

Theory of Bipolar World

**—The Road to Communism Found in the Evolutionary Structure
of World History**

(Unpublished and placed in public domain, for academic study and exchange)

by Huang Fenglin

Brief Introduction of the Author

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State-owned enterprises all over the world, unite!

——Dedicated to the communists!

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Preface to the English Version

This academic work, inheriting and developing the basic principles of Marxism, analyzes the world's historical structure by using materialist dialectics and forecasts the direction of the socialist movement and the ways to realize communism. It not only makes up for the horizontal dynamic part of Marxist theory but also points out a logical path for the development of human society. Furthermore, it predicts the proposal and practice of China's "the Belt and Road Initiative" from various aspects and provides the theoretical basis and rationale for building a community with a shared future for mankind.

The theory about the contradictory movement between productive forces and production relations is the crucial part of Marxism and used to guide socialist revolution and construction as well as analyze world history. Nevertheless, classic writers failed to unveil their relations due to the historical limitations of materialist dialectics and lack of horizontal perspective to investigate the development of nature and human society. As a result, either productive forces or production relations are regarded as the only deciding factor in Marxist theory and practice, and the argument remains. This book, based on a large number of empirical analyses, solved the fundamental problem of historical materialism from the perspective of geographical competition. This book holds that after the invention of agriculture in the Neolithic Age, species competition was replaced by land-based geographic competition, which has become the fundamental driving

force for the development of human society. It not only brought about private ownership and social organizations such as patriarchal clans, tribes, nationalities, classes, countries and regions, but also made the "two poles" of the East and the West compete in changing social forms, develop productive forces and shape world history after the formation of the Inner Asian nomads.

This book divides the history of the "bipolar" competitions between the East and the West after 500 B.C. into three stages. The beginning of the first stage was marked by powerful feudalist China as the power core, ending with the rise of capitalist United Kingdom, which was the power core of the second stage. During this stage, with the acquisition of "land taxes" as its driving force, four relatively independent political-economic entities were formed from the East to the West with decreasing civilization degree: ancient China, Inner Asia, Islam and Europe (referred to as Zone 4, Zone 3, Zone 2 and Zone 1 respectively in this book). The second stage, with the capitalist UK as the power core, ended with the development of socialist China, which was the core of power at the third stage. The driving force at this stage was the attainment of "raw material market." Based on the first-generation bipolar world pattern, two relatively independent political-economic entities, the capitalist system and the socialist system, have been formed from the West to the East. This stage was divided into three phases of economic colonization, focusing on the realms of public goods, natural monopoly and competition. This book uses a large amount of historical data to analyze the specific levels of the two stages. Despite the fact that factual data support is not

sufficient sometimes and some conclusions are open to discussion, the theoretical system is complete in line with macro events and the overall framework is convincing.

By analyzing the first and second stages, this book makes a theoretical prediction about the phases and outcomes of the third stage. This book holds that the third stage began with the development of socialist China and will end with the realization of world communism and the extinction of geo-competitive relations. The driving force of this stage is the acquisition of "property rights cooperation." Based on the second-stage bipolar world pattern, it will undergo three phases of state-owned enterprises cooperation in the realm of competition, natural monopoly and public goods. The world, from east to west, will form an entity with no social difference. The author believes that under the background of the advantageous West and disadvantageous East in the economic globalization, a structural union based on geo-economy is the only option. Cross-border cooperation of state-owned enterprises is the only way to break the natural restriction of private economy, win the principal status in the world competition, solve the problem of sufficient demand at home and abroad, enhance the economic and political situation of the working class in various countries, and get rid of the dependence on the capitalist colonial system. The property right cooperation of state-owned enterprises, therefore, is the fundamental driving force for the future development of human society. This book sums up this historical process of economic cooperation as one driving force (the transnational property rights cooperation of state-owned

enterprises), three phases (first Zones 4 and 3, then Zones 4, 3 and 2, and finally Zones 4, 3, 2 and 1) and three realms (first competition, then natural monopoly and finally public goods).

The book was finalized in early 2013, and the Chinese version was published by the Central Compilation & Translation Press in March 2014. In September and October 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping proposed to the world the initiative to jointly build the "Silk Road Economic Belt" and the "21st Century Maritime Silk Road". The Belt and Road Initiative, tracing its history back to the ancient Silk Road, aims to jointly build a community of shared interests, future and responsibilities through economic cooperation, featuring political mutual trust, economic integration and cultural tolerance. Since it is launched, the initiative has received extensive attention and recognition from the international community. It has achieved great success in solving China's own economic problems, providing sufficient supply to countries along the route, enhancing endogenous momentum in undeveloped countries, improving people's living standard and promoting the preservation and appreciation of surplus assets worldwide. We can see that when carrying out "the Belt and Road Initiative," the property rights cooperation between state-owned enterprises of China and other countries along the line has played a crucial role. Countries in Zone 3, such as Russia, Inner Asia and Pakistan, have taken the lead in making significant progress in cooperation with China in Zone 4. Breakthroughs are achieved in competitive fields such as infrastructure, energy, manufacturing and trade. All these have proved the book's scientific

predictions about the third stage.

This book not only develops Marxist theory but also proves the scientific prophecy by the practice of the Belt and Road Initiative. Since the Chinese version was issued, it has received wide attention and recognition from all sides. When preparing the foreign language version, the author has dramatically compressed and modified the Chinese version of the content, making the book more complete and more readable.

Mind Map

The second half of the 22nd century	The period when world communism is being realized or when socialist state-owned enterprises cooperate in the realm of public goods		The third stage of the bipolar world (Socialist China is its power core. With the acquisition of property rights cooperation as the driving force, the world, from east to west, will form an entity with no social difference.)
The first half of the 22nd century	According to the sequence in which geo-competition triggered the formation of social forms, with the gradual disappearance of geo-competitive relationships, organizational forms like region, country, class, nationality, patrilineal society and its family forms will also die out gradually. After the death of the family, private ownership will vanish completely.	The period when socialism of financial cooperation prevails or when socialist state-owned enterprises cooperate in the realm of natural monopoly	
The second half of the 21st century		The period when socialism of state-owned enterprises cooperation prevails or when socialist state-owned enterprises cooperate in the realm of competition	
The first half of the 21st century			
The second half of the 20th century	The capitalist colonization system in the realm of raw material market or competition		The second stage of the bipolar world (Capitalist United Kingdom was the power core. With the acquisition of the raw material market as the driving force, two independent political-economic entities were formed from the West to the East)
The first half of the 20th century	The capitalist colonization system in the realm of land tax or natural monopoly		
The second half of the 19th century	The capitalist colonization system in the realm of land acquisition or public goods		
The first half of the 19th century			
The 18th century			The first stage of the bipolar world (Feudal China was the power
The 17th century			
The 16th century			
The 15th century			
The 14th century			
The 13th century			
The 12th century			
The 11th century			
The 10th century	Europe entered the conservative Middle Ages after the Huns migrated west and under the military and diplomatic pressure from the Arabs and the Ottoman Empire.	Under the pressure of the west-moving Hun migrants and Mongolian troops, a wave of changes took place in the Islamization period , transforming the social form into feudal serfdom with relatively concentrated political power.	
The 9th century			
The 8th century			
The 7th century			
The 6th century			
The 5th century			
		During the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties, the third wave of changes took place , transforming the social form from feudal serfdom to feudal tenant system.	
		Under the military and diplomatic pressure of the Sui and Tang empires, the second wave of changes took place in the Mongolization period , transforming the social form from semi-tribal and semi-feudal serfdom to feudal serfdom.	
		During the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang Dynasties, the second wave of changes took place , transforming the social form from feudal villein system to feudal serfdom.	
		Under the military and diplomatic pressure of the Qin and Han empires, the first wave of changes took place in the	

The 4th century	<p>Turkification period, transforming the social form from tribal system to semi-tribal and semi-feudal serfdom.</p> <hr/> <p>During the Warring States, Qin and Han Dynasties, the first wave of change took place, transforming the social form from clan slavery to feudal villein system.</p>			<p>core. With the acquisition of land taxes as the driving force, four independent political-economic entities were formed from the East to the West)</p>			
The 3rd century							
The 2nd century							
The 1st century							
The 1st century B.C.							
The 2nd century B.C.							
The 3rd century B.C.							
The 4th century B.C.							
The 5th century B.C.	<p>In the 8th century B.C., slavery countries were established in West Asia, North Africa and East Asia, but they were not related to each other. From the 8th century B.C. to the 5th century B.C., the nomads emerged in Inner Asia and served as a bridge connecting the eastern and western civilizations. They provided conditions for the formation of the bipolar world. Under the pressure of nomads, feudal China was established. As the power core of the first stage of the bipolar world, it provided the driving force for the final formation of the bipolar world.</p>			The formation of the bipolar world			
Zone 1		Zone 2		Zone 3		Zone 4	
(Japan, Australia, North America and Europe)		(Southern India, Middle East, South America and Africa)		(Inner Asia, Russia, Pakistan, Northern India and Southeast Asia)		(China, Korea, and Vietnam)	
The Western Pole				The Eastern Pole			
<p>Since 7,000 years ago, thanks to the invention of agriculture, geo-competition based on land replaced species competition and served as the fundamental driving force for the development of human society. It effected the concept of private ownership and the relevant system. Accordingly, patriarchal society and its family form, tribe, nationality, class, country, region and other forms of social organization emerged.</p>							

Introduction

Before studying for a master's degree in Marxism, the author built the prototype of "triple root principle of existence" through reflection on materialist dialectics and modern scientific paradigms. Through the reflection on historical materialism and the study of world history, the prototype of "triple root principle of the state" has been formed. At that time, however, the understanding did not find relatively standardized language form of expression. During the first year of study for MA degree, the author used the concept of "multiple roots" of mathematics to describe the three indispensable elements of existence, namely, external connection, external-internal connection and internal connection. The concept was also used to define the triple roots of the state, namely, the international layout, the advancement of national social practice and the advancement of national natural practice. In this way, the author used the concept of social practice, which includes all practical activities among people and thus has a broader connotation, to replace production relations, and used the concept of natural practice, which is the sum of all human activities toward the Nature, to replace productive forces. Reconstructing materialist dialectics with the paradigm of systematic ontology, the triple root theory on a country inherits Marx's classification of social forms and develops the dynamic theory of social form changes. It holds that the momentum of a country's social practice changes is its external connection with the outside world. That is to say, all forms of external connection changes between the country

and other countries, including war, trade and diplomacy, determine the country's social form changes. The historical materialism with the tendency to exaggerate economy deems that "the development of productive forces determines the changes of production relations." It is not true. Meanwhile, it is also believed that changes in social practice have further led to the development of natural practice. When initially constructing the triple root theory of a nation, the author only considered the external connection of the country as the competitive relationship between two countries due to the lack of knowledge of the second-stage bipolar process, especially the socialist movement since modern times. Two countries compete with each other in social practice and natural practice for an extended period, just through the mechanism of the triple root theory of the country. In competition, under the military and diplomatic pressure of the dominant country, the weak country has to change its social practice mode to make their own social form more advanced than that of the powerful one and further develops a more sophisticated natural practice mode. After the weak country overtakes the strong one, it conversely puts military, economic and diplomatic pressure on the strong one, forcing it to make a new round of changes in the social form and natural practice. This provides a convincing explanation of why the social forms of countries around the world have not changed in strict accordance with the classification of Marx on social forms.

Nevertheless, hundreds of political and economic entities instead of two countries exist in the world, and the relations among them are not limited to

competition, instead, including cooperation, dependency and so on. Therefore, it is difficult to apply the triple root theory of a country to historical analysis, although its logic is so consistent with historical experience. During the second year of study, the author thought of a way to solve this problem, that is, to re-interpret and expand the theory. On the one hand, political and economic entities are used to replace the countries, thus making the subjects of connections not limited to countries, but also include political and economic entities at many levels such as international subjects, countries, regions, classes, and ethnic groups. On the other hand, the concept of "pole" is constructed to generalize these entities of the East and West. Complex connections exist between various levels of political and economic entities in the East and West poles, not limited to competitive relations. Instead, the entities in a pole, when regarded as a whole, have a competitive relationship to the other pole. The author talked about this idea in an article early that year, and produced the "Bipolar Order Diagram."¹ However, the author found it too idealistic for the stratification of the political and economic entities of the East and West poles. Also, the description of the connection and competition between the East and West poles at various levels is too idealistic and difficult to use for realistic analysis. The author thought of the method of historical research, which can be used to clarify the stratification of political and economic entities in the real two poles, but in this way, a larger historical framework for guidance would be needed. Therefore, based on the limited knowledge of world history, the

¹ "Bipolar Order Diagram" and "Historical Diagram of Bipolar World" will be discussed in particular in Chapter 2 Overview of Bipolar World Theory.

author summarized the subjects of the two poles in history, their social practice modes and natural practice modes, and made the "Historical Diagram of Bipolar World" during the third year, which is only a rough generalization of historical facts and needs to be refined with more in-depth historical details.

The author began this specific work after graduation. When studying the first-stage bipolar world, the author found that it is difficult to analyze the ancient world history by using the bipolar model of the historical mechanism. The author noticed four relatively independent political and economic entities in ancient world history that cannot be further generalized with bipolar model: ancient China (Zone 4), the nomadic civilization of Inner Asia (Zone 3), the Islamic world (Zone 2) and Europe (Zone 1), because no simple cooperation or dependency relationships could be found between the nomadic civilization of Inner Asia and China, or between the Islamic world and Europe. Bipolar world theory had gained support from historical facts of larger scale and a longer period of time, and the problem was how to describe the social practice and natural practice patterns of these four entities in the ancient world and their connections. Benefiting from the accumulation of natural science knowledge, the author thought of a solution. When a system is under external pressure, the part closer to the pressure source has a shorter transmission path and relatively smaller midway attenuation. As a result, more pressure will be transmitted to that part, thus triggering greater changes in the internal order of the part. For the same reason, the part far away from the pressure source undergoes smaller changes of the internal order. In terms of social practice and natural

practice, ancient China was definitely more advanced than the other three entities. It is safe to say they demonstrate an output-input relation, namely, China pressured and the other three were pressured. The proof is that ancient China's territory, generally speaking, expanded. If ancient China is regarded as the external pressure, the other three form a system under pressure. Among them, due to the barrier of the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau, the Islamic world was isolated from China, so the nomadic civilization in Inner Asia was closest to China, followed by the Islamic world and then Europe. Inner Asia, next to Europe at the westernmost end and the Islamic world at the mid-southern end, is closer to the Islamic world compared with Europe. Throughout the 2,000-year history of the ancient world, China had undoubtedly maintained its advanced status in social and natural practices, so its connection with the outside world remained an output-input model in terms of pressure. Let us first assume the output and input of pressure are one-off. Inner Asia, which was closest to ancient China and the first to face the pressure, had to improve social practice to develop the natural practice to withstand the pressure. When its social practice and natural practice advanced to a certain level that is still below China and above the Islamic world and Europe, which were adjacent to the other side, it transmitted part of the pressure upon Islamic world in the south and the Europe in the west, despite the fact that before that Roma was the most advanced entity and the following were ancient China, Islamic world and Inner Asia. Compared with Europe, the Islamic world was closer to Inner Asia, thus under more significant external pressure and had greater motivation for change. It

passed part of the force to Europe when its level of social and natural practice was more advanced than Europe and less developed than Inner Asia. Generally speaking, the pressure from ancient China was the largest in Inner Asia, the second in the Islamic World and the smallest in Europe. This attenuation phenomenon in the process of pressure transmission can be explained by the fact that only after an entity absorbs sufficient pressure and transforms it into the motivation for better social and natural practice, will the remaining pressure be transmitted to the neighboring entities on the other side. The entities that receive imported or transferred pressure, stronger after the reform, always remain more advanced than those that are farther away from the pressure source, and less developed than those that are closer in terms of social practice and natural practice. In all, a difference sequence of advancement degree is formed among the four entities in ancient world history from near to far: China was the most advanced; and the other three entities, the closer, the better.

The author also considered the reason why Inner Asia could transmit pressure to Europe, despite the fact that before ancient China exported pressure, Inner Asia and Islamic world which were closer to China lagged behind southern Europe, which was farther away from China. In fact, as long as ancient China's social practice and natural practice are more advanced than all other political and economic entities when exporting pressure, no matter how advanced these entities are and how far away from China, the pressure from China will make the level of social practice and natural practice of nearby area more advanced than that of

distant regions. The reason is that closer entities are under greater pressure. If the entity's original level is lower than that of other entities, more transmitted pressure will be converted into motivation for change, in order to gain the upper hand, like Inner Asia. If the entity was more advanced than the others, it might gain less motivation for change, although it is closer to the pressure source and under more pressure, like the Islamic world. We can use potential energy to explain this. As long as the potential energy of the pressure source is higher than other objects under pressure, these objects will inevitably form a numerical difference sequence of potential energy from near to far after the pressure is imported and transmitted, regardless of their original potential energy and spatial position. This explanation of the ancient bipolar world is supported by historical facts.

In the second and third stages of the bipolar world, the number of the most abstract political and economic entities that can be summarized is two and one respectively instead of four, but the four entities in the first stage left their traces. There are two most abstract entities in the second stage, which is easy to explain according to the bipolar world mechanism. Then, how can we predict the third stage? First, we need to solve the problem of the driving force. The nature of driving force for the communist process, aiming to integrate the world, must be different from that of the first and second stages. During the first and second stages, the pressure from the power core will force the other entities to change their political and economic forms and become more independent and alienated, while during the third stage, the other entities must develop their political and economic

forms and become more integrated with the power core. Eventually, the world's formal differences will disappear completely; that is, the social differences between people disappear entirely. Therefore, the author summarizes the nature of the driving force generated by the power core of the three stages and analyzes their differences. The driving forces in the three stages are respectively to acquire "land tax," to obtain "raw material market," and to gain "property rights cooperation." The second problem is the power output steps or the process phases. Although the third stage is a process of unification, traces of the four mutations of the first stage and the two mutations of the second stage still can be found - the four entities in the first stage and the two entities in the second stage left traces on the system and culture of the third stage. This can be explained from the historical development in reality. For example, the boundaries of the four entities in the first stage, although basically marked by culture can still be seen vaguely: Christian world, the Islamic world, nomadic culture, and greater China cultural circle, etc. Another example is the western capitalist political and economic entities and the eastern socialist political and economic entities of the second stage. Despite the disorganization of the Soviet Union, which belonged to the eastern socialist entity, the former Soviet Union countries still have some characteristics of the socialist system of the second stage in their political and economic systems, say, the ruling position of the central-left wing and a large proportion of the state-owned property. The Islamic world, a western capitalist entity, still has some features of the capitalist system in the second stage, such as weak central-left forces, internal division, and a small

proportion of the state-owned property. The western countries, served as the power core of the second stage, have marginalized left-wing forces and low proportion of the state-owned property. The third stage gradually develops above the traces left by the first and second stages. The third stage is an integration process driven by property right cooperation. Therefore, the countries or regions that are closer to the power core of the third stage will take the lead to seek extensive property rights cooperation with the power core and then fully realize the economic and political integration, and those that are further away, as a whole, will be later. In a broader geographical scope, the content of state-owned property rights cooperation will also change when we are closer to world communism. In this regard, the author predicts that the cooperation between Zone 4 and Zone 3 will be in the competitive realm, the cooperation between Zone 4, Zone 3 and Zone 2 natural monopoly realm, the cooperation between Zone 4, Zone 3, Zone 2 and Zone 1 in the realm of the public goods, and the corresponding social forms will be respectively socialism of state-owned enterprises cooperation, socialism of financial cooperation and the world communism.

This forms the basic framework of the bipolar world theory. In July 2012, the author began to collect and organize materials extensively and then write. The first draft was completed by the end of January 2013. This book must have insufficient arguments and even errors in data citation, given the fact that many fields are involved and many problems need to be solved. Hopefully, expert readers will be understanding and offer valuable advice.

Huang Fenglin

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Chapter 1 Comments on Vertical and Horizontal Theories

Hegel, master of dialectics, once wisely pointed out, "World history goes from the East to the West, because Europe is absolutely the end of history and Asia is the starting point". The sages in the past, however, failed to give an all-inclusive description of history from both the vertical and the horizontal aspects. This book examines the history of human society and its development trend from two perspectives, namely, time and space. It is necessary to comment on the vertical and horizontal theories first.

Section 1 Marxist Theory

Marxism, since its birth, has made a significant and long-lasting impact on modern world history. It has not only become the "representative" of the worldwide workers' movement but also been adopted by many developing countries as the "representative" of the independent liberation movement. Marxist theory is a scientific theory to grasp the overall history of humankind as well as the ideology adopted by the proletariats in the whole world and the underdeveloped countries in the East. Nevertheless, some of the radical views of Marxism have been questioned, and some basic conclusions have even been negated by the actual historical development, while its ultimate conclusion, the realization of communism, seems to be nowhere in sight. All these are due to the fundamental

flaw of Marxist theory, that is, focusing on the vertical investigation of the evolution of macroscopic history and lack of the horizontal research of historical development phases. This defect is reflected in several components of Marxism, such as materialist dialectics, historical materialism and scientific socialism.

1. Materialist Dialectics

Materialist dialectics is the philosophical foundation of Marxist theory. It is an ideological weapon based on the practice to unite the subject and object and understand the whole world.² It is also the soul of the proletarian ideology. In theory, materialist dialectics believes that the material world is a unified whole of universal connection and constant movement, and the law of contradictory movement is the fundamental law of the development and change of the material world. However, due to the historical limitations of scientific progress, although materialist dialectics reveals the mutual connection and transformation of material levels in the macro aspect, it does not analyze the specific driving force of material transformation, which inevitably leads to the risk of being used as an ontology in its particular application, i.e., the law of contradictory movement tends to become a dogma when studying and analyzing specific things. This kind of ontology on contradiction, just like the systematic ontology that was often held in scientific research and criticized by classical writers, is essentially a metaphysical method. It does not study or analyze the movement of things in the overall connection of the material world and does split the movement of things apart from their environment.

² For the understanding of the world as a whole, only based on practice can the subject and object be unified.

Thus the entire Marxist theoretical system was impaired by this flaw in a philosophical basis, and its application risks have always existed in Marxist practice, even Marx and Engels are no exception. Classical writers and Eastern revolutionaries are inevitably limited by the flawed materialist dialectics. When they study and analyze human history, national development and class changes and when they lead the socialist movement, the horizontal investigation of human historical development in space is ignored and the vertical development in time is over-emphasized. Consequently, the subjective function and ideological function of materialist dialectics are exaggerated in practice. In the 19th century when materialist dialectics originated, the development of science and technology and the knowledge of world history were insufficient to help people to analyze the specific transforming forces in various material levels of nature and human society. Despite the fact that it is still impossible for us to exhaust all phases of connections and transformations in the substantial levels, at present and even in the future, but it is already possible to make a qualitative analysis of the driving forces of the movements at the primary level. Based on this judgment, in order to solve the ontological problem of materialist dialectics, the author learned from the modern scientific paradigms such as system theory, cybernetics, information theory, dissipative structure theory, coordination theory, catastrophe theory, etc., and introduced the systematic viewpoint to construct the descriptive paradigm of external connection, external-internal connection and internal connection of beings. The model is used to analyze the dynamic mechanism of the main phases in human

history. This paradigm, if applied, can not only explain the driving forces of human history development but also qualitatively analyze the dynamic mechanism at various substantial levels in nature.

At the biological level, although modern molecular dynamics attempts to reveal the evolutionary mechanism of biological macromolecules at the micro-level, the macroscopic evolutionary theory, just like historical materialism, fails to uncover the evolutionary dynamics of biological systems. The theory of evolution puts forward the viewpoint of species competition in evolutionary dynamics,³ but it cannot solve the problem of evolutionary forces of all species. Since primitive species originated in the initial stage of biological evolution, their evolutionary forces are definitely different in nature from those of advanced species. The evolutionary forces of primitive species can only come from the physical and chemical environment, while those of advanced species, which exist in the ecological food chain, are the biological environment in which these species compete. It can be understood in the following way - primitive species, with their evolutionary forces coming from local physical and chemical environment, do not need trans-local sexual reproduction based on gender differences; advanced species, with their evolutionary forces coming from the overall biological environment composed of various organisms in many places, need to distinguish and reproduce between genders. It is safe to say that the changes of the physical and chemical environment are the main driving force for the evolution of asexual reproduction

³ We can see that in Oceania and America, isolated from Eurasia continent, the competition between species is not sufficient; thus the evolution degree of species is obviously less advanced than that in Eurasia continent, and many primitive species are preserved. This also proves the correctness of species competition theory of Darwinism.

organisms, and the changes of the biological environment are the main driving force for the evolution of sexual reproduction organisms. However, the shift between these two evolutionary forces does not happen overnight. Between asexual reproduction organisms and sexual reproduction organisms lie single reproduction organisms, whose main driving forces have the features of both the physical-chemical environment and biological environment. Even the evolutionary forces of sexual reproduction organisms, their evolutionary dynamics have gone through a process of rejecting the physical-chemical environment. For example, pisces, amphibia, reptilia and mammalia in the Vertebrata, and Prototheria, Metatheria and Eutheria in the Mammalia, all show a trend of gradually overcoming the restriction of the temperature-changing environment during the evolution of their body structure and function. That is why mass extinction and great prosperity of species appeared successively when the physical and chemical environment underwent major changes in the past. Eutheria is the first one whose evolutionary forces are completely free from the physical and chemical environment and solely come from the species competition in the biological environment. As the most advanced being in Eutheria, humans are quite different from other sexual reproduction organisms. The main evolutionary forces of human beings have been geological competition within the same species since the advent of agriculture, rather than the competition with other species. For this reason, human beings have developed the form of family reproduction in line with private ownership. It will be elaborated on later in this book.

