CHAPTER III
GUAN ZHONG AT THE COURT OF DUKE HUAN OF QI

1. The Purpose for "honouring the king and expelling the barbarians"

What does "to honour the king and expel the barbarians" mean? How does it relate to Guan Zhong's hegemonism?

We know that Guan Zhong followed the development of the situation in the Central Plain (Zhong Yuan 中原) with interest. The decline of the royal family brought about the scramble for spheres of influence among the power states. Because of the internal disorder and the disintegration of the Central Plain, the barbarians (Yì Dí 夷狄) took the initiative to commit aggression against the various states in the Central Plain. In this situation, as a patriot, Guan Zhong assumed as his personal responsibility and fought to stabilise the states. He knew that without the consolidation of the royal court of Zhou, all the states would not be united under one power. If the states within the Central Plain were able to unite to oppose the enemy, then there would be peace and harmony. So then, all the states must respond to the appeal to "honour the king" before they could "expel the barbarians".
Some scholars are of the opinion that Guan Zhong's appeal to the feudal lords to honour the king of Zhou and expel the barbarians was due to his deep respect for the culture and civilization of the Western Zhou. Western Zhou culture was more advanced than that of the barbarians. Of course we cannot say that his appeal to honour the king of Zhou and expel the barbarians was merely to preserve the status of Zhou civilization. Guan Zhong also intended to uphold the unity of the Central Plain, defend the states' sovereignty, safeguard the peoples' interests and vindicate national honour.

According to Confucius, "Through having Guan Zhong as his minister, Duke Huan became protector over the feudal lords. He united the world and reduced it to good order so that even today people enjoy his gift to them. Were it not for Guan Zhong we would now be wearing our hair loose and folding our clothes to the left (as the barbarians do)".  

Thus Guan Zhong was a dynamic and outstanding leader of his time. His efforts, whether in safeguarding the culture or in defending the nation from

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1 Sun Bin, op.cit., p.102.

being attacked, had truly achieved a certain effect. Therefore, his proposed policy of "honouring the king and expelling the barbarians" was in no way a stepping stone to fulfil a personal greed for power. The fact speaks for itself that he had implemented the various projects he had in mind. He was also not a racialistic chauvinist. The role that he played in Duke Huan's political stage was purely that of a patriotic political leader and also a capable minister who was determined to safeguard his country's culture and civilization.

As a political leader, how did Guan Zhong carry out his political ideology? In order to answer this question, we have to study the policies that he implemented while he was the administrator of Qi.

2. Strategies to strengthen the state of Qi and attain Hegemony

The fact that Duke Huan of Qi became the hegemon during the Spring and Autumn period was not an accidental phenomenon, it was due to Guan Zhong's contribution. The merits and achievements of Guan Zhong could be said to be shining through the ages. ³

³ "Duke Huan became protector of the feudal lords; he had united the feudal lords on many occasions and reduced the world to good order, this was Guan Zhong's strategy". See Biography of Guan Zhong in Shi ji, p.2131.
Guan Zhong was born during the time of drastic changes that took place in the Spring and Autumn period. He cherished lofty ideals and possessed both ability and political integrity. He had the opportunity to give his service to Duke Huan of Qi, who truly appreciated his ability and sagacity (in political and military affairs). After he became the prime minister at the court of Duke Huan, he worked energetically to administer the state well and provided the people with peace and security. He minted money and stored up wealth which made the country rich, and built up its military power. In this way, he laid the foundation for the attainment of hegemony. Besides, he also initiated the appeal "to honour the king of Zhou and expel the barbarians", defended the states against foreign aggression, and then stabilized the social order of the kingdom of Zhou, revived the country which was destroyed by their enemy and helped the dukes who was in hopeless situations.

The historical background and the political circumstances at that time had exerted a great influence upon Guan Zhong's thinking and ideals, which became his political ideology. Also, in order to counter the political problems of his age, he put forward some concrete schemes to solve these problems. These constituted his political proposition. As a political
ideologist and a statesman who held great authority, his ideology could be put into effect. His political thought was therefore no idle talk, as they contributed to the maintenance of social order.

What was the ideal state in Guan Zhong's mind? What were his strategies in building up a state?

Guan Zhong lived at the time when the Zhou Dynasty was weak and was encountering problems from the barbarians who tried to invade the state. Internally, the dukes were constantly rebelling against the authority of Zhou and fighting among themselves. As such, Guan Zhong yearned for the past greatness of Zhou for he greatly admired the culture of the Western Zhou.' In order to prevent China from falling into the hands of the barbarians, and also to maintain the culture of Zhou at its previously high level, so that the people could live peacefully and happily, and observe rites and morals, he was determined to help Qi to attain hegemony as a first step towards achieving national unity.

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' In "Xiaokuang Pian", Guan Zhong said: "Formerly our ancestors of Zhou, king Zhao 昭王 and king Mu 穆王, learned from king Wen 文王 and king Wu 武王 deeds of the remote past through the ages in order to establish their reputation". See GZJ, p. 386. According to this statement, Zhang Liyun 张柳云 held that: "Guan Zhong's heart yearned for Zhou and he admired the culture of the Western Zhou". See Zhang Liyun, "Guanzi zhengzhi xixiang zhi yanjiu" 管子政治思想之研究, in CCRM, vol. 2, no. 3, March 1969, p. 27.
Guan Zhong undertook various measures in order to achieve the above goal. Firstly his aim was to enrich the state and strengthen the military. His second aim was to unite the dukes. He thus created the slogan "honour the king and expel the barbarians". He also aimed at helping the weaker states build up their strength. These political ambitions formed his political ideology, and his spirit of nation-building was to maintain order in the nation and society. Therefore, he proposed four fundamental principles of reforms, namely, the establishment of administration, the regulation of laws, the appointment of the virtuous, and enrichment of the state of Qi.  

(a) Establishment of Administration

In establishing the administration, Guan Zhong emphasized the setting up of proper systems. Once the systems were set up, the officials and the people would have some guidelines to follow. They would not do as they pleased, and there would be peace and order in the nation.

