

The Impact of Confucianism on Technologies and Development

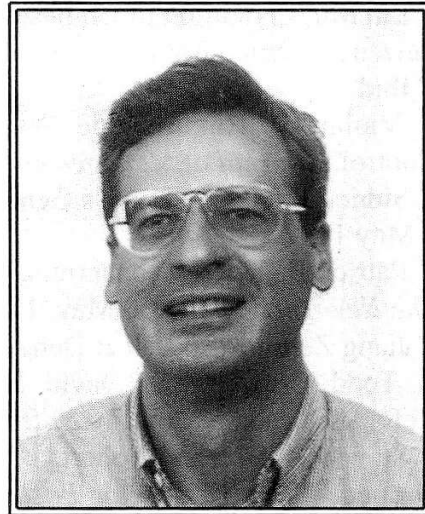
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In the first part of this article, published in the May-June issue of Tripod, the author studied the relationship between technology and religion and explored, in general, the role Confucian values play in the social and economic development of many Asian countries. Notwithstanding the economic downturn in Asia at the present time, there is reason to believe that Confucian values will continue to play a significant role in the success and failure of any of its future business and societal enterprises. In Part II, Father Rivero studies the specific impact of Confucianism on five Asian countries.

Part II

Singapore

Singapore, a former British colony and the beneficiary of the British legal and educational systems, represents a mix of Asian and Western cultures. Some have called it a laboratory for Chinese modernization. Singapore today works for social and religious harmony while accepting cultural and religious differences. This is not always easily achieved. Those intellectuals who have been educated in the Western tradition find the present system of government paternalistic and inflexible.



They look for a more open, liberal and democratic society. For its part, the government defends its corporatist policies in the name of economic efficiency. In this multi-ethnic social context, the government keeps a watchful eye on the fragile fabric of religious harmony. In 1991 a government directive placed limits on certain forms of religious activity.²⁵ Many government authorities fear that religion will be used

for political purposes, and they are wary of the aggressive proselytising tactics employed by some religious groups. Not all Singaporeans are happy with the present political situation; some bemoan what they feel to be a lack of freedom and the presence of social injustices.

The majority of people in Singapore are ethnic Chinese, and as such are influenced by their Confucian heritage. During the past decade the government has made efforts to encourage the study and diffusion of Confucian traditions. In 1980, Lee Kwan Yew, while working for the Westernization of Singapore society, closed the Chinese University of Nanyang on the pretext that the language of the world economy was English and not Chinese. Previously, however, in June 1963, he had established the Institute of East Asian Philosophies whose aim was "to foster an understanding of Confucianism (at the time being discredited in China), and search out new applications of this ancient philosophy suitable for adoption by the modern societies of East Asia."²⁶

Lee Kwan Yew mentioned in an interview with *Le Monde* that he believed there was an Asian model for social development: "We have a common denominator in our cultural tradition which places the common good over and above the interests of the individual."²⁷

The term "Confucian culture" was coined in order to distinguish Singapore from its Islamic neighbours Indonesia and Malaysia. And in 1984, the government of Singapore launched an educational program on Confucianism in its school system in order to update traditional Chinese culture. This was not so much an effort to initiate a new ethics for social and economic development as it was to counteract the negative influence of materialism coming from surrounding countries. It was also seen as a way of helping to foster social cohesion and a Chinese identity.²⁸ This project was abandoned before it got off the ground. However, the preparatory work did provide everyone with an opportunity to reflect on the subject, and the positive and negative aspects of Confucian were discussed widely, especially in the media and universities in the East and in the West.

A public debate on Confucian morality featured in the Singaporean press over several years. Jean Charbonnier of the Paris Foreign Mission Society, and a noted Sinologist, kept a record of the literature that covers a wide range of opinions. Father Charbonnier felt then, and still feels, that Confucianism has a built in limitation as a developmental philosophy for a modern state in that it does not give enough attention to profit making²⁹. On the other hand, Victor T. Valbuena, Senior Programme Specialist for the Asian Mass

Communications Research and Information Centre, reminded me when we met in Singapore that Confucianism can be a positive factor in business because it brings social stability and has an explicit philosophy concerning work and wealth. But Valbuena sees its hierarchical structure as a drawback for the development of democracy.

