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Confucian Business Ethics and the Economy

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Confucian Business Ethics and the Economy

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Abstract

Confucian ethics as applied to the study of business ethics often relate to the micro consideration of personal ethics and the character of a virtuous person. Actually, Confucius and his school have much to say about the morals of the public administration and the market institutions in a more macro level. While Weber emphasizes the role of culture on the development of the economy, and Marx the determining influence of the material base on ideology, we see an interaction between culture – specifically Confucian business ethics – and the economy. In this paper, we are going to study this interaction in several crucial stages of development of Confucianism. The paper concludes by postulating the relevance of Confucian business ethics to the global knowledge economy.

I. Introduction

In the study of business ethics, Confucian ethics is often introduced as a teaching about the development of personal characters and virtues in the context of interpersonal relations, like benevolence, righteousness, etiquette (*li*) and trust¹. While it is true that individual moral development and self-cultivation in a community is in fact the focus of Confucianism², and much of the teachings of the Confucians, especially the Classical Confucians, are on the becoming of benevolent or superior man, Confucian ethics are not limited to these micro considerations. Progressing from the cultivation of personal lives, families are regulated, then states are governed, and then there is peace all under Heaven³. While the first two aspects are often dealt with in Western literature of Confucian studies, the latter two have not received the attention they deserve. One objective of this paper is to fill this gap by studying what the Confucians think about the morals of public administration and the market institution at a more macro level, other than studying Confucian business ethics at a micro level.

Another area to which this paper aims at contributing is the study of the dynamism of Confucianism. Former studies on Confucian business ethics have often relied on the Confucian classics of Analects or Mencius. While these classics have much influence in their own rights, it is in fact the transformed Neo-Confucianism in the thirteen to fifteen century that revitalized Confucianism and had most impact on the merchants and commercial ethics before the fall of the Imperial Empire. More recently, Confucianism has again undergone a major transformation in response to the development of the global economy. Thus we can find much more relevant resources for

business ethics in today's global knowledge economy if we study the dynamics of Confucian ethics rather than focusing on the Classical Confucians solely. As a matter of fact, we will focus on the later periods of development since much has already been said about Classical Confucianism in the existing literature.⁴

In this paper, we are going to study the interaction between Confucian ethics and the economy in several crucial stages of development of Confucianism – the Classical Confucians in the agrarian economy, the Neo-Confucians in the commercialized economy, the reformist Confucians' political economy and the Modern Confucians in the global economy. The paper concludes by postulating the relevance of Confucian business ethics to the global knowledge economy.

II. Classical Confucians in an agrarian economy

It is useful to point out from the beginning that the Confucians take a holistic approach to morality. Take for instance one central concept in Confucian ethics – *Ren*, or benevolence. Confucius would expect a benevolent person to show the quality of benevolence in interpersonal relationship in general, whether it be commercial or non-commercial relation. In the same way, Confucius would expect the ruler or public administration to exercise benevolence. Bureaucrats are not merely government functionaries but leaders, intellectuals and teachers⁵. With this understanding, we are going to study the teachings of Confucians that have direct or indirect bearings on business ethics. We are going to examine selected studies of Confucius and Mencius as the representatives for the Classical Confucians in this period.⁶

Regarding the morality of market transactions, both Confucius and Mencius are negative about the desire for gain. There is a famous saying of Confucius that “The mind of the superior man is conversant with righteousness; the mind of the mean man is conversant with gain.”(Analects, Book 4, Number 16). Similarly Mencius once rebuked a King “What is the point of mentioning the word ‘profit’? All that matters is that there should be benevolence and rightness”.(Book 1, Part 1, number 1).

Benevolence and rightness are indeed essential virtues for personal cultivation in the Confucian tradition. While Confucius and Mencius clearly distinguished between “the good” and “the profitable”, they did not point to a necessary contradiction between the two. It seems that profit was acceptable as long as it was acquired with rightness. This is indicated by the following conversation between Confucius and his student:

Ze Gong (Tzu-kung) said, “‘Poor without being obsequious, wealthy without being arrogant.’ What do you think of this saying?”

The Master said, “That will do, but better still ‘Poor yet delighting in the Way, wealthy yet observant of the rites.’”⁷

In fact, we find Confucius once praising his famous merchant disciple Zi Gong⁸, who became a successful merchant. We also find Mencius pointing to the moral good of the market in bringing about gains from division of labour⁹.

There is a strong emphasis on harmonious interpersonal relationship by Classical Confucians. It was important that each individual lived consistently with his own “Way”.

