

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ix

Introduction: Four Great Debates of Chinese Political Thought	1
1 On Harmony and Freedom: Or, Should Obligations Between Family Members Be Legally Enforced?	8
1 <i>Confucius on Harmony</i>	11
2 <i>Zhuangzi on Freedom</i>	41
3 <i>A Harmonious Outcome?</i>	68
2 On Law and Ritual: Or, How to Combat Corruption?	70
1 <i>Han Feizi on Law</i>	72
2 <i>Xunzi on Ritual</i>	93
3 <i>The Banquet</i>	118
3 On the Uses of Art: Or, Should the Community Subsidize Culture?	120
1 <i>Mozi's Critique of Music</i>	122

viii CONTENTS

2	<i>Xunzi / Yueji's Defense of Music</i>	142
3	<i>The Decision</i>	164
4	<i>On the Morality of Warfare: Or, How to Think About the Use of Military Power?</i>	167
1	<i>Shang Yang on Amoral Warfare</i>	169
2	<i>Mencius on Just and Unjust War</i>	186
3	<i>Politburo Meeting</i>	201
	<i>Atogaki: What's Wrong with This Book?</i>	205
	<i>Notes</i>	221
	<i>Selected Bibliography</i>	259
	<i>Index</i>	275

Introduction

FOUR GREAT DEBATES OF CHINESE POLITICAL THOUGHT

CHINA'S POLITICAL thinking is rooted in its past. To understand Chinese politics, it is essential to understand the main themes of Chinese philosophy and history that serve as reference points for Chinese intellectuals and public officials in everyday conversation and political discourse. The political debates in the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods (ca. 770–221 BCE) were, arguably, the most original, profound, and influential political debates in China's history. China had not yet been unified by the Qin dynasty in 221 BCE, and political theorists and the ancient equivalent of policy advisers roamed from state to state, seeking to influence rulers. Notwithstanding constant warfare, thinkers were surprisingly free to argue about political controversies. The founding members of schools that came to be known as Confucianism, Legalism, Daoism, and Mohism engaged in heated arguments about politics and good government. These debates recurred in different forms over the next two millennia and we can expect further iterations in the future.

I do not mean to imply that good understanding of these debates is sufficient to comprehend contemporary Chinese politics. Of course, there were diverse and fascinating political

debates in subsequent Chinese history, and more recent imported theories such as socialism and democracy also shape Chinese political thinking and policymaking. But those seeking deeper knowledge of Chinese politics need to have a solid understanding of political theories from the pre-Qin period because they still serve as important reference points for Chinese intellectuals and political officials today: as background assumptions and ideals for much political thinking and policymaking in the twentieth century when China was shaped by the tradition of antitraditionalism and more explicitly the past several decades along with the revival of China's political traditions in academia and official political discourse.¹

These ancient political debates are not well-known outside of China, and my book aims to remedy this gap of understanding. My aim is not to take sides in these debates but to be charitable and fair-minded to all sides and to familiarize readers with the most influential political thoughts and theories from ancient China using the words of the thinkers themselves.² For this purpose, I have written this book in dialogue form, and I draw mainly on the original thoughts and ideas of great political theorists from the pre-Qin period (in English translation). The dialogue form also has the advantage of showing the diversity of political thought in ancient China in an accessible and entertaining manner for the modern reader.

My book also aims to show that these ancient debates remain relevant today and for the foreseeable future. For this purpose, I have taken key strands of ancient political debates with lasting value—harmony versus freedom, law versus ritual, musical culture versus material welfare, and realism versus idealism in international relations—and apply them to policy questions of contemporary relevance. The debates are set in different parts of China in the near future, and the protagonists are (fictitious)

descendants of the great political thinkers, which is not entirely implausible in a Chinese context because the descendants of Confucius and Mencius have family trees that extend to descendants in modern society who often take pride in the ideas of their ancestors. They argue about perennial political challenges such as whether moral obligations between family members need to be legally enforced, how to reduce corruption in government, whether the state should promote culture, and under what conditions the state should engage in warfare. The debates shed light not just on Chinese thinking but on political thinking more broadly: after all, what makes great thinkers great is that they proposed ideas that are relevant in different times and places and that can help us think about how to deal with modern-day political challenges.

The ancient Chinese works used for these dialogues were, of course, written in classical Chinese, and I rely on a mixture of my own translations and those by experts.³ I have checked most of the translations against the original sources and selected those that seemed both relatively accurate and fluent in modern English, with occasional modifications.⁴ For the general reader, I have provided brief introductions to the thoughts of the political thinkers before launching into the dialogues. For the experts, the notes provide references to secondary sources and point to alternative interpretations of some passages discussed in the main text.

