

Charles University Prague

Geopolitical Studies

Master's Dissertation

The Rise of China:
A Comparative Analysis of Empires

Author: Kristin Templin

Dissertation Supervisor: Michael Romancov Ph.D.

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1. Introduction

Throughout the past 30 years, there has been considerable research done in analyzing the behaviour of China and her rise to power. Although China currently spreads a message of “peaceful development” that is meant to assuage the fears of other countries, her expedited economic development has propelled the concern that China may use her newfound wealth as a lever for aggression against other nations. The topic has increased in importance as more and more states have begun to fear that the balance of power will be disrupted as a result. With ongoing disputes regarding territorial rights over the South China Sea and domestic human rights abuses in far-flung provinces, China is a geopolitical wildcard and her decisions now will help shape the new world order and dictate whether or not the existing status quo of major powers following international law and order will be maintained as we move forward into the 21st century.

1.1 Research Questions:

Is China’s involvement in the international community comparable to the role of previous empires? What does the behaviour of the Chinese, British and American empires tell us about the future behaviour of China?

In this master thesis, I will analyze the behaviour of previous “empires” and compare this to what we have seen developing in China since the days of Triangular Diplomacy. In order to compare and contrast empires that spanned centuries and cover three diverse continents, I will focus on the types of actions of each country’s foreign policy and soft power that were made towards the international community including involvement in international organizations, free trade agreements and development

projects as well as social mobility and diaspora. This will be further explained later in the thesis.

Although there are other aspects that are important to consider regarding the increase in a state's power (such as defense treaties and military build-up) I have chosen to omit these topics due to the emphasis on post-industrialized countries reliance on economic development as a precursor to military power. There are volumes of work in existence focusing on the military aspects of these empires written by specialists in the field. Modern military strength relies on strong economies and hence, it is a crucial aspect of their strength. Therefore, I have decided in the scope of this thesis, I will focus on economic power as it is a necessary precondition of military strength. There is also the interesting aspect of ideational forces that dictate the behaviour of a state. I understand that these are important aspects; however, I will focus on the economic behaviours as they are more observable in their implications.

While China is rising, there is a consensus that the United States is in decline as THE economic and political powerhouse and many political scientists have argued that this decline, combined with the rise of regional powers, will help create a multi-polar world. In a 2015 online article on Fortune.com, the United States scores poorly compared to other developed nations in sectors such as health care, median wealth per person, access to higher education and income inequality¹. More and more states, especially in the developing world, are looking for a new "role model" and turning towards China for guidance. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the likely strategy that China will take in gaining more power. While it is certain that she is striving for regional hegemony, it is less clear to see whether she has further global ambitions as well.

¹ "12 Signs America Is on the Decline." *Fortune*, fortune.com/2015/07/20/united-states-decline-statistics-economic/.

“In the year 1500, the date chosen by numerous scholars to mark the divide between modern and premodern times, it was by no means obvious to the inhabitants of Europe that their continents was poised to dominate much of the rest of the earth.²” Asia had been the home of vast, coherent empires while Europe consisted of small powers that were constantly battling each other for supremacy. The discovery of the New World elevated Europe’s status and allowed European powers, specifically Britain and Spain to exploit their colonies untapped resources and gain immense wealth as a result.

It was at this crucial point that formerly powerful China decided to isolate itself from world affairs. In the early 15th century, under the Ming dynasty which ruled from 1368 until 1644, the Chinese had access to the world’s largest ships and were able to sail as far as Zanzibar, the Red Sea and Malacca. Between 1405 and 1433, the Chinese navy, under the command of Zheng, traveled throughout the Indian Ocean regions. China even had tributary relationships with 36 “countries”. This all ended after the death of the Yongle Emperor and the naval expeditions being considered too costly to continue.³

The past imperial history of China is important to remember when analyzing the behaviour of present day China. The Chinese view the 21st century as a continuation of their illustrious history. As a result, I have included a brief summary in chapter one of China’s history and the resonating reasons behind her decisions to withdraw from the international community at the beginning of this thesis.

In chapter two, I will provide a brief interpretation of the rise and fall of the British Empire in regards to international relations and geopolitics. “The sun never sets on the British Empire” was an apt expression for the empire that spanned the globe. By 1913, there were 412 million people living within the British Empire which was 23% of

² Kennedy, Paul M. *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*. Random House, 1990. Pg 54

³ Barksdale, Nate. "7 Things You May Not Know About the Ming Dynasty." *History.com*. A&E Television Networks, 30 Sept. 2014. Web. 27 Apr. 2017.

the world's population at the time⁴. Territories as diverse as India to Zimbabwe fell under British rule and the impacts of this colonialism are still apparent even today. The British were able to spread their institutions, culture and language and create a world order that would linger for centuries. Throughout the world, British influence can be seen in governments such as in Hong Kong, sports such as India and Pakistan's love of cricket, cultural tastes and the layout of towns and cities.

In chapter three of this thesis, I will discuss the foreign policy that the United Kingdom undertook during this time period, what their main drive for expansion was and the reasons for their eventual decline. I will finalize the section by explaining the long-standing impact of their actions on the international community.

I will follow this with a similar analysis of the United States meteoric rise to greatness in the 20th century along with its gradual decline at the start of the 21st century in chapter four of this thesis. While being ideologically against colonialism and a proponent of self-determination, the foreign policy of the United States has often shown characteristics of imperialism. The Marshall Plan paved the way for the American sphere of influence and under the pretext of the Cold War, the United States engaged in conflicts spanning the globe that had a profound impact on the countries involved and their civilian populations. However, the United State's role in the global community and the international order is quickly changing. In an interview with *The Diplomat*, Amitav Acharya (UNESCO Chair in Transnational Challenges and Governance) stated that the end of American world order is "the crisis and erosion of the international order that the United States had built and maintained after World War Two, which some call the *liberal hegemonic order*, meaning a liberal order under U.S. dominance."⁵

⁴ "British Empire." *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Foundation, 30 Apr. 2017. Web. 30 Apr. 2017.

⁵ Kuo, Mercy A. "The End of American World Order." *The Diplomat*. The Diplomat, 14 Nov. 2016. Web. 30 Apr. 2017.

Also in this chapter, I will analyze the the post-World War Two world and the key international organizations that were created as a result including NATO, NAFTA, etc. In addition, I will cover some of the major events of American history with a focus on the Cold War period where the actions of the United States as a hegemonic power were most obvious as well as the post Cold War involvement in spreading democracy. I will finalize this section with a brief summary of the United States decline and how this has impacted foreign policy in the 21st century.

Finally, I will discuss China's re-development from 1973 until present day in chapter five. As mentioned previously, China in the pre-modern era was a strong, unified state with one of the world's largest economies. Using the previous foreign policy analysis of imperialistic Britain and America, along with the current foreign policy of China and statements of Xi Jinping, I will evaluate whether or not there is any historical comparison between the two great Anglosphere nations and their development of the world order and whether or not China will be able and willing to replicate this. Based on both classical realist and liberalist theory, China should, or at least aspire to, behave similar to other great empires of the past. This subject matter is crucial for policy makers to understand in regards to their relations with China and its neighbouring countries.

1.2 Methodology

In order to truly compare and contrast the complexity of the British, American and Chinese empires, it is imperative to follow a scientific realist approach using qualitative research with a specific focus on case studies. Case studies create a basis for comparison that is crucial to understand such a comprehensive subject. In the case studies, I will focus on each country's rise to power, the "world order" that they were able to create and the longstanding effects that this has had on the world. For continuity purposes, I have labeled the tangible aspects of each empire, such as the expansion of territory and the development of infrastructure as "hardware of an empire"

and the intangible aspects, such as economic measures, social factors and trade agreements as “software of an empire.” For the cases of Imperial China, the United States and United Kingdom, I will also identify the key resonating reasons for their decline.

For the purposes of this master thesis and to ensure a comparative analysis within the constraints of this thesis, I have focused my research from 1860 until present day due to the changes to the geopolitical environment in the mid-19th century, including, but not limited to, the unification of Germany as a competitor to British power in Europe and the emergence of the United States as a unified power with strong military capabilities. I have included background historical information pre-dating this time period as necessary but this is by no means a historical account and should not be treated as such.

Throughout my analysis, I will assume that the states were acting in a neo-realist manner with an emphasis on power as the most important factor in international relations and that their strategies to this, although different, were designed to achieve the same result. This corresponds with Mahan’s Theory of Sea Power. Mahan’s influential book *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* published in 1890 had a profound impact on the foreign policy of the United States at the turn of the 20th century⁶. I will discuss this more in the chapter regarding American imperialism.

1.3 Defining Concepts

1.3.1 Empire

The term empire conjures up many images in people’s minds and has caused disagreement among the academic community with some stating that the age of the

⁶ U.S. Department of State, U.S. Department of State, history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/mahan.

empire has passed. In his book “Colossus”, Niall Ferguson argues that empires have always existed and “can be traced back as far as history goes⁷.”

When considering the basic definition of the word empire as per the Oxford Dictionary as an “extensive group of states or countries under a single supreme authority, formerly especially an emperor or empress”, it is questionable whether or not the United States would qualify due to a lack of a single supreme authority over a collection of states. However, amongst political scientists including Charles Tilly in the book *After Empire* “an empire is a large composite polity linked to a central power by indirect rule. The central power exercises some military and fiscal control in each major segment of its imperial domain, but tolerates the two majors elements of indirect rule: (1) retention or establishment of particular, distinct compacts for the government of each segment; and (2) exercise of power through intermediaries who enjoy considerable autonomy within their own domains in return for the delivery of compliance, tribute, and military collaboration with the center.⁸”

Interestingly, Ferguson also addresses the concept of “imperial denial” as a national condition of Americans. “It is acceptable among American liberals to say that the United States is an empire - provided that you deplore the fact. It is also permitted to say when among conservatives, that American power is potentially beneficent - provided that you don’t describe it as imperial.”

The concept of an empire has obviously had a negative perception for Americans; however, empires have shaped history, created states and it was the British Empire that actually made the United States what it is today.

1.3.2 World Order

⁷ Ferguson, Niall. *Colossus the Rise and Fall of the American Empire*. Penguin Books, 2009. Preface XII

⁸ Barkey, Karen, and Mark Von Hagen. *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building: the Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires*. Westview Press, 1997. Pg 3

While there is some disagreement regarding the definition of a world order as a concept, for the purposes of my research I will focus on Oxford Dictionary's definition stating that a world order is a "system controlling events in the world, especially a set of arrangements established internationally for preserving global political stability."

In modern times, the first world order can be considered a resulting factor of the Treaty of Westphalia which put an end to the Thirty Years War. The Thirty Years War devastated Europe with a loss of nearly a quarter of the population and the resulting treaty was an attempt to ensure that this would never happen again. The treaty set forward the beliefs of sovereignty, the "balance of power" and non-intervention but was primarily based upon the world as the Europeans knew it and did not take into account the situation in Asia or even neighboring Russia.⁹

During this time, China was the dominating power in Asia but the concept of sovereignty did not exist to them unlike the powers of Europe. Instead, China viewed her domain as "All Under Heaven" and Chinese political and cultural influence radiated outwards as part of her world order. For those cultures who had "mastered" various aspects of Chinese influence (ie. writing and cultural institutions) were considered developed while others were considered "barbarians."¹⁰

This sentiment would again resurface during European colonisation when it was considered acceptable to bring European "civilization" to all areas of the world, regardless of whether or not the local population wanted it. Later on, the same principle would apply under the American empire where the structure that the Europeans had built through colonization would be perpetuated under the guise of "the achievement of peace through democratic principles."¹¹

⁹ Kissinger, Henry. *World Order*. NY, NY: Penguin, 2015. Print. Pg 4

¹⁰ Ibid.:Pg 5

¹¹ Ibid.:Pg 5

Without a doubt, Britain was able to control events happening around the world by not only controlling her colonies, but also by dominating world trade. As a result, she controlled the economies of her territories and their neighbors. The peak of the British empire and the period when they were able to create a world order started in approximately 1783 when the rise of a “second” empire occurred after the loss of the American colonies. During the 19th century, Britain saw a huge population increase and urbanization and needed to find more sources of raw materials and new markets. This led to increased imperial expansion. During this time, their focus switched to Asia, Africa and the Pacific. After World War One, Britain achieved its largest territorial extent but was already in economic decline.¹²

The United States quickly followed in Britain’s footsteps in the aftermath of World War Two. The United States sphere of influence pushed forward a new international order with America controlling everything from trade to finance.

1.3.3 Imperialism

Imperialism is another concept that will feature prominently in this thesis. In his book “Imperialism”, Winfried Baumgart describes imperialism as “the formation of an empire” based on the etymology of the word but continues to further categorize it into more narrowly terms. “Classical imperialism” refers to the “expansionist policies which modern industrial powers pursued after the last two decades of the nineteenth century....in order to distinguish them from the imperialism of other periods and to point out that they were the main characteristic of that epoch¹³.” Based on this definition, the British practiced “classical imperialism”. It is further broken down into formal and informal imperialism with informal imperialism focusing more on free-trade rather than

¹² "British Empire." *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Foundation, 30 Apr. 2017. Web. 30 Apr. 2017.

¹³ Baumgart, Winfried, and Ben V. Mast. *Imperialism: The Idea and Reality of British and French Colonial Expansion, 1880-1914*. Oxford: Oxford U, 1989. Print. Pg

actual governance.¹⁴ In this regard, the American Empire may be considered informal imperialism.

1.4 Case Studies

I have chosen three historical case studies comprising of Imperial China,, the United Kingdom during its peak of the British Empire and the United States in the second half of the 20th century. I have chosen to look at only these three case studies due to the importance of comparing empires that occurred after the Industrial Revolution as these empires truly operated on a global scale and were able to influence events happening around the world. Imperial China is included as a case study due to the obvious influence this history still has on modern-day Chinese diplomacy. Spain was considered due to its access to a plethora of resources and wealth due to its vast colonies in Central and South America; however, by the start of the Industrial Revolution, the empire had been severely weakened and would lose the majority of her colonies shortly after in the early 19th century. In addition, the United Soviet Socialist Republic was also considered as a potential case study. However, her long-lasting impact has been limited to the former Soviet Bloc and due to space constraints, it has been rejected as a case study.

The fate of the British empire corresponds with existing theories on imperial expansionism. Julian Go, author of *Patterns of Empire: the British and American Empires, 1688 to the Present*, states in his comparison of the British and American empires that “both empires followed the same pattern of becoming more imperialistic when they were weak rather than when they were strong; both empires denied they were empires, and both empires were shaped by the actions of subject populations while proclaiming agency for themselves.”¹⁵ This is an important factor to consider

¹⁴ Baumgart, Winfried, and Ben V. Mast. *Imperialism: The Idea and Reality of British and French Colonial Expansion, 1880-1914*. Oxford: Oxford U, 1989. Print. Pg 6

¹⁵ Go, Julian. *Patterns of Empire: The British and American Empires, 1688 to the Present*. New York: Cambridge UP, 2013. Print.

when analyzing the behavior of China and her rhetoric regarding peaceful all-inclusive development when taking into consideration the territorial disputes that are occurring with neighbors over the South China Sea and the ambitious economic and infrastructure development project known as the One Belt One Road.

In addition, I have also chosen to analyze China's diplomatic behaviour from the mid-1970s due to the death of Mao Zedong and the beginning of Deng Xiaoping's governance. Deng started reforms in many aspects of political, economic and social life and is credited with opening China to international trade and investment¹⁶. As mentioned previously, China is a rising power and its development has caused concern amongst the international community. In order to fully analyze the emergence of a new world order with less American influence, it is crucial to include this chapter of China's long history into this research.

1.5 Limitations of Research

The dispute over the true meaning of concepts of imperialism, empire and world order have forced the author to define narrower meanings to these concepts. As a result, all readers may not immediately agree with the subject material or the comparisons being made across time and organizations. However, it is imperative to define the topics for the purpose of this research based on the understandings that resonate most clearly throughout academia and the general population.

The rise and fall of empires such as the United Kingdom and the United States are extremely complex and impossible to fully cover in the context of this paper. As a result, I have focused primarily on each state's foreign policy and geopolitical and geoeconomic actions on the world stage and included information on the economic and domestic issues only where the information is imperative to include. This thesis

¹⁶ "Deng Xiaoping." *Biography.com*. A&E Networks Television, 03 July 2014. Web. 27 Apr. 2017.

assumes that the reader has some understanding of the historical process that enabled each state to obtain their position as a power without an equal peer. However, I have included some historical information when it was necessary to include to ensure a reader's understanding of an analysis.

Since it is difficult to decipher the underlying motives behind certain foreign policy decisions of all power players, it is necessary to make assumptions based not only on government statements and propaganda but also on the actions taken by states and the consequences that have occurred as a result.

In addition, the status of the United States is constantly changing and there is uncertainty as to which direction the United States will take in regards to both domestic and foreign policies. As a result, existing trend patterns will be followed to ascertain the United States' role in the future rather than any specific reaction to current events happening under the administration of Donald Trump.

Finally, China is a constantly evolving state with an economy that has begun to slow down. This may weaken the Chinese Communist Party's legitimacy in the opinions of its populace and unprecedented actions may be taken as a result. There has also been considerable emphasis placed on China's contribution to CO₂ emissions and the impact on climate change. As a result, this may alter her foreign policy trajectory and it makes it challenging to hypothesize the exact strategy that the country will take in order to reduce environmental degradation while still maintaining the economic growth necessary to sustain governmental legitimacy.

In addition, China is promoting "peaceful development" and it is paramount to her sustained growth that other countries do not feel threatened by her. As a result, it is difficult to know if her increase in military spending is only for defensive reasons or if she is preparing for taking offensive action at some point in the future. This is an issue

that cannot be fully explored due to space constraints and I have chosen to omit this aspect of foreign policy accordingly.

2. Pax Sinica - China's Imperial Past

China is widely considered as one of the first nation states and as an entity, China is said to have been formed as early as 3-4000 years ago. China is the only ancient civilization still in existence today. This long history, and the way that the Chinese view themselves as a result, is an integral part of any study of contemporary China. Unlike other western countries, including the United States, Chinese do not identify themselves simply as a nation-state. They see themselves as something greater than this - they see themselves as a civilization-state rather than as a nation-state.¹⁷ This “civilization-state” that we know today began to form immediately after the Warring States Period; however, I will begin by discussing the Warring States Period as it offers insight into the 21st century foreign policy of the Chinese Communist Party.