(b) Setting Up of Regulations

In cases where errant officials or people did not follow the systems and thus threatened the security of the nation, Guan Zhong set up regulations to punish the

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5 GZJU, "Lizheng Pian" 立政篇, p. 55.
wrongdoer and reward the good. This served as a
deterrent to potential wrongdoers. He was even stricter
with regard to the implementation of rules and
regulations in the local systems and organizations, and
he demanded that all his orders should be obeyed.

(c) Appointment of the Virtuous

In appointing the man of ability, Guan Zhong based
his selection on four conditions, namely, the moral
conduct of a person, his achievements, his ability and
talents, and his sense of justice in conducting affairs.
Therefore, those who were not virtuous should not be
appointed, those whose achievements did not match the
salary should not be given salary, those whose talents
did not match the post should not be appointed as
officials, those who found the virtuous but refused to
vacate their office and those who avoided punishing
their relatives and influential officials should not be
appointed as leaders of the military, nor given the
right to judge.

(d) Enriching the State

Guan Zhong clearly understood that "only when the
granaries were full would the state know honour and
shame, only when there were enough food and clothing
would the people know rites and customs". 4 To this end,


47
he strived to increase the national reserves and provide for the people's needs. He encouraged the people to increase food production, and to explore the mountains and rivers for natural resources. At the same time, the state would impose a small tax on its people. The tax would be minimal so as not to burden the people financially and it constituted an additional source of income for the state.  

These four principles were the four guidelines in governing the state of Qi. Guan Zhong formulated various policies according to these four guidelines. The fact that Qi was able to enrich its state and strengthen its army was largely due to the stable administration of the state. Therefore, Guan Zhong's plan in strengthening Qi and attaining hegemony and his appeal to "honour the king and expel the barbarians" was based upon using internal administration and foreign policies in order to achieve his ultimate aim of "putting the world in order". Thus his strategy was first to reform the internal administration and then to carry out his foreign policies. This was undoubtedly a safe and steady political measure.

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7 For the explanation of the four fundamental principles of reforms refer to the explanatory notes and review of "Lizheng pian" in GZJ, p. 55-56.
3. Practical Measures to Strengthen Qi for the Attainment of Hegemony

In order to enrich one's country, one should first put into effect the policy of "honouring the king and expelling the barbarians". In the chapter "Mumin", Guan Zhong said:

The king who has land to feed his people, to administer the people, his responsibility is to obey the four seasons, to supervise agriculture in order to replenish the stocks of rice. Only when the country has ample wealth, people from afar will come forward to submit to its authority; ...only when the granaries are full will the nation know honour and shame, only when there are enough food and clothing, will the people know rites and customs. 8

Four major factors contributed to Qi's success and status as the richest and strongest feudal state.

(a) Education

Guan Zhong placed great emphasis on moral education - "etiquette, righteousness, honesty and sense of shame". He believed that "etiquette, righteousness, honesty, and a sense of shame" were the four essentials of nation-building. To him, "Etiquette means not to depart from the normal practice; righteousness means not to further one's self-interests without authorisation; honesty means not to cover up errors and mistakes and to

correct the mistakes made; and a sense of shame means not to embark on vicious behaviour. These four essentials were crucial in maintaining peace and order in the country. If the people observed etiquette, they would not depart from the normal practice, so those in high positions would feel secure; if the people were righteous, they would not commit the act of deceit; if the people were honest, their character would naturally be good; if the people did not have vicious behaviour, there would be no evil, and peace would reign in the world.

Guan Zhong placed great importance on these four essentials, and was thus able to make Qi strong, and rise above the other feudal states. This was the first factor that ensured the success of Qi.

(b) Rewards and Profits

Guan Zhong devised a system of awards for deserving peasants and merchants. He also raised the profits for aquatic products and produce from the salt mine. The people and state acquired wealth in the process, and Qi was top in prosperity among the feudal states.

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11 See "Huozhi Liezhuang" in *Shiji*, p. 1487.
(c) Military Management

Guan Zhong combined military and politics together, that is, combining the structure of political organisation and the structure of military organisation into one.\textsuperscript{12} Whenever there was war, and once the order had been issued, the people from the whole nation would be mobilised to form troops, which were formidable in both strength and numbers. As a result, Qi was reputed to have the biggest army and most powerful military force of all the feudal states.

(d) Diplomatic Relations

To get the dukes to join forces with Qi in fighting the barbarians so that the different states can live in peace and harmony, Guan Zhong had first to establish diplomatic relations with the other feudal states. His foreign policy mainly consisted of helping the poorer states and maintaining peace with neighbouring countries.\textsuperscript{13} When there was unrest in the neighbouring states, Qi would send troops to assist them. If the neighbouring states were poor, Qi would give aid to them, and it also helped them in other ways (These will be discussed in detail in Chapter V). Consequently, the feudal lords hastened to submit to the supremacy of Qi

\textsuperscript{12} GZJL, "Xiaokuang Pian", p.388.

\textsuperscript{13} The example is found in GZJL, p. 393.
and follow the orders of Qi, and thus Qi became the hegemon among them.

Broadly speaking, the method of rule as formulated by Guan Zhong for Duke Huan of Qi can be divided into (i) internal administration, (ii) military organisation, (iii) finance and (iv) foreign affairs. These four aspects constituted the strategy that must be taken by Guan Zhong to achieve the aim of ruling the nation, allying with the feudal states and "honouring the king and expelling the barbarians in order to put the world in order".

(i) Internal Administration

The plan was aimed mainly at inculcating confidence among the people in the government. His political theory was that "the success of the government depends on following the wishes of the people, while the failure of the government is caused by going against the people's wishes". 14 This means, in essence, that the government should love its people.

Internal affairs must begin with love for the people, and this was the starting point of Guan Zhong's theory. 15 Therefore, if Duke Huan wanted to be the

ruler of Qi, he must start with this basic point, which is, to treat his subjects as an essential element of the whole administration. Whether the people had been properly governed would directly affect a nation's survival or strength.  

