Taiwan as a
model province of the land of the Three Principles of the People and to wait for the best chance to recover the mainland.

President Chiang Kai-shek was a man of virtue. His philosophy was derived from the philosophy of heaven-human unification. He considered that to fulfill the truth of jen, even if it cost one's own fame and life, was as good as to succeed in attaining the goal. His thought was accordant with what Mencius said, "The people are the most important; the spirits of earth and grain are the next; the sovereign is the lightest." His thought was also accordant to the words of Confucius, "The determined scholar and the man of virtue will not seek to live at the expense of injuring their virtue. They will even sacrifice their lives to preserve their virtue complete."

President Chiang Kai-shek was a wise and courageous man. He always discerned what would happen and what should be prepared beforehand. He was so courageous that he always went to the most dangerous place in the most dangerous time. His belief in Christ also helped to form the complete courage and achieve the realm that "we are hard pressed on every side, but not crushed; perplexed, but not in despair."

President Chiang Kai-shek studied many ancient books as well as The Books of the Three Principles of the People.
He also studied the books of Communism and rejected their teaching.  

The four books he loved most and which were put in his coffin when entombed were *The Bible*, *The Four Books*, *The Selected Poems of Tang Dynasty*, and *The Three Principles of the People*.

*Youth Day, 1975*, came at a time of turmoil in Mainland China. The Cultural Revolution was destroying traditional values on the Mainland; but in Taiwan, President Chiang Kai-shek led a government which had established stability. President Chiang could feel justified in his adherence to the Cong-Meng philosophy and the Three Principles of the People when he made the "Youth Day Message."

**Current Situation of the Country**

By *Youth Day, 1975*, the Republic of China in Taiwan had faced diplomatic reverses and humiliation. However, under the leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek, Taiwan was stable. The government and people remained in the democratic camp and were realizing the Three Principles of the People, rejuvenating the national culture, and trying to recover the Mainland; the tyrannical Communists were destroying Chinese culture on the Mainland.

In 1949 when the Chinese Communists usurped the Mainland, the National Government moved its seat to Taiwan.
About two million soldiers and civilians reached Taiwan which had been retroceded to China by the Japanese only four years before. Based on the belief that Taiwan was the last bastion of their hope, the Government began to rebuild Taiwan. Land reform, issuing the New Taiwan dollar, implementing local self-government, and military renovation made the new land strong. At the same time, the defenses of Kinmen (Quemoy) and Matsu, islands near the mainland, were augmented. In 1958, beginning August 23, the Communists subjected Kinmen to violent shelling. Deciding to fight to the last minute and the last man, the Republic of China won the war.12

The U.S. economic assistance to the Republic of China, which began at the start of the 1950s, terminated in 1965. However, by that time the Republic of China had begun to stand on their own feet. On December 26, 1971, the Republic of China departed the United Nations, an organization it had helped establish. In 1972, Nixon and Kissinger visited Peiping and then Japan established diplomatic relations with the Chinese Communists. The Republic of China was facing diplomatic reverses and humiliation. However, the government declared that "there is only one China"13 and "the Republic of China will never retreat from its national policy of anti-Communism."14

The government and the people assumed the position of
"assuring our dignity through self-reliance and remaining calm in time of crisis." Since then, the Chinese people have continued to demonstrate that no setback can discourage the Republic of China.

In 1975, when President Chiang Kai-shek made this speech, Mainland China was still in Cultural Revolution, which began in 1966. The Communists were disparaging Confucius and praising the first emperor of the Chin dynasty, Chin Shih-huang, who burned ancient books and killed intellectuals in the third century B.C. and was regarded as a cruel tyrant. Taiwan stood in sharp contrast. As President Chiang Kai-shek said, "our bastion of freedom has become even sounder and stronger." In this situation, President Chiang Kai-shek presented the Youth Day Message on March 29.

Analysis of the Speech

To determine the possible influence of Cong-Meng rhetoric on this speech, the speech will be summarized and then analyzed according to the canons of invention, disposition, and style.

Summary of the speech

Youth Day is a day in memory of revolutionary heroes who were dedicated to the revolution and to the national spirit.
In the last more than twenty years, the young people in the bastion of freedom (Kinmen, Matsu, Taiwan, and the Penghus) have enjoyed freedom and security. In contrast, those on the mainland lived an agonized life.

The Maoists know that knowledge is the mortal enemy of tyranny. Therefore, they destroyed the nation's culture and the minds of the people. They copied the tricks of Chin Shih-huang and their measures are harsher than those of Chin Shih-huang. Their intention of keeping the people in ignorance is to consolidate their tyrannical rule.

The Maoists know that morality is the mortal enemy of tyranny. Therefore, they decided to terminate the people's aspiration for a benevolent government. They tried to control the people under the enslaved condition of "poor" and "lower" forever.

The Maoists know that belief in human rights is the mortal enemy of tyranny. Therefore, they used the term "proletarian dictatorship" as their excuse for opposing the "all-people state" and they thus controlled the people.

Maoists used trickery to attempt to show others that they were the stable government of China; while at the same time, they destroyed those within the mainland who believe in the traditional morality and supported Communist activity in other countries.
The youths should apply the traditional values of ethics, democracy and science embodied in the Three Principles of the People and save mankind from confusion, appeasement, disgeneration, and endless turmoil and war, which are all opposites of good life.

Youths of the mainland have discerned three phenomena the development of which is even clearer to our understanding and conviction: The system and institution of Communism is disintegrating and the "era" of Mao Tse-tung is finished; a new generation is rising on the mainland and false images of Mao's rule will vanish; Communism is not suitable for China, mainland youths will decide Chinese destiny, and intellectual life is needed and factional struggle must end.

History tells us that to keep the people in ignorance cannot prevent them from rising up; the repudiation of benevolent rule results in resistance. Mao's tyrannical rule is in self-contradiction and self-condemnation. The peasants will turn against the tyrant.

The youths should now rise up under the banner of ethics, democracy and science to emulate the devotion of the martyrs to exert themselves to preserve and foster the history, the culture, the morality and knowledge of the people, and to carry out the counterattack and national recovery.
Invention

In the canon of invention, the aspects which will be discussed to determine the influence of Cong-Meng rhetoric are the topics of Cong-Meng rhetoric applied in this speech, and the ethical, logical, and pathetic proofs which are reflected in Cong-Meng rhetoric.

Topics

In this section, the speech will be examined in detail to clarify the speaker's use of topics developed from Cong-Meng rhetoric.

This speech reveals that the concept of heaven-human unification, chih, jen, yi, and Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity are the major topics in this speech.

President Chiang Kai-check mentioned that the revolutionary heroes were dedicated to the revolution and to the national spirit. To revolt against a government to bring happiness to people was seen by Mencius as accordant to the nature or heaven. Thus heaven-human unification was introduced as an important topic. President Chiang referred to "our Founding Father and revolutionary heroes" to reveal this concept.

President Chiang Kai-shek relies on the concept chih, knowledge, as the topic on which the particular argument is based. He mentioned that the young people in the bastion
of freedom engaged in study and lay the foundations of their careers; on the contrary, Maoists in the mainland destroyed the nation's culture and ravage the minds of the people; they abbreviated the period of schooling and wasted talent and brainpower recklessly. President Chiang said that intellectual life should not be strangled and suppressed. He pointed out that keeping the people in ignorance could not prevent people from rising up.

The concept of jen, morality as it is used in this instance, becomes the topic of the next position. President Chiang Kai-shek contrasted the free and secure life of youths in the bastion of freedom and the agonized youth life of hellish terror and poverty on the mainland. This revealed the jen and the anti-jen governments. President Chiang indicted the Maoists for their efforts to destroy Confucianism. Such destruction would be seen as immoral by the speaker and his audience. To give impact to his arguments, the speaker noted that Maoists' "criticize Confucius and praise Ch'in Shih-huang" \(^{19}\) and "follow legalism and repudiate Confucianism." \(^{20}\) President Chiang mentioned that Maoists shouted such slogans as "never implement benevolent rule," "stem the tide," "oppose sentimentalism," and "continue the struggle of class and production." \(^{21}\) He also pointed out that Maoists tried "to terminate the people's aspiration for a rule of benevolence
and a reign of morality." All of these deeds by Maoists are opposites of jen.

Further evidence of immoral activity was offered. President Chiang Kai-shek accused the Communist regime of using unethical methods to convince the other nations of the world that Mao's government deserved to be regarded as the real government of China. He pointed to "the Fourth National People's Congress" as a trick rather than a legislative body which supports the Maoist government.

President Chiang Kai-shek developed lines of argument based on yi, righteousness. This concept was interpreted as including human rights by Mencius. President Chiang demonstrated that the Maoists deny human rights. President Chiang said that "mainland youths are sure that 'Communism is not appropriate for China' and that 'Chinese destiny should be determined by Chinese youths.'" The responsibility of making China good is derived from the spirit of yi. President Chiang mentioned that "the poor and lower-middle peasants will turn against the tyrant" like Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang against Chin Shi-huang. This is the spirit of yi.

Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity is another topic in this speech. President Chiang Kai-shek accused Maoists of "directing the Viet Cong and the Khmer Rouge insurgents and other Communist elements in expansion of the war in Southeast Asia." He urged "the youths in
the bastion of freedom to unite the youths on the Chinese mainland to implement the truth of ethics, democracy and science embodied in the Three Principles of the People and save humankind from the mire of confusion, appeasement degeneration and endless turmoil and war." The Three Principles of the People is derived from Cong-Meng philosophy and its final goal is the Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity.

Through the early sections of the speech, President Chiang Kai-shek indicts the Maoist government of mainland China by demonstrating how their actions conflict with the ideas of Confucius and Mencius. In the sections which followed, he offered his audience a basis of hope. Again, his lines of argument, or topics, come from basic Cong-Meng principles.

Ethical Proof

Chiang Kai-shek was considered a man of virtue. He fought for the nation and for Chinese culture. His sagacity, high character, and good will to the people were all revealed in his acts. Confucius considered that ethical proof existed in the speaker's acts rather than in what he said, and both Confucius and Mencius considered that ethical proof must exist before speaking. President Chiang Kai-shek had established ethical proof by his acts prior to his speeches.
President Chiang Kai-shek adhered to the basic philosophy of Confucius and Mencius, a philosophy shared by the members of his audience. He came to the speech with an excellent reputation. He demonstrated, within the speech, his good will, his knowledge, and his character.

Throughout the speech, President Chiang Kai-shek demonstrated his knowledge of Chinese philosophy and his dependence on that philosophy. For example, he cited an old saying, "When the world is disordered, save it with truth"; he talked about ethics, democracy and science, and other topics of Cong-Meng philosophy; he criticized Maoists' slogans such as "Criticize Confucius and Praise Ch'in Sheh-huang," and "Follow Legalism and Repudiate Confucianism." President Chiang Kai-shek's willingness to give credit to the youth of mainland China showed his good will. His strong support for ethics, morality, Chinese culture, and the Three Principles of the People demonstrated that he was a man of good character.

President Chiang Kai-shek relied on the concepts of Cong-Meng philosophy to produce a speech which enhanced his ethical proof.

Logical proof

President Chiang Kai-shek relied on Confucius and Mencius in his development of logical argument. Like Confucius and Mencius, he also used traditional sayings
and current resources as evidence in logical proof. He said, "An old saying has it, 'When the world is disordered, save it with truth.'" When he criticized Mao's tyrannical rule, he mentioned that Maoists' "criticize Confucius and praise Chin Shih-huang" and mentioned many harsh measures Mao did as evidence.

In reasoning, the speaker used deductive and inductive arguments. For inductive argument, he said in paragraph two that the young people behind the enemy lines had had to endure a life of misery. Then he mentioned that "their minds long have been stifled and their freedom taken away, and they have been compelled to live like animals." All the facts he mentioned in the second half of the paragraph were to support his conclusion that the young people behind the enemy lines had had to endure a life of misery. It is an inductive argument.

