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**The Conservative Dimension of the Chinese Confucian Political
Tradition in the Light of Western Conservatism**

Master thesis

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Abstract

This thesis examines the conservative aspects of the Chinese political tradition rooted in Confucianism and compares it to modern Western conservatism. It concludes that despite arising from very different historical and cultural contexts, Confucian conservatism and Western conservatism share three fundamental principles by emphasizing hierarchical and social order (based on social hierarchical morality), formalism (implying respect for strict political ritual and traditional institutions), and empiricism (respect for the facts and reality, accumulation of wisdom grounded in the past experiences). The importance of identifying these common traits of the Chinese and Western conservatism goes well beyond the scholarly interest in intellectual history of humanity, because the West experiences a considerable conservative revival, while traditional Chinese conservatism continues to exercise a profound impact on the politics, culture and social norms of the Chinese society today, therefore one might argue that conservative principles might provide a conceptual bridge for political dialogue between Chinese and the West.

Key Words: Confucianism, Conservatism, order, hierarchy, formalism, empiricism

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Declaration of Authorship

1. The author hereby declares that he compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.
2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.
3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

Prague

January 3, 2023

Yinmingwei Zheng

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First of all, I would like to thank all the professors who have taught me. They represent the academic spirit of the great Charles University, and their rigorous, pragmatic and severe working attitude has impressed me very deeply.

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Proposed Topic:

The Conservative Dimension of the Chinese Confucian Political Tradition in the Light of Western Conservatism

Topic characteristics / Research Question(s):

This paper focuses on the characteristics of Western conservatism in the Chinese Confucian political tradition and how these characteristics are constructed in the Chinese traditional political system. The master's thesis attempts to study different aspects of this conservative dimension in an unbiased, scientific environment. By considering and interweaving different western conservative schools, get the common characteristics of western conservatism: orderism (respect hierarchical concept, social order, and social morality), formalism (form principle, including the strict political ceremony), and empiricism (respect experience principle, such as political and economic reform should not be the rational set of political direction, but along the direction of tradition, facts, and experience). Chinese Confucian traditional politics also implies these three characteristics of western conservatism, which are also the foundation of the traditional Confucian politics that is still respected in China today.

After obtaining the three characteristics shared by Western conservatism, the main study is on how these three characteristics are reflected in Confucianism, and how they construct the Chinese Confucian political tradition.

First of all, in terms of orderism, orderism is the foundation of the establishment of Chinese Confucian political tradition. It has formed a broad and established social consensus and civic consciousness. It includes Confucian political morality, social hierarchy, and strict social order. This social conscious influence is still in China.

Secondly, in terms of formalism, formalism constructs a specific Confucian political system. Confucius valued the "ming", meaning "formal name", namely, the identity, status, and title of each person in the Chinese Confucian political system. Confucius said that a "formal name" is fundamentally the required form of legitimacy, that is to say, in society, political rule pays more attention to legitimacy and rationality, rather than just based on violent conquest, so the ruling class needs to promote benevolent government to win the support of the people. In the form of a specific political system, Confucianism believed that the relationship between the king and his subjects could be seen as a contractual relationship. In the establishment of the political system, under the supreme central power, the establishment of government institutions should follow the principle of mutual checks and balances. In social activities, formalism is manifested in various "rituals"; in political activities, the form is manifested in political rituals, namely, the "rites" advocated by Confucianism.

Third, in terms of Empiricism . Confucianism advocates the golden mean. The characteristic of this idea is that they believe that a design that seems to be rational, but many unknown variables will appear in the actual implementation process so that the rational design does not achieve the expected results. As Hume said, man's ability to abstract reason is limited (Hume1744). Therefore, Confucian thinking is that they do not set specific political ideas and cannot provide a clear political direction. This is very similar to Oakeshott's idea, in which he opposed a utopian political plan. He once used a metaphor to describe his idea of a ship that " has neither a starting point nor a designated destination (Oakeshott 1962).

The research covers grounds that are currently untrodden: by considering the Chinese Confucian political tradition from the perspective of Western conservatism. Western political conservatism was introduced to China relatively late and began to be introduced systematically after China's reform and opening up. It can be said that theoretical research in China is still in progress. But after a deeper understanding, we are surprised to find that the common core characteristics of Western conservatism have had some intersection with Chinese Confucianism. Although on the surface, China's centralized political system and the Western democracy are very different, from a deep level, the construction of the Chinese Confucian political tradition has the characteristics of Western conservatism. Therefore, this paper mainly aims to answer three questions. First, what are the conservative characteristics of the Chinese Confucian political tradition? Second, how are these conservative features building the Chinese political system? Third, why did China not form a Western democracy , from the Confucian conservative perspective?

These problems can help us to better understand the Chinese Confucian political tradition. In particular, in the contemporary and complex international situation with highly developed information, many Chinese people blindly worship the Western democratic political system, and even hope to build China into a Western-style democratic state. However, they ignore the actual national conditions of China and the ideological core of the traditional Chinese political culture inherited for thousands of years, so this idea is unrealistic.

Working hypotheses:

1. Western conservatism has three common characteristics: orderism, formalism, and empiricism.
2. Chinese Confucianism and Western conservatism have the intersection, or Chinese Confucianism has the characteristics of Western conservatism.
3. Due to the conservative characteristics of Chinese Confucianism, the Chinese centralized political system was formed.

Methodology:

I will use Literature research method, comparative research method and interdisciplinary method.

Literature research method: Integrate the content of Confucianism and Western conservatism into the specific historical background, and analyze their historical reasons. This is meant to understand their idea more accurately. In addition, I will review the relevant literature on Western conservatism to demonstrate the shared characteristics of various schools of Western conservatism (for example, compare the works of Joseph de Maistre, Edmund Burke, Kekes and others to get their consensus on orderism). After obtaining the three characteristics of Western conservatism (order doctrine, empiricism and formalism) and the combing of Chinese Confucianism, on this basis, the second stage demonstrates the conservative characteristics of Chinese Confucianism and studies the Chinese political tradition of how these conservative characteristics are constructed.

Interdisciplinary method: I will demonstrate the hypotheses involved in this paper from various disciplines, include religion, philosophy, sociology, economics and other perspectives, which will also help to deepen the understanding of Confucianism and Western conservatism.

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- 1.The source of Confucianism
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 - 2) "Formal name"
 - 3) Rule of man and rule of law
3. From the dimension of the Empiricism
 - 1) "Golden mean"
 - 2) The thinking mode of "impartial"

Chapter 4 Democracy or Centralization?

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Abstract

This thesis examines the conservative aspects of the Chinese political tradition rooted in Confucianism and compares it to modern Western conservatism. It concludes that despite arising from very different historical and cultural contexts, Confucian conservatism and Western conservatism share three fundamental principles by emphasizing hierarchical and social order (based on social hierarchical morality), formalism (implying respect for strict political ritual and traditional institutions), and empiricism (respect for the facts and reality, accumulation of wisdom grounded in the past experiences). The importance of identifying these common traits of the Chinese and Western conservatism goes well beyond the scholarly interest in intellectual history of humanity, because the West experiences a considerable conservative revival, while traditional Chinese conservatism continues to exercise a profound impact on the politics, culture and social norms of the Chinese society today, therefore one might argue that conservative principles might provide a conceptual bridge for political dialogue between Chinese and the West.

Key Words: Confucianism; Conservatism; Order; Hierarchy; Formalism; Empiricism

1. Introduction

1.1 *The significance of the thesis*

China's political structure and social culture have been distinctive for thousands of years. China has experienced ongoing effects from interactions with Western civilizations ever since the modern era. Resistance and integration coexist in this process, as do conflict and communication. Chinese people were stunned by Western science, technology, literature, art, and religious beliefs, as well as by the Western political system, ever since the late Qing dynasty started studying the West. It shocked the Chinese leaders at the time because the Western political system and the traditional Chinese political system are so obviously different from one another, especially in terms of the differences between the Western democratic system and China's centralized system. As Li Hongzhang, the Chinese premier of the late Qing dynasty, once said, "great changes not seen in three thousand years."

However, many Chinese who studied Western political culture discovered some similarities between some traditional Chinese political thought and some Western political thought, despite arising from very different historical and cultural contexts. The title of this article is "the conservative dimension of the Chinese Confucian political tradition in the light of Western conservatism", which mainly examines the conservative aspects of the Chinese political tradition rooted in Confucianism and compares it to modern Western conservatism.

At the beginning of the study of the subject of this paper, I only vaguely noticed some similarities between Confucianism and Western conservatism. However, with the review of the relevant literature and the deepening of my understanding of Western conservatism and Confucianism, I have constantly found some essential links between the two.

It concludes that despite arising from very different historical and cultural contexts, Confucian conservatism and Western conservatism share three fundamental principles by emphasizing hierarchical and social order (based on social hierarchical morality), formalism (implying respect for strict political ritual and traditional institutions), and empiricism (respect for the facts and reality, accumulation of wisdom grounded in the past experiences).

Although some Chinese scholars are now aware of the parallels between Confucianism and Western conservatism, thorough, systematic research remains rare and infrequent. In this paper, I will begin my investigation into the time when the two political ideologies first emerged and thoroughly examine how similar they are. This research has significant implications. The

importance of identifying these common traits of the Chinese and Western conservatism goes well beyond the scholarly interest in the intellectual history of humanity, because the West experiences a considerable conservative revival, while traditional Chinese conservatism continues to exercise a profound impact on the politics, culture and social norms of the Chinese society today, therefore one might argue that conservative principles might provide a conceptual bridge for political dialogue between Chinese and the West.

1.2 Literature review

Since the 1980s, China has been systematically introducing Western conservative political science, such as Edmund Burke's classic book "reflections on the revolution in France." Only in 1998 was the book translated and published in China. Hugh Cecil's conservative book, translated and published in 2001, is another translated work. Karl Mannheim's conservatives, translated in 2005. And a series of Western works on conservatism in which Mr. Feng Keli was involved, including a 2005 translation of Sir Roger Vernon Scruton's the conservative meaning.

While these foreign classic conservative works were introduced, own Chinese scholars also began to publish related articles and works, such as Mr.Liu Junning's conservatism (Liu, 1998). His article gives a more systematic introduction to Western conservative ideas. Furthermore, Mr.Zhu Dide's freedom and order: research on Western conservative political thought. (Zhu, 2004) This article studies Western conservative political science from the relationship between freedom and order. And Strauss and classical political philosophy by Mr.Liu Xiaofeng. (Liu, 2002).

Chinese famous sociologist Liu Junning in his book "conservatism" mentioned Confucius advocated various virtues to a large extent and the conservative virtue of it is interlinked. (Liu, 1998) In addition, in his 1999 book Xunzi, published in Taipei, Zhao Shilin, a professor at Taiwan university, also talked about Confucius' inheritance and creation of Zhou culture. (Zhao, 1999) In recent years, China researchers' research on the historical background of Confucianism, namely the feudal system and the patriarchal clan system, has been continuously deepened, which provides us with a lot of materials and assistance to observe Confucianism from the perspective of conservative political science. Among them, theory on feudalism by professor Feng Tianyu, a famous Chinese historian from Wuhan university,

detailed and systematically expounded the origin, characteristics, and structure of the Chinese feudal system, and compared it with the feudal system of the Western middle ages and Japan. (Feng, 2007) This is of great significance to our overall and systematic understanding of the social soil of Confucianism. According to Feng Tianyu's research, the confusion about the meaning of the word "feudalism" came from the May 4th China New Culture Movement, which equated "feudalism" with backwardness, stale and reactionary.

According to Mr. Feng Tianyu, the word "feudal" originally meant that emperors granted the title to enclose the national territory and give them the power to form states in the regions they ruled. This is the alleged "land grant and creation of vassals." From a political economy standpoint, this distinction from Karl Marx's definition of feudalism is significant. The excessive clan structure of the Zhou dynasty people, which was closely related to the feudal system of western Europe and was inherited from the Germanic tribes in western Europe, was the root cause of the feudalism of the Western Zhou dynasty. An accurate and thorough study of the historical context and cultural underpinnings of Confucianism is required to comprehend it. Without a doubt, Mr. Feng's work is significant for our knowledge of Confucianism.

In addition, in recent years, Chinese academia of the pre-Qin feudal society from various perspectives. Wu Xiaoqun, and Xiao Dong Guo's perspective of ritual Confucian interpretation of Confucian etiquette from the perspective of ritual, think the Confucian system and ritual, and ceremony is inevitable with religious meaning, so giving Confucian rites have a sense of sacred in the form. (Ding & Li, 2012, pp. 61)

Understanding the Western feudal system is also very important, which is extremely necessary for us to have a deep understanding of Western conservatism and a comparative understanding of the feudal system of the pre-Qin feudal system in China. In this respect, there is the feudal society of Marc Leopold Benjamin Bloch, the famous French historian, and the book details the historical origin, political model, social structure, and even the cultural characteristics of the European feudal system. (Bloch, 2004) At the same time, the Chinese academic circle also has a more and more deep exploration of all aspects of Western and Japanese feudal society, all of which are very important to help us in our research. For example, in Mr. Qiu Shengli's brief analysis of the evolution of the tax form in Britain, he believes that tax is an essential perspective of the British monarchy in ancient times. Since ancient times, British taxation has experienced a process of evolution from "feudal tax" to "national tax", and

this process is the manifestation of the change from private power to the nature of public power. (Qiu, 2007, pp. 9-10)

Mr. Shi Fujing, in his book, *The Influence of the British and French Aristocracy on Centralization*, compares the different roles of the British and French nobles in the historical evolution, stating that the British aristocrats have strong adaptability and mobility, which played a significant role in limiting the monarchy. Thus, Britain avoided absolute monarchy and centralization, but the French aristocracy was reduced to the monarch's foil. Gradually moving towards the social structure of polarization, this resulted in the radical French revolution. (Shi, 2017, pp. 14-18)

1.3 Research methods and research ideas

Research methods: I will use the literature research method, comparative research method, and interdisciplinary method.