16 As the saying goes: "To rule the world, one must strengthen the nation; to strengthen the nation, one must have the co-operation of the people; to have the co-operation of the people, one must follow the people's wishes, to cherish them, and to confer benefits on them. The government must implement this policy of "regarding people as essential" in its administration.  

17 In order for the people to submit to the authorities, the ruler must bestow benevolence on his people. Guan Zhong understood the importance of the people in the development of the nation, and also that of the political mission of "cherishing the people". Therefore to appease the people, Guan Zhong proposed a series of policies which covered the various aspects of government. In the context of internal affairs, it included enacting laws, and setting up the bureaucracy for providing social welfare. At the same time, he also

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16 Refer to GZJJ, "Baxing Pian" 霸术篇, p. 429 and "Bayan Pian" 霸言篇, p.441.

17 Xie Yunfei held that: "People are the most important factor in establishing and strengthening a state to achieve hegemony; to be benevolent in governing the world, one ought to gain the support of the people first". See Xie Yunfei, op.cit., p. 90.

53
implemented certain economic measures both internally and externally; in the military area, he effected the policy of strengthening the defence and expanding the military force; and his foreign policy was in making the feudal lords submit to Qi's power and authority, thus fulfilling the call to "honour the king and expel the barbarians".

(a) Regulating Laws

Duke Huan of Qi wished to form alliances with the feudal lords, and Guan Zhong suggested that the first step was for the ruler to gain the confidence of the people. One of the methods to achieve that was to revise the old laws of the state, choosing the good ones and enforcing them strictly. 18 According to the view of Zhang Jinjian 张金鉴, law is the essential means and tool in ruling the nation. The meaning of "rule by law" is when the ruler practise the controlling force of law to achieve integration, unity, peace, harmony, wealth, and progress of the nation, so that the people will be cooperative and diligent, and live a wealthy, prosperous, harmonious, peaceful and happy life. 19 The laws that Guan Zhong implemented, were aimed at achieving the above objectives.

18 GZJJ, "Xiaokuang pian", p. 388.

Hence, Guan Zhong's understanding of "rule by law" had to a large extent emphasised on obedience to the ruler. He even went so far as to equate the position of the ruler with the stability of the nation, for he said, "What the ruler regards as most important is none other than the laws; when the ruler is respected, the nation will be peaceful and stable".  

It is thus seen that a ruler's position and authority is closely associated with the law. Furthermore, whether the order is obeyed by the people depends on whether the power of the ruler is recognised and respected by the people. If the position of the ruler is not stable, his orders will not be obeyed, then there will be chaos and insecurity. The people will be dissatisfied and will revolt against the government. When this happens, the position and power of the ruler will be undermined, and there will be unrest in the country.

Therefore, the position and authority of the ruler must be legal. When "there is no law, rules do not exist for running the country, and orders cannot be made; the reason why rulers fail to implement orders is because rulers are not lawful".  

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20 *GZJL*, "Zhongling pian", p. 276.

21 *GZJL*, "Fafa pian" 法法篇, p. 290.
This being the case, the ruler must enact laws to enhance his authority. When law is enacted, the people cannot discuss nor question it, that is, the people are obliged to obey the law. Criminals charged with the death sentence must be put to death and must not be pardoned; those who have rendered meritorious service must be given lordships. These three things when implemented by the government become the law. With its continuous implementation, the law becomes part of the system, and will have the effect of which is it prevents the occurrence of criminal action. Consequently, the ruler will enjoy the trust and confidence of the people.

Guan Zhong's political thinking obviously carried the objective of rectifying the unhealthy developments in society. He emphasized that "to govern or administer (zheng 政) means to correct or to rectify (zheng 正); and to rectify means to place all things exactly according to their allotted positions in life". Guan Zhong portrayed "justice" as "the sages who cultivate merits and virtues in a moderate and suitable manner, so that there would not appear excesses nor insufficiencies". Thus, politics was a practice "to cultivate the virtues of justice in order to rule the

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21 GZJJ, "Fajin Pian" 法禁篇, p. 262.
country, and justice was used to prevent excesses and supplement the insufficiencies. 24

Therefore, to achieve absolute justice and rectify the social ills of the time, the ruler had to depend totally on the use of law to govern the country. It is because "to be benevolent but unlawful is against the notion of justice", 25 these are the so-called shortcomings. If a ruler acted benevolently but not according to law, he would be acting against the notion of justice; this was the so-called "insufficiencies". On the other hand, if a ruler was oppressive and harsh he too had failed to observe justice, and this was referred to as "excesses". Needless to say, the law proposed by Guan Zhong was absolutely fair and just. He said, "If the ruler conducts himself in accordance to the law, he is like heaven and earth which do not act according to selfish interest. In this way, officials will not secretly criticize the ruler, neither will there be criticisms from scholars, and the people will not criticize too, hence everyone will willingly submit to the decisions of the ruler". 26

24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 GZJL, "Renfa Pian" 任法篇, p. 739.
Thus, the power for enacting laws was in the hands of the ruler. 27 Guan Zhong favoured "honouring the king and expelling the barbarians" to achieve the objective of governing the world. Of course his political ideology fitted well with his theory of honouring the ruler. Nevertheless, the fact that the law was enacted by the ruler did not mean that the ruler's wishes were law. There must be a basis for enacting a law, that is, according to the standard of fairness and moderation, not against the political principle of love for the people. One should also see that in enacting the law, besides the advantages to the nation, one should also take into consideration human nature, that is, his likes and dislikes. 28

In the opinion of Xie Songtao 谢松涛, when Guan Zhong was the prime minister under Duke Huan of Qi, the fact that he was able to make Qi a hegemon among the feudal states, to develop its economy so as to enrich the state, reform the military administration so as to strengthen its army, and to honour the king and expel the barbarians in order to put the world in order, was

27 "Renfa pian": "The ruler enact the laws, the officials enforce the law, the people observe the law". See *ibid.*, p. 738.

