

Metaphysical Foundation of Mencius's Political Theory

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Over its long history, humanity has always had a tendency to let religion be in service of politics, turning it into such power to dominate all aspects of life. China was not an exception of this rule. Despite the attempt of Confucius in the sixth century BC to exclude any presence of religion in his philosophy in a unique attempt to re-build human on cognitive and moral grounds so as to stay away from the then prevailing thought that the emperor is the son of Heaven or the commissioner by a Decree of Heaven, Mencius was the first, in classical Confucianism, to pursue developing a theoretical basis for the former use of the Confucius religion (particularly in its metaphysical sense) to be politically employed.

It is as if Mencius combined the classic uses of religion, exploited by the dynasties in cementing their power, with turning it into a subject to influence the public, both cognitively and morally. Consequently, the Confucian thought had some metaphysical dimensions which led to the change of the goal to which Confucius devoted his message.

Mencius however is the second teacher of classic Confucianism for his contribution in establishing the theoretical basis which Confucius had ignored as the latter had concentrated on practical issues. Mencius's importance is clear in the modern and contemporary eras as the person who - according to the contemporary Chinese researchers - introduced a political vision that can limit to western type of democracy⁽¹⁾. These researchers believe that there is a democratic spirit contained in Mencius' ideas which seem more appropriate for the Chinese reality than the Western type of democracy.

As for the role played by Mencius as a guard of the Chinese tradition, the Confucian thinkers in the middle ages summoned his ideas to confront the impact of Buddhism coming from India. In their quest for defending the Chinese identity, the Confucian thinkers started, in the first century, to take advantage of Mencius' text in order to provide a metaphysical vision preventing the dominance of the Indian culture, especially after Confucianism had become, since the second century BC, the official ideology of the Chinese state⁽²⁾. Perhaps that explains the description of the western studies of the Confucian thought as a religion because Confucianism penetrates the Chinese spirit and forms the Chinese mentality.

Despite the fact that Mencius did not find - during his long journey throughout the Chinese provinces - a governor adopting his ideas and putting them into effect, most Chinese emperors and governors looked to him with respect and appreciation for his political vision that Heaven is the origin of the governor's power. Mencius lived in an era of wars and unrest, so he kept looking in the classical metaphysical texts for salvation. This is what he quoted from the "History Book": "Heaven, to protect the inferior people, made for them rulers and made for them instructors, that they might be able to be aiding to god, and secure the tranquility of the four quarters of the Empire "⁽³⁾.

A state of chaos prevailed in that period of the ancient history of China known as the Era of Conflicting States. The aim of the governors was only to achieve their personal interests of increasing their wealth and left people suffering. The call for self-refinement and moral values looked helpless in the face of the increasing violence.

This led to the collapse of the supremacy of the ruling dynasty, especially when semi-scholars - according to Mencius – stayed close to politicians as advisers and mentors while they lacked awareness and wisdom ⁽⁴⁾.

Mencius saw that there was no way to make any political reform and to confront the reality of chaos but through building the Chinese mentality upon the Confucian teachings as introduced by him. Such teachings were reflecting the wisdom of the Chinese sages in the past, which were the most practical things in the face of the fierce chaos in China back then. That is why Mencius saw that there was a need for defending the foundations of the Chinese culture in order to face the opposing doctrines, whether those who called for the return to the state of nature, which means the return to the pre-state period, or those who called for the dominance of the state of law where the relationship between the governor and the governed is controlled by the law, or even those who called for showing the feelings of love and compassion for all humanity.

Mencius considered all these opinions as hearsays that needed to be refuted. So he said : " If the way of Yang and Mo does not subside and the Way of Confucius is not proclaimed, the people will be deceived by heresies and the path of morality will be blocked .I wish to safeguard the way of the former sages against the onslaughts of Yang and Mo and to banish excessive views"⁽⁵⁾.And all that was for the sake of the concept of quasi-totalitarian state, which is a concept that is close to that of the Moral State. The Totalitarian State is where individuals melt in it, so that it would become a reality going beyond the presence of these individuals. It is as though he believed that the essence of the crisis lied in the differences, diversity, and the rejection of any activity or viewpoint that is different from that adopted by the state. It is as if diversity was the crisis itself. His aim was to emphasize the need for adopting both one fixed perception of the Central State adopted by him and the moral relationship between the governor and the governed so that China may restore the unity of its land.