Rather than “only” being the only remaining ancient civilization, China is also considered to be the first modern state with a centralized government. “Centuries before the Westphalian nation-state system in Europe, Asia was governed by imperial hierarchy, with China the central heart and peripheral kingdoms paying tribute. Trade and diplomacy were synonymous: China demonstrated its generosity by actually giving larger gifts and tribute to its vassals than it received, an elegant facade to mask the reality of dominance. Loyalty was bought, then earned.¹⁸”

¹⁷ Ted Talks Speech

<https://www.bing.com/videos/search?q=the+rise+of+china&view=detail&mid=A203CD9B9E00B8BC68BDA203CD9B9E00B8BC68BD&FORM=VIRE>

¹⁸ Khanna, Parag. *The Second World: How Emerging Powers Are Redefining Global Competition in the Twenty-First Century*. Penguin, 2009. Pg 258

2.1 The Warring States Period (475 BC to 221 BC)

It is important to consider China's Warring States period in order to fully understand her economic and political strategy today. Like wars amongst kingdoms and city-states throughout European history, the "wars that occurred were not generally ones due to diplomatic or territorial frictions among the seven states but instead were wars stemming from one state attempting to conquer and control all of the states. In other words, the formation of the empire came not as a result of anarchy but as a result of greed and drive for power.¹⁹" In his book *On China*, Henry Kissinger compares this period to the "interregnum between the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 and the end of the Second World War, when a multiplicity of European states was struggling for preeminence within the framework of the balance of power.²⁰" While it is impossible to know exactly the cause of the wars considering the time span considered and the complexity of history, if this information is correct, China did not come together as one entity out of necessity; it formed based on realist principles and the exceptionalism of the state and how Chinese view themselves may be slightly diminished.

In his book *The Hundred-Year Marathon*, Michael Pillsbury discusses the importance of the Warring States period when analyzing China's recent behaviour and I will discuss this in greater detail in the chapter of this thesis regarding contemporary China. However, I will briefly describe the strategy that states followed in order to overpower their adversaries.

According to Pillsbury, the nine elements of China's Hundred-Year Marathon include: 1) Induce complacency to avoid alerting your opponent; 2) Manipulate your opponent's advisors; 3) Be patient - for decades, or longer - to achieve victory; 4) Steal your opponent's ideas and technology for strategic purposes; 5) Military might is not the

¹⁹ *The Warring States Period of Ancient China*, www.sjsu.edu/faculty/watkins/warringstates.htm

²⁰ Kissinger, Henry. *On China*. Penguin Books Ltd., 2012. Ch 1 Digital copy

critical factor for winning a long-term competition; 6) Recognize that the hegemon will take extreme, even reckless action to retain its dominant position; 7) Never lose sight of *shi*; 8) Establish and employ metrics for measuring your status relative to other potential challengers; 9) Always be vigilant to avoid being encircled or deceived by others.²¹

“During the Warring States period, rising challengers overthrew many great powers. In each case, the successful rising power induced complacency in the old emperor by concealing any ambition to replace him. The worst thing a rising leader could do was to provoke confrontation with his more powerful rival before the point of maximum opportunity. Only in the final phase of a power bid, when the emperor was too weak to resist and had been abandoned by his former allies, did the rising challenger reveal his true aims.²²”

The Warring States Period seems to have followed a strategy similar to the children’s fable “The Tortoise and the Hare.” In the story, the tortoise uses a “slow & steady approach” to win a race against his opponent: the hare. Despite possessing the obvious advantage, the hare behaves arrogantly and ultimately loses the competition. As major empires have risen and fallen throughout history, similar situations have occurred. Empires overstretch themselves due to their own sense of superiority and eventually collapse. They lose the race just like the hare did. The underlying question is: Is China running a 100-Year Marathon? Is she the tortoise in this story? At the end of the Warring States Period, the Qin Dynasty “won” but then quickly lost control to the Han Dynasty²³ and imperial China was eventually cracked open because of her lack of awareness of how the world was developing around her.

The underlying question now is: if China is running a marathon, who will be the winner?

²¹ Pillsbury, Michael. *The Hundred-Year Marathon: China's Secret Strategy to Replace America as the Global Superpower*. St. Martin's Griffin, 2016. 39-40

²² Ibid.: Pg 38-39

²³ *The Warring States Period of Ancient China*, www.sjsu.edu/faculty/watkins/warringstates.htm.

2.2 Why China?

After the Warring States Period, China began to consolidate into one large civilization region. This region grew to become one of the most populous, developed territories in the world with a complex network of tributary systems. Civilizations outside of the tributary rings were considering barbarians and the Chinese viewed themselves as the center of the world. “United by a vast system of canals connecting the great rivers and population centers, China was for centuries the world’s most productive economy and most populous trading area [...] In fact, China produced a greater share of total world GDP than any Western society in eighteen of the last twenty centuries. As late as 1830, it produced over 30 percent of world GDP -- an amount exceeding the GDP of Western Europe, Eastern Europe, and the United States combined.”²⁴

Until 1644 and the start of the Qing Dynasty, the basic ideology behind Pax Sinica was the tribute system: “accept our superiority and we will confer upon you political legitimacy, develop a trade partnership and provide a range of what are known in the language of modern international affairs as public goods. These included policing the maritime commons, mediating disputes and granting access to China’s would-be universal system of learning, broadly based on Confucianism²⁵”. Borders were soft and the Westphalian system of state sovereignty did not exist in the Chinese perspective as she was the center for universe. All other territories were subordinate and revolved around her.

While the tribute system dictated international relations, the mandarin system controlled everything. Starting from the 7th century, China’s government was administered by a group of mandarins who formed an elite bureaucracy. China’s system of government lent itself to stability. Firstly, it relied on meritocracy and

²⁴ Kissinger, Henry. *On China*. Penguin Books Ltd., 2012. Ch 1 Digital copy

²⁵ W. French, Howard. “What Kind of Empire Will China Be?” *Literary Hub*, 12 May 2017, lithub.com/what-kind-of-empire-will-china-be/.

mandarins had to pass a gruelling exam. “By extending a relatively uniform administrative structure down to the county level, by integrating county-level gentry into a system of competition for imperial favor, by rotating imperial bureaucrats frequently and refusing to station them in their provinces of origin, by stimulating internal mobility and reducing public recognition of ethnic distinctness, and by making effective shows of central forces through much of its vast territory, the imperial state maintained most of its dynasties for centuries between collapses and conquests.²⁶” China, effectively, had managed to create a homogenous state with a collective identity. “When it entered the modern period, China had for well over one thousand years a fully formed imperial bureaucracy recruited by competitive examination, permeating and regulating all aspects of the economy and society.²⁷”

The Mandate of Heaven also provided a sense of accountability from the government towards its people. The principle ideology behind the Mandate of Heaven was that the emperor “was answerable to Heaven and indirectly answerable to the Chinese people. If the emperor and his government failed to govern responsibly, mistreated the people or abused their power, their authority to rule could be withdrawn. Some of the signs that Heaven had withdrawn its royal mandated included natural disasters such as flood, droughts, famines or pandemics.²⁸” In summary, if a dynasty were weakened by either internal or external forces, it was considered a Mandate of Heaven that another dynasty take control.

2.2.1 The Song Dynasty (960 - 1279)

During the Song Dynasty, there was rapid economic growth and social change including “growth in commerce and maritime trade, urban expansion and technological

²⁶ Barkey, Karen, and Mark Von Hagen. *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building: the Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires*. Westview Press, 1997. Pg. 4

²⁷ Kissinger, Henry. *On China* Digital Copy Pg. 61

²⁸ “The Mandate of Heaven.” *Chinese Revolution*, 14 July 2015, alphahistory.com/chineserevolution/mandate-of-heaven-confucianism/.

innovation.²⁹ By 1300, “China was the world’s leading economy and largest market [...] China’s huge population was unified, and order maintained by the emperor, who ruled as the son of heaven, holding power through virtue and piety.³⁰” The Chinese viewed themselves as the center of everything and with good reason. While China and its tributaries represented a complex, highly developed society, Europe was just beginning to show her true potential.

2.2.2 The Ming Dynasty (1368 - 1644)

The Ming Dynasty represents a turning point in Chinese history. “By 1420, when the Forbidden City was completed, Ming China had an incontrovertible claim to be the most advanced civilization in the world³¹”. Between 1405 - 1433, Admiral Zheng He proved China’s naval dominance by completing voyages to Java, India, the Horn of Africa and the Strait of Hormuz. His fleet dwarfed anything that had been thus far created in Europe and was significantly larger than even the Spanish Armada which existed a century and a half later.³²

Strangely, at its peak, China began to turn inward in the 15th century due to the high expense of outbound expeditions and an overpowering sense of arrogance and superiority of their own level of development over barbarians such as Europe. As a result, her well developed institutions began to collapse. “Turning inwards was fatal, especially for a complex and densely populated society like China’s....per-capita income stagnated in the Ming era and the capital stock actually shrank.³³” The country continued to decline while Europe became stronger and stronger due to the wealth gained through colonization and advances in technology.

²⁹ *Timeline of Chinese History and Dynasties | Asia for Educators | Columbia University*, afe.easia.columbia.edu/timelines/china_timeline.htm.

³⁰ Dobson, Wendy. *Gravity Shift How Asia’s New Economic Powerhouses Will Shape the 21st Century*. Toronto University Press, 2010. Pg 12-23

³¹ Ferguson, Niall. *Civilization*. New York: Penguin, 2011. Print. Pg 22

³² Kissinger, Henry. *On China*. Penguin Books Ltd., 2012. Ch 1 Digital copy

³³ Ferguson, Niall. *Civilization*. New York: Penguin, 2011. Print. Pg. 44

2.2.3 Qing Dynasty (1644 - 1912)

The Qing Dynasty was the last dynasty of imperial China and although they tried to regain some of China's former glory and strength, it was not enough to ward off European invaders. Due to the insular ideology of the Ming Dynasty, China was completely unprepared for the arrival of Europeans and, ironically for a civilization that invented gunpowder, did not have the military technology to compete with the European powers. They soon took advantage of China's weaknesses.

At the start of the 19th century, China dwarfed its neighbors and all European countries except Russia in regards to size, population and resources. However, domestic issues were causing the stability of the empire to decline further. The pressure of a rapidly increasing population was causing unrest and disorder, which caused peasant revolts. One of the strongest assets of Imperial China, its government based off of meritocracy, was deteriorating due to corruption and favoritism.

Between the pressure of internal forces and external players trying to forcibly open China, the Qing Dynasty began to crack.

2.2.4 The Qing Dynasty & The "Lakeside" - A Clash of Civilizations?

2.2.4.1 Europeans in China

The first Europeans arrived in China in 1517. However, "the lack of curiosity in neo-Confucian culture and the prevailing idea that foreigners were not worth much attention severely limited how large a part foreigners could play.³⁴" The Portuguese settled in Macau and used it as an outpost for trade with China. Like the balance

³⁴ "China's Growing Sea Trade with Europe 1517-1800." *China's Growing Trade with Europe 1517-1800* - *On This Day*, www.onthisday.com/asia/china_trade.php.

between large and small countries today, the balance of trade between China and its trade partners was largely unbalanced and trade with China was much more important to the small states than it was to China itself.

The Canton System developed in the 18th century and operated from 1757-1842. During this time, European merchants could only trade with specific Chinese partners and were restricted contact with the general population. They were also confined to a Canton (modern--day Guangzhou) and were unable to trade outside of the port area³⁵. The protectionist measures gave great power to the hong merchants but were very prohibitive for Europeans.

“The British were among the most significant traders of the Canton period, and for most of this time British trade was in the hands of the English East India Company which had been granted a monopoly on trade in the east by the British Crown. As England’s power and global influence grew, and trade with China increased, the British became dissatisfied with the restrictions at Canton and sought at various times to establish more formal diplomatic relations and more favorable trade terms. These efforts met with little success.³⁶”

2.2.4.2 The Opium Wars - a Chinese Perspective

Due to trade imbalances caused by the inability for the United Kingdom (and later on the United States) to sell products that the Chinese public desired and the ever-increasing demand for Chinese goods, the British merchants began to sell opium, which was grown in India and was in high demand. This created a huge increase in drug addiction and began to impact the productivity of the population.

³⁵ “The Canton System of Trade.” *The Canton System of Trade by Ralph Heymsfeld*, www.thepeacefulsea.com/canton-system.html.

³⁶ Ibid

“As the decade of the 1830s neared its end, the opium trade became a critical problem for the Chinese government.” Although some Chinese government may have been concerned about the moral implications of drug addiction, there was also worry over the new trade imbalance that existed. “The very reason for the opium traffic - the fact that the drug provided the West with a marketable commodity, the sales of which exceeded the value of Western imports from China - created a financial problem for the Chinese government. In short, commerce with the West, which had traditionally left China with a favorable balance of payments, was now draining China of its hard currency.³⁷” China’s financial system began to collapse because of the huge sums of silver coins that were being used to fund the Chinese drug habit.

As the Chinese government refused to view other governments as equals and due to a lack of platform that could be used for diplomatic solutions, tension quickly began to build. “With the Chinese determined to use force if necessary to put an end to a trade proscribed since 1800, the English merchants petitioned successfully for military support from their government. Thus the two countries, China and Great Britain, were drawn into conflict, into the Opium War³⁸.”

In some historians’ view, the Opium Wars were inevitable and opium was simply the catalyst that drove these events forward. “So long as the Chinese remained too arrogant to study these barbarians carefully, too arrogant to realize that England in particular had become powerful enough to make good the demand for diplomatic equality - for that long the point of Sino-Western contact could be but a powder keg awaiting a spark.³⁹”

By the end of the Opium Wars, China was forced to enter into “unequal treaties” that forced the country to open its borders to foreign trade and secured its status as a

³⁷ Cohen, Warren I. *America’s Response to China: a History of Sino-American Relations*. Columbia University Press, 2010. Pg 5-6

³⁸ Ibid.: Pg 6

³⁹ Ibid.: Pg 6

sphere of influence of more powerful countries. Foreigners were allowed to live and establish missionaries in China. China had lost Hong Kong to the British and it would not be until 1997 before China regained the territory.

2.2.4.3 The End of an Era

2.2.4.3.1 Taiping & Boxer Rebellions

The Taiping Rebellion broke out in 1851 as a peasant rebellion and cost roughly 20 million lives⁴⁰. The rebellion was designed to “unseat the Qing Dynasty” and focused on “social reform, demanding the abolition of food binding and land socialization and opposing strict gender separation.⁴¹” The Imperial Chinese system that had last over 2000 years collapsed under the pressure of both internal and external conflict and became a pseudo-colony.

The Boxer Rebellion began in 1898 in an attempt to protect the empire. Many Chinese and Europeans were killed in what was an anti-foreign movement. Infrastructure, such as railroads, were destroyed. The Chinese government asked for help from Russian, Britain and the U.S. for help. The rebellion was defeated and China agreed to pay \$330 million in reparations. China was then completely under control of foreign entities⁴².

The tide was changing against the Qing Dynasty as nationalism began to take hold. “The local gentry, students, journalists, and businessmen began to focus their attention on specific abuses of Chinese sovereignty and to demand an end to the special privileges the powers had wrested from China.⁴³”

⁴⁰ The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. “Taiping Rebellion.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 25 July 2017, www.britannica.com/event/Taiping-Rebellion.

⁴¹ <http://www.businessinsider.com/bloodiest-conflicts-in-chinese-history-2014-10>

⁴² History.com Staff. “Boxer Rebellion.” *History.com*, A&E Television Networks, 2009, www.history.com/topics/boxer-rebellion.

⁴³ Cohen, Warren I. *America’s Response to China: a History of Sino-American Relations*. Columbia University Press, 2010. Pg 5-6

2.3 The Decline of Imperial China

The time period foreign dominance is referred to domestically as the “Century of Humiliation” and provides an easy scapegoat for the Chinese Communist Party to explain the decline of Chinese civilization. However, while it is commonly believed by Chinese that China’s decline in the 19th century stemmed from the forced opening of its economy and the “negative effects of Western imperialism after the Anglo-Chinese war, “a more recent hypothesis is that China’s long-term political unity had a stifling effect on the country’s technological and strategic development at a time when Europe was divided into rival nation states. It was their competition at home and abroad that gave the Occident its decisive economic and military edge over the populous Orient.⁴⁴”

“Industrialization and the growth of nationalism had made the West more powerful and more assertive at a time when the Chinese had passed the peak of their power.⁴⁵”. The ignorance of the world around them and the arrogance of their own superiority had allowed other nations, including Great Britain and the United States, to surpass the political and economic power of China. “China’s pretensions to universal hegemony vanished in an age in which the Chinese were widely scorned - a once-proud empire reduced to semicolonial status.⁴⁶”

⁴⁴ Ferguson, Niall. *Colossus the Rise and Fall of the American Empire*. Penguin Books, 2009. Pg 259

⁴⁵ Cohen, Warren I. *America’s Response to China: a History of Sino-American Relations*. Columbia University Press, 2010. Pg 6

⁴⁶ Cohen, Warren I. *America’s Response to China: a History of Sino-American Relations*. Columbia University Press, 2010. Pg 7

2.4 An Imperial Toolbox

2.4.1 Hardware of an Empire

2.4.1.1 Defense

China was the strongest power in East Asia and surrounded itself with a ring of deferential satellites and protectorates. These protectorates created a buffer zone against attack from outside forces. However, China relied heavily on diplomatic measures to maintain peace and stability and War was seen as the last option for settling disputes and for gaining prestige and power.

2.4.1.2 Expansion

Unlike the later British and American empires, the Chinese empire “acquired no overseas colonies and showed relatively little interest in the countries beyond its coast. It developed no rationale for venturing abroad to convert the barbarians to Confucian principles or Buddhist virtues.⁴⁷” With the exception of the Yuan Dynasty (which was created and led by the Mongols), no dynasty attempted to reach Japan, which arguably would have provided an opportunity for eastward expansion.

However, westward and southern expansion proved to be a different story. During the reign of the Qing Dynasty, China gained the territories of modern day Xinjiang, Tibet, Mongolia and Manchuria. The strain of adding new territory quickly weakened the empire further. These territorial disputes are still present today and in the 21st century, China battles separatism within her western provinces which has led to deadly terrorist attacks.

⁴⁷ Kissinger, Henry. *On China*. Penguin Books Ltd., 2012. Ch 1 Digital copy

2.4.1.3 Infrastructure

While Europe was still an area of squabbling kingdoms and cities were underdeveloped, China had built extensive infrastructure including a complex system of canals and irrigation systems. The Silk Road provided an overland trade route through Central Asia to Istanbul and, specifically under Pax Mongolia, where traders could safely travel and find food, shelter and supplies along the way.