After the energy nature of right-handedness was discovered, the author tried to write "right-handedness theory" to qualitatively describe the development mechanism at all substantial levels in the whole nature. Through the development of natural science, we now know that natural substances include dark energy, dark matter, matters and antimatters, elementary particles, atoms, molecules, biological macromolecules, organisms, humans and other basic levels, and each level is surrounded by corresponding external environments such as the large-scale structure of the universe, galaxies, stars, physical environment, chemical environment, biological environment and so on. However, scientists, even modern scientists, tend to study the composition of each material level and its mechanical rules in a static and isolated way, as Engels criticized. A comprehensive view of the generation and evolution of each substantial level and its dynamic mechanism is lacked. From classical mechanics to modern mechanics, the source of power is interpreted as energy. According to the limited knowledge of natural science, the author found that the right-handed phenomenon exists in the substantial levels of basic particles, atoms, biological macromolecules, etc., and the right-handed matter constitutes the energy source for the generation and evolution of each substantial level in the corresponding external environment. The author becomes even surer about it after he presumed that antimatter is also right-handed and there is antimatter ejection in the center of the Milky Way galaxy. As speculation, the right-handed substance in the natural world, produced in a specific external

environment,⁴ is a partial inversion and a partial image of the left-handed materials that constitute most of the natural world, in terms of time and space respectively. It is a partially reversible CPT conjugation structure at the microscopic level and the energy "key" that macroscopically promotes the material reorganization of a substance toward a higher level. The fusion of the right-handed substances and the left-handed substances will activate the energy carried by the right-handed substances and promote the transformation of various material levels at the microscopic level. It boosts the low-level materials evolve toward higher levels and continuously make the natural materials more organized.⁵ As a right-handed substance⁶, human beings themselves also play the role of energy "key" to construct a highly organized man-made world in the process of organizing natural substances. In the construction of the man-made world, if the evolution of human beings is regarded as the transformation from the natural object to the natural subject, then the enhancement of the human's ability to transform the nature can be regarded as the enhancement of their ability to utilize right-handed substances. These substances include materials from the biological environment such as glucose and drugs⁷ at first; then materials from the biological environment but generated by high pressure inside the earth, such as oil and coal; then materials generated by high pressure from the center of the earth, such as fission matter; and

4 For example, dark matter and dark energy are generated in the large-scale structure of the universe (dark matter and dark energy account for a large proportion of natural substances), antimatter is generated in the high-pressure center of galaxies, fusion substances are generated in the high-pressure center of stars, fission substances are generated in the high-pressure center of planets, and energy substances like glucose are generated in biological systems, all of which might have a right-handed structure.

5 We can even estimate the stock and organizing ability of right-handed substances at various levels.

6 Human DNA is a right-handed structure.

7 Most medicines are of right-handed structure. If we can make a comprehensive analysis of the structure and mechanism of these right-handed substances in the future, the ability to treat diseases, even "incurable diseases" like cancer, may be greatly improved.

then materials generated by high pressure from the center of stars and the center of the Milky Way Galaxy, such as fusion matter and antimatter in the future.⁸

2. Historical Materialism

Historical materialism, developed by classical writers when using materialist dialectics to analyze the law of human social development, is the cornerstone of Marxist theory. Yet it is inevitably flawed by the defects of materialist dialectics. According to historical materialism, production relations are determined by productive forces. When classical writers witnessed the vigorous development of the peasant-led social movement in Russia in their later years, they realized and admitted that although the productive forces decide the productive relations, the productive relations had a specific reaction to the productive forces at the same time. This minor revision became the theoretical basis for the development of the socialist revolution in the undeveloped Eastern countries in the 20th century. These countries cited this revised theory of Marxism with enthusiasm, but Bernstein and other leaders of the workers' movement in developed Western European countries that Marx predicted would take the lead in realizing communism, belittled the significance of this revision and even denied its existence. They insisted on the unrevised historical materialism, believing that production relations are strictly determined by productive forces and do not have a reaction. They deem that

⁸ In the future, if human beings can make a comprehensive analysis of the structure and mechanism of fusion matter, antimatter, dark matter, dark energy, etc. which may be right-handed, we may be able to utilize their energy. The author conjectures that certain positron network may be invented in years to come, which can not only transmit energy by using positrons as well as information. The natural world and the man-made world are connected according to human intentions. Natural substances are directly transformed at the molecular, atomic and even elementary particle levels, not in the way that electronic networks are connected only with man-made objects.

undeveloped countries, dominated by traditional agriculture, theoretically cannot change the production relations due to the productive forces limitation. Therefore, they do not recognize or support the socialist movement in the East.⁹ This directly led to the split of the international communist movement. This practical divergence suggests a huge theoretical contradiction of historical materialism, which means it cannot give a perfect explanation of the historical development track.

Historical materialism also includes theories on social form types besides theories on the economic-social structure about productive forces and production relations, and economic foundation and superstructure. Marx divided the development of social forms into six categories in order of time: primitive tribal society, slavery, feudalism, capitalism, socialism, and communism, the first and the last of which are classless society and the other four are class society. Marx also believed that all countries and regions in the world must go through these forms of development and establish a communist system. These basic arguments of historical materialism are also criticized. Historians have not found the complete sequence of these social forms in any country or region. Today, people can also offer the historical disproof that undeveloped Eastern countries, say China and the Soviet Union, directly crossed capitalism into socialism from feudalism.

Reductionism, the essence of western science and culture, serves as the

⁹ Materialist dialectics is the soul of Marxism and is embodied vertically and horizontally. To evaluate whether an idea or proposition is Marxist or not, we have to look vertically and horizontally and judge whether it has a materialist dialectic spirit. Vertical or horizontal aspect alone will not make Marxism. It is wrong that socialist countries criticized western countries' democratic socialism as revisionism. Democratic socialism is Marxism in western countries, which has materialist dialectics both vertically and horizontally. They aim to realize socialism, which is the spirit of vertical materialist dialectics, although they advocate legal struggle. In spite of their theoretical differences with the oriental socialist countries, they still have some internationalist spirit in practice. They do not oppose the undeveloped countries in the East. At least they do not support the war of aggression against the colonized countries. This is the spirit of horizontal materialist dialectics.

cultural driving force for the great success that western science has made since modern times. When studying beings, reductionism argues that the component beings must be analyzed first, and then the conclusion about the component is used to construct or deduce the law of development of the beings. This research method is the basic method to study natural existence such as animals, cells, biological macromolecules, molecules, atoms, and nucleons, and it can draw correct conclusions reflecting objective existence. Nevertheless, social existence lies in a social network composed of all kinds of human relations. For a certain social existence, the social network at different levels in which the social existence is located can be regarded as the "atom" in the molecule. Moreover, the social network constituting social existence also has a reduced level or pedigree similar to "nucleon-atom-molecule." A thorough study of a certain social existence requires the deduction of the levels of the social network to deepen the understanding. However, when reductionism is applied to social science research, it puts the cart before the horse. It isolates the social existence from its direct relevant social network and constructs the social network according to the conclusion of research on social existence, instead of reducing these social network levels. As an inevitable result, it can only reflect the static social existence, not the dynamic development law of the social existence, not to mention the social network in which the social existence is in. This failing is common in western social science. Marx, born in Germany, is no exception. His historical materialism is also influenced by reductionism to some extent. Although Marx was much wiser than

those scholars who try to interpret society according to the biological nature of human beings (Marx himself even repeatedly criticized its reactionary nature, such as social Darwinism, etc.), he could not break away from the scientific and cultural background of Western reductionism at last. The concepts in historical materialism—productive forces, production relations, economic foundation, superstructure, etc. reduce the social existence of the nation to the "atoms." It leads to the causal chain that productive forces determine the production relations, and further determine the economic foundation, and finally the superstructure. As a result, productivity becomes the source of the power for the change and development of the country, and the international political and economic relations network surrounding the nation is not under discussion. Countries, if not discussed in the international network, must be something like "atoms," and the production relationship, the atom in an atom, must also ignore the differences between countries. That is why Marx believed that every country has to go through the development process of six social forms in turn.

Despite the reductionist tendency on the driving force of social development, when it comes to the static classification of production relations and static economic and social structures, historical materialism is convincing and based on Marx's extensive research on history. This part of the theory serves as an important theoretical source of this book. With regard to the static types of production relations, the book draws lessons from the classification of six basic social forms and further defines some subtypes between them. With regard to the static theory

of economic and social structure, this book will replace the concept of productive forces with natural practice, and the concept of production relations or economic system and superstructure, etc. with social practice. It is safe to say logically natural practice covers a wider range than productive forces, although they are similar in connotation. Human activities include social practice taking social existence as the object, besides natural practice taking natural existence as the object. This dual concept is not only necessary for a simple description of the process of national economic and social development in the international political, economic and cultural network, but also necessary to describe the unified historical process of human society. Regarding the driving force of a country's economic and social development at the microscopic level, this book, to a certain extent contrary to historical materialism, holds that social practice determines natural practice in the microscopic process of each stage and when stage changes. For a country in a specific international relations network, its internal economic and social change process begins with the change of the international network in the process of the bipolar world, then the superstructure, and then to the production relations, and finally the productive forces. So this book holds that in the national and social process, social practice determines natural practice, not the other way round.

However, when talking about the general characteristics of the bipolar world process in the second chapter of this book, the author mentions that from the perspective of the overall history of human society, it is the natural practice that determines social practice. For example, the application of Neolithic tools and the

invention of agriculture led to the clan society's need for land, which triggered annexation war between primitive clan communes and promoted the transformation of matriarchal clan communes into patrilineal clan communes. The application of bronze tools boosted the emergence of slavery countries. The application of iron tools brought about the emergence of nomadic peoples, who connected slavery countries in the East and West and helped to achieve the bipolar world mechanism for the development of human society. With the application of machines and the industrial revolution, appeared capitalist social practice that integrates half of the world's population and geography and socialist social practice that integrates population and geography in the whole world. Maybe Marx concluded that productive forces determine relations of production out of his perception of the overall process of human social and historical development.

Leaders of the oriental socialist countries have improved the theory of historical materialism that productive forces determine production relations, yet failed to fundamentally reconstruct the basic theoretical category of this pair of concepts. Since the practice of these countries is so different from the assertion of Marxism, why do they insist on this theory? The author believes that the international economic and political practice of socialist countries is limited before the third stage predicted in this book, so they do not need to reconstruct historical materialism, a national philosophical theory. The theory of historical materialism, after slightly modified by socialist leaders according to their experience in revolutionary construction, was fully sufficient to guide the practice in this period.

After modification, the reaction of production relations to productive forces is not only Marx's prediction but also a theory with historical and practical proof. This improvement has provided a national philosophical foundation for the undeveloped Eastern countries to establish a socialist system and to carry out domestic economic construction. However, with the opening of the third stage process, socialist countries are bound to take the international road. The new road needs new theoretical guidance. The author believes that when this change comes, it is the time for people to understand historical materialism better.

3. Scientific Socialism Theory

The theory of scientific socialism is constructed when classical writers try to use materialist dialectics to analyze the development pattern of commodity economy and forecast how to realize socialist public ownership. However, it also flawed due to the defects of materialist dialectics. The theoretical basis of scientific socialism is political economics, and the theoretical basis of political economics is the labor value theory. Labor value theory holds that capital does not create any value, and labor is the source of all values. Objectively speaking, the surplus-value theory established by the labor value theory does reveal the secrets of capitalist production and exploitation and provide the economic reasons of the opposition and struggle between the two classes, on the premise that capitalists and laborers are born equal.¹⁰ The question is the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are not born equal. Equality is a metaphysical concept created by utopian socialists and

¹⁰ The concept of "value," which is different from the use-value, is the logical basis of Marxist political economics.

criticized by classical writers. This abstract existence never exists before communism is realized. Equality cannot be found even in the primitive tribal society, where something like the law of the jungle among species prevailed, and the people were more divided than those in feudal society and slave society. This determines that in practice, the political-economic theory of Marxism only functions as a critical ideology rather than a guide for real socialist market economy.

Scientific socialism argues that with the development of capitalist commodity economy, the intrinsic limitation of the private economy inevitably gives way to socialist public ownership; thus, capitalism is doomed and socialism is promised. Practice shows that public ownership economy can genuinely overcome the shortage of private ownership economy in meeting the practical needs of the proletariat, and this is only possible after the proletariat grasps the state power. However, under the influence of materialist dialectics and historical materialism, classical writers pay too much attention to the vertical process of class struggle and little attention to the horizontal process of political and economic pattern of the world, which leads to the inevitable result that the interests between classes and between nations are handled in the wrong way. It is no wonder that they come to the conclusion that the socialist system will be achieved first in the developed capitalist countries in Western Europe, although they noticed the surging revolutionary movements in the East in their later years and put forward the view that the Eastern and Western revolutions are interrelated movements, namely, "two

poles that are linked". When facing the bourgeoisie, the proletariat of all countries share common interests; but when compared, the proletariat in developed capitalist countries boasts a much higher living standard than that of developing countries. Under the instigation of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat of developed capitalist countries will inevitably uphold national interests for better class interests. Consequently, as long as there are horizontal differences among countries, vertical communism cannot be realized.

Section 2 Theory of International Relations

The first section discusses the defects of the Marxism in the horizontal inspection. This section will focus on the defects of the horizontal theory of international relations. At present, there are mainly three theories of international relations in academic circles: realism, rationalism and constructivism. Realism is not discussed in this section because it is more of a method that emphasizes empirical research than a theory, and has no theoretical paradigm that can be transplanted or used for reference. This section will review three theories respectively according to how they reduce human history by the theory of international relations.

1. Economic and Cultural Constructivism

1.1 Liberalism

Liberalism is the most typical economic constructivism of international relations theory. Liberalists believe that man is an economic animal in the last

analysis. Man uses his rationality to choose ways to maximize his own interests. The free market formed by this rational man can maximize the interests of all people. The primary driving force for the change and development of international relations comes from the market formed by rational individuals. Accordingly, they believe that the history of modern international relations is the process of modern market expansion from Western Europe to the world. Following the expansion is the loss of state power. Although the nation-state can fight against it through political means, the market expansion is irresistible, because behind it is the power of human rationality¹¹.

There are primarily two theories in the realm of international political economics. One is economic interdependence. Supporters believe that the expansion of the world market has led to a sharp increase in the international circulation of money, commodities, people and information, resulting in the partial transfer of sovereignty of various countries. These countries are virtually in an interdependent network, a situation in which the interests of countries are intertwined and difficult to separate.¹² The other is political peace based on trade. Supporters believe that higher level of trade and a subsequent higher degree of interdependence will bring a country greater benefits, followed by more material constraints on the war. Thus the country is less likely to go to war.

Liberalism, judging from the static composition of international relations, is an economic reductionism. The so-called economic reductionism believes in the

11 Zhu Wenli, *International Political Economics* (Peking University Press, 2004) pp.14-15.

12 Zhu Wenli, *International Political Economics* (Peking University Press, 2004) p.15.

logic that the economy determines politics and international political-economic system, and consequently the liberal nature of economy determines the liberal nature of politics and thus of international relations. When it comes to the dynamics of international relations, it is economy-oriented. Since liberals statically interpret politics with economy, they are bound to believe that the driving force of a country's politics and its international relations comes from the country's economy, and economic liberalism essentially determines the trend of domestic and international political-economic liberalism. Social theory must be consistent with the history of human practice; otherwise, it is false. Historically speaking, the free market has not developed globally but encountered resistance from various anti-globalization movements including socialism, nationalism, etc., including the passive resistance within the capitalist system such as nationalism in developing countries and the active resistance outside the capitalist system. If internal resistance is insufficient and cannot hinder the development of the free market, then resistance from socialist countries can. To liberals, the socialist system, like an insurmountable barrier, prevents the unconstrained exchange of market elements between the capitalist system and the socialist countries and hinders the realization of the political and economic power of the developed capitalist countries in the socialist countries. Compared with the theory of peaceful development of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the theory of trade peace and democratic peace is a lie in reality. If, within the capitalist system, modern history is a kind of economic globalization, then the forces behind it are the

political liberalization carried out by military and war. A series of international wars after the rise of Britain, the first capitalist country, can be considered of this kind. The 18th-century Anglo-French war, the 19th-century Franco-Prussian war, the 20th century two world wars and the Middle East war all have this nature.

1.2 Social Constructivism

In the past few decades, with a new round of regionalization worldwide, the research on regionalization in international relations theory gave birth to social constructivism. Social constructionists believe that concepts, culture and identity play a decisive role in international relations.

Social constructivism, judging from the static composition of international relations, is a cultural reductionism in nature. The so-called cultural reductionism believes in the logic of that culture determines economy and international political-economic systems. Static cultural orientation will inevitably lead to a culturalist understanding of the driving force for the adjustment of the international political and economic structure, consequently a belief that the nature of culture determines the trend of international politics and economy. Let's take a look. Does Islamic religious culture bring out the political and economic consistency of the Islamic world? Ancient East Asia was in the Greater China cultural circle. Is there any political and economic consistency between modern China and other East Asian countries except North Korea and Vietnam? As we know, the Middle East has long been dominated by power politics since modern times. Sunni and Shia Muslims have been fighting with each other for a long time in spite of the same

belief. As a result, the political, economic and diplomatic situations of Shia-majority countries and Sunni-majority countries are quite different. For example, the anti-Western Shia-majority countries have relatively centralized politics and relatively independent economy, while the Sunni-majority countries have a pro-West tendency with relatively democratic politics and subordinate economy to the West to a certain extent. Similarly, East Asia, located in the greater China cultural circle, also shows differences: socialist China and North Korea are politically centralized and economically independent, while Southeast Asian countries, South Korea, Japan and other countries under the capitalist world system are politically democratic and economically dependent. Therefore, the history that social constructivism conforms to is nothing but the historical fact of regional integration that the developed capitalist countries, in pursuit of realistic interests, have achieved and are realizing during the development of the capitalist system.

2. National Constructivism

2.1 Nationalist Theory

In international political economics, nationalism inherits the academic tradition of classical mercantilist political economics and the realistic tradition of international relations. Nationalism focuses on national behavior and the influence of national interests on international economic relations.

2.2 Balance of Power Theory

Balance of power theory is the most influential theory in Western

international relations with the longest history. It has the most significant influence on international relations, especially the diplomatic practice of Western countries. Supporters believe that the state has the free will to randomly change its alliance, which is an important means to realize the balance of power.

In essence, nationalism theory and balance of power theory are both national constructivism. The central viewpoints of both theories are to construct the international political-economic system with the free and independent will of the state and then describe the development and changes of the international system. Since the rise of the first-mover capitalist Britain, some countries indeed developed based on free and independent will. France underwent capitalist development under the pressure of Britain. Germany, Japan, the United States and other countries developed as late-movers through a series of wars under the pressure of the relatively advanced Britain and France. And China now appears to be implementing socialist changes and gradually rising under the collective pressure of the West. These countries indeed rise by the independent power of the country. However, on a small scale, these countries were not within the capitalist system at that time. For example, when France rose, it was not included in the capitalist colonial system of Britain although under its pressure. The same is true to Germany, Japan and other countries. These countries, in the premise of political independence, will combine freely in terms of international relations according to the needs of political interests in order to form a balance of power. Meanwhile, they will maintain comparative advantages in terms of economy that are not

inferior to each other. On the other hand, countries in the lower stratum of the capitalist system do not have the free and independent will, such as the colonized countries in South America, Africa, the Middle East, which are politically subordinate to their suzerain and economically dependent on the colonizing countries. Nationalism and balance of power theory cannot be used to guide the practice of these countries due to their lack of independent will.

3. International System Theory

3.1 Dependency Theory and World System Theory

While economic and social constructivists are concerned about the interdependent mechanism of the international system, national constructivists are concerned about the maintenance and management of the international system and the national interests in the international system, some other scholars are more concerned about the betterment of developing countries in the international system and the future of the capitalist system. They believe that developing countries are historically dependent on western colonizing countries in politics and economy because they have long been ruled by the Western European colonial system. The dependence did not end with the colonial system; on the contrary, it becomes even stronger after more than four centuries of colonization. Theotonio Dos Santos divided the dependence of undeveloped countries on western developed countries since modern times into three categories: colonial dependence (16th-19th centuries), financial-industrial dependence (from the late 19th century to World War II) and new dependence (after World War II).

Another theory that inherits the academic tradition of classical Marxist political economics is the world system theory. It has the same realistic background of the international community and similar content to the dependency theory, yet it pays attention not only to Latin America but also to all developing countries under the capitalist colonial system, hence more systematic than the latter. It argues the world system should be considered as a unit, an international multiple-division labor system with center-semiperiphery-periphery structure, and considers the development of production modes such as "unequivalent exchange" and "capital accumulation" as the essential driving force for the change of this system¹³.

3.2 Hegemonic Stability Theory

Hegemonic stability theory has three themes, namely, hegemony and the stability of the international system, hegemonic cycles and hegemon transition, hegemonic wars and the transformation of the global system. Supporters believe that hegemony is the primary force to maintain the stability of the international system, and the primary force that constitutes hegemony is the economic and military power of the hegemon. When the international system is out of balance, hegemonic wars will break out, which usually lead to changes in the basic rules of the international system.

It is safe to say that the above-mentioned international system theories reduced by specific international political-economic patterns are more advanced

13 Ni Shixiong , *Contemporary International Relations Theories* (Fudan University Press, 2009) pp. 333-334.

than those deduced at the national or economic-social levels, although they can only reflect international relations in specific historical periods and are unable to guide the practice of other periods. Dependency theory and world system theory have precisely the same opinion on globalization as liberalism. The difference is that the former two find and acknowledge the anti-globalization forces and movements within the capitalist system, while the latter does not. Therefore, the two theories only function as a critique of the capitalist exploitation system. This theory shows not so much sympathy for developing countries and their people within the capitalist system as an endeavor to maintain and improve the existing capitalist system. This kind of criticism, unable to guide the revolutionary practice, is nothing but soothing "opium" that has to be accepted by the people in those countries. Compared with these two theories, hegemonic stability theory seems to boast more "universal applicability" to guide practice and "broad generality" in historical evidence, which qualifies it as a "theory". It can not only explain the capital hegemony system dominated by hegemonic capitalist countries since modern times but also seems to explain the international hegemonic system in all class societies because the prerequisite for hegemony is the differences in national status. In a hegemonic system, those with high international status will naturally strive to maintain the system. Unfortunately, what hegemonic stability theory can explain is merely the maintenance of the hegemonic system, not its emergence and disappearance.

Chapter 2 Overview of Bipolar World Theory

Section 1 Bipolar World Diagram

When the author first worked out the composition of this book, he made "Bipolar Order Diagram" and "Historical Diagram of Bipolar World" to describe the static bipolar world order and the dynamic bipolar world process, as shown below:

Bipolar Order Diagram (Fracture zone)

Western Pole

Eastern Pole

Central subject (modern bipolar world, like Europe and America)

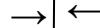
Central subject (like China)

Underdeveloped social practice
Undeveloped natural practice
Advanced natural practice

Intermediate subject (Japan and other developed countries)

Intermediate subject (like Russia, Brazil)

Advanced social practice
Underdeveloped natural practice
More advanced natural practice



Constitutional system Undeveloped strategic natural practice Advanced strategic natural practice	Underdeveloped social practice	Advanced social practice	Constitutional system
Administrative system Undeveloped fundamental natural practice Advanced fundamental natural practice	Constitutional system (or constitution representative practice, including responsibility system and others)	Constitutional system	Administrative system
Civil commercial system Undeveloped applied natural practice Advanced applied natural practice	Administrative system	Administrative system	Civil commercial system
Economic law system Undeveloped circulating natural practice Advanced circulating natural practice	Civil commercial system	Peripheral subject (like Africa, Central Asia) Civil commercial system	Economic law system
Monopoly enterprise system	Economic law system Underdeveloped social practice	Advanced social practice Economic law system	Monopoly enterprise system
Large enterprise system (natural science practice is included in natural practice)	Monopoly enterprise system Constitutional system	Constitutional system Monopoly enterprise system	Large enterprise system
Small enterprise system	Large enterprise system Administrative system	Administrative system Large enterprise system	Small enterprise system
Business system	Small enterprise system Civil commercial system	Civil commercial system Small enterprise system	Business system
Price	Business system Economic law system	Economic law system Business system	Price
	Price Monopoly enterprise system	Monopoly enterprise system	
	Large enterprise system	Large enterprise system	
	Small enterprise system	Small enterprise system	
	Business system	Business system	
	Price	Price	

1. When the Eastern order was first formed, namely when the Western order gave birth to the Eastern order, the fracture zone was in the practice of the constitution representatives or the constitutional system of the central country.
2. After the Eastern order was formed or after the constitutional system of the central country within this order was stabilized, the fracture zone gradually moves down layer by layer. The fractures are equivalent to the corresponding levels of intermediate countries and peripheral countries, which are connected in a straight line.
3. After the Eastern order is stabilized, that is, when the goal of the advanced natural practice was realized under the promotion of advanced social practice and underdeveloped natural practice at all levels, another round of new orders will be started, moving down from the constitutional level of the central country.
4. Underdeveloped natural practice, agricultural and pastoral practice at the beginning of the formation of capitalist countries. Underdeveloped natural practices, those with a certain industrial foundation at the beginning of the formation of a socialist country. Advanced natural practices, those in capitalist countries today. More advanced natural practices, the natural practices socialist countries that are more developed than capitalist countries due to the institutional advantages.
5. The system reflects the most stable political and economic connections. The morality that is not stable enough can also be regarded as a system.
6. Natural practices at the constitutional system level (as the basis or the aim), including nuclear physics practices like “Two Bombs and One Satellite” and possibly strategic practices like genetic biology in the future. The natural practice of specific strategy is the foundation or goal of specific constitutional system or practice and is the content of the internal connection of the country at the constitutional level. Constitutional jurisprudence should include the goals of such strategic practices or the old and backward strategies that the constitutional system should integrate. Moreover, such constitutions can be found in history. The basic natural practice at the administrative system level refers to the specific and fundamental natural practice aiming to realize the strategic natural practice at the constitutional system level, such as energy, materials, basic scientific research, etc. Applied natural practice at the level of the civil commercial system refers to the application of the above mentioned basic natural practice, such as industrialized natural practices. The circulation practice at the level of economic law system and below refers to those to realize the applied natural practices. It is also divided into strategy, foundation and application, which are not listed according to the levels below economic law system.
7. Arrows on both sides of the diagram represent the direction where the order moves. The trajectory of the bipolar order in history is: primitive tribe-slavery society (West) - feudal society (East) - capitalist society (West) - characteristic socialist society (East) - world communism.
8. The arrow in the middle shows the omission of those countries between the central country and the peripheral ones. An arrow indicates a level lower. For example, the social and natural practices at the constitutional level of a country correspond to those practices at the

administrative level of countries one level higher.