Dr. Gwee Yee Hean of the Industrial and Commercial Bank of Singapore believes that the Confucian virtues of loyalty and hard work can influence development, but he does not believe that Confucianism contains any developmental teaching that would be relevant to today's business world. Confucianism, according to Dr. Gwee, must absorb values from other sources outside itself. Alone, it is not sufficient to meet modern needs.³⁰ And Elwing Thomas³¹ believes that Singapore's modernization has had little or no effect on filial piety, one of the key concepts in Confucian morality. Finally, certain economists declare that when all is said and done the notions of culture and filial piety are incompatible with liberalism.

All observers of Singaporean society are not in agreement with the thesis that the key to Singapore's success, i.e. social stability, the lack of juvenile delinquency, full employment, etc., is the Confucian ethic. Janamitra Devan³² enjoys reminding everyone that this theory is only of recent vintage, and that the founders of 'the new Singapore' have never, at least not officially, mentioned Confucianism as a guiding factor. Their operative ideal is to maintain the social, philosophical and religious balance, and to avoid giving pre-eminence to any one over and against the other, which would only serve to threaten economic progress and social cohesion.

Tu Wei-Ming, professor of philosophy and Chinese history at Harvard University, in his study of Confucianism, addresses Max Weber's contention that China's industrial development was held back by its humanistic philosophy.³³ Weber felt that Confucianism does not foster specialization in work, and the Chinese were basically humanists who sought fulfillment in poetry, the arts, ethical philosophies, and other such humanistic pursuits. But Tu points out that what Weber saw as an obstacle, modern management considers an asset. Business methods today call for the inclusion of broader social dimensions and multi-disciplinary approaches.

Professor Tu also comments on the conclusions of a group of American intellectuals (among them were historians, sociologists and political scientists) who studied Confucianism in some depth during the 1960's. With few exceptions, they found the Confucian ethic to be

incompatible with modernization and seriously lacking in economic theory. Tu argues that instead of setting Confucianism to one side, its ethical insights should be combined with Western qualities to produce a more rational approach to the use of practical resources. The Confucian ingredient could, in the long run, prove beneficial to both East and West.

In conclusion, we can say that Confucianism is alive and well in Singapore. Values, such as filial piety, respect for authority, diligence in work and study, harmony and stability as social ideals, foster the establishment of new business enterprises, and the development of new technologies. However, while Confucianism can be said to contribute many positive elements, it cannot by itself alone take the lion's share of credit for Singapore's industrial development. Capitalism has, in fact, played a much bigger role.

Hong Kong

Hong Kong is experiencing perilous times. Many say the city is in crisis. Others point out, however, that in Chinese the word 'crisis' is made up of two characters: danger and opportunity. Faced with danger, the citizens of Hong Kong respond firstly by working even harder, and secondly, by calling upon their proverbial ability to adapt to every new situation.

Ambrose King Yeo-Chi, a professor of sociology in Hong Kong, has written numerous articles on the evolution of Confucianism here. He reminds us that Confucian culture is relational and interpersonal. The individual moves within a network of on-going relationships: race, culture, clan, family, religion, education and work. These relationships are a major factor in achieving social success. Therefore, the Asian concept of 'face' is very important in maintaining harmony and trust within the context of all these complex relationships.³⁴

King disagrees with Weber, who saw the Confucian virtue of filial piety as being an obstacle to capitalism.³⁵ King contends that Confucianism has become something of a 'rationalistic traditionalism', which means that traditions are modified and adapted to fit present economic necessity. For example, Chinese family values are brought into play not because the Chinese are bound by familial traditions but because they serve present family needs. The Chinese are eminently pragmatic. According to King: "In China, what is practical is true." He

maintains that while the Chinese honour tradition, they are not traditionalists, something Weber failed to understand. King also believes that Chinese society has now entered a 'post-Confucian' phase. Confucianism is no longer seen as an all-encompassing philosophy but as one (among others) that can impart important moral values.

King would categorize Weber's notion of Confucianism as 'imperial Confucianism' or 'institutional Confucianism'. Traditionally, Confucianism was organized into many bureaucratic institutions, such as the Board of Rituals and the Imperial Examination Board. But today Confucianism in Hong Kong is less systematic and institutional, and more personal, social and 'vulgar' in the sense of 'popular', i.e. pertaining to a complex of values transmitted through families and lived out by ordinary people in society. Confucianism here has no part in the government structure and is not found in a pure state; rather, it is part of the mix of other values from outside itself, and it is more a matter of a cultural inheritance.