Each chapter can be read more or less independently, depending on the reader's interests. The dialogues between descendants of the great thinkers are set in contemporary settings: the descendants are committed to the thoughts of their ancestors, but they illustrate arguments with examples from recent history. Hence, the dialogues should be viewed as writings inspired by the great thinkers rather than unmediated interpretations of the original

texts. But I remain relatively faithful to the key ideas in the sections on particular thinkers, so if the reader wants to learn the thoughts of individual thinkers, it is best to focus on the sections in chapters that discuss their thoughts using mainly their original words (in translation): for example, section 1 in chapter 1 discusses the views of Confucius in detail, and section 2 discusses the views of Zhuangzi in detail (the sections where the thinkers act as critics and the concluding sections in each chapter owe more to my own thinking). But I'd suggest that individual chapters be read from start to finish because they make sense only as a whole, and I provide somewhat surprising speeches at the end of each chapter.⁵ Readers who want to have an overall sense of the thoughts of China's most influential political theorists from the pre-Qin era that set the terms for much of the political thinking in subsequent Chinese history should read the whole book.

The book leads off with a dialogue between Kong and Zhuang, descendants of Confucius (Kongzi) and the great Daoist thinker Zhuangzi. Both the Confucian and the Daoist traditions have been hugely influential in Chinese history, but they tend to pull in different directions: the Confucians argue for the importance of nourishing harmonious and humane social relations and educating talented and virtuous public officials, whereas Daoists emphasize an easygoing lifestyle with minimal social attachments. Confucians value constant self-improvement, hard work, and social and political responsibility, whereas the Daoist emphasis on carefree wandering has inspired countless artists, social recluses, and those who seek freedom from social stresses. Kong and Zhuang meet in a bar on a remote island in Hong Kong and argue about whether obligations between adult family members should be legally enforced. Kong allows for the possibility that the law can set constraints on freedom in order to promote harmonious ties

between family members in such cases as the promotion of filial piety and the right to divorce. Zhuang appears to be more skeptical, but he might have a sudden change of mind.

The second dialogue considers how to minimize corruption in government, one of the perennial challenges in Chinese history. A descendant of the influential political thinker Han Feizi, who systematized China's Legalist tradition, argues that people cannot be motivated by moral concerns and that corruption can be curtailed only by means of harsh legal punishments that make public officials fearful of doing deeds that harm the state. The punishments need to apply to all without any discretion or mercy. A descendant of the Confucian thinker Xunzi, who was Han Feizi's teacher, agrees that people have a tendency to badness but argues that people can improve morally. If the aim is long-term reduction of corruption in government, only social rituals that make participants feel part of a community can succeed. Mr. Xun is not against legal punishments but argues they should be a last resort. The dialogue is heated and emotional, with the student seeming to call for the physical elimination of his teacher, but it ends with a banquet.

The third dialogue imagines a deliberative poll where ordinary citizens selected at random must decide whether the local community should fund a musical arts center. It takes place in a rural part of Shandong province rich in culture but poor in material resources. Mr. Mo, a descendant of Mozi, the founder of the Mohist school, argues that the community should spend scarce resources on supplying the material needs of the common people rather than funding musical arts. A descendant of the author of the *Yueji* (*Record of Music*) named Ms. Yue argues for funding the musical arts on the grounds that music is necessary for human flourishing. Music provides joy and forms the foundation for communal bonds that allow for policies that

help the poor to be implemented without much resistance. The citizens deliberate at the end, but will their decision be respected by the powers that be?

The last dialogue is an acrimonious argument about the appropriate use of military power. I imagine a discussion between descendants of Mencius (Mengzi) and Shang Yang, a founder of the realpolitik Legalist school who is far more Machiavellian than Machiavelli himself. They argue over whether mainland China should invade Taiwan after it declares formal independence. Shang declares that an invasion should be carried out even if it involves cruel means, whereas Meng believes that war needs to be morally justified in terms of both cause and means, with the implication that Chinese rulers should be cautious about invading. The debate is carried out in the presence of the ruler, similar to ancient Chinese debates about war, and the chapter ends with a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Politburo where decision-makers discuss the possibility of invasion in view of the contrasting perspectives provided by the two thinkers.

The book ends with an *Atogaki* (afterword) explaining what's wrong with this book. I freely acknowledge that my method will not be to everyone's taste. Intellectual historians will fault me for plucking thinkers from their original context. Experts in Chinese philosophy may contest my interpretation of certain passages from classic texts. Normative theorists will object to the fact that I seek inspiration only from pre-Qin Chinese political thought. Some ideas of political theorists from ancient China that were meant to be deadly serious are discussed in a way that's sometimes lighthearted, which may turn off those who think humor shows a lack of respect for the greats. Oh well, it's hard to please everybody. But some students and scholars of China studies and comparative political theory as well as

those who do not normally engage with Chinese politics and philosophy may enjoy this book. And if I'm lucky, a young intellectual rummaging in one of the world's few remaining libraries with physical books in fifty years' time will stumble upon this book and end up learning something about political debates from ancient China that may still be relevant for thinking about the challenges of the late twenty-first century.