Literature research method:

It is helpful for a more accurate understanding of their beliefs to review the classic literature of the founders of Confucianism and Western conservatism, as well as to compare the historical context in which these two concepts were developed. In order to demonstrate the shared characteristics of Western conservatism, I shall also review the pertinent literature on other Western conservatism. For instance, to determine the conservatism of the works of Joseph De Maistre, Edmund Burke, Tocqueville, Hayek, Oakeshott, and others, compare their books. I next read the *Analects of Confucius* and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, as well as the writings of related eminent scholars from both home and abroad, to gain a deep understanding of Confucianism. We can determine the characteristics of conservatism about Confucianism on the basis of a comparative analysis of this pertinent literature.

Interdisciplinary method:

I will demonstrate the hypotheses involved in this paper from various disciplines including religion, philosophy, sociology, economics, and other perspectives, which will also help to deepen the understanding of Confucianism and Western conservatism.

Research ideas:

To better grasp the content of Confucianism and Western conservatism, it is first necessary to integrate them into the specific historical context, study that context, and determine

where their ideas originated. In order to demonstrate the similarities among the major schools of Western conservatism, I will then analyze the pertinent literature on the topic. At the same time, it provides a quick overview of Chinese Confucianism's core ideas. Thirdly, to illustrate the conservative aspects of Chinese Confucianism using the previous chapters as a foundation.

2. Overview of Western conservatism

The dominant school of thought in contemporary Western politics has been liberalism. John Locke, a British philosopher, developed the "government" and "limited government" theory in 1690. He is credited with being the founder of Western classical liberalism. Locke methodically explains classical liberal political thought, limits the power of the state, emphasizes the importance of the individual, and views individual rights and freedom as the foundation and ultimate goal of politics. Liberal political theory has been the dominant political idea throughout the West's modern history, despite the existence of other schools. Meanwhile, conservatism has grown throughout the West, most notably in Britain.

2.1 *The sources of Western conservatism*

With the outbreak and failure of the French revolution, many thinkers were also attracted to think about radicalism, (Honderich, 2005, pp. 6) especially the violent revolution. Indeed, it is commonly accepted that from a self-conscious standpoint, conservatism came into existence with or after Burke's critique of the French revolution. (Kirk, 1954, pp. 5) (Nisbet, 2008) In the late 18th century, the British thinker Edmund Burke published the book "reflections on the French revolution", which became the foundation work of the later Western classical conservatism. (Claeys, 2007, pp. 11–34)

Although Burke did not systematically establish their own theoretical system, in this book, he to the history before and after the French revolution has a series of discussions and put forward some basic principles of classical conservatism, including religion, humanity, hierarchy, private ownership attitude, emphasize the nature of the social organism, emphasize the significance of history and tradition, attach importance to the role of elite and aristocracy, and the importance of religion and morality to maintain society. Especially Burke stressed that social change should not be through the way of violent revolution, because the revolution will destroy the existing social

system and order, but cannot effectively establish a new effective and reasonable order, so Burke believes that social progress should adopt progressive improvement means, for traditional, as long as it is not apparent bad should not be completely abandoned. After Burke, conservatism took root in Britain, with many thinkers, including William Cobbett, Lord Robert Cecil, and the famous British Whig, Sir Henry James Sumner Maine.

Since then, conservatism gradually blossomed on the European continent, including the famous French thinker Benjamin Constant, Alexis de Tocqueville, and the famous French Royalist Le Comte Joseph de Maistre; and the German Georg Philipp Friedrich Freiherr von Hardenberg, Adam Muller, and others. Maistre, who published "on France" in 1796, showed considerable antipathy towards the Enlightenment, and he opposed liberalism. He believed that a stable society cannot be separated from authority, religion, and community as its basis, while liberalism advocates individual values to belittle the meaning of the community collective. At the same time, the concept of freedom and equality will weaken the authority, and enlightenment thought will weaken the sanctity of religion. Benjamin Constant and Tocqueville are much more moderate. They do not oppose liberalism, but they can even be liberals in ideological content, but they also recognize the role of the aristocratic elite, oppose radical revolution, advocating progressive social improvement, and thus can also be attributed to conservatism. However, German conservatism focuses on the theoretical construction of the national organism, which has the obvious characteristics of romanticism and nationalism.

After world war II, conservative silence, until the 1960s, in the face of the rise of the international socialist movement, and some problems of the welfare economy system, a new conservative trend began to spread rapidly in the United States, to the 80s dominated the political thought in the United States, this is the new conservatism. Therefore, the West experiences a considerable conservative revival.

The founder of American neo-conservatism was Leo Strauss, who retained the rational skepticism of classical conservative scholars, while he also emphasized the importance of tradition, and he also carried a considerable brand of social Darwinism. (Xiao, 2009, pp. 56) In the 1970s and 1980s, neo-conservatism emerged in the United States and debated socialist theory. Participants in the debate included prominent economists Hayek and Friedman, and Robert Nozick. In addition to adhering to the traditional conservative attitude, the ideological content has completely turned to classical liberalism, against the intervention of state power in the economy, against the high welfare policy of neo-liberalism, against socialism and planned economy,

emphasize individual freedom, in the economic praise of liberal market economy theory.

2.2 Historical background of Western conservatism

The conservatism produced in Britain is actually a kind of consciousness from the aristocracy, the elite, and even many early British conservatives themselves are noble, this phenomenon is not only in Britain, many French conservatives are aristocrats, such as Maistre was born in the south of France, Tocqueville was also a noble family born in Paris. In addition, Mr. Von Kley believed that Burke's conservative ideas are deeply influenced by the British common law tradition. Because the British common law is a case law, which is the basic method of hereditary tradition and practice, and this hereditary tradition idea is originally an aristocratic way of thinking.

In the British tradition, the status of judges is very high, far higher than that of the civil law states. Many senior judges are aristocrats, such as Sir Fortescue, Cook, Hale, Tory William Blackstone, and others. In medieval feudal times, there were usually courts of lords within the territories of the nobles, who were obliged to lead the courts of their own territories, and some nobles even presided over the court procedures themselves. Therefore, the British common law tradition was deeply influenced by aristocratic thinking, and this influence was also passed on to the conservative ideological trend. In this way, the early British conservatives had a strong aristocratic plot, which is only natural, even to say that the conservative thought originated from the aristocratic spirit. "The aristocracy is the founders and defenders of the conservative political tradition, which most centrally reflects the political tendencies of the aristocracy." (Li, 2012, pp. 103)

Western European aristocracy is rooted in the medieval feudal system, the feudal system and the Western Zhou dynasty feudal system are very similar, the difference is that the feudal system of the Western Zhou dynasty and the patriarchal clan system are closely combined and not an explicitly clear contract between the king and ministers. However, to some extent, the contractual relationship still exists, which is manifested in the principle of "equality of rights and responsibilities" between the king and the minister, that is, "the meaning of the king and the minister" (Li, 1999, pp. 251). The feudal system of Western Europe is a typical "contract feudal system" in both form and essence. (Feng, 2007, pp. 164)

One of the characteristics of the feudal system was the "decentralization of power". "feudal" originally means "decentralization", that is, the decentralization of power, while the decentralization of power means the inevitable confrontation and checks and balances between power. Tocqueville says that history clearly shows that "the aristocracy collectively guarantees individual freedom against the central regime". Therefore, he believed that it was difficult to avoid autocracy in a society without an aristocracy. This is quite evident in the contrast between the feudal and centralized times in both China and the West. (Tocqueville, 1856, pp. 3)

This "contractual feudalism" in the West is reflected in a quite strict contractual relationship between kings and ministers. It is characterized by that although monarchs and ministers are in different levels, they have mutual rights and obligations, and the imperial power at the peak of power is not absolute. For example, one description of this contractual relationship is "my minister's minister is not my minister and the king of my king is not my king", which means that "I" (monarch) and "my vassal" (my subject) are contractual, so there are rights and obligations between each other; but "I" (monarch) and "the vassal of my vassal" have no such contract, so there is no rights and obligations between each other. (Feng, 2007, pp. 164) Therefore, although the status of the monarch is high, it must not directly rule over its "vassal" to govern its "vassal", otherwise, it is a violation of their direct subordinate right; the feudal aristocracy "monarchy" to the territory, the people is in the form of private rights, the territory is the private property of the aristocracy, ruling "vassal vassal", this is also the "vassal" private right (private right), and the monarch must respect the right of the vassal.

If either party refuses to perform or assume its own responsibilities, or even violates the other party's rights, then the contractual relationship is destroyed. In the event that the vassal has fulfilled his obligations under the contract, the monarch should respect the rights and freedoms of the vassal, and shall not infringe on the vassal's sovereignty over the territory. In turn, if the monarch unilaterally demands more obligations, then the contractual relationship between the monarch and the ministers is destroyed, and then the monarch is illegal. The British Magna Carta was signed because of the king's violation of such an agreement.

In 1199, Richard I of England died, following his younger brother, John. John lost his war with the French king, Philippe II Auguste, and greatly increased his taxes in England to win his victory with France, which aroused the resistance of the nobles who had independent territories and the army, who united against John, and the king was defeated. The first Magna Carta was signed in 1215, under aristocratic coercion.

However, in the later centuries, the Magna Carta did not receive enough attention. It was not until the 17th century, when Edward Kirk, then the Lord justice of England, reviewed this ancient document, reinterpreted it as the earliest origin of the British constitution, and became the legal basis of the British constitutional system. The main content of this Magna Carta was to protect the rights of the nobles and the church from the king, the freedom of the free people and the nobles, the autonomy of the city, and no arrest or punishment without a legal trial. The most important of these is the issue of taxation. The Magna Carta stipulates that the king must pass the consent of the noble parliament. In recent years, many Chinese scholars have tried to discuss the process of British constitutionalism from the perspective of taxation.

They believe that in the development of constitutionalism in Britain, the competition between the king and the parliament is a focus, which is precise because the king has no right to unilaterally raise the tax rate without the approval of the parliament. Therefore, the monarchy was restricted, which led to it, namely, the beginning of "the king is under the law" (where the true meaning of constitutionalism lies). This is undoubtedly a very important historical fact, which is crucial to understanding the formation of the British constitutional system. But why did the idea that no tax is allowed without taxpayer consent emerge in Europe? (Tocqueville, 1856) This idea was not even accepted only in Britain, but generally accepted throughout Western Europe in the middle ages. Why? In fact, the root of the problem is the medieval feudal system of western Europe. After the "norman conquest" in the mid-11th century, the feudal system of Western Europe was introduced to Britain. According to the contract between the nobles and the king, in every war, the king's vassal provided military assistance for the king, mainly providing knights to help the king, for the king served 40 days a year, and the aristocracy provides a number of knights is not arbitrary, but according to the aristocracy owned land area, if the aristocracy cannot provide enough according to the provisions of the contract knight, can be insufficient knight into money to the king, this is called the "shield money". (Shi, 2001, pp. 23)

The king could use the money to hire an equal number of knights for war, which was the early "tax". Of course, it was not the only such feudal tax, but also other taxes, such as "Danish gold" can be said to be the original national tax, but the number and collection times of national tax were very limited, not regular taxes, so undoubtedly before the emergence of chattel tax and tariff, the feudal tax was the most important tax at that time. In this regard, since the contract between the king and the aristocracy begins, the ratio of the number of knights provided by the

aristocrat to the king and the land is certain, so the "shield money" is certain, and its "tax rate" is specific. The king must observe the contract and have no right to change the number of knights arbitrarily, that is, the king has no right to raise the "shield money" unilaterally.

This was the original source of what was called "the king's tax must be agreed upon by the parliament". In fact, the Magna Charta is because king John arbitrarily increase the number of "shield money" and times, which is against the contract between the king and the aristocracy, the king of this kind of behavior constitutes the noble "private rights", belongs to illegal, thus causing the dissatisfaction of the aristocracy, the noble joint coercion John and signed. The French proverb "the rain may enter, but the king of England cannot enter", which is widely quoted in Chinese academic circles in recent years, actually also originated from this contractual feudalism in western Europe. (Feng, 2007, pp. 164)

In the feudal system, the monarch should respect the "rights" of the vassal to their territory. The feudal nobles initially presented their territory in the form of "right", not the public power. Therefore the monarch respected the rights of the subjects under their subjects, which actually respects the private power. The same logic extends to the lower level between nobles and civilians, so civilian huts although shabby, still belong to the civilian "territory", in the civilian of its feudal obligations, anyone including the king has no right to violate its rights to their "territory", in "my own territory", "I" is the master. As Vinogradov said, " although the Lord and the vassal are unequal, their rights and obligations are certain, and the lord cannot, by his position and power, easily require the vassal to perform duties other than the agreed or customary provisions. This is what John Mill calls "private domain freedom" which means that everyone is the king in his own private domain.