2.4.2 Software of an Empire

2.4.2.1 Geoeconomic Tools - The Tribute System

The tribute system was one of the most important aspects of imperial China. “Like any hegemonic order [the tribute system] was backed by military force, but when the system functioned well, principles of reciprocity involving politics and economics permitted long periods of peaceful interaction.⁴⁸” While some scholars say that the costs of maintaining the tribute system outweighed what they gained from it, the Chinese emperors relied on the foreign rulers’ subservience to legitimize their rule.⁴⁹ “The tribute model never required territorial domination; it was a means of extending influence to realms beyond direct Chinese control.⁵⁰”

2.4.2.2 Cultural Influence

“In the Chinese version of exceptionalism, China did not export its ideas but let others come to seek them.⁵¹” One of the largest sources of influence that China had on its neighbors was the written language which originated in China and spread through

⁴⁸ W. French, Howard. “What Kind of Empire Will China Be?” *Literary Hub*, 12 May 2017, lithub.com/what-kind-of-empire-will-china-be/.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Khanna, Parag. *The Second World: How Emerging Powers Are Redefining Global Competition in the Twenty-First Century*. Penguin, 2009. Pg 258

⁵¹ Kissinger, Henry. *On China*. Digital Copy. Pg 62

Japan, Vietnam and Mongolia. “In the core states of this region - Korea, Vietnam and albeit with growing ambivalence, Japan - Chinese values, Chinese culture, the Chinese language, Chinese philosophy and Chinese religion were all regarded for long stretches of history as essential references and even universal standards.⁵²”

2.5 Conclusion

China built an empire based off of a highly organized form of government that practiced a complex form of diplomacy with her tributes. Isolationism brought about her long decline and due to this, she was unable to compete with the European powers. The Chinese feel that their supremacy was shattered unfairly by European powers and many historians and political scientists believe that the goal of China is to recreate her past glory.

For this reason, the period of imperial China is extremely important to consider when analyzing the behaviour of 21st century China as the state becomes more and more powerful in the international community. China as an entity “began” after the end of the Warring States period and while battles that occurred thousands of years ago may not seem important in the present day, the past is a very important part of the Chinese psyche and still plays a strong role in contemporary domestic and international politics. What strategies has she put into place to ensure that history does not repeat itself?

⁵² Khanna, Parag. *The Second World: How Emerging Powers Are Redefining Global Competition in the Twenty-First Century*. Penguin, 2009. 253

3. Pax Britannica - Britain's Imperial Past

“The Atlantic empire did not become a worldwide empire according to some great plan but by the opportunism of businessmen, the ambition of adventurers, the self-confidence of the military, a gathering sense of national purpose and a series of accidents.”⁵³

3.1 Introduction

Between the 10th and 13th centuries, the Chinese empire reached a golden era and had built up one of the most developed civilizations in the world. At this time, European cities were underdeveloped and in the words of Thomas Hobbes, life in London was “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short⁵⁴”. However, within a few hundred years, this balance had shifted considerably. China had begun its long decline due to the inward-looking behaviour of the Ming Dynasty and the powers of Western Europe had begun a period of ruthless colonialism during which continents were plundered, native populations were decimated and the imperialistic powers continued to become wealthier and wealthier.

Spain and Portugal had divided South America and were ravaging the valuable resources of the continent while the Dutch and French had colonies spread out around the globe. England began the race towards imperialism later than its European counterparts but, nonetheless, was able to become the strongest and most far-reaching empire in history.

What can account for the sudden change that saw Europe, especially Great Britain,

⁵³ Paxman, Jeremy. *Empire*. Penguin, 2012. Digital. Chapter 4

⁵⁴ Ferguson, Niall. *Civilization*. New York: Penguin, 2011. Print. Pg 24

catch up with and then quickly surpass China? Most importantly, what actions did Britain take in order to build an empire where the “sun never set”? In this section, I will provide a brief analysis and historical timeframe of Britain’s Age of Empire. In addition, I have summarized the hardware and software of the empire that enabled the development of a truly global empire.

3.2 Why Europe?

First, in order to understand why Great Britain was able to build an empire so quickly, it is important to understand why western European countries as a whole were able to surpass Asia. In his book *Civilization*, Niall Ferguson argues that there were certain characteristics of western imperialistic states that “distinguished the West from the Rest”. According to Ferguson, the six characteristics listed below were “identifiably novel complexes of institutions and associated ideas and behaviours”.

“Competition - a decentralization of both political and economic life, which created the launch-pad for both nation states and capitalism⁵⁵”

Other political scientists and historians support this claim that the competition and constant fighting amongst European powers “encouraged innovation in military technology [...]rival states grew progressively better at raising the revenue to pay for their campaigns [...]and European monarchs all encouraged commerce, conquest, and colonization as part of their competition with one another⁵⁶.” In essence, the only way for European states to maintain sovereignty was to constantly innovate and develop new strategies. This innovation in military technology eventually allowed for gunboat diplomacy, which “implies diplomacy backed up by the threat of force⁵⁷” and made native peoples easier to subjugate.

⁵⁵ Ferguson, Niall. *Civilization*. New York: Penguin, 2011. Print. Pg 37-38

⁵⁶ Ibid.: 37-38

⁵⁷ “Gunboat Diplomacy.” *General History*, 26 Apr. 2013, general-history.com/gunboat-diplomacy/.

Science - a way of studying, understand and ultimately changing the natural world, which gave the West (among other things) a major military advantage over the Rest⁵⁸.

While the Islamic Golden Age lasted from the mid-7th until the 13th century, the empire turned inwards as a result of the Mongolian invasion during the Siege of Baghdad in 1258⁵⁹. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Chinese Empire also began a period of seclusion during the Ming Dynasty⁶⁰. These movements closed off both areas of the world to development and progress in regards to the sciences which greatly impacted their status as sovereign entities in the later years of the 2nd millennium A.D.

Property rights - the rule of law as a means of protecting private owners and peacefully resolving disputes between them, which formed the basis for the most stable form of representative government⁶¹

One example of this is the behaviour of the Virginia Company. In order to entice people to move to the eastern coast of the United States, the Virginia Company offered land ownership to anyone who could pay their own way across the Atlantic or the possibility of 'indentured servitude' which would ultimately end in the possession of land. This greatly increased the productivity of the colonists and the land that they farmed. After Virginia became a crown colony, the British government was able to tax tobacco production and the crop soon represented 25% of the customs revenue of the crown⁶².

Medicine - a branch of science that allowed a major improvement in health and life

⁵⁸ Ferguson, Niall. *Civilization*. New York: Penguin, 2011. Print. Pg 37-38

⁵⁹ "Islamic Golden Age." *Islamic History*, islamichistory.org/islamic-golden-age/.

⁶⁰ *Ming Dynasty History*, www.hceis.com/chinabasic/history/Ming_dynasty_history.htm.

⁶¹ Ferguson, Niall. *Civilization*. New York: Penguin, 2011. Print. Pg 37-38

⁶² Gordon, John Steele. *An Empire of Wealth: the Epic History of American Economic Power*. HarperPerennial, 2005. E-book, Ch 1

expectancy, beginning in Western societies, but also in their colonies⁶³

The progress in medicine is greatly connect with science. Improvements in knowledge and hygiene greatly increased the lifespan of European populations specifically during the Enlightenment in the 18th century.

The consumer society - a mode of material living in which the production and purchase of clothing and other consumer goods play a central economic role, and without the Industrial Revolution would have been unsustainable⁶⁴

A consumer society, with the help of the Industrial Revolution, propelled Britain, as well as other European countries, away from agricultural societies which generally survived only above subsistence-level to complex, intertwined economies. This topic will be covered in greater detail later in this chapter.

The work ethic - a moral framework and mode of activity derivable from (among other sources) Protestant Christianity, which provides the glue for the dynamic and potentially unstable society⁶⁵

This aspect is debatable and it is impossible to prove that the Protestant work ethic creates a higher level of productivity than other religions or cultures.

Other social scientists list specific inventions and innovations as the deciding factor of the world's fate. In his book *An Empire of Wealth*, John Gordon lists the printing press (due to its influence on expanding knowledge), the full-rigged ship, double-entry bookkeeping to help maintain a better economic overview of business ventures and expeditions and the joint stock company which allowed capital to be raised to fund

⁶³ Ferguson, Niall. *Civilization*. New York: Penguin, 2011. Print. Pg 37-38

⁶⁴ Ibid.: 37-38

⁶⁵ Ibid.: 37-38

large-scale endeavours through the use of many small investments. One of these joint-stock companies includes the infamous 'East India Company'⁶⁶.

3.3 Why Britain?

“She was the first frogspawn egg to grow legs, the first tadpole to change into a frog, the first frog to hop out of the pond. She was economically different from the other, but that was only because she was so far ahead of them”⁶⁷.

While western Europe in general was developing faster than Asia, why did Britain eventually take the lead? Many historians have looked at the rise and fall of the British Empire to try to gain understanding of how a small nation could quickly grow to encompass an empire that spanned the globe. Due to the constraints of this thesis, I will only briefly discuss the history of the British Empire and then, in more detail, highlight the non-military based aspects of the empire (the hardware and the software) that historians and political scientists believe made the empire so successful.

3.3.1 An Imperial History

Although privateers, which are often labelled by historians as state-sanctioned pirates, began England's initial path towards imperialism by plundering Spanish ships en route from Latin America to Europe, the country began her quest for globalization in the 16th and 17th centuries as a result of increased competition with France and an increase in commercial interest in the “New World”⁶⁸.

Following an increase in demand of imported products including sugar, tobacco and tea, merchants quickly realized the value of the products and thanks to relatively strong property laws, the wealthy were able to invest heavily in trade which in turn helped

⁶⁶ Gordon, John Steele. *An Empire of Wealth: the Epic History of American Economic Power*. HarperPerennial, 2005. CH 1

⁶⁷ Bernard Porter, *Britain, Europe and the World*, chs 1 & 2 (cited from Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*)

⁶⁸ *The British Empire*, www.thelatinlibrary.com/imperialism/notes/britishempire.html.

fund future voyages.

Despite getting a late start as compared to other powers, by 1815, Britain's status as an imperial power had already advanced considerably over other Great Powers due to "their adroit combination of naval mastery, financial credit, commercial expertise, and alliance diplomacy."⁶⁹ The economic strength of the country had enabled Britain to defeat Napoleon's navy and secure sea supremacy. Although the American colonies had been lost by the start of the 19th century, Britain held territory in present-day Canada, South Africa, India, Bangladesh, the Caribbean, South America and Australia⁷⁰.

"Flourishing overseas trade aided the British economy, encouraged seamanship and shipbuilding, provided funds for the national Exchequer, and was the lifeline to the colonies."⁷¹

3.3.1.1 Pre-1815

In order to understand how Britain became so powerful in the 19th century, it is important to understand the situation pre-1815. Due to high population growth, rising unemployment, high inflation and strong competition from European manufacturers in the cloth industry (the mainstay of English manufacturers) in the 17th century, England was full of extremely poor people who would soon become "economic immigrants." Emigrants were recruited with the promise of land and even the poor were offered a place as an indentured servant. This increased labor pool enabled the tobacco industry to develop. Tobacco could easily grow in Virginia and was lightweight which made it relatively inexpensive to ship back to England compared to the value that it represented.

⁶⁹ Kennedy, Paul M. *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*. Random House, 1990. Pg 193

⁷⁰ Porter, Professor Andrew. "History - British History in Depth: Britain's Empire in 1815." *BBC*, BBC, 17 Feb. 2011, www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/empire_seapower/britain_empire_01.shtml. Accessed 20/11/2017

⁷¹ Kennedy, Paul M. *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*. Random House, 1990. Pg 124

Having found their first profitable crop, the planters soon began using African slave labour to cut costs. This greatly increased their revenue and the colonies were then able to financially support themselves. “Tobacco transformed the economic balance and allowed the commercial ventures to continue and pay their way.⁷²” This was a crucial step in the process of colonization as it meant that more settlers could move to the New World and a self-sustaining economy could develop⁷³.

According to historian George Louis Beer as written in the early 20th century, “England’s imperial agenda was based on a collection of commercial laws that aimed to restrict foreign access to colonial markets and goods....England’s early modern empire was managed by a series of ‘regulations whose fundamental aim was to create a self-sufficient commercial empire of mutually complementary economic parts’⁷⁴.” England focused on mercantilist policies as these were seen as “natural defenses against foreign economic and military competition.⁷⁵”

The first “empire” of England included Jamaica (which was considered to be one of the most important colonies), Saint Kitts, Nova Scotia, New York, East and West Jersey, Carolina and Pennsylvania as well as trading outposts in West Africa and India and was established during the latter half of the 17th century⁷⁶. These colonies were staffed with British laborers that had emigrated there as servants. However, once the slave trade increased, as mentioned above, fewer and fewer English servants were needed. During this time, “economic thinkers raised the issue of the empire’s impact on England’s domestic labor supply. In her book *Competing Visions of Empire*, Abigail Swingen claims that this “shows that the establishment and growth of the early modern

⁷² “Timelines for the British Empire.” *British Empire Chronological History and Timeline*, www.britishempire.co.uk/timeline/timeline.htm.

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴ Swingen, Abigail Leslie. *Competing Visions of Empire: Labor, Slavery, and the Origins of the British Atlantic Empire*. Yale University Press, 2015. Digital Copy - Introduction

⁷⁵ Swingen, Abigail Leslie. *Competing Visions of Empire: Labor, Slavery, and the Origins of the British Atlantic Empire*. Yale University Press, 2015. Digital Copy - Introduction

⁷⁶ Ibid.: Introduction

English empire and the prevalence of slavery in the West Indies colonies were inextricably linked to political and ideological conflicts in England and to political-economic debates on ideas of population, empire and national wealth that took place throughout the early modern period.⁷⁷

In summary, colonies were designed to provide outlets for excess British labor but instead became cash-cows for wealthy plantation owners and merchants. It was only when the colonies had become self-sufficient that they were able to attract settlers with a variety of skill sets and become complex economies.⁷⁸ These settlements would later become a hallmark of the British Empire and could be seen in places as far flung as Canada and Australia.

3.3.1.2 Post 1815

“Among the main consequences of the expansion of British power in the generations before the First World War was the creation of a group of settlers societies with distinct economic characteristics.”⁷⁹

3.3.1.2.1 Industrial Revolution & the Rise of Consumerism

The turning point in many historians' view which made the West rise above the rest was the Industrial Revolution. In his book *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*, renowned historian Paul Kennedy supports this claim stating that “Asia still contained a far larger share of the world manufacturing output than did the much less populous Europe before the steam engine and the power loom transformed the world's balances⁸⁰”.

However, there is a reason why England was the starting point of the Industrial Revolution. Due to their economic strength and political stability, Great Britain was

⁷⁷ Ibid.: Introduction

⁷⁸ “Timelines for the British Empire.” *British Empire Chronological History and Timeline*, www.britishempire.co.uk/timeline/timeline.htm

⁷⁹ Magee, Gary Bryan, and Andrew Stuart Thompson. *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914*. Cambridge University Press, 2011. Pg 40

⁸⁰ Kennedy, Paul M. *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*. Random House, 1990. Pg 189

able to fully take advantage of developments in the use of steam and in the production of iron which led to the Industrial Revolution. In the words of Niall Ferguson, “long before the Industrial Revolution, little England was pulling ahead of the great civilizations of the Orient because of the material advantages of commerce and colonization.⁸¹”

“The advanced technology of steam engines and machine-made tools gave Europe decisive economic and military advantages.⁸² In factories, the use of steam and iron helped increase productivity which caused an increase in “demand for more machines, more raw materials (above all, cotton), more iron, more shipping, better communications, and so on.⁸³” The steam used engines in ships, as opposed to sail, drastically cut the travel time within the empire and allowed Britain greater control over her constituents. Railways were constructed across the empire. Combined, this helped promote interconnectivity of the empire’s colonies, specifically the “settler colonies” which, in turn, helped create additional consumer markets for England’s export products. The increase in factory productivity was then able to fulfill the increase in demand. This resulted in the “spectacular growth of an integrated global economy, which drew ever more regions into a transoceanic and transcontinental trading and financial network centred up on western Europe, and in particular upon Great Britain.⁸⁴”

“These decades of British economic hegemony were accompanied by large-sale improvements in transport and communications, by the increasingly rapid transfer of industrial technology from one region to another, and by an immense spurt in manufacturing output, which in turn stimulated the opening of new areas of agricultural land and raw-materials sources. The erosion of tariff barriers and other mercantilist devices, together with the widespread propagation of ideas about free trade and

⁸¹ Ferguson, Niall. *Civilization*. New York: Penguin, 2011. Print. Pg 46

⁸² Kennedy, Paul M. *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*. Random House, 1990. Pg 192

⁸³ *Ibid.*: 186

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*: 183

international harmony, suggested that a new international order had arisen.⁸⁵

The Industrial Revolution changed not only the economic landscape of Great Britain but also of her existing and soon-to-be colonies. “Britain benefited so much from the general economic and geopolitical trends of the post-1815 era that it became a different type of power from the rest.⁸⁶” This strength and stability, ultimately, had a long-lasting impact on the world.

3.3.1.2.2 The Rising Middle Class

The “average Briton in 1960 was nearly six times richer than his great-grandfather had been in 1860” and the amount of people working in the agricultural sector drops substantially.⁸⁷ If technological innovation spurred the supply side, the demand side of the Industrial Revolution was driven by the seemingly insatiable appetite human beings have for clothes⁸⁸. With increased productivity, higher wages and a drop in prices for consumer goods, purchasing power of the working class began to increase which increased the consumer base⁸⁹.

3.3.1.2.3 Opium Wars

It is impossible to discuss Britain’s empire without including the Opium Wars. While British missionaries were spreading the word of God throughout Africa, the British Navy was fighting for the country’s right to maintain itself as one of the main players in the international narcotics trade.

While these wars were discussed more thoroughly in the chapter of this thesis regarding the Chinese empire, it is important to bear in mind what Great Britain gained from these wars. Hong Kong, with its natural harbour and location as a gateway to China, XXXXX

⁸⁵ Kennedy, Paul M. *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*. Random House, 1990. 183

⁸⁶ Ibid.: 185

⁸⁷ Ferguson, Niall. *Civilization*. New York: Penguin, 2011. Print. Pg 199

⁸⁸ Ibid.: 201

⁸⁹ Ibid.: 212

3.3.2 Britain's Second Empire

Although Britain had forged an empire out of a scattering of outposts throughout the Caribbean and the Americas by 1815 (excluding the loss of the United States), it was not until the 19th century that the British Empire reached its full strength.

“Australia, New Zealand and many smaller Pacific Islands became ever more incorporated within Britain's imperial economy in the nineteenth century. They were encouraged to develop agricultural products that could be sold back to Britain to feed and clothes its ever increasing population.” Cape Town was seized from the Dutch in 1806 and then eastern and northern Africa began to draw Britain's interest. Hong Kong was ceded to the British in 1841 a result of the Opium Wars. In 1857, Britain took full control over India, the jewel in its crown, when the East India Company was finally disbanded.