In Hong Kong, life is difficult and the future precarious. It is a place where adequate social security or retirement benefits do not exist for the ordinary citizen. Here the family must shoulder greater burdens. It is family solidarity, and not state support, that must provide for the security of its individual members.³⁶ As a result, it is quite common to find in Hong Kong many family businesses. Unfortunately, they also bring with them a spirit of paternalism and nepotism that often add to society's woes.

While Hong Kong Confucianism has adapted itself to the new economic environment, its traditional values are in decline, and this largely because of the onslaught of a materialistic and consumer philosophy on already crumbling family structures. The profit motive predominates here where the future is always uncertain and capitalism reigns supreme. It is within this context that Confucianism exerts a relatively positive influence. Its emphasis on familial relationships, the diligent pursuit of learning, the commitment to support the many family enterprises, and the openness to accept and put to good use the new technologies, all contribute to the further development of the industrial society.

Taiwan

Daniel Ross, S.J., the director of the Sociology Department at Fu Jen University, is of the opinion that Taiwan's development depends

less on moral or religious values than on the pursuit of personal wealth, which is the highest value on the priority list of most of its citizens. He sees the resurgence of Confucianism as "a felt need of the Chinese to prove to themselves that the Confucian tradition is good."

Confucian related customs are still practiced in modern Taiwan. Confucius's birthday is celebrated on September 28 as a national festival. On that day government officials gather in Confucian temples. Dressed in black silk jackets over dark blue robes and bearing ritual offerings of wine and meat, they pay tribute to "the sage of sages" and "teacher of teachers", while a corps of young students perform dances dating from the Ming Dynasty.

The government is eager to support these and other Confucian traditions. In 1984, Professor Kong Decheng, who is a direct descendent of Confucius in a genealogical line going back 72 generations, was appointed President of the Examination Yuan, the state organ that controls national examinations. It is part of the influence of the Confucian tradition on present day Taiwan that the government gives top priority to education. And as part of that Confucian education, schools advocate the classical Confucian virtues of benevolence, altruism and personnel discipline.³⁷ In Taiwan, government honour of and respect for the Confucian cultural tradition is explicit and given a public status. And Confucianism does indeed have an influence on industrial decisions as to how technologies are to be used. This is done formally through the values promoted in the educational system and informally through traditional family values handed down in the home. In business management, however, the style of capitalism imported from the United States is also a major factor in the island's economic and social development.

Confucianism also fosters international relationships with the Chinese diaspora. Taiwan shares with the Chinese diaspora this common cultural base, and this makes strong economic ties all the easier. The diaspora not only provides a financially lucrative market place but also provides a source for Taiwan to learn new tried-and-true technologies from abroad, which it does not hesitate to apply at home.

Japan

Confucianism was the first foreign religion introduced into Japan. Coming from China via Korea in the year 284 A.D., it preceded

Buddhism, which entered along the same route 300 years later. Despite their many historical, cultural, and religious ties, these two nations harbour strong feelings of animosity towards each other.

Nakane Chie, one of Japan's leading sociologists, defines Japanese society as vertical and hierarchical, wherein antiquity, age and seniority play important social roles. There is certainly a Confucian influence at work here. Despite the strong hold secular politics exerts on educational matters, Confucianism in Japan still maintains a strong influence on family education and in schools.

Michio Morishima, a professor at the London School of Economics and Political Sciences, in his study of technology and Confucianism, says that Japan, while adopting Western technology, has kept its own cultural values in place. Morishima is also of the same mind as Max Weber with regard to the strong influence Japanese ethics has had on its economic success.

Japan's first 'modernizers' enjoyed a classical Confucian literary formation along with their education in the Western sciences. Their aim was to "enrich the country and to strengthen the army" in accord with the Confucian disposition towards utilitarianism, which was popular among the elite at the time.³⁸ In Japan, nationalism has always been a major motivating force in its economic and social development.