Confucius said to Zichan, a famous prime minister of the state of Zheng, “The way of exemplary people is fourfold. They are deferential in their

own conduct, respectful in their service of employers, generous in taking care of people, and just in employing people.”¹⁰

In fact, the emphasis on harmony by the Classical Confucians are not just limited to human relations, but applied also to heaven and Earth. The essence of Confucius’ cosmological thinking can be seen in the following statement in the *Doctrine of the Mean*:

Only those who are the most sincere [authentic, true, and real] can fully realize their own nature. If they can fully realize their own nature, they can fully realize human nature. If they can fully realize human nature, they can fully realize the nature of things. If they can fully realize the nature of things, they can take part in the transforming and nourishing process of Heaven and Earth. If they can take part in the transforming and nourishing process of Heaven and Earth, they can form a trinity with Heaven and Earth.¹¹

Other virtues that Classical Confucians praised that have direct bearing on the way to do business include sincerity as emphasized in the *doctrine of the mean*, and trustworthiness and trust which was discussed a lot in the *Analects*, and the observation of proper rites or *li*.

In a more macro level, Classical Confucians ascribed a clear moral role to the government. According to Confucius, “To govern is to correct. If you set an example by being correct, who would dare to remain incorrect?”¹² The role of government is to serve the people by, among other things, providing for their welfare and educating them to their responsibilities, through the exercise of exemplary moral leadership. This expectation of strong government leadership remained intact for the entire period of Imperial China.

Even in a basically agrarian economy where commercial activities were on a relatively small scale, we can identify traces of the attitude of Classical Confucians towards commercial activities, or more appropriately the “way” for a benevolent person or government to do business.

III. Neo-Confucians in the commercialized economy

In the Song dynasty(960-1279), the commercial activities were flourishing, densely populated urban centers and elaborated communication networks were developed that remained in many ways unchanged into the 19th century.¹³ For a long time before the Song dynasty, merchants were ranked the bottom of the four groups of people, after the civil servants, peasants and industrialists. The growth in commercial activities and thus power of merchants promised to upgrade the social status of the merchants. This was reflected in the thoughts of the Neo-Confucians.

A revival of Confucianism was brought about by the Neo-Confucians who developed an inclusive humanist vision that integrated personal self-cultivation with social ethics and moral metaphysics in a holistic philosophy of life.¹⁴ Among these thinkers, the teachings of Zhu Xi (1130-1200 AD) had the greatest influence in the Imperial China.

According to Zhu, enlightened humanity could be realized through the process of “investigation of things” which involves a rigorous discipline of the mind to probe the underlying principle in things. Calculating profit and advantage was not consistent with rectification of moral principles, as seen in a discussion of moral principles and the Way:

“Someone asked, “To rectify moral principles means to handle things correctly without any idea of profit or advantage, and to illuminate the Way means to do so through handling things correctly without any idea of what may come later. The former takes place before one handles a thing and the latter afterward. Is this interpretation correct?”

“Zhu Xi answered, “It is all right to say so..”¹⁵

It is often remarked that Zhu proposed the elimination of human desires in order that the heavenly principle be preserved. But it was only improper selfish desires that Zhu thought should be eliminated, as indicated by the following dialogue:

Question: ‘What about the word desire?’

Answer : ‘Its meaning varies. Having few desires refers to those desires that are improper, such as selfish desires. As to the desire for food when hungry and the desire for drink when thirsty, how can one be without them? But they must also be proper’¹⁶

When profitable commercial activities are on the rise in the Song dynasty, Zhu warned about the danger of selfish desires overcoming the heavenly principle :

Moral principle is what the body and mind naturally possess. Yet when you lose it, you don’t know how to recover it. Wealth and position are things external to the body...they wouldn’t do your body or mind the slightest bit of good.. As for human mind, it’s always obscured by selfish desires¹⁷

On the macro level of good government and management of the economy, Zhu preserved the tradition of Classical Confucians that the government should practice

benevolent policy to care for the people. He was actually able to put this teaching into practice by exercising poverty relief programs during his public service. It is noteworthy that in his poverty relief program, he encouraged the participation of wealthy merchants of his time. This shows that even though Zhu did not encourage excessive human desires or the pursuit of wealth, he was not against the merchant or the wealthy class.