The rejection of the difference resulted in shutting out any attempt to create moderate and intermediate viewpoints between the prevailing violence of the Authoritarian State and the full powers granted to the governor by the will of Heaven which he called for. That was clear in his book which revealed his inability to provide any rational explanation for some issues at hand, and, therefore, it ended with attributing the case either to Heaven – the Sacred - or to the stable classical culture surrounded by holiness as well. His extreme aim was to maintain the concept of the traditional model of the state, without providing any logical justification for his vision but he emphasized that he gave the perfect solution to the crisis and to restore the golden age of the wise kings of the past. This means that the solution to the problems of the present lies in the past. He was unable to realize that his views, in and of themselves, had constituted a part of the Chinese problem because they would be void of the most important principles of the state which are justice, equality and law.

This caused Confucianism to get into a long conflict with all the trends and doctrines that appeared on the intellectual scene in China at that time. It is a conflict that harmed Confucianism itself when the then political regime in China had adopted a different doctrine, where the regime burnt most of the classics of Confucianism and the followers of Confucianism themselves⁽⁶⁾.

Even after Confucianism had regained its position, it did not stop to have that exclusionary tendency toward the offending trends. This led to the disappearance of the fruitful rational debate between the Chinese philosophies, and, therefore, there was always that attempt to contain the clash without introducing views that would provide clarity and depth. Therefore, the Chinese are often described as lacking cognitive curiosity. Within this context, Confucianism is often accused of being the main factor in the rigidity of the Chinese mind, especially when some politicians adopted its ideas related to the metaphysical establishment of the political power, and so its thoughts became the official ideology of the state, or the official religion of the state, according to the Western concept.

It is wrong to believe that the era of Mencius was an era of faith in the common sense of the word, but the use of Heaven as the governing power of the universe was an attempt to face these brutal wars that posed a threat to the state. Mencius was not a cleric nor was his time considered an era of religious reform, but the widespread political turmoil all over the empire was the engine of this metaphysical foundation through which he hoped to achieve the desired stability.

Therefore, it was natural for Mencius to move from the metaphysical foundation of human nature in an attempt to prove its innate validity to the field of politics in order to maintain the supremacy of the State and help it overcome that crisis by accepting the same meta-power or Heaven as the authority supporting the universe, human, and the state.

That is why we can say that the greatest achievement made by Mencius in the fourth century BC is emphasizing the goodness of the innate human nature, which is the idea upon which he built his entire philosophical vision⁽⁷⁾. Heaven did not just give people their outward forms or their ability to live, but it also gave them a variety of capacities and tied them up with their special rules that form the link between the three known poles in the Chinese thought: Heaven (the Sacred), human, and the earth (the world). These rules, which form an integral part of the human component, are the fundamental truth of humans which distinguish them from other creatures⁽⁸⁾. It is the gift of Heaven to humanity and thus it is in every human being.

Since we all have the same benevolent nature with its high and diverse capabilities, each human becomes able to achieve the condition of moral perfection and wisdom as embodied in the men from the golden past⁽⁹⁾. It is natural; therefore, that each of us becomes qualified for the same qualities and supremacy reached by the noblemen. All that we have to do is to turn inside, to our essence, to be aware of our innate truth and to seek to discover its nature and activate it so that the fundamental values and virtues ruling all the human and social relations could be released. Nobility does not lie in the outside world, and virtue can neither be acquired from the phenomenal world nor be imposed by law⁽¹⁰⁾. However, virtue is a flow of these primary foundations represented by the good nature granted by Heaven and is existent in every mind or heart. Therefore, Mencius saw that: "All things are already complete in oneself"⁽¹¹⁾.

A wise man is the one who pays all his attention to the Heavenly mind which is, in its innate condition, similar to children innocence, where a set of emotions spontaneously flow from that mind revealing the goodness of human nature and its four innate tendencies of compassion, shame, modesty, and the good distinction between right

and wrong⁽¹²⁾. It is the sprouts that will grow through the development processes to be released in the form of the basic virtues or the moral Constitution which adjusts the human behavior on one hand, and be more like the spring from which all other ethical principles will flow to help man to attain the completeness of his consciousness and the perfection of his virtue on the other hand⁽¹³⁾. In truth, this is inevitable for humans. Because without this understanding of our true nature, we will not realize neither ourselves nor the purpose of our existence; so we would be away from the laws of our world, namely harmony and symmetry. Thus whoever is aware of his nature, he is aware of Heaven, and whoever knows Heaven, he knows how to serve it and live in harmony with its Decree which has already designed his life, social status, and his place in the universe⁽¹⁴⁾.