Here we must return to our original question: How is it that China itself, [at least until now] with all its Confucian tradition and culture, has not achieved the same kind of rapid social and economic development as other Asian areas having the same Chinese heritage? Morishima attributes this to cultural differences in emphasis that separate Japanese from Chinese Confucianism. The key concept in Japan, he says, is 'locality', while in China it is 'goodness'. Furthermore, the meaning of loyalty (*chung*) differs in both cultures. To be loyal in China means to be honest vis-a-vis oneself and one's own conscience. In Japan, however, while retaining the above sense, loyalty carries the additional meaning of a sincere and total devotion to the lord, a devotion that extends to self-sacrifice and personal abnegation (p.22) before authority. In Japan, a military commitment to obeying orders is valued far more than following the dictates of the individual conscience. Even today the group is seen as superior to and takes precedence over the individual in doing business. In his study of Confucianism in Japanese history, Morishima shows how this

Confucian value of loyalty has characterized the Japanese mentality, and how it has also fashioned Japan's present economic system.

Julia Ching, for her part, confirms the difference between Chinese and Japanese Confucianism:

...whereas the Chinese and the Koreans are scholar officials, the Japanese Confucians were scholar-samurais, fighting men who always wore swords and lived in readiness for an honourable death, according to the code of ethics called the Bushido (way of warriors). This shows a principal difference between Confucianism in Japan and the same tradition in China and Korea. Of the five relationships, the Chinese have emphasized the parent and child relationships; thereby celebrating filial piety; whereas the Japanese samurai have focused more on the ruler-minister relationship, with the commitment of absolute loyalty from generation to generation.³⁹

From this loyalty-centred Confucianism, we can better understand how Japanese society functions ("We stick to business as we stick to family") with its devotion to work, patriotism and a warlike spirit, with its frugality and sobriety, anti-individualism and paternalism. In Japan Confucianism was nationalistic and militaristic, while in China it was social and civil. The spirit of nationalism still subsists in Japan's leading companies and corporations. Schoichiro Toyota has been quoted as saying that the family business would never become completely multinational so as not to sacrifice national interests in favour of company interests.⁴⁰ Morishima sees Confucianism as key to understanding the Japanese social and economic system. The author Frank Gibney calls the Japanese "Confucian capitalists" at heart, and he goes on to state: "While our own economic sphere developed from the Christian ethic of the individual, theirs (the Japanese) has developed from the Confucian ethic of relationships."

According to M. Bourene, the Japanese educational system teaches students to be obedient to authority. The result is a reliable but non-inventive society, secure but not creative. And in Japan, people do feel secure. The work there is sure, precise, professional. While in certain countries of Europe where education is based on the value of the individual person, one may find instability, but also a spirit of innovation as well, and both at one and the same time.

The Asian advantages of harmony and uniformity sometimes give way before the worrisome absence of an essential creativity. Experts wonder if this defect might, in the long run, impede the further

development of a nation that has clearly excelled in the art of making improvements in products created by others. "It is case of a people not inventive enough to create the theories."⁴¹

In Japan, the work ethic is of the highest value. Public and professional duty come before family obligations and both before individual needs. Civic duty and public service are the backbone of Japanese culture and society. The Japanese tend to feel that working for the benefit of one's nation and for its advancement on the world stage, gives meaning and purpose to one's life. Here work is sometimes seen as having a sacred and religious value.

The Japanese work force operates in teams. This maximizes the talents and gifts of the individuals within the group. Confucian tradition imparts meaning to both work and to collective responsibility. Japanese workers do not usually produce more and better things than their Western counterparts, but they do work longer. They do not talk of vacations, but of working more.⁴² And until very recently, they took no more than ten day off for their annual leave. They willingly work overtime, and often without compensation. The idea of going on strike is foreign to their mentality.

However, the Japanese themselves do find that they work too long and too hard. They are aware that life is not easy for them. But if the ordinary Japanese worker seldom complains, it does not mean that he is happy in his work.

It seems that neither Japan's religions nor its cultural traditions have much influence on its technology and economy. However, both have a strong implicit influence on the Japanese character. "The Japanese are not themselves aware of it, but they are like fish in an aquarium. They are submerged into a society characterized by religious values. In Europe, many years of reflection on the relationship of technology and religion has resulted in putting some distance between the two. But in Japan there is no distancing. The Japanese are immersed in both."⁴³

Although the Japanese have little intellectual knowledge of religions per se, their society is marked by the belief in the sacred and eternal character of the world in which they live.