INDEX

- Against the Musical Arts* (Mozi), 142
alcohol, 10, 69, 118; Kongzi and Zhuangzi on, 15
allegiance, moral power, 189
Ames, Roger, *A Conceptual Lexicon for Classical Confucian Philosophy*, 217
Analects, The, 208, 209; Beijing Olympics featuring saying from, 13; sayings of Kongzi, 8–9
anticorruption campaign, 71, 111, 235n28; Legalist, 79, 80
anti-traditionalism, 2, 13
Apocalypse Now (film), 148
Apology Ordinance, 229–30n82
archaeological records, 13
artificial intelligence, rulers and power, 90
Art of War, The (Sunzi), 207, 256n88
Ashoka (Emperor), 185
Atogaki (afterword), 6, 205–19

Babette's Feast (film), 157
babies, Kongzi and Zhuangzi on, 67–68
Bach, 157
Bai, Tongdong, *Against Political Equality*, 218
Ban, Zhao, on female servility, 212
Beethoven, 148
Beijing: National Center for the Performing Arts, 162; Olympics, 13

Berlin Wall, music to fall of, 148
Bloom, Allan, on classical music, 157
Book of Changes, 212
Book of History, 197
Book of Lord Shang, The, 168
Book of Rites, The, 142, 143
Buddhism, 11, 13, 187, 214
Buddhists, 43, 167
bureaucracy, Xun and Han on assigning tasks in, 82–84

Chan, Joseph, *Confucian Perfectionism*, 218
chaos, 54; Kongzi and Zhuangzi on, 65–66; music and, 146–47
chaotic state: human nature and, 96; laws in, 95
Cheung Chau island, 10
China: division into states, 8; relative to Western powers, 13; Standing Committee of the Politburo, 6, 169, 201–3
Chinese Communist Party, 14, 71
Chinese government, 224n14
Christianity, 13
civil litigation, 37
community: cultural center for musical performances, 141; virtue of, 128
conflicts, Zhuangzi and Kongzi on harmony and, 30–31, 37

- Confucian(s), 52, 167; arguing for “graded love,” 123; on kings and subjects, 76–77; methods of, 154; political ethics, 215
- Confucian academy in Qufu, 111
- Confucian celebration, family life, 42–43
- Confucianism, 1; Emperor Han Wudi adopting, 12; ideology in Han dynasty, 187; term, 11
- Confucian moral foundation, 70
- Confucian revival, Song dynasty, 187
- Confucian thinker, Xunzi as, 93–94
- Confucian tradition, 206
- Confucius. *See* Kongzi (Latinized name Confucius)
- conversation, 1
- Cook Ding, 232n119; story about, 61–62
- corruption: imagined debate between Xunzi and Han Feizi on, 70–119; necessity of legal punishments, 117–18; partial behavior as form of, 129; Xunzi and Han Feizi on campaign against, 78–81; Xunzi and Han Feizi on eliminating, 95–96; Xunzi and Han Feizi on fear of punishment to control, 111
- Corrupt Practices Investigation Bureau, Singapore, 112
- COVID pandemic, mourning rituals during, 103
- Cuban Missile Crisis, 202
- cultural refinement, Zhuangzi and Kongzi on, 38
- Cultural Revolution, 13, 152, 153, 170, 224n14; chaos of, 91
- dance, music and, 147
- Dance of Wan*, 137
- Dao De Jing*, 41
- Daoism, 1, 13
- Daoists, 4, 123, 167, 211, 215
- Daoist thinkers, Han Feizi on ideas from, 73
- death: conveying condolences, 49–50; energy transformation, 50
- democracy, 2, 13; Confucian defenders of, 187; electoral, 115–16
- Deng, Lijun (Teresa Teng), songs of, 158, 159
- Deng, Xiaoping, corruption and, 91
- Discourse on the Musical Arts* (Xunzi), 142
- diversity, 12; harmony in, 25, 65
- divorce, mediation and, 39–40
- divorce law(s): Kongzi and Zhuangzi on implications of, 63; spouses and, 36–41; Zhuangzi on, 68–69
- domestic violence, Kongzi on, 39
- Dong, Zhongshu: Han dynasty, 206; influencing Emperor Han Wudi, 12
- drinking ability, alcohol, 118–19
- Duke Kang of Qi, 137
- education system, country, 189
- egalitarian voting rituals, 115–16
- elderly parents, exempting single children from military service, 77
- elderly persons, Kongzi and students on care for, 33–36
- emotions: music and, 162–63; overcoming, 50
- empathy, Kongzi and Zhuangzi on, 19
- exemplary music: for good government, 153–55; governing by means of, 159; harmony and, 148–50; moral Way, 156–57; rituals with, 152; sense of community, 155