28 According to Guan Zi, "The orders and prohibitions of the ruler are obeyed by the people because the orders are enacted according to the wishes of the people, while the prohibitions are based upon the dislikes of the people". See *GZU*, "Xingshi Jie" 形势解, p. 940.
all due to appropriate law enactment and strict enforcement of the law. 29

(b) Governmental Organisation

In ruling a country, apart from legislation, there must also be a complete organisation to enforce the various tasks under the rules. This organisation is called the government or governmental organisation. There must also be bureaucrats to run the governmental organisation.

Although Guan Zhong placed emphasis on rule by law, he also emphasized on rule by men of ability. Officials were appointed based on talent and ability, and not on hereditary rights. 30 Guan Zhong was himself a talented man and well-versed in the knowledge of government, but he also knew that to govern a nation there must be a group of subordinates who possessed the expertise and ability to work together with him to jointly carry out the political tasks because no matter how talented he was, he would not be able to do the job on his own. He had admitted that in some areas of administration, he


30 The statements made by Guan Zhong concerning using talented and able men to rule the state is found in Guan Zi. For example in "Dakuang Pian", it is recorded that he recruited many talented and able men and despatched them to other states on diplomatic missions. See GZJ, "Dakuang Pian", pp. 342-343. Also in "Zhongkuang Pian", one of the methods used by Guan Zhong to rule the state was employing talented and able men from afar. See GZJ, "Zhongkuang Pian", p. 377.
was not as capable as some of the other officials, whom he had specially recommended to the ruler; but in the task of achieving hegemony, he had claimed himself to be the most suited. 31

(b.i) The Central Bureaucracy

Guan Zhong created various departments in the central bureaucracy. Under the Prime Minister were the Minister of External Affairs, Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Military Affairs, Minister of Justice, and Minister of Remonstrance. Apart from these, there was the District Commander (Xiangshuai 乡帅) who was in charge of internal affairs. 32 This was the central bureaucracy system set up by Guan Zhong, which interestingly enough largely resembles the central government of a typical modern democratic country. Liang Qichao drew the following chart of Guan Zhong's system, 33 which we shall compare with the one drawn by Ouyang Fan 欧阳樊. 34

31 See GZU, "Xiaokuang pian", p. 395 - 396. Guan Zhong had recommended Xi Peng 許朋 as Minister of External Affairs, Ning Qi 宁戚 as Minister of Agriculture, Wangzi Chengfu 王子城父 as Minister of Military Affairs, Bin Xuwu 宾胥无 as Minister of Justice, and Baoshu Ya as Minister of Remonstrance.

32 Ibid., p. 395.

33 This chart is taken from Liang Qichao, "Guanzi Zhuan", p. 38.

34 See Sun Bin, "Guanzi Sixiang Yu Qi Xinyi", p. 72.
Liang's Chart

Prime Minister

District Commander
Minister of Agriculture
External Affairs
Minister of Military Affairs
Minister of Justice Remonstrance

Ouyang's Chart

Ruler

Xiangshi 相室
Prime Minister

Zeshi 嘉室
Minister of Remonstrance

District Commander
Minister of Agriculture
External Affairs
Minister of Justice military Affairs
Minister of Remonstrance

Gao Zi
Xi Peng
Ning Qi
Bing
Wangzi
Guo Zi
Xu Wu
Chengfu
Baoshu Ya
It can be seen from these two diagrams that one obvious difference was that in Liang's chart, the Minister of Remonstrance was under the control of the Prime Minister. However, in Ouyang's chart, there was another office called "the office for the voicing of opinions" (Zeshi 嘉室) which had the same status as the Prime Minister's Office, and the Minister of Remonstrance came under this office. However, according to "Xiaokuang Pian", the office of the Minister of Remonstrance held by Baoshu Ya should be of the same rank with the other four ministers. 

It appears that, Liang's chart, with the Prime Minister as the head of the executives, is more representative of the original script.

On the whole, the system as set up by Guan Zhong appears to be complete (with every department catering for the needs of that time) except for the absence of a Finance department. Some scholars, therefore, were of the opinion that Guan Zhong also assumed the role of Finance Minister. Another point worth mentioning is Zeshi or "the voice of opinions" which was a democratic idea adopted by Guan Zhong. Zeshi was a department where the people voiced their opinions to the government.

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35 GZJL, "Xiaokuang pian", p. 391.

36 See Sun Bin, _op.cit._, p. 72.
who listened to them, and acted on the remonstrance of the virtuous officers. Guan Zhong had always encouraged the people to criticize the misdeeds of the ruler. People who took the trouble to criticize the government were given the title "righteous person", and their opinions were subsequently documented as public opinion. The enforcement officers must then adhere to these rules. 37

Although Duke Huan was not a very outstanding and clever ruler, and had even led a dissolute life, his good point was his willingness to accept the remonstrance of his officials, and to admit his errors and correct them. 38 Creating Zeshi was a wise move, which reflected his "democratic" disposition, and concern for the people.

(b.ii) Local Administration

The local administration was divided into urban and rural areas under one village commander. The basic unit of an urban area was the family. Five families formed one gui 舖, and was headed by a leader. Ten gui (50 families) formed one li, and was governed by an officer (si 司). Fourli made up one lian 连 (200 families), and was governed by a chief (zhang 长). Ten lian

37 GZJJ, "Huangong Wen" 桓公問, p. 883.

38 See GZJJ, "Zhongkuang pian" p. 377.
(2,000 families) made one xiang 乡, and was governed by a liangren 良人. Three xiang (6,000 families) formed one shu 属, and was governed by shuai 帅. The local organization of rural areas also started at the level of the family as the basic unit. 

(c) System of Social Welfare

Guan Zhong's internal administration apart from providing a perfect system of local organisation, was also characterized as having a good system of social welfare. His policies to improve the welfare and living standard of the people reflected the political principle of "cherishing and benefitting the people".