“Many of Britain's military victories of the nineteenth century had been won largely due to the technological advantages of pitching a modern European force against archaic non-European armies.” The Boer War, which matched Britain with a well-equipped opponent using guerilla tactics, was a game-changer for the UK. The Boers had received modern military technology from Germany and had the capital to finance a war from their gold mines. Britain eventually needed to call on the support of her colonies to provide troops. As the 20th century progressed, this became a common trend in order for the British to combat her enemies.

3.4 The Fall of Britain & The Rise of the British Commonwealth

There are various interconnected theories on what ultimately caused the British Empire's decline and when analyzed, they combined theories begin to represent a

domino effect.

One theory states that the infrastructure developed during the Industrial Revolution put Britain's competitors at an advantage. The structural economic changes that Britain had put in place (the investment in colonies' infrastructure and contributing to their development) inadvertently caused the country's decline. "While the coming of steam power, the factory system, railways, and later electricity enabled the British to overcome natural, physical obstacles to high productivity, and thus, increased the nation's wealth and strength, such inventions helped the United States, Russia and central Europe even more, because the natural, physical obstacles to the development of their landlocked potential were much greater⁹⁰.

As her competitors developed (potentially thanks to the technological benefits that Britain had propelled forward), it made it harder and harder for Britain to maintain her advantage. When World War One broke out, the globalized economy was shattered and Britain's dependence on foreign trade and international finance proved to be a liability. "The inclusiveness of 19th century British World networks proved remarkably fragile, so much so that, under examination, their earlier inclusiveness looks less like an intrinsic quality or characteristic and more like a product of the relatively benign economic conditions of the period.⁹¹"

The sheer economic cost of war and the collapse of international trade became a debilitating factor for the British Empire. In his book "Empire", Ferguson suggests that both of the world wars were the cause of the decline of the British Empire but that the empire itself saved the country. "It was the staggering cost of fighting these imperial rivals that ultimately ruined the British Empire [...]the Empire was dismantled not because it had oppressed subject peoples for centuries, but because it took up arms

⁹⁰ Kennedy, Paul M. *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*. Random House, 1990. Pg 201

⁹¹ Ibid.: 238

for just a few years against far more oppressive empires.⁹²

Britain needed the support of her colonies to help her beat her opponents. In World War One, India contributed 1.5 million men to the British Army and Canada, South Africa, New Zealand and Newfoundland combined contributed 1.3 million more. New Zealand bore tremendous losses with around 5% of its men aged 15-49 being killed⁹³.

The sacrifice made by Britain's colonies did not come for free. "The colonies would at least prove to be a source of strength and aid when Britain became locked in mortal combat with totalitarian regimes bent on creating their own empires. But the cost of helping the mother country was often the demand for increased powers of self-government or even outright independence. It is no exaggeration to state that the Empire came to Britain's rescue in its various hours of need during the first half of the century, but that the ideal of empire also burnt itself out as wars to free and liberate peoples in Europe highlighted the contradictions inherent with imperial subjugation and control. The Empire found a purpose but in doing so discovered that it was no longer a suitable institution for the era it was entering. The twentieth century saw the effective end of Empire.⁹⁴"

As I will explain in the next chapter of this thesis, World War One changed the world forever. Economic opportunities decreased and empires collapsed, including the Russian, Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires, and a new power began to rise - the United States. As the power of the U.S began to increase the U.K had to question its place on the global stage. A new competitor had emerged.

⁹² Ferguson, Niall. *Empire* New York: Penguin, 2003. Print. Pg 298

⁹³ "Experiences of Colonial Troops." *The British Library*, The British Library, 9 Dec. 2013, www.bl.uk/world-war-one/articles/colonial-troops.

⁹⁴ "Timelines for the British Empire." *British Empire Chronological History and Timeline*, www.britishempire.co.uk/timeline/tim

3.5 An Imperial Toolbox

“The empire was not an active ingredient in economic policy-making, but neither did the British state eschew any role whatsoever in promoting imperial trade.⁹⁵” Private entities were encouraged to develop basic infrastructure including transport and communication networks and given the support necessary by the British naval and military power to ensure that the networks remain viable⁹⁶. As mentioned previously, these communications and transport networks created an interconnectivity that intrinsically changed the autonomy of the empire. Below, I will explain in more detail how the “hardware” and ‘software” of the empire impacted the empire’s strength and ultimate survival.

3.5.1 *The Hardware of Empire*

“British investment in developing economic principally took the form of portfolio investment in infrastructure, especially railways and port facilities. But the British also sank considerable (and not easily calculable sums directly into plantations to produce new cash crops like tea, cotton, indigo and rubber.⁹⁷”

3.5.1.1 Raw Materials & Exports

Like the Belt & Road project of the 21st century which will be discussed in greater detail later in this thesis, the railways served as an area of business development for Britain. Colonies served as sources of raw materials for the UK and also as export markets for various industries.

3.5.1.2 Infrastructure

“The Indian railways created a huge market for British locomotive manufacturers,

⁹⁵ Magee, Gary Bryan, and Andrew Stuart Thompson. *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914*. Cambridge University Press, 2011. Pg 11-14

⁹⁶ Ibid.: 133

⁹⁷ Ferguson, Niall. *Colossus the Rise and Fall of the American Empire*. New York: Penguin, 2009. Print. Pg 189

since most of the tens of thousands of engines put into service were manufactured in Britain.⁹⁸

3.5.1.3 Colonialism

The reminders of British colonialism can be seen throughout the world. “Colonies not only offered outlets for British products but also supplied many raw materials, from the valuable sugar, tobacco and calicoes to the increasingly important North American naval stores.⁹⁹” From Royal Mail mailboxes in Malta to the British bunkers in Singapore, England left her mark on the world. Ireland became the first colony of Britain in her empire and was followed by the colonies of the West Indies and the New World as mentioned above. The empire eventually expanded to cover all continents of the globe (bar Antarctica).

3.5.2 Software of Empire

The ‘software’ of the British Empire was crucial to sustain the empire’s reach. Rather than just being seen as a core (Great Britain) and the periphery, the empire has also been described as “an interconnected zone constructed by multiple points of contact and complex circuits of exchanges.¹⁰⁰” This software ended up being a crucial aspect of the empire and can still be seen today in the psychological connection that many people around the world still feel towards the United Kingdom.

3.5.2.1 Laissez-faire Political Economy & The End of Mercantilism

A laissez-faire economy is said to be one where the government follow a non-interference policy and allows economies to operate free from regulation. Although “in the nineteenth century, the British empire (at the time the world’s pre-eminent power) willingly utilised its military might and economic influence to

⁹⁸ Ferguson, Niall. *Empire* New York: Penguin, 2003. Print. Pg 170

⁹⁹ Kennedy, Paul M. *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*. Random House, 1990. Pg 125

¹⁰⁰ Magee, Gary Bryan, and Andrew Stuart Thompson. *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914*. Cambridge University Press, 2011. Pg 16

advance its interests - interests that included the global expansion of free trade¹⁰¹, regulations were gradually lifted throughout the century. “Mercantilist measures, with their emphasis upon the links between national security and national wealth, were steadily eliminated; protective tariffs were abolished; the ban on the exports of advanced technology (e.g. textile machinery) was lifted; the Navigation Acts, designed among other things to preserve a large stock of British merchants ships and seamen for the event of war, were repealed; imperial ‘preferences’ were ended.” Military spending was cut and consumed 2-3 percent of GNP¹⁰².

The lifting of these restrictions allowed trade to flourish. Colonies were able to produce products at a lower cost and export them without prohibitive tariffs involved. Profits were reinvested back into the economy and a complex trade network between British and her colonies began to develop.

3.5.2.2 Diaspora & Social Networks

“Central to the whole process of 19th-century globalisation was migration.¹⁰³” “Migrants were key players in Britain’s exploitation of global resources.¹⁰⁴” During the latter half of the 19th century, Europe experienced an unprecedented emigration of Europeans to the less “developed” regions of the New World. Many searched for greater economic mobility or to escape persecution and out of approximately 50 million immigrants, around 25% of them were British.¹⁰⁵ Much of the diaspora emigrated to the settler communities. “With an abundance of fertile land, but a lack of capital and labour, they had an almost magnetic attraction for British investors and emigrants.¹⁰⁶” The colonies supported this migration from Britain as it was assumed that they would assimilate more quickly than other immigrants due to the shared culture and language.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ Ibid.: 233

¹⁰² Kennedy, Paul M. *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*. Random House, 1990. Pg 196

¹⁰³ Magee, Gary Bryan, and Andrew Stuart Thompson. *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914*. Cambridge University Press, 2011. Pg 233

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.: 65

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.: xi

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.: 40

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.: 73

This diaspora, due to the advent of new technologies that increased transportation and communications channels, remained connected to the “motherland” and had a positive impact on the strength of the empire. In the book *Empire and Globalization*, Gary Magee states that, “it has been suggested that Britain’s international pre-eminence during the ‘long’ nineteenth century was built on a complex and overlapping series of social networks, which expanded through railway, telegraph and steamship technology (the ‘hardware of empire’); that after 1850 such networks became much more diverse and extensive; and that they had a marketed impact on the transmission of news, opinion and values within the British imperial world - indeed, that they helped hold it together.¹⁰⁸”

The British government encouraged people to imagine themselves as an interconnected global chain “who shared common standards, forms of communication and expectations.” This “exodus of people from the British Isles during the ‘long’ 19th-century turned national identities into transnational ones.¹⁰⁹” The exodus not only created psychological ties between the empire and its colonies but also created networks that “retained throughout a persistent bias towards Anglophone societies, in which British exporters found ready and expanding markets precisely because British settlers tended to have tastes that were more similar to than different from those of people back home.¹¹⁰”

3.6 Conclusion

The United Kingdom, like many empires before her, relied heavily on the merits of free trade and expansion in order to build her empire. The Industrial Revolution gave her

¹⁰⁸ Magee, Gary Bryan, and Andrew Stuart Thompson. *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914*. Cambridge University Press, 2011. Pg 17

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.: 233

¹¹⁰ Ibid.: 237

an important advantage over the other Great Powers and, as a result, her navy was able to maintain shipping lanes which supplied her growing network of colonies. Increases in infrastructure development allowed for greater connectivity amongst Britain and her colonies and strong ties remained amongst her population. As discussed earlier, this gave Britain the ability to compete with emerging powers but was eventually surpassed by the United States. However, her mark on the world is undeniable and as I will discuss in the following chapters of this thesis, similar trends and behaviours can be seen within the American Empire.

4. Pax Americana - America's Imperial Past

"The United States is an empire - but a peculiar kind of empire."¹¹¹

4.1 Introduction - An Exceptional Country

From her inception, the United States has tried to position herself on the international stage as a state that embodies a different type of ideology. After breaking free of her humble beginnings as a series of colonial settlements, the American psyche was shaped around the ideals of 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. As the nation developed and her influence grew, for policy makers, it became not only a question of spreading these ideals throughout their own territory but also into the wider international community.

The United States was founded and expanded based on a belief in white supremacy which is an integral part of the rapid growth of the country. Native American tribes were considered inferior and, as a result, could be treated in whichever way the European settlers believed fit. "The legislation defining who could become an American citizen, the Naturalization Act of 1790, begins: 'All free white persons...'¹¹²." Like the British colonizers before them, Americans believed that Caucasians were the purest, most developed race and that it was their moral duty to civilize non-Aryan populations.

Christianity also played a hugely important role in the way that Americans perceived themselves. In his book *Overthrow*, Stephen Kinzer describes the American mentality

¹¹¹ Ferguson, Niall. *Colossus the Rise and Fall of the American Empire*. New York: Penguin, 2009. Print. 287

¹¹² Bradley, James. *The Imperial Cruise: a True Story of Empire and War*. Little, Brown, 2010. Digital Edition Chapter 2

as one that believes that “the United States is a nation uniquely endowed with virtue¹¹³” and that Americans consider themselves to be “a peculiar, chosen people, Israel of our times (originally quoted by Herman Melville). “In a nation too new to define itself by real or imagined historical triumphs, and too diverse to be bound together by a shared religion or ethnicity, this belief became the essence of national identity, the conviction that bound Americans to each other and defined their approach to the world.¹¹⁴”

This unwavering belief in equality and freedom (if you were a Caucasian male) combined with a messianic mentality of Christianity has been an integral part of the American psyche since the birth of the nation. Despite glaring examples of when this “universal” ideology has been applied unevenly around the world as well as within her domestic borders, this belief in freedom and liberty for the masses still holds true amongst many Americans in the 21st century. This conflicting ideology between supremacy and equality is imperative to understand as it has shaped the foreign policy decisions of the United States throughout the past 150 years.

In this chapter, I will discuss a brief history of the United States focusing mainly on the foreign policy actions in the 20th century. While it is impossible to separate sections of history from their context, due to the constraints of this thesis I have chosen the particular time period from 1890 - 1989.

4.2 The American Psyche?

Leading up to the American Revolution, citizens denounced what they saw as tyranny and oppression by the British and hoped to form a nation where freedom, equality and social mobility could prevail. Anti-imperialism was imbedded in the American psyche from the beginning and later generations used this ideology as a justification for foreign

¹¹³ Kinzer, Stephen. *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*. Henry Holt & Company, 2007. Pg 315

¹¹⁴ Kinzer, Stephen. *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*. Henry Holt & Company, 2007. Pg 315

policy decisions.

This anti-imperialist sentiment was most-famously echoed in Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points issued immediately after World War One. "Five of the (points) concerned general principles for a peaceful world: open covenants (i.e. treaties or agreements) openly arrived at; freedom of the seas; free trade; reduction of armaments; and adjustment of colonial claims based on the principles of self-determination."¹¹⁵ Subsequent presidents followed Wilson's lead and made open proclamations against imperialism and its perpetrators. In his inauguration speech in 1949, Harry Truman later stated that "the old imperialism -- exploitation for foreign profit -- has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair-dealing."¹¹⁶

However, the actions of the United States have shown a different strategy - one in which the primacy of the country and her interests must be pursued at any cost. Despite obvious examples of imperialism including the annexation of Hawaii, the Pacific Southwest (formerly part of Mexico), the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico, the United States continued to maintain her identity by clinging to her past as a revolutionary state that valued equality and abhorred imperialism. Imperialism gave policy makers an enemy and ironically, allowed the nation to continue on her own path towards imperialism. "Only when the United States could cast itself in an anti-imperialist role - first against the British Empire during the Second World War and then (more wisely) against the Soviet Union during the Cold War - were Americans able to perform their own cryptoimperial role with self-confidence."¹¹⁷ In essence, the United States excelled as an imperialistic power when they started trying to convince

¹¹⁵ U.S. Department of State, U.S. Department of State, history.state.gov/milestones/1914-1920/fourteen-points.

¹¹⁶ "Harry S. Truman Library & Museum." *Public Papers Harry S. Truman 1945-1953*. Web. 05 Sept. 2017.

¹¹⁷ Ferguson, Niall. *Colossus the Rise and Fall of the American Empire*. New York: Penguin, 2009. Print. Pg 287

themselves that they were not one.

Despite the official rhetoric given by various presidential administrations as mentioned above, some American political scientists, historians and scholars choose to see the United States' role in 20th century geopolitics much more pragmatically and argue that the United States does resemble past empires. "America's global supremacy is reminiscent in some ways of earlier empires, notwithstanding their more confined regional scope. These empires based their power on a hierarchy of vassals, tributaries, protectorates, and colonies, with those on the outside generally viewed as barbarians. To some degree, this anachronistic terminology is not inappropriate for some of the statues currently within the American orbit."¹¹⁸

Others draw similarities in particular between the American and British empires. "In many respects, this American empire shares the same aspirations and ambitions as the last great Anglophone hegemon. Despite originating in a revolt against British imperialism, the United States inherited many of its begetter's defining characteristics. Styling itself, in good Whig terminology, an "empire of liberty," the fledgling Republic embarked on an astonishingly rapid colonization of the central belt of the North American continent."¹¹⁹

When comparing various definitions of the word as discussed in the methodology chapter of this thesis, it is difficult to argue against the prevalence of an American Empire. In this section, I will discuss the factors that allowed the US to develop into an imperialistic power and, despite the official foreign policy statements given, how American imperialism in the 20th century showed similarities to previous empires.

¹¹⁸ Brzezinski, Zbigniew. *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*. New York, NY: Basic, 2016. Print. Pg 10

¹¹⁹ Ferguson, Niall. *Colossus the Rise and Fall of the American Empire*. New York: Penguin, 2009. Print. Pg 287

4.3 18th Century

The United States of America declared independence in 1776 and officially began to exist in the late 18th century after the American Revolution successfully gained independence for the 13 colonies. Historically, the US colonies had served as outposts to help support the much more lucrative Caribbean Islands where sugar was being harvested. However, due to variances in immigration patterns and promises of social mobility to European immigrants, the colonies began to take a very different trajectory to the Caribbean colonies.

When comparing the future success of the United States compared to the Spanish colonies of Central and South America, much of it can be linked back to the strategies of the British and Spanish Empires. While the Spanish relied on plundering resources of Latin America and transporting the wealth to Spain, the British promoted land ownership and the opportunity for a new and better life. This applied only to European immigrants and, as such, immigrants of Asian or African descent as well as the native inhabitants of the present United States were seen as lesser beings who could be exploited accordingly. This distinction is important as it gave the colonies access to cheap land and cheap labor.

4.4 19th Century

While the rise of the United States after World War Two is indisputable, the country actually began her ascent in the 19th century. Westward expansion was an integral aspect of the nation's ascent and Thomas Jefferson as the 3rd US President "believed that a republic depended on an independent, virtuous citizenry for its survival, and that independence and virtue went hand in hand with land ownership, especially the ownership of small farms.¹²⁰" The only way to achieve this was to expand. Although

¹²⁰ History.com Staff. "Westward Expansion." *History.com*, A&E Television Networks, 2009, www.history.com/topics/westward-expansion.

the land was already being occupied by native populations, this did not diminish Americans desire for additional territory and due to the perpetuating ideas regarding racial superiority, there was little to no consideration as to how the expansion would impact non-Caucasian people.

There are a few key elements in the 19th century that shaped the development of the United States and its foreign policy including the Monroe Doctrine, the belief in “Manifest Destiny” and the annexation of Hawaii which will be discussed further below.

4.4.1 Monroe Doctrine

‘The American continents ... are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.’