9. Financial management system, energy management system and management system of important raw materials should belong to the formation level.

10. East and West are not strictly concepts of regions.

11. Note that fracture zones do not always appear in peripheral countries. The illustration only shows that the break-up of peripheral countries happens from the constitutional level, such as civil war. Fractures in intermediate countries at different levels also could be seen in the stable stage of the Eastern order, although they happen in comparatively lower levels. The nearer a country is to the center, the lower level of fracture could be found. The central country also has fractures (for example, the fractures caused by China's regional imbalance and urban-rural differences, although these fractures will gradually harmonize when Eastern order is consolidated at China's constitutional level. In the harmonizing process Eastern order is further stabilized, in which the fracture zone moves down level by level.)

12. The ellipsis means the omission of the last two of the triple root at the corresponding level of the country. In fact, underdeveloped natural practice is placed in the triple root in the figure, although as an external connection at the corresponding level it should be placed before social practice. Therefore, the triple root should be underdeveloped or realistic natural practice, advanced social practice, advanced or targeted natural practice.

13. Follow-up research should focus on the connection between the three levels of natural practice and the corresponding social practice of the Eastern and Western central and intermediate countries, and use it as the main basis to predict the future movement law of the bipolar order.

14. With the progress of history, the difference between the subjects becomes smaller, so the fracture level of the bipolar subjects and various subjects inside it gradually decreases.

15. In the Western pole of the modern bipolar world, western Europe is central, followed by the United States and Japan (Japan is second to the United States). Therefore, in the second half of the modern era, when the characteristic socialist Greater China became stronger, those intermediate and peripheral countries between West Europe and Greater China are under the increasing political-economic-cultural pressure. For them, the influence of Greater China will gradually strengthen until the end of the modern era when Western socialism is established and strengthened. The fracture zone not only exists within peripheral and intermediate subjects but also extends to the central subjects. Fracture even exists in Greater China in the second half of modern era, but the difference is that the fracture intensity decreases with the level increases, that is, the differences at political, economic and cultural levels within various subjects decrease in turn. It may lead to political fractures ended in wars in peripheral countries, but only economical (economic system, not natural practice) fractures ended in crimes in intermediate countries or cultural fractures that might be ended in discrimination in central countries.

Historical Diagram of Bipolar World

the West the East

↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓

The worldwide natural practice of the Paleolithic Period → The practice of matriarchal clan tribe

↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓↓ (approximately two million years)

The worldwide natural practice of the Neolithic Period → The practice of Patriarchal clan tribe

↓↓↓↓↓↓

↓↓↓

The small and various natural practice of the Neolithic Period in the West

The large and singular natural practice of the Neolithic Period in the East

↓(approximately 4500 years)

↓(approximately 7500 years)

The advanced natural practice of bronze and iron

The natural practice of delicate new stone and backward bronze and iron

↓

↓

The small and complex social practice of the slavery-based Western Asia and the Mediterranean

The large and simple slavery social practice of the Central Plain

(Fracture zone)

The beginning of the bipolar world

(The emergence of nomads)

Social practice in feudal China

→ The delicate natural practice of iron

The first stage of the bipolar world (Four entities period: Zone 1, Zone 2, Zone 3 and Zone 4)

Social practice in capitalist Western Europe → The natural practice of machine

The second stage of the bipolar world (Two entities period: the capitalist world and the socialist world)

The social practice of socialist China

→ The natural practice of delicate machine

The third stage of the bipolar world

↓↓↓↓↓↓

(One entity: world communism)

↓↓↓↓↓↓

Social practice vanishes in the world, social differences between people are eliminated worldwide, and human evolution only comes from natural practice.

Concepts of the Diagram of Bipolar Order

"Fracture" refers to the anti-order activities between the Eastern and Western Poles and various political and economic entities within. "Fracture form" refers to the forms of anti-order activities such as war or illegal/immoral acts. "Fracture

intensity" indicates how intense the fracture form is. "Fracture level" or "fracture nature" refers to political/economic/cultural and other institutional levels where the fracture occurs. "Fracture Zone" refers to the distribution of fractures within or between various political and economic entities.

Fractures mainly happen in two levels: political system and economic system, and several sub-levels can be separated within these two levels to define the intensity of the fracture. The intensity of fracture in the political system is greater than that in the economic system. Taking the second stage as an example, fracture of political system can be divided into several sub-levels according to the intensity: constitutional sub-level (which can be further divided into the basic political-economic system that regulates the relations between political-economic entities like country and class, political party system, national organization system, national organization operation system, etc.) and administrative law sub-level (which can be further divided into administrative organization system, administrative procedure system, administrative responsibility system, etc.); Fracture of economic system can be divided into several sub-levels according to the intensity: economic law sub-level, civil law sub-level, commercial law sub-level, monopoly enterprise management system sub-level, small enterprise management system sub-level, market price sub-level, etc.

The said sub-levels describe the internal fracture of political and economic entities as well as the fracture between them. The fracture within the entity is the extension of the fracture between entities. The fracture level and fracture form

between entities determine those within the entity. The same fracture zone shows different degree of intensity between entities and within entities, and the degree between entities is higher than that within entities. After the international political and economic pattern changes through wars or other forms of fracture, the domestic political and economic system changes accordingly. This historical phenomenon is quite familiar to us. In other words, the change of political and economic system within entities is premised on the change of political and economic relations between entities, and the nature of the latter determines that the former.

Generally speaking, there are five basic fracture levels. In the primitive tribal society, the fracture between tribes has a feature of species competition. In slave society, the fracture between countries occurred at the level of the ethnic political system, while the fracture within the country occurred at the level of the kindred political system. In the first stage, the fracture between countries mainly occurred at the political system level and also at the economic system level, and the fracture within a country occurred at two levels: the political system and the economic system. In the second stage, the fracture between countries occurred at the two levels of the political system and economic system, while the fracture within the country occurred mainly at the level of the economic system and also at the level of the political system. In the third stage, the fracture between countries mainly occurs at the level of the economic system and also at the level of the political system, while the fracture within a country occurs entirely at the level of the

economic system.

Section 2 Formation of Bipolar World

1. Human Beings before the Bipolar World

As will be mentioned later, the formation of the bipolar world is marked by the rise of Qin Empire, the power core of the first-stage bipolar world in the 5th century B.C. on the premise that nomadic people emerged and communicated the Eastern and Western world in the 8th century B.C. Before that, human history underwent the Paleolithic period in which natural practice was based on old stone tools and social practice was based on matriarchal clan communes, the Neolithic period in which natural practice was based on new stone tools and social practice was based on patrilineal clan communes and tribal alliance, the nation-origin period in which natural practice was based on stone and metal (bronze and iron) tools and social practice was based on slavery. This part will briefly review these periods and analyze the driving forces of social and natural practice changes to distinguish them from the bipolar world mechanism.

1.1 Paleolithic period and matriarchal clan communes¹⁴

In the long process of ape adapting to nature for millions of years, with the continuous improvement of the ability to transform nature, 40,000 to 50,000 years ago, by the end of the Paleolithic period, apes had been transformed into human

¹⁴ See Yang Kun, *History of Primitive Society*, Beijing Normal University Publishing House, 1986.

species that are physically identical to modern humans, and thus called rational "*Homo sapiens*"¹⁵. Not knowing how to farm, raise livestock, make pottery, or use bows and arrows, they mainly hunted for survival as before. However, following the refinement of stone tools (the stone tools are small in size and fine in workmanship) and the invention of artificial fire-catching methods and javelins, their fighting skills against beasts had been improved significantly enough to hunt large animals like bison, rhinoceroses and even mammoths. Stronger survival methods and ensured sources of food enabled them to reproduce and feed more people, and the earliest clan organization - the matriarchal clan commune - emerged. Compared with random and simple primitive groups of apes, the matriarchal clan communes showed more complicated and stable organization although no qualitative change was found between them. Commune members attained a relatively stable living in an equal and helpful atmosphere. In terms of the marriage system, inter-commune group marriage was applied. Different from the dual organization spontaneously formed in primitive groups, clan communes were established respectively with rules much stronger than before, and marriage is strictly forbidden within the clan. In terms of property system, public ownership was adopted - hunting areas, rivers and lakes are all shared by clan members. Tools, weapons, clothes and decorations are used by individuals, but they are not private property.

Between Paleolithic and Neolithic is the Mesolithic Period, which has a

15 "*Homo sapiens*", Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/160930.htm>, accessed on January 12, 2013.

history of about 6,000 to 7,000 years since 15,000 years ago. In terms of natural practice, people in the Mesolithic Period invented bows and arrows, which, combining human strength with the tension of branches, greatly enhanced human ability to transform nature at that time. They could hunt wild animals from a distance instead of fighting them fact to face, thus significantly improving the efficiency and safety of hunting. Meanwhile, food sources were expanded as they could hunt flying birds as well. People also invented the earliest method of domestication and started to know how to raise dogs and pigs. With the accumulation of collection experience, they began to understand the initial gardening methods and learned to throw wild grains or kernels around the house to grow fruits, which gives way to more advanced gardening skills and farming techniques in the Neolithic Age. They also learned simple textile and pottery techniques. These technologies make their living environment more stable than before. The social form of the Mesolithic Period was the late stage of the matriarchal clan. The improvement of living standard further led to an increase in the population. People no longer needed group marriage, the crude and poor "reproduction technology" of the previous stage. Therefore, the inter-clan group marriage has virtually been replaced by the inter-clan pairing marriage, and the earliest form of families emerged. In terms of property, a system of joint possession and use by clan members was still there.

1.2 Neolithic period and patriarchal clan commune¹⁶

¹⁶ See Yang Kun, *History of Primitive Society*, Beijing Normal University Publishing House, 1986.

At the end of the matriarchal clan commune period 7,000 to 5,000 years ago, the human natural practice was qualitatively different. Human beings learned four techniques: grinding stone tools, making pottery, agriculture and animal husbandry, and the era is thus called the Neolithic Period in history. These inventions greatly increased the amount of food, and provided people with a stable source of food, transforming human beings from semi-settled life to completely settled life. Primitive villages also appeared. Agriculture paved the way for the handicraft industry, which requires a secure life, stable environment, accumulation of experience and division of labor in society. Only developed agriculture can make these possible. The handicraft industry in the Neolithic Age included stone making, pottery making, weaving, architecture, all of which originated from agriculture. The premise of agriculture is settled life, which ensures the stability and continuity of economy and culture, provides more materials and spiritual possessions and leads to a civilized society. Besides, agriculture also gives rise to dramatic population growth. Anthropologists presumed that the world population reached 50 million in the Neolithic, compared with 10 million in the Mesolithic and less than 3 million at the end of the Paleolithic.

The Neolithic was at the end of the age of matriarchal clan commune. The development of natural practice has effected the transformation of social organizations from matriarchal clan communes to patrilineal clan communes through a series of transitional forms such as "service marriage" and "couvade system." These transitional forms can be considered a "compromise" that balances

the interests of matriarchal clan members and patrilineal clan members when the patrilocal marriage system in patrilineal society has not yet become a social consensus. "Service marriage" was actually a patrilocal marriage system, although the groom had to work for the bride's relatives for a period of time before he brought the bride to his tribe. The "couvade system" was once a transitional form prevailing in the world. The father decided his child's ownership by a ceremony that is close to "throwing dice" when the baby was born.

Patrilineal clan commune implemented the patrilocal marriage system, where the married couple lived in the husband's house, and children and property were owned by his commune. In terms of the property system, all properties were still owned and used by commune members. It should be noted that land has become an essential property following the invention of agriculture. The main source of food for commune members was determined by the land quality – whether it was abundant or scarce, and whether it is good or bad.

1.3 Geo-competition based on land is the driving force for the transformation from matriarchal society to patrilineal society

Engels tried to explain the reason why matriarchal society changed into patrilineal society and said, "With the emergence of herds and other new properties, a revolution took place in the family. It was always men's job to acquire means of subsistence. The tools for this job were made and owned by men ... Women could enjoy the convenience but not the ownership ... The division of labor within the

family determines the distribution of property between men and women." ¹⁷ The work of livestock breeding, which was developed in the Neolithic Age, was handed over to men by Engels and was used to explain the status of men and further the reason for the birth of patriarchal society. Nevertheless, this is merely speculation without archaeological proof. Furthermore, even if the task of livestock breeding was undertaken by males, does it mean a higher status for males? If measured by the importance of the division of labor, livestock breeding is not necessarily more important than farming in primitive society. Therefore, it is unreasonable to say that males enjoyed a higher status in the commune because of their division of labor. The author believes that social status cannot be used to measure the relationship between commune members before patrilineal society. It is safe to say that there was no "social practice" before patrilineal society. Even if there was a division of labor based on age and gender, commune members were completely equal, because the struggle against nature was the main practice of primitive human beings before the patriarchal society. The competition between communes is minor, although rare cases of competition or conflict between matriarchal communes do exist and lead to the premature birth of slavery. Archaeological findings show that slavery did not become a common phenomenon; rather, the competition between communes is so limited that almost no large-scale conflicts had taken place. That is to say, social practices that reflect the differences between people hardly existed before patriarchal society.

¹⁷ *Selected Works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels*, People's Publishing House, 2009, p. 181.

The author believes that the reason why matriarchal society changed into patrilineal society is not the gender division of labor caused by the development of natural practice, but the invention of agriculture, which led to the qualitative development of human's ability to conquer nature, and brought about the shift of power source of human evolution from species competition to land acquisition between communes. Before the invention of agriculture, the main enemy of mankind was other species such as wild animals instead of other communes. Frictions among communes, which did exist, were not the mainstream. This can be proved by the fact that there were few slaves before patriarchal society.¹⁸ Thanks to the invention of agriculture, human beings began to live a settled life and have a qualitative control over the unpredictable nature. The main enemy threatening their survival was no more the beasts but the neighboring communes that competed for land due to the needs of farming. Therefore, from the overview of species evolution, matriarchal society changed into patrilineal society because of the invention of agriculture, which changed the driving force of human evolution from the biological environment of species competition to the geo-competition based on land within the human species.

The invention of agriculture led to the contentious relationship between communes, which served as the impetus for communes to change their attitudes towards slaves taken from other communes and to update farm and other tools to transform nature. Before the formation of the bipolar world, patrilineal clan

¹⁸ Kulov mentioned in his *General History of Economy* that individual slaves could be found in the Iroquois commune, which was in the matriarchal clan stage.

communes, living in the same land because of geographical barriers such as deserts, grasslands, oceans and mountains, were linked in social practice and natural practice because of this competitive relationship, and merged into tribes, tribal alliances and slavery countries after they occupied all or part of the competing land in the continuous competition. After the formation of the bipolar world, with the rise of nomadic people, a bridge connecting the human societies of the East and the West, Eastern and Western people (a majority of human beings) were linked together, thus making this dynamic mechanism function worldwide.

1.4 Origin of private ownership, family and class

According to the logic that productive forces determine production relations, classical writers went a step further after explaining the causes of a patriarchal society with the division of labor within the clan commune – they tried to use that division to explain why private ownership, family and class originated. They argued that the division of labor between men and women within the commune not only brought about families but also led to private ownership and class. ¹⁹

The author does not think in this way. The driving force of evolution is the primary force to promote biological evolution, and the driving force of biological evolution is struggling for existence, and human beings are no exception. During the long process of human evolution, the form of struggle for existence, which urges human beings to evolve from apes to modern humans, is bound to undergo

¹⁹ Classical writers believed that the elders or patriarchs who gained the dominant power within the commune seize the surplus products for their own use, thus forming private ownership and the class distinction between the rich and the poor.

qualitative changes. Before the Mesolithic Age, human beings were no different from other creatures in the earth's biological environment and food chain - the form of struggle for existence that promoted their evolution was competition among species. In the Mesolithic Age, as human beings gradually mastered agricultural technology, the struggle for existence began to take the form of geo-competition within species, that is, within human beings. Since the Neolithic Age, due to the invention of agriculture, geo-competition completely prevailed over species competition and became the fundamental driving force to promote human evolution. Geo-competitive relations have not only helped to generate patriarchal clans, tribes, nationalities, classes, countries, regions and even the two "poles" of the East and the West and other social organizations in terms of social practice, but also effected private ownership and families, and promoted the natural practice.

The emergence of patrilineal society has already been examined in the previous paragraphs. Nationalities, countries, regions, and the "two poles" of the East and the West will be discussed later. Here, the origin of private ownership, family and class will be analyzed.

A. The origin of private ownership. At the end of matriarchal clan commune, when communes were fighting for land with each other, new members were absorbed from outside and formed new social stratum. The difference in social status was mainly reflected in the difference in ownership between original members and newly absorbed members. The former public ownership began to

disintegrate within the expanded commune, and the concept of private ownership gradually emerged. When the competition between matriarchal clan communes reached a certain scale in terms of the number of communes, the size of population and the degree of annexation, and the newly enslaved population accounted for a certain proportion of the total population of the expanded communes, a relatively complex social status difference and a complicated social relationship network were formed within the communes, and the concept of private ownership was transformed into the system of private ownership.

B. The origin of family. After its emergence, private ownership needed to be consolidated and maintained by patrilineal society and family. In a patrilineal society, the continuous annexation and enslavement between patrilineal tribes resulted in social organizations with a larger geographical area and a larger population. At the same time, the increasingly refined private ownership generated an increasingly complex social network knot - "one-to-one" patrilineal social family. This family form mainly functioned to inherit and maintain the private property legally, and to maintain private ownership on a larger scale. Therefore, the family in the modern sense can be defined as the new private ownership knot effected by the geo-competition after the invention of agriculture.

C. The origin of class. Slaves and slave owners were the earliest classes. Although captives were enslaved in wars between communes or tribes, the slave class did not form until the patriarchal clan communes reached the scale of a slave-holding country through a certain level of annexation war. Annexations at

various levels before the formation of the state, such as annexation between tribes or tribal alliances, can produce more slaves than that between communes, but these slaves actually were not a class because they had not yet participated extensively in social production activities.

1.5 Social forms before the bipolar world

A. Isolated slavery countries in the East and the West

With the development of the competition between patriarchal clan communes, communes were either annexed and enslaved by other communes, or multiply and evolve for generations into tribes and then tribal alliances and even slavery countries. As mentioned earlier, slaves had been found in the matriarchal society. In the patrilineal society, more severe land competition led to more slaves. If slavery country is defined by the fact that slaves are engaged in major productive activities, neither the patriarchal clan commune nor the patriarchal tribe nor the tribal alliance can meet the criteria because the slaves captured from other communes or tribes were killed or the productive activities performed by slaves were not the major part.

Due to the imbalance in the development of social practice and natural practice in different parts of the world, it is not necessarily true that all regions in the world would become slavery countries with enslaved masses through communal competition and tribal competition. This approach is only true to the regions that had taken the lead in social and natural practices, such as China, Egypt,

Mesopotamia, India and other countries. In other places, due to geographical barriers, there was not enough competitive connection between places in terms of social practice and natural practice, making the development level of the two practices lag behind. When these places later had connections with the advanced ones, they had to withstand the pressure from the latter and take the approach of cooperation instead of competition for lack of competitive relations on the whole. As a result, they directly enter the feudal society from the primitive tribal society without going through the stage of slavery. For example, the Inner Asia regions and the ancient Qin state took this development path, as will be mentioned later.

By the time the Bipolar World began to take shape in 500 B.C., the Middle East, West Asia and North Africa were under the rule of the First Persian Empire. Mesopotamia and Egypt within the empire were ancient civilizations with a long history of slavery. Non-slavery elements such as villeins, serfs and tenant slaves had developed considerably before the rule of the Persian Empire. China, which also had a history of several thousand years of slavery, was at the end of the last slavery dynasty.²⁰ During this period, the rest of the world was basically in the stage of primitive tribal society. The Inner Asia region has changed from a

²⁰ Comparing slavery systems in the East and the West, the author has an assumption. The competition among various places in China was not very sufficient although the slavery society in China had gone through the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties for nearly 2,000 years, because these places were all located in the drainage basins of Yellow River and Yangtze River and faced a common danger: floods. Maybe it is the floods that caused these Chinese tribes in the two major drainage basins free from the numerous wars as in the slavery countries in the West. Due to the lack of historical data, it is difficult to prove insufficient competition with the number of slaves. The existence of the nine-square land system can be proof to a certain extent. There are still arguments in the academic circles about its essence - some scholars think it was the common ownership of the primitive communes, and some believe it is the ownership of slave owners, but the consensus is that the system was at least the exterior form or remains of the common ownership of the primitive communes. Slavery regimes in the West, lacking certain degrees of cooperation because they do not share the same river or some natural resources as China does, competed sufficiently for land. In the course of thousands of years of competition, the Western clan communes not only evolved into tribes or tribal alliances with a small number of slaves but also evolved into a slavery country with a large number of slaves engaged in production activities long ago. In addition, the slavery countries also changed their attitude towards slaves in the course of the competition, making some slaves become villeins, serfs and even tenants.

semi-settled animal-raising tribe to a nomadic tribe. Greece and Rome, which later developed into slavery empires, were still in the transition stage from tribal society to slavery countries. Obviously, Western Europe, which has made great achievements in world history since modern times, then was also in the stage of tribal society. Africa and America remained to be tribal society until 1000 A.D.

B. Clan slavery in China

Slavery was not developed in the Xia Dynasty, and a large number of tribal social forms were retained. The state adopted the 'tribute method' - allowing the tribes to manage their own fields and pay tribute with local goods. However, by the time of the Shang Dynasty, the royal power had already taken the form of a slavery state on a considerable scale. The royal family directly controlled a large area of public land and a large number of slaves and adopted the 'aid method' - cultivating public land with the help of local people. In the Western Zhou Dynasty, slavery was further consolidated. All the land in the country was owned by the king. The areas near the capital adopted the aid method, while the regions far from the capital adopted the tribute method. The land was divided and bestowed to lords according to their rank of nobility. The chief undertakers of agricultural production are peasants, common people, savages, and so on. Among them, savages were clan slaves taken from foreign states during the war. After Zhou overturned Shang, the vast majority of Yin people except for some obedient Yin aristocrats became clan slaves, and the whole clan was bound to the land. However, unlike slaves in the

West, they were not killed casually and had their own houses and labor tools. ²¹
Arguably, slaves had no economy of their own. Slavery in China was not fully developed and had many remnants of tribal society compared with that in the West. ²²

C. Slavery in North Africa and West Asia

Before the first stage of the Bipolar World, while China was still in the form of clan slavery society, and Inner Asia and Western Europe were in the form of tribe society, slavery countries in North Africa and West Asia, the center of civilization of the ancient world, had turned into relatively developed feudal serfdom when fully competing with each other. Let's take ancient Egypt and Assyria for examples.

a. Egypt in the Ptolemaic period. ²³ With regard to productive labor, no record of large-scale use of slaves is found. Slaves had a minor status in the class structure. They are mainly engaged in chores such as weeding and transportation, while other laborers are mainly farmers and craftsmen. Regarding land management, tenancy system was widely used in all kinds and scales of land. The state levied taxes according to land conditions, and the tax amount was only 30 - 40% of the harvest.

b. Assyria. ²⁴ A large amount of land was occupied by the royal family. A part of the land was given to temples, high-ranking officials and nobles, while the

21 see Tian Changwu, *Study on Ancient Social Forms*, Tianjin People's Publishing House, 1980.

22 The invention and application of iron tools first happened in the West, probably because of the relatively advanced slavery social form.

23 See Yan Haiying, "An Analysis of Slavery in Egypt during Ptolemaic Period", *Historical Research*, No.6, 1996 and Linghu Ruoming, *Egyptology Research: Brilliant Ancient Egyptian Civilization*, Jilin University Press, 2008, pp. 217-220.