Deductive arguments are also used in the speech. In paragraph three, there is an implied major premise: Those who are aware that knowledge is the mortal enemy of tyranny will destroy the nation's culture and ravage the minds of the people. The minor premise is "The maoists are aware that knowledge is ever the mortal enemy of tyranny." The conclusion is this: So they have had to destroy the nation's culture and ravage the minds of the people. This is a categorical deductive argument. In paragraphs four
and five, talking about "morality" and "belief in human rights," the speaker also used categorical deductive arguments. In paragraph sixteen an implied major premise states: If an uprising against tyranny is an action of nonintellectuals, then keeping the people in ignorance cannot prevent them from rising up and the repudiation of benevolent rule makes resistance inevitable. The minor premise: The uprising of Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang against Chin was actually an action of nonintellectuals but was also unmistakably a revolt against tyranny. The conclusion: Therefore, keeping the people in ignorance cannot prevent them from rising up and the repudiation of benevolent rule makes resistance inevitable. This is a hypothetical deductive argument.

This speech reveals that the speaker, like Confucius and Mencius, used varied evidence and used more deductive arguments than inductive arguments in logical proof.

Pathetic proof

The audience are basically the youth. President Chiang Kai-shek consistently used ideas which would inspire the young people. He said, "This is the festive day of our young people." This could make the youths proud. "It is also a special day for commemorating the glorious example. . . ." This could encourage the youths to follow the example. President Chiang compared the life
in Kinmen, Matsu, Taiwan and the Penghus to the life on the mainland. This could make the audience feel sorry for the people on the mainland. He mentioned Mao's campaigns as "destroy the four olds," "establish the four news," "criticize Confucius and praise Ch'in Shih-huang," and "follow Legalism and repudiate Confucianism." The audience would feel furious at such tyranny. In paragraph seven, President Chiang used three "cannots" and one "can never" to make the youths confident and used "this is the time for youths" to encourage them. Another sentence was used to encourage the youths: "The heroic youths emerging now will be like the martyred heroes." In paragraph twelve, the speaker proposed a series of questions. It could make the youths try to answer those questions by actions.

Confucius and Mencius urged the speaker to maintain his philosophy and not adjust it to the audience. Late President Chiang Kai-shek maintained his philosophy throughout and showed the young people in his audience the value to them of adhering to such a philosophy.

Disposition

The treatment of disposition in this speech is similar to that in Cong-Meng rhetoric.

In this speech, when a major topic was set for a paragraph or part of speech, the proposition then emerged
and topics and subject matter were arranged. For example, in paragraphs three to five, the major theme is "the mortal enemies of tyranny." The proposition is "knowledge, morality, and belief in human rights are the mortal enemies of tyranny." The topics such as tyrannical rule and benevolent rule and other supporting materials are then presented. Thus, the order of the emergence of the theme and other materials follows the pattern of Confucius.

This speech reflects the organization used by Mencius. It has accurate theme, clear order of subject matters, clear order of parts of speech, and appropriate proportion of materials.

For parts of speech, there is an order of beginning, succeeding, turning, and closing parts, as Mencius used. However, the four parts used here are more complicated. Paragraph one is the beginning part; paragraphs two to seven are the succeeding parts; paragraphs eight to thirteen are the turning part; paragraph fourteen is the closing part. The succeeding part can be, in turn, separated to four parts by itself: the beginning, the succeeding, the turning, and the closing. Paragraph two is the beginning of this part; paragraphs three to five are the succeeding; paragraph six is the turning; paragraph seven is the closing.

The major theme of the whole speech is "national spirit for the revolution," which appeared in paragraph
one. In each paragraph or part of speech there is also one theme or major topic. Paragraph two talked about the life of young people. The speaker used distributive order of arranging materials by comparing different lives of the youths under different political systems. Paragraphs three to five talked about how Maoists treated their mortal enemies—knowledge, morality and belief in human rights. In each of these paragraphs, logical order was used. Paragraph six talked about Maoists' new trick. In this paragraph it said, "Internally, they have had to intensify their power struggle. Externally, they are directing the Viet Cong and the Khmer Rouge insurgents and other Communist elements in expansion of the war in Southeast Asia." This is a distributive order of arranging materials. Paragraph seven talked about the mind, mankind's aspiration for better, morality, and man's determination to struggle for human rights to appeal to the audience to save human-kind. It used psychological order.

Paragraph eight proposed three phenomena on the mainland China and used the distributive order. Paragraph nine introduced the three paragraphs which discussed the three phenomena. From paragraph ten to paragraph twelve, each paragraph used psychological order to explain the phenomena: "the 'era' of Mao Tse-tung is finished," "the question of 'which way China should go' has been raised
again," and "a new generation has emerged."\textsuperscript{46} Paragraph thirteen said that the uprising of Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang against Chin was a revolt of nonintellectuals against tyranny and therefore keeping the people in ignorance could not prevent them from rising up. This is a logical order. From this reasoning and Mao's deeds, the speaker predicted the revolution against Maoists. This is also a logical order. Paragraph fourteen is the conclusion of the speech. It said, "This is the golden time of the Revolution;"\textsuperscript{47} "Let us rise up as one under the banner of ethics, democracy and science;"\textsuperscript{48} "Let us exert ourselves to preserve and foster the history, the culture, the morality;"\textsuperscript{49} "Let us carry out the daring deed and magnificent task of counterattack and national recovery."\textsuperscript{50} This is a psychological order. In short, this speech reveals that the speaker carefully considered the arrangement of subject materials.

President Chiang Kai-shek appropriately proportioned the material used in this speech. In the introduction he mentioned the dedication of the Founding Father and revolutionary heroes as good examples. In the conclusion he urged the audience to emulate the dedication and great deeds. This would make his appeal more impressive. To make vivid the difference of lives of youth separated by the strait, he used a sharp contrast immediately after the introduction. To make the idea clear that Maoists were
against traditional virtues, he used a major part of the speech to describe their deeds against knowledge, morality and belief in human rights and their trickery and immorality. To make the three phenomena clear, he announced the three and then described the details. In short, President Chiang Kai-shek carefully proportioned the themes of the speech to give each its proper weight.

This speech reveals that the order of the emergence of the theme and other materials, the general method of arranging subject matter, the order developing the parts of a speech are treated similarly to those by Confucius and Mencius; and President Chiang Kai-shek moved beyond Confucius and Mencius in carefully proportioning elements of the speech.

**Style**

The speech reveals that the speaker, like Confucius and Mencius, used simple style and he recognized the importance of the good qualities of style. The composition is similar to those of Mencius.

The use of simple language makes every sentence easy to understand. Though there are some complex sentences and long sentences existing in the English translation, in original Chinese language this speech may still be considered as a simple style.
The words used in this speech are precise and specific; the connection words such as "in contrast," "so," "along with," "consequently," and "even worse," are properly used; there are no ambiguities in the speech. Thus, the quality of correctness exists in this speech. There is no obscurity, no double meaning, and no unintelligibility in the words. This speech has the quality of clearness.

Considering the potential power and earnestness of the youths, the speaker encouraged them to take revolutionary heroes as good examples. He used sincere emotional expressions, as mentioned in "pathetic proof," to urge the youths to test and temper themselves for the final purpose of counterattack, national recovery, and the application of benevolent rule. As the President of the Republic of China, the speaker considered the rhetorical situation, the audience, and his own philosophy. Thus, appropriateness is a quality of this speech.

He mentioned that the youths on the mainland lived like animals and he used the expression "an agonized life of hellish terror and poverty" to express the difficult life. Thus, some embellishment is apparent.

Parallel structure of sentences is not common in this speech. Rhythm is also not emphasized; yet the double-words expressions helped to produce some effect of rhythm.
In short, the style shown in this speech has the qualities that Confucius and Mencius emphasized or expressed in their speeches. In composition, this speech is much like speeches of Mencius.

This speech reveals that there is some influence of Cong-Meng rhetoric on it. The lines of argument came from Cong-Meng principles. The speaker had ethical proof in acts before he presented the speech, which Confucius and Mencius considered necessary. His adherence to Cong-Meng philosophy in speech reinforced his ethical proof. Like Confucius and Mencius, he used varied evidence and more deductive arguments than inductive arguments. In pathetic proof, he maintained his philosophy and was aware of emotional function. These are also accordant with Cong-Meng rhetoric.

In disposition, the order of the emergence of the theme and materials in this speech followed that of Confucius; the organization followed that of Mencius. The speaker applied good qualities of style, the qualities in Cong-Meng rhetoric; the composition is similar to that in the words of Mencius; the speech is a simple style, the same as Confucius and Mencius used.

New Year's Day Message by President Yen Chia-kan on January 1, 1977

New Year's Day is not only the first day of a year but also the anniversary of the establishment of the
Republic of China. On the New Year's Day, 1977, Mao Tse-tung had died and Hua Kuo-feng seemed to have seized the power on the mainland. In this New Year's Day Message, then President Yen Chia-kan pointed out to the audience, basically all people of the Republic of China, that desperate struggle on the mainland was to come; the Republic of China in Taiwan was stable, strong and ready to counter-attack. He appealed to fellow countrymen to have resolute will power, pure morality and strong sense of responsibility. He mentioned that the democratic countries should be aware of the Communist trickery and should seek true peace with justice.

The Speaker: Yen Chia-kan

On New Year's Day, 1977, Yen Chia-kan was President of the Republic of China. His experiences and character made him qualified for this position. With this position and his philosophy he was then a most appropriate speaker for this New Year's Day Message.

President Yen Chia-kan was a gifted student and had a university education. He began his governmental career with a position in a railroad in Shanghai in 1926. From 1938 to 1958 he served in the fields of construction, finance, transportation, and economics and held appointments from the provincial commissioner to the minister. He was also the chairman of Taiwan Provincial Government. In 1963
he was named as Premier. In 1966 and 1972 he was elected as Vice President. When Chiang Kai-shek died in April, 1975, he succeeded to the Presidency.52

In 1978 he recommended Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo to the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) as the candidate for President. Since his retirement from the Presidency in May 1978, he has continued working as a member of the Central Standing Committee in the party and as the Chairman of the Council of Chinese Cultural Renaissance.53

President Yen came from a literary family and studied many ancient books. He was undoubtedly influenced by Cong-Meng philosophy. President Yen's character is "round outside and square inside." That means he can manage things in an expedient way while following major principles; he is considerate of others yet set high standards for himself.54

President Yen's thoughts about Chinese traditional virtues and Chinese culture are revealed in his speeches. He said that Chinese culture not only emphasizes individual cultivation but also improves the harmony and happiness of the society and provides an accurate direction for keeping the world just and peaceful.55 He appealed to people to expand ethical morality, to develop the spirit of benevolence and love, and to acquire harmonious relationships among people. He sincerely hoped the families, the
society, the country, and the whole world would become harmonious and happy through the renaissance of Chinese culture and the application of traditional virtues. His viewpoint is also revealed by his willingness, after retirement from the presidency, to serve as the Chairman of the Council of Chinese Cultural Renaissance.

President Yen's wisdom and high character have been revealed in his ability of political affairs and his philosophy; his good will to the audience has been revealed in the words of his speeches. New Year's Day, 1977, came after Mao died yet the Communist regime was continuing its policies of brute force, deceit, purge and struggle. Desperate power struggle was to come in the mainland; but the free Chinese in the bastion of the freedom were stable and becoming stronger. When President Yen Chia-kan made the "New Year's Day Message," he could feel justified in his adherence to the Cong-Meng philosophy.

Current Situation of the Country

After President Chiang Kai-shek died, Vice President Yen Chia-kan became President and continued to lead the Republic of China in the policy of anti-Communism and the Republic of China definitely remained in the democratic camp. Though Mao Tse-tung died, the Communist regime continued its tyrannical rule, but the Republic of
China, under its democratic government, was stable and stronger than ever.

President Chiang Kai-shek died on April 5, 1975. The people in Taiwan and abroad suddenly felt a great loss of spiritual support. Under the terms of the Republic of China's constitution, Mr. Yen Chia-kan was immediately sworn in as President and he announced: "We will never change our national policy of anti-Communism. We will never negotiate with the Chinese Communist regime. We will continue to be a democratic country. We are independent and self-reliant." Not long after that, Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo, the Premier, was named as chairman of the ruling Kuomintang Party. The country again overcame the difficulty it encountered and continued its growth in every aspect.

In the meantime, Vietnam War ended. On April 30, 1975, Communist forces entered the capital city of Saigon. South Vietnam was incorporated into the Communist political system. Many refugees fleeing out of South Vietnam died on the sea. The miserable scenes shook the people of the world. Seeing this, the people of the Republic of China strengthened their belief that the policy of anti-Communism was right.