- family, harmony, 30, 39–40
family affairs, Zilu and Kongzi on, 32–34
family ancestry, 211–12
family life, Confucian celebration, 42–43
family love, Han Feizi and Xunzi on, 77
feminism, 13
filial piety: communities, 227–28n61; excessive devotion to partial form of, 132–33; Kongzi and students on, 32–36; meaning of, 130; music reminding people of, 163; Zeng Xi devotion to, 230n83
Four Books, 187
freedom: imagined dialogue between Zhuangzi and Kongzi on, 43–68; social entanglements, 47–49, 63–65; spiritual, 50; Zhuangzi on, 41–43
fuguo qiangbing (rich state, strong military), Shang Yang slogan, 170
funeral ceremonies: excessive mourning, 133–34; royal families, 133
funerals, caring for dead relatives, 134

Germany, Nazis and, 179
“ghosts” and “spirits”: belief in, 143–45; fear of, 163; Mozi on, 122
Goldstein, Rebecca Newberger, *Plato at the Googleplex*, 210
good life, Zhuangzi on, 55
good ministers, as plunderers of the people, 190
governance, Kongzi and Zigong, 28
governing states, Kongzi and Zeng Xi, 26–28
government: exemplary music for good, 153–54; impartiality of, 123–24; implementing humane, 200–201; Kongzi and Zhuangzi on, 19–20; music and order, 136
Great Wall, 181
Gross-Loh, Christine, *The Path*, 217
Gu, Ming Dong, *Why Traditional Chinese Philosophy Still Matters*, 218

Han, Byung-Chul, on rituals, 116–17
Han dynasty, 12, 42, 73, 187, 206; *The Book of Rites*, 142, 143; Emperor Wendi, 113; song collection, 248n95
Han, Feizi, 5; imagined dialogue with Xunzi, 70–119
Han, Wudi (Emperor), adopting Confucianism, 12
Han, Yu, praise for Mengzi, 187
happiness: friend conveying condolences, 49–50; Yan Hui on, 66
harmony: coexisting, 24; conflicts and, 30–31; core socialist value of China, 224n14; cultural center promoting, 164; diversity in, 65, 164; enforcing morality, 38–39; family and social, 36–37; imagined debate between Kongzi and Zhuangzi on, 11–40; Kongzi (Confucius) on, 11–14; Kongzi and Zigong on, 23–24; married couples and, 68–69; mediating disputes, 39–40; music and, 153, 154; music as expression, 29; politics and, 29–30; on politics for promoting, 25; social, 10, 25, 28, 42; society, 30; spouses and divorce law, 36–37; spouses and family, 36–41; uprightness and, 31; Yan Hui on, 66
harmony versus freedom, 2; imagined debate between Kongzi and Zhuangzi on, 11–69

- Harris, Eirik Lang, *Adventures in Chinese Realism*, 218
- Heaven, Zhuang on feeding at, 45, 66
- Heaven and Earth, truth of, 44
- Heaven's Will, Mozi as interpreter of, 122
- Hitler, Adolf: death of, 191; music for, 148; tyrant, 55
- Hong Kong: National Security Law, 171, 192
- human(s): music and, 146; parents and children, 76–77; Zhuangzi and Kongzi on being useful and useless in society, 51–52
- humaneness [*ren*]: Kongzi and Zhuangzi on, 19, 22; order and, 77; reciprocation of, 191; virtue and, 196–97
- humane person, job of, 124–25
- humane ruler, 196, 255n71
- humanitarian interventions: Mengzi's theory of, 254n68; modern ideas of, 187
- humanitarian rescue missions, against tyrants, 194–95
- human nature: Lee Kuan Yew's view of, 112; optimistic view of Mozi, 143; rulers appealing to, 180; tendency to badness, 96–97, 142, 144–45, 238n76; Xunzi and Han Feizi on, 76
- human rights, government violating, 195
- Hutton, Eric L., translation of *Xunzi*, 216
- idealism, 2
- ideological conformity versus harmony, 24
- impartiality versus partiality: Mozi on people's regards for others, 128–29; rulers, 125–26
- Iraq, Gulf Wars, 198, 199
- Ivanhoe, Philip J., *Readings in Classical Chinese Philosophy*, 216
- Jackson, Michael, "We Are the World," 158
- Japan, 178–79, 192
- Jiang, Qing, *A Confucian Constitutional Order*, 218
- Jiang, Qing, "eight model revolutionary operas," 153, 156
- Jixia Academy*, 71, 73–74, 111, 233n2; banquet, 118–19
- junzi*, term, 11
- just war, 190, 213, 255n79
- karaoke bars, music and, 140
- Khrushchev, Nikita, participation in warfare, 185
- Kim, Sungmoon, *Confucian Constitutionalism*, 218
- King, Jennifer, *Contemporary Politics and Classical Chinese Thought*, 218
- KMT [Kuomintang], 174
- Kongzi (Latinized name Confucius), 3, 4, 10, 11, 168, 187, 208, 209; family love, 77; genealogical record from, to today's Kong family, 223n7; on goodness, 114; on guiding people, 85; on harmony, 11; 14; on human flourishing, 12; imagined dialogue with Zhuangzi 8–69; Latinized to Confucius, 8; "Master Kong," 11; on mourning period for dead parents, 102; Mozi criticizing, 122; on people singing in harmony, 158; *shao* music, 157; submission of seventy disciples of, 201
- law(s): debate between Xunzi and Han Feizi, 73–93; Han Feizi on,