The Monroe Doctrine, issued in 1823, was designed to signify a clear break between the New World and Europe and proclaimed three main concepts including separate spheres of influence for the Americans and Europe, non-colonization, and non-intervention. Although this doctrine could be misconstrued to appear as a policy of anti-imperialism, in reality, “they also desired to increase United States influence and trading ties throughout the region to their south. European mercantilism posed the greatest obstacle to economic expansion” and the Monroe Doctrine served as an opportunity to assert America’s influence over a weakened Europe. “Monroe’s principal concern had been to make sure that European mercantilism not be reimposed on an area of increasing importance economically and ideologically to the United States.¹²¹“

4.4.2 Manifest Destiny

While the United States was eyeing the land to the south for its economic opportunities, her gaze also continued looking west. Beginning in the 1845, the term Manifest Destiny was used to describe the Anglo-Saxon perceived entitlement to

¹²¹ History.com Staff. “Monroe Doctrine.” *History.com*, A&E Television Networks, 2009, www.history.com/topics/monroe-doctrine.

continue expanding west until the Pacific Ocean. “It was the notion that Americans and the institutions of the U.S. are morally superior and therefore Americans are morally obligated to spread those institutions in order to free people from the perceived tyranny of the European monarchies.¹²²”

Like the Monroe Doctrine, Manifest Destiny provided a justification for anti-imperialism; however, it paved the way for further U.S expansion. Proponents promoted the spread of American ideals through nonviolent means but, in reality, the US westward expansion was achieved greatly through a victorious war against Mexico (through which the United States gained present-day California, Utah, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico in 1848) and, much like the British expansion into Australia, the annihilation of Native American tribes¹²³.

This ideology greatly mirrors China’s imperial overland expansion into Tibet and Mongolia and the attempt to conquer Korea, Myanmar and Vietnam. The American settlers were successful in gaining territory and this was seen as a proof of superiority over “inferior” races. Unfortunately for the people involved, the expansionist dream did not end with the completion of America’s “manifest destiny.” “As the North American continent was explored and conquered, their successors used the same tools decade by decade to broaden the U.S. strategic horizon into Asia and Latin America.¹²⁴”

4.4.3 The Quest for Markets for American Goods and Cheap Resources

4.4.3.1 1890s

In his book *Overthrow*, Kinzer quotes historian Charles Beard saying “a free opportunity for expansion in foreign markets is indispensable to the prosperity of American business. Modern diplomacy is commercial. Its chief concerns is with the

¹²² “Westward Expansion.” *HistoryNet*, www.historynet.com/westward-expansion.

¹²³ *Ibid*

¹²⁴ Blackwill, Robert D. *War By Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft*. S.I.: Belknap Harvard, 2017. Print. Pg 157

promotion of economic interests abroad.¹²⁵ Expansion into foreign territories was seen as an opportunity to increase economic strength. The aforementioned belief in white supremacy, which was part of the public discourse in the 1890s and prevalent in academia, simply gave the politicians and business leaders the justification that they needed to enact their plans.

“The first wave of American ‘regime change’ operations, which lasted from 1893 to 1911, was propelled largely by the search for resources, markets, and commercial opportunities.¹²⁶ “Although the American economy grew tremendously during the last quarter of the 19th century, much of the country’s fabulous new wealth enriched only a few thousand captains of industry.¹²⁷ As the rich became richer the poor became poorer, wages were decreasing with many people living on subsistence wages and with high unemployment. On top of the changes in the social fabric due to an increasing population as immigrants flooded into the country, an economic depression hit the US in 1893. “Many business and political leaders concluded that the only way the American economy could expand quickly enough to deal with these threats was to find new markets abroad.¹²⁸ The present-day borders of the United States were effectively set and there was little valuable territory to gain with the North American mainland. While Europe had mercantilist laws to protect their own industries, other parts of the world, specifically Latin America and Asia, were seen as potential economic outlets for American made products. In addition, territories in Latin America and Asia were seen as valuable economic assets with resources that could provide substantial economic gain to American-based companies. Finally, in an age when major European powers were dividing up Africa, American politicians feared that if they did not gain colonies as well, they would lose their status as an emerging global power.

¹²⁵ Kinzer, Stephen. *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*. Henry Holt & Company, 2007. Pg 81

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*: 83

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*: 34

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*: 34

1898 is described by some historians, including Stephen Kinzer, as the year that the United States began to emerge as a world power. Much like the emergence of Great Britain as a world power, after the increase in economic strength due to the Industrial Revolution mentioned in the previous chapter, “only at the end of the century did the American economy reach a level of productivity that made these impositions a central feature of United States foreign policy.¹²⁹” A new era had begun.

4.4.3.2 Hawaii

In the 19th century, Hawaii became a hub for sugar production. The main plantation owners, most of whom were American, dominated the economy and politics. They relied on the exportation of sugar to the United States but after the US passed prohibitive tariffs known as the McKinley Tariff on imported sugar, the value of sugar exports to drop from \$13 million to \$8 million. Seeing the lucrative industry begin to become less profitable, the planters decided that the easier solution would be to orchestrate the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and become part of the United States therefore eliminating the tariff. The interests of a few rich landowners trumped the needs and wishes of the native population of roughly 40,000.

Despite the fact that there were only just over 6000 Europeans living in the Hawaiian islands, they had been imposing a “bayonet constitution” which allowed them to formalize their power by threatening military force if the monarchy choose to disobey their demands¹³⁰. The Americans were able to overthrow the Hawaiian monarchy in a step-by-step process which allowed them to gain increased amounts of power over time. Like the ancient Chinese strategy for defeating opponents, the monarchy was weakened not through a military intervention but by diplomatic measures led by American businessmen which culminated in the queen ultimately abdicating her throne.

¹²⁹ Kinzer, Stephen. *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*. Henry Holt & Company, 2007. Pg 81

¹³⁰ Kinzer, Stephen. *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*. Henry Holt & Company, 2007. Pg 18

Hawaii officially became part of the United States in 1959.

4.4.3.3 The Spanish American War

The Spanish-American War began in 1898 and was based on a combination of anti-imperialism ideology and American self-interests. The Philippines represented a large potential export market and by destroying what was left of the Spanish Empire, America would eliminate foreign imperialism in the Americas. The conflict started after the destruction of the U.S.S Maine in Havana Harbour. Despite there being no evidence to link this to the Spanish, on April 25th, 1898, President William McKinley declared war on Spain. The quick defeat of Spain made the US an imperial power with control over the territories of the Philippines, Cuba and Puerto Rico.

4.4.3.4 Philippines

The United States had a different plan for the future of their newly gained colonies than the populations of the colonies had for themselves. In a statement issued by President McKinley titled "Decision on the Philippines", McKinley encapsulates the overall attitude towards colonialism.

"When next I realized that the Philippines had dropped into our laps, I confess I did not know what to do with them. I sought counsel from all sides-Democrats as well as Republicans-but got little help. I thought first we would take only Manila; then Luzon; then other islands, perhaps, also.

I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight; and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed to Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way-I don't know how it was, but it came:

(1) That we could not give them back to Spain-that would be cowardly and dishonorable;

(2) That we could not turn them over to France or Germany, our commercial rivals in the Orient-that would be bad business and discreditable;

(3) That we could not leave them to themselves-they were unfit for self-government, and they would soon have anarchy and misrule worse than Spain's was; and

(4) That there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow men for whom Christ also died.

And then I went to bed and went to sleep, and slept soundly, and the next morning I sent for the chief engineer of the War Department (our map-maker), and I told him to put the Philippines on the map of the United States (pointing to a large map on the wall of his office), and there they are and there they will stay while I am President!"¹³¹

In his 1900 article, *On the War in the Philippines*, US Senator Albert Beveridge left little room for doubt regarding America's intentions for the Philippines.

"Commerce must be with Asia. The Pacific is our ocean.....where shall we turn for consumers if our surplus. Geography answers the question. China is our natural customer. Our largest trade henceforth must be with Asia. The Pacific is our ocean. More and more Europe will manufacture the most it needs, secure from its colonies the most it consumes. Where shall we turn for consumers of our surplus? Geography answers the question. China is our natural customer. She is nearer to us than to England, Germany, or Russia, the commercial powers of the present and the future. They have moved nearer to China by securing permanent bases on her borders. The Philippines give us a base at the door of all the East."¹³²

Over the next three years, as many as 200,000 Filipino civilians were killed and atrocities were committed by both armies. The United States' military was ultimately successful and the Philippines helped open the door to trade in Asia. Despite America's long-standing ideology regarding anti-imperialism, the Philippines were not granted independence until 1946.

¹³¹ Source Documents: William McKinley, "Decision on the Philippines" (1900), wps.prenhall.com/wps/media/objects/172/176739/20_phili.HTM.

¹³² Beveridge, Albert. *On the War in the Philippines*. 1900

4.4.3.4 The Open Door Policy

The Open Door Policy of China was another imperialistic tool used at the turn of the 20th century to enable the US to continue searching for new markets. The policy requested that China open trade to all countries on an equal basis and allowing access to treaty ports . While the US had not gained any pseudo-colonies from the effective collapse of the Chinese imperialistic government, this was an opportunity to guarantee economic opportunities.

4.4.4 A New Empire

“By 1899, the United States had become a world power in the sense that it was not only the greatest industrial nation, but it was also willing to use its new power militarily, after the fashion of the European states American leaders sought to emulate. It had acquired possessions near and far, and the sun shone on the American flag unfurled in East Asia as well as in the eastern Pacific and the Caribbean.¹³³

While Americans were shamelessly told by politicians and the media that the United States’ foreign policy was designed to liberate oppressed people, in reality, the “locals” of the territories that were under American influence suffered at the hands of their liberators.

4.5 20th century

“Speak softly and carry a big stick.¹³⁴”

A New American “Emperor” - President Theodore Roosevelt

When Theodore Roosevelt assumed the presidency in 1901 after the assassination of

¹³³ Cohen, Warren I. *America’s Response to China: a History of Sino-American Relations*. Columbia University Press, 2010. Pg 42-43

¹³⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, speech

William McKinley, one of his early speeches set forth his foreign policy stance. “Speak softly and carry a big stick” epitomized Roosevelt’s administration and differentiated it from McKinley’s. Roosevelt, a follower of Alfred Mahan’s, famously showed off America’s naval strength by sending the “Great White Fleet” on a voyage around the world crossing the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans. This excursion prepared the navy for the logistics of long-term deployment which would serve useful in the future¹³⁵ “For Theodore Roosevelt imperialist notions meant securing as many ports and colonies as possible, to cement America as a global power in both military and trade capacities.¹³⁶” While the Spanish American War had given the US her first colonies, there were many more areas of interest.

4.5.1 Panama Canal

The necessity for a canal across Central America increased as American influence extended south and westward. “Once the United States resolved to build an interoceanic canal, it felt the need to control events in nearby countries.¹³⁷” The originally chosen location of the canal in Nicaragua was abandoned due to geographical, geopolitical and economic factors and Panama was chosen instead. Despite being part of Colombia, there was already considerable American influence in the territory including the American-owned Panama Railroad. This influence was used to promote independence for Panama.

4.5.2 Cuba

As one of the US newly gained colonies after the end of the Spanish-American war, Cuba quickly became an unofficial protectorate of the US. After three years of maintaining direct military rule, President Taft removed the troops but “warned Cubans

¹³⁵ Kinzer, Stephen. *Overthrow / America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*. Henry Holt & Company, 2007. Pg 79

¹³⁶ <http://abouttheodoreroosevelt.com/theodore-roosevelt-and-imperialism/290/>

¹³⁷ Kinzer, Stephen. *Overthrow / America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*. Henry Holt & Company, 2007. Pg 103

that although the United States did not wish to annex their country, it was ‘absolutely out of the question that the island should continue to be independent’ if its citizens persisted in their ‘insurrectionary habit’.¹³⁸

After a period of rising nationalism across Latin America, the US finally found an ally in Cuba: Fulgencio Batista. Batista “broke diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, cracked down on the Communist Party, and invited American military advisers to train his army.¹³⁹” He also ruled as a brutal dictator, controlling the university, the press, and the Congress, and he embezzled huge sums from the soaring economy.¹⁴⁰

“Three times after 1902 the United States had intervened in Cuba to protect American investments, which by the end of World War Two had grown to impressive proportions. Americans owned 80% of Cuba’s utilities, 40% of its sugar, 90% of its mining wealth, and occupied the island’s key strategic location of Guantanamo Bay. Cuban life was controlled from Washington, for almost the only source of income was sugar, and by manipulating the amount of sugar allowed into the United States, Washington directed the economy.¹⁴¹

4.5.3 America in the World Wars

World War One and Two gave the United States the opportunity to prove to the global community what it was capable of. World War Two was a turning point not only for American primacy but also, more specifically, Great Britain falling behind the U.S. After joining the Allied powers in 1941, America began to control the strategic direction that the Allied powers would take. “American domination of the Alliance reflected a new era in world history. The United States had replaced Great Britain as the

¹³⁸ Kinzer, Stephen. *Overthrow / America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*. Henry Holt & Company, 2007. Pg. 89

¹³⁹ Kinzer, Stephen. *Overthrow / America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*. Henry Holt & Company, 2007. Pg 89

¹⁴⁰ The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. “Fulgencio Batista.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 12 Dec. 2016, www.britannica.com/biography/Fulgencio-Batista.

¹⁴¹ Ambrose, Stephen E., and Douglas Brinkley. *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938*. Penguin Books, 2011. Pg 167

dominant world power.” American productivity skyrocketed and by 1945, the U.S was producing 45% of the world’s arms around 50% of the world’s consumer products¹⁴².

At the end of the war, “the United States was the only nation in the world with capital resources available to solve the problems of post war reconstruction thanks to the economic gains that the U.S made by being the main distributor of weapons and supplies to the Allies during World War Two¹⁴³ . She could use this capital to dictate the form of reconstruction and to extend the areas of her own influence.¹⁴⁴” In essence, the United States was the “last-man standing” of the great powers and the American Century had begun. “In a world full of hatred, death, deception, and double dealing, the United States at the end of World War Two was almost universally regarded as the disinterested champion of justice, freedom, and democracy.¹⁴⁵”

4.5.4 The Truman Show.....

4.5.4.1 The Truman Doctrine & The Cold War

“I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures.¹⁴⁶”

The end of the war “found the United States either occupying, controlling or exerting strong influence in four of the five major industrial areas of the world - Western Europe, Great Britain, Japan, and the United States itself. Only the Soviet Union operated outside the American orbit.¹⁴⁷” “The Marshall Plan, followed by NATO, began in

¹⁴² Ambrose, Stephen E. *Rise to Globalism American Foreign Policy since 1938* Penguin Books, 1997 Pg 27

¹⁴³Best, Richard. “How the U.S. Dollar Became the World's Reserve Currency.” *Investopedia*, 23 Sept. 2016, www.investopedia.com/articles/forex-currencies/092316/how-us-dollar-became-worlds-reserve-currency.asp.

¹⁴⁴ Ambrose, Stephen E., and Douglas Brinkley. *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938*. Penguin Books, 2011. Pg 50

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*: 51

¹⁴⁶ Speech by Harry Truman, March 12th, 1947 House of Representatives

¹⁴⁷ Ambrose, Stephen E., and Douglas Brinkley. *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938*. Penguin Books, 2011. Pg 49

earnest an era of American military, political, and economic dominance over Europe¹⁴⁸.

On March 12th, 1947, President Harry Truman announced the Truman Doctrine which “established that the United States would provide political, military and economic assistance to all democratic nations under threat from external or internal authoritarian forces. The Truman Doctrine effectively reoriented U.S. foreign policy, away from its usual stance of withdrawal from regional conflicts not directly involving the United States, to one of possible intervention in far away conflicts.¹⁴⁹” Americans had reached a turning point in history. “Americans high and low implicitly assumed that with good policies and enough will, the United States could control events everywhere.¹⁵⁰” This arrogance ultimately lead to the deaths of millions of people and the overthrow of democratically elected governments in the developing world which if left undisturbed may have lead to greater long-term stability which I will explain in greater detail below.

“It has often been noted that Americans expect their wars to be grand heroic crusades on the worldwide scale, a struggle between light and darkness with the fate of the world hanging on the outcome.¹⁵¹” The Cold War gave Americans an enemy and as I will discuss below, the widespread fear of the Communist ideology amongst the American population gave the US government relatively free reign to pursue its own political and economic interests in regards to foreign policy during the first two decades of the Cold War. Although the US was involved in military activity around the world during the Cold War, I have focused on a few key instances that I feel have had the longest lasting impact on the world.

Despite the official rhetoric that had been issued by U.S presidents since the

¹⁴⁸ Ambrose, Stephen E., and Douglas Brinkley. *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938*. Penguin Books, 2011. Pg 101

¹⁴⁹ *U.S. Department of State*, U.S. Department of State, history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/truman-doctrine.

¹⁵⁰ Ambrose, Stephen E., and Douglas Brinkley. *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938*. Penguin Books, 2011. Pg 107

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*: 83

Declaration of Independence, the notion of anti-imperialism was greatly overlooked during the Cold War and the Truman Doctrine gave the United States justification necessary to pursue imperialistic policies. Foreign lands could find themselves under attack if there was a perceived threat of a Communist revolution and countries as diverse as Guatemala, Vietnam, Korea, Cuba and Iran found themselves under pressure from both the United States. Although America is called the victor of the Cold War, there was not only one loser. Around the globe, repercussions are still felt as a result of the belligerent activities of the Cold War powers.

4.5.5 1950 - 1975

Despite the euphoria at the end of World War Two, the celebrations were short-lived as the 1950s and 1960s ushered in proxy wars with the Soviet Union in Korea and Vietnam and the US became involved in. The Cold War and the rhetoric of a battle between good and evil justified this action. Although the “State Department had repeatedly stated that the United States should never allow the Communists to claim that America was fighting a white man’s war against Asians, that was exactly what happened.¹⁵²”

The Korean War is labelled the “forgotten war” although the effects of it are still raising fear amongst nations today. The Vietnam War was the first major defeat of the US military machine and shattered the feeling of invincibility that America had possessed until that point. Much has been written about both conflicts and the overall consensus is that the wars represented the battle between two superpowers with the biggest loser being the developing countries themselves. Due to the plethora of information available on the bloody conflicts, I have focused purely on the aftermath of the wars and the current status of the states involved.

¹⁵² Ambrose, Stephen E., and Douglas Brinkley. *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938*. Penguin Books, 2011. Pg 206

Covert operations also played an important role in US foreign policy during this time period. Activity in Iran and Latin America showed the influence that the CIA had and what could be accomplished with very little financial investment on the part of the US government.

4.5.6 Korea

The Korean War costs the lives of 5 million Koreans and nearly 40,000 Americans¹⁵³ and destroyed the infrastructure of Korea. Korea remains divided to this day and while South Korea has excelled economically and is now considered a highly developed country with a high-tech industrialized economy, the Democratic Republic of North Korea survives on a combination of nuclear rhetoric and economic aid. Human rights violations are pervasive and there is a constant question on how the region can be stabilized.