On the mainland, Mao Tse-tung died in September 1976. Only one month later, Hua Kuo-feng arrested and purged "the Gang of Four" including Jiang Ching, Mao's
wife. "The Gang of Four" was imprisoned and so were several thousand of their supporters. Hua Kuo-feng seized the power and became the leader on the mainland. What happened in the mainland gave the people of the Republic of China a stronger belief of the inhumanity of Communism.

The speech to be analyzed in this section was made on January 1, 1977. In Taiwan and the neighboring islands, the Republic of China was stable. The people of the ROC, as late President Chiang Kai-shek had urged, united as one to follow the command of the party and government for National Revolution. In this situation, President Yen Chia-kan made the speech.

Analysis of the Speech

This speech will be summarized and then analyzed according to the canons of invention, disposition and style to see the influence from Cong-Meng rhetoric.

Summary of the speech

New Year's Day and the 66th anniversary of the Republic of China comes when the world is in extreme vicissitudes and the Chinese mainland in tumultuousness yet the bastion of national reconstruction is strong, stable and growing. We have the grave responsibility for saving the Republic and the world.
Dr. Sun Yat-sen led to establish the Republic and President Chiang Kai-shek led to preserve it. During this course, each insurrection was put down. This resolute spirit and these deeds are the sources of national hope and the guarantee of success in national recovery and reconstruction.

The bastion was stable and becoming more strong. This is because of the policies and instructions of Dr. Sun and President Chiang, the Three Principles of the People, and our national culture. With these we can fulfill our responsibility to the country and humankind.

With the concerted efforts of government and people, the construction on this bastion has succeeded in political, economical and social aspects. Our struggle for independence and self-reliance is for tomorrow as well as for today, for reconstruction of the mainland as well as for this bastion. Our efforts have not only improved the people's life on the bastion but also have engendered the hope of regaining freedom of the people on the mainland.

The Chinese Communists have endlessly resorted to brute force, deceit, purge, and struggle for their tyrannical rule. After the death of Mao Tse-tung, Hua Kuo-feng seems to have seized the power of leadership but more desperate power struggle is yet to come. The bandit regime is doomed to collapse.
The people on the mainland are living an agonized life. Yet human nature makes them hate Communists. Anti-Communist uprisings are spreading. With wisdom, the mainland compatriots and the repentant Communist cadres and servicemen will fight against Communist chieftans and will save themselves and the country at the crucial moment that the Peiping regime collapses.

Our chief goal is the recovery of the mainland and the salvation of our compatriots. National righteousness and humanity are inspiring anti-Communist and patriotic people on the mainland. People on both sides of the strait have the same anti-Communist determination, sincere patriotic conscience, and the love of our people. We support those who rise up against or defect from Communism.

The Republic of China has adhered to the anti-Communist national policy and remains a member of the democratic camp. She is faithful and sincere to other nations. We want to save our country and bring peace to the world. In contrast, the Communist regime uses shameless trickery to oppress the people and to export violence. The democratic nations should be aware of this.

Reunification of the Republic of China through eradication of the Chinese Communists is the basis for Asian stability and world peace. We discern Communists' trickery and do not negotiate with them. The democratic countries
should be alert and seek for true peace of justice, not the false peace of humiliation.

Today, our government and people, in home and abroad, the armed forces, and millions of anti-Communist people on the mainland are joined together with high spirit. We will soon win the sacred war to save the people on the mainland.

Today all our people, military and civilian, should have the three strengths: resolute will power, pure morality, and strong sense of responsibility.

We should create a new situation to win the victory, which is near, so that Chinese culture will be preserved, the Three Principles of the People fulfilled, and all Chinese people will enjoy freedom, equality and well-being.

**Invention**

In the analysis of invention, the approach based on Cong-Meng rhetoric will be applied. First, the speech will be examined for topics from Cong-Meng rhetoric. Then the aspects of ethical, logical, and pathetic proofs reflected in Cong-Meng rhetoric will be noted.

**Topics**

In this speech the major topics which were derived from Cong-Meng philosophy are *jen*, love, *yi*, *yung*, harmony,
Jen and love are the basic topics on which President Yen developed lines of argument. The construction in the bastion of freedom, as he mentioned, was successful in political, economic and social aspects. What he described was the success of the benevolent government. He mentioned that our struggle for independence and self-reliance is not only for the people on the bastion of freedom but also for the freedom of the people on the mainland. He said that "the recovery of the mainland and the salvation of our compatriots constitute our paramount goal." The concepts of Jen and love are clearly revealed here. He urged the audience to "develop our instinctive benevolence and promote our traditional virtues to assure pure morality." This reveals that Jen was emphasized.

Yi is another topic from which arguments developed in this speech. Mencius considered that Jen was derived from the love in the heart and Yi was a necessary way to fulfill Jen. Responsibility to save the compatriots and humankind is thus a concept of Yi. Many times in this speech President Yen pointed out that we have the grave responsibility for saving the Republic and the world, saving the compatriots and humankind. He also mentioned that anti-Communist uprisings were spreading; the mainland compatriots...
and repentant Communist cadres and servicemen would fight against the maniacal Communist chieftans; national righteousness was inspiring anti-Communist and patriotic people on the mainland; we should have strong sense of responsibility to contribute and devote ourselves to the country. He also appealed the democratic countries to seek for true peace of justice. All these were based on the topic of 果.

Yung, courage or spirit deriving from 仁 and 果, is also a topic used in this speech. President Yen mentioned that in the course of revolution, each insurrection was put down; this resolute and unremitting spirit and such deeds were the sources of national hope for success in national recovery and reconstruction. With the policies and instructions of Dr. Sun and President Chiang, the Three Principles of the People and national culture, "can we shoulder our difficult task" and "turn the tide" to fulfill our responsibility. He mentioned that people on both sides of the strait have the same anti-Communist determination and high spirit. He urged the audience to have resolute will power. Thus, yung is a topic on which the particular lines of argument are based.

"Harmony" is revealed as a topic in this speech. President Yen mentioned that in social aspect we had a blue-print for harmony and stability; the successful construction on this bastion in all aspects was the result of the concerted efforts of government and people; our government
and people, in home and abroad, the armed forces, and millions of anti-Communist people on the mainland were joined together with high spirit. All these harmonious situations are derived from the same philosophy--traditional morality.

President Yen developed his lines of argument based on chih. The concept of chih, wisdom and rationality as it was used in this speech, is his topic. He cited a Chinese saying, "The wise man makes his plans in keeping with the times; the fool moves against rationality." He said that it was apparent that with the wisdom the compatriots on the mainland and the repentant Communist cadres would successfully crush the irrational Communist chieftans.

Chung and hsin were also used as topics. President Yen mentioned that for those who rose up against or defected from Communism, we would "affirmatively uphold their human dignity, rights and freedom; assure their enjoyment of all the rights." This sincere guarantee contains the concept of trustworthiness, the concept of hsin. When he said that the Republic of China adhered to its anti-Communist policy and remained in the democratic camp, he reaffirmed by saying that the Republic of China "is faithful and sincere in pursuing its international relationships and in seeking to unite the democratic forces." To be faithful and to be sincere are the concepts of chung and hsin which were emphasized by Confucius in the human relationships.
While Mencius considered human nature as good, so did President Yen. He used it as a topic and mentioned that when the mainland compatriots were living an agonized life, "their humanist inclination and the inspiration of their conscience have made manifest that they are endlessly antagonized by the wicked Communists." 70

When President Yen criticized Chinese Communists, he said that they ceaselessly resorted to brute force, deceit, unremitting purge and struggle to prolong their tyrannical rule, that "our mainland compatriots are suffering the effects of bloody storm and scorching crucible." 71 He also mentioned that the maniacal Communist chieftains are irrational. These deeds and characters of Chinese Communists are opposites of jen, love, yi, yung, harmony, chih, chung, hsin and human nature. It is undoubtedly also opposite to the ideal of the Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity.

The Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity was used as a topic and was emphasized by President Yen in this speech. Many times he mentioned that the responsibility of the Republic of China is to save the country and the humankind in the world. He emphasized his concept by saying, "Our efforts are not confined to the salvation of country and people but also serve the interests of world peace." 72
The topics mentioned here that were used in the New Year's Day Message, 1977, by President Yen were all developed from Cong-Meng rhetoric.

Ethical proof

Former President Yen Chia-kan is wise and considerate of others, as mentioned in the section of "the speaker." This is accordant with chih and hsu of Cong-Meng philosophy. Though he did not have the experience and merits of late President Chiang Kai-shek, his loyalty, sincerity and hard work made the growth of the Republic of China continue. He was welcome not only by his friends but also by all the people. The ethical proof was established prior to his speeches. Such ethical proof was considered necessary by Confucius and Mencius.

President Yen also demonstrated his good will, his knowledge and high character in his speech. His knowledge of Chinese philosophy was revealed in his words such as the Chinese saying he cited, "The wise man makes his plans in keeping with the times; the fool moves against rationality." His speech contains allusions to the words of Confucius "faithful and truthful in what you say" and "earnest and serious in what you do." He properly applied jen, yi, yung, etc. as his speech topics and called attention to the basic philosophy and values of the Chinese culture. President Yen was glad that the construction of
the bastion of freedom was successful and people were living in happiness; he was interested in the life of the people on the mainland. This reveals his good will. His encouraging the audience to develop instinctive benevolence and emphasizing the topic of the Great Commonwealth of the Peace and Prosperity demonstrated his high character.

Logical proof

President Yen showed his reliance on Confucius and Mencius in structuring argument. He cited an ancient Chinese saying: "The wise man makes his plans in keeping with the time; the fool moves against rationality." With this saying he proved that the wisdom of the patriotic mainland compatriots and the repentant Communist cadres over the irrationality of the maniacal Communist chieftans would make the Communist regime fail.

For evidence he cited the great deeds of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and late President Chiang Kai-shek to prove that the resolute and unremitting spirit and these deeds were the sources of hope and the guarantee of success in national recovery and reconstruction.

The speech also used reasoning as proof. He mentioned that the bastion of construction has achieved progress in political, economic, and social aspects and he concluded that this progress had made the people in Taiwan live better
and made the people on the mainland have a hope of regaining freedom. This is an inductive argument.

The speaker was aware of the concept of deduction. This concept is revealed in speaking of the Communist regime: the major premise is implied that "those who resorted to brute force, deceit, and unremitting purge and struggle to prolong their tyrannical rule will collapse; the minor premise is that "Chinese Communists did so"; the conclusion is that "Chinese Communist regime will collapse." 77

Formal forms of deduction were not clearly expressed in the text of this speech; but some of his major ideas embodied in many paragraphs may be paraphrased by deduction. A major premise is "if the government adheres to the Chinese traditional virtues, the country will be strong and harmonious"; the minor premise is "the government of the Republic of China in Taiwan adheres to Chinese traditional virtues"; the conclusion is "the Republic of China in Taiwan is strong and harmonious." 78 A major premise is "those who apply jen government will beat those who apply anti-jen government"; the minor premise is "the Republic of China in Taiwan applies jen government and the Chinese Communist regime on the mainland applies anti-jen government"; the conclusion is "the Republic of China will beat the Chinese Communist regime." 79
In logical proof, the speaker might have been influenced by Cong-Meng rhetoric in evidence and induction. However, his logical argument lacks the clarity and precision of those used by Confucius and Mencius.

Pathetic proof

The audience were all the people of the country. Just as Confucius and Mencius saw rhetoric as audience-oriented, so did President Yen. He used emotional expressions to stir all the people so that they would have the confidence to achieve the goal—the recovery of the mainland and the salvation of the compatriots.

He mentioned that "tumultuous changes are taking place on the Chinese mainland, our bastion of national reconstruction is strong, stable and still growing." This gave the audience the confidence that they might restore freedom to the mainland. He cited the difficult experiences of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and late President Chiang Kai-shek as examples to inspire the audience to follow the examples. He said that on the mainland "more desperate power struggle is yet to come." This made the audience confident that the regime on the mainland would collapse soon. "Our mainland compatriots are suffering the effects of bloody storm and scorching crucible," the speaker said. This would make the audience feel sorry for the people on
the mainland and thus would accept the responsibility of saving those people. He said, "The call for national righteousness and the beacon of humanity are inspiring all anti-Communist and patriotic people on the mainland to leave the darkness quickly and return to the light." These words would inspire the audience to think of national righteousness and the beacon of humanity and then would try to help those people to leave the darkness and return to the light.