Moreover, talking about British conservatism has to say about the history of British political parties.

In the 18th and early 19th centuries, Great Britain, after the Glorious revolution, had entered into a modern democracy, or party politics. Some people call it a republic in the cloak of a monarch. There were two major political parties in British politics, the Whigs and the Tories. The Whigs were liberal, advocated change, and opposed the absolute monarchy of monarchy. The Tories adhered to tradition opposed change and supported the royal power. In contrast to the Whig Party, the Tories were known as a conservative party. The Whigs gradually evolved into the British Liberal Party, and the Tories were the forerunner of the current Conservative Party.

The Tories reflect the political attitudes of religious conservatives, the middle class, and some people with large amounts of social resources, and support the episcopal system, family ethics, and private property to ensure social order. By the beginning of the industrial revolution, the development of industry and technology would clearly undermine these mainly rural frameworks, and the emerging industrial elites were also seen as enemies of the social order. At this time, Sir Robert Peel attempted to integrate the new industrial class with the Tory traditional landlord class, and in 1846 he persuaded the landlords to support the revocation of the grain law. In his efforts, a new political group emerged, which tried to secure the traditional order while also accepting the concepts of laissez-faire and free trade. The integration of traditional landlords and industrialists finally led to a new conservative party.

Benjamin Disraeli gave the new party a political ideology. In his youth, he was influenced by the Romantic movement and the popular medieval retro trend of the time and developed a set of criticisms of industrialism. The solution he proposes is to return to an ideal, cooperative society, in which everyone must take responsibility for others or groups. This concept of unity remains one of the most important traditions in British politics. This also inspired the social reforms undertaken by many subsequent conservative governments. The conservative government, led by Disraeli, recognized the right of the labor class to vote. His conservative government has argued that many political ideas and values of labor rights can also be traditional conservative, and this is also the mainstream faction of the Conservative Party today.

The alliance between liberals and conservatives in the World War I, coupled with the rise of Labour Party, accelerated the collapse of the Liberals in the 1920s. After World War II, the conservatives actually accepted many socialist policies pursued by labour, particularly accepting and perfecting the NHS. This concession was actually intended to regain power, but in large part because the concept of central nationalization restored the social economy, which became a cross-political party consensus at the time, mainly influenced by Keynesianism. By the 1980s, however, under Margaret Thatcher, the Conservatives returned to classical liberal economic ideas and pursued neoliberalism, privatized a large number of state-owned enterprises. Under Thatcher's leadership was the golden period of the Conservatives, which ended from 18 consecutive years until 1997.

2.3 Basic principles of Western conservatism

Central to conservatism is an organic theory of human nature and society. (Quinton, 2017, pp. 288) From the ideological point of view held by conservatives, it can be said that there are many schools, and it is difficult to find a rigorous and systematic theoretical system. But in these different schools of thought, we can also roughly grasp that some principles of conservatism. One of the problems with the term conservatism is that it evokes wildly different things in different cultures. (Xu, 2022, pp. 3)

In The Fukuzawa opinion, conservatism designates “a conservation of what exists, a preservation of ancient things and a wish for a carefree and stable present. (Fukuzawa & Isshin, 1879, pp. 108-116)

As mentioned above, in essence, Western conservatism does not have a clear logical system from its ideological content and even makes people feel very confused. The different views of conservatism even conflict with each other and lack the appearance of rigorous consistency. For example, British and American conservatism tends to classical liberalism and rule of law tradition in ideological content, while German conservatism has obvious romantic feelings and nationalist passion. American conservatives generally tend to watch small government, while French conservatism means centralization. (Zhu, 2004) Even in the same cultural context, different conservatives can be very different or even conflicting. Oakeshott, also an English-speaking culture circle, advocates secularization. (Oakeshott, 1991) While Dawson Christopher advocates the role of religion. (Dawson, 2001) And among the conservative thinkers in the German-speaking world, Von Mises bears little resemblance to Schmidt's ideas. In addition, conservatism also shows its own characteristics in different fields. For example, cultural conservatives often disapprove of economic freedom, while political conservatives generally believe in the free market.

The reason for this seemingly chaotic situation is that conservatism itself does not actually have a clear ideological content, it is just a moderate attitude, especially a very respectful attitude towards tradition. Therefore, rooted in different cultural traditions or from different perspectives of the tradition, different conceptual tendencies will arise. For example, in Britain and America, rooted in the classical liberal tradition, its conservatism shows the ideological content of the rule of law, small government, and culturally inclined to the Christian tradition. In France, the centuries-old centralization tradition tends to strengthen government power. This complex manifestation is because conservatism does not have its inherent specific

ideological content, and the ideological tendency it presents actually stems from the different times, different national traditions, and different political and social problems encountered by specific conservatives.

The fact is clearer if the empiricism characteristics of conservatism look from the history of the development of conservatism.

From the perspective of the evolution of the ideological content held by the conservatives, the early conservatism tended to maintain the royal power, maintain the hierarchy, and oppose liberalism, such as Maistre et al. And with the process of history and social change, conservatism is also constantly developing. Conservatives no longer oppose liberalism as early, but gradually turned to liberal ideological content and political ideas, no longer think classical liberalism is rational misuse, instead combine conservatism and liberalism, and even many later moderate conservatives, itself is liberal thinkers, such as Benjamin Constant, Tocqueville, etc. (Xu, 2022, pp. 3)

After world war II, with the popularization of postwar welfare economics, most Western countries are establishing welfare systems, at the same time with the rise of socialist thoughts and movements, conservatism began to face new challenges, then conservatives not only no longer opposed liberalism, but on the contrary, classical liberal thought has almost become conservative universally agree and firmly maintain the new "traditional", that is to say, conservatives have gradually to the direction that they originally opposed.

For example, Mises and Hayek stick to the political and economic thought of classical liberalism, emphasize the role of the individual and free market, oppose the Keynesianism of state intervention, oppose high welfare, and advocate the welfare minimization principle; politically, they oppose the emerging socialist ideological trend, oppose the neoliberalism of "result equality", and stick to the tradition of "freedom" of the West. (Nash, 1945, pp. 446-455) And American conservative economist, founder of the school of money Milton Friedman, advocated limited and scattered government power, minimized the role and role of the government, provide space for the operation of the free market, refused the government power human intervention in the market, he believes that only in this way can effectively maintain political and social freedom. (Zhu, 2004) (Overtveldt, 2007)

We can see that as Western conservatism spreads to different regions and ethnic groups, the political and cultural ideas of conservatives are quite different, their ideas are changing, and even in the direction that their predecessors oppose. The fundamental reason is that this kind of

conservatism similar to the Confucian "Golden Means" thought actually does not have an unchanging ideological connotation, but a thinking method of "dual use", a conservative traditional attitude, as Confucius said, "there is nothing"

In addition, the empirical thought of Western conservatism also considers the problem of "rationality".

Conservatism was deeply influenced by British empirical epistemology, especially Hume's skepticism, and Hume was even regarded as a pioneer of "rational" conservatism. David Hume is sometimes regarded as a conservative, he was a skeptic about reasoning concerning ends as opposed to means. (Hamilton, 2019) Empiricism believes that human knowledge of objects can only come from empirical observation and irrational reasoning, so the reasoning is not omnipotent. No rational panacea is necessarily able to solve social problems, As Huntington rightfully points out, conservatism as a political and philosophical movement is highly skeptical of any universal panacea. (Xu, 2022, pp. 10) Therefore, political conservatism also plays a cautious role in reason, believing that the political role of historical experience is much higher than that of human reason, and respect for tradition is the real rational attitude.

Therefore, conservatives believe that there should not be too much optimism and confidence in human rationality. People are only rational animals themselves, and human rationality is not reliable, so we must respect order and tradition, and it must not be easily destroyed. So, the artificial rational design of the political system, has always been opposed by the conservatism of gas from such epistemology, conservatism against fierce social change, against the radical violent revolution, advocate conformity, thinking only based on the traditional, slow change will not cause social disaster, and out of rational human thorough change will only lead to the collapse of society.

Out of respect for tradition, so culturally, conservatives generally demand to adhere to the Western traditional and Christian faith, and Christianity provides almost all the mainstream ideological sources of conservatism. In particular, the Christian concept of "original sin" provides a theoretical basis for the conservative theory of human nature. Unlike liberal, optimistic views of human nature, conservatives have a more realistic understanding of it. And conservatives often believe that this human nature is extremely stable and difficult to change through education and exhortation, the evil in human nature is inevitable and unchangeable, that is, "original sin", so the good in human nature must be assumed first, evil, human reason is not perfect, even " any artificial effort to turn the world into heaven is offensive to the dignity of God." (Xu, 2022, pp.

288)

Because of this, conservatives in the national political system design and specific operation, often from the mixed and beach to change human nature, tend to strive for the reasonable legal system to limit the evil of human nature, the bad effects of human nature to the minimum, and more through the strictly political system to play the good side. Therefore, conservatives rely more heavily on the role of the political system and regarding "people" as an unstable and unreliable factor. So this introduces the second important characteristic of conservatism: advocating for order supremacy, elitism, and hierarchy.

Early conservatives in Britain were often proponents of the hierarchy, precisely because it was an ancient feudal tradition in Western European countries. Edmund Burke was a staunch supporter of the feudal hierarchy, and Burke believed that the atrocities of the French revolution were that the French had a wrong understanding of "equality". Burke believes that anyone has an equal personality, equal rights, and equal status before God, but this does not mean that people must have an equal identity and an equal property income in their social life. He said:

"The consistent policy of our Constitution, from Magna Carta to The Declaration of Rights, is to affirm, our freedom is a legacy from our ancestors, and it is going to pass on to our descendants. Our Constitution, with this each way maintains unity; We have a hereditary throne, hereditary aristocracy, have from long ancestral series, there were the Commons and the people who inherited the privileges, citizenship, and freedom." (Burke, 1987, pp. 109-121)

This is because burke adheres to a conservative attitude, so special respect for historical experience and tradition, but for tradition, from "choose it's good and from it, the poor and change the" point of view, burke adheres to this seems not to superior tradition, or because he saw the good side in the hierarchy. Cecil, a famous British scholar, and a Conservative political theorist, even believed that "the difference between rank and status is practical and necessary," he thought this was the basis of European civilization "gentleman spirit". (Cecil, 1986, pp. 30)

Cecil's view is not unreasonable, because modern European society in Europe was actually born in medieval feudal times, today from the European gentleman spirit, and civic consciousness, in fact, from the ancient aristocratic spirit. But in fact, conservatives don't value hierarchy just from tradition. Burke believed that society is an organism, an organic combination of all levels. Kings, nobles, and authority should be respected by people, and these natural leaders will also bring order to society, thus ensuring the rights and freedoms of ordinary people. Therefore, from the conservative perspective, although there is a hierarchical inequality between

civilians and nobles, there is a complete possibility of a "win-win" on both sides. (Burke, 1987, pp. 123)

Therefore, in general, even on the issue of "freedom", conservatives often take the order as their premise, and freedom under order is freedom, freedom without order will only be chaos, and order is the prerequisite and realization basis of freedom. Elite and authority are indispensable to maintaining the social order. They may not be able to lead a society in a better direction, but without them, it will cause disasters, and society may fall into a disorder. In other words, without the traditional norms and the participation of elites, then the bad side of human nature is highly likely to be overrun by the lack of practical constraints.

However, the role of authority and the elite is not infinite, because although the aristocracy and elite have received a good education, they are still human after all, so they inevitably have the "original sin". Therefore, the power of the aristocracy and elite must also be limited, so that they can stop at the individual freedom and rights of "authority that does not exist for liberty is not authority but force." (Acton, 1988)

Conservatives are firm guardians of private ownership of property. Conservatives are even more determined about the private property than liberals. Without property rights, human life and freedom cannot be guaranteed, so the private property is even the basis of life and freedom. Property rights are more important than the right to life because people and animals enjoy life like animals and plants, but only people have property rights. Animals and plants do not have property rights, so "property rights" distinguish people from other animals and plants.

In addition, conservatives for property rights also has realistic consideration, because with stable property, radical may endanger their property rights of revolution and social unrest must be vigilant, it will have a positive effect on social stability, so "from 'conservatism' to oppose the revolutionary movement in 1789, maintaining property system has been one of its main purposes"

To sum up, we will look for many common features of Western conservatism. Indeed, in the West, many scholars have made lists of the key principles of conservatism and there is wide agreement on what these are. Russell Kirk, developed six canons of conservatism: a belief in a transcendent order, an affection for the variety and mystery of human existence, a conviction in the hierarchy and social orders, a persuasion that freedom and property are closely linked, faith in customs and conventions, and a recognition that change must be tied to social preservation and tradition. (Kirk, 2001, pp. 8-9)

3. Overview of Confucianism

Every political thought is inseparable from its rooted and budding social reality, and Confucianism is no exception, especially the Confucian political thought is inseparable from the social background at that time. Therefore, first of all, it is necessary to briefly explain the political situation and social structure of the "feudal" era when Confucianism was born, clarify the connotation of the "feudal system" in the political system in Chinese history, as well as the integration of clan and politics at that time, and find out the historical origin of Confucianism and Western conservatism. In addition, it also briefly introduces what Confucianism is, and what is the main content of Confucianism, which lays the foundation for the next chapter to focus on analyzing the characteristics of conservatism of Confucianism.