24 See Lin Lin, *A New Probe into Assyrian History*, Guangxi People's Publishing House, 1996, pp. 238-253.

other was assigned to serfs, who were attached to the royal family and were forced to cultivate the land, pay taxes and serve. Farmers working on local land were also serfs. The lords divided the land into small plots and assigned them to farmer families. Farmers had to pay taxes and provide servitude. Under the condition of being attached to their masters, they had their own homes and can engage in economic activities relatively independently. Some even owned real estate and had the right to sign contracts or agreements, loan and testify in court.

2. Formation of the Bipolar World

2.1 Conditions for the formation of the bipolar world

The bipolar world refers to the human world where the East and the West compete to 'evolve'. The prerequisite for the bipolar world is that the entire human society is connected to a mutually restricted whole. In ancient times the vast grasslands of Asia and the tall Himalayas blocked the communication between the two most important civilization centers of human society: West Asia-North Africa and China. The human society obviously cannot be a whole and develop in mutual connection and mutual restriction until the territory of human society exceeds the vast grasslands of Inner Asia. Therefore, the bipolar world can only take shape when the entire human society is connected.

2.2 The emergence of nomads connecting the East and the West

The invention and use of iron tools greatly improved human's ability to transform nature, and human activities expanded to the former wilderness. The vast

grassland area in Inner Asia is not suitable for agricultural cultivation for lack of water and people there can only live near water sources that were rather limited, so the whole area is equivalent to the wilderness. The use of iron tools enabled the farming tribes to conquer the grassland and live away from the water sources, and hence the emergence nomadic people connecting the Eastern and Western human societies.

A. Nomadic culture is later than farming

Before discussing the emergence of nomads, it is necessary to talk about some theories on the origin of nomads.

On the origin of nomads, major theories hold that transhumance was derived from nomadic hunting, transhumance and farming coexisted, transhumance broke away from farming, transhumance was effected by climate change, etc. Lewis Henry Morgan, a famous anthropologist, supported the view that transhumance and farming coexisted. He believed that those tribes who learned to domesticate animals before they learned to cultivate tended to live a life of animal husbandry. At the end of the 19th century, scholars began to criticize this view, emphasizing that domestication of animals can only be carried out under settlement conditions, and the settlement is possible because of agriculture. They thus believed that agricultural production provided surplus food for the domestication of animals, enabling people to accumulate domestication knowledge in long-term experiments.

²⁵ Eric Issac's textual research in *Domestication Geography* found that the wild

25 Nicola Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and Its Enemies – the Rise of Nomadic Power in East Asia History*, translated by He Yan

ancestors of large domesticated animals lived in ancient agricultural areas, while the wild herds originally living in hunting areas were rarely domesticated, and most of the animal domestication techniques used by nomads came from an agricultural society.²⁶ It can be seen that nomads emerged from farming nationalities.

B. The formation of nomadic people in Inner Asia

In the 15th century B.C., the iron was invented in Western Asia and introduced into daily life, providing technical conditions for the local people to build an efficient and large-scale artificial irrigation system, which greatly improved the agricultural labor productivity and made handicraft industry develop by leaps and bounds. This led to the gradual development of the areas where human beings seldom set foot on before. In the 10th century B.C., after the introduction of iron into Inner Asia, the unrelated farming tribes living near the scattered water sources in the vast grassland began to transform into nomadic tribes. They began to move away from the water sources and form a unified nomadic people.

a. The formation of grassland nomads in western Inner Asia.²⁷ During the Dandybay-Begazy period from the 10th to the 8th century B.C., the settled tribes engaged in livestock raising and agriculture on the grasslands of Kazakhstan gradually turned into nomadic tribes who grazed livestock seasonally. However,

and Gao Suwen, China Social Sciences Press, 2010, p. 26.

²⁶ See Eric Issac, *Domestication Geography*, translated by Ge Yide, the Commercial Press, 1987.

²⁷ This part refers to A. H. Dani and V. M. Masson, *History of Civilization of Central Asia (Volume 1)*, translated by Rui Chuanming, China Foreign Translation and Publishing Corporation, 2000.

they were quasi-nomadic tribes between the settled tribes and nomadic tribes. Every spring, after people sowed in the small farmland around the settled areas, they left with their herds to look for summer pastures, returned in autumn to harvest crops, and spent the winter in the settled areas. By the 8th to 7th centuries B.C., the people in this area had completed the transformation to the nomadic lifestyle.

b. The formation of grassland nomads in eastern Inner Asia. ²⁸ Around the 9th century B.C., when iron was introduced from west to east into the grasslands of eastern Inner Asia, the farming tribes in this region also started the nomadic process, which ended at the Periods of the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States. When iron tools were first applied in mainland China, the people in this area were famous for bronze and iron tools and weapons in later generations. Those tools and weapons with iron blades and bronze handles were found in a large number in this area by archeologists. The use of iron has shifted people from settlement work to seasonal grazing, livestock raising and semi-nomadic lifestyle. The archaeological discoveries in Ganqing area in the western part of Mongolian grassland found relatively sufficient evidence, reflecting the nomadic process of Mongolian grassland from different aspects. During the Qijia culture period, due to the influence of nomadic culture in Western Asia, the number of sheep and cattle in grassland dwellers increased significantly and horses began to appear, but the cultural characteristics of settled agriculture remained unchanged. By the time of

²⁸ This part refers to Song Min Bridge, "Origin and Related Issues of Nomadic People in North China in Ancient Times ", *Journal of Shangqiu Normal University*, No.6, 2004.

Xindian culture at the turn from Shang Dynasty to Zhou Dynasty, animal husbandry had achieved significant development. Sheep replaced pigs as the most important livestock for the first time. The proportion of cattle and horses also increased. The proportion of animal husbandry in the economy may exceed that of farming, but people still lived a settled life. By the time of the Kayue culture in the Zhou Dynasty, Xirong, the leader of the Western Regions, gradually gave up settlement and began a nomadic or quasi-nomadic life.

2.3 The landmark of the formation of the bipolar world

The emergence of the nomadic people in Inner Asia only provided the possibility for the formation of the bipolar world. The final formation also needs a power core that can trigger the "bipolar" competition mechanism between the East and the West. Nomadic tribes of Inner Asia almost emerged at the same time when Qin State, the power core of the first stage of the bipolar world process, was established under its pressure. The formation of Qin marks the beginning of the bipolar world.

A. The pressure of Rong and Di and the establishment of Qin. Synchronizing with the nomadism of the eastern grasslands of Inner Asia, it was from the 9th century B.C. that the invasion of the nomadic tribes of Rong and Di in the eastern prairies gradually elevated the Qin's status from clan slaves to vassal, *dafu*(high minister or noble), and eventually the founding of the state. At the end of the Western Zhou Dynasty, Qin people were still nomadic tribes wandering in the northwest. During this period, Rong and Di people invaded the central-plain

countries in the north. The Rong tribe in the west was the most rampant among them. They destroyed the Western Zhou Dynasty, burned, killed and plundered, took control of the present Gansu and Shaanxi regions, and extended northwards and southwards along the Yellow River all the way to Shandong. They remained a powerful force that threatened all the states in the northwest before Western Rong was conquered by Lord Mu of Qin in his later years. In order to deal with the invasion of Western Rong, Zhou royals had to turn to Qin. During the reign of King Xiao of Zhou, Qin was dubbed a "vassal" and gained a little higher status than before although "vassals" were not yet qualified to pay tribute directly to the King and had to be attached to a certain lord. Qin people were allowed to build a city in the place of Qin, after which people surnamed "ying" were officially called "Qin people." During the reign of King Xuan, Qin Zhong, the leader of the Qin people, was bestowed the title "dafu" as an encouragement to resist Rong and Di. Qin Zhong was favored by King Xuan and led the Qin people to attack Rong continuously. After Qin Zhong's death, Lord Zhuang of Qin was ordered by King Xuan and led the troops to fight against Western Rong. He won a small victory and was entitled "Xichui Dafu." In 770 B.C., Lord Xiang of Qin rendered meritorious service when escorting King Ping of Zhou to move to the east. He was further dubbed a lord and Qin state was established.

When Qin State was first established, the fief was full of Rong and Di tribes. King Ping of Zhou once told Lord Xiang of Qin when giving him the title as a lord: Qin could retrieve and keep the land of Feng and Qi, which belonged to Zhou and

occupied by Rong and Di. Since Qin was founded, rulers led the Qin people to fight several battles against Rong and Di but failed. By 760 B.C., the Qin people still stayed in the old place of "Xichui." In 750 B.C., Lord Wen of Qin led the army and drove off Rong from the Zhou territory and controlled the land to the west of Qi. Since Lord Wu of Qin won a great victory in the war against Western Rong and annexed many small Western Rong states in Shaanxi and Gansu. By 620 B.C., Lord Mu of Qin had formed a state with Guanzhong as its center, from Tianshui area, Gansu Province in the west to Hua County, Shaanxi Province in the east.

B. Why did Jin State fail to become the power core of the first stage?

Jin state was a vassal of Tang Shuyu, the younger brother of King Ping of Zhou in the Spring and Autumn Period, and its territory was about the southern part of Shanxi Province. With regard to geographic locations of the states during the period, Qin was west of the Yellow River, and Jin was located in the upper reaches of the Yellow River with the huge area and surrounded by many Di tribes. As a result, Jin and Qin were the first to come into conflict with Rong and Di, and the fighting was frequent. During the continuous development and expansion of Jin, the small state once surrounded by Rong and Di turned out to be a large one that encompassed them in the Spring and Autumn Period. But why did Jin fail to become the power core of the first stage of the bipolar world? The only reason is that the pressure suffered by Jin was not as high as that of Qin. As mentioned above, in the harassment from Rong and Di, Rong which was west to Di was most severe, and Qin, west to Jin, naturally suffered more pressure.

2.4 Theoretical issues in Africa and America

Why is the bipolar world formed on the premise of the formation of nomadic peoples - the bridge connecting slavery countries in the East and the West? In terms of politics, economy and everyday life, inland Africa had been isolated from Eurasia for a long time, and the American continent did not have any connection with Eurasia until modern times. Then why did their contact with Eurasia fail to be the premise?

Let's look at the definition of the bipolar world. The bipolar world refers to the fact that human society begins to show the feature of bipolar competition worldwide in geography, politics and economy. The feature of the bipolar competition is both geographical and political-economic. Two abstract political and economic entities that are different historically and geographically compete with each other in political and economic forms. The two entities, the "poles", are abstract, because there has never been a time when only two countries competed with each other in the history of human society. Abstraction is the process of summarizing the political and economic forms of human society in the world. Those entities that do not play an important role in the competitive process between the two poles can be ignored. Without this abstract process, we would not figure out the bipolar framework of human history, or understand the laws of human history. Although human societies are interrelated and interacting with each other, the presence of Africa and America had limited influence on the history of human society. As we know, the capitalist countries of modern Western Europe

carried out a terrible extinction of the indigenous peoples of Africa and America. When the western colonists set foot on the inland areas of Africa and the American continent, the natives' natural practice was basically in the Neolithic period and their social practice was basically in the primitive tribal society stage because of their long isolation from Eurasia. They are by no means unable to fight against the colonists' powerful ships and guns. Africans and Americans who survived the genocide had no independent political and economic capability in front of the colonists and turned into slave laborers under the colonial system of the West. Obviously, they have been incorporated into the Western capitalist system instead of being independent political and economic entities. Without independent political and economic capabilities, they cannot play an important role in the historical process of human society. ²⁹

3. The Three Stages of the Bipolar World

3.1 Stages and staging criteria

This book divides the whole process of the bipolar world in human society (from its generation to its extinction) into three periods, called three stages. The first stage began with the rise of Qin, the power core, in 500 B.C. under the pressure of Rong and Di after the nomadic people were formed, and ended by the time when Britain became the second-stage power core under the first-stage pressure at the end of the 18th century. The second stage began in the late 18th

²⁹ Of course, slavery reform in the Americas played an important role in modern society, but only to the world progress in modern time.

century and ended by the first half of the 21st century when China becomes the power core of the third stage under the pressure of the second-stage order. The third generation process starts in the first half of the 21st century when China transforms its social form and makes a certain degree of achievements, and will end in the second half of the 22nd century when the geopolitical competition and the bipolar world disappear.

What is the power core? The power core drives other entities of human society and makes them change. Each stage of the bipolar world is fulfilled under the impetus of the power core, which generates the driving force for the change of human social, political and economic forms. However, the nature and size of the power core are not determined by itself to a certain extent, but by the nature and size of the input pressure from the previous generation's bipolar order. This is a bit like Darwin's theory of biological evolution. The organisms in the ecosystem are interrelated. The nature and content of the relation determine the evolution direction of the organisms. The organisms evolve in the evolution direction specified by the relation. Organisms with competitive ties can evolve "actively" and reduce or even reverse pressure from other competitors to some extent, but their "active" nature is limited by the "passive" nature of competitive pressure. The reason why the biological evolution theory is correct is that it follows the principle that the world is universally connected in the description of biological "passive" and "active" connections, and recognizes the differences between things while following this principle. The difference reflects the qualitative difference between

things, while the connection is the fundamental reason for the difference. The book's theory on the nature and formation of the power core of the historical process of human society follows this principle of connection and difference.

3.2 The nature of the power core

Since the power core is generated under the pressure of the previous stage's bipolar order, the nature of itself as well as the driving force it produces must be different from the original pressure. For example, the nature of the power or pressure that Qin State, the core of the first stage, has exerted on the political and economic changes in Eurasia is based on the nature of Qin's political and economic forms. Qin established the first feudal serfdom system in the world and developed a natural practice model based on it, both more advanced than neighboring countries, thus creating a "potential energy" that promoted other countries or regions to change their underdeveloped social forms. Potential energy was transformed into the driving force for change through wars or other forms. The nature of "potential energy" created by Qin can be defined from its war motives.

The author defines the nature of the driving force from the power cores of the three stages as land tribute tax, raw material market and property rights cooperation respectively. Land tribute tax is the nature of the driving force for the first stage, the period from Qin state to modern Britain. The motive of war in the first stage, quite different from that of slavery society to seek laborers and that of tribal society to obtain land, was to obtain tribute or tax based on land. The outcome of war in this period was not the occupation of foreign lands, nor the

enslavement of their people, but the control of administration in the form of tribute or taxes. This is for sure a kind of progress. The difference between people had been reduced from the physical difference in the primitive tribe to the political difference in the slave society, and further reduced to the political-economic difference in the feudal society, reflecting the historical trend of gradual reduction of class difference. In primitive tribes, the competition for land was a life-and-death battle, just as the fight between animals. In a civilized society, the differences between people show sociality. The differences were political in slavery society and economical in feudal society, which was a step further. In the second stage, the economic differences evolved to a higher level and took the form of money. The nature of the driving force from the power core of the second stage is the raw material market, which explains the fundamental motivation of all wars and economic or diplomatic activities in the process of power output and transmission after the rise of Britain, that is, to obtain the raw materials and markets needed for capitalist production. Property rights cooperation is the nature of the driving force from the power core of the third stage. It can explain the fundamental motivation of all foreign activities that occurred in the process of exporting and transmitting the power of political and economic changes after China's rise, namely, the need for the main body of a socialist market economy to seek for property rights cooperation. In the property rights cooperation, the economic differences in the second stage gradually disappear. It can be concluded that the nature of driving force at each stage is different from and related to the

nature of the previous one. Based on the previous one, each power core produces the driving force of less difference and more power.

Section 3 Overall Characteristics of the Bipolar World

1. Characteristics of the Relationship between Social Practice and Natural Practice

From the overall process of the bipolar world, Marxism's view that "productive forces determine production relations" is reasonable, and the development degree of natural practice determines the degree of advancement and unified scope of social practice. This is not only applicable to the overall situation after the formation of the bipolar world, but also to the general situation from the Neolithic period to the slavery society period when the East and West were separated, even in the Paleolithic period. In the Paleolithic period, the continuous improvement of labor tools in the struggle with the natural world led to the gradual improvement of labor efficiency, resulting in the increase of food and population, and then the complication of social organization. Matriarchal clans developed from the original collecting groups. The development of productivity in the Neolithic period, that is, the invention of new stone tools and agriculture, effected a higher social organization, the patrilineal clan. Thanks to the invention of bronze tools, people could move across certain natural barriers and clans in different regions were connected. As a result, clans in different natural environments also competed for land, eventually forming a slavery country that was much larger in geographical scope than clans and tribes. Obviously, things were different after the

birth of the patrilineal society. Before that, productive forces directly determined the production relations. After the formation of the patriarchal society, especially after the bipolar world, the decisive influence of productive force to production relations was not more direct. Instead, the development of productivity led to closer cross-regional ties in technology, which in turn provided conditions for the competition between political and economic entities in different regions in terms of social practice and natural practice. Therefore, after the patrilineal society, the said decisive influence was not direct and specific, but indirect, which can only be seen in the general scope. The overall decisive relationship between bronze tools and slavery society or iron tools and feudal society is more prominent. The use of iron made agriculture develop unprecedentedly, which led to the formation of nomads. Nomads linked the Eastern and Western human societies, allowing the formerly separate slavery countries of the East and the West to compete on a broader scale, thus providing a competition space for the establishment of feudalism. This competition space seems to determine the degree of development of social forms. Those places far away from the competition platform, such as Australia, America and inland areas of Africa, lack the impetus from the outside world for the development of their social forms due to their long isolation from the mainland. Obviously, the connection between these isolated places was possible due to the improvement of human natural practice. Similarly, modern colonists were able to set foot on the continent of America and Australia because of the development and progress of natural science and technology in Europe. The natural practice of

modern industrial production expanded the competition platform of the bipolar world to almost the whole world. Nowadays, the development of information technology has provided the possibility for communist practice and global integration.

Generally speaking, productive force determines the production relations, yet when it comes to each stage of the bipolar world at the intermediate level, they demonstrate a pattern of mutual promotion while the political and economic entities of the East and the West competing with each other. The power core for the first stage of the bipolar world was formed due to pressure from slave-holding political and economic entities that had mastered iron technology in the West during the Spring and Autumn Period. The power core for the second stage of the bipolar world was due to the pressure from the political and economic entities from the East, which was advanced in social practice and natural practice than Europe in the Middle Ages. The power core for the third stage of the bipolar world is due to the pressure of invasion or colonization from western capitalist powers in modern times.

Regarding the microscopic mechanism of internal integration of each stage, the changes in a country's social and natural practices are regulated by the general pattern of the bipolar world. As a specific part in the process of each stage, a country's choice of social practice and natural practice mode is determined, and the country itself cannot freely determine its own social form and natural practice. This is the reason why the author criticized the nationalism theory that reduces the

history of human society at the national level. Two or more countries that are part of a certain stage of the bipolar world cannot "independently" and "freely" change because they are in the order of the bipolar world and constrained by the political and economic world environment, although they are geographically adjacent to each other and have competing relationships for land, etc.. For example, in the process of the first stage, the countries in Zone 3 adjacent to Zone 4 could not change into more advanced social and natural practices for the reason that it transferred some of the pressure from Zone 4 to Zone 2 and Zone 1 as long as it was more advanced than these zones in terms of social practice and natural practice after it changed under pressure from Zone 4. Therefore, from the overall perspective of the first stage, there will be a gradual decrease in the advancement of social practice and natural practice from East to West in the world.

2. Social Practice Becomes More Advanced, Less Different and Will Vanish Eventually

Through the process of three stages of the bipolar world, the social form becomes more and more advanced. Human society started from slavery society before the formation of the bipolar world, transformed into feudal society in the first stage, capitalist society in the second stage, socialist society in the third stage, and finally, world communist society when the bipolar world vanishes. There are two benchmarks to decide whether the social form is advanced or not:

The first is the difference in social practice, in other words, the difference in social status between people. Social practice with larger differences is less

developed than that with smaller differences. As for the development sequence of social forms in the history of human society, the social differences after the bipolar world become smaller and smaller, and the same is even true from the stage of primitive tribal society. In the primitive tribe society, the members of the tribe were equal without differences. The differences between tribes could not even be described as social differences. What they showed when competing for land were no more than the difference between animals. The members of the alien tribe captured in the war were killed instead of being kept as slave laborers. Social differences began in slavery society, where two classes with distinct social status, slave owners and slaves, emerged. The difference was political and obviously more humane than primitive society. In feudal society, slaves were transformed into villeins, serfs, tenants and even farmers, while slave owners into powerful landlords, aristocrats and even commoners landlords. During this period, the political differences between people have been partially transformed into economic differences, i.e., monetary differences, which means that the differences between people are no longer so rigid as legal provisions, rather smaller economic differences that can even be expressed in monetary figures and changed by "autonomous" market behaviors. In the period of capitalist society, landlords were transformed into capitalists, while peasants broke away from the personal dependence in feudal times. The political differences between people were completely replaced by economic differences. There were no laws that rigidly stipulated the differences between people's social status. Social differences were

completely measured by the amount of money. In bourgeois theories, many lucky people and hard-working people had the possibility to improve their status by raising the amount of money they owned. In the socialist stage of the world communism formation period, the economic difference between people has been very small, usually nothing but the difference in the number of wages.

Secondly, while the differences in social practice become smaller and smaller, the geographical unity of social practice in the world is becoming wider and wider. In the primitive society, tribal social forms existed only within a range of tens of kilometers, and hundreds of kilometers at most. In the slavery society, the regime could already cover thousands of kilometers. In the feudal society, the regime had unified nearly a quarter of the world's human society. In the capitalist society, the capitalist system had already covered more than half of the human world. In the integration period before the termination of the bipolar world, human beings in the world will be gradually integrated into the same organization - the world communist society.

In other words, this is a development process of human society from fragments to a flat and increasingly organized system. In primitive society, human society took the form of clans or tribes that lacked organic connections. In the slavery society, the fragmented primitive tribes were integrated into the slavery country, a larger social organizational system, in the form of slave owners and slave classes. In the feudal society, the fragmented slavery economy was integrated into the feudal country in the form of the landlord class and peasant class, a social

organizational system with smaller class differences and larger size. During the period of capitalist society, the fragmented landlord economy was integrated into the social organizational system of capitalist countries in the form of bourgeoisie and proletariat, with smaller class differences and larger size. During the socialist period, the fragmented capitalist economy will be gradually integrated into a social organizational system that covers all mankind and has no social differences. If smaller class differences can be considered to be democratization and larger organizational scale centralization, then flattening can be viewed as democratization plus centralization. Only in the process of flattening can democracy and centralization achieve a higher level of unity. The evolution of the law, which is the country's outer layer and regulates class differences, best reflects this flattening process of the country's administration system. The legal system has always been there since the start of civilized society, but in modern times it was upgraded to "the rule of law." Western legal theories emphasize that the rule of law, the opposite of centralization of power, is the protection of citizens' rights and the restriction of state power. This is one-sided or superficial. The connotation and function of "the rule of law" should be understood in the historical process of flattening the state governance system. The protection of citizens' rights and the restriction of state power are merely the characteristics of the rule of law in the process. The opposite of the rule of law is not centralization of power, but fragmentation. Take the two prosperous times of the rule of law in the first and second stage of the bipolar processes as examples. In feudal Qin state, the power

core for the first stage, the rise of the School of Legalists and the strengthening of central power went hand in hand. Only the power of local lords was restricted. In the second-stage power core - capitalist Britain, the rise of the modern rule of law was in line with the process of "nationalization" in Western countries. Only the power of feudal lords was restricted. In the third stage, which is revealing itself, we can foresee that the Internet technology with flattening features will certainly push the human society towards an organizational system where technology is highly concentrated with no artificial center. ³⁰

3. Natural Practice: More Advanced and Less Different

The natural practice is becoming more and more advanced. As we know, the human natural practice has experienced Paleolithic, Neolithic, bronze, iron, machinery and modern automatic tools or machines. There is no doubt that these tools, invented by human beings in the gradual process of transforming nature, have become more and more efficient.

The differences between natural practices in different places become smaller and smaller with the development of human society. Why? Let's look at an example. When the Western colonists set foot on the American continent, the

³⁰ The rule of law is a flattened system, while information technology is a flattening technology. Flat means open. Informatization will certainly promote the integration of governance systems across regions, levels, functions and departments. With the advancement of the third stage, informatization will push the administrative systems of various countries to continuously cut down the functions and levels of local administrations, forming a dual governance structure of central government and county-level government. Finally, in the extinction process of nations, the differences between the central governments of various countries gradually disappear and form an organizational system that relies on information technology, without political power center but with the dynamically centralized organization. Taking China as an example, with the support of information technology, we can first strengthen the centralized and unified leadership of the central government and expand the power of the central departments, then gradually restrict the authority of local administrative units, focusing on their role in formulating regional differentiated policies, and finally abolish the local functional departments and administrative sequences at the local (city) and provincial (municipality and autonomous region) levels. The outcome of flattening may produce a "singularity" where democracy and centralization are completely integrated.

differences in natural practice between the colonists and the natives were great - the colonists had already started the machine age, while the indigenous people were still using stone tools to transform nature. This huge gap in natural practice made the natives helpless in the face of colonists' invasion and almost ended in genocide. This kind of war, which led to cruel genocide, is unique in modern times, even rare in feudal society and slavery society. Why? It can only be explained by the difference between natural practices. Except for those regions that had been isolated from Eurasia for a long time, most Eurasian regions, especially those in the central part of the continent, have fully competed at each historical stage, so that the difference between their social practices and natural practices were not too great, making horrible genocide impossible. Just imagine, a country, in war with another country with a slightly less advanced level of natural practice, will not easily exterminate the people of the other country and seize their land. In the face of the genocidal war, the less developed country will unit anyway and change the social form until it is strong enough to resist the invasion or even take the lead. For example, nomads in Inner Asia were still in the primitive tribal society when the feudal serfdom reform in Qin had been completed. However, under the pressure of the Central Plains dynasty, they also directly produced feudal social elements from the tribal social form. Judging from the trend of war intensity in human history, we can say that the differences in human natural practice become smaller and smaller.