The speaker mentioned that the people in the bastion of freedom were "industrious in their work, loyal, courageous and stronger than ever." He also mentioned that in the bastion "the armed forces are well trained and ever combat ready." These words were also encouraging. He also encouraged the audience, "My Fellow Countrymen: The dawn is within sight and our victory lies just ahead." These are also emotional words for pathetic proof.

The speaker used emotional words in this speech. However, those words seem not strong enough. He tried to mention all the facts of the situations on both sides of the strait. He seemed to believe that, after recognizing the situations, the audience would automatically follow his idea. This concept is concordant with the concept of Confucius and Mencius in that the two philosophers
considered that, if the idea was good, the audience would readily accept it.

**Disposition**

The disposition in this speech is basically similar to that in Cong-Meng rhetoric.

The order of the emergence of the theme and other materials in this speech is similar to what Confucius did. In this speech, each paragraph has a proposition. The topics and subject matter were derived from the proposition. For example, the central proposition of paragraph four is this: The construction of this bastion has not only raised the people's standard of living in Taiwan but also engendered hope for the people on the mainland. From this proposition, the topics of harmony, chih, yung, and other subject matters were developed.

Like Mencius, the speaker of this speech recognized the principles of the order of parts of speech, the general method of arranging subject matter, and the appropriate proportioning.

In the parts of speech, there is an order of beginning, succeeding, turning, and closing parts, as Mencius used. However, the parts used here are more complicated, as were those in the last speech analyzed in this chapter. Paragraph one is the beginning part; paragraphs two to nine are the succeeding part; paragraph ten
to thirteen are the turning part; paragraph fourteen is the closing part. The succeeding part can be, in turn, separated into four parts by itself: the beginning, the succeeding, the turning, and the closing. Paragraph two is the beginning of this part, paragraphs three to six are the succeeding; paragraphs seven and eight are the turning; paragraph nine is the closing.

It seems that the speaker used logical order by arranging subject matter more than other orders. However, few strict logical forms are found even in his use of logical order. That is, his logical order was not clear in forms but only bore the logical function. In paragraph two he mentioned Dr. Sun Yat-sen's and President Chiang Kai-shek's deeds, from establishing the Republic, to the Northward Expedition, the war of Resistance against Japan, the suppression of the Communists, the implementation of constitutional government, to the national reconstruction of Taiwan. It is a historical order. Paragraph three listed the reasons why the bastion of the reconstruction was stable and strong. It is a logical order. Paragraph four told the audience the progress in Taiwan by pointing out the progress in political, economic and social aspects. It is in logical order. Paragraph five used deduction to discuss the inevitable collapse of the Communist regime and was also in logical order. Paragraph six said that human nature made
the people on the mainland hate Communists and that they and
the repentant Communist cadres and servicemen would fight
against the Communist chieftains and save themselves and
the country. It is a logical order.

Paragraph seven said that the call for national
righteousness on both sides of the strait in the anti-
Communist action. It is a logical order. Paragraph eight
talked about the national policy of anti-Communists to save
the country and to achieve world peace. It urged democratic
countries not to seek detente with the Chinese Communists.
It is a logical order. Paragraph nine said,

We have no lengthy experience in opposing
Communism . . . We have no compatibility with
the Chinese Communists and will never compromise
or talk peace with them . . . we shall call on
the democracies to strengthen their citadel of
justice . . . .

It combines the logical order and psychological order.
Paragraph ten mentioned the spirit of the people on the
bastion, of the armed forces, and of the overseas Chinese.
It is a distributive order. Paragraphs eleven to thirteen
listed three strengths and are in distributive order.

Wholistically, paragraph two talked about Dr. Sun's
and President Chiang's deeds; paragraphs three and four
the bastion of reconstruction; paragraphs five and six, the
mainland China; paragraphs seven to eight, the goal and the
policy of the country. Thus, the paragraphs are in distributive order.

Basically, the arranging of subject materials in each paragraph is not as clear as the arranging of the order of paragraphs and the order of parts of speech.

The proportioning was considered by the speaker. He emphasized expressions such as those mentioned in the section of "pathetic proof." These expressions are in the proper places and made the speech vivid. He also used comparison and contrast to make the more important concepts impressive. At the beginning of the speech, he compared the situations of the bastion of reconstruction to that on the mainland. From paragraph three to paragraph six, he presented a more detailed comparison of the situations of the two areas. This treatment made the differences of the two areas impressive. After the speaker analyzed the situation of anti-Communism, he encouraged the audience with three strengths: resolute will power, pure morality, and strong sense of responsibility; and then he appealed in the last of the speech to seize the good opportunity to create a new situation to achieve the goal of national recovery and reconstruction. This reveals his concept of proportioning.

In disposition, Confucius had clear concepts of the thematic emergence and selecting materials and Mencius recognized the importance of the order of the parts of
speech, the arranging of subject matters, and proportioning. This speech reveals that the speaker recognized these principles. However, the logical order of arranging materials seems not expressed as clearly as the standards in Cong-Meng rhetoric.

**Style**

President Yen seemed to be aware of good qualities of style but did not emphasize all of them. What he emphasized most is the parallel structure in composition, which was emphasized by Confucius.

Like words of Confucius and Mencius, the language in this speech is precise and easy to understand. In its Chinese language, the sentences were simple. This speech can be considered as a simple style, though it contains embellishment.

The words in the speech are specific and simple, no ambiguity exists in this speech; the connection expressions such as "although," "as," "these also serve as," "only with . . . can," "not only . . . but also," were correctly used. Thus, this speech has the quality of correctness in style.

The Chinese words used in this speech clearly expressed the ideas of the speaker. However, the logical concept seemed not clearly expressed. A whole paragraph might be used to express an idea of deductive argument, such as paragraph five which talked about the collapse of Chinese
Communist regime, as mentioned in the section of "logical proof." Sometimes many paragraphs were used to show one deductive idea, as those mentioned in the same section. Nevertheless, the audience would still clearly understand this speech because current situations and facts were presented perspicuously.

The speaker did consider the principle of appropriateness. He mentioned the changing situation on the main-land and the stability in Taiwan; he used the emotional expressions to give the audience confidence to achieve the national goal. He considered the rhetorical situation, the audience, and his own philosophy and thus the principle of appropriateness exists in his words.

The speaker used figurative language, "torches and beacons,"\textsuperscript{88} to represent the policies and instructions of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and President Chiang Kai-shek, the ideological leadership of the Three Principles of the People, the martyrdom of the revolutionary fathers, and the formative power of the illustrious national culture. He also used the words "mountaintops"\textsuperscript{89} as the powerful leaders of Chinese Communists and used "bloody storm and scorching crucible"\textsuperscript{90} to describe the suffering of the mainland people. These expressions are the quality of embellishment.
The parallel structure of sentences, which was emphasized by Confucius, is emphasized in this speech. For example, "rose up after each reverse to overcome dangers" and "assure the country's safety and reconstruction" are parallel in structure in Chinese language. They consist of two four-character (four-word) expressions. The four elements represented by "torches and beacons" as mentioned in the last paragraph, are also expressed by four parallel expressions. In another example, "Politically, our programs of construction on this bastion have established a model democratic Constitution," "economically, they have charted the course of prosperity and development," and "socially, they have provided a blueprint for harmony and stability" are also a parallel structure. Each of these three aspects was expressed by fourteen characters. Like these examples, more than thirty instances of parallel expressions or sentences exist in this speech. This trait made the speech easy to listen to and easy to read and it helped to form the rhythm in composition.

Generally speaking, this speech is a simple style which is the same as what Confucius and Mencius used. The qualities of style were treated according to the principles, though not every quality met the standard of Cong-Meng rhetoric. In composition, the character of parallel structure and rhythm were similar to those in the words of
Confucius. In short, the style of this speech appears to have some influence from Confucius and Mencius.

This speech reveals that it has some influence of Cong-Meng rhetoric. The major topics used were all developed from Cong-Meng rhetoric. The speaker had his ethical proof before speaking, as emphasized by Confucius and Mencius. The use of evidence and induction may have influence from Cong-Meng rhetoric, yet the logical argument lacks the clarity and precision as used by Confucius and Mencius. The speaker seems to recognize the principles of disposition as used by Confucius and Mencius with the exception that his logical order of arranging materials is not as clear as in Cong-Meng rhetoric. The style in this speech is the same as Confucius and Mencius used, as simple style. The qualities of style is, to some extent, similar to Cong-Meng rhetoric. The parallel structure and rhythm are similar to words of Confucius.

Double Tenth National Day Message by President Chiang Ching-kuo on October 10, 1983

National Day commemorates the success of the National Revolution on October 10, 1911. Dr. Sun Yat-sen initiated ten revolutions and met ten reverses before the 1911 revolution. With the faith in the Three Principles of the People he reinforced his call for national justice and led the revolutionary comrades to overcome all
difficulties and dangers, destroy the tyrannical Ching dynasty, and establish the Republic. On the National Day of 1983, President Chiang Ching-kuo presented this message to the people of the country. He mentioned that on the way to build a modern country of the people, by the people, and for the people, many difficulties and dangers have been overcome. The Republic of China in Taiwan has the responsibility to save the people on the mainland from their afflictions and to propagate the good government and humanitarian policy of the Three Principles of the People on the mainland. He appealed to the audience to apply the unyielding will and confidence and unsurpassed courage to struggle against the Communists and to accomplish the national goal of reunification of China through the implementation of the Three Principles of the People.

The Speaker: Chiang Ching-kuo

Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo is the President of the Republic of China. His experiences and reputation provided him the qualification for this position. His family, education, and philosophy, as well as his experiences and reputation made him the most suitable speaker for the National Day Message, October 10, 1983.

President Chiang Ching-kuo is the elder son of the late President Chiang Kai-shek. Since his childhood, Chiang Ching-kuo was educated under his father's strict
instructions. At the age of sixteen, he was sent to Moscow to study and stayed in the USSR for twelve years. During these hard days he learned to face adversity and to solve life's problems with fortitude.\textsuperscript{98}

From 1939 to 1948, Chiang Ching-kuo served as an administrative commissioner, magistrate, foreign affairs commissioner, and deputy economic control supervisor. Following the three-power Yalta agreement during World War II, Chiang Ching-kuo participated in negotiations with Stalin to protect Chinese territory desired by Stalin. His experience in dealing with the Russian Communists helped him to discern the threat from Chinese Communists to the Republic of China. His fears were soon realized.\textsuperscript{99}

After the national government of the Republic of China was moved to Taiwan in 1949, Chiang Ching-kuo served in Kuomintang Party as well as in the government. Having served well in many governmental positions, he became Vice Premier and Premier. During his service as the Premier (1972-1978), he led the nation to launch the Ten Major Construction Projects and succeeded. He also visited foreign countries and met with Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon. He also traveled to Japan and the Republic of Korea, Vietnam, and Thailand.\textsuperscript{100} He was inaugurated President of the Republic of China on May 20, 1978.
President Chiang Ching-kuo's philosophy, like his father's, is derived from Cong-Meng philosophy—heaven-human unification and Chinese traditional virtues. His father told him, "Only he who is the proponent of God with the concept of heaven-human unification can optimistically follow the tao and heaven, can drive off sorrow and fear, can face the fate with calm mind, and can keep the morality even to death."  

When President Chiang Ching-kuo was eleven, his father required him to study The Four Books and encouraged him to study a digest book for essential parts of some ancient books. The Works of Mencius was emphasized. His father said, "The goodness of The Works of Mencius is different from that of other books. If you want to write well in the future, you must study well The Works of Mencius." The reason his father wanted him to study well The Works of Mencius was, as President Chiang Ching-kuo himself put it, not only for the profit of learning the writing skill from it but also for these ideas: to make the people happy and the nation strong, to follow jen and yi, and to get through various hardship.  

Upon his coming back from the USSR, his father required him to study The Three Principles of the People as well as Chinese history, geography, and philosophy.  

On National Day, October, 1983, the Republic of China continued to thrive and prosper. Sharing Cong-Meng
philosophy with the people, President Chiang Ching-kuo encouraged them to reunify the country through the implementation of the Three Principles of the People. Since he had won the admiration and respect of the people, this speech was considered an important instruction as well as encouragement.

Current Situation of the Country

Since the United States of America ended the diplomatic relations with the Republic of China, the government and people of the ROC in Taiwan have struggled to improve the situation. National Day, 1983, came when the situation was good to the ROC; yet on the mainland the people were still under the tyrannical rule of the Communist system.