3.1 The historical background and source of Confucianism

During China's Zhou dynasty, Confucianism arose. The Zhou dynasty was also split into two parts: Western Zhou and Eastern Zhou. The Eastern Zhou Period was divided into two sections in China: the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period. Confucianism arose during the Zhou dynasty, which had a feudal political system and a clan-based social structure. First and foremost, we must examine Western Zhou dynasty Chinese feudalism.

Karl Marx used the term feudalism in his analysis of society's economic and political development in the 19th century, arguing that he described feudalism as the order before capitalism. For Marx, what defined feudalism was the power of the ruling class (the aristocracy) in their control of arable land, leading to a class society based upon the exploitation of the peasants who farm these lands, typically under serfdom and principally by means of labor, produce and money rents. (Daileader, 2001) Therefore, Marx defined feudalism mainly according to the economic characteristics of feudalism.

But from the perspective of pure political structure, the original meaning of Feudalism refers to the political system established in the early Western Zhou dynasty in dividing the state land among the vassal states. (Feng, 2007, pp. 164) Western scholars have a similar view. In Bloch's opinion, Feudalism includes not only the obligations of the warrior nobility but the obligations of all three estates of the realm: the nobility, the clergy, and those who lived off their

labor, most directly the peasantry which was bound by a system of manorialism; this order is often referred to as a "feudal society". (Bloch, 1961) In Francois Louis Ganshof's opinion, feudalism describes a set of reciprocal legal and military obligations among the warrior nobility and revolved around the three key concepts of lords, vassals, and fiefs. (Ganshof, 1944)

There are some differences in the feudal system of different times. The feudal system established in the early Western Zhou dynasty is a typical feudal form in Chinese history, and the emergence of Confucianism is rooted in the historical background of politics, economy, and society.

In the early Zhou dynasty, with the conquest of the "big state state" by the "small state state", a large area of land was newly conquered by the royal family of the Western Zhou dynasty. The duke of Zhou was officially established as the highest monarch of the world vassals, and its feudal system was gradually improved. The feudalization at the beginning of the Zhou dynasty was not completed once, among which duke of Zhou had the largest feudal, the most significant number of feudal and the most mature and complete system, so "the real feudal era began with duke of Zhou." (Liang, 1996, pp. 49) And it really deserves it. The duke of Zhou also became a sage highly respected by Confucius. It can be said that the Without the duke of Zhou there would have been no culture of music and ritual passed onward. Without the duke of Zhou, there would have been no historical origin of Confucianism. (Yang, 1992, pp. 136)

The Zhou royal family divided the vassal states, and the capital was called the "state state" within the vassal states and the Zhou state directly under the king of Zhou.

The feudal system of the early Western Zhou dynasty has been quite mature. Only the duke of Zhou could directly separate the vassals, but the vassals had no right to separate the vassals of other states. When conferring on the princes, the emperor must hold a ceremony at the ancestral temple, distribute the land to the princes, confer on the people, and give the vassal states the name of the state. (Analects, n.d.)

This political form of the "state" was somewhat similar to the Western medieval era, where before the Lord could grant someone land, he must make that person a vassal. This was done in a formal and symbolic ceremony, called the recognition ceremony, which consisted of two parts, including a tribute and an oath of allegiance. During their loyalty, the Lord and the vassal made a contract, in which the vassal promised to fight for the Lord under his orders, while the Lord agreed to protect the vassal from foreign forces. However, it should be pointed out that this is only a superficial similarity, the specific situation is not the same. The feudalism of the

Western middle ages is a kind of contract characteristic, while the feudalism of ancient China is "the isomorphism of clan organization and political rights", which I will elaborate on in the following article.

duke of Zhou As the son of Heaven, only the son of Heaven can lead the whole country, have the right to separate the vassal; and the vassal in their country can also separate their own land again to their ministers to become titles (small states). At the beginning of the Western Zhou dynasty, duke had only the power of finance and taxation but no independent political power. However, with the development of the period, he gradually controlled the sovereignty of the small states, and even maintained a certain army, forming a de facto independent or semi-independent "home". This was a common phenomenon in the late Spring and Autumn periods of Confucius life.

In this way, we will build such an "Emperor--King Minister(duck)--Vassal" political structure. (Feng, 2007, pp. 164)

duke of Zhou Is the nominal joint monarch of the vassal, with the sovereignty of the whole "world", the vassal as its vassal, must respect the duke of Zhou as the monarch, obey the duke of Zhou's order, and regular tribute, when duke of Zhou launched the war, the vassal obligation to provide military assistance; similar, the vassal in its home is the king, has the sovereignty of the sovereign, the vassal as its vassal, must respect the vassal as the monarch, obey its order. This feudal system of feudalism and loyalty formed the basic pattern of social politics in the Western Zhou dynasty.

3.2 The feudal politics and clan structure of the Western Zhou dynasty

Different from the Western feudal system in the middle ages, the Western feudal system was the feudal contract, (Ma, 1992, pp. 57-69) while the feudal system of the Western Zhou dynasty in China was a kind of "patriarchal feudalism".

Although the aristocrats in Western feudal times often exist in the form of families, their contract characteristics are more prominent. China's feudal system is different. A characteristic of the Zhou feudal system was that the extended family and the political structure were identical. (Britannica, n.d .) In other words, the isomorphism of clan organization and political rights. (Chen, 2017, pp. 26)

These became pronounced characteristics of Shang and Zhou societies. This unity of

political and ancestral identity, or reliance of political identity on ancestral identity, developed a political tradition in which familial order was merged with state order. (Chen, 2017, pp. 26)

From such a political background, China's feudal order's inner spirit has similarities and differences compared with that of the West.

Clans with the background of clan tribes were prevalent in China before the Zhou dynasty. From the Western Zhou to the Spring and Autumn period, ancient Chinese society was basically a clan society. (Chen, 2017, pp. 26) Clan was the basic unit of Chinese society at that time. Through blood relationships, it formed a network of relationships from trunk to branch, from close to sparse, and from close to far.

With the destruction of King Wu and the rebellion of the Shang dynasty and the duck of Zhou, the Zhou Empire conquered many tribes, and the national territory was greatly expanded. For these newly conquered lands, the duck of Zhou a large number of feudal vassals, in order to defend the royal family. Except for a few meritorious officials, most of the feudal vassals were relatives or relatives of the Zhou royal family, mainly by blood, with the duck of the Zhou clan as the main work, forming a complex and interwoven multi-layer clan social structure. In this way, the Zhou royal family pushed the clan structure which originally belonged only to itself into the political structure of the world.

Therefore, the formation of the political pattern of the Zhou system is actually the expansion and politicization of the "clan structure", while the lower classes still retain their own clan traditions, with different customs in different regions, but the general structure is similar. In this hierarchical relationship from the son of heaven to the princes, from the princes to the ministers, and from the ministers to the people, each level is actually both a "political relationship" and a "clan relationship". Therefore "king" and "relatives" are actually the same person. "Close" is the "king" within the family or clan, and "king" is the "close" of the whole country. The "isomorphism of clan organization and political rights" characteristics of the Western Zhou dynasty.

3.3 *Brief introduction to Confucianism*

In fact, as we all know, the Confucian school has many ideas, including political relations, human relations, moral concepts, religious and philosophical thoughts, and so on. In addition, the

Confucian school also has many thinkers, including Confucius, Mencius, Xunzi, Zhuxi, and so on. These famous thinkers of each era constantly promote Confucianism to adapt to the changes of each era in China and make corresponding changes. This is also the values of Chinese philosophy represented by Confucianism, namely. Confucianism thinks that everything in the entire world, from the most minor things to the biggest, exists in constant generation and transformation, a never-ending flow of change and continuous motion. The entire world, especially the natural world, is seen as an eternal flow and cyclical movement. Therefore, the philosophical cosmology of China stresses the generative nature of the universe. (Chen, 2017, pp. 13) Moreover, it has an important influence on China's political system and social system and even can be said to shape China's political system and social system, which is also an important reason why Chinese and Western political values are different. Therefore, it is difficult to completely elaborate on Confucianism through just a few paragraphs.

However, no matter how the era developed, no matter how Confucianism change with the change of time, the fundamental logic of Confucian political philosophy is constant, similar to the aforementioned Western conservatism, although many conservative schools, they have certain common ,but of course, the Confucian schools of thought is more obvious. Therefore, this sector mainly briefly describes the basic political thoughts of Confucianism and the main thoughts and values of Confucius, the founder of the Confucianism. After having a preliminary understanding of Confucianism, it lays a relevant foundation for the conservative characteristics of Confucianism in the following chapters.

Confucius was born noble. duck of Zhou Dan's descendants, grew up under the influence of Zhou culture, understand the traditional thought and system of the Zhou dynasty, and inherit and develop the traditional thought of the Zhou dynasty and ritual system, advocated "benevolence" and "ritual" rule, finally realize the ideal of "Datong".

"Rites" refers to the Rites of Zhou (周礼), the Zhou dynasty's rules and ethics. The Rites of Zhou primarily divide people's identities and social norms, eventually forming a hierarchical system. The duck of Zhou established a set of specific and operational rites and music systems, which included food, daily life, sacrifice, funerals, and other aspects of social life, subtly regulating people's behavior. It was a system in which the aristocracy divided state power based on blood relations in order to establish hereditary rule. The Xia dynasty established this system, which was developed in the Shang dynasty and completed in the Zhou dynasty. Although China's modern political system is completely different from Confucius' political system, the patriarchal

system's influence has lasted for more than 3,000 years.

The Confucian "ritual (礼)" is actually the feudal political order at that time; the Golden Mean is the political means and method. The "*Jen* (仁)" advocated by Confucianism is actually derived from the ethical rules within the clan, and then this idea is promoted at the political level.

Confucian philosophy holds that the universe has a basic order, and there is a natural harmony between man, nature, and the universe. It also argues that man is essentially a social existence and that the natural order of the universe should be reflected in interpersonal relationships. The family unit is considered the primary social unit; relationships within the family are fundamental to all other relationships, including three of the "five relationships" used as all other relationship models: sovereign subjects; husband and wife; parent-child relationship; elder brother-younger brother; friend-friend. In this hierarchy of social relations, each role has a clearly defined responsibility; reciprocity or mutual responsibility between superiors and subordinates is the foundation of the Confucian concept of interpersonal relationships. The virtues of filial piety, or children's loyalty to their parents, are the foundation of all others. When extended to all humans, it cultivates the highest virtue, benevolence, or a sense of connection with others.

In Chinese history, advocates of various Confucianism thought that the government was a monarchy. The ruler is understood as being both the son of heaven and the father of the people, ruling under the notion of "heaven". Traditional thinkers who reflect on the problems of government are mainly concerned not about changing the system and laws, but about ensuring the moral integrity of the ruler and encouraging his image as a father. The county magistrate, the lowest level of the main office of the government, is also the closest to the people, known as the "parents officer". Even today, under a very different form of government, China still calls the country "country" or "national family", indicating the continuation of this concept of a father-son relationship.

The concept of the role of the state as a guarantor of the people's welfare developed very early on along with the monarchy and the bureaucratic state. Confucianism believes that a good government can bring about order, peace, and a good society. And the ability to create conditions to promote their well-being. The notion of "heaven" is understood as the justification of dominance.

In addition, the mainstream of Confucianism emphasizes the importance of human

perfection. Confucius expressed his belief in the basic similarity of all people and the perfection and education of each person. Mencius and Xunzi, his two outstanding successors, had different views on human nature. Mencius believed that human nature contains the seeds of goodness, while Xunzi believed that in an uncivilized state, human nature tends to be evil. However, they all believe that humans can become perfect through the practice of self-cultivation and ritual. Since the 11th century, the Neo-Confucian philosophers who were engaged in the renewal and elaboration of Confucianism agreed with the Mencius line, emphasizing the potential goodness of human nature and the importance of developing this goodness through education.

I believe that the goodness and perfection of human nature have had a profound impact on the development of China's political system. The main function of the ruler in the Confucian state was to educate and reform the people. This was ideally done not by legal provision and coercion, but by personal rule, moral example, and by mediation in disputes between the emperor and his officials. The Confucian political theory emphasizes the resolution of conflicts through mediation, rather than by applying abstract rules to establish right and wrong to achieve social harmony.

Chinese many institutions reflect the belief that the state is a defender of the morality of the people. The most important of these is the meritocracy bureaucracy, or civil service, in which all officials are chosen based on their moral qualities, which not only allow them to govern but also set honest examples that change people. Because Confucianism is a moral system, future officials must be familiar with the Confucian classics. Status is defined by official positions and examination degrees, rather than wealth or business acumen.