- 72–73; Han Feizi on good, 75;
human judgments, 92; military
meritocracy and, 186; punitive, for
controlling people, 183–85; warfare,
180, 181–82
- Law of the People’s Republic of
China on Protection for Rights and
Interests of Older Persons, 33
- law versus ritual, 2, imagined debate
between Xunzi and Han Feizi on,
70–119
- learning, Kongzi and Zhuangzi on,
16–17, 18–19
- Lee, Kuan Yew, view of human
nature, 112
- Legalism, 1, 13, 80, 108; corruption
and, 91; Han Feizi’s defense of,
72–92; Shang Yang’s defense of,
169–86
- Legalist(s), 211, 212, 215; label, 169;
Xunzi and, 123
- Legalist amorality, 73
- Legalist campaign, anticorruption,
79
- Legalist tradition, 5
- Lennon, John, *Imagine*, 158
- Lewis, Colin, *Contemporary Politics
and Classical Chinese Thought*, 218
- liberalism, 13
- Li, Chenyang, *Reshaping
Confucianism*, 218
- Li, Si, jailing Han Feizi, 72
- Li, Wan-ye, *Key Words in Chinese
Culture*, 217
- Machiavelli, 6
- Maintenance of Parents Act, 34
- Mao (Chairman): essay dedication to
Shang Yang, 170; Legalist tradition,
91; *On Protracted War*, 207
- marriage: Kongzi and Zhuangzi on,
64–65; Zhuangzi on harsh divorce
laws, 68–69
- Marxism, 14, 214
- mediation, disputes, 39–40
- memorial grave, Xunzi’s, 243n7
- Mencius. *See* Mengzi (Latinized name
Mencius)
- Mengzi (Latinized name Mencius),
3, 6, 93, 120, 207, 211, 213; canonized
as Confucian classic, 94; Confucian
thinker, 186–88; imagined dialogue
with Shang Yang, 167–204; on just
and unjust war, 186–201; Meng
as descendant, 6, 167; pre-Qin
Confucian, 12
- Metropolitan Opera, Music Director
of, 156
- Mill, John Stuart, on jury as school of
public virtue, 116
- mind, Zhuangzi on fasting of the, 58
- Ming dynasty, 13, 143, 187, 206
- ministers: on finding ways to sabotage
“machine,” 89–90; Han Feizi and
Xunzi on pleasing rulers, 87–88;
Xunzi and Han Feizi on methods and
tactics for controlling, 81–84, 87–88
- Mohism, 1; comeback in academia, 124
- Mohists, 52–53, 120, 122, 211, 215; on
kings and subjects, 76–77
- Mohist school, 5
- moral education: rituals and, 106–7;
Xunzi and Han Feizi on role of
law, 76
- morality: enforcing, 38–39; freedom
to pursue, 42; as job of humane
person, 124–25; Kongzi and
Zhuangzi on, 15–16, 23; Mengzi on,
in politics, 168; transforming influ-
ence of, 200–201; warfare, 211