Based on what has been mentioned above, the cases of corruption and deviation prevailing in reality are not a reflection of the original human nature as much as the result of one's ignoring the goodness of his nature and his inability to realize his Heavenly nature. Thus, the evil coming from man is an act against his good nature and an evidence of his inability and laziness that cause him to be preoccupied with the smallest things and whatever illusions coming from his senses which always make him busy with the negative effects of the outside world⁽¹⁵⁾. Evil has spread because of the disappearance of the original nature and innate tendency to good due to excessive lusts and desires reflecting the control of the individual ego at the expense of the collective soul. This sounds like the view of Lao tzu that is "the realization of simplicity lies in man's realization of his true nature, by eliminating his selfishness and taming his desires"⁽¹⁶⁾.

Really, our actions may be bad, but now and then we encounter things we feel ashamed to do and this reveals the existence of this inherent goodness in our minds/hearts. That goodness disappears when we become slaves to our selfish desires and appears when our private interests disappear and then flows smoothly as water flows in its normal course⁽¹⁷⁾. Perhaps what has been mentioned is an explanation that reflects the excessiveness of selfish desires beside irresponsibility toward duties that must be performed by everyone within the set of social relations that he constitutes part of⁽¹⁸⁾. Each one of us is a part of a social entity that reflects the commitment to the duties and the morality system. Unlike Confucius, Mencius provided such traditional religious dualism dividing the human into parts that are different and unequal. Although he did not use terms like the spirit or the body, he pointed out in more than one place that man is a composite of parts; some of them are noble and great, and some are small and mean. Therefore, the virtuous person is the one who devotes all his attention to the ultimate part of his nature so that he would become like a leader or governor of the less important parts which can be the cause of his corruption when set free.

It is natural for nobility, supremacy, and greatness to become the attributes of the mind, not only because the mind is essentially composed of pure component and that is why it is called the "Heavenly Mind", but it is also because it is a bowl for those good innate tendencies. However, weakness and meanness are attributed to the sensory knowledge instruments which are influenced by the phenomenal world and so they become confused. Since the body or senses are so weak, it is inevitable then to subject them to the power of the mind⁽¹⁹⁾.

Thus, our deviation is an evidence of our interest in that mean part of our being and our disinterest in the greater part of it. The mind will not be able to achieve its major tasks in terms of realizing the gift inside or the ability to put it into effect unless it has power over the whole body. This is the role of the development and self-cultivation processes⁽²⁰⁾. Here is where the differences between the members of the human race are formed. And at this point, there comes the difference between the nobles and the common people, the governor and the governed, and even between humans and animals. That is why he stressed that the cultivation process is only about "restoring or pursuing this lost/strayed mind."

The truth is that Mencius does not give us a specific pattern or hierarchical steps to refine and develop the mind and know what it is all about. Also, he does not refer to the five classics known as the branches of knowledge that contribute in restoring the initial state of purity. What we can understand from his views is that he always warned against the imposition of techniques from outside humanity to conquer the body or to free the mind of the desires⁽²¹⁾. The basic virtues come from inside and cannot be acquired from the outside world. So, what we have inside is the source of perfection.

In addition, real knowledge lies deep inside and perfection is also achieved inside; we only have to give them space and bring down all barriers preventing them from flowing. We have to listen to that voice coming from deep inside because the more we listen to it, the wider the road becomes before that Heavenly gift to control the lustful side and to flow gradually from the inside to the outside, and from the temporary achievement to the permanent incarnation. Again, we are standing before Lao tzu's approach, related to how to realize that Tao which permeates all things, in his saying: "Educating people without words and achieving actions without action are things only a few people can understand"⁽²²⁾. Thus, man is called out for communicating directly with that Heavenly Tao inside. If this happens, man can get into a larger relationship with the Sacred itself, namely Heaven and its law in the universe. For this, Mencius did not care about contemplating neither the physical nature nor the various sciences, as everything stems from inside and is also completed inside.

It is to be noted that Mencius's call for the necessary achievement of self-refinement and developing his self to reach wisdom and perfect virtue was not a call for individual happiness. Personal goals are not in his interest despite all his words which emphasize that the goodness of the state depends on the goodness of individuals. But attention is often focused on, society or the state and their purpose. Man is not only born with values and virtues that bring him inner peace but is also born with a set of relationships that make him an integral part of society.

In this context, anyone who is able to discipline his self and to restore the Heavenly mind that almost disappears through the selfish desires and lusts, he is truly the one who deserves to rule the state because he is the one who will be able to achieve the safety of the nation. Kings of the past were able to achieve the golden age of the entire empire, because they had that compassionate mind granted by Heaven and which was clear in their rule of the country⁽²³⁾.