4. The conservative dimension of the Chinese Confucian political tradition

Confucianism has the obvious characteristics of conservatism in the Western sense. This chapter mainly analyzes the characteristics of the Western conservatism of Confucianism in specific political thought. Combined with the contents of the first two chapters, I analyze this chapter about Confucian conservatism and Western conservatism share three fundamental principles by emphasizing hierarchical and social order (based on social hierarchical morality), formalism (implying respect for strict political ritual and traditional institutions), and empiricism (respect for the facts and reality, accumulation of wisdom grounded in the past experiences).

4.1. The Confucianism of hierarchical order

Confucian philosophy emphasizes hierarchy and social order. This is distinctly conservative in the Western sense, and it is even more significant in the specific political proposition. Conservatism can be seen in the identification of the aristocracy, the promotion of the social class, the value of the name, and the respect for the rules.

"Hierarchy" is a key feature of feudal politics. Not only is "hierarchy" an inherent requirement of feudal politics, but it also provides an essential social order for the time. Confucius, as the spiritual spokesman of China's feudal system, emphasized the "rites," which are also the strict feudal hierarchy. Confucian social hierarchy is derived from the moral concept of hierarchical order advocated by Confucianism.

4.1.1 The Confucian political ethics and morality

It is recorded in the Analects of Confucius that duck of Ye once came to visit Confucius and talked about what they thought is the moral "integrity" of a gentleman. duck of Ye first said, "there is an individual in his country who testifies that his father stole sheep, and is a model of an upright man, Confucius refuted duck of Ye that in the theft of sheep, father and son hide from each other is integrity." (Analects, n.d.)

The duck of Ye believes that a father to steal a sheep and his son prove his father's theft; his son is righteous. but Confucius does not think so. Confucius believes that fathers and sons are the closest of all, and that it is against human nature for fathers and sons to expose each other, and that it is only when fathers and sons hide for each other that they are obedient to human nature and therefore righteous. Why did Confucius think so? I think, this is because Confucius emphasized "family concept of community", and "community" is the starting point of Confucius' theory. The father and son conceal each other does not mean that the son should recognize the father's theft as legitimate, but that the father has done something wrong and should not morally require the son to inform the police. As a son, he can completely conceal this matter for his father, which is a Confucian proposition. Some of the more extreme legalist school (法家) do the opposite. They thought that if his father did a bad thing, and if his son did not complain, he would be evil. For example, in Shang Yang's (商鞅) reform in the state of Qin, there was a system of

collective punishment. (Yu & Sievers, 2022)

Compared with Confucius, Shang Yang's requirements were too strict, requiring close relatives and friends to expose their crimes and accusations, so that everyone can be exempted from collective punishment. This Confucian respect for the affection between family members is recognized even in the rigorous modern Chinese laws, such as article 188 of the current criminal procedure law of the People's Republic of China (2017): *"If a witness is notified by the people's court not to testify in court without justifiable reasons, the people's court may force him to appear in court, except for the spouse, parents and children of the defendant."*

However, the Confucianism moral thought of a family community of interests does not mean that people's value judgment must be based on the interests of the family community. In other words, it is not that the father stole something, but the son thinks that "stealing" is right out of his own family interests or family considerations, but just says that people can choose to shut up when actually facing this situation. However, the value of judgment in the heart has nothing to do with it.

The Confucian political hierarchy and social order ethics are based on this "clan concept of community."

From the perspective of origin, most of the Confucian political ethics come from the moral customs within the clan. However, due to the close combination of the feudal system and the clan, the ethics of the clan community and the political ethics often overlap, and the ethics within the clan is often used as political ethics. The ethical core of Confucius is "Jen", "Jen" is the ethical rules within the clan community, and *Jen* also includes "love", but Confucian love is not "love everyone", but different love, which does not reflect the difference of love, it cannot be called "Jen".

To reflect the difference in love, the first thing is "*Bie Qin Shu* (别亲疏). This means the distinction between the distance of the blood relationship. It means that according to the blood relationship with oneself, the degree of love will be different. Love should reflect the difference between near to far.

Each family and its members form the closest and the most basic family community. Greater than the family is the clan community constructed by different families through blood relationships. Many small clan communities constitute a large clan community, and so on until constitute the country.

Therefore, because a person is located in multiple communities at different levels at one

time, people have different roles within these different communities. In the family, he is a father and son, a brother, in the clan, he is a "blood relative", and in the national politics, he is a "monarch and minister and son". Only through "the difference between blood relationship", can determine the boundaries of the community, people can recognize each person respectively in which community, how their position in the community, what kind of role, and only in this way can we know yourself in these different classes of community should take responsibility, should get what kind of rights.

If a person assumes the responsibilities that should not be borne by him, then it is likely to covet the additional rights, and these rights should not belong to him, and if the responsibility does not get the corresponding benefits, then resentment is inevitable. Therefore, in essence, "*Bie Qin Shu*" , it is to clarify one's own position and the position of others, so as to clarify the responsibilities and rights that each person should bear, so that the relationship between people can be determined.

The logic of Confucius here is very clear, and determining the hierarchy through "*Bie Qin Shu*" is the cause of the Confucian concept of hierarchy.

Although in political status, everyone cannot cross the class, because it is decided at birth. But the aristocracy as a whole is not closed. The original meaning of "gentleman" is to have the territory of the aristocracy, is the Zhou dynasty to the aristocracy. (Wu, 1998, pp. 31) Confucius, on the other hand, endowed the "gentleman" with new connotations, changing from the original concept of specialized political identity to the concept that mainly defined its connotation by morality. In other words, the term "a gentleman" is no longer just the title of the aristocracy, and as long as anyone has the moral quality of being a "gentleman" (君子), then he is a "gentleman". In Confucius here, the "gentleman" is no longer a closed group, and there is no insurmountable gap between the "common people" and the "gentleman".

It should be noted that this does not mean to say that the "common people" became a "gentleman" because of his noble morality and then had the political geography and territorial power of the aristocracy. The "common people" in political status is still the common people. But in terms of personality and moral quality, the common people with noble moral quality is just like a "gentleman". This "gentleman" will play a role no less than the society in the cohesion and order of political aristocracy. This is just as Burke distinguishes "natural aristocracy" from "real aristocracy gentilhomme", and Confucius's "gentleman" with moral qualities is Burke's "natural aristocracy". (Burke, 1813) "There is a natural aristocracy based on virtue and talent". (Jefferson,

1813) In the comparison between the Confucian "gentleman" and the gentleman in English, we suddenly find that they are the same both in terms of meaning and in the historical process of the evolution of their meaning:

Many centuries since, the meaning of the word "gentleman" changed in England, and the word "roturier" ceased to exist; When Molière wrote Tartuffe in 1664, it would have been impossible to give a literal English version of the line, "Et tel que l'on le voit, il est bon gentilhomme." (Jefferson, 1813)

Language can be made to throw farther light on the science of history. As distinctions of classes became less marked in England, its signification widened. Century after century, it was applied to lower and lower classes in the social scale. The English at last bore it with them to America, where it was indiscriminately applied to all classes. Its history is, in fact, that of democracy. (Tocqueville, 1856, pp. 123)

English, gentleman, this word comes from the French, gentilhomme, and eventually in English but no longer have a noble meaning, completely become another meaning. Tocqueville Believe that this change is not accidental, but the expression of social reality in the language, behind the evolution of this word meaning, is actually the evolution of social reality. British aristocracy as said by Confucius, the hierarchy can not be crossed by the illegitimate way .But the British aristocracy is not self closed, they interact with common people is very frequent, even can intermarry with common people, the aristocratic moral quality at the same time, common people born and good talent can also through education and among the upper society, respect by the noble, "moral character" eventually replace "political identity" became the biggest characteristics of the British noble gentleman.

Therefore, the political meaning of gentleman has been gradually diluted. Even if the ordinary people have a noble character, they can be called gentleman, so the word has gradually evolved into what it means today. Almost the same thing happened to the Confucian word "gentleman". Therefore, as Mencius said, everyone can become Yao (尧) and Shun (舜) known as feudal. (Mencius, n.d.) It refers to the moral possibility that everyone can reach the moral height of Yao and Shun, not that everyone can become a emperor like Yao and Shun.

4.1.2 The feudal political relationship embodied in the Confucian "ritual" thought

Confucius believed that the Spring and Autumn Period in which he lived was an era when

the feudal order was destroyed. brutal events emerged one after another, and the tragedy of "the son killed his father, and the minister murdered the monarch" continued repeated. In the Spring and Autumn Period written by Confucius, the events of 36 ministers killing their monarchs were recorded. At that time, many people did not criticize these actions that clearly violated the traditional the Rites of Zhou (周礼).

Therefore, Confucius hoped that his time could restore the Rites of Zhou, so he proposed to "overcome the self and return to propriety is Goodness." (Analects, n.d.) The fundamental principle is to allow the various political strata to restrain their own desires, and not to base their own happiness on the pain of the common people. On a deeper level, Confucius hoped to restore the social order through "rites", so as to adjust various social contradictions, and finally form a stable and harmonious society.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, this hierarchy is in Confucianism, which required to reply to the the Rites of Zhou and return to the feudal system of the Western Zhou dynasty, that is, duck of Zhou was the highest feudal Lord, duck of Zhou divided the vassal, and the vassal divided the vassal. Under this system, the legitimacy of the vassal's rule came from the son of Heaven, while the legitimacy of the ministers' rule over the territory came from the vassal, so the status of the monarch and the ministers was fixed. On the other hand, the relationship between the king and the minister was not like that of the imperial era after the Qin dynasty in China. In the imperial era, the king had absolute power over his subjects without absolute responsibility; in the political structure of Confucius era, the minister needed to fulfill his obligations to the monarch, and the king had to bear certain responsibility to his subjects.

The feudal hierarchy in the middle ages emphasized this "contract" relationship between vassals and lords:" under the feudal contract, the lord had the duty to provide the fief for his vassal, to protect him, and to do him justice in his court. In exchange, the lord had the right to demand the fief's services (military, judicial, and administrative) as well as the right to various "incomes" incidents. Examples of incidents are relief, a tax paid when a fief was transferred to an heir or alienated by the vassal, and scutage, a tax paid in lieu of military service. ” (Britannica, n.d .)

Therefore, the vassal is subordinate to the Lord and performs the obligations is not absolute.

“These obligations are interdependent: the vassal obedience has the condition that the Lord conscientiously performs the obligations under the contract, a vassal is as loyal to his lord

as his duty to a vassal.” (Bloch, 1961)

The Western contract feudal system is such. In fact, the political relationship of "ritual" advocated by Confucianism is also a reflection of the contract concept to some extent. That is to say, the feudal hierarchy advocated by Confucianism, although there is no clear concept of "contract" in the Western sense, but it also has a clear principle of "equality of power and responsibility". This concept is mainly embodied in what Confucius said, "righteousness (义) between the monarch and his ministers". The essence of this "righteousness" is the relationship of "equality of power and responsibility" between the king and the minister.

Another statement made by Confucius proves what I think.

Duck of Ding asked how a ruler should employ his ministers and how a minister should serve his ruler. Confucius replied, saying: “the prince employs his ministers with propriety; the ministers serve their prince with good faith.” (Analects, n.d.)

Here, Confucius explained the basic principles of correctly handling the relationship between the king and the minister. He believed that all the king and the subjects should follow the rites, the monarch should treat the subjects with "ritual", and the subjects should treat the monarch with "loyalty", so as to gain mutual trust. Since the monarch is the supreme and occupies a certain active position, he should first set an example in ritual, so that the weak subjects can be inspired and act according to ritual. The rights and responsibilities of both sides are equal. On this basis, the subjects obey the orders of the monarch.

As a result, under the feudal hierarchy advocated by Confucianism, the relationship between the king and the ministers is not absolute monarchy, but an equal relationship with certain responsibilities and obligations. As a result, it is more important to require the monarch and ministers in rights and obligations, in addition to requiring everyone to obey their own social hierarchy and recognize their own status rather than "equality" in status. The monarch should fulfill his role as a monarch and assume the responsibilities that come with the job; at the same time, the minister should do his job and fulfill his responsibilities as a minister. There is no absolute power or obedience to the king over his subjects. Mencius was even more radical, he said:

When the prince regards his ministers as his hands and feet, his ministers regard their prince as their belly and heart; when he regards them as his dogs and horses, they regard him as another man; when he regards them as the ground or as grass, they regard him as a robber and an enemy. (Mencius, n.d.)

It can be seen that in Mencius' opinion, the monarch does not have a prominent personality to his subjects; on the contrary, he believed that the king and the minister are equal in personality, and the monarch obeys the "ritual", so the minister will be loyal to the monarch. If the monarch violates the ritual, the relationship between the king and the minister will be naturally relieved.

Finally, it should be pointed out that, as mentioned above. However, the patriarchal system of the Western Zhou dynasty was obvious. The contract characteristics of China were not as significant as that of the West, it cannot be said that it did not contain the characteristics of a contract, or the characteristics of a contract were only in a secondary position.