4. The Bipolar Process: Fewer Intermediates, Shorter Cycle and More

Integrated Regions

From the perspective of the three stages of the bipolar world, the Eastern and Western political and economic entities witnessed fewer intermediates, shorter cycles, and more integrated regions during the mutual promotion process of productive force and production relations.

In the first stage, four political and economic entities were abstracted from many countries in Eurasia, namely Zone 1, Zone 2, Zone 3 and Zone 4. The abstraction is the process of summarizing the political and economic connections and their political and economic forms among countries in these four regions. The first stage had the most intermediates in the process of the bipolar world in terms of the abstracted four entities. The more intermediate a stage has, the longer cycle it will undergo. The first bipolar process started from about 500 B.C. to the end of the 19th century, lasting 2400 years. At the second stage, because of the development of natural practice, the distance between the East and the West was getting closer, and the developed capitalist countries in the West could exert pressure or driving force for social changes to easternmost China without going through many links like in the first generation. Britain, the first capitalist country in the true sense, launched the Opium War against China, the most eastern country in the middle of 19th century, only half a century later since its rise after the industrial revolution in the 18th century. In the final analysis, it is due to natural practice. Fewer links should not be understood only in terms of technology. The developed Western capitalist countries could directly exert pressure on China without the complicated links of the first stage not only because they crossed these obstacles

by sea. More importantly, those countries in the intermediate position had been integrated into the Western capitalist system and combined with European countries in the original Zone 1, thus losing their independent political and economic capacities. On the other hand, under the pressure of the West, the Eastern countries were united due to common interests, thus being abstracted as a single entity. Therefore, the second stage only abstracted two political and economic entities without intermediate links. Fewer intermediates lead to shorter cycle. The second stage only lasted about 250 years from the 19th century when Britain, the power core of the second stage rose to the 21st century when China the power core of the third stage reveals itself. It is reasonable to believe that the second stage will be even shorter than the second stage, although the total duration and the duration of each phase are now only conjectures.

The reduction of the intermediates or the shortening of the cycle is the reflection of the increasingly integrated political and economic forms in geography. As mentioned earlier, the first stage was divided into four zones because they are either a unified regime such as the Chinese and Mongolian empires, or geopolitical complexes such as the Islamic world in Zone 2 and the Christian world in Zone 1 which had common interests and similar internal social forms under the pressure of other regions. Therefore, it is advisable to use the four abstract zones to represent the degree of geographical integration of the political and economic practices of human society during the feudal society. According to this abstract process, the second stage has only two political and economic entities, while the third gradually

forms a globally unified entity

5. The Fracture Zones of the Order Have a Smaller Number, Happen at Lower Level and Will Gradually Join

The first stage had four basic fracture zones, namely, the one between China and Inner Asia, the one between Inner Asia and the Islamic world, the one between the Islamic world and the European Christian world, and the one between Inner Asia and the Christian world that was minor to the first three. The process of the first stage was in feudal society. The fracture between countries mainly occurred at the level of the political system and also at the economic system level, while the fracture within the country occurred at the level of the political system and economic system. The fracture form between countries was reflected in wars fought for the acquisition of "land tribute tax", while the fractured form within the country was reflected in the wars launched by dependent peasants against personal enslavement and economic exploitation of landlords; in the violation of laws where dependent peasants resisted to the political and economic system that favors the interests of the landlord class; and in immoral behaviors where dependent peasants struggled against the cultural habits that favor the landlord class.

The second stage was in the capitalist society and had only one basic fracture zone, namely, the fracture between Western developed capitalist countries and Eastern countries with backward natural practices. The fracture between countries occurred at the level of the political system and the economic system, while the fracture within countries mainly occurs at the level of the economic system yet also

at the level of the political system. The fracture in the political system was manifested in the political party system at the constitutional level and below, but not in the regulation system which defines social status among political and economic entities such as the classes in the first stage. The fracture form between countries was reflected in the wars fought for the acquisition of the "raw material market", while the fracture form from within the country was reflected in the working class's resistance to the economic exploitation of the bourgeoisie; in violations of law or immoral behaviors where the working class struggled in various ways against the political and economic system and cultural concepts that favored the interests of the bourgeoisie. The fracture level of the second stage can be subdivided. The fracture level between capitalist countries and underdeveloped countries that had not yet been incorporated into the capitalist system showed higher level and greater intensity compared with that between developed capitalist countries and underdeveloped capitalist countries that have been incorporated into the capitalist system. The level of fracture within a certain developed capitalist country, such as racial conflicts of white and black, was lower than that of the former, while the fracture level of conflicts between bourgeoisie and proletariat within the same race was even lower than that of racial conflicts. Higher level means that the fracture is mainly manifested in the form of conflicts such as wars and crimes, while lower level means the fracture is more likely to be manifested in the form of conflicts such as crimes and immoral behaviors.

The third stage is in the socialist society. Since socialist countries adopt

economic expansion in the form of "property rights cooperation", it will not lead to wars with capitalist countries. Even if there are some limited wars and conflicts, they are more likely to be initiated by declining capitalist countries. As a result, the fracture between countries mainly occurs at the level of the economic system and also at the political system level. The internal fracture within political and economic entities is entirely at the level of the economic system and will not take the form of wars. If the economic fracture zones are included, there are mainly three fracture zones, one is the fracture between Zone 4 and the capitalist world, the second is the fracture between the state-owned cooperative socialist entity composed of Zones 3-4 and the western capitalist system composed of Zones 1-2, and the third is the fracture between the financially cooperative socialist system composed of the Zones 2-4 and Zone 1.

If we merge all the fracture zones of the three stages into one according to their levels and intensity, we will find that merged fracture zone gradually closes up in the three stages. The fracture of the first stage mainly occurred at the level of the political system, the second at the level of the economic system, while the third stage is a process in which the fracture at the level of the economic system will gradually close up and the two poles emerge into one unity.

Chapter 3 First-Stage Bipolar World

The time interval for the formation of the power cores of two adjacent stages is equal to the existing period of each stage. The first-stage bipolar world began with the formation of the first-stage power core, namely the rise of Qin State at the turn of the Spring and Autumn Period to the Warring States Period, and ended with the formation of the second-stage power core, namely the rise of Great Britain in the early 19th century.

Section 1 Characteristics of the First-Stage Bipolar World

1. Characteristics of Political Geography: Four Independent Entities

In terms of political geography, this characteristic refers to the fact that in the first-stage bipolar world, there were four relatively independent political-economic entities in the world (Eurasia). However, these four entities were not all united nations of centralized authority. As previously mentioned, the reason why the first-stage world was divided into four zones is that they were either unified political powers such as China and the Mongolian Empire, or the Islamic world in Zone 2 and Christian world in Zone 1, for they were geopolitical complexes under pressure from other zones, with common interests and similar internal social forms. The countries of each zone had closer relations with each other in politics and economics than with countries of other zones, and similar political-economic forms, representing the independence between one zone and another.

The four abstract entities include³¹: Zone 4: China, North Korea, Vietnam and Cuba; Zone 3: Inner Asia, Russia, Pakistan, Northern India, developing countries in Southeast Asia, and Brazil; Zone 2: Southern India, the Middle East, South American countries except Brazil, and Africa; and Zone 1: developed countries in Southeast Asia, Japan, Australia, North America and Europe. In order to simplify the description of the three stages, the summarization of these four zones takes into account the characteristics of the second- and third-stage world patterns, adding

³¹ The first stage took place only in Eurasia. However, in order to facilitate the description of the second and third stages, and because the histories of Africa, America and Oceania did not hinder the formation of bipolar features in the second and third stages, the world patterns of the second and third stages were used to integrate Africa, America and Oceania into the abstract scopes of the four entities. The four zones had similar populations, and the countries in each zone had similar social forms and levels of natural practice development. The second and the third stages followed the “four entities” feature of the first stage, which will be addressed later. In Chapter Eight of this book, the practical political-economic world pattern which was used to make predictions for the third stage shows the characteristics of the four entities. Based on the nature of the driving force for the third stage, Chapter Eight uses the leftness or independence of political power, as well as the public ownership and independence of the economy, to measure and classify the social forms of countries in the world, which was used to make predictions for the third stage. Three zones (namely the three zones other than Zone 1 composed of developed countries) had different social forms. This difference was reflected in the controlling power of states over the market-oriented economy. The international balance of payment and price of commodities were used as the monetary indicator to reflect the balance of international and internal markets. In this regard, Zone 4, 3 and 2 were able to realize surpluses and reduce the price, thereby achieving balance, maintaining the price and realizing a deficit, and increasing the price respectively. The reason why these two monetary indicators were chosen as the criteria for measuring the advancement of social forms is that the controlling power over price and realization level of surplus were determined by the degree of economic public ownership and independence, while the degree of economic public ownership and independence were determined by the leftness or independence of political power. States that were more left and more economically independent had stronger controlling power over the price, and those that were less left and less independent lacked that power. The criteria for political and economic systems were ambiguous, and it was difficult to make specific classifications for the countries in each zone. But these two monetary indicators could function as the basis for classifying these countries. Hence, the author made reference to the relevant data and chose the composing countries of these three zones in this way. It is worth noting that under the “manipulation” of these two monetary indicators, the levels of natural practice development of Zone 4, 3 and 2 were as follows: able to create and manufacture industrial products; able to manufacture semi-industrial products; and only able to supply primary commodities, raw materials, energy sources, minerals, etc. The levels of natural practice development were also referred to as the basis when considering the classification of countries.

some countries and regions of the second and third stages.³² But in the first stage, the additional countries and regions were not entities of great significance to its development.

The need to describe the second and third stages was taken into account in the order of countries in each zone. If we put all the entities of the four zones in order, it would be as follows: China – North Korea – Vietnam – Cuba – Inner Asia – Russia – Pakistan – Northern India – developing countries in Southeast Asia – Brazil – Southern India – the Middle East – South American countries except Brazil – Africa – developed countries in Southeast Asia – Japan – Australia – North

³² Although the geographic characteristics in the first stage were of one entity, in the second stage of two entities. The first stage had the characteristics of one entity, but the second stage inherited the characteristics of four entities from the first stage. For example, in the second stage, the expansion of the capitalist system in Zone 1 started from the adjacent Zone 2 and spread to Zone 3 and 4. Besides, the levels of completion in the four zones had a pattern of scale; that is to say, Zone 2 was completely integrated into the capitalist system dominated by Zone 1, while Zone 3 was partially integrated, and a small part of Zone 4 was integrated. Another example is that in the third stage, the “property rights cooperation” in Zone 4 was expanded according to the principle of “from near to distant” from Zone 3 to Zone 2 and then to Zone 1. The reason why this expansion from near to distant was realized seemed to be because of geographic proximity, but the actual reason was that neighboring areas had closer political-economic relations and similar social forms, making it easier to realize expansion. For example, in the second stage, Zone 1 first expanded to Zone 2. This was because they were adjacent in location, and more importantly because the social practices and natural practices of Zone 2 were less advanced than those of Zone 3 and 4. Therefore, the gap in the social practices and natural practices of Zone 1 and 2 led to great potential for expansion, making it easier to expand to Zone 3 and 4. That the expansion to Zone 3 was earlier than that to Zone 4 was for the same reason. Another example is that in the third generation, Zone 4 first started its “property rights cooperation” with Zone 3. The underlying reason was that, compared with those of Zone 2 and Zone 1, the social form and natural practice levels of Zone 3 were closer to those of Zone 4. They had more common interests under pressure from the western capitalist system, giving them stronger motivation to cooperate on property rights. Thus, compared with Zone 2 and 1, it was easier for them to realize cooperation. Cooperation with Zone 2 was earlier than that with Zone 1 for the same reason.

America – Europe.³³ The right end of this order is the place where the expansion pressure from the first stage finally reached, and the power core of the second stage. From right to left, the further a zone goes, the earlier it received the expansion pressure of the first stage compared to Zone 1 and the later the expansion pressure of the second stage arrived. The left end of this order is the place where the expansion pressure of the second stage finally reached, and the power core of the

³³ In 2013, the author tried to accurately describe the internal political-geographic structures, formation and social forms of Zone 1, 2 and 3 of the first stage in a similar way to that adopted for Zone 4, under the title Comparison of Political-Geographic Formation and Economic Societies in the Medieval World. The author also intended to compare the development levels of natural practices in the four zones in a systematic manner. But in the middle of searching for and gathering information, it turned out that the related materials were so limited that they were not sufficient to support accurate descriptions, so the author had to give up. The overall framework of that book is provided here for your reference. The internal political-geographic scales of Zone 4 included the following: Guanzhong (highly centralized central political power; no landlords, no tenants; no religious culture), the Central plain (the central political power had authority in legislation, administration and broad execution; landlords owned ten or tens of households of peasants, and the peasants themselves were not affiliated with the landlords; religious culture was very secular); South China (the central political power had authority in legislation, administration and local execution; landlords owned about 100 households of peasants, and the peasants themselves were slightly affiliated with the landlords; religious culture was relatively secular); the overall social form was that “the central political power had authority in legislation, administration and broad execution; religion did not have an impact on politics; landlords owned ten or tens of households of peasants, and the peasants themselves were not affiliated with the landlords; religious culture was not mainstream”; and the overall natural practices had systematic innovation abilities. The internal political-geographic scales of Zone 3 included the following: Mongolia (the central political power had authority in legislation, administration and broad execution; landlords owned ten or tens of peasants and herdsmen, and the peasants and herdsmen themselves were not affiliated with the landlords; religious culture was very secular), Central Asia (the central political power had authority in legislation, administration and local execution; landlords owned about 100 households of peasants and herdsmen, and the peasants and herdsmen themselves were slightly affiliated with the landlords; religious culture was relatively secular), Northern India (the central political power had authority in legislation and administration; landlords owned hundreds of households of peasants, and the peasants themselves were highly affiliated with the landlords; religious culture was not secular); the overall social form was that “the central political power had authority in legislation, administration and local execution; religion was separated from politics, influencing but not determining politics; landlords owned about 100 households of peasants, and the peasants themselves were slightly affiliated with the landlords; religious culture was mainstream, but had many secular elements”; and the overall natural practices had great innovation abilities which were not systematic. The internal political-geographic scales of Zone 2 included the following: Iran (the central political power had authority in legislation, administration and local execution; landlords owned about 100 households of peasants, and the peasants themselves were slightly affiliated with the landlords; religious culture was relatively secular), West Asia and North Africa (the central political power had authority in legislation and administration; the relationship between politics and religion was similar to that in Europe, namely religion had the function of conservatively controlling politics across countries, but its effectiveness was lower than that of the latter; landlords owned hundreds of households of peasants, and the peasants themselves were highly affiliated with the landlords; religious culture was not secular), Southern India and East Africa (slavery society; Southern India lay between West Asia and North and inland Africa); the overall social form was that “the central political power had authority in legislation and administration; politics and religion were integrated, but religion did not override politics; landlords owned hundreds of households of peasants, and the peasants themselves were relatively affiliated with the landlords; religious culture was mainstream and less secular”; and the overall natural practices had applicable innovation abilities. The internal political-geographic scales of Zone 1 included the following: Byzantium (the central political power had authority in legislation and administration; politics and religion were integrated, but religion did not override politics; landlords owned hundreds of households of peasants, and the peasants themselves were relatively affiliated with the landlords; religious culture was not secular), France, England and Germany (the central political power had legislative authority; the integration of politics and religion was distributed, and religion overrode politics; landlords owned about 1,000 households of peasants, and the peasants themselves were highly affiliated with the landlords; religious culture dominated everything and secularity was rare), West Africa and South Africa (primitive society); the overall social form was that “the central political power had legislative authority; the integration of politics and religion was distributed, and religion overrode politics; landlords owned about 1,000 households of peasants, and the peasants themselves were highly affiliated with the landlords; religious culture dominated everything and secularity was rare”; and the overall natural practices had no innovation abilities.

third stage. From left to right, the further a zone goes, the earlier it received the expansion pressure of the second stage compared to Zone 4 and the later the expansion pressure of the third stage arrived. It is worth noting that the arrangement of the order could be erroneous due to differences in understanding regarding the historical facts.

2. Characteristics of Social Practices

Social practices are practical activities carried out to address the political, economic and cultural relations among all parties, including individuals and groups. Social practice activities can be described in dynamic and static terms. Dynamic characteristics are external conditions and internal driving forces for the power core to transmit pressure outwards. Static characteristics are global patterns of social form shaped by dynamic social practices; that is, the static status is the result of the dynamic status.

2.1 Dynamic characteristics

A. The external conditions for expansion were the differences between the advancement levels of feudalism and slavery. The power core of the first stage, Qin State, had the social form of a feudal serfdom. Among areas importing pressure, Inner Asia had the social form of tribalism, the Middle East, West Asia and North Africa were feudal, and Europe was tribal. The reason Qin State was able to transmit its driving force outward after the unification of China was that its social form was more advanced than those of the others. Therefore, based on this

advanced social form, its natural practices were more advanced, creating potential energy that was transmitted to other areas. If it is generalized that the social form of the other three zones was slavery, the external conditions for China to expand outward were the differences between the advancement levels of feudalism and slavery. In the first stage feudal China maintained this level of advancement for more than 2,000 years, consistently playing the role of the power core in the process.

B. The internal driving force for expansion was the need for “land tributes and taxes”. With the external force, it was merely possible for expansion to take place; in order to realize expansion, it was necessary to have an internal driving force which created the motive to expand. In a feudal society, agricultural and nomadic activities both took the land as the focus of work. In ancient societies in which the primary natural practices were agriculture or nomadism, the land possessed great significance. It is reasonable to say that all wars in ancient society were fought over land. In a slavery society, wars often led to the enslavement of other ethnic groups, and the motive for expansion could be regarded as the direct occupation of land. In a feudal society, the motive for war was no longer to enslave the people of other countries or take their land, but to collect tributes and taxes from people living on the land in other countries. In feudal societies, wars were invariably fought for the purpose of outward expansion.

2.2 Static characteristics: scale of advancement of social forms from east to west

After the power core of the first stage completed its output of driving force over 2,000 years, and the subject received further transmitted driving force, the social form of Zone 4 experienced three waves of change in the Warring States Period, Period of the Wei, Jin and Northern and Southern dynasties, and Period of Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms; the social form of Zone 3 experienced two waves of change in the process of Turkization and Mongolization; the social form of Zone 2 experienced one wave of change in the process of Islamization³⁴ ; and the social form of Zone 1 experienced no wave of change. Therefore, the social forms of the ancient world showed a pattern in which the scale of advancement gradually reduced from east to west. Taking the end of the first stage as the boundary marker, the four zones of the first-stage bipolar world from east to west had the following respective natures: feudal tenancy, feudal serfdom with unified political power, feudal serfdom with less unified political power, and feudal serfdom with distributed political power. In this process, as the power core of Zone 4, China sustained its advancement compared with the social forms of other zones. The evolution of its social form experienced several changes, and China was more advanced than the others in each phase. Similarly, Inner Asia in Zone 3 was more advanced than the West in Zones 2 and 1, and the Islamic world in Zone 2 was consistently more advanced than Europe in Zone 1 during this process.

During the first stage, the political form of China as the power core remained

³⁴ The Generally speaking, the Warring States Period was from the 5th to 3rd century B.C.; the period of the Wei, Jin and Northern and Southern dynasties was from the 3rd to 6th century A.D.; the period of Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms was around the 10th century A.D.; the Turkization Period was from the 6th to 8th century A.D.; the Mongolization Period was from the 13th to 14th century A.D.; and the Islamization Period was from the 7th to 13th century A.D. It is noticeable that the two waves of change in Zone 3 were later than the first two waves of change in Zone 4, while the single wave in Zone 2 was later than the first wave in Zone 3.

feudalism with highly centralized authority. Its economic form was more advanced than that of the other three zones in this stage. At the end of the first stage, China's economic form was tenancy, while that of the other three zones was slavery. The social form of Zone 4 had the most advanced position in the first stage, which is easily proven by the historical evidence. But it is more difficult to recognize that Zone 3 was more advanced than Zone 2 and Zone 2 was more advanced than Zone 1. Although they all had the economic form of slavery, we can compare their levels of advancement by using the more fundamental indicator of political form. Generally speaking, the centralization level of Zone 3 was higher than that of Zone 2, and the centralization level of Zone 2 was higher than that of Zone 1. We can find evidence of this in the characteristics of the central-local decentralization of power during the ruling periods of great empires in these zones, and in such characteristics as the number of countries during the splitting periods of great empires.

3. Characteristics of Natural Practices

The first stage saw the process in which feudal China output driving force for change, and human society across the world tended towards feudalism. Because of the scale of the pressure, the levels of feudalism of different political-economic entities from east to west were different. The advancement level of the social practice model determined the advancement level of the natural practice model. This section will describe the characteristics of natural practices in the first-stage bipolar world with reference to the nature and pattern of natural practices.

3.1 Nature of natural practices: Ironware. In slavery societies before the first generation, ironware had been invented and transmitted all over the world. As previously mentioned, the transmission and application of ironware led to the emergence of nomadic civilizations, thereby contributing to the formation of the bipolar world. Undoubtedly, the natural practices of the first-stage bipolar world inherited the practice of ironware, which resulted from changes in natural practices before the formation of the bipolar world, in an even more refined way. During the Neolithic Age and Iron Age, activities carried out to change nature primarily involved agriculture. The reason why agricultural practices were not chosen to explain the nature of natural practices is that stoneware and ironware had both been used as basic tools to work the land and engage in agricultural production. It is through these tools that people interacted with nature. Therefore, the development forms of these tools were used to indicate the nature of natural practices.

3.2 Pattern of natural practice of the first-stage bipolar world: Scale of advancement from east to west. Under external pressure, the social forms of political-economic entities were evolving to become more advanced, and the natural practices were undergoing development based on the evolution of the social practices. Due to the existence of scaled external pressure in the first stage, world social forms across the world showed a scaled pattern of advancement from east to west. Comparing the natural practice models of the four zones, a scaled pattern of advancement from east to west is also seen in natural practices, namely that the natural practice model of Zone 4 was more advanced than that of Zone 3, that of

Zone 3 was more advanced than that of Zone 2 and that of Zone 2 was more advanced than that of Zone 1.

As clearly supported by the historical facts, during the whole process of the first stage, the natural practice model of China in Zone 4 was relatively more advanced than those of the other three zones. The spread of the four great inventions to the west can serve as evidence, as well as the transmission of ironware, silk, silkworm breeding, silk reeling, iron casting, combining wells with canals, and paper manufacturing. It is also obvious that in the Middle Ages, Europe in Zone 1 was the least developed. The difficulty lay in the comparison between Inner Asia in Zone 3 and the Islamic world in Zone 2. Zone 3 absorbed a large amount of science and technology knowledge from Zone 4, and Zone 2 inherited a large amount of science and technology knowledge from Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome. However, the knowledge that Zone 3 acquired came from feudal societies and was clearly more advanced than the knowledge that Zone 2 learned from slavery societies. Moreover, aside from learning and absorption, Zone 3 possessed more original knowledge than Zone 2, for example, Al Khwarizmi, the father of algebra, who made great contributions to mathematics, was from Khorasan (present-day Uzbekistan), and it is clear that there were no scientists of such significance in Zone 2 during the first stage.

4. Characteristics of Fracture Zones

The characteristics of fracture zones can be described in terms of their numbers and levels. The first stage had three fracture zones occurring at the level

of political systems and economic systems.

4.1 Three fracture zones. Because the first stage had four relatively independent political-economic entities, there were three fracture zones: between China and Inner Asia, between Inner Asia and the Islamic world, and between the Islamic world and the Christian world. It is easily proven by the historical facts that external wars in the first stage were primarily based on these fracture zones. There was also a less important fracture zone between Inner Asia and the Christian world in Europe. Since Europe lay farther from Inner Asia than the Islamic world, Inner Asia had less influence on Europe when transmitting pressure from the power core of China.

4.2 Fracture at the level of political systems and economic systems. As previously mentioned, in a slavery society, rule by another ethnic group was entirely political. In terms of the political system, it was reflected as the legal right relationship between slave owners and slaves as absolute persons and tools respectively; in terms of war motives, it was reflected as the purpose of enslaving other ethnic groups and occupying their land. In the first stage, fracture zones can be found in both political systems and economic systems. The fracture zones in the political system were embodied by differences in political status and the participation in political power of landlords and peasants. The fracture zones in the economic system were embodied by the exploitation of peasants by landlords demanding tributes and taxes for renting the land. These two fracture levels were manifested in the war motive of collecting tributes and taxes from people living on

the land in other countries. Apparently, the fracture levels of the first stage were lower than those in slavery societies, and the gaps between the social status of subjects were smaller, so the severity of wars was reduced.