"The success of a government depends on its compliance with the wishes of the people". 40 Guan Zhong was aware that obedience to the state and the ruler stemmed from willingness on the part of the people to submit readily to the authority. For this to happen, the policy of benevolence must be implemented. 41 When the policy of benevolence was implemented, the whole population would obey the orders of the nation. When

39 GZJJ, "Xiaokuang pian", p. 386.

40 GZJJ, "Mumin pian", p. 2.

41 One example of the policy of benevolence is seen in "Qi Yu" in Guo Yu where Guan Zhong says: "Revise the old law, pick the best law and adopt it, help and support the poor. Respect the people and the state will have peace." See Guo Yu, juan 6, op.cit., p. 80.
the orders were followed, the society would be orderly. When the society was governed in an orderly manner, the country would be strong. When the country was strong, it could achieve hegemony among the feudal lords. When hegemony was achieved, the feudal lords could be called upon to honour the king and expel the barbarians, and the world would be put in order. 42

Guan Zhong’s policies were based on reciprocity—the understanding that favours granted will be returned in several ways, some even to the extent of sacrificing one’s life for the ruler. This was regarded by Guan Zhong as the magic weapon of a statesman. 43

Based on this, the government must consider the four wishes of the people, namely, a happy life, enjoyment of wealth and prosperity, a stable livelihood and being cared and cherished by the state. People abhor hardship, poverty, danger, sacrifice and extinction. 44 Therefore, no matter if the aim was to "cherish the people" or to make them submit willingly to

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42 When Duke Huan of Qi asked Guan Zhong about the administration of a state, Guan Zhong replied that one must employ the worthy from afar, be kind to the people, salvage the ruined states or dynasty, help the orphans of the dukes, reduce taxes, and mitigate punishment. In order to bring about peace and order to the whole land, law must be practised but should not be severe, punishment must be strict and impartial ..., see GZJJ, "Zhongkuang Pian", pp. 377-378.

43 GZJJ, "Mumin pian", p. 2.

44 Ibid.
authority, it was vital to implement policies of social welfare.

The four wishes of the people, could be fulfilled following Guan Zhong's "Nine Acts of Favour", which consisted of nine items in social work for helping the poor and needy. They were:

1. Caring for the elderly.
2. Caring for the infants.
3. Caring for orphans, and encouraging people to adopt orphans.
4. Caring for the handicapped who are unable to care for themselves.
5. Pairing widows and widowers off in marriage, to form families and provide for their own livelihood.
6. Care and concern for the sick.
7. Reporting the poor and homeless to the government so that food and lodging could be provided.
8. Relaxing rules of punishment, pardoning the criminals, and distributing food in times of famine.
9. Subsidizing the families of those who have sacrificed their lives for the country, in the form of performing rites of worship to commemorate the dead. 45

45 GZJJ, "Ruguo pian" 人国篇, p. 870.
(d) System of Personnel Recruitment, Supervision and Survey

According to Guan Zhong, the key to success of a national administration was the ruler who wielded the authority, the premier who formulated the policies, the ministers who implemented them, officials who administered the policies, and ordinary citizens who obeyed orders. Thus, to implement the policies fairly and perfectly, able and virtuous persons must be present to assume the various posts, otherwise, a viable or perfect policy without the right person to enforce it would not be effective. Guan Zhong then devised a system for selecting personnels to recruit able and virtuous persons from all over the country.

The task of recommending and recruiting talented staff and men of virtue fell on the officials of the various local administrations who reported them to the central government or to Duke Huan. If such a person existed and an official failed to recommend him, then he is considered as having committed an offence and would be severely punished. Therefore, the heads of local government would promote moral conduct and employ virtuous officials to serve under them, and at the same time they would observe their employees' ability and moral behaviour and provide them with an opportunity for promotion.
The system of recruitment alone would not ensure honest and effective running of governmental organizations. This was because even with righteous persons in office, if there were unworthy persons who would undermine the administrative machinery, there would still be unrest in the country. So Guan Zhong devised a system of supervision. The heads of the local administration were required to report officials who were not virtuous, arrogant, cruel and disobedient to a higher authority. Failure to do so meant that these heads had committed an offence called "siding their subordinates" and would therefore be punished severely. In this way, all individuals in the country would be rewarded for their good deeds or punished for their misdeeds. 46

Furthermore, survey should be conducted before a plan could be executed. All political issues, be it economic, cultural, military or financial, had to be properly studied, calculated, and surveyed before they were implemented. If the policies fall short of the actual needs of the people, then resources and manpower would be wasted, while the problems of the people remained unsolved causing discontent among the people. Cries of discontent disrupt the peace in the country.

With instability in the country, the attainment of hegemony would be beyond reach.

Guan Zhong’s survey spanned social problems, military affairs, foreign affairs, agriculture, law, and all other matters pertaining to nation-building. The questions asked in the survey were specific and detailed; for example: "How many persons fought the war with the enemy?", and the survey on agriculture would touch on questions such as "How many families have cultivated new lands?" and "How many scholars have farmed and cultivated land?" 47 and so on.

(ii) Military Administration

Guan Zhong lived during the time when the feudal states coexisted with one another. Anyway, in order to attain hegemony among the dukes, the state of Qi must build up a strong and solid defence.

According to some of the historical records, as prime minister of Qi, Guan Zhong’s policy was "to work on internal administration and to entrust the military (with the nation’s destiny)". 48

47 Regarding the survey items, refer to GZJJ, "Wen pian" 问篇, p. 461.

48 This statement is found in "Qi Yu" in Guo Yu, juan 6, p. 81.
Sima Qian has summed up Guan Zhong's policy, i.e. "to accumulate wealth, enrich the country, and strengthen its military" which reflected his two-fold policy of enriching the country and bringing peace to the people in his internal administration, and at the same time, implementing various measures to strengthen the military in defence.

As a political thinker, Guan Zhong, having come from such a background, developed the concept of "achieving peace internally and expelling the invaders externally". Therefore he emphasized particularly on internal affairs when discussing military matters. In his mind, there existed close relationship between politics and military affairs. "Qifa pian" 七法篇 states:

There has never been a case where a state fails to rule its people and yet has a strong military. Neither has a nation succeeded if it is able to rule its people but does not know the techniques of managing the military. 50

Similarly, in his government Guan Zhong combined military affairs and politics into one. For example, he incorporated the military concept into the internal administrative organization. In other words, the

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50 GZJL, "Qifa Pian" 七法篇, p. 101.
internal administrative system was also a military organization. This meant that all the people in the country were potential soldiers.