On December 16, 1978, President Carter of the United States announced the recognition of the Chinese Communist regime. Diplomatic relations between the Republic of China and the United States came to an end on January 1, 1979. This heavy blow to the ROC was weathered. However, the Chinese people in Taiwan were not discouraged. The real relationships between the ROC and the USA especially in trade have increased. The real relationships between the ROC and more than one hundred countries in the world are also improved. Taiwan is on the way to becoming an industrial democracy.
In 1983 the internal and external situations are both beneficial to the development of the country. In internal aspects, the pace of recovery of the economic recession is obvious, exports increase, prices are stable, great criminal cases are cleared up, and the industrial and commercial investments are increased. In international matters, the USA sold weapons worth 530 million dollars to the ROC, the China Air Lines has extended the routes to New York and Amsterdam, Pan American Air Lines recovered its flight to Taipei. Defections from the mainland occurred, a pilot named Wu from the mainland flew to the Republic of Korea last year. This year six Communist Chinese officials of whom the leader is named Chuo snatched a plane to the Republic of Korea. Another pilot named Sun also flew to the same country. All of the eight sought Taiwan as their final destination. Taiwan has made desirable achievement and overcome many difficulties through determined effort.\textsuperscript{105}

However, the economic prosperity promoted men's material desire; social stability made people like to live an easy life. Thus, the social customs became extravagant; stealing, robbery, and economic crimes increased; the spirit of people's morality decreased.\textsuperscript{106}

On the National Day, October 10, 1983, the Republic of China in Taiwan was prosperous and stable. It had become the hope of the whole country. In this situation, President Chiang Ching-kuo presented this National Day Message.
Analysis of the Speech

In searching for the possible influence of Cong-Meng rhetoric on this speech, the speech will be summarized and then analyzed according to the canons of invention, disposition, and style.

Summary

The National Revolution of 1911 brought the founding of the Republic. In celebrating National Day, we should tell the world we are on the way to victory over Communism and toward national recovery.

The goal of the Republic of China is to accomplish a modern country of the people, by the people, and for the people. With unparalleled confidence and perseverance, we have overcome difficulties and dangers in every stage of this goal. We determine to realize the ideal of the Three Principles of the People in all of China and throughout the world.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen worked to establish the Republic until its success. President Chiang Kai-shek successfully upheld the dignity of the Chinese nation, practiced constitutional democracy, and improved the lives of our people. The Republic of China has the firmness and the faith which provide the will to continue.

The Chinese Communist rebellion has hindered the realization of our national ideal. Yet it has spurred our
will and strengthened our conviction to save our nation and realize the Three Principles of the People. The inferiority of Communist system and superiority of the Three Principles of the People have been revealed in their results. This contrast will never change. The Communists will never escape their final destruction.

The compatriots on the Chinese mainland are our flesh and blood. We should not ignore their afflictions and must expand the jen government to the mainland as soon as possible.

It is most important that we carry on to the end and never compromise with the enemy in the course of the anti-Communist struggle. This will guarantee our final victory.

To reunify China through implementation of the Three Principles of the People, we should rally together, struggle together, and strive together.

**Invention**

In this section, the speech will be examined first for topics from Cong-Meng rhetoric. Then ethical, logical and pathetic proofs reflected in Cong-Meng rhetoric will be discussed.

**Topic**

In this speech the topics which are derived from Cong-Meng rhetoric are jen, love, yi, yung, the Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity, and heaven-human unification.
President Chiang Ching-kuo developed lines of argument on jen and love. The major theme of this speech is "national recovery and reconstruction," the purpose of which is to carry out the jen policy. Mencius considered that jen was derived from "love"; President Chiang Ching-kuo shared love with the audience in the willingness to carry out the jen policy on the mainland. He pointed out the close relationship between the people on both sides of the strait and urged the audience to "act promptly with all our strength to propagate the good government and humanitarian policy of the Three Principles of the People on the mainland." The topics of "love" and jen are clearly revealed.

Yi and yung are also the topics on which President Chiang Ching-kuo relied to develop his lines of argument. He said that the roadway of building a modern country had been filled with difficulties, hardships and bitterness and that "we have nevertheless accepted the challenges and overcome the obstacles with unparalleled confidence and perseverance." The power of "confidence" and "perseverance" are derived from the spirit of yi and expressed in the acts of yung. He said that "no danger is too great to undermine our devotion and prevent our determination." Such devotion and determination also refer to both yi and yung.
President Chiang Ching-kuo cited Dr. Sun Yat-sen who suffered no fewer than ten defeats yet tried again until the final victory of the Revolution was won. He also cited the late President Chiang Kai-shek who devoted himself to the national independence, liberty and equality, and practicing constitutional democracy, etc. with determination. These deeds and spirit also refer to yi and yung.

Yung seems to be emphasized in this speech. President Chiang Ching-kuo said, "The Republic of China has always been a country of unyielding will and unsurpassed courage." He appealed the audience to "carry on to the end and never compromise with the enemy in the course of our anti-Communist struggle."

Confucius saw the topic of "the Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity" as important and so did President Chiang Ching-kuo. President Chiang revealed this idea by mentioning that the devotion of the Republic of China was "to realize the Three Principles of the People in all of China and throughout the world."

"Heaven-human unification" is another topic which President Chiang Ching-kuo applied to develop his lines of argument. While he mentioned that Chinese Communist rebellion brought calamity to the nation, he pointed out that "the national guidelines of the Three Principles of the People have followed the course of nature and
accomodated themselves to the needs of humankind."¹¹⁴ This reveals the application of the topic of "heaven-human unification."

President Chiang Ching-kuo developed his lines of argument on the above-mentioned topics, which were the major topics used by Confucius and Mencius.

Ethical proof

President Chiang Ching-kuo has followed the examples and teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and President Chiang Kai-shek and has shown dedication, integrity and loyalty, as former President Yen Chia-kan maintained.¹¹⁵ He has adhered to principle and stood firm in his beliefs. He believes that the spirit of righteousness exists and lasts forever. He is interested in people's daily life and visits people often in the countryside, at factories and military posts. As a result of his vision and wisdom, the world has credited the Republic of China with an economic miracle.¹¹⁶ His ethical proof from high character, good will and wisdom existed in his acts before he presented the National Day Message, 1983. Ethical proof existing in acts and before speaking was a principle in Cong-Meng rhetoric.

President Chiang Ching-kuo also demonstrated his ethical proof in his speech. In the whole speech, he adhered to Cong-Meng philosophy which was shared by the audience. Those topics on which he relied to develop lines
of argument reveal his knowledge of this philosophy and his willingness to clarify and expand the traditional virtues. He mentioned that the country had endeavored, struggled and fought for building a modern country of the people, by the people and for the people; he appealed the audience to expand the benevolent government on the mainland. Thus, he demonstrated his high character, knowledge, and his good will to the people on the mainland as well as on the bastion of freedom.

Logical proof

President Chiang Ching-kuo used evidence and reasoning as logical proofs in this speech. Confucius and Mencius used more evidence and deductive arguments than inductive arguments; President Chiang Ching-kuo expressed the concepts of evidence and deduction more clearly than the concept of induction.

In evidence he cited the experiences of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's leading the revolution and of President Chiang Kai-shek's opposing formidable enemies and their successes to prove that determination, perseverance and conviction were the power to overcome any dangers and difficulties.

In reasoning, he used induction implicitly and deduction more clearly. For example, he said that "the Republic of China has always been a country of unyielding will and unsurpassed courage." This is a conclusion
induced from many facts that the country overcame difficulties and obstacles unyieldingly and courageously. What are the facts? He did not list the facts. However, he said,

Ever since its founding, the Republic of China has endeavored, struggled and fought for the accomplishment of a single goal— the building of a modern country of the people, by the people and for the people. The roadway has been replete with difficulties, hardships and bitterness, too. We have nevertheless accepted the challenges and overcome the obstacles with unparalleled confidence and perseverance while accomplishing the mission of national reconstruction at each and every stage.

The general audience knew the history well enough to think of what difficulties, hardships and bitterness that the country has overcome. Thus, the specific facts for the induction are omitted. For the example of deduction, he said,

The Republic of China has always been a country of unyielding will and unsurpassed courage. No danger is too great to undermine our devotion and prevent our determination to realize the ideal of the Three Principles of the People in all of China and throughout the world.

In this passage, the major premise which was omitted is "those countries of unyielding will and unsurpassed courage will not be undermined by great dangers in her people's devotion or prevented in her people's determination to realize the ideal." The minor premise is that "the Republic of China is a country of unyielding will and unsurpassed courage." The conclusion is that "no danger is
too great to undermine our devotion and prevent our determination to realize the ideal of the Three Principles of the People in all of China and throughout the world." Thus, this is a categorical deductive argument. It may also be considered as a hypothetical deductive argument if the major premise is changed into a complex sentence including an "if clause."

In logical proof, this speech reveals that though the speaker also applied the concept of induction, he emphasized the use of deduction and evidence, as Confucius and Mencius did.

Pathetic proof

Confucius and Mencius considered that speech was audience-oriented and so does President Chiang Ching-kuo. President Chiang applied emotional words to encourage his audience, basically the people of the country, "we are marching along the road to victory over Communism and toward national recovery." This would give the audience confidence in national recovery. He said, "No danger is too great to undermine our devotion and prevent our determination to realize the ideal of the Three Principles of the People." These words would fortify the determination of the audience. He then said,

We are all aware that firmness and unyielding faith provides the will power to break through
difficulty and hardship. The Republic of China has such will power in boundless quantity. These words would make the audience proud of this will power and apply it.

Talking about the damage from Chinese Communists, President Chiang Ching-kuo said, "it [the Chinese Communist rebellion] also has spurred our anti-Communist will power and imbued us with determination for national salvation and strengthened our conviction that the Three Principles of the People will finally win over Communism." These words would make the audience transfer their anger at the Communists into the power of determination and conviction. He said, "the national guidelines of the Three Principles of the People ... are beaconing from this bastion of national revival as the lighthouse of hope for all Chinese." These words would make the audience who lived on the bastion think of their responsibility of expanding benevolent government to the mainland.

The speaker also stirred audience's emotion and love by the relationship between the audience and the people on the mainland:

All of the Chinese living here and abroad in freedom and happiness today are well aware that the billion compatriots on the Chinese mainland are our kith and kin, and the same flesh and blood. This relationship does not permit us to look across the sea and watch their afflictions with indifference.
The words are to persuade the audience to "rally together, struggle together and strive together to accomplish the mission of our times--to unify China through implementation of the Three Principles of the People."126

In pathetic proof, President Chiang Ching-kuo sees the speech as audience-oriented, like Confucius and Mencius. He applied emotional appeals in the speech, as Mencius did in his words.

Disposition

Basically, the disposition treated here in this speech is similar to what Confucius and Mencius did. Considering the rhetorical situation, the audience, and his own experiences and philosophy, the speaker selected "national recovery" as the theme and the proposition is "we should accomplish the mission of national recovery with unyielding will and unsurpassed courage." From the proposition, the speaker used the topics "jen," "yung," "yi," and other topics. With these topics he decided the whole vista of the speech materials. Thus, like Confucius, the speaker thought of the theme and the proposition to develop his speech.

It appears that the speaker used more logical order than other orders. For example, when he talked about the unyielding will and unsurpassed courage of the Republic of China, as mentioned under the section of "logical proof," he
used a logical order. When he proved that determination, perseverance and conviction were power to overcome dangers and difficulties, he used the logical order by citing what Dr. Sun Yat-sen and President Chiang Kai-shek had done. However, he talked about Dr. Sun first and then President Chiang Kai-shek. Thus, he also considered and used historical order. To explain why the Chinese Communist rebellion had also spurred the anti-Communist will power and imbued us with determination, President Chiang Ching-kuo mentioned two political systems, those of Communism and of the Three Principles of the People. From the cause-effect view it is a logical order; from the comparison view it is a distributive order; from the bad-to-good sequence, it is a psychological order. The fifth paragraph may be interpreted as "The people on the mainland are our own brothers and sisters. Thus, we should love them. To love them, we must save them." It is a logical order. For the whole speech, each paragraph bears one issue and thus it is a distributive order. In the method of arranging materials, like Confucius and Mencius, the speaker used logical order more than other orders and sometimes in the same sentences more than one kind of orders existed concurrently.