The so-called Westernization or Americanization (of Japan) is merely superficial. Just as Japan has in the past adopted and assimilated into its cultural and religious mix all the important divinities from outside sources: those of Buddhism, traditional Chinese religion, and the

Judaic-Christian religious heritage, it will continue to do so in the future only in so long as they do not clash with its own fundamental spirituality. Japanese society will in all probability remain stable for a very long time, conserving and maintaining its basic structure. And the sacred character of its social structures is firmly rooted in its religious dimension, which of its nature is not vulnerable to superficial change. Given this scenario, change can only occur when and if their faith in the sacredness and eternal nature of the world is rejected or abandoned."⁴⁴

This gives rise to certain questions: What will become of Japan as it rushes headlong into consumerism? Will it be able to maintain its traditional ethical code? Is Japanese society headed towards decline? Will the young Japanese continue to accept Confucian values or bring them into question? Serge Platard says that Japanese society is still in many ways a feudal society, within which people of lesser rank work under those of higher rank. Hierarchical authority is still well thought of here, with those in charge ordered towards greater production.

But in the light of Japan's history, we can expect that it will accept sociological changes into its culture, modifying them to suit its own present needs and purposes.

South Korea

The influence of Confucianism has been stronger in South Korea than in Japan. Those born before 1950 are especially prone to accept its guiding principles.⁴⁵ Korean Confucianists gather for public ceremonies in his honour biannually at Sung Kyun University in Seoul. These festivities are marked by elaborate eulogies, traditional offerings and ancient dance and music. As in other Asian countries, Confucianism in Korea is the object of both praise and blame. But it is generally agreed that the sense of loyalty and paternalism that characterizes the Korean business world owes its origin to the teachings of the Sage.⁴⁶ On the minus side, Confucianism has been criticized for its negative attitude towards women. It is an ancient but often quoted Confucian saying: "When a woman is young, she must obey her father; when she is married, she must obey her husband; and when she is a widow, she must obey her oldest son."⁴⁷

In the traditional Confucian family, boys were given preferential treatment. They were welcomed, admired and sent to school where they were encouraged to excel. Girls were not afforded such privileges. They were considered to be 'another family's daughter-in-law,' had no opportunity for education, and were deprived from any direct participation in the mainstream of public and cultural life.⁴⁸

In a seminar held in Seoul a few years ago, two Korean and two German professors debated the relative virtues and vices of traditional Confucian philosophy.⁴⁹ Im Dong-Cheoll of Sung Kyun Kwan University took the positive approach and spoke favourably of its family orientation and ethical values. But Rolf Trauzettel of Bonn University took the opposing view. He accused it of being feudal, rigid and paternalistic, and faulted it for its conservative morality and elitism. He counseled against any idealization of this tradition in pursuit of social, political and economic development. Song Young-Bae of National University in Seoul criticized it for reducing all social problems to the level of the moral failure of the individual. But he did contend that Confucianism could be employed as a spiritual alternative to counteract materialism. Norbert Tracy of the Institute of Education at Sogang University underlined the dangers of making Confucianism an ideology by reminding his audience how it also had a history of corruption and injustice, and how in more recent times the Japanese used it in Korea as an instrument of oppression.

We conclude by noting that Korean Confucianism does foster the implementation of new technology by means of such traditional values as work, study, loyalty and respect. But one must not down-play the strong impact of American culture on this country. However, while the spirit of an American-style capitalism is a major force advancing Korea's internal social development, it is also an important factor in counteracting the influence of Japan.

Conclusions

It is time now to draw some general conclusions from our all too brief review of the impact of Confucianism on the social and economic development of modern Asian countries.

1. Technology is no longer considered neutral nor objective. It always takes place within an existing social and cultural context. The

'economic culture', with its network of values created from the complexity of its economic and social relationships, determines how technology is used, its positive or negative attitude towards innovation, and how it effects social development. Confucianism does not respond directly to the questions raised by modern technology and social development. It has formulated no theoretical system on which to erect a modern Confucian society. But it does have a real influence on culture and business. This influence is, for the most part, indirect and unconscious, neither organized nor premeditated. Its impact on technology is felt through the intervention of education and morality. The high value Asians place upon study serves to foster a spirit of scientific discovery and technological innovation. Asian societies that emphasize team-work and loyalty spur economic development, most notably in Japan.

2. Confucianism coexists with other influential Asian religions, such as Buddhism, Taoism and (in Japan) Shintoism. Its transcendent dimension is rooted in cultural values which exist within a religious view of humanity and the world.

3. While Confucianism exists in many forms, depending on the history and culture of the places in which it is found, it can be said that all share as a common value the importance of the needs of society and societal relationships over and above those of its individual members.