The teachings of Zhu became popular, not just among scholars but also the merchants. In fact Zhu was born in a province – Huei, where commercial activities were relatively developed. The Huei merchants later adopted secularized teachings of Zhu in their daily lives, and developed some codes of commerce which emphasized sincerity, honesty, trustworthiness, the doctrine of the mean, and the making of profit by rightness. It was also a common practice for the merchants to help in poverty relief and the establishment of learning centers in their own family clan after they got rich. The practice of Confucian teachings by the Huei merchants were basically instrumental as they saw the benefit of practicing the Confucian virtues. The Huei merchants were in fact very successful in their businesses until the challenge of the Western powers came in the Qing dynasty, and there was a hint that their commercial ethics had helped them in their business endeavors.

The Ming dynasty saw the rise of another influential Neo-Confucian Wang Yangming(1472-1529). Commercial activities had become even more active and the merchant class gained more power. The Neo-Confucians became more positive about the morality of this class as a response to their de facto rise in economic and social standing. Wang even acknowledged the possibility of merchants becoming sages if they could harmonize their body and mind.¹⁸

Philosophically Wang advocated the precept of “uniting thought and action” and inspired his students to return to the moral idealism of Mencius. He thought that moral education had to be grounded on the “good conscience” and that human beings must learn to regard Heaven and Earth as one body by extending their good conscience to embrace the ever-expanding network of relationships.¹⁹ In his “Inquiry on the Great Learning”, it was written:

The great man regards Heaven and Earth and the myriad things as one body. He regards the world as one family and the country as one person. As to those who make a cleavage between objects and distinguish between self and others, they are small men. That the great man can regard Heaven, Earth, and the myriad things as one body is not because he deliberately wants to do so, but because it is natural to the humane nature of his mind that he does so.²⁰

While Wang might not have a global ethic in mind when he said this, his idea of Heaven and Earth and the myriad things in one body is later developed into a global ethic by the Modern New Confucians as globalization deepens after the Twentieth century. We will see later how this global ethic have significant implications on the way business should be conducted in a global economy.

IV. The Confucian Reformists’ political economy upon Western challenges

From the mid nineteen century onwards, China suffered several humiliating defeats by Western powers and Japan. These defeats convicted many intellectuals that China needed social and economic reforms if she was to survive. Most people ascribed a

new moral role to commerce and industry, and thus merchants and industrialist – to save the nation, though different scholars might differ in concrete plans how this can be done and what was the proper role of the government. Among the prominent Confucian scholars are Kang Youwei(1848-1927) and Suen Yixian(or Sun Yat-Sen 1866-1925).

Kang Youwei is probably best known as the leader of the ‘Hundred-Day Reform’ in the late Imperial Qing Dynasty, but he is also a well-known reformer of Confucianism. In his moral teachings, Kang basically identified with Confucius’ teachings. In fact, he thought that a lot of Confucian teachings in his time were not true teachings of Confucius, and he sought to go back to Confucius’ own teachings rather than the teachings of the Neo-Confucians. But even so we can see how Kang’ s thought has been influenced by his exposure to the West, and thus has a stronger flavor of universalism and commonness of all people.

The “commonness” which Kang believed implies that each and every man is treated in one and the same way. His ideal of commonness and equality clearly went beyond Confucius who recognized different order of love in the observation of etiquette (*li*).

Unlike the Neo-Confucians who think that wants should be constrained, Kang did not think that frugality is a virtue; rather he contended that the primary aim of economic production was to gratify human wants and desires.

But perhaps the building of personal characters as emphasized by the Classical Confucians and the Neo-Confucians were not of primary urgency to Kang. Living under the urgency of economic reforms, Kang thought that the Neo-Confucians paid too much emphasis on the study of individual morality and too little on the study of social

institutions.²¹ In 1898 Kang proposed ten major items for reform to the Emperor which resulted in the ‘Hundred Days Reform’. From the reform proposals we can see his attitude towards commerce and industries, as well as the role of private enterprises and the government in the economy.

He regarded the monopolization of major industries by the government as bad because they had too often been inefficient and unproductive, and he proposed that the modernizing process must be left basically to the genius of the private enterprises. To Kang the role of government was essentially to enlighten, to encourage, to assist, and to protect private business to enable them to compete in the area of public trade²².

While helping industries and the economy is important, Kang was faithful to his Confucian humanistic tradition not to relegate the people’s welfare to a place of secondary importance. To him the interests of the state and those of the people were inseparable, and the best way to promote both was to give priority to the latter.²³ For this purpose he proposed policies to support the agricultural population, laborers, and to relieve poverty. In other words, though private property and private enterprise are respected, the government was to play an important role in the allocation and distribution of resources in an economy.