The order developing the parts of this speech is accordant to the "beginning, succeeding, turning, and closing" order which Mencius used. The first paragraph,
which is the introduction, is the "beginning part." The second and the third paragraphs, which are narrative and proving paragraphs, are the "succeeding part." The fourth and fifth paragraphs, which include narrative and proving matters, are the "turning part." The last paragraph, which is the conclusion, is the "closing part." Each paragraph has an issue in it.

President Chiang Ching-kuo proportioned the materials appropriately in this speech. In the beginning part, he pointed out the theme of the speech. It is a significant beginning. For the purpose of encouraging the audience, he spent the whole succeeding part, paragraphs two and three, to emphasize their determination and will power. A clear comparison of both sides of the strait was presented in paragraph four. It was immediately followed by the close relationship of the people on both sides and the appeal to the audience for the salvation of the people on the main-land. This treatment is persuasive. The closing part is a brief yet dynamic impressive conclusion.

In some places, the important ideas are repeated by using different words. For example, President Chiang Ching-kuo used "endeavor," "struggle," and "fight" at the same time; and "difficulties," "hardship," and "bitterness" at the same time. When he said that firmness and unyielding faith provides the will power and the Republic of China had
such will power, the ability of the Republic of China was emphasized. The proportion of materials in this speech is more emphasized than in those of Confucius and Mencius.  

In disposition, the thematic emergence and selecting of materials was clear in the words of Confucius. The order of development of parts of speech, the order of arranging subject materials, and proportioning were appropriately used as in words of Mencius. The disposition treated in this speech were similar to Cong-Meng rhetoric, with the emphasis on good proportioning.

**Style**

This speech is a simple style and it has the qualities of correctness, clearness, appropriateness, and embellishment, as Confucius and Mencius used in their words.

All the words the speaker used are specific. In each paragraph there is an issue and the developing methods are accurate. Thus, the correctness of word choice and usage is undoubted. Correctness is a quality of Cong-Meng rhetoric.

The characters (Chinese words) used are common words and they are used in the newspapers quite often. There is no ambiguity in this speech. In English translation, only seven sentences are complex. All other sentences are simple sentences. No compound nor compound-complex sentences exist. In Chinese language, the structure of the sentences
are similar to the translation. The examples used as evidence in the second paragraph are easy to understand. The connection words such as "therefore," "not only ... but also," "ever since," etc. are simple and clear. Thus, clearness is a quality of style in this speech, the same as in Cong-Meng rhetoric.

When the speaker made the speech, the audience were living an easy life. Man living an easy life easily forgets the responsibility. Therefore, the speaker reminded the audience to remember the relationship between them and the people in the poor circumstances. He then urged the audience, "Let us rally together, struggle together and strive together." President Chiang Ching-kuo considered the audience, the speech, and the speaker's own philosophy, as Confucius and Mencius did when they spoke. This is the quality of appropriateness.

In this speech, the speaker used "the clarion call" to describe the National Day, "this bastion of national revival" to stand for Taiwan and other islands in freedom, and "the lighthouse of hope" to stand for this bastion. Thus, embellishment was properly used in the simple style of the speech, like Mencius did.

In the constituents of this speech, in each paragraph there is a unit of thought which is an issue; the parts of the speech are clearly shown as beginning,
succeeding, turning, and closing parts, as Mencius used, or introduction, body including examples, and conclusion. Like in the speeches of Mencius, parallel structure and rhythm were not emphasized in this speech. However, the speaker used many double-word expressions, which in Chinese language are easy to read and to hear and has the rhythmical quality. It is a character of style in this speech.

Basically, this speech has the qualities of style which existed in Cong-Meng rhetoric. In the sentence structure, this speech is more similar to that of Mencius than of Confucius because parallel structure was not emphasized.

This speech reveals that, like the other two speeches analyzed in this chapter, it has some influence from Cong-Meng rhetoric. The speaker developed lines of arguments on the major topics used by Confucius and Mencius. He had the ethical proof in acts before presenting the speech, which was considered necessary by Confucius and Mencius. He used more deduction and evidence than induction, the same as in Cong-Meng rhetoric. Confucius and Mencius considered that speech was audience-oriented; so does the speaker of this speech. He applied this concept by using emotional function. In disposition, the order of emergence of theme and speech materials is similar to what Confucius used; the organization is similar to what
Mencius and Confucius treated, especially in the order of arranging materials, with the emphasis on good proportioning. The speaker is aware of the qualities of style applied in Cong-Meng rhetoric. The structure of composition is similar to that of Mencius.

The three speeches analyzed in this chapter reveal that Cong-Meng rhetoric has some influence on modern speeches in the topics; the ethical, logical, and pathetic proofs; the order of emergence of theme and subject materials; the organization of a speech; and the qualities of style.
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9Ibid., p. 41.

102 Corinthians 4:8, quoted in Chiang Ching-kuo, The Serenity in the Storm, p. 2.

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CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The purpose of this study was to determine the nature of the rhetorical tradition in China and its influence on the current rhetorical situation in the Republic of China. Since no one has made a systematic analysis of Chinese rhetoric, a framework of Western rhetoric was used as a pattern to analyze Chinese rhetoric. This study has revealed that Cong-Meng philosophy has been the major Chinese philosophy; the rhetorical concepts embodied in this philosophy and in the words of Confucius and Mencius have become a basis for rhetorical practice in China. In this study, the derivation of Cong-Meng philosophy and rhetoric has been discussed; Cong-Meng rhetoric has been analyzed in the pattern of Western rhetoric; and three modern speeches have been analyzed to demonstrate the current influence of Cong-Meng rhetoric. This study has determined that Cong-Meng rhetoric still influences speakers in the Republic of China.

Cong-Meng philosophy which is derived from Chinese tao tung has become the center of Chinese culture; Cong-Meng philosophy includes rhetorical precepts which have
influenced communication among Chinese people. The basic philosophy and the topics of Cong-Meng rhetoric are derived from the Five Chings as well as from the backgrounds, lives and wisdom of Confucius and Mencius, and the rhetorical situations existing at that time. In the history, when the emperors exalted Cong-Meng philosophy, the ages were peaceful and prosperous; and when they ignored or attacked this philosophy their empires soon fell. For more than two thousand years, the words of Confucius and Mencius were memorized by intellectuals and were used as a test for official positions. Therefore, the rhetorical concept and skills embodied in their words influenced communication among the people. In modern times, Dr. Sun Yat-sen derived his Three Principles of the People from Cong-Meng philosophy as well as from Western theories. With the Three Principles, Cong-Meng learning continues its influence. Cong-Meng philosophy is still the center of Chinese culture and thus Cong-Meng rhetoric still influences speakers in modern times.

The patterns of Western rhetoric which are used to organize Chinese rhetoric are its definition, elements of speech, the concept of rhetorical situation, and the canons of invention, disposition, and style. In the Chinese language, "rhetoric" is generally translated as "how to make words expressed better as well as to make them
accordant with grammar rules" or "the skill of debating eloquently." In the present study a broader definition is used which includes the meanings of dialogue, conversation, debate, advise, persuasion, public speaking, and the concept of implicit message. Confucius and Mencius saw speaking as one's ethical responsibility and as a tool to improve human society and to achieve heaven-human unification and tien tao.

The viewpoints of Confucius and Mencius about the three elements of rhetoric and the concept of rhetorical situation have been discussed in this study. While Quintilian considered that an orator should be a good man speaking well, Confucius thought that man's conduct was more important than speech. Confucius and Mencius considered that man should speak carefully. Western rhetoric has discussed thoroughly the qualities of the audience and has seen the success of persuasion as the most important. Confucius and Mencius recognized the qualities of audience but they felt that a speaker should not bend his ethical principles and that an audience had the responsibility of accepting advice. Western rhetoric was concerned with the speech which fitted into one of the three types: deliberative, forensic, or epideictic. In ancient China there was no emphasis on public speaking. The rhetorical concepts found in the rhetorical precepts of Confucius and Mencius
were in dialogue forms. They included political and educational messages and messages of praise and blame. Political messages were emphasized. In its approach to rhetorical situation, Cong-Meng rhetoric saw time, place, and customs as important factors to decide to speak or not to speak.

The study has discussed the invention of Cong-Meng rhetoric including its topics, concept of status, and proof. While Western rhetoric separated topics into general and specific ones, Cong-Meng rhetoric emphasized Chinese traditional virtues as topics to develop arguments. Western rhetoricians have thoroughly discussed status or issue. This concept was applied by Confucius and Mencius, though no such term existed in Chinese. Western rhetoricians see ethical proof as important and so did Confucius and Mencius. Cong-Meng rhetoric considered that ethical proof existing in one's acts prior to speech was a must, yet it still recognized the ethical proof in words. Western rhetoricians discussed evidence and reasoning as logical proof. Reasoning includes induction and deduction. Confucius and Mencius used evidence and they seemed to emphasize deduction more than induction. Western rhetoricians emphasized audience analysis for the development of pathetic proof. Confucius and Mencius also stressed audience analysis while speaking as well as before speaking.
They applied the knowledge of implicit message in audience analysis as important to developing pathetic proof. Because he analyzed his audience, Confucius sometimes gave different answers to different persons to one question.

In Western rhetoric, disposition embraces the emergence of a central theme or proposition, the general method of arrangement adopted for the speech, the order of the parts of the discourse, and the proportioning of subject materials. Confucius and Mencius did not talk about disposition yet they revealed their concept in their words. Confucius seemed to think of a central theme and a proposition from which he developed his speech. Mencius also thought of the theme when speaking. Mencius seemed to emphasize the method of arranging subject matter. Confucius also recognized the importance of the method of arrangement. Both of them sometimes considered different orders of arrangement in a single message. Mencius clearly patterned the order of discourse into four parts: the "beginning part" is accordant with the introduction in the Western rhetoric; the "succeeding part" and the "turning part" are accordant with the narrative and proof parts, but not respectively; the "closing part" is accordant with the conclusion. Both Confucius and Mencius used care in proportioning, but they did not emphasize this concept.
Confucius and Mencius did not talk much about style, but their concepts of style are revealed in their words. Western rhetoric has classified style into three: the plain, the moderate, and the grand styles. Confucius and Mencius saw language as a tool to express ideas and they liked to use simple style. Cicero considered that the qualities of a good style were correctness, clearness, appropriateness, and embellishment. All these qualities exist in words of Confucius and Mencius. Confucius seemed to emphasize the quality of appropriateness. Confucius liked to use the parallel structure and Mencius liked to illustrate things by means of comparison. The parallel structure is a character of the style of Confucius and comparison of the style of Mencius.

The three modern speeches analyzed in this study are a "Youth Day Message" by late President Chiang Kai-shek, a "New Year's Day Message" by former President Yen Chia-kan, and a "Double Tenth National Day Message" by President Chiang Ching-kuo. The major topics the three Presidents used to develop their lines of arguments were jen, yi, the Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity, heaven-human unification, chih, love, yung, chung, hsin, harmony, and human nature. All these topics were derived from the major topics which Confucius and Mencius used. Jen, yi and the
Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity were emphasized by the three speakers as well as by Confucius and Mencius.

The three proofs in the invention of the three speeches are similar to those in Cong-Meng rhetoric. All of the three speakers had ethical proof existing in their acts prior to speaking. This kind of proof was considered necessary by Confucius and Mencius. The speakers adhered to the basic Cong-Meng philosophy which was shared by the audience. They also demonstrated their ethical proof in the speeches, as proposed in Cong-Meng rhetoric. Cong-Meng rhetoric used varied evidence and used more deductive arguments than inductive arguments. The three modern speakers basically did the same as Cong-Meng rhetoric except that President Yen's deductive arguments lacked the clarity and precision of those used by Confucius and Mencius. President Yen proposed more facts of the situation to lead the audience to follow his ideas. Confucius and Mencius considered that a speaker should not bend his philosophy but that the speaker should appeal to the emotions of the audience. The three modern speakers all adhered to their philosophy and used emotional words to inspire their audience. While President Yen's words were not strong enough, he proposed more detailed facts of the situation. He seemed to believe that the audience would readily accept
his ideas through recognizing those facts. This concept was accordant with Cong-Meng rhetoric.