4. Confucianism manifests a certain ambivalence towards technological development in its distrust of the profit motive. While it abhors extravagance, advocates thrift, encourages stability and obedience to rightful authority, it can also put checks on private initiative and stifle individual creativity when these are seen as non-conformist threats to the solidarity and harmony of society. Also, its respect for family and its advocacy of strong family support can promote family businesses and increase corporate investments; it can also lead, however, to paternalism, inflexibility and nepotism. At times, Confucianism's respect and esteem for the elderly is used as a way to bridle youthful enthusiasm and initiative.

5. The limitations of Confucianism are often modified in pragmatic ways by their exposure to other cultural trends, such as economic

liberalism, Western cultures, and the social and religious forces at work in other countries.

6. The manner in which the so-called "Asian Dragons" function is not for export, especially to the West. Their concept of obedience to authority, loyalty to such social structures as company and family, and their communal life-style would not be easy for Westerners to accept, not to mention to emulate.

7. Confucian wisdom, with its emphasis on respect for the elderly, love of learning, and other such virtues as benevolence and loyalty, offers much from which Westerners can learn. It speaks to humanistic ideals, and it continues to champion civic virtue in the face of a rising tide of corruption, greed, cynicism and selfishness.

8. Confucianism is very much alive and well among Asian immigrant families in the West. Westerners must take this into account when forging lines of communication with them.

9. To seek to establish a Confucian society in today's world would be unrealistic and futile. We should remember that Confucianism has never existed in a pure state, but throughout its history it has taken on many different forms and expressions. Given the way society has been evolving in recent times, Confucianism would be unable to respond effectively to our present social problems nor to address the full range of their individual needs.

10. Confucianism must be updated if it is to function in modern society. Such notions as filial piety and the role of women, to mention only two examples, could not survive under today's social conditions. This is a clear call for self-renewal, if Confucianism can hope to survive as a vital social philosophy.

11. Confucianism is, however, enjoying a definite, if somewhat limited, renewal among a number of Asian intellectuals. Its traditional wisdom helps to promote Asian identity and in the rediscovery by Asian youths to foster an appreciation of their ancient heritage. This can greatly benefit social morality and human relations. However, Confucianism cannot be allowed to function as a model or standard for contemporary society, as it may have done in the past.

12. The future of Confucianism will depend on what comes from the dialogue now taking place among the various Asian religions. At present, it is only seen as one small tributary flowing into today's cultural main stream. As such, it has important values to offer contemporary society, but it also has much to learn from the contributions of other cultures and religions as well. Social harmony, so dear to the Asian heart, will be the eventual winner in all of this.

13. It is incumbent on the West to study Confucianism, if it hopes to come to grips with the mentality, values, customs, social organizations and marketing practices of East and South East Asia. Not only will this prove helpful when doing business in Asia in avoiding the old conflicts and pitfalls, but it could also result in fostering better and more lasting social and cultural relations.

14. To better understand the evolution of scientific and economic development within their proper cultural context, universities must integrate the study of religion into their multi-disciplinary approaches to technology. The separation of Church and State does not preclude ignorance of how they have interacted in the past and continue to do so in the present. Dialogue with religious cultures must be given a serious place in any modern scientific research programme worthy of the name.

15. We are now going through a period of social and cultural change. People feel the need to reflect on their cultural and religious heritage. Many feel their own traditions are at risk before the onslaught of American style Westernization. And while human progress flows from technological innovation, it is also a result of social innovation. Scientists maintain that in their own domain progress moves forward at its own pace and on its own steam. However, expectations for social innovation must also be met. And religion can play an important role in this. The sense of public morality and trust engendered by religion is a formidable ally against dishonesty and corruption in society. Religion advocates social harmony, personal discipline, community service, the value of the individual and the sacredness of work. Religion gives meaning and purpose to life and a vision on which to base a future. Confucianism, too, locates its activity at the root of human motivation. Even if its efficacy goes unnoticed and unnoted, it is, nonetheless, very present and very real. Amon Gimenez, the Andalusian poet, has said

that human beings need "wings to be rooted and roots to fly." Can we not say the same for modern technology, culture and their socio-economic systems?■

Endnotes

(The previous notes will be found at the end of Part I of this article in Tripod, issue, 105.)

²⁵ *Maintenance of Religious Harmony*, Official publication of the government of Singapore.