Ruling the state requires a perception of wise policies that mainly work toward the public interest in accordance with the fundamental elements pointed out by

Confucius, namely achieving security and peace on earth, the stability of economy, and the people's trust in their leadership⁽²⁴⁾.

However, those elements are impossible to be achieved unless every human being is aware - whatever his social or political status is - of the importance of living in harmony with everything surrounding him. A benevolent state is that one built on the coherence of its institutions, to be preceded by that unity of the members of societies in social ties similar to these family relationships⁽²⁵⁾.

In the framework of the metaphysical foundation of human nature, we could say that the importance of the state as Mencius sees is not only the result of the human's need as it is common in the human's thought, but it also arises from the original nature of human. His talk about the human nature revealed the existence of differentiation between the parts that form the human structure. There is the mind, which is the greatest part that must control other parts.

Because it is the Heavenly mind in its purity, shining and goodness, other parts should submit to it, and obey it. And the same thing goes for the state. If man is a social being born with a set of relationships, called the five relationships, he is necessarily in need of a power that can adjust the various relationships, just as the mind ruling the body. As there are differences between the organs of the body in terms of power and efficiency, there are also differences between the members of the human race; there are those who give priority to the mind over the body, and those are the leaders who are able to manage the state's affairs. Also, there are those who cling to their senses and instincts and get caught with the development of their bodies⁽²⁶⁾, and those are the common people who must be aware of the importance of submitting their selves to the authority of the mind, namely the governor.

On that account, we can say that if the mind is the reason behind the discipline of the body, and if Heaven is the center of the universe and the reason behind that harmony in it, the governor then is the reason behind the stability of the state and its territorial integrity. Heaven has endowed every human being with this gift that formed his original nature, and it has also granted him the state as the only way through which he can achieve the aim of his existence and complete his virtue under the leadership governing by a Decree of Heaven as a representative of the will of Heaven on earth. It seems that Mencius tried to establish a strong relationship between the state and the authority of Heaven in an attempt to restore the supremacy of the state over its land⁽²⁷⁾. So obedience must be the basis for the stability of the state and the whole world as well. The state is not only to provide security and economic welfare but also to secure a suitable condition for the moral life that allow each human being to develop his innate nature⁽²⁸⁾. The state has to work hard to achieve those aims and humans have to respond to its techniques so that the state could achieve such goals that are more important than the individual rights and personal freedom which the Chinese people did not care much about.

Like other thinkers of the old policy, he mixes politics with morality. Therefore, the ethical principles got confused with the political principles governing the state and forming the relationship between the governor and the governed. And this is due to the fact that the aim of the state is originally an ethical aim. Then all that is unethical is necessarily against the safety of the state, and, therefore, it has to be confronted.

And all that is consistent with the system of the values is within the scope of the work of the state and humans have to comply with it. Thus, he did not see a need for issuing a number of laws to adjust relations within the state. It is as if the moral sense of the governor, according to which the Decree of Heaven was granted to him, is enough for establishing the "Good State" or what is called the "Humanity State"⁽²⁹⁾. In this context, it is difficult to separate what is moral from what is political, and what is theoretical from what is practical. The issue is that humans should be aware of how to give up their selfishness and individuality in order to take part in the universe dominated by harmony, which is being submitted to the Heavenly destiny.

If it is Heaven that gave the common people this grace that characterizes their natures, it assigned the task of its development and the quest for activating it to the governor, and this reveals the strong relationship between politics and ethics, which determined the governor's relationship with the governed, like that the relationship between the father and his children⁽³⁰⁾. That is why Mencius's words about the state is focused on the characteristics of the governor rather than the state institutions, to the extent of making him an observer of everything, and this led to what we might call the personalization of power, if we can say so, and why not while he is the representative of Heaven on earth.

Mencius compares between Heaven and the governor although his philosophy lacked a full perception of the structure of the universe, but there is harmony between his political vision and the metaphysical construction on top of which Heaven was put. Therefore, his political construction went from the highest to the lowest, from the governor to the governed, from Heaven to the beings.