It is reported in the "Xiaokuang Pian" that when Duke Huan wanted to form an alliance with the other dukes, Guan Zhong proposed that first and foremost, the people must have confidence and trust in the ruler; secondly the military must be properly organized. Guan Zhong also considered the fact that if other powerful states were to follow the example of Qi when they knew that Qi was expanding the military force, and that the smaller states were to take precaution if they knew that Qi was preparing for war, then it would not be easy for Qi to dominate the world. As a precautionary measure, Guan Zhong provided military training to the farmers without making it known and therefore the military activities could be concealed. His plan was as follows:

Qi was to be divided into three parts and led by Duke Huan, Gaozi 高子 and Guozi 国子. Hunting in spring was called sou 搜, and he would take this opportunity to reorganise the outfits. Hunting in autumn was called xian 羚, and the leaders would take this opportunity to reorganise the forces. Since the soldiers had lived together in the same place from birth to adulthood, knew one another and were friends, they would help and love
one another, and live or die together. In these circumstances, whether they were fighting at night or in the day time, they would know one another by their voices, and so form a solid defence against the common enemy, and emerge the victor at war.  

Furthermore, Guan Zhong's policy of strengthening the military was also built on the idea that "if the people were well-off they would stay peacefully in their native land and manage their properties". In order for the people to be wealthy, the government must take agriculture seriously. Therefore, the connection between "taking agriculture seriously" and "strengthening the military" was based on the fact that "lots of grain mean the country is wealthy, and when the country is wealthy, its military will also be strong". Hou Jiaju emphasized that the connection between the two was "the giving of military training to the farmers". The basic military unit consisted of troops who were both soldiers and farmers. In other words, they were farmers at normal times, but soldiers in times of war.


GZJJ, "Zhiguo pian", p. 767.

Ibid.

(iii) Economic Policies

Guan Zhong did not depend solely on the use of force to dominate the feudal lords and rule the world. His economic reforms not only helped the people to live peacefully and wealthily, but also to achieve his dream of "honouring the king and expelling the barbarians" with the excellent conditions of the economy of Qi, for "without wealth it is impossible to rectify the world".\textsuperscript{55}

Guan Zhong knew that only by developing the economy, encouraging production, and ensuring the basic form of security in life, would the people honour moral virtues such as propriety, righteousness, honesty, and a sense of shame. \textsuperscript{56} He said:

The method of government is by giving wealth to people. When the people are wealthy they are easily controlled. The opposite is true if they are poor ... Those who are good rulers must first give wealth to the people, before they can govern them.\textsuperscript{57}

This was Guan Zhong's theory of "enriching the people". Having enough clothing to keep oneself warm, and sufficient food so that one does not starve are important considerations because they are the most basic

\textsuperscript{55} GZJ, "Qifa pian", p. 103.

\textsuperscript{56} GZJ, "Mumin pian", p. 1.

\textsuperscript{57} GZJ, "Zhiguos pian", p. 767.
physical needs of a person. If the people have a stable livelihood, they would not desert their homes; they would obey the orders of the ruler, respect the authorities, and refrain from committing crimes. If the people were poor, they would have to leave their homes and lead a vagrant life. Since they would have nothing to lose, they would be unscrupulous, deceitful and criminal. Therefore it can be said that the politics of a nation is determined by its economy.  

As Sima Qian has said, the achievement of Guan Zhong as the premier of Qi is "to increase production and accumulate wealth", and "to enrich the country and strengthen its military". Qi first became a strong state through the reforms of Qi Taigong 齊太公 (r. 1065 B.C.-1021 B.C.), who rectified the administration, encouraged commerce and industries, and increased the profits of traders in fish and salt. Consequently, the majority of the people willingly submitted to the authority of Qi, and Qi then became a powerful state. As it stands, Qi was already a commercial centre before Guan Zhong's time. When Guan Zhong became the premier, he realised the advantageous conditions in the economy,

58 Ibid.
59 Hou Jiaju, op.cit., p. 16.
60 Guan Zhong's biography in Shiji, p. 2132.
61 Shiji, "Qi Taigong Shijia", Juan 32, p.1480.

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and so he applied his economic talents to develop trade and commerce, and thus made the country rich and powerful. 62

According to Liang Qichao, "In his financial management, Guan Zhong put special emphasis not only on national finance but also on the economy of the people. If the economy of the people was strong, the economy of the state was strong too, and this was what Guan Zhong had been working on". 63 The above quotation best describes Guan Zhong's basic economic concept.

Since agriculture formed the basis of the economy of the people, Guan Zhong concentrated on cultivating the land for food. His attention was focused more on local organization than the central government. Guan Zhong paid particular attention on the local organization of xiang. He said:

If the ruler regards agriculture seriously, then the people will be engaged in agricultural work, and live in the rural areas. The number of rural inhabitants will be large and will equal the number of city dwellers. All the families will have savings and their total amount will be comparable to that of the government. If the government regards agriculture seriously and increases the price of rice, then the price will be as high as the price of gold. Let the villages


63 Liang Qichao, "Guan Zi" in Zhongguo Liuda Zhengzhijia 中国六大政治家, cited in Sun Bin, "Guanzi Sixiang Yu Qi Xinyi", p.79.
govern themselves and every one of them will have their own achievements, then their achievements will be as great as that of the central government. If the ruler is able to achieve these four aims, then the government has attained perfection.  

It is obvious that agriculture will enable the people to live a comfortable life. Guan Zhong was aware that there were many other valuable resources that could produce wealth in ancient times. He named forestry, domesticated animals, fruits and vegetables, irrigation projects, industries, and weaving. Produce from all these resources not only provided for the needs of the people, they also promoted trading activities at the same time. He urged the people to increase production and to develop the hills and rivers, with the aim of enhancing the financial resources. The government will levy a tax on these produce to add to its income. The levy will be minimal so as not to burden the farmers and traders financially.  