²⁶ Leon Vandermeersch, *Le nouveau monde sinisé*, Paris, PUF, 1986, p.155.

²⁷ See "Singapore, An Interview with the Former Prime Minister," Patrice de Beer, *Le Monde*, 12 June, 1993.

²⁸ *Confucian Ethics Newsletter*, Confucian Ethics Project Team. May. 1988, No. 6.

²⁹ See Jean Charbonnier, "L'enjeu culturel de l'ouverture," in *Eglises d'Asie*, April 1992, pp. 1-18.

³⁰ Dr. Gwee Yee Hean, "How Confucian Can Be Applied to Doing Business," in *The Strait Times*, Singapore, 16 Nov. 1987.

³¹ Thomas Elwing, "Filial Piety, Social Change and Singapore Youth," in *Journal of Moral Education*, vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 192-205, October 1990.

³² See Jananitra Devan, "Lessons from Singapore: A Rejoinder," in *Business Horizons*, v. 33. No.2, pp.3-5, March-April 1990.

³³ See Tu Wei-Ming, op. cit, p. 78.

³⁴ Ambrose King, "The Transformation of Confucianism in the Post Confucian Era: The Emergence of Rationalistic Traditionalism in Hong Kong," in *Conference on Confucian Ethics and the Modernization of Industrial Asia*, 5-9 January 1987, Singapore. Organized by The Institute of East Asian Pilosophies.

³⁵ Ambrose King, "Max Weber and the Question of Development of the Modern State in China" Paper prepared for the International Conference on "Max Weber and the Modernization of China," sponsored by the Institute Fur Soziologie der Universitat Heidelberg, July 23-27, 1990.

³⁶ See Siu-lun Wong, "The Chinese Family Firm: A Model," in *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXVI, no. 1, pp.78-72. Also, Steven Harrell, "Why do the Chinese Work so Hard?" in *Modern China*, April 1985, pp. 203-226.

³⁷ See Ger-Bei Lee, "Moral Education in the Republic China," in *Moral Education Forum*. Vol. 15, no.3, pp. 2-14, autumn 1990. Douglas C. Smith, "Lessons from Afar: The Chinese High School in Modern Taiwan and Other Essays," in *Pacific Cultural Foundation*, Taipei, Taiwan, 1986. Douglas C. Smith, in "The Image of Confucius: The Education and

Preparation of Teachers in Taiwan,” *Pacific Cultural Foundation*, Taipei, Taiwan, 1983.

³⁸ Stevan Harrell, “Why do the Chinese Work so Hard?” in *Modern China*, April 1985, pp. 203-226

See Julia Ching and Hans Kung, *Christianity and Chinese Religions*, pp. 77-91, Doubleday, Ltd. Canada, 1989.

³⁹ Ibid. pp. 77-91.

⁴⁰ See Masani Yoshimori, “Japan’s Process of Modernity,” in *Management Japan*, (Japan) Vol. 19, No. 12, pp. 20-21, autumn, 1986.

⁴¹ Interview with Professor Tomomasa Imai of the University of Tokyo.

⁴² See Marc Luyckx, *Les religions face a la science et la technologie*, Bruxelles, CEE, 1991, p. 137.

⁴³ Personal interview with Maurice Bourene, consultant for scientific and technological affairs, Delegation of the Commission of European Communities, Europa House, Tokyo.

⁴⁴ See Kimatura Yoshiaki, “De l’identite japonaise: changements et permanence d’une communaute rurale,” *bibliotheque japonaise*, 1986, p. 138.

⁴⁵ See Takatsugu Nato, “The Influence of Confucianism and Buddhism on Life-innovators in the Japanese Socio-economic Order,” in *International Journal of Social Economics*, (UK) Vol. 13, No. 3, pp.53-63, 1986.

⁴⁶ See Sangjin Yoo, Sang M. Lee, “Management Style and Practice of Korean Chaebols,” in *California Management Review*, Vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 110, summer 1987.

⁴⁷ See Michael C. Kalton, “Korean Ideas and Values,” in *Inculturation*, winter, 1987, p. 15.

⁴⁸ See “Neo-Confucian Ideals, Yi Dynasty Practices,” in “Korea’s Cultural Roots,” Seoul, Hollym Corporation, 1982, pp. 112-113.

⁴⁹ See, *The Korean Herald*, October 19, 1990.