Section 2 Formation of the Power Core in the First-stage Bipolar World Process

In this book, for simplicity of description, the author does not distinguish China and political powers in the Guanzhong Region of China (such as Qin State) in the first-stage power core. China was the power core for the first stage and the political powers in the Guanzhong Region were the power core for the progress of China's feudalism. The progress of feudalism in China had the following social form pattern of advancement levels: Guanzhong – Central Plains – South China. The author will explain the driving role played by the political powers in the Guanzhong Region in the formation and evolution of the above-mentioned pattern during the three phases of China's feudalism. In the Warring States Period, the rise of Qin State, which was located in the northwest but eventually unified the whole nation, marked the first time that the political powers in Guanzhong functioned as the power core in the development of China's feudalism and the progress of the world.

In this section, the author will describe the formation of the first-stage power core from two perspectives: first, the deciding role of Qin State's external relations on the transformation of feudal serfdom (its connection between the outside and inside); and second, the deciding role of the transformation of the social form on

the development of natural practices (its internal connections).

1. Transformation of Feudal Serfdom in Qin State

Due to differences in external pressure between stages, the transformation of the feudal serfdom in Qin State experienced two phases: in the first, under pressure from the Western Rong, its social form changed from tribalism to a semi-tribal and semi-feudal society; in the second, under pressure from the eastern kingdoms led by Jin State, its social form changed from a semi-tribal and semi-feudal society to feudal serfdom.

1.1 First phase: conflict with the Western Rong and the establishment of a semi-tribal and semi-feudal society. The Qin people were slaves of the Zhou people until the later years of the Western Zhou Dynasty, and the social form of the Qin remained clan tribalism. As the royal court of Zhou could not resist the attacks of the Western Rong, the bravery demonstrated by the Qin people elevated their status in the Western Zhou from slaves to nobility to “vassals” during the reign of King Xiao, and they were known as “Xichui Dafu” during the reign of King Xuan. Eventually, Qin was endowed with the status of a state during the reign of King Ping, and its social form changed from tribalism to a semi-tribal and semi-feudal society. In terms of political form, the relationships between the leaders of non-noble clans and kings inherited the characteristics of military democracy from the tribal alliance period. The system of prefectures and counties implemented in the borderlands had feudal characteristics. The bureaucratic system, which imitated that of the Western Zhou while retaining some of its original features, also had

feudal characteristics. In terms of economic form, the system of land exchange adopted by its members reflected the communist economy characteristics of primitive tribal societies, while tributes paid to the country functioned more like taxes collected by feudal countries from people of registered households, reflecting the characteristics of a feudal economy. Under this economic form, peasants combining such characteristics as primitive tribal public ownership with feudal serfdom could be regarded as “semi-serfs”.

1.2 Second phase: conflict with Jin State and the establishment of feudal serfdom. ³⁵ When the power of Qin State reached the west bank of the Yellow River, it started to confront the eastern states led by the powerful Jin State. Through conflicts with these states, Qin started the second evolutionary phase of its social reform. In 620 B.C., Qin was defeated by Jin in the “Battle at Linghu”. In the following 200 years, Qin and Jin engaged in unceasing conflicts, with Qin winning few victories and suffering many crushing defeats. Such continuous defeats caused the social form of Qin to further change from a semi-tribal and semi-feudal society to feudal serfdom. When Lord Xian of Qin ascended the throne in 384 B.C., an internal power struggle was taking place within its ruling class and Lord Xian adopted reform measures, indicating that the class of feudal lords had begun to enter the political sphere of Qin State. Even though Lord Xian implemented a series of significant reforms, the weakened national condition of Qin did not change fundamentally. It was only through the establishment of feudal

35 Lin Jianming, *Development History of the Qin Kingdom*, Shaanxi People’s Publishing House, 1981.

serfdom as part of Shang Yang's reforms that the national capacity of Qin was effectively improved. In terms of political form, thanks to the efforts made by lords from Lord Jian to Ying Zheng, the political power of Qin State was transferred from the hands of clans and noblemen, as represented by the leaders of non-noble clans, to the hands of feudal lords, most of whom were landlords with military merit. In terms of economic form, motivated by the incentive policy of rewarding the agriculture and warfare industries, the combat effectiveness of the army was enhanced and the strength of the landlords was expanded, making the old clans and noblemen lose their economic power. It will be mentioned later that the rising class of landlords was similar to the class of lords in Western Europe during the Middle Ages, while the peasants working on their lands were serfs.

2. Development of Natural Practices

Changes in social forms unleashed people's incentive to change nature, thus facilitating the natural practice model in achieving evolving development.

2.1 Development of industrial technology.³⁶ The Qin people were among the first to use ironware, and iron tools were first used in Qin State during the Warring States Period. Over a century after Shang Yang's reforms, the metallurgical industry had made enormous progress, and ironware had been introduced into the everyday lives of the general public. At that time, metallurgy and ironware manufacturing were large-scale industries. There were a number of workshops in the Qin capital of Xianyang, and special officials assigned to

³⁶ Lin Jianming, *Development History of the Qin Kingdom*, Shaanxi People's Publishing House, 1981.

administer the production of ironware in the administrative structure. The application of ironware greatly improved social productivity. In the late Warring States Period, Qin State built such large-scale water conservancy projects as Dujiang Weir and Zhengguo Canal, and its textile industry reached an advanced level, as well as the manufacturing of leather and lacquerware.

2.2 Progress in agricultural production. ³⁷ The use of farm cattle to plough represented the level of agricultural development in Qin State, where this method was adopted earlier than any other states. By the late Warring States Period, the agricultural productivity of Qin had been greatly promoted, with the appearance of specialized academic works summarizing experience in agricultural production.

³⁷ Lin Jianming, *Development History of the Qin Kingdom*, Shaanxi People's Publishing House, 1981.

Chapter 4 Formation of Zone 4 in the First-Stage Bipolar World

Chapter 3 discussed the overall characteristics of the first stage and the formation of the power core. The following paragraph will focus on the formation of the four zones and the changes in social and natural practices under the impetus of the power core. Given the fact that the first stage lasted for 2,000 years and China, its power core, had a rather intricate pattern in terms of social form changes, a separate chapter was allotted to examine the formation of Zone 4 of the first stage. In Sections 3, 4 and 5 of this chapter, three phases of China's feudal social form are dealt with. Before that, it is necessary to analyze the driving force of social form changes and the categorization standard, and to summarize the law of changes in China's feudal social form.

Section 1 Impetus and Categorization Standard of Social Form Changes

1. The Impetus of Social Form Changes, Exemplified by the Periods of Spring and Autumn till the Warring States

Marxism holds that the progress of the productive forces is the driving force to change the production relations. Applying this viewpoint to the analysis of the causes of the land system reform in the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods, scholars naturally believe that the extensive use of iron farm tools and cattle plowing led to the disintegration of the

well-field system and the establishment of the land granting system in the Warring States period. This view has been taken by various textbooks for universities and middle schools.

Actually, from the early Neolithic Peiligang culture to the early Warring States Period, no essential changes in agricultural tools could be found³⁸. In the early Neolithic period of Cishan and Peiligang cultures, 8,000 to 7,000 years ago, agriculture was already the primary production sector. However, after that, Yangshao culture failed to develop new types of agricultural tools and only slightly improved their production techniques and form. From Yangshao culture to Longshan culture and then to the second-generation civilization, there had been no "qualitative progress" in production tools and technology, and no marked changes in forms or raw materials. Even by the Shang and Zhou dynasties, bronze ware manufacturing technology had reached a high level, but very few bronze tools were used in agricultural production. From the Spring and Autumn Period to the early Warring States Period, iron tools, like gold, jade and bronze, were mostly used by nobles as decoration and rarely as farm tools. It can be seen that from Peiligang culture to the early Warring States period, farm tools were mainly made of stone and wood.

Agricultural tools remained basically unchanged for thousands of years, but before that, the change of economic form already began during the

38 This part refers to Li Hengquan, "On the Driving Force of Land Ownership Reform in Pre-Qin, Qin and Han Dynasties", *Jianghai Academic Journal*, No.4, 2005.

Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods. At the end of the Western Zhou Dynasty, the well-field system had shown signs of disintegration, and by the middle of the Spring and Autumn Period, this phenomenon had become very common. During the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period, various countries carried out reforms successively, such as Qi's "quality-related tax", Lu's "initial tax-levy cropland " and Chu's "income-based tax". Qin carried out reform twice in 359 B.C. and 350 B.C., the last in the states. Obviously, iron farm tools and cattle plowing had not appeared when the well-field system collapsed. When iron farm tools were widely used after the middle of the Warring States Period, the transformation from the well-field system to land granting system in the states had been virtually completed.

Consequently, the opposite happened. The change of production relations was the prerequisite or motive for the change of productivity, and the change of social practice led to the development of natural practice.

2. The Phases of Social Transformation in Zone 4 and Its Criterion

2.1 The standard

We can always see the significant role of class struggle in the process of social transformation in the past. In feudal society, the central form of class struggle was the peasant uprising, which overthrew all dynasties. However, class struggle, the apparent or direct driving force for the development of

social forms, cannot be considered the sole criterion for the phases. The view that class struggle fundamentally drives the transformation of social forms is something like political-economical reductionism, which has been criticized above when the theory of international relations is discussed. It attributes the development history of human society to people's political and economic practice at a specific time and place, and tries to explain the nature and development of the whole human world accordingly.

If we hold the view that the changes and development of human society in the world are interrelated, we should examine the driving force of changes in feudal China's social form and natural practice according to the relationship between feudal China and the outside world. How can we summarize the numerous and complicated connections between feudal China with more than 2,000 years of history and the outside world? The links between countries are nothing more than trade, cultural exchanges, war, diplomacy, etc. Trade and cultural exchanges etc., mainly exist during periods without wars. The peaceful international order means stable international political-economic exchanges. If the external environment remains unchanged, the internal political and economic order will lack the power to change, so will the internal social form. The international war, on the other hand, reflects the changes in the political and economic relations between countries. Such changes in the external environment constitute the driving force for the changes in the internal social forms of countries. In

feudal society, the motive of the war was the need for "land tribute tax" as mentioned earlier. The consequence of the war was the expansion of the political and economic jurisdiction of the central government. How can we summarize so many foreign wars launched by feudal China? Here, the relationship between feudal China and external human society will be summarized from the consequences of the war, that is, the overall expansion of China's territory during the period of feudal society. It will serve as the driving force and fundamental criterion for the periodization of China's feudal society.

2.2 Phases

The author believes that it is correct for scholars to divide China's feudalization process into the following three phases.

A. The first phase lasted from the warring States period to the suppression of the Yellow Turban Rebellion (475 B.C. – 184 A.D.). This phase was the formation period of the territory under the jurisdiction of contemporary China. After the external expansion of the Spring and Autumn Period, Warring States Period and Qin and Han Dynasties, the jurisdiction of the central government began to cover the south, northeast and northwest regions. With regard to the political form changes, it was a process in which the high ministers and nobles, who represented the interests of the villein class, opposed the state regimes of the Zhou Dynasty that defended the clan slavery system. With regard to the economic form changes, it was a process in which the villein class fought against

the clan slave owners and established the villein system. After the turmoil of the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period, the political and economic form, favoring the villein system and led by the high ministers and nobles, was finally established in the Han Dynasty.

B. The second phase lasted from the suppression of the Yellow Turban Rebellion to the failure of Huang Chao Uprising (184-884 A.D.). This phase was the development period of the territory under the jurisdiction of contemporary China. After the external expansion and consolidation of Wei Jin Southern and Northern Dynasties, Sui and Tang Dynasties, the central government has continued to expand its jurisdiction and had more control over the southern, northeastern and northwestern regions. Concerning the political form changes, it was a process in which the gentries representing the interests of the serf class opposed the high ministers and nobles or powerful landlords who defended the villein system. Concerning the economic form changes, it was a process in which the serf class opposed villein owners (powerful landlords) and established serfdom. After the turmoil of the Wei Jin Southern and Northern Dynasties, the political and economic form, favoring serfdom and led by the gentries stratum, was finally established in the Tang Dynasty.

C. The third phase lasted from the failure of the Huang Chao Uprising to the Opium War (884-1840 A.D.). This phase was the consolidation period - consolidation is essential - of the territory under the jurisdiction of contemporary

China. After the consolidation and expansion of the successive dynasties, especially Ming and Qing, the central government's control over the south, northeast and northwest regions has been strengthened and expanded. With regard to the political form changes, it was a process in which commoner landlords, representing the interests of the tenant farmers, opposed the gentry landlords who safeguard the serfdom. With regard to the economic form changes, it was a process in which the tenant class fought against the gentry landlords (serf owners) and established the tenant system. After the turmoil and reforms in the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period and the Song Dynasty, the political and economic forms, favoring the tenant system and led by commoner landlords, was finally established in the Ming and Qing Dynasties.

Section 2 Law of Social Form Changes in Feudal China

This section progressively discusses the driving force for changes in China's feudal society, the patterns of peasant uprisings, the process of political reforms and their results, in order to summarize the characteristics of the external and external-internal connections of the three phases of China's feudal society.

1. The Driving Force for Changes in China's Feudal Society: External Expansion and Consolidation of Frontier Control³⁹

As pointed out above, external expansion and consolidation of border control are the fundamental criteria to decide the phases of China's feudal society because the external connection is the driving force for the social

³⁹ The territory of the dynasties in this part refers to Baidu Baike entries.

form changes which is the external-internal connection. Therefore, the phase characteristic of external connection determines that of social form, and thus can be used as the basic criterion for social form changes compared with dynasty alternation or peasant uprising.

The fundamental reason why China's feudal society was divided into three phases is that external expansion and consolidation of border control remained the theme of China's external connection in the process of feudalization. This theme also had three stages: formation of territory, expansion and consolidation of territory, and consolidation of territory. Expansion or consolidation has different priority in each stage. The formation stage is mainly about the expansion of territory. The expansion and consolidation stage focuses on both expansion and consolidation. The consolidation stage is mainly about consolidation.

1.1 The first phase: the formation of feudal China's territory. The formation of feudal China's territory began with the disintegration of the territory of the Zhou Dynasty, the last slavery dynasty, and ended with the expansion of the territory of the Han Dynasty, the last dynasty in the first stage of feudalization. After the political reform of the high minister and noble system and the social reform of the villein system throughout the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period, China rose and became the power core of the first stage of the bipolar world. The expansion of the Qin and Han Dynasties laid the foundation of China's territory in the feudal period.

1.2 The second phase: the expansion and consolidation of feudal China's territory. After the political reform of the gentry system and the social reform of serfdom in the Wei Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties, Zone 4 was unified and powerful again, and continued to expand the basic territory of feudal China. At the same time, China strengthened border control in its interaction with other countries. Therefore, the second phase focused on both expansion and consolidation. From the historical map, we can see that the expansion in this stage is manifested in the subordination of the qui gong government in the first phase to the central government, as well as the occupation of the present Xinjiang region and Mongolia region. The consolidation is manifested in the stronger ruling of the central government in the south, northeast and northwest in the first phase.

1.3 The third phase: the consolidation of feudal China's territory. On the basis of the territorial expansion in the previous two stages, the major interaction between China and other countries was its stronger border control. After the political reform of the commoner landlord system and social reform of the tenant farmer system in Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms and the Song Dynasty, a unified and powerful central government was formed from the Ming Dynasty. Its primary external connection was the consolidation of border control.

2. The Pattern of Peasant Uprisings

The following paragraphs will abstract the pattern of peasant uprisings in feudal China in terms of cause, process and result, and explain the ways of social transformation in the Guanzhong region, peasant uprisings in the short-lived Qin

and Sui dynasties, and slave uprisings in the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods, which are regarded as exceptions. .

2.1 The causes of the uprisings

As the vital driving force of social transformation, peasant uprisings were often rooted in political or economic reasons or even natural disasters. Yet, these are superficial or direct causes of the uprising. The fundamental cause was the status changes of the country in which the peasants live in the international political-economic structure. For feudal China, the changes were manifested in the phased variation of the theme of external relations, namely, expansion. As the power core of the first stage, China has been exporting pressure through war or diplomacy. Meanwhile, the internal stress became bigger and bigger, which led to the aggravation of the political and economic oppression in Guanzhong-Zhongyuan (the Central Plain)-Southern regions, which were ranked in terms of the progressiveness of social form from high to low. Consequently, southern farmers at the lowest tier of oppression could not tolerate any more and began to revolt.

Expansion means to exert pressure outside, but why will the internal stress become greater? The term stress is borrowed from materials science. It would be more accessible if we replace materials with things. There are two kinds of stress. Internal stress changes the internal balance of things without external force, while external stress changes the internal balance of things under external force. Obviously, the difference between the two is whether

external force exists. An expanding country brings other countries under pressure, but why does it have to respond to the external force as well? Resistance serves as a good explanation. The pressure effects reforms in social forms and natural practices of the outside political-economic entity, and consequently increases the resistance suffered by the expanding country. In other words, in the process of expansion, the expanding country meets greater resistance or greater external force, which reduces the potential energy, the exterior condition of expansion, and slows down the expansion paces. As a result, higher internal pressure arises and brings about peasant uprisings. The peasant uprisings in the expansion process of China, the power core of the first stage, can be explained by this principle, although it is merely a simple explanation. The peasant uprisings in the Qin and Sui dynasties were quite different from those in other dynasties. These two dynasties encountered resistance as well but for different reasons and led to different kinds of internal pressure. Qin and Sui confronted resistance because of their rapid expansion, instead of the improvements made by other political-economic entities. Obviously, the short-term expansion of Qin and Sui dynasties did not make other entities to improve their social form and natural practices, mount greater resistance, or slow down the expansion. According to the said criteria, the stress from within during the expansion process of Qin and Sui dynasties should be defined internal pressure, while that of other dynasties should be defined external pressure, due to the fact

that the time spans of expansion in other periods were relatively long and provided enough time for other entities to change social and natural practices - the changes increased the resistance and put pressure on the expansion pace.

2.2 Process and results

External expansion led to the increase of gradient oppression in Guanzhong-Zhongyuan-South China, and the peasants in the south took the lead to rise up in rebellion. After the southern farmers disrupted the ruling order of the empire, the Zhongyuan farmers staged uprisings, which is evident from the process of peasant uprisings. In terms of time, peasant uprisings always followed the expansion war, that is, after the increase of gradient oppressions in Guanzhong-Zhongyuan-South China. In terms of location, due to the descending order of the progressiveness of social forms in Guanzhong-Zhongyuan-South China, a similar order was formed between the three under the pressure of expansion. Consequently, the first location of the peasant uprisings always appeared in the south and then in Zhongyuan.

The direct result of the peasant uprisings of past dynasties was a failure, while the indirect result was that the fruits of the uprisings were usurped by the landlord class, thus starting the stage of the war to establish a new regime and a more advanced social form. Take the peasant uprising in the late Han Dynasty as an example. The Han regime was founded by powerful clans. During the Eastern Han Dynasty, the powerful landlords proliferated.

Politically, they dominated the political elections and stayed in power for generations. Economically, they annexed land and occupied rural areas. They also had their private armed forces to safeguard their reactionary rule. Before the Wei state of the Three-Kingdoms Period, the gentries, having no political power, was only a vassal of the bureaucratic system. The peasant uprising at the end of the Han Dynasty prepared the historical conditions for the gentries to enter the political arena, thus opening their ruling stage from the Wei Jin Southern and Northern Dynasties to the Sui and Tang Dynasties. Dong Zhuo, Cao, Liu Bei, Zhang Fei and others who rose up in the process of the war to establish a new political power were all gentries. The Nine-rank system implemented after Cao Cao unified the whole country was an essential symbol of the formation of the gentry system.

2.3 Some exceptions

A. The way to realize social transformation in the Guanzhong region as the power core: top-down reform. After South China and the Central Plain successively realized the social transformation through peasant uprising wars, the social transformation of the Guanzhong governments, which were always the last to unify the whole country, were often realized through the top-down reform rather than peasant uprisings. The long-term competition with Inner Asian had created a mighty royal power in the Guanzhong region. During the period of social transformation, nobles and grassroots joined to realize the social transformation from top to bottom. Among these reforms, the most important ones were Shang

Yang's Reform, Cao Cao's Reform of the system of stationing garrisons to grow their own food and Northern Wei Dynasty's Average-land System Reform, all of which are undoubtedly implemented through top-down reforms. Shang Yang's reform was carried out under the leadership of Lord Xiao of Qin, the reform of the system of stationing garrisons to grow their own food was promoted by Cao Cao, while Northern Wei Dynasty's Average-land System Reform was led by Emperor Xiaowen. These reforms laid the foundation for the upgrading of Guanzhong's social form and the eventual unification of the whole country.

B. The peasant uprisings in the Qin and Sui Dynasties were not peasant uprisings to some extent. Both the Qin and Sui dynasties were ruled by regimes dominated by Guan-Long landlords. The social form of Guanzhong was more advanced than that of the Central Plain and the south. Under their rule, the social form is too inclined to grassroots. The rapid expansion effected great internal pressure. Under this condition, the Central Plain landlords usurped the fruits of the peasant uprising in the south and led the peasants to launch a war to establish a new regime. Therefore, the peasant uprisings in the Qin and Sui dynasties were not peasant uprisings to some extent, instead a war in which the Central Plain landlords led the peasants to resist the Guanzhong landlords and establish a relatively backward political and economic system. This can be seen from the causes, time, place, process and results of the uprisings. As for the cause of the uprising, the social form implemented by the Qin and Sui dynasties was too advanced, which seriously violated the interests of the old aristocrats and made

them raise flags to revolt. As for the process, the uprisings did not spread from the south to the Central Plain, and the responses were simultaneous and multi-sourced. As for the result, the fruits of the revolution were usurped by the old aristocrats to establish a relatively backward regime, instead of being usurped by new aristocrats to establish a relatively advanced regime, as in other dynasties.

C. Slave uprisings in the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period were different from peasant uprisings in the feudal period. As for the causes, the slave uprisings were provoked by pressure from outside China, not triggered by the power core of the first stage. It was under the invasion pressure of Rong and Di (non-Chinese peoples of the north and west) that the slaves at the bottom of the societies in the Spring and Autumn Period could not endure the oppression increased by the war, thus embarked on the road of an uprising. As for the places, the slave uprising was confined to the Central Plain. As for the results, the slave uprising led the Central Plain states to take the lead in reforming the slavery system. The slave uprising forced the slave owners to change the political mode dominated by them. The high ministers and nobles, who represented the interests of the villein class, gradually dominated politics and implemented economic reforms in favor of villein.

3. The Process and Results of Social Transformation

As mentioned above, the phased outward expansion led to the aggravation of the regional gradient oppression and further triggered peasant uprisings, which were the direct driving force for the change of social forms

as well as dynasty alternation. The following paragraphs will discuss the process and results of political and economic changes.

3.1 The process and results of political transformation

The process of political transformation in the Wei Jin Southern and Northern Dynasties includes the following stages: the independence of the South led to the division between the northern China and southern China; the independence of the Central Plain led to the division between the Central Plain and Guanzhong; then Guanzhong reformed and conquered the Central Plain, eventually unified the whole country in cooperation with the south. In the peasant uprising war at the end of the Han Dynasty, the southern regime took the lead to declare independence. In the first stage, Liu Biao killed Sun Jian and fought against Cao Cao, and took control of the military and political power in Jingzhou after he became the governor of Jingzhou. After Liu Yan took over as the governor of Yizhou, he completely cut off the connection between Yizhou and the central government and became a warlord in the southwest. At the same time, Wu State also broke away from the control of the central government, forming a tripartite confrontation among the three countries. The first stage can be subdivided into the process from the tripartite confrontation of the three countries to the short-term unification and then to the division, namely, the north-south division of the three kingdoms of Wei, Shu and Wu - the unification of the Western Jin - the north-south division of the Eastern Jin Dynasty, Song, Qi, Liang and Chen.

The second stage can also be subdivided into the process from division to short-term unification and then to division, namely, the Sixteen Kingdoms after the fall of Western Jin in 316 A.D. - the unification in the Northern Wei Dynasty – the Guanzhong-Central Plain division in the Western Wei-Eastern Wei Dynasties as well as Northern Qi-Northern Zhou Dynasties. In the third stage, after the Northern Zhou Dynasty combined with Chen to destroy the Northern Qi, the Sui Dynasty was established. It destroyed Chen and united the whole country.

The political changes in the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, together with Song, Yuan and Ming Dynasties include the following stages: the independence of the South led to the split between northern China and southern China, the independence of the Central Plain led to the split between the Central Plain and Guanzhong, and then Guanzhong reformed, conquered the Central Plain and unified the whole country in cooperation with the south. The first stage is also subdivided into the process from division to short-term unification to re-division, i.e., Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms - Northern Song Dynasty - Southern Song Dynasty. The local separatist regimes in the late Yuan and Ming Dynasties also showcased the pattern that first the independence of the south split the southern and northern parts of China and then the Central Plain also proclaimed independence. In the second stage, the Jin army invaded Kaifeng and effected the split between the north and the south and then the split between

the Central Plain and Guanzhong. During the Southern Song Dynasty, Jin in the northeast coexisted with the Xixia in the northwest, Tubo and Uighur. In the third stage, the Mongolian and Song allied forces overthrew the Jin Dynasty.

Through the above-mentioned transformation, Southern China took the lead in the transformation from tribal system to high minister and noble system in the Wei Jin Southern and Northern Dynasties, then the Central Plain transformed from powerful landlord politics to aristocratic landlord politics, and finally Guanzhong changed from aristocratic landlord politics to commoner landlord politics. In the third stage of China's feudalization, after the above-mentioned political transformation, Southern China was the first to change from high minister and noble system or powerful landlord politics to gentry system or aristocratic landlord politics. The Central Plain then changed from aristocratic landlord politics to commoner landlord politics. Guanzhong finally changed from commoner landlord politics to owner-peasant system.