The disposition of the three modern speeches is basically similar to that of Cong-Meng rhetoric. All the speakers seemed to have thought of the order of the emergence of the theme and subject materials. This was a clear concept of Confucius. Generally, they applied a consistent method of arranging subject materials and sometimes considered more than one order to express a situation. In the order of the parts of discourse, they followed the concept of order used by Mencius: the beginning, the succeeding, the turning, and the closing parts. However, what they applied in their speeches was more complicated than what Mencius did. Confucius and Mencius recognized the principle of proportioning; the modern speakers seemed to show care in proportioning.

The style found in the three speeches basically has the same qualities as those in Cong-Meng rhetoric. All the three speeches display simple style, similar to that which Confucius and Mencius used. The words used in these speeches were specific, precise and easy to understand. These speeches have the quality of correctness. There were no obscurity, no double meaning, and no unintelligibility in these speeches; the arrangement of the ideas was basically well considered. The speeches have the quality
of clearness. When the three speakers spoke, they con-
sidered the audience, the rhetorical situation, and their
own philosophy and applied proper words. Their speeches
all have the quality of appropriateness. In all of these
speeches the speakers used moderate embellishment which
was easy to understand. The qualities of correctness,
clearness, appropriateness and embellishment reveal that
the speakers' concept of style is similar to the concept of
Confucius and Mencius. In composition, the structure of
sentences in the speeches of President Chiang Kai-shek and
President Chiang Ching-kuo are similar to that of Mencius.
The structure of sentences in President Yen Chia-kan's
speech is similar to that of Confucius because of the
parallel structure.

In short, this study has proposed the historical
information about Cong-Meng philosophy including Cong-Meng
rhetoric; it has proposed a framework of Western rhetorical
concepts as a pattern used to analyze and organize Chinese
rhetoric; it has organized Cong-Meng rhetoric in the
proposed pattern; and it has analyzed three modern speeches
to test the application of Cong-Meng rhetoric. From this
study, the nature of the rhetorical tradition in China and
its influence on the current rhetorical situation in the
Republic of China can be known.
Conclusions

This study was to search for the answers to these questions: (1) What is the rhetorical tradition of China as found in the philosophy of Confucius and Mencius? (2) Does this rhetorical tradition still influence speakers in Taiwan, Republic of China?

To answer the first question, these sub-questions are concerned: (1) What rhetorical concepts are found in the ideas of Confucius? (2) What rhetorical concepts are found in the ideas of Mencius? (3) To what extent does the Chinese rhetorical tradition include concepts similar to the Western rhetorical tradition? However, because the ramifications of the answers to each of the sub-questions are interwoven, it is better to discuss these three together in terms of each part of the rhetorical concept.

An examination of the works of Confucius and Mencius revealed rhetorical concepts which are somewhat similar to those found in Western rhetoric. Some differences also exist, probably because of the cultural difference of the two societies.

Confucius and Mencius presented rhetorical advice which reflects the traditional Western canons of invention, disposition, and elocution or style. There was no mention of memory, and very limited advice on delivery.
The concepts which fit within the canon of invention are quite similar to those of Western rhetoric. Specific topics can be developed from basic philosophical concepts. These became the basis for arguments within the discourse of Confucius and Mencius and appear to be the basis for speeches of modern speakers. The topics include jen, ai, hsiao, ti, chung, hsin, chih, yung, li; yi, lien, tseh, yen, hsu, chiun tzu, the nature of man, the Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity, and the heaven-human unification.

Ethical proof as found in Western rhetoric was also a concern of Confucius and Mencius. Confucius and Mencius seemed to consider that man's conduct was more important than speech and that ethical proof existing in acts prior to speaking was necessary. They also recognized ethical proof in the speaker's message.

Western rhetoric refers to evidence and reasoning as logical proof. Confucius and Mencius also applied these ideas. They seemed to see evidence as important and used more deduction than induction.

Western rhetoric applied audience analysis in pathetic proof and so did Confucius and Mencius. Yet Confucius and Mencius seemed to think that an audience should be ready to accept good ideas. They considered implicit message in audience analysis.
The concepts of Cong-Meng rhetoric which fit within the canon of disposition are similar to those of Western rhetoric. Confucius seemed to emphasize the clear order of the emergence of proposition and arranging materials. Mencius seemed to emphasize method of arrangement and the order of parts of discourse. He adopted the beginning, the succeeding, the turning, and the closing parts as the order of parts of discourse. Proportioning seemed not to be emphasized.

The concepts of Confucius and Mencius about style have some similarity to those in Western rhetoric. Both Confucius and Mencius seemed to like to use simple style. They considered the qualities of correctness, clearness, appropriateness and embellishment when they spoke. Appropriateness was emphasized by Confucius. Parallel structure is a character of the words of Confucius and comparison is a character of those of Mencius. From the examination of words of Confucius and Mencius, the rhetorical tradition in the philosophy of Confucius and Mencius was revealed.

The other question this study was to answer is "Does this rhetorical tradition still influence speakers in Taiwan, Republic of China?" This question may be proposed in another way: "Does an examination of the speeches of modern speakers in Taiwan, Republic of China, reveal the
influence of traditional Chinese rhetorical concepts?"
The examination has revealed a positive answer.

Three modern speakers were selected, President Chiang Kai-shek, President Yen Chia-kan, and President Chiang Ching-kuo, all Presidents of the Republic of China. All of them were chosen to this position because of their personality, experiences, reputation and ability. With this position and their ethical proof existing in their acts prior to speaking, they became the most suitable speakers for the holiday messages to the people.

The speakers developed their lines of arguments based on the topics used by Confucius and Mencius. The major topics were jen, yi, the Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity, heaven-human unification, chih, love, yung, chung, hsin, harmony and human nature. Among them jen, yi, and the Great Commonwealth of Peace and Prosperity were emphasized.

The principles of ethical, logical, and pathetic proof found in the three modern speeches are basically similar to those in the words of Confucius and Mencius. It seemed that the concepts of these speakers about the three proofs have been influenced by Confucius and Mencius, especially in the concept of ethical proof.

The three speeches reveal that in disposition the speakers were undoubtedly influenced by Confucius and
Mencius. All the three speakers applied the beginning, the succeeding, the turning, and the closing parts of discourse which were revealed in the words of Mencius. Other principles of disposition were also applied and the aspect of proportioning was emphasized more than it was by Confucius and Mencius.

The three speeches are all in simple style. The qualities of style are, to some extent, similar to those in Cong-Meng rhetoric. In composition, the speech by President Yen is similar to that of Confucius and the speeches by President Chiang Kai-shek and President Chiang Ching-kuo are similar to the style of Mencius. Style of the three speeches shows the influence of Confucius and Mencius.

The examination of the three modern speeches reveal that the speakers have been influenced by Cong-Meng rhetoric in invention, disposition, and style, especially in the aspects of the topics, the ethical proof, the order of the parts of discourse, and the structure of composition.

This study has revealed that rhetorical concepts found in the ideas of Confucius and Mencius are similar to those found in Western rhetoric. Some differences also exist. It has also revealed that this rhetorical tradition still influences speakers in Taiwan, Republic of China.
Suggestions for Further Study

Since few schools in Taiwan teach rhetoric, but most students memorize important works, especially those in wen yen wen (old Chinese language), and apply them in their compositions, they may have been influenced by those works in terms of invention, disposition and style. It would be worthwhile to make a survey to see how much they have been influenced by memorizing those works and then to determine what might help them in writing as well as in speaking skills.

While Cong-Meng philosophy is the leading philosophy in China, nine other schools of philosophy also existed. A study of the rhetorical concept of each of these may reveal influential ideas.
APPENDIX A

"Youth Day Message"

by

President Chiang Kai-shek

March 29, 1975
Youths of the nation: This is the festive day of our young people. It is also a special day for commemorating the glorious example that our Founding Father and revolutionary heroes have set for us in their single-hearted dedication to the Revolution and to the great spirit of the nation.

In the last more than twenty years, the young people in this bastion of freedom--Kinmen, Matsu, Taiwan, and the Penghus--have enjoyed the century's longest golden period of freedom and security in which to engage in study and lay the foundations of their careers. In contrast, the young people behind the enemy lines have had to endure a life of misery. Their minds long have been stifled and their freedom taken away, and they have been compelled to live like animals on meager rations based on contributions of labor. Few are the families which are not broken; few are the family members which have not been scattered. This generation of youth, born on its own land but homeless, has been plunged into the abyss of an agonized life of hellish terror and poverty.

The Maoists are aware that knowledge is ever the mortal enemy of tyranny. So they have had to destroy the nation's culture and ravage the minds of the people. They have copied the old tricks of Ch'in Shih-huang and his prime minister, Li Szu, in such campaigns as "destroy the four olds," "establish the four news," "criticize Confucius and praise Ch'in Shih-huang," "follow Legalism and repudiate Confucianism," along with such measures as sending people down to the countryside to learn, abbreviating the period of schooling, enrolling students according to class distinctions, compelling professors to apply manure to vegetable plots while farmers are assigned to study the "principles of genetics," and wasting talent and brainpower recklessly. But the Maoist measures are harsher than those of Ch'in Shih-huang and Li Szu. Can we say that this policy of keeping the people in ignorance is in the interest of the dictatorship of the poor and lower-middle peasants? The real intention is to consolidate the tyranny of "established" totalitarian rule.

The Maoists are aware that morality is ever the mortal enemy of tyranny. They consequently dare to shout such slogans as "never implement benevolent rule," "stem the tide," "oppose sentimentalism," and "continue the struggle of class and production." They have vowed to
"struggle for a hundred, a thousand or even ten thousand years" to terminate the people's aspiration for a rule of benevolence and a reign of morality. Even worse, they are determined that the people shall become resigned to tyranny and content with their enslaved condition of "poor" and "lower" forever.

The Maoists are further aware that belief in human rights is ever the moral enemy of tyranny. So they have demanded that the people "grasp the question of proletarian dictatorship" as a cover for their terrorist rule in the "all-people state." On the surface, this may appear to be a restriction of the powerful few by the masses. Actually, it is the despot's trick to control the hundreds of millions of people.

The recent "fourth national people's congress" was a trick to "legalize" tyrannical rule as an "all-around dictatorship of the proletariat" and to transform contradictions and confusion into a false front of stability. The Maoist' worldwide exhibition of Chinese artifacts--which they have despised and nearly destroyed--is intended to conceal their bloodstained hands and promote their united front among world appeasers and people who have lost their way. Internally, they have had to intensify their power struggle. Externally, they are directing the Viet Cong and the Khmer Rouge insurgents and other Communist elements in expansion of the war in Southeast Asia.

In truth, the mind cannot be stifled, mankind's aspiration for the better cannot be blacked out, morality can never be suppressed and man's determination to struggle for human rights cannot be shunted aside. An old saying has it: "When the world is disordered, save it with truth." This is the time for the youths in this bastion of freedom to unite with the youths on the Chinese mainland to implement the truth of ethics, democracy and science embodied in the Three Principles of the People and save humankind from the mire of confusion, appeasement, degeneration and endless turmoil and war.

Youths of the mainland have discerned these three phenomena:
--The "era" of Mao Tse-tung is finished.
--The question of "which way China should go" has been raised again.
--A new generation has emerged.
Our understanding and conviction regarding these developments is even clearer:

--Mao Tse-tung has been repudiated by awakening Communist soldiers and cadres and has, moreover, been deserted and opposed by his "closest comrades-in-arms" once again. The termination of the Mao Tse-tung "era," which has been more tyrannical than the "tyrannical Ch'in" and darker than the "dark Ch'ing dynasty," is the avowed purpose that burns in every mainland heart. The whole system and institution of Communism is rapidly sliding to disintegration and collapse.

--A new generation is emerging on the mainland, eager to break the yoke of self-restraint, dedicated to life or death struggle and irrepressible in opposing the oppressors. The heroic youths emerging now will be like the martyred heroes Hsu Hsi-lin, Chiu Chin, Lin Chueh-min, Peng Chia-chen and Tsou Jung. The juggernaut manned by the members of this new generation may bring great change at any moment. The false images of Mao's rule will vanish in smoke and ashes.

--The question raised is not only the repetition of "which way China should go." Mainland youths are sure that "Communism is not appropriate for China" and that "Chinese destiny should be determined by Chinese youths." At heart and in their actions they therefore have repeatedly asked: "Why has intellectual life been strangled and suppressed?" "When can factional struggle ever be ended?" and "Why are we permitted to move only in a closed circle?"