4.5.7 Vietnam

The Vietnam War had a lower human cost but still claimed the lives of 3 million people including 58,000 Americans.¹⁵⁴ Despite America “losing” the war against the Communists, Vietnam has developed into a stable country. While the economy stagnated initially and the country faced isolation after the North Vietnam overran South Vietnam in 1975, “since the enactment of Vietnam's "doi moi" (renovation) policy in 1986, Vietnamese authorities have committed to increased economic liberalization and enacted structural reforms needed to modernize the economy and to produce more competitive, export-driven industries.¹⁵⁵ These reforms have transformed Vietnam and the future is looking very positive. “Vietnam has a young population, stable political system, commitment to sustainable growth, relatively low inflation, stable currency, strong FDI inflows, and strong manufacturing sector. In

¹⁵³ History.com Staff. “Korean War.” *History.com*, A&E Television Networks, 2009, www.history.com/topics/korean-war.

¹⁵⁴ History.com Staff. “Vietnam War.” *History.com*, A&E Television Networks, 2009, www.history.com/topics/vietnam-war/vietnam-war-history.

¹⁵⁵ “The World Factbook: VIETNAM.” *Central Intelligence Agency*, Central Intelligence Agency, 14 Dec. 2017, www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/vm.html.

addition, the country is committed to continuing its global economic integration. Vietnam joined the WTO in January 2007 and concluded several free trade agreements in 2015-16, including the EU-Vietnam Free Trade Agreement, the Korean Free Trade Agreement, and the Eurasian Economic Union Free Trade Agreement.¹⁵⁶

4.5.8 Iran

Shortly after the end of the Korean War in July 1953, the American government exercised its strength in a very different capacity. The overthrow of Mossadeq as a democratically elected prime minister in 1953 was one of the first examples of CIA interference in the political system of another country. Mossadeq was elected as premier in 1951 and immediately began executing policies that increase the living standard of Iranians and also attempted to nationalize the oil industry which had thus far been profiting the UK greatly since the discovery of oil.

4.6 A Shattered Economy

By the 1970s, Japan and West Germany had recovered from the devastation of World War Two and were fast on their way to becoming economic powerhouses. The capitalistic model institutionalized in the 1950s which had created the American dream where a factory worker could have a comfortable life made American labor too expensive and corporations began to seek other developing countries where they could produce their goods. Like what had happened in the UK, industry jobs dried up as the steel mills and automobile companies moved jobs overseas. The domestic consumption of American-made goods began to decrease as imported goods were better and cheaper.

¹⁵⁶ "The World Factbook: VIETNAM." *Central Intelligence Agency*, Central Intelligence Agency, 14 Dec. 2017, www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/vm.html.

4.7 1980s - 1990s

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 heralded a new-era for the world. America watched as unimaginable events took place in China, Eastern Europe and the the Soviet Union. “The absence of an American response to the world revolution of 1989 was in part a consequence of self-imposed limitations placed by President Bush.....He could not offer help to emerging democracies desperate for the kind of aid the United States had extended after World War Two in the Marshall Plan because the U.S treasury was empty.¹⁵⁷” America’s most formidable enemy was gone and replaced by a shell of its former self.

4.9 An Imperial Toolbox

4.9.1 Hardware of an Empire

4.9.1.1 Military Imperialism

Although I will not cover in-depth the military aspect of the United States due to the limited scope of this thesis, it is imperative to mention it as it has played an instrumental role in the perception of the United States as an empire both at home and abroad. The term “semiwar” coined by James Forrestal refers to a “condition in which great dangers always threaten the United States and will continue doing so into the indefinite future. When not actively engaged in hostilities, the nation faces the prospect of hostilities beginning at any moment, with little or no warning. In the setting of national priorities, readiness to act becomes a supreme value¹⁵⁸”. In essence, the United States has been under perpetual threat and is acting accordingly in regards to military spend, investment, research and development, and foreign policy. However,

¹⁵⁷ Ambrose, Stephen E. *Rise to Globalism American Foreign Policy since 1938* Penguin Books, 1997
Pg 353

¹⁵⁸ Bacevich, Andrew J. *Washington Rules: America's Path to Permanent War*. New York: Metropolitan, 2011. Print. Pg 28 - 29

as the world's only remaining hegemon, it is questionable whether or not these threats are duly valid concerns.

4.9.1.2 Territory Expansion

While it is generally believed that America's role as a superpower was solidified during or immediately after World War Two, the country's quest towards imperialism began long before then. Both the Manifest Destiny and the Monroe Doctrine as described above represented the belief in racial superiority over natives living west and south of the borders of the United States and justified the need for the nation's continued expansion. Despite the moralistic undertones behind the foreign policy towards neighboring territories, like the British Empire's motives for expansion, the real motivation for the United States was economic factors.

Territory expansion across North America and colonization into the Philippines, Hawaii, Central America and the Caribbean gave the United States access to cheaply produced agricultural products including sugar, in the case of Hawaii, and bananas, in the case of Guatemala. Although the United States government did not always maintain a presence in the territories, American business interests did and were able to apply considerable force and influence in "domestic" issues. The overthrow of the Arbenz government in Guatemala, the Allende government in Chile and the Mossadegh government in Iran serve as testimony to the power of corporate companies and economic interests.

The territory expansion also allowed gains in regards to strategic military outposts and infrastructure, especially in the case of the construction and control of the Panama Canal.

4.9.1.3 Infrastructure

4.9.1.3.1 Domestic Development

In 1956, a bill was introduced to create a 41,000 mile highway system that would connect America. Henry T. Ford had created a nation of drivers and therefore, a nation of consumers of the raw materials such as rubber and steel that were needed to make the cars and the construction materials that were needed to build the infrastructure.

4.9.1.3.2 Marshall Plan

“The United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social condition in which free institutions can exist.¹⁵⁹”

“Officially known as the European Recovery Program (ERP), the Marshall Plan was intended to rebuild the economies and spirits of western Europe, primarily.¹⁶⁰” However, this gesture was not merely a benevolent gift made by the United States to foster development in Europe. Rather, it served two purposes. First, despite claims that the funding was available to all states and that no ideological ties were associated with it, in reality, the Marshall Plan provided a way to rebuild Western Europe and help promote economic development. Economic development served two goals. It deterred states from following a Communist ideology and created support for the “American way of life.” By helping to develop the economies of Europe, the US was able to create a new group of consumers for American produced goods which helped further develop the U.S. economy.

¹⁵⁹ Secretary of State George Marshall, June 1947, Harvard University

¹⁶⁰ “History of the Marshall Plan.” *George C. Marshall Foundation*, marshallfoundation.org/marshall/the-marshall-plan/history-marshall-plan/.

4.9.2 Software of an Empire

4.9.2.1 Geoeconomic Tools

World War One showcased not only the military power but also the economic power of the state. During the interwar period, “President Wilson and his foreign policy architects turned to facilitating U.S. private investment overseas; U.S. investment dollars would be their mechanism of choice for expanding American influence abroad.

¹⁶¹” The US then furthered its economic control through the Lend-Lease Policy of 1941 which “exercised control over British export, sought unilateral decision over the level of British gold and dollar reserves, and sought to extract U.K. concessions about the character of postwar commitments to participate fully in the new economic order.¹⁶²”

4.9.2.2 Finance

4.9.2.2.1 Export-Import Bank

In 1934, the Roosevelt administration established the Export-Import Bank. The initial purpose of the bank was to facilitate trade with the Soviet Union. However, by 1938, the bank had expanded into Latin America¹⁶³.

The Bretton Woods System

In 1944, the Allied countries signed the Bretton Woods Agreement, “seeing strengthened international economic cooperation as their best hope for avoiding the horrors of another global war.¹⁶⁴” The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank were formed during this agreement.

¹⁶¹ Blackwill, Robert D. *War By Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft*. S.I.: Belknap Harvard, 2017. Print. Pg 158

¹⁶² *Ibid.*: 159

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*: 159

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*: 159

The IMF “is an organization of 189 countries, working to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty around the world.

¹⁶⁵”

The World Bank was designed to provide loans to countries for social and economic infrastructure and currently has 189 members. According to their website, the World Bank Group is a unique global partnership fighting poverty worldwide through sustainable solutions. The organization has developed into one of the key players of the development industry and in 2015 alone provided “302 commitments totaling \$60 billion in 2015.¹⁶⁶”

Both of the Bretton Woods “Twins” have been criticized for not taking the needs of small countries into account while applying liberalisation principles of economics. “The World Bank and the IMF often attach loan conditionalities based on what is termed the ‘Washington Consensus’, focusing on liberalisation—of trade, investment and the financial sector—, deregulation and privatisation of nationalised industries. Often the conditionalities are attached without due regard for the borrower countries’ individual circumstances and the prescriptive recommendations by the World Bank and IMF fail to resolve the economic problems within the countries.¹⁶⁷”

The Dollar as the Global Reserve Currency

In 1944, the U.S dollar officially became the global reserve currency. “In an effort to free international trade and fund postwar reconstruction, the member states agreed to fix their exchange rates by tying their currencies to the U.S. dollar. American politicians, meanwhile, assured the rest of the world that its currency was dependable by linking the U.S. dollar to gold [...] And thus the golden age of the U.S. dollar began.

¹⁶⁵ “About the IMF.” *IMF*, www.imf.org/en/About.

¹⁶⁶ “History.” *World Bank*, www.worldbank.org/en/about/history.

¹⁶⁷ “What Are the Main Concerns and Criticism about the World Bank and IMF?” *Bretton Woods Project*, 4 Feb. 2014, www.brettonwoodsproject.org/2005/08/art-320869/.

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Despite the expansion of the Eurozone and China’s push for an elevated position of the renminbi into reserve status, the U.S dollar has been able to weather periods of stagflation, high inflation and deflation and currently “remains the world’s reserve currency based largely on the size and strength of the U.S. economy and the dominance of the U.S. financial markets.”¹⁶⁹

“The United States enjoys a number of strategic benefits arising from the dollar’s global role. It serves as “disaster insurance” - in times of international financial or geopolitical turmoil, money flees to dollars, boosting U.S buying power and hence the nation’s capacity to respond effectively. It affords the United States the unique ability to run sizeable fiscal and current account deficits while borrowing in its own currency. And it enables the sort of financial sanctions that whether leveled against particular banks or companies or meant to isolate entire countries, as with Iran.”¹⁷⁰

Free Trade

Despite mercantilist policies in place at the beginning of statehood, the United States historically relied on a heavily interconnected international trading and investment system with Great Britain as the center due to her naval might and industrial development and as early as the 1890s, a ‘special relationship’ between the two nations has been in place. As such, “for many generations, geoeconomics in the United States involved the question of how the connection between the American economy and the British system could be accomplished so as to maximize American prosperity and security.” World War One changed the international system and the

¹⁶⁸ Stephey, M.J. “Bretton Woods System.” *Time*, Time Inc., 21 Oct. 2008, content.time.com/time/business/article/0,8599,1852254,00.html.

¹⁶⁹Best, Richard. “How the U.S. Dollar Became the World’s Reserve Currency.” *Investopedia*, 23 Sept. 2016, www.investopedia.com/articles/forex-currencies/092316/how-us-dollar-became-worlds-reserve-currency.asp.

¹⁷⁰ Blackwill, Robert D. *War By Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft*. Belknap Harvard, 2017. Pg 78

“U.K.-supported global commercial system began to weaken, and London gradually lost its strength and eventually its political will to defend it, leaving Washington with the profound question of how best to manage the world order.¹⁷¹”

Before the interwar period, the United States followed protectionist policies including the 1930 Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act which substantially raised the tariffs on American goods. The heavily industrialized states to the north wanted restrictive measures to protect their industries and the agricultural states to the south wanted lower restrictions that would help increase exports¹⁷².

However, “between 1934 and 1945, twenty-nine Reciprocal Trade Agreement treaties were made between the United States and various Latin American countries”. After the end of World War Two, America became one of the biggest proponents of free trade including playing a role in the formation of the GATT. “This move to free trade wasn’t just about economics. Trade expansion was central to broader U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War. Together with military alliances, trade agreements helped bind together the major free-market democracies, their growing prosperity serving as an effective counter to the centrally planned economies of the Soviet Bloc and the People’s Republic of China.¹⁷³”

“Other economic techniques, such as aid (especially the Marshall Plan), currency stabilization, and promotion of private investment, were also important components of American foreign policy. But American trade policy was the key to success¹⁷⁴.”

¹⁷¹ Blackwill, Robert D. *War By Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft*. S.I.: Belknap Harvard, 2017. Print. Pg 157

¹⁷² Destler, I. M. “America's Uneasy History with Free Trade.” *Harvard Business Review*, 26 Sept. 2016, hbr.org/2016/04/americas-uneasy-history-with-free-trade.

¹⁷³ Destler, I. M. “America's Uneasy History with Free Trade.” *Harvard Business Review*, 26 Sept. 2016, hbr.org/2016/04/americas-uneasy-history-with-free-trade.

¹⁷⁴ Blackwill, Robert D. *War By Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft*. S.I.: Belknap Harvard, 2017. Print. Pg 159

GATT & WTO

The General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) was signed by 23 countries in 1947 and began as a trade treaty after World War Two to try and boost the global economy by eliminating or reducing tariffs and quotas. “The original intention was to create a third institution to handle the trade side of international economic cooperation, joining the two “Bretton Woods” institutions, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.”

In 1994, the Uruguay Round Agreements led to the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) which was signed by 123 countries. As of 2016, there are 164 participating member states.

Bilateral Trade Agreements

The US currently has free trade agreements with 20 countries including Australia, Bahrain, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Israel, Jordan, South Korea, Mexico, Morocco, Nicaragua, Oman, Panama, Peru and Singapore¹⁷⁵. Until 2017 and the election of Donald Trump, the United States was also poised to sign the Trans-Pacific Partnership. “This agreement was meant to reduce or eliminate up to 18,000 tariffs on both agricultural and manufactured products, boosting trade, economic growth as well as political ties between the 12 countries. Former president Barack Obama and other TPP supporters believed that this deal could have helped the United States increase its influence over Asia-Pacific while countering China’s growth in power.¹⁷⁶”

¹⁷⁵ *Free Trade Agreements | United States Trade Representative*, ustr.gov/trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements.

¹⁷⁶<https://www.forbes.com/sites/peterpham/2017/12/29/why-did-donald-trump-kill-this-big-free-trade-deal/#56ac06e4e627>

NAFTA

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is one of the most important trade agreements that the US has entered. Despite facing domestic resistance due to the fear that American jobs would be lost, the agreement came into effect in 1994. Bill Clinton believed that “NAFTA would not only save jobs but also open new markets for US products, by combining 250 million Americans with 90 million Mexicans and 27 million Canadians into a no-tariff trading bloc with a combined GNP of some \$7 trillion a year.”¹⁷⁷

Cultural Imperialism

Creating A Global Consumer Society

In the post-World War Two United States, the consumer society spread throughout the US. However, it was not only Americans that had an appetite for American products. Unlike the British Empire, the United States did not need to rely on diaspora to spread American culture. “From blue jeans to Hollywood movies to Coca-Cola to rock and roll to SUVs to computer chat rooms, (American culture) pervades the rest of the planet” and there are very few countries in the world where the presence of America is not felt.¹⁷⁸

The Decline of the United States

In his book *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*, Paul Kennedy points out that, like the British Empire, the United States runs the risk of “imperial overstretch” as it “is the inheritor of a vast array of strategical commitment which had been made decades

¹⁷⁷ Ambrose, Stephen E., and Douglas Brinkley. *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938*. Penguin Books, 2011. Pg 411

¹⁷⁸ Gordon, John Steele. *An Empire of Wealth: the Epic History of American Economic Power*. HarperPerennial, 2005. E-book, Introduction

earlier, when the nation's political, economic and military capacity to influence world affairs seemed so much more assured.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ Kennedy, Paul. *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*. Vintage, 1988. Pg 665

Pax Sinica 2.0? - A Chinese Imperial Present and Future

“China does not see itself as a rising, but a returning power ... It does not view the prospect of a strong China exercising influence in economic, cultural, political, and military affairs as an unnatural challenge to world order—but rather as a return to a normal state of affairs.”¹⁸⁰

In the previous chapters, I have briefly discussed the development of the Chinese, British, and American empires as well as the unique factors and circumstances that allowed each empire to gain an extraordinary amount of power and control in the international community as well as maintain a position as a global (or in the case of China, a regional) state.

Trade and economic development have played a dominant role in the development of each empire discussed in this thesis and have given the nations the capital to build up extensive trade networks and colonies. In turn, this capital also helped each empire develop a strong military and in the case of the United States, become a hegemonic power.

In this chapter, I will begin by briefly explaining the recent transformation of China and compare and contrast certain elements of the Ancient Chinese, British and American empires as they pertain to economic development and soft power of contemporary China. I will also look in depth at China’s actions within the international community in regards to their economic, social and trade policies in the 21st century. For purposes

¹⁸⁰ Henry Kissinger, On China Digital Copy

of continuity as per the previous chapters, I have labeled the tangible assets of the empire as the “hardware” of the empire and the intangible assets as the “software” of the empire as in previous chapters of this thesis. This analysis will enable the reader to ascertain whether or not China’s activities foreshadow an even more aggressive foreign policy approach in the future. The author’s conclusion will be covered in the closing of this chapter.

Based on this ultimate goal, the questions that I endeavour to answer in this chapter include: Is contemporary China behaving like the British and American empires in regards to economic factors? If so, is imperialism a means to an end? Unlike the British Empire which initially began to grow due to the demands of a laissez-faire economy, does China have plan in place to complete their “Hundred-Year Marathon” and return to dominance over Asia?

The Importance of this Research

There are thousands of articles, books and academic journals and papers dedicated to the rise of China and what this means for the future. Although China has publicly stated numerous times that she wishes to develop peacefully and share prosperity with her neighbors, many political scientists see China as a grave threat to other countries due to her desire to restore her illustrious past. China is already a global state and has the ability to greatly impact other parts of the world. Political scientists and governments around the world are watching China closely to see what her future policies will be. Many of these governments and individuals have expressed concern about how the future will look as we move farther into the 21st century.

While China’s early organization into statehood may have caused complacency in regards to technological, economic and military development as discussed in the chapter of this thesis on Imperial China, China seems to have learned her lesson and

will do whatever it takes to not repeat it. Peaceful development has become a new catch phrase to explain China's rapid economic growth and increasing presence on the global stage. While maintaining an external appearance of "peaceful development", an important question is what will happen when China has finally risen? Will China become an imperialist power? Is she already one? In his book *Overthrow*, Stephen Kinzer describes the late 19th century as a time when "outsiders watched the emergence of this new America with a combination of awe and fear."¹⁸¹ The same can be said for China today.

China in the 20th Century

The 20th century witnessed massive changes in how China was perceived by the international community. The beginning of the century saw the end of Imperial China and the beginning of the civil war that would ultimately end with the victory of Communism and the beginning of Mao Zedong's reign in 1949. After the disastrous policies of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution which saw the widespread attack on Chinese culture and led to the deaths of millions of people, China finally began to liberalize in the early 1970s after the start of Triangular Diplomacy. After the death of Mao Zedong and the appointment for Deng Xiaoping, the economy was gradually loosened and international relations were normalized with the United States.