Qi was located at the lower reaches of the Yellow River near the sea. Since sea-shells were abundant along the coastal beaches, the inhabitants there bartered for products with the inland dwellers in

64 GZJJ, "Quanxiu Pian" 权修篇, p.36.
66 See "explanatory notes and commentary" in ibid., p.55.
exchange for their marine products. During Duke Huan's rule, Guan Zhong had actively pursued trade and commerce. The historians have attributed to Guan Zhong various accomplishments which enriched and strengthened the state when he was serving as the prime minister of Qi. A modern-day scholar Li Jiannong 李剑农, who had based his arguments on a conversation between Guan Zhong and Duke Huan of Qi (as recorded in the Guoyu), noted that the premier's master plan had laid equal emphasis on commerce and agriculture. Li Jiannong also claimed that commercial activities rose significantly in conjunction with a rise in Duke Huan's ambition to attain hegemony.

During the Spring and Autumn era, the incidents of aggression were not uncommon. The five hegemons tried to outclass one another. The weapon that Guan Zhong used to achieve Qi's domination was "actual accomplishments", because he knew very well the connection between actual accomplishments and politics.

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67 Zhou Gucheng 周谷成 says: "The dominant economic position of Qi was the main reason for the ability of Qi to achieve hegemony." See Zhou Gucheng, Zhongguo Tongshi 中国通史, Shanghai: Kaiming Shudian 开明书店, 1940, p. 168.

68 "Qi Taigong Shijia", Shiji, juan 32, p.1480.

69 Li Jiannong 李剑农, Xian Qin Liang Han Jingji Shigao 先秦两汉经济史稿, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1962, pp. 69-70.

Guan Zhong stressed that the ruler should control all economic activities. He should implement trade control policies in order to prevent all businessmen from unlawful activities such as hoarding, manipulating the prices of goods, and making a quick profit, all of which would affect the livelihood of the farmers and the poor people. A monetary policy was formulated to control the prices of goods. The setting up of currencies was mainly because the value of currencies was in inverse proportion to the price of goods. If the government was able to control the amount of currencies, then the prices of all goods would come under the control of the Government.

Besides, Guan Zhong also declared a state monopoly on the iron and salt industries. Salt and iron were the two major natural resources found in Qi. "Pingzhun Shu" 平准书 in Shiji noted that Duke Huan of Qi followed the advice of his minister Guan Zhong, who initiated the system of buying up goods when the price was low and selling them when it was high, and of exploiting the resources of the mountains and seas, until he had the other feudal lords paying homage to him and, with what had up until then been the little and out-of-the-way

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71 GZJJ, "Qingzhong Jia Pian" 轻重甲篇, p. 1132.

72 GZJJ, "Guoxu Pian" 国蓄篇, pp. 1013-1014. See also "Shanguogui Pian" 山国轨篇, p. 1036.
kingdom of Qi, had won for himself the title of dictator. 

(iv) Foreign Policies

Guan Zhong knew that the objective to "honour the king and expel the barbarians" could not be reached by Qi's mere intention alone. Due to the fact that the international (or inter-state) scene was formed by many feudal states, therefore to achieve the target, the feudal states must be persuaded to participate in the plan and support Qi in its efforts to put the world in order. Through participation, they too would reap the benefits and appreciate the importance of being honoured together.

Guan Zhong observed the prevailing conditions in the various states in order to help him formulate an effective foreign policy. He approached it from eight angles:

(1) Whether the state was starving or had sufficient food.
(2) Whether it was poor or rich.
(3) Whether it was extravagant or thrifty.

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(4) Whether it was solid or empty.
(5) Whether it was well-governed or chaotic.
(6) Whether it was strong or weak.
(7) Whether the laws could be implemented or otherwise.
(8) Whether it was able to survive or was on the road to extinction.  

Once they knew the conditions of the various states, they would be able to decide which were the states they should form alliances with, which states should be invaded and so on. Guan Zhong's purpose in foreign relations was to put the world in order, so his policy was to "reduce the size of big states, rectify those states in the wrong, curtail the power of the strong states, alienate the states which were in chaos, and eliminate the tyrannical ones".  

This was mainly to put all the dukes on par with one another so that they would not attack or conquer one another, and the feudal states would respond to the appeal of Qi and submit to the authority of Zhou, and so honour their king.

Guan Zhong knew that to form alliances with the feudal states, he must appoint virtuous people,  

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74 GZJJ, "Baguan Pian" 八观篇, pp. 246-250.
75 GZJJ, "Bayan Pian", p. 439.
76 Ibid., p. 441.
not only implemented the system of recommending of the able and talented persons, throughout the country, but also set up the foreign ministry (daxing 大行) in the central Government, and recommended Xi Peng who was resourceful and had the gift of the gab for the post of foreign minister. Furthermore, he sent the diplomats of various abilities to Chu 楚, Song 宋, Lu 魯, Wei 卫, Yan 燕, Jin 晋 and so on. He further selected eight thousand scholars and dispatched them to various countries as diplomats for the purpose of recruiting virtuous and able persons from those states. He also presented rare and curious objects to various countries, to be sold to the dukes to gauge what they liked, and to determine the strength of the states. He would then attack and conquer those states while they indulged in their lustful pleasures.

Furthermore, Guan Zhong wanted the neighbouring states to further submit to Qi. If the states were to co-exist, a way must be sought to ensure peaceful co-existence. So Guan Zhong proposed forming alliances with other states, far or near. His strategy was to survey the border states of Qi, and return the land

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77 This part was mentioned in the section on the internal administration of Guan Zhong.

78 *GZJU*, "Xiaokuang pian", p. 391.

79 *GZJU*, see "Dakuang pian", p. 342-343 and also "Xiaokuang pian", p.391.
captured from the other feudal states to them, and revise the boundary line; he would refuse to accept any offer of goods and property from them in return. Furthermore, Qi would present a good supply of leather and currencies as tributes to the dukes. Consequently, the neighbouring states would be indebted to Qi and would thus submit willingly to its dominance. \(^{80}\)

Of course, the reason for helping the neighbouring states was not simply and solely to cherish their friendship, there must be some purpose beneficial to Qi. The purpose was to obtain the support of the neighbouring states. By giving them a little benefit, Qi would be rewarded in return by their sense of gratitude and obligation to Qi. \(^{81}\) Therefore, in his foreign policy, forming alliances with neighbouring states was also a military activity, firstly, to get the help of neighbouring states and strengthen itself; secondly, not to isolate itself, this would mean having the advantage of being able to obtain foreign aid in times of war; thirdly, to isolate enemy states, and to cut foreign aid from them. \(^{82}\) To ensure that the states

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\(^{80}\) GZJJ, "Xiaokuang pian", p. 391.