Mencius saw that the presence of a virtuous governor was enough for having a good state, but there may be that virtuous governor, whose regime may remain unstable and would not allow him to make reforms, or there could be virtuous individuals with a bad governor. But Mencius did not suggest all of these assumptions; he only introduced the case of the good model that could affect everything around it. It seems that he believed that assuming the existence of such ruler as Heaven's representative on Earth was good enough to achieve the desired regime. And this shows that he was influenced by Confucius's theory about the relationship between the governor and the public that looks like the relationship between the wind and the grass⁽³¹⁾; if the governor is good, his goodness will force the common people to bow down in front of it in obedience.

Thus, among the conditions of granting the governor this Decree of Heaven is to work for the benefit of the people, but that Decree could be withdrawn if the governor violates the following conditions:-

- 1- To make the benefit of the people his priority, as people are the most important element in the state.
- 2- To work toward creating good living conditions.
- 3- To provide people with all the appropriate conditions for moral refinement so that each one of them would become the embodiment of the moral Heavenly law.
- 4- To be aware, as a ruler, of the four destructive evils, which are: cruelty, poverty, oppression, and injustice.

5- To always put in his mind the perfect relationship between the governor and the governed, like that relationship between the father and his children. And then they will hold the feelings of loyalty and obedience without limits to him⁽³²⁾.

We do not have to refer to how serious it is to put the governor in the same situation as the father for his children. Perhaps this is why he refuses to let the common people participate in the discussion of political issues, or to object to the behavior of the governor and his ruling, or even just to think about dethroning him⁽³³⁾.

One of the main reasons that led to the spread of corruption in the state is the bad behavior of children towards their parents, and disloyalty and disobedience to them. And because children always need to be taken good care of, they are incapable of making crucial decisions, so how would they be able to stand in the face of injustice of the governor?

Thus, Confucianism with Mencius became more focused on duties more than on rights, righteousness more than on justice, and commitment more than on change, despite the fact that the first foundations of the Chinese civilization - as contained in the Book of Changes - is built on the idea of ultimate change.

This also reveals the authoritarian aspect of the metaphysical foundation of politics in choosing a governor according to the Decree of Heaven, and that could also be clear in the allegation of the possibility of withdrawing that Decree, which also submits to the will of Heaven.

This is also manifest in his words about the political freedom and the right of people to choose a governor, which seemed to him as the destructive tool of the state.

Accordingly, he clearly warned against informing the common people of the political issues of the state. Even when he tries to add some paragraphs to decrease the tyranny and to improve the image of the issue of withdrawing the Decree, when the governor fails to perform his condition, the impact of these paragraphs is lost quickly before his decision to not allow the common people to object to the governor or even to think about dethroning him. He concluded that dethroning the governor is a right granted by Heaven to the chief ministers of the governor who belong to the governing dynasty⁽³⁴⁾. In addition, the dethroning thing is the last solution can be proposed; how to the father be dethroned and how can the representative of Heaven be deposed?

In order for him to make sure that no one could use the consent and non-consent of the public to the governor and his policies, he established that hierarchical perception of the state, which leaves power in the hands of the governor and his family which was deemed superior to the rest of the classes in the state. This embodies the dictatorial construction in its optimal condition no matter how he tries to talk about the ideal qualities of the governor and how much he cares about his people, as father cares about his children.

It is not a secret that the hierarchical perception of power is opposite to that of democracy; it is a model that fits the authoritarian regime ruling from top to bottom. Thus, Mencius's perception of the state, which is predominantly static, is one of the sources of tyranny imposed by the regime in China over the centuries. Therefore, it is

Mencius, not Confucius, who is responsible for that static image of China, that is built on the centrality of both the state and the governor.

According to the aforementioned, we can say that the perfect man is the one who attains the degree of full awareness and realizes his position within the cosmic drama. Perfect awareness is for man to move out of his own subjectivity melting in the universal entity where there is no room for any sort of distinctiveness. This means that humans should behave in accordance with a sort of predestination against which they cannot rebel, and this is the essence of wisdom.

Reference:

- (1) Francis C. M. Wel, M.A: Political principles of Mencius, Shanghai, 1916, pp.1-4, 53.
- (2) Han Yu is one of the famous neo-Confucianists thinkers said: "If we wish to study the doctrines of the sages, we must begin with Mencius." James Legge: The life and works of Mencius, London, 1875, Ch. 2, p. 40.
- (3) Mencius: 2B:3. From: James Legge: The life and works of Mencius, p. 143.
- (4) Mencius (author): Mencius, Trans. By: D. C. Lau, New York, 1970. 4A:1, 7, 9 - 3B:6, 9.
- (5) Here certainly Mencius refer to Yang and Mo thinkers as representatives of Taoism and Mohism; Mencius :3B: 9,10 -7A:26.
- (6) Huang Nansen: Confucius and Confucianism, from: Compassion Encyclopedia of Asian Philosophy, edit by: Brian Carr and Indira Mahalingam, London, 1997, p.541.
- (7) So he declared that: "The human nature is good just as water seeks low ground. There is no man who is not good; there is no water that does not flow downward...As for his becoming bad, that is not the fault of his native endowment .The heart of compassion is possessed by all men alike, likewise the heart of shame, the heart of respect, and the heart of right and wrong. The heart of compassion pertains to benevolence, the heart of shame to righteousness, the heart of respect to propriety, and the heart of right and wrong to wisdom. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom are not welded on to me from the outside, they are in me originally." Mencius: 6A: 2, 6.
- (8) Ibid: 7A:21, 38.
- (9) "The sage and I are of the same kind". Mencius: 6A:7 – 6 B:2.
- (10) "Seek and you will get it; Let go and you will lose it. If this is the case, then seeking is of use to getting and what is sought is within yourself". Mencius: 7A: 3.
- (11) So:" There is no greater joy than to examine oneself and be sincere .When in one's conduct one vigorously exercises altruism, humanity is not far to seek, but right by him". Mencius From: A source Book in Chinese philosophy, trans.by: Wing-Tsit Chan, Princeton University,1963. 7A:4.
- (12) Mencius: 6A:6: It seems that the Chinese term "XIN" could be translated as either "mind" or "heart" because there is no specific term for it in English. Therefore, some translators used "mind" and some others used "heart", but the majority used "mind" some others used "heart", but the majority used the form heart/mind, and also this form was used by later Confucianists, specially Neo-Confucianists in sung dynasty [960-1279 A.D]. This study prefers to use the term "mind" especially when it refers to the greater part in the human being compared to the authority of ruler.

(13) Mencius said: " No man is devoid of a heart sensitive to the suffering of others...From that whoever is devoid of the heart of compassion is not human, whoever is devoid of the heart of shame, heart of courtesy and modesty, and heart of right and wrong is not human; If a man can give full development to his feelings...he will act according to righteousness wherever he may be." 2 A:6 , and Mencius: from : A source Book, in Chinese philosophy : 7B:31.

(14) Ibid: 7A:1.

(15) Ibid: 6 A: 8, 12 ,13 - 6B:2.

(16) Lao Tzu : Tao-Te Ching , From: A source Book in Chinese philosophy, No.19 ,p. 149.

(17) "Benevolence is the high honor bestowed by Heaven and the peaceful abode of man .Not to be benevolent when nothing stands in the way is to show a lack of wisdom ".Mencius: 2A:7 – 4A:9.

(18) Ibid: 7B:35 - 4A: 19, 29.

(19) Ibid: 6A:14, 15.

(20) So he said: "Slight is the difference between man and the brutes. The common man loses this distinguishing feature, while the gentleman retains it. 'Benevolence' means 'man'. When these two are conjoined, the result is the 'Way'." Mencius: 4B:19, 28 - 7B:16.

(21) Ibid: 2A: 2 – 4A:26 – 6A: 1, 2.

(22) Lao Tzu: No. 43, p.161.

(23) Mencius: 7A:15, 21 - 6B:16.

Ibid : 2A:6 – 4A:14 - 4B:20.

(24) Confucius: The Analects, from: A source Book in Chinese philosophy, 12:7.

(25) Mencius: 4A: 3, 5, 6, 9, 13.

(26) Ibid: 3A:4 – 4A:7 – 4B:14, 28 – 6A:14, 15.

(27) "Those who are obedient to Heaven are preserved; those who go against Heaven are annihilated...Heaven sees with the eyes of its people. Heaven hears with the ears of its people." Mencius:5A:5, 6 - 4A:7.

(28) Ibid: 2A:1, 3, 4, 8 - 3A:3 - 4A:20 - 4B:7 - 6B:14.

(29) Ibid: 1B:12 - 2A:1 - 2B:1 - 4A:1.

(30) Ibid: 1B:7 - 3A:3.

(31) Ibid: 3A:2, 3 - 1A:3, 6 - 1B:4 - 2A:1, 5 - 3B:5 - 4A:913 - 4B:5.

(32) Ibid: 1A:2, 4, 5 - 1B:7 - 2A:5 - 3A:3 - 4A:3, 7, 9, 13, 14, 20.

(33) Ibid: 4A:20 - 5B:5.

(34) Ibid: 1B:8, 12 - 2B:5,12 - 5B:9.

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