1989 should have marked a disastrous year in Chinese diplomacy. China imposed martial law in Tibet in response to independence movements and on June 2nd, the People's Liberation Army opened fire on unarmed protesters in Tiananmen Square after mass demonstrations took place demanding "more freedom, an open

¹⁸¹ Kinzer, Stephen. *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change from Hawaii to Iraq*. Henry Holt & Company, 2007. Pg 81

government, an end to the privileges enjoyed by the elite, and democracy.¹⁸² Thousands of protesters were killed. While the massacre was initially denounced by Bush, relations were normalized shortly afterwards. Despite outrage from politicians and the populace, a precedent had been set. China had free reign to deal with domestic issues as they saw fit.

Since then, China has experienced a meteoric rise in economic power and is now a major global player on the world stage. However, civil rights violations plague the country and the China remains an authoritarian state ruled by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). According to Human Rights Watch, China “curtails a wide range of fundamental human rights, including freedom of expression, association, assembly, and religion.¹⁸³ Due to these violation, it is even more imperative for the CCP to maintain their legitimacy. Like many empires before them, one of their strategies for stability is to promote economic growth and opportunity within not only their borders but within the entire Eurasia region.

China Today - China’s Peaceful Development?

“China should develop itself through upholding world peace and contribute to world peace through its own development. It should achieve development with its own efforts and by carrying out reform and innovation; at the same time, it should open itself to the outside and learn from other countries. It should seek mutual benefit and common development with other countries in keeping with the trend of economic globalization, and it should work together with other countries to build a harmonious world of durable peace and common prosperity. This is a path of scientific, independent, open, peaceful, cooperative and common development.”¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Ambrose, Stephen E., and Douglas Brinkley. *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy since 1938*. Penguin Books, 2011. Pg 355

¹⁸³ “China.” *Human Rights Watch*, 27 Jan. 2016, www.hrw.org/world-report/2016/country-chapters/china-and-tibet.

¹⁸⁴ *White Paper: China's Peaceful Development*, in chineseembassy.org/eng/zt/peaceful/t855717

Since the 1970s, China has become a very different place than it was under Chairman Mao. “The countryside has also been transformed, most notably by three forces: the re-commercialization of agriculture, the spread of industry, and the waves of rural to urban migration that have integrated China in new ways. Access to education in China has improved greatly, as has the quality of China’s university system. Chinese businesses compete globally, now going head-to-head with North American and European corporations in telecommunications, heavy machinery, and renewable forms of energy. At home, China’s new middle and upper classes have developed expanding appetites for international luxury goods, travel, and international real estate¹⁸⁵.

The Chinese Communist Party must ensure continuous growth of its economy and the standard of living of its populace must continue to increase in order to legitimize the “success” of the party and help it continue its Hundred-Year Marathon. Much like the children’s fable, “The Tortoise and the Hare”, China seemingly plans to move slowly forward and watch as the other Western powers, most notably the United States, exhaust themselves and their economies.

Like the belief system behind the Mandate of Heaven, the CCP relies on stability to maintain their status as China’s ruling party. “Ever since the founding of ‘New China’ in 1949, China’s foreign and domestic policies have both served the same goal: to maintain internal political stability under the leadership of the Communist Party.^{186”}

In order to continue along this slow path, China must have the economic resources to sustain itself. Much like powerful states before it, China has turned to imperialist activities in order to achieve this.

¹⁸⁵ Abrami, Regina M., et al. *Can China Lead?: Reaching the Limits of Power and Growth*. Harvard Business Review Press, 2014. Pg 9

¹⁸⁶ W. French, Howard. “What Kind of Empire Will China Be?” *Literary Hub*, 12 May 2017, lithub.com/what-kind-of-empire-will-china-be/.

Domestic Issues

Before I begin discussing China's foreign policy strategy, it is important to understand the issues that are driving these policies. Despite experiencing unprecedented YOY GDP growth in the beginning of the 21st century, China still suffers from a low per capita GDP compared to developed nations and faces a plethora of problems domestically; many of which are due to the baby boom started by Mao

Food Security

Sustaining food security has always been one of the most important goals for governments at all levels in China[...] (after the food crisis in 2007 when prices increased by 12.3%) [...] China increased agricultural investments by 27% in 2007, 38% in 2008, and another 20% this year. No other big country, with the exception of India, has raised agricultural budget to this extent (The Financial Times Limited 2009). In 2008, China increased export duties on major crops, such as wheat, barley, and rice..... Overall, China's policy response to the crisis has been praised globally. It has given an opportunity to the country to pay more attention to food security issues. Overall, China considers itself mostly self sufficient and food secure in the production of rice, wheat and corn.¹⁸⁷

Although in the article cited above, the outlook for China in regards to food security appears positive, the increase in urbanization can lead to a decrease in arable land as well as a decrease in the rural labor force as more and more able-bodied workers relocate to cities. . HBLAHBLAHBLAH

Biggest trade partners for food imports to China include ASEAN, European Union, New Zealand and the United States (check % levels). Rice fields in ASEAN countries could decline by 50% due to population growth.

¹⁸⁷ *China | Food Security Portal*, www.foodsecurityportal.org/china/res

Urbanization

As the Industrial Revolution changed the fabric of Great Britain and the United States, China is experiencing the same changes due to urbanization. As was the case in England and America, the lack of economic opportunities in tertiary and rural areas draws millions of migrants to cities. This causes overcrowding in the cities and a decline in wages..

While the Belt & Road Strategy is an opportunity for China to gain control of trade networks and infrastructure to ensure food security, China is currently exploring additional outlets for food production including Latin America and Africa.

Environmental Considerations

The rapid growth of the Chinese economy has caused unprecedented environmental degradation for both herself and her neighboring countries. In the 2006 book *China: What the World Needs to Know Now About the Emerging Superpower*, the authors state that “sever air and water pollution along with water shortages are threatening human health, industrial production and crops.....Sixteen of the world’s twenty most air-polluted cities are in China. Two-thirds of China’s cities do not meet the country’s own air emission standards. Nearly 200 cities fall short of the WHO standards for airborne particles. China’s current and continuing heavy dependence on its domestic, low-quality coal, which accounts for about 70% of China’s energy supply, has led to serious health problems and deterioration of China’s air quality.¹⁸⁸”

The contamination of fresh water and soil has caused significant concern to the future health of the Chinese population. “More than 75 percent of the surface water flowing

¹⁸⁸ Bergsten, C. Fred. *China: the Balance Sheet: What the World Needs to Know Now about the Emerging Superpower*. PublicAffairs, 2007. Pg 68

through China's urban areas is considered unsuitable for drinking or fishing; 90% of urban groundwater is contaminated; and nearly 50% of river water is unsuitable for agriculture or industry.¹⁸⁹

The figures look apocalyptic. However, at a time when the United States has rescinded its support for the Paris Agreement and continues to reject the idea of climate change, China has emerged as one of the world's leaders in renewable energy sources.

Resources

While China continues to develop and more of the population moves into urban areas, it is evident that there will be major issues in regards to available resources. "The size and speed of the increase in (their) industrial and residential demand are straining the carrying capacities of the world's natural resources and the global commons."¹⁹⁰ Although China has a "generous endowment of coal, but must rely on imports of oil and natural gas. China feels greater vulnerability to supply disruptions because its imports come from unstable countries and must be transported through sea lanes under the control of other nations."¹⁹¹

As was the case with Great Britain in the 19th century and the US in the 20th century, China has turned towards developing countries and has made lucrative deals that enable China to exploit resources. "China's leaders have an almost paranoid fear of a coming crisis leading to regional or global resource scarcity. As a result, they are determined to obtain ownership or direct control of valuable natural resources overseas, just as Europe's mercantilist monarchs attempted to do by colonizing the

¹⁸⁹ Bergsten, C. Fred. *China: the Balance Sheet: What the World Needs to Know Now about the Emerging Superpower*. PublicAffairs, 2007. Pg 68

¹⁹⁰ Dobson, Wendy. *Gravity Shift How Asia's New Economic Powerhouses Will Shape the 21st Century*. Toronto University Press, 2010. Pg 104

¹⁹¹ Ibid.: 105

New World in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries¹⁹².”

Some of the strategic nations that China has focused on have been “countries on China’s borders and in regions with resources.” From 2001 to 2005, “Beijing focused on three strategic regions of the developing world: Latin America, North Africa, and Central Asia, all of which have extensive oil and gas”

China As An Aggressor?

Political scientists around the world have tried to understand the motivations of the Chinese government and hypothesize what the state’s next steps will be. Modern China is looked at with a mixture of suspicion and awe by many states. While the state could prove to be an economic development model for other developing countries, the lack of political reform away from the one-party system led by the Chinese Communist Party has disappointed others.

In his book “The Hundred Year Marathon”, Michael Pillsbury warns readers that China’s strategy follows the pace of a “Hundred Year Marathon”. While an athletic marathon normally entails a slow and steady pace to ultimately achieve victory, the Hundred-Year Marathon that Pillsbury refers to is the time period starting with the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949 until 2049 - the date when the Chinese Communist Party plans to overtake the United States as the dominant power in international politics and begin a new world order. “They see a multipolar world as merely a strategic waypoint en route to a new global hierarchy in which China is alone at the top.¹⁹³” “With the Marathon on the verge of success, the Chinese now see room to be more belligerent than ever before, while still keeping their greater aspirations in check.¹⁹⁴”

¹⁹² Pillsbury, Michael *The Hundred-Year Marathon*. New York: St Martin’s Griffin, 2015. Print Pg 39-40

¹⁹³ Pillsbury, Michael *The Hundred-Year Marathon*. New York: St Martin’s Griffin, 2015. Print Pg 38-39

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*: 203

Other political scientists agree that China's ultimate goal is to regain what it views as its rightful place in the world. "China's security strategy seeks "hegemony over much of Asia" and wishes to replace the United States as the preeminent power in Asia, to reduce American influence, to prevent Japan and the United States from creating a kind of 'contain China' front, and to extend its power in the South China and East China Seas so that it can control the region's essential sea lanes.¹⁹⁵"

However, other political scientists view China's strategy as being more benevolent. "China's goals include maintaining peace and stability on its borders, portraying itself to other nations as a benign and constructive actor, possibly becoming a model of development to other nations, obtaining resources needed to power the Chinese economy, isolating Taiwan, and demonstrating the possibility that it can eventually become a great power - one day even an equal of the United States.¹⁹⁶" Between 1949 and 1979, China had border confrontations with all of her neighbors (bar Mongolia); however, has had no other confrontations since. This is important to keep in mind as it may reflect China's continued focus on maintaining stability.

The Chinese Psyche?

As discussed throughout this thesis, the Chinese are proud of their heritage and what the Chinese civilization has given to the world. However, does this sense of self and pride have a strong impact on her foreign policy? Below are some aspects worth consideration.

Rekindling a Lost Legacy

In his 2005 book *The Under-Heaven System: The Philosophy of the World Institution*, Zhao Tingyang describes a system that "redesigns global structures based on

¹⁹⁵ Ford, Christopher *The Mind of Empire*. Kentucky. The University Press of Kentucky. 2010. Digital Copy Pg 30

¹⁹⁶ Kurlantzick, Joshua. *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power Is Transforming the World*. Yale University Press, 2008. Pg 130

traditional Chinese ideals. That new world is called *tianxia* which in Mandarin can be translated as “under-heaven,” “empire,” and “China”. The China scholar William A. Callahan translates *tianxia* as a unified global system with China’s “superior” civilization at the top. Other civilizations, such as the United States, are part of the “barbarian wilderness.” As the center of the civilized world, China would have the responsibility to “improve” all the nations and people of the world by “harmonizing” them - spreading Chinese values, language and culture so they can better fit into under-heaven. This empire “values order over freedom, ethics over law, and elite governance over democracy and human rights.¹⁹⁷”

A version of this “under-heaven” can be seen in the Belt & Road Initiative. In this project, China is attempting to build an interconnected network of train lines highways and shipping lines with China sitting in the center.

Revenge

The term “the Century of Humiliation” that the Chinese use to refer to the period of the mid-19th century until the mid-20th century is telling enough in regards to their view of the past. It emphasizes a feeling of victimization of China by imperialist powers and the phrase alone can already provide some insight as to what the future may hold. According to Pillsbury, China is determined to regain what it views as its rightful place as a leading power in the world and will do whatever it takes to achieve this.

Dominance over Asia

To begin, if China’s main goal is to restore her legacy over Asia as believed by political scientists such as Michael Pillsbury, Japan and, ultimately, the US as Japan’s strongest ally in the region will be targeted. Despite the official rhetoric issued by the CCP in Beijing promoting stability and peace, China’s main goals do appear to include

¹⁹⁷ Pillsbury, Michael *The Hundred-Year Marathon*. New York: St Martin’s Griffin, 2015. Print Pg 29

restored dominance of the Asian continent and a return to its position as the Middle Kingdom surrounded by vassal states.

As one of the dominating states of Asia over the past 50 years, Japan has the 4th largest economy in the world behind the US, China and India; however, the per capita GDP is the 42nd highest putting it much, much higher than China's ranking of 106.¹⁹⁸ Despite its "peace constitution", Japan is also seen by China "as a major military rival support by a sixty-year-old alliance with the United States, and it must be overcome if China is to recover the status it regards as its due in the region."¹⁹⁹

"During most of the second half of the 20th century, including most of the Maoist era, Beijing took a relatively relaxed attitude toward Japan, eagerly absorbing its technology and increasingly massive investments and studying its successes once China's so-called reform and opening period got under way in the early 1980s. As it did so, Beijing mostly deemphasized the divisive past. China similarly took a largely accepting view of American military primacy in East Asia in the post-Mao era. In hindsight, with both of these positions recently having changed dramatically in the space of less than a decade marked by sharp national ascent, one is tempted to say that China simply made a pragmatic calculation that it was too weak to do anything about either of these situations and should therefore concentrate on quietly building its strength."²⁰⁰

Imperialism?

"An important element of China's grand strategy is derived from what is known in the West as mercantilist trade behavior - a system of high tariffs, gaining direct control of natural resources, and protection of domestic manufacturing, all designed to build up a

¹⁹⁸ "The World Factbook: JAPAN." *Central Intelligence Agency*, Central Intelligence Agency, 6 Nov. 2017, www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ja.html.

¹⁹⁹ *Everything Under the Heavens How the Past Helps Shape China's Push for Global Power*. Vintage Books, 2018. Digital Version - Chapter 1

²⁰⁰ W. French, Howard. "What Kind of Empire Will China Be?" *Literary Hub*, 12 May 2017, lithub.com/what-kind-of-empire-will-china-be/.

nation's monetary reserves.²⁰¹

An Imperial Toolbox

Hardware of an Empire

It has yet to be seen what China's full "hardware" will be as a emerging 21st century empire. However, China is asserting her influence throughout Eurasia.

Territory expansion

Taiwan

Although the position of Taiwan is debatable due to the history of its being part of China before the Sino-Japanese War, China's territorial expansionism from the late 20th century to present day can be considered a form of neoimperialism. Despite losing her diplomatic status to China, including its seat in the United Nations in 1971, Taiwan still maintains her position as an independent country.

For China, the question of Taiwan illustrates the increasing desire to maintain its imperial "borders" which also encompass the contested areas of Xinjiang and Tibet. Rather than relying on expansion for new resources, markets, etc, China's view over these territories is more an issue of national pride and nostalgia over a glorious past. While the American empire has proven how dangerous a nation can be when either business interests are at stake (in the case of various countries in Latin America including Chile and Guatemala) or national pride is wounded (in the case of Grenada), the same can be true for China. Although heavily reliant on the rhetoric of "peaceful development", this could change if the Chinese Communist Party deems military action necessary in order to maintain state legitimacy.

²⁰¹ Pillsbury, Michael *The Hundred-Year Marathon*. New York: St Martin's Griffin, 2015. Print Pg 39-40

The South China Sea

Currently, there are ongoing disputes over uninhabited islands in the South China Sea with China, Taiwan, Japan, the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia. Gaining ownership to this islands would extend each countries maritime boundaries and allow them access to potentially lucrative underwater oil and gas deposits. Tensions rose in 2012 between Japan and China but thus far, little activity or provocation has been made by either state.

Infrastructure

“Chinese-financed and -built dams, roads, railroads, natural gas pipelines, ports, and airports are either in place or will be from Samoa to Rio de Janeiro, St. Petersburg to Jakarta, Mombasa to Vanuatu, and from the Arctic to Antarctica. Many are built in service of current and prospective mines, oilfields, and other businesses back to China, and at times to markets abroad.²⁰²” However, the most important project in the past decade has been the Belt & Road Initiative which is projected to include land and sea-based infrastructure networks throughout Eurasia.

Belt & Road & Marshall Plan

Much like the Marshall Plan provided the United States additional economic growth opportunities, the Belt & Road Initiative currently being undertaken by China includes “billions of dollars of Chinese money are to be invested abroad in railways, ports, power stations and other infrastructure that will help vast swathes of the world to

²⁰² LeVine, Steve. “China Is Building the Most Extensive Global Commercial-Military Empire in History.” *Quartz*, Quartz, 9 June 2015, qz.com/415649/china-is-building-the-most-extensive-global-commercial-military-empire-in-history/.

prosper.²⁰³ The project, if successful, will bring a plethora of benefits to China in regards to economic development and access to resources.

First, the project provides China an additional outlet for Chinese consumer and industrial goods, particularly steel. The growth rate of China's economy has been declining in recent years and "China has reached the point where the manufacturing share of GDP has peaked and will begin to decline as the economy becomes increasingly service based, but services seldom grow at the double-digit rates that manufacturing is sometimes capable of."²⁰⁴ In order to sustain rapid economic growth, and, in turn, promote a stable environment and support for the CCP, it is crucial to find an outlet that will help prop up the manufacturing sector.

It also provides China an additional transportation route through Eurasia and towards Europe in case seabased lines are interrupted. While the Belt and Road Strategy has been used to embrace infrastructure development across Asia, one of the key areas to be built up is in its border countries as well as within its own borders. "Beijing has financed an increasingly dense network of cross-border railways, roads, water projects, and oil and gas pipelines across mainland China in recent years."²⁰⁵ These projects allow China to access strategic natural resources, create additional political support for Beijing and bring neighbouring countries more closely under their influence²⁰⁶.

Finally, it also has the potential to decrease the potential for terrorism by pushing wealth "west" towards areas that have previously been unstable due to Islamic extremism.

²⁰³ The Economist - October 14th - 20th 2017 issue

²⁰⁴ Huang, Yiping. "Understanding China's Belt & Road Initiative: Motivation, Framework and Assessment." *China Economic Review*, vol. 40, 01 Sept. 2016, pp. 314-321. EBSCOhost, doi:10.1016/j.chieco.2016.07.007.