\(^{81}\) The example is found in "Xiaokuang Pian", *ibid.*, pp. 393-394.

\(^{82}\) "Bayan Pian" said: "The dukes would become strong when they form alliances with other dukes, but become weak when they are isolated." Also, "The powerful nation was strong because it received some assistance from the smaller states." See GZJJ, "Bayan Pian", p. 442.
both far and near submit to Qi's authority. Guan Zhong even advised Duke Huan of Qi to observe the rites, and to be benevolent and virtuous in his dealings with the other dukes. For example, when the barbarians (Di 狄) attacked Wei 卫, the people of Wei fled the country and moved into Cao 曹. Many animals were lost in the attack, therefore Duke Huan compensated them with three hundred horses. News of Duke Huan's kind deeds quickly spread throughout the states and the dukes submitted to his authority. He then influenced them against material gains, and emphasized on observance of rites. The delegates of the dukes arrived empty-handed but returned home bearing gift of every kind. With the practice of virtues and the observance of proper rites, Duke Huan was able to impress the feudal lords and make them submit to his authority. 83

Guan Zhong's foreign policy of being friendly with neighbouring states resulted in the successful implementation of political alliances instituted by him. At the same time, the operation of "servicing the enemy countries and supporting the countries which is facing an impasse", that is "to subdue the powerful nation, support the weak nation, resist the brutal, prevent rapaciousness, save the subjugated, stabilise that which is in danger, and prolong the continued existence of the

83 GZJJ, refer to "Xiaokuang Pian", p. 393.
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state even when the royal descendants have become extinct", made Duke Huan of Qi popular and enjoy the love and esteem of the people. Therefore Qi's decrees were implemented in the various states of the dukes without any objection. Neighbouring countries all submitted to the authority of Qi, while distant countries all obeyed the orders issued by Qi. As such when Qi formed alliances with the various states, the dukes responded positively. Qi further proposed to "honour the king and expel the barbarians", and all the dukes naturally followed and obeyed the orders, and respected Qi as the leader of the dukes. 84

4. The Effect Of Guan Zhong's Political Reforms

As a statesman and being the second in command in the state of Qi, Guan Zhong was undoubtedly a great and capable leader. In governing the state, he took care to look at the whole picture and did not neglect any detail because he fully understood that in national politics, the institutions were inter-related and involved many aspects. He said:

The defence of the land depends on building of the walls, the defence of the walls depends on

84 GZJJ, "Bayan Pian", p.440. "Xiaokuang Pian" also puts down in writing: "The people from afar longed for Duke Huan like he was their parent, the people from closer places obeyed him like the flowing river ... this is because they thought of his kindness in ruling the country and were afraid of his military power. See GZJJ, p.394.
the soldiers carrying out their work, and the source of the soldiers depends on the population, and the lives of the people depend on the grain (that is harvested); therefore, if land is not cultivated, the defence of the walls cannot be carried out. Similarly, if one cannot manage oneself, how can one manage one's family? If one cannot manage one's family, how can one manage a whole village? If one fails to manage a single village, how can one govern the whole nation?\textsuperscript{85}

To trace back to the origin, managing oneself is the root of all administration.\textsuperscript{86} As such, with the aim of "honouring the king and expelling the barbarians in order to put the world in order" in mind, Guan Zhong worked anxiously on strengthening the military and enriching the country, so as to achieve hegemony among the states. In the course of achieving domination, he proposed the four major principles of establishing the administration, devising laws and regulations, appointment of the good and righteous, and promoting prosperity in the nation. The purpose was to maintain order in the society and country. In order to achieve these aims, what should first be done was to follow the four guidelines of "propriety, righteousness, honesty, and sense of shame", that is, to cultivate oneself firstly, then only internal administration, foreign relations, military affairs and economic policy could be successfully carried out. Consequently, Guan Zhong greatly respected the virtuous, and he sought to appoint

\textsuperscript{85} GZJJ, "Quanxiu Pian", p. 36.

\textsuperscript{86} Ibid.
and promote gifted persons. To him this was the major criterion for being able to dominate the feudal lords. 87

Guan Zhong implemented his political reforms in Qi, and enabled the people to live peacefully. This was due to his policy of organizing the population according to their professions, and prohibiting the people to settle wherever they wished. The different social classes with different professions were grouped separately into different regions in the country so that their descendants would inherit the professions of their forefathers and not move to other parts of the country. 88 In the economic and military areas, he developed agriculture, industry and commerce and increased the wealth of Qi, and then strengthen the military. His best idea was to merge internal administration and military affairs into one, and made every citizen a soldier. This kind of professional division mentioned above ensured that the people lived happily and were dependant on one another. When there was any intrusion from the enemy, they could unite in defending the country. 89

87 GZJJ, "Youxue Pian" 幼学篇, p. 164.
88 GZJJ, "Xiaokuang Pian", P. 387.
89 Ibid., pp. 388-389.
When Qi became politically stable, economically rich and militarily strong, it began to form alliances with the feudal lords and implemented the policy of "honouring the king and expelling the barbarians". Therefore, if it were not for the political reforms and foreign policies, the nine-times alliance with the dukes, and the advocacy to "honour the king and expel the barbarians", Chinese culture might have indeed been reduced to the culture of the barbarians. In short, we can say that Guan Zhong was a great political reformist and one who treasured many cultural sentiments. Even Confucius who opposed hegemony made an exception to the rule by evaluating Guan Zhong highly and regarding him as a hero in the defence of national culture.\footnote{"Xianwen Pian" in Lunyu Yizhu, vol. 14.17, p. 151.}