Historically, the uprising of Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang against Ch'in was actually an action of nonintellectuals but was also unmistakably a revolt against tyranny. We are therefore sure that keeping the people in ignorance cannot prevent them from rising up; the repudiation of benevolent rule makes resistance inevitable. In his rebellion against the Government, Mao Tse-tung thought of himself as a Chen Sheng and Wu Kuang. During the period of suppressing the intellectuals, the people and the youths, he nevertheless boasted that he had gone a hundred times further than Ch'in Shih-huang. This serves to show his tyrannical rule has reached the desperate point of self-contradiction and self-condemnation. We also can be sure that the poor and lower-middle peasants will turn against the tyrant and transform themselves into hundreds of thousands of Chen Shengs and Wu Kuangs when the time is ripe.
Youths of the nation! This is the golden time of the Revolution and the moment for all young people to test and temper themselves. Let us rise up as one under the banner of ethics, democracy and science to emulate the dedication and great deeds of our martyrs in founding the Republic, undertaking the Northern Expedition and fighting the War of Resistance Against Japan. Let us exert ourselves to preserve and foster the history, the culture, the morality and the intellectual capacity of our people. Let us carry out the daring deed and magnificent task of counterattack and national recovery. So shall we comfort the souls of our Founding Father and of our revolutionary heroes in Heaven.
APPENDIX B

"New Year's Day Message"

by

President Yen Chia-kan

January 1, 1977
My fellow countrymen:

Although the world situation is marked by extreme vicissitudes and tumultuous changes are taking place on the Chinese mainland, our bastion of national reconstruction is strong, stable and still growing. As we observe New Year's Day and the 66th anniversary of the Republic, we can behold as never before the bright future of our nation and understand the grave responsibility for saving the Republic and the world. All of us are naturally both excited and stimulated as we welcome the New Year and the new era ahead.

Our National Father, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, led the National Revolution and established the Republic of China. President Chiang Kai-shek then led us in the Northward Expedition, the War of Resistance Against Japan, the suppression of the Communists, the implementation of constitutional government and the national reconstruction of Taiwan. The revolutionary goals of these two leaders were consistent. There were surging countercurrents during the course of the National Revolution, but each insurrection was put down. Our revolutionaries rose up after each reverse to overcome dangers and assure the country's safety and reconstruction. The heritage of this resolute and unremitting spirit and these deeds is the fountainhead of national hope and the guarantee of success in national recovery and reconstruction.

Our bastion of reconstruction is stable and becoming increasingly strong. This can be attributed to the policies and instructions bequeathed to us by Dr. Sun and President Chiang, the ideological leadership of San Min Chu I (the Three Principles of the People), the martyrdom of our revolutionary fathers and the formative power of our illustrious national culture. These are torches and beacons to inspire the people of the country; their effulgence illuminates the 20th century. These also serve as the foundation of our faith and determination and the mainstay of our resoluteness and will power. Only with their support can we shoulder our difficult task, turn the tide and fulfill our sacred responsibility to the country and humankind.

Politically, our programs of construction on this bastion have established a model democratic Constitution; economically, they have charted the course of prosperity and development; socially, they have provided a blueprint
for harmony and stability. Our measures for augmenting national strength and enriching the people's livelihood have grown out of the concerted efforts of government and people. Like passengers in the same boat, we have recorded these achievements by working together, forging our hearts into a single entity and contributing our wisdom, courage, blood and sweat to the common task. We realize, of course, that our struggle for independence and self-reliance is not only for today, but also for tomorrow; not only to assure that our bastion of reconstruction will become ever more powerful, but also to see that today's experience in national construction is utilized as the model for tomorrow's mainland reconstruction. This means that our efforts of construction have not only raised the people's standard of living but also have engendered hope that our mainland compatriots will soon regain their freedom.

The Chinese Communists have ceaselessly resorted to brute force and deceit and unremitting purge and struggle to prolong their tyrannical rule. Although Mao Tse-tung's death concluded his career of evil, his cohorts holding various mountaintops under "Mao-thought" and the "Mao system" have been struggling against one another for factional supremacy. The Peiping regime under Hua Kuo-feng seems to have momentarily gained the upper hand in the struggle for power, but this is really the beginning of a period of mutual slaughter in the wake of Mao's death. The Hua leadership group has absolutely no chance to secure its authority. More desperate power struggle is yet to come. None of the remnants of the Mao bandits will be able to save the regime from its doom of final collapse.

Our mainland compatriots are suffering the effects of bloody storm and scorching crucible. Yet their humanist inclination and the inspiration of their conscience have made manifest that they are endlessly antagonizing the wicked Communists. Our compatriots will never bow down before brute force. Anti-Communist uprisings are now spreading far and wide. Chinese Communist cadres and servicemen also have had enough of Maoist deception and persecution. They are aware of their own peril and await the opportunity to rise in revolt. As an ancient Chinese saying puts it, "The wise man makes his plans in keeping with the times; the fool moves against rationality." With the wisdom of our patriotic mainland compatriots and the repentant Communist cadres pitted against the irrationality of the maniacal Communist chieftains, the success or failure of the Peiping regime is easy to predict. That is to say, the present critical stage in the Peiping regime's total
collapse is the crucial moment in which our mainland compatriots and Communist cadres and servicemen will rise up for the salvation of self and nation.

The recovery of the mainland and the salvation of our compatriots constitute our paramount goal. The call for national righteousness and the beacon of humanity are inspiring all anti-Communist and patriotic people on the mainland to leave the darkness quickly and return to the light. Although the people on the mainland are separated from us here in this bastion of reconstruction by the Taiwan Straits, their anti-Communist determination is identical with ours; we share with them a sincere patriotic conscience and the love of our people. We shall wholeheartedly welcome all those who rise up against or defect from Communism and shall resolutely put to use every effective means to give them active support; affirmatively uphold their human dignity, rights and freedom; assure their enjoyment of all the rights prescribed in the Constitution of the Republic of China; and keep all the promises of our government.

The Republic of China has adhered to its anti-Communist national policy and remains a member of the democratic camp. It is faithful and sincere in pursuing its international relationships and in seeking to unite the democratic forces. Our efforts are not confined to the salvation of country and people but also serve the interests of world peace. We must point out that the shameless measures of the Chinese Communists include internal oppression, the export of violence, infiltration, subversion, deception and the employment of others to destroy their enemies. These measures are intended to divide and defeat the democracies one by one. If some democratic countries are unaware of the facts and seek conciliation and detente with the Chinese Communists, the end result will be turmoil even though this may be preceded by temporary peace.

Only with reunification of the Republic of China through eradication of the Chinese Communist regime can Asian stability be assured and world peace won. We have lengthy experience in opposing Communism and can see the real ugly face of the Chinese Communists despite their attempt to hide behind magic tricks and make use of a rumor-mongering offensive. We have no compatibility with the Chinese Communists and will never compromise or talk peace with them. Instead, we shall call on the democracies to strengthen their citadel of justice, heighten their anti-Communist vigilance and seek peace through strength—
abandoning the false peace of humiliation to welcome the true peace of justice.

Today, our government and people are joined together as one body and Chinese at home and abroad are of one mind. The people of our bastion have entered the ranks of construction; they are industrious in their work, loyal, courageous and stronger than ever. The armed forces are well trained and ever combat-ready. Their morale is at peak and they are supremely confident of defeating the enemy. Overseas Chinese have demonstrated anew their traditional revolutionary will and spirit by undertaking their tasks in the face of difficulty and danger, thus consolidating our intangible anti-Communist Great Wall overseas. Additionally, the hundreds of millions of mainland compatriots who hate even to share the same sky with the Chinese Communists constitute our vanguard and will be our rear guard at the time of counterattack. I am supremely confident that with our spirit of solidarity and our joint endeavors, we shall be able to move ahead in our great task, overcome all difficulties and win the sacred war to liberate our compatriots from tyranny in the near future. On this occasion of New Year's Day, I wish to cite these three concepts as common endeavor of all our people, military and civilian alike:

--Resolute will power. This will assure unyielding faith and determination. The people will never be coerced by power or coaxed by bribes. They will not be disquieted in time of adversity; they will be able to make prudent plans and arrive at correct judgments. When the people become one through their resolute will power, they will be united in their actions.

--Pure morality. We must develop our instinctive benevolence and promote our traditional virtues to assure pure morality. To be upright and honest, enlarge rationality and restrain material desires are essential requirements of psychological reconstruction. These can be regarded as signposts pointing the way to social progress.

--Strong sense of responsibility. The rise or fall of a country is the responsibility of every citizen. Only those who are responsible can contribute and devote themselves to the country, endure hardships and accept blame. We must be responsible to Chinese history and culture and for mainland recovery and national reconstruction in our time. This sense of responsibility must be intense and it is necessarily sacred.
My Fellow Countrymen: The dawn is within sight and our victory lies just ahead. Let us seize this opportunity to create a new situation through our combined efforts. In doing so, we can be confident that the brilliance of Chinese culture will illumine the hearts of the people, that the flags of San Min Chu I will fly throughout the territory of China and that the whole Chinese people will enjoy together the blessings of freedom, equality and well-being.
APPENDIX C

"Double Tenth National Day Message"

by

President Chiang Ching-kuo

October 10, 1983
The National Revolution of 1911 awakened the Chinese people, overthrew the despotic Manchu Dynasty and brought about the founding of the Republic. The Double Tenth, therefore, symbolizes the clarion call of independence and raises the Chinese standard of freedom. In celebrating our national day today, we are not only commemorating this glorious day of the Revolution, but also telling the world that we are marching along the road to victory over Communism and toward national recovery.

Ever since its founding, the Republic of China has endeavored, struggled and fought for the accomplishment of a single goal—the building of a modern country of the people, by the people and for the people. The roadway has been replete with difficulties, hardships and bitterness, too. We have nevertheless accepted the challenges and overcome the obstacles with unparalleled confidence and perseverance while accomplishing the mission of national reconstruction at each and every stage. The Republic of China has always been a country of unyielding will and unsurpassed courage. No danger is too great to undermine our devotion and prevent our determination to realize the ideal of the Three Principles of the People in all of China and throughout the world.

From the beginning, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founding father of our Republic, led our National Revolution with a dauntless and indomitable spirit and the belief that where there's a will there's a way. Thus even though he suffered no fewer than ten defeats during the Revolution, he tried again and again until the final victory was won. During his whole lifetime, our late President Chiang Kai-shek also stood up against formidable enemies without and crushed various traitors within to safeguard our national independence, liberty and equality. His unswerving dedication succeeded in upholding the dignity of the Chinese nation, practicing constitutional democracy and improving the lives of our people. He carried out all this with the same determination and pushed forward with equal confidence in final success. We are well aware that firmness and unyielding faith provides the will power to break through difficulty and hardship. The Republic of China has such will power in boundless quantity.

The Chinese Communist rebellion has brought calamity to the nation, distorted the trends of our times and slowed down realization of our national ideal. But it also has
spurred our anti-Communist will power and imbued us with determination for national salvation and strengthened our conviction that the Three Principles of the People will finally win over Communism. As the whole world has already seen, the facts have verified that the despotic and perverse Communist system has brought the people on the Chinese mainland nothing but poverty and misery and slavery and persecution. Meanwhile, the national guidelines of the Three Principles of the People have followed the course of nature and accommodated themselves to the needs of humankind. They are beaconing from this bastion of national revival as the lighthouse of hope for all Chinese. No matter what conspiracies of their united front tactics, the Chinese Communists will never be able to change the stark contrast between the superiority of the Three Principles of the People and the inferiority of Communism. The Communists will never escape the fate of their final destruction.

All of the Chinese living here and abroad in freedom and happiness today are well aware that the billion compatriots on the Chinese mainland are our kith and kin, and the same flesh and blood. This relationship does not permit us to look across the sea and watch their afflictions with indifference. We should grasp the opportune time and act promptly with all our strength to propagate the good government and humanitarian policy of the Three Principles of the People on the mainland. We should relieve our brothers and sisters there of their trials and tribulations at the earliest possible time and assure that the glory of our national flag shines over the whole of China. Most important of all, we must carry on to the end and never compromise with the enemy in the course of our anti-Communist struggle. Only in doing so can we be assured of our final victory.

Let us rally together, struggle together and strive together to accomplish the mission of our times--to reunify China through implementation of the Three Principles of the People.

Now, let us join in the cheers of the day:
Long live the Three Principles of the People!
Long live the Republic of China!
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