However, Kang’s moral thought changed considerably in his later formulation of an ideal form of utopia. Here Kang came to the view that love of one’s fellow beings was the basic law of life and that love must be universal in scope or it was no love at all.²⁴ He condemned social stratification and maintained that equality was a natural right upheld by universal principle. He criticized racial discrimination, sex boundaries and family boundaries as major sources of sufferings. He was also concerned that buying and selling

of private property would inevitably lead to the moral problem of inequalities. He thought that his utopia can only be built on social ownership of factors of production, and envisioned that when family disappeared in utopia, there would no longer be any need for private property which would then disappear naturally.

Another influential reformer of this period is Suen Yixian (or Sun Yat-Sen, 1865-1925). He is honored as “father of the republic”. He did not have much to say about self-cultivation or character development of the Confucian tradition, but from his political economy -- especially his “principle of people’s livelihood”, we can see much influence of Confucian humanism on his economic thought. While Kang thought that private enterprises could bring hope to reviving the nation, Suen leaned towards socialization. Just as Kang, Suen thought that industrialization was what China needed. But he was concerned that in the natural evolution of modern capitalism, workers were given unfair treatment, and he found his solution in nationalizing natural monopolies like railroads, public utilities, canals and forests and had all income from these public enterprises to meet administrative costs and finance social welfare programs. Only small business would remain in the private sector²⁵.

Without going too much into details of the political economy proposed by the Confucian scholars of this period, for our purpose it is interesting to note a breakthrough in this period concerning the coverage of the teachings of the Confucians. Now they were not just concerned about personal virtues or the management of public administration, but also the goodness of the economic system in terms of efficiency and productivity. While they all uplifted the status of commercial and industrial activities, there was a strong moral ascribed to these activities, namely to serve the nation in its development. Put it

into the terminology of the Classical Confucians, the emphasis was on righteousness, rather than private profit. It was implicit in their political economies that the goodness of business lied in their contribution to the good of the nation.

Both Kang and Suen were concerned about inequalities they thought were inherent in the capitalist economy, perhaps based on Confucius' dictum that "when equality prevails, there is no poverty". Both did not accept the market outcome of wealth distribution and thus proposed some sort of redistributive policies to care for the livelihood of the poor. To Kang the principle of equalization will serve as the basis for the realization of Universal Peace²⁶. Even though the hierarchical framework of political Confucianism was rejected, this social priority of Confucianism was not. It is thus not surprising that the Chinese people finally turned to socialism when the embryo form of capitalism did not seem to perform this social mission. What is ironical is that after socialism was finally established in China in the middle of twentieth century, Confucianism that has nurtured many socialist ideals was under severe attack almost to the point of death.

V. The Modern New Confucians in the global economy

In the present modern age, Confucianism is undergoing another major wave of transformation which has not yet been completed. It involves a diverse group of scholars with different focuses. A leading contemporary figure in this group is Tu Weiming of Harvard University. Since he has been living in the West for a long time, he is constantly exposed to the Western culture and society, and thus has a lot of opportunities to interact with the Western thoughts. Being a member of the UN Eminent Persons group, he has

frequent dialogues with other religions. It is interesting to see how he seeks to revitalize Confucianism in a diversified modern global economy.

Tu emphasizes the interaction in Confucian thought of individual moral development and the community. He conceives “the person as a center of relationships, the more one penetrates into one’s inner self, the more one will be capable of realizing the true nature of one’s human relatedness”²⁷. Thus society “is not an adversary system consisting of pressure groups but a fiduciary community based on trust.”²⁸

In response to the charge of Weber against Confucianism in hindering the growth of the Chinese economy, Tu tries to show how Confucian ethic may contribute to the fast growth of some East-Asian countries -- specifically Japan, Taiwan, Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong, where Confucian teachings have much influence. While the cultivation of work ethic is seen in Protestantism by Weber, Tu sees the Confucian calling “to establish others for the sake of establishing oneself, to enlarge others for the sake of enlarging oneself”, as the philosophical basis for organic group solidarity which serves to minimize conflicts in an organization.²⁹

Tu thinks that the Confucian emphasis on mutuality and harmony in society are an integral part of their political mission to transform the world. Among other things, the Confucian family serves as an important institution for capital formation and networking³⁰ that are instrumental to business and economic growth.