According to the ancient Chinese literature *Zuo Zhuan*(1999), during the Spring and Autumn Periods, the king of Qi had a secret with the wife of Cui Zhu (崔杼), a minister of the State of Qi. When Cui Zhu knew this, he wanted to send his subjects to kill the king of Qi, and there was "righteousness between the monarch and his ministers" between duke Zhuang of Qi and his minister Cui Zhu, Cui Zhu should have obeyed the king of Qi's orders. But he is now ill. We know it was just an excuse, of course, because his wife had a secret with the king of Qi, so he looked for a chance to kill the king of Qi. And he refused to obey the king of Qi's orders. The king of Qi and the subjects of Cui Zhu, however, did not have a contract, and there was no "righteousness between the ruler and his ministers" between the parties. There was a contractual "righteousness between the monarch and his ministers" relationship between Cui Zhu's ministers and Cui Zhu, so they only listened to Cui Zhu and Cui Zhu's ministers "did not know the orders of others." As a result, strictly speaking, Cui Zhu's subjects were not the "ministers" of the king of Qi, and the king of Qi was not their "king." This is a copy of the contractual feudal system in China that states "my minister's minister is not my minister and the king of my king is not my king." (Feng, 2007)

In the Analects of Confucius, wrote an story that is "Zi Gong asked politics". Zi Gong asked Confucius how to govern the country. Confucius said: "first, to prepare enough food, second, to improve the military, and third, to gain the trust of the people." Zi Gong asked, " if you want to remove one item, which one of the three items should be removed first?" Confucius said, " get rid of your arms." Zi Gong asked again, " if you have to remove one item, which one should be removed first?" Confucius said, "get rid of enough food. Since ancient times, everyone will die, but without the trust of the people, they can not have a foothold."

Confucius first believed in the role of "trustworthiness", and rather lies in that the

aristocracy advocated "trustworthiness". The aristocracy advocated "trustworthiness" is the embodiment of the "contract" relationship between kings and ministers in the feudal system, and "trustworthiness" is the essential requirement of "contract". Although the feudal system of China in the pre-Qin period was different from that in the West, the internal requirements of the political structure of the feudal system were inseparable from the spirit of the contract. Therefore, as the representative of the feudal system culture, Confucianism attached great importance to the quality of "trustworthiness".

4.1.3 The significance of the hierarchical order

In modern times, with the introduction of various progressive thoughts in the West, Chinese society was deeply influenced by the concept of "equality" of enlightenment thinkers, just as Rousseau said "Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains." (Rousseau, 1828, pp. 66)

"Equality" requires that the hierarchy be broken, because it means inequality in people, especially in origin... different classes are unequal at birth. Therefore, from the perspective of the concept of "equality", the hierarchy is barbaric and evil and must be broken. But it should be said that the actual hierarchy is not entirely without merit.

Early conservatives in Britain tended to be supporters of the hierarchy. Edmund Burke is a strong supporter of the feudal hierarchy, Burke believed that the reason for atrocities during the French revolution was that the French had a wrong understanding of "equality". Burke believes that everyone has similar personality, equal rights, and equal status before god, but this does not mean that people must have an equal identity and equal property income in their social life. He said:

You will observe, that from the Magna Carta to the Declaration of Right, it has been the uniform policy of our constitution to claim and assert our liberties, as an entailed inheritance derived to us from our forefathers, and to be transmitted to our posterity; as an estate specially belonging to the people of this kingdom without any reference whatever to any other more general or prior right. (Burke, 1987, pp. 109-121)

This is almost certainly due to Burke's conservative stance, which respects historical experience and tradition, as will be explained in detail later. For tradition, from the perspective of "choose the good and follow them, and the bad and change them." (Analects, n.d.)

Burke adheres to this seemingly less superior tradition, or because he sees a good side of

the hierarchy. A famous British scholar, also a conservative political theorist Hugh Cecil, even believes that "the difference between rank and status is practical and necessary". (Cecil,2001) He regarded this as the basis of the "gentlemanly spirit" of European civilization. This view is not unreasonable, because modern European society actually comes from medieval feudal times, today comes from the European gentleman spirit, chivalry, and civic consciousness, in fact, comes from the ancient noble spirit. But in fact, the conservatives value hierarchy not only from the perspective of respect for tradition, Burke thinks that society is an organism, is the organic combination of all levels, king, noble, but authority should also be respected by people, and these natural leaders will bring social order, to ensure the rights and freedom of ordinary people. Therefore, from the perspective of conservative thinking, although there is class inequality between the common people and the aristocracy, there is a possibility of a "win-win" on both sides.

In fact, among the four famous schools in Chinese history: Confucianism, Mohism, Taoism, and Legalism, although they have different angles, they actually face the same problem, that is, in the face of social disorder, how should people get rid of the social crisis and rebuild the order.

Legalism is to completely abandon the ancient traditional order. Through the autocracy of the monarch, use power and violence to provide rigid order for the society. But Confucius wants to return to the feudal hierarchy, is the identity of everyone in the feudal hierarchy, position, the rank of nobility. This "Name" derived from the certainty of the hierarchical order will make people content with their identity without unthinking, people in the "bottom" will not covet the "top", for the position of every man is born well decided, instead of what you can change unilaterally through your own efforts, For example, "the difference between the eldest son and other legitimate sons", "the difference between the nobility and a commoner" and so on, in this way to distinguish the human social hierarchy, thus forming a social order.

Today's society often maintains the basic rules for the operation of a society through the law, and the public power of the modern state is responsible for the operation of the law, so as to provide a stable order for the society. In the Confucian era, there was no such powerful and efficient state power as it is found in today. From another point of view, the economic level and technical ability of the society at that time were not enough to support a strong and efficient state power.

However, the Confucian feudal hierarchy could provide such a basic social order without

requiring the society to bear the high cost, which was very precious to the ancient society. Because a stable order is the basic requirement and necessary condition for the existence of the society, and even the premise for the lowest ordinary people to live a stable life.

4.2 The formalism of the Confucian "Formal Name"

Confucius has a famous "Formal Name" thought. Confucius famously says in Analects 13.3 that the first thing to do in conducting state affairs is to "rectify names" — or "correct terms." He said:

"The name is not correct, then spoken words do not ring true" (Analects, n.d.)

Confucius attached great importance to "Name", that is, the identity, status, and title of each person in the feudal hierarchy. Confucius said "Formal Name", fundamentally required the legitimacy and legitimacy of the form.

This is also the Confucian emphasis on "the notion of heaven" (天命). The notion of heaven is considered to be the will of the people, understood as the demands of the people, and came to be seen as the ultimate source of all political legitimacy. This focus on the will of the people tremendously influenced the "the notion of heaven" in the Western Zhou period, which led the will of the people to become the principal connotation of "the notion of heaven" in Western Zhou thought. The qualities of the spirit of Chinese culture formed by "Name" culture were the source and foundation from which later Confucian thought was produced. (Chen, 2017)

Confucius said, "unrighteous and rich and expensive, like a cloud in me." Not getting something by proper means is as meaningless as floating clouds. Influenced by the influence of the Rites of Zhou (周礼), Confucius had high requirements for formal legitimacy. He believed that people's way of life should be "justified" in form from the micro level of human beings. From the macro level of the state, whether it is military war, political system, or various laws, we should also respect the form's legitimacy.

Early British conservatives, such as Burke and Hegel, were deeply influenced by the British common law, and even some of them were lawyers or judges. One characteristic of the British common law was the extreme worship of form and procedural legitimacy, that is, the principle of "formal justice". In Britain, "formal justice" has been deeply rooted in the people for thousands of years, from the bottom civilians to the king, aristocrats, generally believe in the

legitimacy of form. For example, property that is not obtained by legitimate means is not legitimate, so even the property of the civilian class is regarded as sacrosanct, and the noble class can not seize the legitimate property of the civilian class; similarly, the throne obtained by political illegitimate means is not legitimate, and the transfer of state power should conform to the procedural legitimacy.

Therefore, the change of political power in Britain is less violent. For example, Glorious revolution is a typical bloodless revolution, and Confucius' thought of a "Formal Name" happened to be a China version of "formal justice".

4.2.1 "Formal Name"

Confucius called "Formal Name", first of all, focus on "Name". "Name" also involves the "form", such as in social activities, the form is manifested in various "rituals"; in political activities, the form is manifested in political ceremony, that is, "etiquette". (Manyul, 2008) Therefore the Confucianism values the rites very much, saying that "three hundred kinds of ritual, three thousand pieces of music" . In the pre-Qin period, "Confucianism" was a profession specialized in hosting various ceremonies. There are two Chinese characters of the "Confucianism" word, ru (儒)and jia (家), so this occupation is the first character of the Confucian Chinese word .And Confucius may also have ever done this profession in his early years. (Peking University, 2003)

Therefore, Confucianism attaches great importance to the role of ritual. The book of rites records all kinds of ceremonies at that time, including crowns, weddings, funerals, sacrifices, and other ceremonies, which almost cover all kinds of important nodes in the whole life process of a person from life to death, and make detailed provisions on the types of various ceremonies, participants, and ritual procedures.

In the theory of ritualism, the concept of "holiness" is the basis of the achievement of ritual. If without holiness, it loses its meaning, it can not even produce or exist. Durkheim Believe that if ritual does not have a certain degree of sanctity, it cannot exist." (Durkheim, 2001, pp. 358)

In turn, solemn rituals will also increase the sense of sacredness in related activities to a considerable extent. Especially in ancient society, rituals not only made people gain a sense of holiness in rituals, but also provided a sacred basis for people's behaviors in daily life.

The traditional Chinese wedding ceremony also includes the worship of heaven and earth,

ancestors, so that both sides of the marriage and the audience can experience the sanctity of marriage. By contrast, the Western wedding ceremony is frequently held in the Christian church, giving marriage a sense of holiness beyond daily life. Again, like the ancients, contracts and agreements are frequently followed by some sort of ritual, such as song blood for alliance, to god, etc. These rituals also provide contracts and agreements with sacred means and give people a sense of responsibility for performing contracts not only for their own interests but also for god. Therefore, this sense of sacredness derived from ritual plays a positive role in the performance of the contract, the healthy continuation of marriage, and so on, making people voluntarily perform the contract, reduce the risk, and reduce the cost of performing the contract.

From the perspective of behavioral psychology, people's psychology will affect people's behavior, and in turn, people's behavior will also have an impact on people's psychological state. The dignified daily behavior will give people a "legitimate" psychological implication, and strengthen people's psychological identification of "legitimate, justice". Therefore, it is unreasonable that the "Rites of Zhou" has detailed regulations on all aspects of the daily life of the nobles, such as the size of the palace, the height, the size of the carriage, the number of horses, even the size of honor, and the number of Kabuki, which are different with the different grades of the nobility. Similarly, the reason why the preparation family advocates "ritual and music", from the practical level, is also to see the role of "music" for the achievement of "ritual" system, because the music of "harmony" will also promote people to have a "sense of order", and beautiful music plays a positive role in cultivating and maintaining people's noble morality.

So from this point of view, Confucius said, "if the seat is not straight, a gentleman should straighten it before sitting down". (Analects, n.d.) It was not because he was eccentric or stuffy, but really because Confucius wanted to ritualize and sanctify these various trivial things in his daily life, which in turn strengthened people's recognition of the formal "legitimacy". Especially in the "life" of the Zhou era, the monarch is neat, in various ceremony also need to wear appropriate in daily life, elegant manners, these will not only affect the monarch himself heart, will also affect the bystander a vassal and subjects , is advantageous to the subjects of the recognition of the legitimacy and legitimacy of the monarch.

4.2.2 Rule first

Confucius believed that proper rules should be followed in all aspects of life, including

politics, military operations, and warfare.

There is a mention of war rites in the Rites of Zhou. It also specifies the conditions under which a war can be declared. A war conducted in accordance with the "rules" can be morally justified. Concerning the norms of specific behavior in war, Confucianism believes that, first and foremost, the nobles in the enemy army should be saluted according to their status.

This shows that even in the war, the aristocracy had to keep the "ritual". For example, in the battle to be a dignified battle. The enemy did not complete the array, the formation is not allowed to attack, more can not use fraud.

The Spring and Autumn period of China has such a story.

The state of Song and the state of Chu fought in the Hong River. The army of Chu was completed, and the Chu army was still busy crossing the river. But the king of Song refused to attack the army of Chu who was crossing the river. Led to the defeat of the Song army.

The above story shows that although the king of Song was pedantic, in the Confucian view, his actions really follow the Rites of Zhou and paid attention to the rules.

In addition, for the defeated enemy, Confucianism believes that the fleeing enemy should not take more than 100 steps, the wounded enemy who loses his combat effectiveness should not be hurt again, and the old man with white hair should not be captured. These "highly civilized" rules of the war are actually the embodiment of the consciousness of "rules are the first" in the feudal hierarchical society at that time. From this perspective, we can see the high degree of respect for the rules in that era.

The Wat Tyler's Rebellion (or Great Rising) in the 14th century, after the invasion of London, but they did not kill the king, appoint the leader of the rebel army as the king or establish a new kingdom; instead negotiated with the king to sign an agreement with the king to abolish serfdom and allow free trade. (Johnson, 2022)

Another peasant uprising in Germany was also negotiated with the authorities to formulate the famous "Memmingen The Twelve Articles". (Bak, 1976, pp. 65-94) Although these peasant uprisings were later unfortunately suppressed by the rulers by various means, in the event, we noticed that these rebel armies did not overthrow the rule of the old dynasty and establish the new dynasty, and the leader of the peasant army acted as the emperor of the new dynasty. They did not do so, but merely negotiated with the king or the nobles, and after the agreement had met their demands, the rebels dispersed. What was the reason?