²⁰⁵ Blackwill, Robert D. *War By Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft*. Belknap Harvard, 2017. Pg 115

²⁰⁶ Blackwill, Robert D. *War By Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft*. Belknap Harvard, 2017. Pg 75-76

Like the Marshall Plan, the Belt & Road Initiative has been promoted as being “all-inclusive” and serves as a conduit for spreading Chinese influence throughout the region. While the project is not entirely altruistic and some opponents compare this to a powergrab, benefits from the initiative have already been felt in areas that are in need of both infrastructure and economic development. One example of this is “the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, a \$62bn collection of job creating projects, mooted to strengthen Pakistan’s economy by the construction of modern transportation networks, has created thousands of jobs for young men who could otherwise have been radicalised.²⁰⁷”

Technology

When viewing the actions of imperial powers, advances in technology have been imperative in the primacy of one state or civilization over another. The British colonists used gunboat diplomacy, the Spanish military annihilated the Aztecs due to firepower and the United States paved the way for massive technological development in the 20th century.

Although China was once a leading country in technological development and has been credited for inventing paper and gunpowder, the country lost its technological edge during the time span between the 15th and mid-20th centuries and has only begun to regain the capability to compete with developed states. One early example of this from the late 20th century is China’s strategy to use the resources and “expertise of foreign partners as a quick way to build a domestic industry [...]By 2007, five domestic companies had emerged in this intensely competitive market, accounting for nearly a third of total sales.²⁰⁸”

²⁰⁷ Haworth, Elliott. “Everything Under Heaven: Xi Jinping Is Establishing His Empire.” *City A.M.*, 18 Oct. 2017, www.cityam.com/274151/everything-under-heaven-xi-jinpings-belt-and-road-could.

²⁰⁸ Dobson, Wendy. *Gravity Shift How Asia's New Economic Powerhouses Will Shape the 21st Century*. Toronto University Press, 2010. Pg 81 - 82

Ultimately though, the goal is self-sufficiency. “For China, reducing its dependence on foreign technology is the first step towards achieving its global ambitions; restoring its historical capabilities as an inventor is another.”²⁰⁹

Like other major powers in history including those mentioned above, “science and technology has long been a cornerstone of China’s development strategy [...] Various levels of government now encourage enterprises to increase their own industrial R & D, and have spent heavily on modern infrastructure and research and commercialization facilities.”²¹⁰

Software of an Empire

“Beijing has begun to use aid, trade, investment, and the allure of China’s economic model, which combines growth with state control, to charm other nations.”²¹¹ While many countries have been, and continue to be, rightly concerned about China’s low cost labour and economies of scale to negatively impact domestic industries, Beijing apparently has realized that, like the United States and Japan before it, it also can utilize its economic heft to minimize these concerns, and even to boost its appeal in foreign nations, if it portrays its growth in a certain light, and if other countries can benefit from China’s consumer power.²¹²

In a speech at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland in January 2017, Xi Jinping offered a pragmatic view of globalized economy and the benefits that he feels China has received from it. “To grow its economy, China must have the courage to swim in the vast ocean of the global market. If one is always afraid of bracing the storm

²⁰⁹ Dobson, Wendy. *Gravity Shift How Asia's New Economic Powerhouses Will Shape the 21st Century*. Toronto University Press, 2010. Pg 94

²¹⁰ Dobson, Wendy. *Gravity Shift How Asia's New Economic Powerhouses Will Shape the 21st Century*. Toronto University Press, 2010. Pg 78-79

²¹¹ Kurlantzick, Joshua. *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power Is Transforming the World*. Yale University Press, 2008. Pg 84

²¹² Kurlantzick, Joshua. *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power Is Transforming the World*. Yale University Press, 2008. Pg 86

and exploring the new world, he will sooner or later get drowned in the ocean. Therefore, China took a brave step to embrace the global market. We have had our fair share of choking in the water and encountered whirlpools and choppy waves, but we have learned how to swim in this process. It has proved to be a right strategic choice.

²¹³”

Geoeconomic Tools

According to China expert James Reilly as quoted in the book *War by Other Means*, China is following a ‘win-win’ strategy by “drawing nearby countries into China’s economic orbit while bolstering its diplomatic leverage and creating commercial opportunities for Chinese firms.²¹⁴” The similarities between this and the United States’ strategy in the 20th century are endless; however, I will focus on global finance and banking, the Bretton Woods system and international trade and investment.

AIIB & The Bretton Woods “Twins”

As mentioned in the chapter focusing on American imperialism, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank were created in 1945 as part of the “Bretton Woods” system.

The Bretton Woods “Twins” have been criticized in the past by developing countries. Although China’s share of the IMF voting rights has increased to 6.4% SDR as her economy has grown in the 21st century, “several past attempts to reorganize the governance structures of the World Bank and the IMF to give a bigger voice to developing countries have failed.²¹⁵”

The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) is one of the first major steps to shake up the remains of the Bretton Woods system and is “ the first Asian-based international

²¹³ <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2017/01/full-text-of-xi-jinping-keynote-at-the-world-economic-forum>

²¹⁴Blackwill, Robert D. *War By Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft*. Belknap Harvard, 2017. 115

²¹⁵ Maasdorp, Leslie Vice President, New Development Bank. “What Is ‘New’ about the New Development Bank?” *World Economic Forum*, www.weforum.org/agenda/2015/08/what-is-new-about-the-new-development-bank/.

bank to be independent from the Western-dominated Bretton Woods institutions, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.²¹⁶ The AIIB began in 2015 with 57 countries including some of the US' traditional trade partners including Australia, United Kingdom, Philippines, Germany and France and classifies itself as “a multilateral development bank with a mission to improve social and economic outcomes in Asia and beyond.”²¹⁷ China has made by far the largest investment in the bank and contributed \$50 million at its inauguration.

Like economic aid that the US has given developing countries, Chinese aid comes with strings attached and AIIB “analysts expect that projects stemming from the new Chinese-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank will be dominated by Chinese firms.²¹⁸”

Besides AIIB, “the emergence of the BRICS Bank - billed somewhat openly as a BRICS-led alternative to the World Bank - is one of the clearest signals yet that assistance will no longer always be dictated on Western terms.”²¹⁹ Now known as the “New Development Bank”, this BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) -led bank, like the World Bank and AIIB, is focusing on sustainable projects in the developing world. “The General Strategy of the Bank lays out how the NDB intends to fulfill its mandate of mobilizing resources for infrastructure and sustainable development projects in BRICS and other emerging economies and developing countries, complementing the existing efforts of multilateral and regional financial institutions for global growth and development.”²²⁰ Most interestingly, despite the fact that the size of the economies of the BRIC countries vary greatly, “in the day-to-day management and governance of the bank, the five member states have an equal

²¹⁶“57 Nations Approved as Founder Members of China-Led AIIB.” *South China Morning Post*, 27 Apr. 2015

www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy-defence/article/1766970/57-nations-approved-founder-members-china-led-aiib.

²¹⁷ “Introduction.” *About AIIB Overview - AIIB*, www.aiib.org/en/about-aiib/index.html.

²¹⁸Blackwill, Robert D. *War By Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft*. Belknap Harvard, 2017. Pg 74

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*: 74

²²⁰ “NDB.” *New Development Bank*, www.ndb.int/.

share.²²¹”

The Renminbi & the U.S Dollar

One of the main complaints regarding the system of the international monetary system is the reliance on the US dollar as a reserve currency. In 2016, the renminbi was able to secure IMF status as a reserve currency and the Belt & Road Initiative, which I will discuss in greater detail later, offers China the chance to further promote the RMB over the US Dollar. “China is pushing for the B&R projects to be funded in renminbi, as part of its push to internationalise its reserve currency. Although the greenback will dominate B&R, by lending money to foreign governments, which will use the Chinese funds to pay the Chinese companies, it spurs trade in renminbi.²²²”

Free Trade Agreements

Thanks to the support of Bill Clinton who saw it as an opportunity to insert democracy into the country, China entered the WTO in 2001 with his support. While Americans are still deeply divided over the benefits of free trade, as can be seen most clearly in the election of Donald Trump, China has embraced the policies of it.

Rather than the US leading the way in free trade in the 21st century as it did in the latter half of the 20th century, China has taken over this role. “The Chinese Government deems Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) as a new platform to further opening up to the outside and speeding up domestic reforms, an effective approach to integrate into global economy and strengthen economic cooperation with other economies, as well as particularly an important supplement to the multilateral trading system.²²³”

²²¹Maasdorp, Leslie Vice President, New Development Bank. “What Is 'New' about the New Development Bank?” *World Economic Forum*, www.weforum.org/agenda/2015/08/what-is-new-about-the-new-development-bank/.

²²² <http://www.cityam.com/274151/everything-under-heaven-xi-jinpings-belt-and-road-could>

²²³ <http://fta.mofcom.gov.cn/english/>

The End of the TPP - An Opportunity for China?

While China was originally excluded from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), she now stands to benefit greatly from Trump's decision to withdraw from the agreement. "Free trade in the South China Sea won't die out just because the TPP ended, but it does mark the end of U.S.-led free trade. One of the biggest benefactors from TPP's ending is the superpower that didn't participate in deal from the start – China²²⁴" The resumption of mercantilist policies in the US leaves China as the main power center behind developing regional trade agreements.

With the US' withdrawal from the TPP, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) is now the biggest trade deal under negotiation. The deal includes ASEAN, China, Japan, South Korea, India, New Zealand and Australia. Combined, this area includes 46% of the global population and 24% of the world's GDP²²⁵. The deal is expected to "open job opportunities for individuals, increase supply and demand of workspaces and promote competition as a result of the establishment of more small and medium enterprises and multinational companies."²²⁶

CAFTA

"China included a generous Early Harvest Program in the 2002 China-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA), opening China's markets to ASEAN agricultural imports. Rather than extracting the best possible deal for China, Beijing instead structured CAFTA to reassure China's Southeast Asian neighbors and to give them a stake in China's economic success, striving, as one analyst put it, to present itself as a benevolent regional hegemonic power."²²⁷

²²⁴Pham, Peter. "Why Did Donald Trump Kill This Big Free Trade Deal?" *Forbes*, Forbes Magazine, 29 Dec. 2017, www.forbes.com/sites/peterpham/2017/12/29/why-did-donald-trump-kill-this-big-free-trade-deal/3/#1d8f3ac537e8.

²²⁵ Jozuka, Emiko. "TPP vs RCEP? Trade Deals Explained." *CNN*, Cable News Network, 26 Jan. 2017, edition.cnn.com/2017/01/24/asia/tpp-rcep-nafta-explained/index.html.

²²⁶ <https://businessmirror.com.ph/rcep-can-stem-the-tide-of-rising-protectionism/>

²²⁷Blackwill, Robert D. *War By Other Means: Geoeconomics and Statecraft*. Belknap Harvard, 2017. PG 115

Look West

In addition to signing free trade agreements with her Asian neighbors, China is increasingly looking towards the EU as trade partners. “Europe is a larger market for Asian exports than America, and Asians are increasing the Euro share of their massive foreign exchange reserves to hedge against America’s imbalanced economy.”²²⁸

The Belt & Road Strategy is a crucial link in developing stronger infrastructure, including transportation, communication and supply lines which will enable the country to continue her economic development even if the United States begins to take a more insular policy or tries to follow a policy of containment against China.

Foreign Investment

“China’s outward investment comes partly from a national policy, not just from Chinese companies seeking profits overseas. The Chinese government encourages firms to invest in strategic industries and select countries.” This policy is labeled “Go Out” or “Go Global”²²⁹. As mentioned previously, much of this investment is directed towards energy resources which China desperately needs in order to maintain strong economic growth. This helps appease the population and maintain legitimacy for the CCP. Unlike the United States in the 20th century, China has yet to use military force in order to secure resources.

Diaspora & Social Networks

The UK and China have both benefited from widespread immigration. Diaspora is an important aspect to look at regarding imperialism especially when considering the interconnectivity that has developed between people over the past 100 years . As discussed previously, the British diaspora, specifically migrant networks, “were

²²⁸ Khanna, Parag. *The Second World: How Emerging Powers Are Redefining Global Competition in the Twenty-First Century*. Penguin, 2009. Pg 262

²²⁹ Kurlantzick, Joshua. *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power Is Transforming the World*. Yale University Press, 2008. Pg 88

powerful vehicles for disseminating British styles of architecture, fashion, fiction, food and music.²³⁰ While 21st century China has yet to export the same “soft goods” as Britain, the Chinese diaspora is still an integral part of their “empire”. Like British migrants, many “Chinese overseas” still maintain ties with Mainland China and speak Mandarin.

As of 2009, there were roughly 55 million “overseas Chinese” who currently live outside of the Greater China territory. Many of these inhabitants reside in areas along the Asian periphery. “Historical ties between China’s northeast and South Korea and Japan, the Pearl River delta region and Hong Kong, the Yangzi River delta and Taiwan, and the southeast and the greater Mekong subregion all form natural economic territories that transcend peace and conflict.²³¹” The diaspora spreads beyond the Asian region and there are huge population centers of ethnic Chinese throughout North America. In the book *The Second World*, Parag Khanna refers to this diaspora as the “demographic equivalent of climate change: imperceptibly advancing, knowing no boundaries, and affecting everyone.²³²”

While there are large populations of ethnic Chinese in the developed world, Chinese culture is spreading throughout the developing world. “China’s appeal is reflected in another explicit sign of success. Chinese-language and -cultural studies have skyrocketed in popularity in the developing world, as average people come to see learning Chinese as vital to business and as providing a kind of popular cachet, the way English long has.²³³” This is an important part of the government’s plan and Premier Wen Jiabao (2003-2013) “emphasized the role of culture as a source of

²³⁰ Magee, Gary Bryan, and Andrew Stuart Thompson. *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914*. Cambridge University Press, 2011. Pg 28

²³¹ Khanna, Parag. *The Second World: How Emerging Powers Are Redefining Global Competition in the Twenty-First Century*. Penguin, 2009. Pg 259

²³² Ibid.: Pg 259

²³³ Kurlantzick, Joshua. *Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power Is Transforming the World*. Yale University Press, 2008. Pg 116

China's national strength and international competitiveness.²³⁴"

Like the spread of American culture in the 20th century, the benefits of the spread of Chinese culture is not merely political. The cultural industry itself which is based off of the exports of "cultural products" including heritage goods, books, print media, audiovisual media and the performing arts is worth an estimated \$170 billion.²³⁵

The importance of diaspora, especially when they have a strong connection to their "motherland" should not be dismissed. For developing countries, diaspora often represents foreign direct investment and small scale trade in the form of parallel imports. More importantly, diaspora represents a psychological connection between geographic regions and as was witnessed during the British Empire, these ties can have an impact on both domestic and foreign policy.

Propaganda and Nationalism

Despite representing a one-party system, it is still crucial for Xi Jinping to maintain national support for the country's foreign policy moving forward into the future. One of the tools currently being used is the rise of nationalism and populism. "This, it must be said, is not merely a preoccupation of the Chinese state though. It has also increasingly become a consuming obsession of rising populist nationalism."²³⁶ The Chinese education system serves as a medium for spreading a Sino-centric view of history that emphasizes China's rich imperial past based on Confucian values and a perceived sense of entitlement over bordering regions and victimization due to their "Century of Humiliation."

As I have already discussed regarding the rise of the British and American empires, this nationalism could be beneficial in the future in order to justify foreign policy and domestic policy decision and ultimately, military aggression. In recent history, this type of nationalism and

²³⁴ Shambaugh, David. *China Goes Global: the Partial Power*. Oxford University Press, 2014. Pg 365

²³⁵ Ibid.: 366

²³⁶ *Everything Under the Heavens How the Past Helps Shape China's Push for Global Power*. Vintage Books, 2018. Digital Version - Chapter 1

propaganda has been most devastating in the actions of Germany and Japan before and during World War Two but also as the basis for many civil wars including the collapse of Yugoslavia and the ensuing Balkans Wars.

Confucianism

Over the past 15 years, Chinese leaders have spoken about the benefits and wisdom of Confucianism. Once considered by Mao as an enemy of the state, Confucianism values based on “social harmony, ethical behaviour, respect for the elderly and obedience to authority” have been cited as an integral part of Chinese culture.

During a speech in September, 2014, Xi Jinping stated that “Confucianism, along with other philosophies and cultures taking shape and growing within China, are records of spiritual experiences, rational thinking and cultural achievements of the nation while it strived to build its identity [...] These cultures have nourished the flourishing Chinese nation.”²³⁷

While Confucianism alone is a benevolent force, the way that Confucian values are being used by the CCP propaganda machine can be used as a political tool internationally to assuage the concerns of other states and reduce the risks of states “balancing” against China. In his book, Pillsbury argues that “Chinese sources played up the Confucian, pacifist nature of Chinese culture and played down - and in many cases completely omitted any reference to the bloody Warring States period.”²³⁸

There may also be a domestic political strategy behind these statements. “The CCP is held up as “successor to and promoter of fine traditional Chinese culture.” By having the CCP embrace Confucianism as an integral part of both imperial China and modern-day China, it may be an “attempt to establish the political legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party, both to the Chinese public and to the West. Under Xi’s

²³⁷ “Xi Jinping Endorses the Promotion of Confucius.” *South China Morning Post*, 28 Feb. 2016, www.scmp.com/news/china/article/1603487/xi-jinping-endorses-promotion-confucius.

²³⁸ Pillsbury, Michael *The Hundred-Year Marathon*. New York: St Martin’s Griffin, 2015. Print Pg 32

formula, to reject the CCP means rejecting Chinese culture itself, including Confucianism.²³⁹”

Conclusion

China’s activities are very similar to what other aspiring powers have done in the past and it is important to consider if her actions are merely a reflection of a realist approach to international relations where survival is the ultimate goal or if they are pointing towards a grander strategy of imperialist power.

Much like I have done in this thesis, Pillsbury reflects on history to understand what actions China will take in the future. This history not only includes ancient lessons learned during the Warring States Period but also on more recent history starting with China’s Century of Humiliation.

The behaviour of past empires dictates that China should be moving in an imperialistic direction. Her illustrious past proves that she can do it and her economic clout proves that it is possible. The decline of the US leaves an open space for a new emerging power. Only time will tell if China remains the benevolent player that she is showing to be right now.

²³⁹ Kai, Jin. "The Chinese Communist Party's Confucian Revival." *The Diplomat*. The Diplomat, 30 Sept. 2014. Web. 12 Sept. 2017.

Abstract

This thesis covers a historical comparison study between the Ancient Chinese, British and American empires to compare what activities that China is currently taking in the 21st century that resembles imperialistic activity. The thesis focuses on soft power tools include free trade agreements, diaspora and infrastructure development. It also includes a historical analysis providing insight into the background of each empire.

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