In response to the deepening globalization process, Tu tries to revitalize Confucianism not just for the Chinese, but as a global ethic for the global community. He extends previous work of three leading New Confucians in the idea of the “unity of Heaven and Humanity”³¹ by returning to the interpretation of Wang in his “Inquiry on the

Great Learning” which we discussed in Section III, and also the cosmological thinking in the *Doctrine of the Mean*.

Another prominent contemporary leader of Confucianism who has contributed to the study of Confucian business ethics is Yu Ying-Shi. Like Tu he finds the study of religious ethics and the spirit of merchants an important issue³². In his view, the Neo-Confucian ethics have much influence on the spirit of merchants in later periods of Imperial China. The social reality of the Ming and Qing Dynasty had forced both the Confucians and the merchants to reassess the social value of the merchant class, and this reassessment was reflected in various literatures.³³ He is positive that Confucian ethics had much influence on constraining the merchants’ conducts, not just through the classics but also through many books on commerce and novels which contained secularized Confucian ethics³⁴. He is also interested in the possible relations between Confucian ethics and the growth of some East Asian countries. But he is less definitive about the actual causal relation between the two, insisting that further research is necessary to identify how specific elements of Confucianism can promote economic growth.

To summarize, the Modern New Confucians try to revitalize Confucianism by addressing some key concerns of this age, including growth of the economy and increasing globalization. There has been a genuine attempt to relate business ethics to the good of a nation in regards to the first, and an emphasis of interconnectedness and mutuality in the quest for a global ethic.

VI. Confucian business ethics and the global knowledge economy

After studying the transformation of Confucian business ethics and the interaction between the latter and the economy from a historical perspective, we would now like to conclude by postulating the relevance of Confucian business ethics to the global knowledge economy.

From the above discussions, we can see that Confucian personal ethics have a lot in common with their Western counterpart. Elements like integrity, respect for others, trust, and justice in the sense of treating each and every man in an equal way are honored by both Confucians and the Western thinkers, and are essential for a healthy business environment as always, but perhaps take on a different dimension and special significance in a global knowledge economy.

For example, globalization has brought together people of different cultures into business relations, and it may be more difficult to build up trust between two very dissimilar people than between two similar ones, especially if both fail to see the commonness between them, or even worse if they see their own way of doing business as being more superior rather than just different. The global ethic inherent in Classical Confucianism and advocated by the Modern New Confucians promises to support harmonious relations among diversified communities. Another global ethical problem relate to the operation of MNCs in less developed countries and the possible abuse of natural resources in those countries (eg. environmental destruction) for the sake of short-term profits. The MNCs may be more environment friendly if they do not see the LDCs as an alien profit-making ground, but have the sensitivity to see the unity among Heaven, Earth and all the myriads in it. The Confucian concept of commonness and respect for all

human of different races and countries is again relevant as a basis for non-discriminatory practice of MNCs.

The protection of intellectual property right may also take on a different color if the issue is viewed from the Confucians' commonness view. The dominating Western view on intellectual property right is that intellectual innovations are private properties and thus the profit from them should be protected. The rationality for this kind of protection, besides being a respect for private property, includes the preservation of incentives to invest in the development of intellectual property. The intended outcome is that the exclusion of the benefit from those who presumably have not contributed to the development of private property. But if we see the commonness of even intellectual property, in the sense that the whole society, or even the whole world has contributed in one way or another to the development of the intellectual property, the claim of rights to the intellectual property may be in doubt. Or if we see things from a global point of view, the extension of the benefit of the technological innovations to other people and other countries actually enrich one's existence in a cosmological sense; the social justification to exclude the benefits of innovations to other members in the global community will diminish. Perhaps the incentive problem will follow without the guaranteed benefit to technological innovations, but there is a consistent Confucian way to handle this – through the involvement of government leadership in technological innovations, even though this may not be the most efficient way from a functional point of view.

With the more prevalent use of computers in a knowledge economy, interpersonal contact and communication are to a certain extent replaced by impersonal cyber communication. But it does not follow that the emphasis of Confucians on interpersonal

relationship would become irrelevant. On the contrary, the cyber world actually makes the interconnectedness among all people more evident. Ethical issues like honesty and trust in internet communication take on a different form in the absence of physical contact. Besides, in a knowledge economy where technological innovations often depend on team work, the relevance of harmonious inter-personal relationship and Confucian ethics is evident.