In fact, this is closely related to the political ethics of the feudal system. On the one hand,

as mentioned above, in the feudal system, clear level, everyone was born with a fixed "title", people cannot change their origins through illegal violence, and everyone can only settle their own status, status, so even if the peasant uprising victory, from civilian rebel leader, cannot as noble or king, he still only belongs to the civilian class. That is to say, in the feudal society, the political rule paid more attention to legitimacy and legitimacy, rather than only built on the basis of violent conquest. On the other hand, the feudal system has a strong contract color, especially in the feudal system of Western Europe, which Mr.Feng Tianyu called the "contract feudal system". (Feng, 2007)

The relationship between the king and the minister can be considered as a contractual relationship. In the ceremony of enfeoffment, the vassal takes the oath of loyalty to the monarch, and the monarch promises the protection of the vassal. The fundamental reason why the contract is effective and can last for hundreds or even thousands of years lies in "faith". Under the influence of the feudal system of Western Europe, people are in the hearts of the people, so people believe that the oath, the contract signed is legal and effective, so they are more willing to sign an agreement with the king or the aristocracy through negotiation.

The significance of a society's attention to rules is very significant. From the perspective of utilitarianism, the spirit of integrity can reduce the cost of contract fulfillment, and the concept of "rules first" can also reduce the risks and costs of social operation. For example, the "military salute" in the war mentioned above requires that no violence against the defeated party, on the one hand, can reduce unnecessary losses for the defeated country, and on the other hand, can avoid the two sides of the war from becoming enemies, which is highly beneficial to both sides.

4.3 The Confucian empiricism

In modern Western epistemology, "empiricism" and "rationalism" are two opposing viewpoints. Rationalism holds that real knowledge must be produced by reason, and that experience can only provide a superficial understanding of how the world appears; empiricism holds that the ultimate way to acquire empirical knowledge about the world can only be through human senses (experience), and that reason cannot produce such knowledge.

Of course, empiricism does not completely deny rationality. For example, for analytical

pure mathematical problems, empiricism admits that they are the products of rationality. The difference between empiricism and rationalism is mainly in comprehensive and acquired empirical knowledge. Therefore, if the observed phenomenon does not match the results of rational reasoning, the rationalist will think that the superficial surface phenomenon is wrong. In contrast, the empiricist will think that human reason is not reliable, and the phenomenon is not wrong.

From the epistemological perspective, Western conservatives often hold the empirical point of view, hold a deep vigilance against human rationality, and oppose rationalism. Because humans are imperfect and so are incapable of comprehending society through a pure rationalist and ideological perspective. (Kekes, 1998, pp. 44) They also apply this epistemological thought to the political field, believing that human reason is limited. They believe that limited human reason is not enough to design a perfect political system out of thin air and that the grand utopia created by reason will often bring serious disasters, which is the road to serfdom. (Hayek, 1997) Therefore, it is wise: to treat the various problems of the society with a cautious attitude, and to gradually change and optimize the society in a step by step way, rather than completely overturn the existing everything.

The Confucian "Respecting ancestors" and "the Golden Mean way" are a kind of empirical thoughts. They refuse to construct the political theory on the basis of the "innate" concept, reject the empty political theory within the scope of pure theory, but find the correct way to govern the country from the experience and practice of the wise people in history.

4.3.1 The “Golden Mean”

Western Golden Mean thought as early as the ancient Greek era, also known as the middle way, mainly proposed by Aristotle. Aristotle, if not precisely conservative, was certainly of a conservative temperament. (Quinton, 2017, pp. 289) In ancient China, the Golden Mean originated from Confucianism, especially from Confucius. Confucius the Golden Mean said is not the secular understanding of the wavering, no bottom line of concession, but has its own firm principle, it is a kind of neither "humble" nor "loud", neither without passing nor even, both to pursue, and can not take the extreme attitude and method.

The "Golden Mean" has two characters in Chinese, namely Zhong (中) and Yong (庸). "Zhong", in Chinese, means middle or impartiality. The original meaning of the word "Yong", in

Chinese, is expressed as the method used". This also determines that the Confucian "Golden Mean" is a kind of impartiality, pragmatic principle, and attitude towards life. (Analects, n.d.)

Until the Song and Ming dynasties in China (the 10th-17th centuries), most Chinese Confucian scholars held a similar view, with different schools having different views, but roughly so. As the Cheng Yi (程颐) believes that: "not left, not right is in the middle"

As can be seen, Cheng Yi's Golden Mean is very similar to Confucius' explanation. Zhu Xi, another Confucian thinker in the Song dynasty, had slightly different views on "the Golden Mean", but the differences were mainly focused on the subtle differences in his understanding of "Yong", " the Golden Mean, impartial, without exception, and the ordinary reason.

Confucianism attaches great importance to the "Golden Mean" and regards the "Golden Mean" as a basic way of thinking and the highest embodiment of virtue. Therefore, what is the ideological connotation of "the Golden Mean"? In their daily life, many Chinese people understand the "Golden Mean" as a speculative, or an unprincipled compromise, which is a serious misunderstanding.

Leaving aside the Confucian political or ethical ideas, in terms of content, Confucianism believes that the Golden Mean itself does not have a very clear specific political idea and moral concept, but is just an unbiased, peaceful and not extreme attitude, namely "holding the two and using the middle impartial" (Book of Rites, n.d.) mode of thinking.

Confucius has already clearly expressed this thought. "holding the two and using the middle impartial" also means to grasp the two opposing concepts at the same time, not with an extreme tendency to either side, but based on the two, with the intention of space to illustrate the attitude of not making an obvious tendentious choice. Even if one party's idea seems excellent or extremely correct, it should not show a serious extreme bias.

The "Golden Mean" seems very strange since clearly knowing that a certain point of view may be extremely correct, why should not be too inclined to it, what is the reason for this? This is because Confucianism keeps vigilance to human reason in political practice, and has profound insights into the deficiencies and limitations of rationality. The Analects records this view of Confucius:

"Do I possess knowledge? No, I do not possess it. Yet if even simple men come to ask a question of me, I clear my mind completely and thoroughly investigate the matter from one end to the other." (Analects, n.d.)

Confucius this paragraph is more clear, that is, a clear recognition of people in reason. We

believe that whether a point of view is good or bad, in fact, comes from our own judgment as the subject of cognition, and these judgments must be closely related to our actual rational ability, our cognitive ability, our empirical experience, and even our status. Therefore, "I" think that a very correct concept, in fact, may not be so good, so correct. Therefore, Confucius first stressed, "I am ignorant".

Ignorance is an inherent state of man, as is the Christian "original sin"; and thus does not become paranoid because of his rational and cognitive deficiencies. The most valuable thing is such a reflective perception of oneself. At the same time, because the Golden Mean is only a method of thinking, or a kind of "attitude" without a clear idea, it is "empty".the Golden Mean The way is to admit your "ignorance" and not presuppose any "direction", because any "direction" can be "prejudice". It is because Confucius realized his "ignorance" and adopted the attitude of the Golden Mean, not preset specific "truth". So in the face of two opposing or contradictory ideas, we can "hold the two and using the middle impartial"

In the west, the "Golden Mean" thought from the era of ancient Greece, and Confucius almost contemporary Aristotle is very praised the "middle way". He said ethics is the middle, and how is the middle way. For why promoting "middle", he explained: "there are three kinds of diathesis, two is evil, one is excessive, the other is less, one is the middle. In this way, the three are opposed to each other, and the opposition between the two extremes is the biggest opposition because the distance between the two ends is farther than the distance between the middle. (Ober, 2010)

Aristotle's argument for why "the middle way" is preferable is presented here, along with the Confucian adage of "holding the two and using the middle impartially." It's almost the same thought process. Aristotle is comparable to Confucianism in that he is explained figuratively with the intention of space. It is clear that Aristotle's "middle way" means "holding the two and using the middle impartially."

Since ancient times, this ancient thought has been carried forward by conservative insists. Although various schools of Western conservatism are very different, they basically hold a vigilant attitude toward human reason, believing that the role of historical experience is far higher than that of human reason, and respecting tradition is the true rational attitude. This conservative attitude is also related to the Western "middle way." concept derived from Aristotle, who is cautious about the extreme judgment made by reason. Second, conservatism emphasizes the term "Hold the middle". If individualism starts from the individual and emphasizes the individual

above the state, while nationalism holds that the state is the cornerstone of the protection of individual interests without the state, the state is higher than the individual. Conservatism, on the other hand, views this issue with a "moderate" attitude, opposing both individualism and nationalism, but recognizing both individual rights and the necessity of the state and the collective. Such a way of thinking is undoubtedly a kind of "middle way. "

As mentioned above, in essence, Western conservatism does not have a clear logical system in terms of its ideological content, and it even makes people feel perplexed and organized. The different views of conservatism even conflict with each other and lack the appearance of rigorous and consistent.

In ideological content, British and American conservatism, for example, tend to classical liberalism and the rule of law tradition, whereas German conservatism has obvious romanticism and nationalist passion. Conservatives in the United States tend to favor limited government. Conservatism in France means centralization. Even within the same cultural context, conservatives' perspectives can be very different or contradictory. While Oakeshott advocates secularization in English culture, Christopher Henry Dawson advocates the role of religion. Furthermore, cultural conservatives, for example, frequently oppose economic freedom, whereas political conservatives generally support the free market.

The problem is exacerbated by the history of conservative development. From the standpoint of the evolution of conservative ideological content, early conservatism tended to maintain royal power, maintain hierarchy, and oppose liberalism, as Maistre et al. And as history, social change, and conservatism develop, conservatives are no longer as early opposed to liberalism, but gradually turned to agree with the ideological content of liberalism and political ideas, no longer believe classical liberalism is rational misuse, instead combine conservatism and liberalism, even many later moderate conservatives, such as Benjamin Constant, Tocqueville, and others.

After world war II, with the popularity of welfare post-war economics ideas, most Western countries are establishing welfare systems, at the same time with the rise of the socialist trend and movement, conservatives began to face new challenges, then conservatives instead no longer against liberalism, on the contrary, classical liberal thought has almost become a conservative generally agree and firmly maintain the new "traditional", that is, conservative has gradually to the direction that they had opposed. For example, Ludwig Mises and Hayek, representatives of the Austrian school, adhere to the political and economic ideas of classical

liberalism, emphasize the role of individuals and the free market, oppose the Keynesianism of state intervention, oppose high welfare, advocate welfare minimization principle; in politics, they oppose the emerging socialist trend, oppose the neo-liberalism of "the equality of results", and adhere to the Western tradition of "freedom". Another conservative economist in the United States, Friedman, the founder of the monetary school, advocated limited and decentralized government power, minimized the role and role of the government, provided space for the operation of the free market, and refused the human intervention of government power in the market. He believed that only in this way can political and social freedom be effectively maintained.

The complex expression of conservatism is because it does not have its inherent specific ideological content, and the ideological tendency it presents originates from the traditions of different countries rooted in specific conservatives. Therefore, when analyzing this characteristic of Western conservatism, we can clearly feel a "Golden Mean" characteristic that is very familiar to the Chinese people. Therefore, in cognition, conservatism itself is a kind of empiricism. In addition, we can see the spread of Western conservatism to different regions, ethnic groups, the conservative political and cultural ideas, and as times move forward, the conservative ideas are changing, even in the direction that their predecessors oppose. The root cause is that this conservatism similar to the Confucian "Golden Mean" actually does not have its internal ideological connotation, but is only a "holding the two and using the middle impartial" thinking method, a conservative and traditional attitude.

4.3.2 The principle of "respecting ancestors"

Why do "respecting ancestors" matter? According to Confucianism, when offering sacrifices to heaven, the ancestors and heaven are sacrificed together. Because the Chinese people's ancestors were wise, the traditional rules established by them must be correct, and after they die, they can communicate with the Emperor of Heaven. As a result, Confucianism believes that when offering sacrifices to heaven, they also offer gifts to the ancestors, who are one of the gods of heaven.

Respect for ancestors is closely linked to religious tradition at the time. People in the Shang dynasty believed that the ancestral king of the Shang dynasty was second only to God in communicating his will. As a result, only the Shang dynasty's king could communicate with his

ancestors and gods through sacrifice, and thus the Shang dynasty's king became the only bridge between gods and people.

It can be seen that Confucius took the former emperor of sages as the object of his study, and inherited the way of sages. For the expression of his own political ideas, Confucius did not directly express his views, but by praising the way of the leading Kings of all dynasties. For example, he praised Yao, a legendary monarch in ancient China. Confucius had a concise summary of his practice of praising the sage kings and their clever political means:

“I am a transmitter, rather than an original thinker; I trust and enjoy the teachings of the ancients, in my heart I compare myself to old Peng.” (Analects, n.d.)

It can be seen how Confucius attached great importance to the summary and inheritance of the political experience of his predecessors. He believed that his theory was not derived from his own creation, but merely described the wisdom and experience of the ancients. After Confucius, his successor, Mencius, also inherited this thought of Confucius. Many modern scholars believe that Confucianism "restores ancient ways" and beautifies the ancient sages. (Fang, 2019) In fact, what Confucius advocated was not completely maintaining the old tradition without making changes.