It is necessary to say that the above-mentioned laws of political change did not conform to the laws of the transition from the Spring and Autumn Period to the Warring States Period, or the transition from Qin to Han Dynasties, or from Sui to Tang. The changes during the transition from the Spring and Autumn Period to the Warring States Period were realized under the influence of external forces. The Central Plain was the first to change

into high minister and noble system. Afterward, Guanzhong entered into gentry system. During the transition period from Qin to Han or from Sui to Tang, there were no changes for better social form.

3.2 The process and results of economic transformation

Wei Jin Southern and Northern Dynasties, like the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, Song and Yuan Dynasties, was a period of great partition. The economic transformation, like the political transformation, all experienced the sequence of the South, Central Plain, and then Guanzhong.

The economic transformations in the Wei, Jin Southern and Northern Dynasties followed the successive changes in the political form of the South-Central Plain-Guanzhong. Therefore, it was also characterized by the sequence of the South-Central Plain-Guanzhong. After the development of the south of the Yangtze River by the Sun-Wu regime, the Eastern Jin Dynasty and later the Southern Dynasties, the economy of the south of the Yangtze River had achieved remarkable development⁴⁰. As the northerners came to the south, the economic barycenter gradually shifted to the south, the population of the south increased greatly, and the economic form also changed from the tribal system to slavery. Subsequently, the central plain changed into serfdom after the equalization of land in the Northern Wei, Northern Qi and Sui Dynasties. The Guanzhong changed into tenant system after the equalization of land in the Northern Wei and Northern Dynasties.

40 See Zhang Dake, "On the Development of Jiangnan by Sun-Wu Regime", *Lanzhou Academic Journal*, 1988, No.3.

Especially, the number of land-holding farmers increased greatly after the reform of Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei Dynasty.

The economic transformations in the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, the Song, Yuan and Ming Dynasties, were also based on the successive changes in the political form of the South-Central Plain-Guanzhong. Therefore, it was characterized by the sequence of the South-Central Plain-Guanzhong. Southern China began to adopt serfdom after the economic reforms of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, the Northern Song Dynasty and the Southern Song Dynasty. Materials on the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms are difficult to find, while Wang Anshi's tax equalization reform in the Northern Song Dynasty was mainly implemented in the south and was carried out in the Southern Song Dynasty⁴¹. In 1071, the Northern Song Dynasty enacted the Treaty of Square Land Tax. The tax was determined according to fertility and the actual size of the "square lands". The land concealed by the powerful landlords was revealed, the national financial revenue was increased, and the burden on farmers was reduced. The Southern Song Dynasty continued this reform, transforming the south into serfdom. The Central Plain began to adopt the tenant system after carrying out the reform of "Land Distribution according to Family Members" in the Jin Dynasty⁴². As the ruler of Northern China, the Jin Dynasty systematically scattered a large number of Meng'an and Mouke (military and

41 See "Wang Anshi Reform", Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/38225.htm>, accessed on 28 December, 2012.

42 See "Jin Dynasty", Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/48810.htm>, accessed on 29 December, 2012.

social groups) throughout the country, and gave official farmland to the relocated military households in accordance with their household registration, which was called "Land Distribution according to Family Members". After this reform, the extra land owned by big landlords was distributed to serfs, resulting in a large increase in tenants. The tenant system economy was established with the tenants as the main labor force. Guanzhong area was transformed from tenant farming to a social form in which the majority of laborers were land-holding farmers after a large population migrated from Hunan and Hubei to Sichuan in the early Ming and early Qing dynasties.

Like political forms, the changes in economic forms during the Spring and Autumn Period, the Warring States Period, the Qin and Han Dynasties, and the Sui and Tang Dynasties do not meet the above-mentioned law. The changes during the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period were carried out under the influence of external forces. The Central Plain took the lead in changing to the villein system, while the Guanzhong later changed to the serfdom system. At the time of the Qin and Han Dynasties or Sui and Tang Dynasties, there were no typical changes in economic forms.

Section 3 Warring States, Qin and Han Dynasties: From Slavery to Feudal

Villein System

1. The Causes for the Fall of the Spring and Autumn Powers

1.1 The cause for the collapse of the Zhou Dynasty. The first reason is the invasion of Rong and Di. Rong and Di, the first peoples who mastered iron smelting technology, began to attack the slavery regime of Zhou at the end of the Western Zhou Dynasty, undermining its ruling day by day. The decline of the Western Zhou and the invasion of Rong and Di heralded a new era of chaos in North China. Secondly, the invasion of Rong and Di started the differentiated feudal reforms in the vassal states. The expansion of the Di people to the east posed a threat to the states of Wei, Zhou, Song, Zheng, Qi and Lu. Therefore, these states had to become stronger to resist the invasion and adopt the strategy to change the social form into the feudal system. The reform succeeded and the state began to compete for hegemony and naturally effected the demise of the Zhou Dynasty.

1.2 The cause for the demise of the vassal states. First, the vassal states suffered less external pressure. Comparatively, Qin and Jin were under the highest pressure from the nomads in the north and Qin even suffered more. Second, the change of social form was not complete. The lack of external pressure made the other vassal states other than Qin less motivated to change their social forms. Accordingly, their reforms were less thorough compared with that of Qin. Considering the political reforms of the vassal states, we can find that Shang Yang's political reform in Qin was the most thorough. Well-field System, the economic foundation of slave society, was not explicitly dealt with by Wu Qi and Li Kui in their political reform, while

abolished by Shang Yang. Meanwhile, he terminated the Fief System, the political foundation of the slave society and paved the way for more centralized power. A military ranking system in line with merits and achievements was also established in Qin and the influence of old lords was wiped out. On the contrary, Wei, Chu and other states did not explicitly propose abolishing the former system of hereditary titles. Finally, natural practice was not advanced enough. As mentioned earlier, after Shang yang's political reform, Qin was in a leading position in terms of industrial and agricultural technology compared with other states.

2. The Political Form of High Minister and Noble

The following analysis will point out that the political forms differed in three regions. In Guanzhong it was gentry, in Central Plain it was high minister and noble (i.e. powerful landlords), and in Southern China it was tribal democracy. When it comes to China's political form, all these three regions must be discussed. As a compromise, the political form of the Central Plain is considered representative of the overall political form of China.

2.1 The political form of the gentries in Guanzhong. During the Spring and Autumn Period, almost all the nobles in the eastern states were the aristocracy. However, compared with the eastern vassal states, the noble power of Qin was obviously much smaller and even negligible. According to the statistics made by Mr. Ma Feibai, during the six or seven hundred years

from the establishment of the Qin state to the fall of Qin Dynasty, only 28 nobles were recorded. Qin had a tiny number of *Gongzi* and they had no privileges like hereditary titles or private armies. In addition, the chiefs of Qin were different from the aristocracy of eastern states. When Qin state was first founded, the patriarchs or the so-called primitive tribal nobles had the military and political power and played a decisive role in the selection of rulers. Nevertheless, from Lord Jian to Ying Zheng, emperors of Qin made continuous efforts to abolish the fief system and implement the *Liuguan* (mobile officials) System and *Junxian* (prefectures and counties) System. Consequently, the power of the patriarchs was significantly weakened. It is safe to say that Qin did not have a hierarchy of high ministers and nobles, who dominated politics. In the successive reforms, the emperors brought in the aristocracy and serfs and struck down the patriarchs who represent the clan nobles, and firmly grasped the state power. Therefore, the political form of the Qin State is the gentry system.

2.2 The political form of high minister and noble in the Central Plain.

Unlike the Qin state, the politics of the central-plain states in the east were controlled by the aristocratic families of high ministers and nobles. These families have a large amount of land, hereditary political power and quite powerful private armed forces. The power of the aristocracy can be measured by the power of the nobles. Nobles made up a large proportion of the aristocracy in the eastern states. During the Eastern Zhou Dynasty, the lands and people of vassal states were

divided by these big clans, which led to the "politically dominant status of nobles" in the second half of the Eastern Zhou Dynasty. The aristocracy ruling was mainly based on the support of *Shi* (gentry), the family official working for the family of high ministers and nobles, who was loyal to the master instead of the monarch.⁴³ We can conclude that gentries had no independent political status, let alone political power. Gentry politics were not found in the states of the Central Plain. During the Qin and Han Dynasties, The high ministers and nobles turned into powerful landlords, who had a large amount of land and attached farmers and were the basis of the dynasty. Therefore, the political form of the Central Plain was the system of high minister and noble.

2.3 Primitive tribal democracy in the south. From the Qin Dynasty to the Western Han Dynasty, the central government had developed the south, although on the whole, the development was only limited to the plain and the areas with good transportation. *Shanyue* (Yue people living in the mountains) and barbarians took up the majority of the population, who lived in the mountains and maintained the primitive customs of clan system⁴⁴. The south is vast and sparsely populated, with an average of only 2-3 people per square kilometer⁴⁵. Most of the land had not yet been developed. The people made their living by collecting, fishing and hunting and were "mostly poor but seldom rich". The population density and the gap between rich and poor proved that the southern society in Qin and Han dynasties did not have the characteristics of class society. We can speculate that the

43 *Tso Chuan*

44 See Zhang Dake, "On the Development of Jiangnan by Sun-Wu Regime", *Lanzhou Academic Journal*, 1988, No.3.

45 See Zhang Dake, "On the Development of Jiangnan by Sun-Wu Regime", *Lanzhou Academic Journal*, 1988, No.3.

social form of the southern society in the Warring States period, Qin and Han dynasties was the tribal system, and its political form was primitive tribal democracy.

3. The Economic Form of Villein System

The following paragraphs will analyze and point out that the economic form of Guanzhong was a serfdom system, while that of the Central Plain was a villein system, and that of Southern China was a tribal system. Just like the political form, an eclectic approach is adopted; namely, the economic form of the Central Plain represents the overall economic form of China.

3.1 The serfdom in Guanzhong. In 359 B.C., Shang Yang promulgated a series of decrees to reward farming and fighting. It was stipulated that officers with military exploits should be awarded titles according to their merit⁴⁶. On the basis, Shang Yang reformed and established a new land system called "*Mingtian* (title-land) System" in line with the military exploit system. The people with military exploits would be rewarded land as well as a title. For example, if one cut off the head of an enemy armored soldier, he would obtain the rank of a peerage, together with a hundred *mu* of land and a servant. At the same time, *Cizhai* (residence granting) system was also implemented. If one cut off the head of an enemy soldier, he would obtain another nine *mu* of residence. After Shang Yang's reform, *Mingtian* system was adopted by successive Qin governments and became a custom, which led to the emergence of a large number of military landlords in

46 See "Shangyang Reform", Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/1138.htm>, accessed on January 13, 2013.

Qin, making them the overwhelming majority of the landlord class.

In the state of Qin, the land-holding farmers occupied the leading position, most of which had no titles but had a certain amount of land. They were called "*shiwu*" (soldiers). However, the vast majority of farmers were increasingly impoverished by heavy taxes and corvee. The taxes paid by Qin peasants accounted for more than two-thirds of the harvest, not to mention other forms of exploitation. In fact, most of the fruits of the farmers' labor were plundered by the feudal lords. They were as well heavily exploited as serfs. Besides the so-called land-holding peasants, there were some dependent peasants without their own land and had to rent the land from landlords. Their status was similar to that of later farmhands and tenants. Although dependent farmers did not have to hand over more than two-thirds of the harvest like land-holding farmers did, they were exploited and oppressed by landlords even worse. Obviously, the land-holding farmers and the dependent peasants were virtually serfs, although with slightly different degrees of personal dependence.

3.2 Villein system in the Central Plain. The Central Plain was the primary area of manor economy in Qin and Han Dynasties. The manor owners are powerful landlords. In the Han Dynasty, the manor owners were mainly former military landlords who gained land because of their military exploits in the war at the end of the Qin Dynasty. Emperor Gaozu of the Han Dynasty decreed that officials could be demobilized into farmers and given land according to military exploits. As a result, a large number of officers with outstanding merits became big

landlords with large amounts of land. In addition, the old aristocratic landlords, namely, the prominent nobles and big landlords in the former six states and in Qin Dynasty, who lost their land during the war at the end of Qin Dynasty, were allowed to "restore the old title and land" by the new regime and thus regained the land. Powerful landlords owned a large amount of land and occupied absolute advantages in financial resources and political power. Their manors had walled docks of military use. The peasants working in the manor were villeins. Powerful landlords had a large number of dependent peasants, as Zhong Changtong put it, "thousands of slaves, servants and dependents were counted by crowds"¹. Dependent peasants engaged in agricultural production during the busy farming season and had to serve as guards for the landlords. The dependence degree of these peasants was obviously greater than that of those in the Guanzhong region, close to the living and working conditions of the villeins.

4. The Development of Natural Practice

The progress of economic form promoted the development of natural practice. Many scientists and thinkers emerged during the Qin and Han Dynasties. The Western Han Dynasty alone boasted many great figures like political commentator Dong Zhongshu, historian Sima Qian, writer Sima Xiangru, military strategists Wei Qing and Huo Qubing, astronomer Tang Du and Luo Xiahong, agronomist Zhao Guo, explorer Zhang Qian and musician Li Yannian⁴⁷. In terms of astronomy and calendar, the Book of Heavenly Officials in *Shiji* (Records of the Historian),

⁴⁷ See Fan Wenlan, *General History of China* (Volume 2), People's Publishing House, 1978. and Gong Shuduo, *General History of Chinese Society* (Volume 2), Shanxi Education Press, 1996.

written during Emperor Wu's regime of the Han Dynasty, was the most important work in ancient Chinese astronomy. In mathematics, the famous *Nine Chapters of Arithmetic* appeared in this period. As for medicine, we see Bian Que in Qin Dynasty, Chunyu Yi in the early Han Dynasty, and Zhang Zhongjing during Emperor Ling's regime of Han. In terms of technology, two of China's Four Major Inventions surfaced in the Qin and Han dynasties. The compass appeared in the Qin dynasty and the paper was invented by Han official Cai Lun. Industries like food processing, furniture, metal appliance and textiles were prosperous, and the workshops often had hundreds of employees.

Section 4 From Wei Jin Northern and Southern Dynasties to Sui and Tang:

The Transformation from Feudal Villein System to Feudal Serfdom

1. The Causes for the Fall of Qin and Han Dynasties

1.1 Reasons for the short life of the Qin Empire

A. Rapid expansion and excessive labor. When the Qin Empire was founded, China was divided into 36 counties. Later, Huns were expelled from the northern front and Yue peoples were conquered in the south, and four more counties were added. During the Qin Dynasty, China had a population of about 20 million, of which 1.5 million were dispatched to set up royal tombs, 500 thousand guarded Five Mountains, 300 thousand fought against Huns, 500 thousand built the Great Wall... No less than 3 million laborers were in service, accounting for 15% of the

total population⁴⁸. Rapid expansion, the overload of manpower, and continuous wars drove the whole country to the verge of a peasant uprising.

B. The excessive crackdown on powerful landlords forced them to lead the peasant uprising. After the founding of the Qin Dynasty, it mainly adopted measures such as killing, migration and exile to restrict and eliminate the rank of the high ministers and nobles in the six states. In addition, the Qin Dynasty launched a devastating attack on the high ministers and nobles to promote the *Mingtian* System. Compared with that of the Han dynasty, Qin's system was more advanced⁴⁹. The Qin Dynasty attached great importance to the system of land granting to the commoners. Land granting was very common. Although some land was rewarded for military exploits, more attention was paid to the land granting to ordinary people. Extensive allocation of land resources was a national policy of the Qin Dynasty aiming to produce more laborers⁵⁰. While in the Han Dynasty, when there was no land to grant to the commoners, the granting of land to nobility households, especially the high-ranking families, was maintained and even gradually improved. Therefore, the general granting of land made Qin Dynasty have many small plots, while the Han Dynasty did not because it only granted for military exploits. The Qin Dynasty regime's excessive attack on the powerful landlords made the latter's representative, the nobles of the former six states, always wait for opportunities to revolt. Qin Shi Huang moved wealthy and noble

48 See "the Uprising of Dazhe Village," Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/35637.htm>, accessed on January 7, 2013.

49 See Zhang Jinguang, "The End of Universal Land Grant System and the Formation of Private Land Rights - A Comparative Study of Han Bamboo Slips in Zhangjiashan and Qin Bamboo Slips" *Historical Research*, No.5, 2007.

50 "On the Growth of population", *Book of Shangyang*.

people to Xianyang. Some of them were old aristocrats from the six states. They were not wiped out although severely damaged. They had many followers waiting for an opportunity to make an insurrection⁵¹. In the anti-Qin uprising, following the peasant uprising led by Chen Sheng, it was the armed uprising led by the nobles of the six states that played a decisive role in overthrowing the regime.

1.2 Reasons why the Han Dynasty endures

A. Mild domestic and foreign policy. At the beginning of the Han Dynasty, the rulers drew lessons from the fall of the Qin Dynasty. They accepted the thoughts of Huangdi and Lao Tse and implemented the policy of "quietism" and "pacifying the people"⁵². Consequently, the stable life of the people and the normal production was possible. In the early Western Han Dynasty, royal marriage with Huns averted large-scale battles. Less tax and corvee permitted 50 to 60 years of rest and recuperation for the farmers. From 133 B.C. to 89 B.C., Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty waged a long-term foreign war. Although there were some small-scale armed rebellions in the country, they did not develop into a large-scale uprising. The main reason was that Emperor Wu weakened some powerful landlords and merchants. In the late period of Emperor Wu's regime, the peasants bore the heavy burdens due to the foreign war, which intensified domestic conflicts. Emperor Wu then issued the "Self Condemnation" saying that the current priority was to develop farming, improve farm tools and promote agricultural technology.

51 See Guo Renmin, "The Chen She's Uprising and the Six States' Restoration Struggle", *Academic Journal of Henan University*, No.3, 1982

52 "Records of Emperor Zhao", *History of Han Dynasty*.

As a result, the grassroots society was pacified and the Han Dynasty was saved. During the reign of Emperor Zhao, he continued the policy of pacifying the people at the end of Emperor Wu's reign. He ordered many times to reduce the people's burden, reduce taxes and let the people rest. Because of that, transparent politics, harmonious society and prosperous economy were seen during the reign of Emperor Zhao and Xuan².

B. To moderately repress the powerful landlords but not to jeopardize their vital interests. The Han royal family delivered moderate blows to the powerful landlords. For example, Emperor Gao moved more than 100,000 people, descendants of the six royal families and indigenous landlords, into Guanzhong. Another example was Emperor Wu's suppression of several waves of land annexation during his foreign expansion. However, these measures failed to make a fatal impact on the vital interests of the powerful landlords, who developed during the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods, because of the *Mingtian* System, which was inferior to the system of Qin Dynasty. Powerful landlords were the basis of the Han Dynasty, which can be seen from the fierce resistance caused by the "farmland control" policy in the early Eastern Han Dynasty.⁵³

1.3 Causes for the fall of the Han Dynasty

A. Crisis in Expansion. The previous analysis of the root cause for the peasant uprisings has pointed out that the expansion in the Western Han Dynasty

⁵³ See Cao Jinhua, "A Textual Research on Liu Xiu's Farmland Control Policy", *History Monthly*, No.3, 2001.

led to changes in the social form of Inner Asia, thus increasing the resistance to expansion. The inner Asian societies strengthened their alliance, and the leadership of the alliance gradually shifted to the Xianbei tribe, which had belonged to the Huns. Their social forms became more advanced and the tribal alliance became more consolidated, thus forming resistance to the expansion of the Han Dynasty. The increase in external stress will cause the social form to regress before it is transformed into the driving force of social change in the peasant uprisings.

B. Dark politics after impeded expansion⁵⁴. After the expansion was impeded, the political environment was in a state of torpor, providing conditions for the rise of eunuchs. In 119 B.C., Emperor Wu of the Western Han Dynasty set up a salt-iron official and took back the management right of salt and iron from the powerful landlords, a significant sign that the centralized government overwhelmed the separatist forces of the powerful landlords. Nevertheless, in 88 A.D., when Queen Mother Dou came to the court, her relatives took over the reins of power, and the court ceded salt-iron management in exchange for landlords' support. Since then, the power of the landlords has dramatically increased and so did their political ambition. Under the leadership of Dou Xian, a large number of his followers became court officials and local officials, and the government was almost dominated by eunuch power.

C. Land annexation⁵⁵. Two waves of land annexation happened in the Western Han Dynasty, but were suppressed by the central government. Liu Xiu

54 See Fan Wenlan and Cai Meibiao, *General History of China*, Volume 2, People's Publishing House, 1978, pp. 184-187.

55 See Fu Zhufu, *Economic History of Chinese Feudal Society*, Volume 2, People's Publishing House, 1982, pp. 141-148.

also wanted to solve the land problem after the founding of the Eastern Han Dynasty. Unfortunately, the policy of land reclamation was not effectively implemented due to the widespread resistance of powerful landlords. Most of the land reclaimed was state-owned. After Liu Xiu abolished the policy, the Eastern Han Dynasty government never promulgated any policies or decrees to interfere with land annexation, and allowed it unchecked. At the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty, the land annexation became even worse because the eunuchs who had seized power joined in, and hence came the third wave of land annexation in the history of Qin and Han Dynasties.

2. The Political Form of Gentry Class

During the Wei Jin Southern and Northern Dynasties, the political form of Guanzhong changed to that of commoners landlords, Central Plain that of gentry landlords, and Southern China that of high ministers and nobles. An eclectic approach is adopted; namely, the gentry politics of the Central Plain represented the overall political form in China. The gentries refer to the famous families who had been senior officials for generations. The system of dominant families was adopted to select officials from the Han Dynasty to the Sui and Tang Dynasties. Under this system, prominent government officials were monopolized by a few clans. Even in Sui and Tang Dynasties, gentry politics remained.

2.1 The political form of commoner landlords in Guanzhong. The equal-land system was a tax mode in which state-owned land was distributed among the farmers according to the population. Farmers received their own "share

of land" and pay taxes mainly in grains. The premise of this system was that the state had a large amount of land available for distribution, which was formerly owned by the old lords of the Wei Jin Southern and Northern Dynasties. The breadth and depth of the equal-land system serve as a criterion to judge who were more powerful: the old landlords or the new commoner landlords. It could also be used to measure the number of serfs or tenants. Therefore, the effect of the equal-land system is used here to measure the political form of the relevant areas.

Equal-land system was promoted and adopted for several dynasties in Guanzhong successively by Northern Wei Dynasty, Northern Zhou Dynasty and Sui Dynasty. Its effect was better than that in the Central Plain and Southern China. It can be speculated that the political form of Guanzhong had been dominated by commoner landlords. There is an indirect proof of this. Sui utilized Guanzhong-Longshan Group to muffle the forces in Shandong and Jiangnan (areas south to the Yangtze River) but in the meanwhile, brutally suppressed it four times on a large scale at least. Although these four purges were not directly related to farmland survey, after these forces are eliminated, the households attached to them naturally became state-owned. At the same time, the political obstacles for the implementation of immigration law and other state decrees were removed. During this period, the implementation of the equal-land system doubled the household number throughout the country in just over ten years, from 3,590,000 in the Northern Zhou Dynasty to 8,907,536 in the second year of Daye, Sui Dynasty⁵⁶.

56 See Wang Sanbei and Yan Wenke, "The Contradiction between State Power and Private Power in the Sui Dynasty, and the Cause of its Demise", *Academic Journal of Northwest Normal University (Social Science Edition)*, No. 2, 2002.

2.2 The political form of the gentry landlords in the Central Plain. The equal-land system implemented in Northern Wei, Northern Qi and Sui Dynasties was not so successful in the Central Plain. It encountered resistance from powerful landlords in Qin and Han Dynasties, so its political form failed to develop as advanced as that of commoner landlords in Guanzhong. However, the system as well frustrated the powerful landlords in the Central Plain to a certain extent. In order to promote the farmland system, the Sui government gave the Shandong clans the first blow. Shandong was also the central area of the household expansion polity. According to the depth of equal-land reform, it can be inferred that the manor economy of the powerful landlords had disintegrated. Gentries had gradually dominated politics, and gentry politics was formed.

2.3 The political form of high minister and noble in the South. Equal-land system was barely implemented in the south for dynasties, because Wei, Jin, southern and northern dynasties were the period when the powerful landlord economy began to take shape high minister and noble, and the political foundation of the powerful landlord economy was the political form of high minister and noble. During this period, the gentries who moved from Northern China was mostly in important positions in the imperial court and had colossal power. These families controlled the political and economic lifeblood of the South and had a similar social influence to the high ministers and nobles.