- moral progress, right and wrong, 52–53
moral truth, limited perspectives, 53–54
Mozart, 157
Mozi (“Master Mo”), 5; *Against the Musical Arts* (essay), 142; critique of music, 122–41; ideal of “universal love,” 123; imagined dialogue with Xunzi/Yue, 120–66; interpreter of Heaven’s Will, 122
Mozi Memorial Hall, 121, 242n7
Mu, Jiang, 212
music: bells and drums, 154; chaos and, 146–47; dance and poetry, 242n4; distinguishing kinds of, 154–55; emotions and, 162–63; exemplary, 148–50; “Go Home Often and Have a Look,” 163; government order and, 136; harmony and, 154; Jiang Qing’s “eight model revolutionary operas,” 153, 156; joy and harmony, 153; Kongzi on *shao* music, 157; mood and, 160–62; Mozi on public funding for, 140–41; neuroscience research of, 161–62; people responding to sounds of, 159–60; pleasure of, 135; *Red Detachment of Women*, 153, 158, 160; rituals and, 145–46; soldiers and, 147–48
musical arts: Mozi on principle of moderation, 135; Xunzi’s defense of, 121
musical arts cultural center: benefits of, 163–64; debate between Mozi (Mo) and Xunzi/Yue on, 121, 122–41; decision on, 164–66; harmony, 164; karaoke bars, 140; local community on funding, 5–6, 132; Mozi on taxing poor farmers, 155; Mozi on trade-off between funding, and providing food for people, 137–41; people losing time from farming activity, 138–39; as waste of taxpayer’s money, 136–37; Yue and Mozi on slippery slope arguments, 139–40
musical culture versus material welfare, 2
musical instruments, 136
Music Master, 159; music selection, 162–63; task of, 160; work of, 156
Nadal, Rafael, pregame rituals, 99
Nanjing massacre, 199
National Ballet of China, *Red Detachment of Women*, 247n77
National Center for the Performing Arts, Beijing, 162
National Security Law, Hong Kong, 171, 192
Neo-Confucians, 187
nepotism, partial behavior as form of, 129
neuroscience research, music, 161–62
New Books Network (NBN) (podcast), 205
New Mohism, term, 124
North Korea, 232n110; country style, 174; justifying intervention, 254n68; Yan Hui on ruler of, 54–59
Nye, Joseph, term “soft power,” 222n3
Odes, The, 117, 201
One China policy, 170
On Protracted War (Mao), 207
operas, Jiang Qing’s “eight model revolutionary operas,” 153, 156
orderly state: laws in, 95; Xunzi and Han Feizi on rituals for, 96–97

- people, impartiality versus partiality, 128–29
- People's Action Party, Singapore, 112
- People's Liberation Army, 256n85
- personal freedom, Zhuangzi on, 9
- Pines, Yuri, *Key Words in Chinese Culture*, 217
- Plato, *The Republic*, 209
- Platonism, 209
- Poe, Tony, "Secret War" in Laos, 178
Poems and Documents, 174
- Politburo, Standing Committee of, 6, 169, 201–3
- political community, ideal of unified, 206–7
- political discourse, 1
- political meritocracy, 111, 123; ideal of, 240n114; public officials, 127
- political scolding, "invitation for tea," 203, 256n89
- political system, controlling corruption, 111
- political theory: Anglophone world, 206; Yue on, as desirable and realistic, 129–30
- political thinking, Chinese, 214
- political thought, Xunzi on debate format and diversity, 111–12
- politics: dangerous game of, 9; diversity in harmony, 25; harmony and, 29–30; Kongzi and Zhuangzi on, 19–23; Mengzi on morality in, 168; power hungry rulers, 42; Yan Hui on disharmony in, 62; Zhuangzi and Kongzi on harmony and, 25
- power, artificial intelligence and, 90; soft form of, 222n3
- pre-Qin period, 2, 4; Chinese political thought, 6
- public officials: caring for fellow citizens, 129–32; governance by, 182–83; political meritocracy, 127; as villains, 182; virtuous behavior of, 128; Xunzi and Han Feizi on assumptions about, 84–87; Xunzi and Han Feizi on quality of, 113–15
- Puett, Michael, *The Path*, 217
- punishments: laws to control people, 183–85; making effective soldiers, 175–76; necessity of legal, 117–18; Xunzi and Han Feizi on, 109–10
- punitive expeditions: Mengzi on, 187; offensive warfare, 194, 199
- Putin, Vladimir, invasion of Ukraine, 172
- Qin dynasty, 1, 88, 183
- Qing dynasty, 13, 143, 187, 206, 226n36
- Qin, Shihuang, self-proclaimed First Emperor, 71, 170, 180–81, 184, 191
- Ran, Qiu: Kongzi and, on governing states, 26; Kongzi's student, 10
- realism versus idealism, 2
- "realpolitik," Legalist, 12
- reciprocity, Kongzi on, 17–18
- Record of Music (Yueji)* (author unknown), 121, 122, 142, 143
- Red Detachment of Women*, 153, 158, 160, 247n77
- Republic, The* (Plato), 209
- rewards, making effective soldiers, 175–76
- Richie, Lionel, "We Are the World," 158
- right and wrong, Zhuangzi and Kongzi on, 66