Let a man who is ignorant be fond of using his own judgment; let a man without rank be fond of assuming a directing power to himself; let a man who is living in the present age go back to the ways of antiquity; -on the persons of all who act thus calamities will be sure to come" (The Book of Rites, n.d.)

That is to say, Confucius believed that to be born in the present day but to be bent on going back to the ancient times and to copy all the "traditional political methods", although the traditional political methods might be brilliant, would only lead to disaster and crisis for the country if the former political methods were used exclusively without making changes to suit the times. Confucius, therefore, did not advocate a rigid restoration of the past, but rather a respect for tradition and the acquisition of the true “Way” (道) from historical experience.

Zhu Xi, a famous Confucian master in the China Song dynasty, said: *“I like the ritual system of the Xia dynasty, and I cannot find sufficient proof in Qi, the descendant of the Xia. I studied the rites of the Yin dynasty and preserved some of the descendants of Song. I learned the ritual system of the Zhou dynasty, which is still universal now.” (Zhu, 1983)*

That is to say, "traditional" is not the older the better, because too old tradition is difficult to verify, unable to verify things is not reliable, Confucius follow the Rites of Zhou, because "the

Rites of Zhou" is not too old, in the era of Confucius has begun to ritual collapse music bad, but after all is still in use. From this point of view, Confucius respecting tradition is actually an empirical thinking path. And it also has the skeptic characteristics of David Hume.

The empirical epistemology tradition has a long history in the West, as early as in the ancient Greek era, Empedocles, and Aristotle is partial to empiricism; in modern times, empiricism is more brilliant, especially Britain has a profound tradition of empiricism, famous British empirical philosophers include David Hume, John Locke, etc.

From the epistemological perspective, Western conservatives often hold the empirical view, hold a deep vigilance against human reason, and oppose rationalism. They also apply this epistemological thought to the political field, believing that human rationality is limited. They believe that the limited rationality of human beings is not enough to design a perfect political system out of thin air and that the grand utopia created by reason will often bring serious disasters and is the road to serfdom. (Hayek, 1997)

Therefore, it is wise to treat the various problems of society with a cautious attitude and to gradually change and optimize society in a step-by-step way, rather than completely overturn the existing everything. British conservatives are deeply influenced by the philosophy of David Hume. Hume's skeptic empiricism has a profound discussion on the basic concepts in the field of reason such as causality and induction, denied the absolute inevitability of causality and induction, and strongly explained the limitation of human rationality. In Hume's view, the theoretical system based on the "prior" has no solid foundation, so the whole theoretical system of reasoning lacks the necessary evidence base.

If a political theory is based on perceptions based on 'blind faith', then the whole body of reasoning will lack a reliable basis. In the field of morality, Hume also refuses to acknowledge the role of reason, arguing that 'what is' is the essence of the question answered by rational cognition, while 'what ought to be' is the essence of what is involved in moral ethics. Hume argues, however, that a factual judgment such as "what is" cannot infer a contingent judgment such as "what ought to be", that is, reason can only know factual propositions, but cannot rigorously reason from "factual judgments" to "what ought to be". "Hume attributes moral judgments to human moral emotions, thus demonstrating the moral and ethical limitations of reason. (Wilson, 1989) Therefore, Hume overturned the theory of human rights and the thought of a social contract based on reason with a strong reason. He believed that the political system and order of society were not out of rational design, but the result of continuous adjustment and mutual adaptation between

human activities and the external environment.

Hume's political theory does not deduce the principles of political philosophy from a rational perspective but hopes to find the trajectory of social change from the history of human beings, based on the experience of human activities. Hume's view of political philosophy had a significant influence on later conservatism. "History", in the view of conservatives, is nothing more than the accumulation of human experience and the extension of experience in the time dimension, so it is also the touchstone of political theory. Therefore, "history" is significant to conservative political thoughts. They no longer resort to the theological conceptual framework of sutras but construct their "political science" in the occurrence and development of human history.

Similarly, Burke also opposes constructing the political theory from a purely theoretical level: *"the science of constructing a commonwealth, or renovating it, or reforming it, is, like every other experimental science, not to be taught a priori, nor is it a short experience that can instruct us in that practical science, because the real effects of moral causes are not always immediate. (Burke, 1998, pp. 80)*

The Confucian "Respecting ancestors" thought is precisely a kind of empirical thought. They refuse to construct the political theory based on the concept of "innate", and reject the empty political theory within the scope of pure theory, but find the right way to govern the country from the experience of the wise men in history. As Confucius said,

"I was not born with wisdom; I love the ancient teachings and have worked hard to attain to their level." (Analects, n.d.)

Confucius refused to place his political views on pure theory, and he did not want others to use pure theory to govern the country. Instead, he hoped that he, or a more experienced politician, would express his views and views with the help of the 242 years of the real historical experience of the Spring and Autumn Period and govern the country. This is similar to Western conservatism, conservatism advocates public affairs is best remitted to those with extensive direct political experience and not to theorists with their privately fabricated abstract systems. What is needed for successful political practice is skill or know-how. Even less welcome to conservatives than abstract principles, such as doctrines of universally applicable natural or human rights, are utopias, systematic proposals for comprehensive social transformation. (Quinton, 2017, pp. 286)

It can be said that this empirical approach of Confucius's train of thought showed his

conservative attitude. He did not want to use rationality to construct the political system, but took the historical experience and tradition as the foundation of the political way of this life, and integrated his political views into the account of the ancient sages. Undoubtedly, the Confucian concept of respecting the traditional Respecting ancestors has considerable significance to the stability of the society, which is reflected in the concrete political measures to follow the old system, just as Viscount Falkland said: where it is not necessary to change, it is essential not to change. (Macmillan, 1935, pp. 25)

4.3.3 How to reform

It can be seen that the above mainly expounds the characteristics of Western conservatism of Confucianism on the traditional view and empiricism and opposes the creation of a political system by reason, and the system cannot be a rootless tree. In addition, Confucianism is not an absolute inheritance of tradition, nor can it ever be changed. Therefore, according to Confucianism, how should it change? Is it an overnight change, or a gradual improvement based on tradition?

Such a sentence is recorded in the Analects of Confucius: *“the Shang dynasty based its propriety on that of the Yin, and what it added and subtracted is knowable. The Zhou dynasty has based its propriety on that of the Shang dynasty and what it added and subtracted is knowable. In this way, what continues from the Zhou dynasty, even if 100 generations hence, is knowable.”* (Analects, n.d.)

That is to say, the Rites of the Shang dynasty came from the Rites of the Xia dynasty, while the Rites of Zhou came from the Shang dynasty. However, in the process of inheritance, Rites has been "reformed". In other words, following the Rites of the previous dynasties and also reforming the Rites of the previous dynasties, is to take the essence and discard the dross. Confucius meant that, based on the actual situation of the current society, they abolish the parts of the old system that are no longer suitable for the present and supplement the new parts of the old system, and the process is gradual.

In addition, Confucius believes that the king of the Shang dynasty downfall is not because god does not bless, but because king Zhou does not listen to his advice, he through the adverse social consequences of radical change, perhaps the purpose of the reform is good, but the result of the reform is the people difficult to survive, thus leading to the people's resistance, so the

king of Shang dynasty perish, lead to the so-called "the notion of heaven" transfer, transferred to the Zhou dynasty.

Therefore although Confucianism emphasizes reform, it should not always be blindly rigid and conservative. But, the pace of reform should not be too fast, and the drastic reform is likely to cause social unrest and crisis. This idea also has the characteristics of conservatism. Conservatism does not reject change, but rejects radical change: For the conservative, if there is to change it should be gradual, with each step carefully considered, as though one were venturing on to ice. (Quinton, 2017, pp. 286)

In general, the established tradition is gradually formed in history, has withstood the test of time, and has become a part of society, so a reasonable part of the tradition should be inherited, and the traditional meaning also includes the outdated, do not conform to the current era of development, these content should be removed. However, even if the current situation is clearly unreasonable, the reform should not be rushed. Confucius believed that even if a wise monarch ruled the country, the country would not change overnight. Still, it took tens or hundreds of years to gradually eliminate the bad things in reality and realize benevolent governance, so we should proceed cautiously because social stability is the foundation of all politics. This is similar to Oakeshott's thought process.

In political activity...men sail a boundless and bottomless sea: there is neither harbour for shelter nor floor for anchorage, neither starting-place nor appointed destination. The enterprise is to keep afloat on an even keel... (Oakeshott, 1991)

Social stability is the most fundamental premise of all changes, and fierce reform, or even revolution to overthrow the regime, are frequently the direct causes of war and social disorder. In this sense, the Confucian conservative concept with rich political experience is a practical attitude for a society's upkeep, improvement, and development.

Conclusion

At the beginning of the study of the subject of this paper, I only vaguely noticed some similarities between Confucianism and Western conservatism. However, with the review of the relevant literature and the deepening of the understanding of Western conservatism and Confucianism, I have constantly found some essential links between the two.

My study comes to the conclusion that, despite arising from very different historical and

cultural contexts, Confucian conservatism and Western conservatism share three fundamental principles.

1. Confucius' "hierarchical" order, while contrary to modern values of "freedom and equality," is not without merit, and can even be described as a "reciprocity" principle in power and responsibility, rather than "equality" in results. At the same time, this hierarchical order can provide society with a fairly stable and effective order. Confucianism and Western conservatism share these principles. Western conservatism identifies with the aristocratic class, values social class and social status, and emphasizes adherence to laws and rules, all of which are characteristics of conservatism.

2. Confucius' concept of a "Formal Name" embodies the idea of "formal justice". Confucius places a high priority on "name". He considered "name" as a "formal" and therefore "Formal Name" is "formal justice". His emphasis on "form" is exactly what contemporary Chinese society needs, and the resulting awareness of "rules first" is also a crucial mentality for the formation of an ordered society in contemporary China. Confucianism and Western conservatism share these principles. Early British conservatives like Burke and Hegel were heavily influenced by British common law, and some of them were even lawyers or judges. The extreme worship of form and procedural legitimacy, or the principle of "formal justice," was a feature of British common law. In addition, from the common people to the monarch and the aristocracy, "formal justice" has had a long history in British, where it is widely believed to be legitimate. For instance, property not acquired legally was not legitimate, therefore even commoners' property was held in high regard and the nobility was forbidden from taking what was really theirs. The transfer of state authority was subject to procedural legitimacy, and a political throne not attained through legal means was not legitimate. As a result, the transition of political power in British was less violent.

3. The Confucian concepts of "Respecting ancestors" and the "Golden Mean" are examples of empirical thoughts. They refuse to construct political theory on the basis of the "innate" concept, reject empty political theory within the scope of pure theory, and seek the correct way to govern the country through the experience and practice of wise people throughout history. Western conservatives frequently take an empirical stance, are wary of human rationality, and oppose rationalism. Because humans are flawed, they are incapable of understanding society from a purely rationalist and ideological standpoint. They also apply this epistemological viewpoint to politics, believing that human reasoning is limited. They believe that limited human

reason is insufficient to create a perfect political system out of thin air, and that grand utopias created by reason frequently result in serious disaster. Furthermore, Confucianism believes that reform should be done gradually and that it is unwise to completely overturn all existing reform methods, which will cause social unrest. This Confucian concept parallels Western conservatism. Western conservatives argue that it is better to approach society's various problems with caution and gradually change and optimize the society in a step-by-step manner, rather than completely overturning everything.

In addition to the conclusions stated above, this paper compares the historical backgrounds of western conservatism and Confucianism.

The centuries in which they were born, a time distinguished by a rigorous yet free political order, had a tremendous influence on the development of Confucianism and conservative political thought. Conservatism reflects an aristocratic worldview that is identical to Confucianism and the Western feudal mindset that has existed since the middle ages. From this vantage point, the feudal spirit is embodied by both Confucianism and Western conservatism. But these two feudal systems are extremely dissimilar.

The feudal system of the Zhou dynasty, in which Confucianism flourished, was a type of "patriarchal feudalism," which combined feudal politics and clan structure; in contrast, Western conservatism, which emerged from Western medieval feudal politics, is a type of "Feudal Contract," with clear contractual characteristics. While political affiliation with clans was common in the middle ages in the West, it did not share Zhou China's "isomorphism of clan organization and political rights." Because conservatism continues the ancient and modern eras in the history of Western modern political thought, the historical context of the two schools of thought must be examined.

To sum up, the importance of identifying these common traits of the Chinese and Western conservatism goes well beyond the scholarly interest in intellectual history of humanity, because the West experiences a considerable conservative revival, while traditional Chinese conservatism continues to exercise a profound impact on the politics, culture and social norms of the Chinese society today, therefore one might argue that conservative principles might provide a conceptual bridge for political dialogue between Chinese and the West.

Finally, it should be noted that the research in this paper is not exhaustive, and many problems are not completely covered. When it comes to moral philosophy, for instance, this essay simply elaborates a Confucian morality that supports the feudal hierarchical structure; I haven't

examined other parts of moral philosophy or many other areas that share principles. This essay explores the similarities between the two philosophies and discusses Confucianism's conservatism in addition to examining Confucianism largely from the perspective of Western conservatism. The differences between Confucianism and Western conservatism have not, however, been thoroughly examined. If at all feasible, I also want to continue studying more about this subject in the future.

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