After delivering an optimistic view about the relevance of Confucian ethics to a global knowledge economy, it should be pointed out that Confucianism has yet to face several challenges to be at peace with the growth of the knowledge economy. One challenge is to nurture a risk-taking spirit that is necessary for investment in R&D. While the traditional Confucian aversion to wastage are favorable to savings, traditionally a lot of these savings are used to purchase land, perhaps because the attachment to family and the land are encouraged in the Confucian tradition. The golden mean again is not in favor of high-risk high-return investments. Perhaps the natural way out for the Confucians would be to follow the Confucian tradition of strong government leadership and have the government involved in the area of research and development so as to provide the massive investment needed and to absorb the risk³⁵.

Another basic challenge facing modern Confucians is how Confucianism is going to respond to a moral bad of the knowledge economy – the growing economic disparities among different countries and among different groups in the same country. There are ample evidences that inequalities are growing in knowledge economies. Can Confucianism offer a sensible principle of equity for this age? As seen before, traditionally Confucians tend to favor the principle of equality in distribution of gains

rather than the equality of the process or opportunities. The moral hazard problem of social redistribution have never been dealt with properly, perhaps because of the dominant Confucian view on goodness of human nature. There is a strong belief among all Confucians under study that self-cultivation would enable a person to identify with the good conscience, or the principle of heaven. With the failed experience of idealistic socialism in the Soviet Union and China, it should be evident that the moral strength of persons in an institution without the check and balance of competitive market forces nor the external source of moral strength as found in the Judaeo-Christian tradition, are often not strong enough to prevent moral hazards. Without a more refined principle of equity that takes into consideration the moral weakness of human, the incentive needed for the growth and development (including non-material aspects) of a knowledge economy will be impeded.

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Footnotes

¹ For example, Koehn (2001) writes that “Confucius’ s teachings fall under four headings: ‘ culture, moral conduct, doing one’ s best, and being trustworthy in what one says’ ” (p415), and Koehn (1999) regards relations for life as one of the three themes that business ethics can learn from Eastern philosophy.

² The modern Confucian Tu Weiming especially emphasizes the interaction in Confucian thought of individual moral development and the sound community in his work *Centrality and Commonality: An Essay on Confucian Religiousness* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989).

³ The famous “eight steps” in the first chapter of *the Great Learning* says that “The ancients who wished to illuminate their illuminating virtue to all under Heaven first governed their states. Wishing to govern their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their personal lives. Wishing to cultivate their personal lives, they first rectified their hearts and minds. Wishing to rectify their hearts and minds, they first authenticated their intentions. Wishing to authenticate their intentions, they first refined their knowledge.” (Tu 2001 p.248)

⁴ For example, see Lam and McCann (2002)

⁵ Tu 1991 p.35

⁶ Confucius(551-479 BC) lived in the period of Spring and Autumn, while Mencius (372 -289 BC) lived in the wartime period.

⁷ Analects, Book I, number 15.

⁸ Analects, Book 11, number 19)

⁹ Mencius, Book 7, Part A, number 25)

¹⁰ Analects, Book V, chapter 16.

¹¹ Tu 1989, p 77.

¹² Analects, Book 12, number 17

¹³ Tu 1989, p.28.

¹⁴ Ibid. p29.

¹⁵ *The sayings of Zhu Xi(Zhu Zi Yu Lei, 95:35)*, translated by Wing-Tsit Chan 1967.

¹⁶ *ZhuZiYuLei 94:45a*, translated by WT Chan 1967.

¹⁷ Gardner 1990 7.17 p183

¹⁸ Wang Yangming *Instructions for practical living* number 56.

¹⁹ Ibid p.34

²⁰ Wang Yang-ming, “*Inquiry on the Great Learning,*” in Wing-tsit Chan, trans.,*A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, p659.

²¹ Hsiao 1975 pp 62

²² Ibid p304

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibidp. 438

²⁵ Ibid p.367-369

²⁶ Ibid pp 91

²⁷ Tu 1989 p27

²⁸ Ibid p48

²⁹ Tu 1991 p.37.

³⁰ Ibid p39.

³¹ Tu 2001

³² Yu 1987.

³³ Ibid p110

³⁴ Ibid p124. Thus he criticized Weber’ s conclusion on the effect of Confucianism on Chinese economy for relying only on the Confucian classics.

³⁵ The need for government support to foster R&D is realized by many people, whether they be Confucians or not. For example, the president of the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology just opined that ‘ the Hong Kong government must more actively support and fund technology programs if it wants to turn Hong Kong into a knowledge-based society, and pointed out that the earliest silicon manufacturing facilities in the US were funded by the Department of Defense there.(*South China Morning Post*, March 8,2002)