- ritual(s): belief in ghosts and spirits, 145; community without communication, 116–17; distinguishing between good and bad, 238n84, 239n85; ideal of, 237n69; imagined debate between Xunzi and Han Feizi on, 93–118; lavish spending for funeral ceremonies, 133–34; music and, 145–46, 155; regulating drinking, 151–52; village drinking ceremony, 150–52; warfare, 180. *See also* social rituals
- role models, Mozi on need for, 131–32
- ruler of North Korea, 54–59
- rulers: gaining hearts of people, 188; humane, promoting the righteous, 127–28; on impartiality versus partiality, 125–26; legal system and, 181–82; political ideal of unified world, 188; political meritocracy, 127; worthy people and good order, 126–27
- Russia, invasion of Ukraine, 172, 178, 192
- sage-monarchs: music and, 149–50, 154; music of, 135
- sage rulers, ritual and rightness, 114–15
- Schneider, Henrique, *Adventures in Chinese Realism*, 218
- Scruton, Roger, on classical music, 157
- “Secret War” in Laos, Poe waging, 178
- Security Council, veto of United States, 198
- self-cultivation, politics and, 197
- self-defense, wars of, 191–92
- self-image, of rulers, 54
- selfish desires, drunkenness, 99
- sexual desire, Kongzi and Zhuangzi on, 15–16
- Shandong University, 122
- Shang, Yang (Legalist thinker), 212, 213; on amoral warfare, 169–86; death of, 170; Han Feizi’s ideas from, 72–73; imagined dialogue with Mengzi, 167–204; influential statesman, 169–70; slogan *fuguo qiangbing*, 170
- shao music, Kongzi on, 157
- sheep stealing, Zhuangzi and Kongzi on, 31–32
- Shen, Buhai, Han Feizi’s ideas from, 73
- Shenzhen’s model, economic reform, 91
- Sima, Qian: on Zhuang Zhou, 42; on Zhuangzi and King Wei of Chu, 9
- Singapore: government, 112; People’s Action Party, 112
- slippery slope arguments, Yue and Mozi on, 139–40
- social entanglements: Kongzi on real world, 67; Zhuangzi and Kongzi on freedom from, 47–49, 59–60; Zhuangzi on exiting, 63–65; Zhuangzi on living as hermits, 60–61
- social harmony: Kongzi defending, 10, 25, 28; swimming and singing with friends, 27, 227n51
- socialism, 2
- social relations, 49; distinguishing between good and bad desires, 45; meaning in our lives, 46; Zhuangzi and Kongzi on, 43–45; Zhuangzi on, 9–10
- social rituals: binding people together, 104–5; commoners partaking in, 117; emotion and form of good, 101; Han Feizi and Xunzi on, without legal compulsion, 107–10; hazing, 105; laws as backup for failure of, 107–8; as means of nurture, 109;

- mourning, 102–6; music accompanying, 101; people in society, 110–11; tattooing, 99; traditional drinking, 118–19; Xunzi and Han Feizi differentiating between good and bad, 98–105; Xunzi on treatment of the dead, 105–6; Xunzi on voting, 115–16. *See also* rituals
- society: family harmony in, 30, 40–41; peaceful and orderly, 93; Xunzi and Han Feizi on rituals and punishment in, 108–9; Xunzi on capacity of people to be virtuous, 110–11; Zhuangzi and Kongzi on being useful and useless in, 51–52
- Socrates, 8
- soldiers: cutting off heads, 177–78; head counting, 176–77; making people into effective, 174–77; military meritocracy, 179, 184; music and, 147–49; punishments and rewards, 175–76; supervision of, 177–78
- Song dynasty, 13, 94
- Son of Heaven, 114
- sorrow, friend conveying condolences, 49–50
- spirits, Kongzi and Zhuangzi on, 19
- spiritual freedom, 50
- spousal testimonial privilege, 32
- Spring and Autumn Annals*, 24, 190
- Spring and Autumn period, 1, 8, 206
- Sterckx, Roel, *Chinese Thought from Confucius to Cook Ding*, 218
- Taiwan, 170–71, 178, 185, 188, 189, 193, 197; economy and war, 173–74; mandatory military service, 192; support for independence, 195–96; unification with, 201
- Tan, Sor-Hoon, *Confucian Democracy*, 218
- Tang (King), punitive expedition, 197
- Tang dynasty, 167, 187; poetry, 158
- teaching, Kong and Zhuang on, 18
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, on jury as school of public virtue, 116
- Transparency International, *Corruption Perception Index*, 241n121
- Tsai, C. C., *Illustrated Library of Chinese Classics*, 216–17
- tyrants, humanitarian rescue missions against, 194–95
- Ukraine: announcing dead Russian soldiers, 177; Russian invasion of, 172, 178, 192
- United Kingdom, funeral ceremonies for royals, 133
- United Nations, Gulf Wars, 198
- United States, 188; civil war, 196; Cuban Missile Crisis, 202
- “universal love,” ideal of, 123
- University of Hong Kong, 10
- Van Norden, Bryan W., *Readings in Classical Chinese Philosophy*, 216
- vices, Kongzi and Zhuangzi on, 21, 22
- Vietnam, invasion by French and Americans, 192
- Vietnam War, 177, 178, 179
- virtue: on capacity of all to be virtuous, 110–11; community, 128; humaneness (*ren*) and, 196–97; Xunzi and Han Feizi on sages governing with, 77–78, 86
- Wagner, Richard, 148
- Walzer, Michael, just war, 213
- Wang Bi, on Confucianism, 12

- warfare: agriculture and, 185; cutting off heads, 184; Di tribes, 192–93; economy and, 173–74; gaining hearts of the people, 199–200; Gulf Wars, 198, 199; head counting, 176–77; humaneness of rulers, 196–97; humanitarian missions against tyrants, 194–95; imagined debate of Shang Yang and Mengzi on, 167–204; Japan in, 178–79; just war, 213, 255n79; just war and treaty, 190; on making people into effective soldiers, 174–77; Mengzi on, 168; military meritocracy, 179, 184, 186; morality of, 211; planning for long-term, 172–73; preparing to “eat bitterness,” 173; principle, 190; promoting peace after winning, 185; punitive expeditions, 194, 199; punitive laws to control people, 183–85; rituals and laws, 180; self-defense, 191–92; Taiwan and, 173–74; use of force, 190; war as first resort, 171; wars of conquest as disastrous, 190–91; world endorsement of bloody war, 198
- Warring States period, 1, 8, 9, 70, 72, 120, 121, 122, 123, 168, 191, 202, 206, 242n7, 255n79; Qin’s victory, 178
- Way, the: Daoist-inspired, 12; exemplary people and music, 156–57; good ministers and, 190; Kongzi and Zhuangzi on, 20–21, 23; nature, 46; sages and public interest of state, 89; weakening the people, 173
- Wei (King) of Chu, Zhuangzi and, 9
- Wen (King), 127
- Wendi (Emperor), Han Dynasty, 113
- Western Zhou dynasty, 8
- world: endorsement of bloody war, 198; political ideal of unified, 188
- World War III, 189
- Wu (King), 127; attacking Yin, 198
- Xunzi, 5, 121; as Confucian thinkers, 93–94; defense of music, 142–64; *Discourse on the Musical Arts*, 142; on military affairs, 250n8; Han Feizi and, 70–72; imagined debate with Han Feizi, 70–119; imagined debate with Mozi, 120–66; Legalists and, 123; Memorial Grave, 243n7; pre-Qin Confucian, 12
- Yan, Hui: Kongzi and, on withdrawing from the world, 44–45; Kongzi and Zhuangzi on life free of social entanglements, 45–47; Kongzi’s student, 10
- Yueji (Record of Music), 5, 212
- Zelensky (President), invasion of Ukraine, 193
- Zen (Chan) school, 43
- Zeng, Xi, 208; Kongzi and, on family harmony, 40–41; Kongzi and, on governing states, 26–28; Kongzi on politics and harmony, 28–30; Kongzi’s student, 10
- Zhang, Dainian, *Key Concepts in Chinese Philosophy*, 217
- Zhao (Marquis) of Han, 83
- Zhongyong* (Doctrine of the Mean), 143
- Zhou dynasty, 100
- Zhuang Zhou, historical figure, 41–42

- Zhuangzi, 4, 10; Daoist thinker, 9; on freedom, 41–43; imagined debate with Kongzi, 8–69; reaction to death of wife, 231n102; Sima Qian on, 9
- Zhu, Xi: anger-worthy events, 248n92; foundation for Confucian ethics, 13; Mengzi's text, 187; "St. Thomas Aquinas of China," 206
- Zigong: Kongzi and, 17, 23; Kongzi and, on governance, 28; Kongzi and, on harmony, 23–24; Kongzi's student, 10
- Zihua: Kongzi and, on governing states, 26; Kongzi's student, 10
- Ziliotti, Elena, *Meritocratic Democracy*, 218
- Zilu: Kongzi and, 17–18; Kongzi and, on filial piety, 32–36; Kongzi and, on governing states, 26; Kongzi's student, 10
- Zixia, Kongzi's student, 10
- Zizhang, Kongzi's student, 10, 21, 22
- Zuo Zhuan* (The Commentary of Zuo), 207