3. The Economic Form of Serfdom

After the reform of the equalization of fields in the past dynasties, the

economic form in Guanzhong changed to tenant farming, the Central Plain to serfdom, and the South to slavery. On the whole, China's economy in Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties and Sui and Tang Dynasties was dominated by serfdom. During this period, the collapse of the landlord manors was followed by a kind of "allocation farm", where the laborers were called "guest-farmers". The relationship between the guest-farmers and the landlords was as follows⁵⁷. First, the owner of the farm distributed the land to the guest-farmers, even allotted oxen, seeds, etc. and the guest-farmers handed in a portion (mostly fifty to sixty percent) of the harvest as rent. The second is that "all the guest-farmers were registered as family members"⁵⁸, i.e. the guest-farmers did not have independence and were attached to the host. During the two Jin Dynasties and the Northern and Southern dynasties, guest-farmers could even be awarded or transferred to others. The third is that the peasants were forced to stay on the land and were not allowed to leave. Fourth, the Lord still had a certain amount of self-run land on the farm and the guest-farmers were responsible for the labor. Fifth, the family members of guest-farmers also had a certain personal attachment to the host. The remarriage of the widowed wife of the guest-farmers and the marriage of the children needed the consent of the host and a certain amount of money paid to the host. Obviously, this was a form of serfdom. Although the system of "shadow guest" and "guest-farmers" was abolished as early as Sui and Tang Dynasties, the personal attachment of tenants to landlords still existed. Bound by contracts rather than laws,

57 See Ma Keyao, "Comparative Study of Feudal Systems in China and Western Europe", *Academic Journal of Peking University (Philosophy and Social Science Edition)*, No.2, 1991.

58 "Record of Food and Commodities", *History of Sui Dynasty*.

tenants were attached to landlords and forced to fulfill their obligations, such as paying high rent, staying without leave, signing permanent tenancy contracts, etc.

3.1 Tenant system in Guanzhong. The Northern Wei Dynasty distributed farmland according to family members in the area of the suburbs of capital and achieved great success. Tuoba Gui and Tuoba Si distributed farmland twice, with up to 120,000 households granted⁵⁹, but only in the area of the suburbs of capital. After Emperor Wen of Sui Dynasty ascended the throne, unlike the emperors in the Han Dynasty, he did not grant the title of king to relatives or officials. Most of the land confiscated during the war was used to distribute equally. With the help of the equal-land system, the number of registered permanent residence of the national statistics doubled in a short span of more than ten years of the Sui Dynasty. The areas of the suburbs of capital as the center were also one of the critical areas of household expansion⁶⁰. From the effect of the equal-land system, the economic form of Guanzhong should have been transformed into a tenant farming system.

3.2 The serfdom in the Central Plain. The economic transformation in the Central Plain experienced the *Zhantian* (land occupation) system and the *Ketian* (Land Limitation) system reform in the Western Jin Dynasty and the equal-land system reform in the Northern Wei, Northern Qi and Sui Dynasties. In the Western Jin dynasty, the purpose of the *Zhantian* system and *Ketian* system was mainly to set limits and restrictions on the land and population occupied by the powerful

59 See Tian Yu, "On the Content and Nature of the Equal-Land System in the Northern Wei Dynasty", *Historical Monthly*, No. 2, 1985.

60 See Zhao Yunqi, "Discussion on the Implementation of Equal-land System in Sui Dynasty", *Research on Social and Economic History of China*, No.3, 1993.

landlords and powerful clans, so as to deprive them of their excess land and concealed labor force. In the meanwhile, the surplus population was reorganized into households in order to increase their enthusiasm for work and encourage them to directly pay taxes and serve the corvee to the state. When the Northern Wei government implemented the equal-land system in the Central Plain, it also implemented the three-level administration system and adjusted the rent and tax. As a result, the land equalization system was implemented to a certain extent in the Central Plain in the Northern Wei and achieved remarkably⁶¹. After Gao Huan established Northern Qi, in order to consolidate its rule in Shandong, he adopted a laissez-faire attitude towards the Shandong magnates. Therefore, although the land equalization system was formally adopted in Shandong, in reality, the land ownership was still in the hands of the aristocratic families⁶². From 583 A.D., the equal-land system began to be implemented in the former territory of the Northern Qi Dynasty, so did the household expansion policy⁶³. According to the effect of the land equalization, the economic form of the central plains should have been transformed into serfdom.

3.3 Slavery in the South⁶⁴. From the Northern Wei Dynasty to the Tang Dynasty, the equalization of land was only implemented in the Yellow River basin of Northern China, but not in the south. During the Eastern Jin and Southern Dynasties, the grange economy significantly developed, and a large number of

61 See Gao Min, "Discrimination of the Implementation Years of the Three-level Administration System and Equal-land System in Northern Wei Dynasty", *Monthly Historiography*, No.5, 1992.

62 "Equal-land System", Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/46471.htm>, accessed on December 28, 2012.

63 See Zhao Yunqi, "Discussion on the Implementation of Equal-land System in Sui Dynasty", *Research on Social and Economic History of China*, No.3, 1993.

64 See Chen Lianqing, "Study on the Slaves in Southern Dynasties", *Social Science Front*, No.2, 1983.

indigenous strongmen emerged. They seized land and forests, enslaved men and women, and carried out large-scale operations. They had large manor and conducted various kinds of operations such as grain, silk, vegetables and fruits. As for the large plantations, Xie Lingyun described a scene in which a large number of slaves, led by their owner, reclaimed a huge garden amongst the barren hills and mountains. The garden extended from the South Mountain of Shining all the way to the sea. The distance varied from one hundred *li* to two or three hundred *li*⁶⁵. At that time, the big clans usually "mobilized thousands of people". Slaves were extensively engaged in productive labor.

4. The Development of Natural Practice

4.1 The natural practice in Wei Jin Southern and Northern Dynasties⁶⁶.

In terms of machinery, the most important ones were the armillary sphere, Zhuge Liang's mobile wooden oxen and horses, Han Ji's waterpower air blaster, Ma Jun's improved twill machine, Du Yu's eight grinders, Zu Chongzhi's one-thousand-*li* boat, etc. As for military achievements, there were south-pointing vehicle, distance-counting vehicle, and the rapid development of warship construction technology. In terms of industry, the textile industry made significant progress with the distinction between silk and cloth. Steelmaking also developed. Although paper was invented in the Later Han Dynasty, it was not popularized until this time. Lacquer was discovered in the pre-Qin period, but lacquerware was widely used among the people during this period. Agricultural technology also developed, with

65 "Biography of Xie Lingyun", *History of Southern Dynasty*.

66 See Fu Zhufu, "Economic History of Chinese Feudal Society", Volume 4, *People's Publishing House*, 1986.

the representative work of the *Essential Techniques for the Peasantry*.

4.2 Natural practice in the Tang Dynasty⁶⁷. Industry developed greatly. Traders' guild was established in various trades and crafts. Calico appeared. There were many famous medical works, the most famous of which was Sun Simiao's *Valuable Prescriptions for Emergency*. In pharmacy, there was *Annotation of Materia Medica*, written by 23 people, including Su Yao and Kong Zhiyao.

Section 5 Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties: Feudal Serfdom to Feudal Tenant System

1. The Causes for the Fall of Sui and Tang Dynasties

1.1 The reason for the rapid fall of the Sui Dynasty

A. External reasons: rapid foreign expansion exhausted the people. After consolidating the throne, Emperor Yang actively expanded to the outside world, creating a vast empire in a short period of time. The war of expansion started in 605 A.D. when Sui attacked Linyi country and ended in the third attempt to conquer Koryo in 615 A.D., which lasted for ten years. Although Koryo was defeated in the end, the three expeditions did not bring any practical benefits, instead consumed the national strength and led to social chaos. During the expeditions, Emperor Yang recruited soldiers and service year after year. Some people were even forced to cut off their hands and feet to save a life. Eventually, a nationwide peasant uprising broke out, bringing the empire into swift

⁶⁷ See Fu Zhufu, "Economic History of Chinese Feudal Society", Volume 4, *People's Publishing House*, 1986.

disintegration.

B. Internal reasons: the advanced equal-land system impaired the interests of gentry landlords. The Sui Dynasty implemented an overly advanced equalization of land, which seized a large amount of land and violated the interests of the gentry landlord class. The Sui government accumulated an astonishing number of warehouses⁶⁸. The increase in the agricultural output depends on two essential factors: the level of productivity and the number of agricultural labor. According to the *General Code*, in the 18th year since the establishment of the Sui Dynasty, the number of registered permanent residence reached 8.9 million⁶⁹. The rapid doubling of the number of registered permanent residence accounts greatly expanded the country's tax sources. In the era of household taxation, the number of household accounts meant the amount of tax. The sharp increase in the number of households marked a fierce struggle for households between the state power and the private power at that time⁷⁰. The private power suffered a major blow and was deprived of the formerly attached families, thus lost their original economic and political privileges. Should the opportunity arise, they would revolt. During the uprisings at the end of the Sui Dynasty, a large number of gentry landlords directly participated in the rebellion.

1.2 Why had Tang a longer life compared with Sui?

68 See Wang Sanbei and Yan Wenke, "The Contradiction between State Power and Private Power in the Sui Dynasty, and the Cause of its Demise", *Academic Journal of Northwest Normal University (Social Science Edition)*, No. 2, 2002.

69 *General Code*, Volume 7

70 See Wang Sanbei and Yan Wenke, "The Contradiction between State Power and Private Power in the Sui Dynasty, and the Cause of its Demise", *Academic Journal of Northwest Normal University (Social Science Edition)*, No. 2, 2002.

A. Orderly expansion. At the beginning of the Tang Dynasty, Emperor Gaozu followed the example of Emperor Gaozu of the Han Dynasty and tried to "make things right". He corrected Sui's mistakes and implemented an economic and social policy of recuperation instead of rushing to expand. It was not until Emperor Taizong acceded to the throne that the Tang Dynasty began to expand outward. During the expansion, Emperor Taizong learned lessons from the demise of the Sui Dynasty, emphasized the priority of agriculture, saved money, and allowed the people to rest, resulting in a stable society. During Emperor Taizong's reign of Zhenguan (627-649 A.D.), there was a great political situation characterized by clear politics, a booming economy, stable society and military strength, which was called the "Prosperity of Zhenguan Era". After Tang Gaozong acceded to the throne, this policy was continued and effected the "Prosperity of Yonghui Era" when the stability in the border area and the well-being of the ordinary people were seen.

B. A proper degree of equalization of land and the support of gentry landlords. The land equalization system in the Tang Dynasty was much more sophisticated than that in the Sui Dynasty. It had regulations on equalization method and property transfer pertaining to princes, officials, commoners, slaves, etc. Nevertheless, the land equalization system in the Tang Dynasty lags behind that in the Sui Dynasty in terms of its original legislative intent to solve the problem of land concentration. First of all, from the perspective of the objects of land grant, the system of land grant in the Sui Dynasty stipulated that the objects of

land grant were bureaucrats, women and servants at all levels⁷¹, while the system of the Tang Dynasty stipulated that land should not be granted to women or servants unless they were widowed or not attached to government officials⁷². Secondly, in terms of the land exchange system, the land purchase regulations in the Tang Dynasty were much less strict compared with those in the Northern Wei and Sui Dynasties. The permanent land could be sold, and the granted land was also allowed to be sold, opening a gap for the loss of state-owned land⁷³. Thirdly, from the perspective of the mode of land equalization, the implementation of the equalization was not in line with the household expansion system. The effect of land equalization in Sui Dynasty was evident because it was in line with the household expansion. On the contrary, the implementation of land equalization in the Tang Dynasty was irrelevant to the household expanding system. On the surface, the Tang Dynasty did not grant land to servants in order to prevent large families with slaves from seizing the opportunity to expand their land. It turned out that the policy significantly restricted the objects of land equalization and greatly reduced the scope of land equalization. Of course, this is understandable. The social form had been fixed by the Tang Dynasty after the changes in the Wei Jin Northern and Southern Dynasties as well as the Sui Dynasty. Therefore, the revolutionary practice of granting land to servants lost its motive. Finally, in terms of the effect of the land equalization system, the Tang Dynasty was not as good as

71 Although Emperor Yang called off the granting of land to women and servants.

72 See Lin Hanxin, "Comparison of Equal-land System in Northern Wei Dynasty and Tang Dynasty", *Cooperative Economy, Science and Technology*, No.15, 2012.

73 See "China's Ancient Land Problems and Implications", *China Financial History Research Institute Network*, http://czs.cufe.edu.cn/html/_caizhengshiyanjie_zhuanji/20120624/459.html, accessed on July 12, 2013.

the Sui Dynasty. At the beginning of the Tang Dynasty, the number of households and the population of commoners did not increase but decreased significantly. In the 20 years after the Great Uprising at the end of the Sui Dynasty, the number of households in Chinese society suddenly decreased. In the early Tang Dynasty, there were more than 1 million households in Wude Era (618-626), less than 2 million households in the early Zhenguan Era (627-649), and only 2.85 million households in 651 A.D., less than half of those in the Sui Dynasty⁷⁴. The reason is that in the early Tang Dynasty, a large number of independent accounts that were checked out in the Sui Dynasty were merged by large and small aristocratic families. This reverse flow sharply reduced the number of household accounts in the country.

1.3 The reasons for the fall of the Tang Dynasty

A. External cause: crisis in expansion. As will be mentioned later, the continuous external expansion of the Tang Dynasty led to further changes in the social form of Inner Asia, and the transfer of leadership from the Turk and the Uigur tribes to the Khitan and Xi tribes who formerly belonged to the Uigur tribe, thus increasing the resistance to the expansion of the Tang Dynasty. Xi and Khitan had been subordinate to the Uighur. The expansion of the Tang Dynasty increased the gradient pressure inside the Uigur, thus the Xi and Khitan tribes in the middle and lower classes began to change the social form, which made Inner Asia relatively stronger, thus exerting pressure on the expansion pace of the Tang

⁷⁴ See Lin Hanxin, "Comparison of Equal-land System in Northern Wei Dynasty and Tang Dynasty", *Cooperative Economy, Science and Technology*, No.15, 2012.

Dynasty and further increasing the internal and external stresses. The increase of external stress suggested retrogression or collapse of social form before it was transformed into the driving force of peasant uprisings.

B. Political reason: eunuch dictatorship⁷⁵. After the expansion encountered resistance, eunuch politics began to take shape in the stale atmosphere. The eunuchs had been only handymen of the emperor. When Emperor Taizong was in power, the eunuchs did nothing other than passing orders and guarding the gate. When Emperor Zhongzong was in power, the number of eunuchs increased and their ranks also improved. There were thousands of eunuchs of seventh rank or higher. When Emperor Xuanzong was in power, the number increased to more than 3,000. After Emperor Xianzong's "Resurge of Yuanhe", the problem of eunuch dictatorship continued to develop.

C . Economic reasons: first, the merging of officials and businessmen⁷⁶. Originally, the gentries were called "clean flow" or innocent people, and its officials were considered clean and honest. Officials were not allowed to engage in business and businessmen were forbidden to enter the government. With the rise of eunuchs, the phenomenon that businessmen became officials or scholars engaged in business became more and more popular since the Kaiyuan Era (713-741).The ban was gradually lifted. The confluence of government and business increased the exploitation of the masses by the businessmen. Second, land annexation⁷⁷. The

⁷⁵ See Gong Shuduo, *General History of Chinese Society* (Volume 3), Shanxi Education Press, 1986, pp. 436-444.

⁷⁶ See Gong Shuduo, *General History of Chinese Society* (Volume 3), Shanxi Education Press, 1986, pp. 452-461.

⁷⁷ See Gong Shuduo, *General History of Chinese Society* (Volume 3), Shanxi Education Press, 1986, pp. 411-417.

middle phase of the Tang Dynasty witnessed fierce fights for more land. The eunuchs in power, bureaucratic landlords, common landlords, businessmen and high-ranking monks competed in different ways. The equal-land system died out, and the state no longer restricted the amount of land occupied. In the tide of annexation, bureaucratic aristocrats, especially those in Chang'an and Luoyang pioneered to annex land. After Wu Zetian, land annexation became more prevalent.

D. Commoner landlord politics that arose in the peasant uprising. The Huang Chao Uprising disrupted the ruling of the feudal Tang Dynasty and provided conditions for the military governorship. A large number of local troops took the chance and seized the power of military governorship one after another, virtually splitting the country into different parts. The military governors competed to gain the support of commoner landlords to succeed. After the turbulence of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, the Song Dynasty established the regime based on the commoner landlord. This can be seen from the reform of the imperial examination system. Different from that in the Tang Dynasty, the imperial examination system of the Song Dynasty was designed for commoner landlords. The first difference was the change from “gratitude to officials” to “gratitude to the emperor”, which helped to strengthen the central power. The second is that the imperial examinations became comparatively open and fair. Third, more applicants were admitted⁷⁸. After the imperial examination reform, the Song Dynasty politics began to be called "scholar-bureaucrat politics".

⁷⁸ See Wu Zhengqiang, "Changes in Imperial Examination System and Evolution of Social Structure in Tang and Song Dynasties", *Sociological Research*, No.2, 2008.

2. The Political Form of the Commoner Landlords

Although the imperial examination system was also implemented in Sui and Tang dynasties, it was only a continuation of the gentry politics in Wei Jin Southern and Northern Dynasties. Throughout the Sui and Tang dynasties, the proportion of gentries in the ruling class was still very high, 67% in the Sui Dynasty, 65% before the "An-Shi Rebellion" and 56% to 89% after the revolt in the Tang Dynasty. During the Tang Dynasty, the concept of the upper was still firm and popular among the people. A great social gap existed between the gentries and the commoners. "Marriage within highbred families" was common "to maintain their noble lineage"⁷⁹.

The peasant uprisings and the separatist wars at the end of the Tang Dynasty and during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms destroyed the decadent gentry system. The gentries declined and finally became no different from the ordinary people. The commoner landlords stepped onto the political stage. After that, the imperial examinations in the Song Dynasty reformed significantly in form and content. From the Song Dynasty, the imperial examinations were open to all people, rich and poor, regardless of their origins. This not only greatly broadened the scope of talent selection for the government, but also gave intellectuals from the lower and middle strata of society the opportunity to ascend to a higher level through scientific examinations. In the Ming and Qing dynasties, nearly half of the *Jinshi* (metropolitan graduate) came from "poor families" whose ancestors were neither

79 "A Brief Discussion of the Ending of the Middle Ages Aristocrats: Tang Dynasty Clans or Five Surnames and Seven Families", Yuqing Net, <http://www.yuqinge.com/news.php?fid-42-id-53302-page-1.htm>, accessed on July 12, 2013.

scholars nor officials⁸⁰. However, it should be noted that these "humble" people were not farmers of the oppressed class, but civilian landlords who had no political privileges compared with the gentry landlords. They still belonged to the landlord class. Therefore, the overall political form in China since the Song Dynasty was commoner landlord politics.

Neither servant uprising in South China nor the Nian Army's rebellion in the Central Plain expanded to the Guanzhong region. The reason seemed to be that there was no landlord class in Guanzhong. Accordingly, Guanzhong should be a political form of land-holding farmers.

The political form in the Central Plain should be commoner landlord politics. The Nian Army arose in the border region of the four provinces of Jiangsu, Anhui and Shandong and Henan, where the land was barren and the people were poor, but the landlord economy was extremely developed. Landlords with thousands of acres and tens of thousands of acres of land could be seen everywhere. They usually built cities and set up forts and had great influence in the local area. If we examine the social status of the leaders of the Nian Army, we will find that the uprising of the Nian Army was different from normal peasant revolts. Rather, it is a kind of opposition movement of the peasants led by the northern landlords against the centralized authority⁸¹. Obviously, these landlords controlled the economic lifeline of the Central Plain and dominated local politics.

80 "Commoner Landlords", Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/954799.htm>, accessed on December 28, 2012.

81 See Niu Guanjie, "A Preliminary Study on the Leadership of Nian Army", *Anhui History*, No.6, 2004.

The military separatist forces in Southern China and the extensive servant uprisings in the Ming and Qing Dynasties may prove that a political form of gentry landlords existed in the south.

3. The Economic Form of Tenant System

After the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, the tenant farmer system gradually became the mainstream. Household owners possessed land and bore state taxes and corvee. Farmers without land made a living completely by renting the land and were thus called guest peasant, in other words, tenants. The relationship between tenants and owners was based on feudal exploitative tenancy contracts. Tenants cultivated the land and landlords collected rent from them because of the ownership of the land. Generally speaking, the economic form of China was a tenant system, while Guanzhong a land-holding farmer system, the Central Plain a tenant system, and Southern China a serfdom system.

3.1 The land-holding-farmer system in Guanzhong⁸². After Song and Yuan Dynasties, small farmers gradually became popular in the rural areas of Guanzhong, and the number of large landlords and landless farmers decreased, so that there were almost no landlords from 1912 to 1949. During the period of Land Reform, Shanxi was said to be the “no-landlord area” in Guanzhong. The saying certainly did not suggest that no landlords at all could be found, but that there were very few of them and they did not occupy much land. In the first phase of the Land

82 This part refers to Qin Hui, "The" Guanzhong Model of Feudal Society - Research and Analysis of Guanzhong Rural Economy before Land Reform", Part One, *Research on Chinese Economic History*, No.1, 1993.

Reform, in the 13 counties of Weinan (south to Weihe River) Special District, the landlords respectively occupied 5.93% of the total land, the rich peasants 3.63%, while the intermediate peasants 57.56% and poor peasants 23.8% of the local land before the reform. As for the population proportions of these four classes, landlords accounted for 2.47%, rich peasants 1.81%, intermediate peasants 50.77% and poor peasants 34.0%. Before the second and third phases of the reform, landlords took up 1.54% of the total population and 4.3% of the land, rich peasants 2.24% of the population and 4.75% of the land, intermediate peasants 50.9% of the population and 57.5% of the land, and poor peasants 37.3% of the population and 25.2% of the land. In other words, more than half of the population in this area was the intermediate peasants who occupied almost the same proportion of land as their population, while the intermediate and poor peasants as a whole took up more than 80% of the population and land. It is obvious that Guanzhong was almost a world of land-holding farmers before the land reform, and the land rights were extremely scattered.

3.2 Tenant system in the Central Plain. The farmers in the Central Plain are tenants who were not personally attached to landlords, posing a sharp contrast to the permanent tenancy system with high-level personal attachment prevalent in the south. American scholar Ramon H. Myers investigated the rural areas of Northern China between 1890 and 1949, and found that there was no other relationship than economic contracts between landlords and tenants. **As for landlords**, the Central Plain landlords were small ones. As Myers' statistics put it, "of the 235 counties in

the three provinces of Northern China examined in 1933, 107 counties had no farmers with 500 *mu* or more land at all, accounting for 45.5% of all samples; while in about half of the remaining 128 counties, farmers with above 500 *mu* of land accounted for less than 0.1% of the county's farmer population. Naturally, very few farmers were able to employ workers to cultivate up to 500 *mu* of land... It can be concluded that until the 1930s, the normal size of land cultivate by employees in the three provinces of Northern China was 100-500 *mu*." ⁸³ Jin Zheng further estimated that as much as five *mu* of land was needed to maintain a minimum living for one person at that time. If each household had an average of 4 members, a landlord with 100-500 *mu* of land would need about 5-20 tenant households⁸⁴. Compared with the landlords in Southern China who often had dozens of or even hundreds of households, the landlords in the Central Plain were undoubtedly small ones. **As for farmers**, short-term tenancies were the majority, showing that there was no personal dependence, and farmers in the Central Plain remained tenants. In North China, tenancy contracts in the 1930s were mainly fixed contracts of less than ten years. According to the data of the Manchuria Railway obtained in eastern Hebei Province in 1937, Huang Zongzhi concluded that the fixed lease contracts of less than ten years accounted for 76.4%, among which 28.9% with a term of only one year. Only 23.6% of the contracts were with a long term of more than ten years⁸⁵.

83 Qin Hui, Peng Bo, "Study on the Independence of Tenants in Modern China", *Literature, History and Philosophy*, No.2, 2011.

84 Qin Hui, Peng Bo, "Study on the Independence of Tenants in Modern China", *Literature, History and Philosophy*, No.2, 2011.

85 Qin Hui, Peng Bo, "Study on the Independence of Tenants in Modern China", *Literature, History and Philosophy*, No.2,

3.3 Serfdom in Southern China. After the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, the social form in the south gradually changed from slavery to serfdom. **As for landlords**, the southern landlords were equivalent to seigneurs. In Ming Dynasty, vassal rulers were notoriously famous for their large areas of land – Prince Jing boasted of tens of thousands of *mu* of land in Anlu, Hubei in Jiajing Era (1522-1566), Prince Lu had 50,000 *mu* of farmland in Hunan and Hubei in Wangli Era (1573-1620), and Prince Fu occupied 2 million *mu* of farmland in Henan, Shandong, Hunan and Hubei. The lands possessed by other vassal rulers and officials were also amazing⁸⁶. **As for peasants**, farmers in the south were like serfs and had certain personal attachment to landlords. During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the tenants were called *Zhuangpu* (manor servants), *Zhuangnu* (manor slaves) or *Dianpu* (tenant servants), etc. They paid rent and attached themselves to the landlord to some extent in terms of personal relationship⁸⁷. Even before 1949, serfdom was popular in the form of permanent tenancy. Huang Zongzhi once pointed out that "in the rural areas of southern Jiangsu in the 1930s, 90% of the tenancy contracts were permanent and indefinite, while only 2.5% of the tenancies were fixed for 1-10 years". Liu Dajun also said that "according to a survey conducted by the former Southeast University, permanent tenants accounted for 55% of tenants in Jinling Region in Jiangsu Province, 91% in Suchang Region and 90% in Huhai Region. These three regions were almost the entire area of Jiangsu

2011.

⁸⁶ See Fu Yiling, *Rural Social Economy in Ming and Qing Dynasties - On Social and Economic Changes in Ming and Qing Dynasties*, Zhonghua Book Company, 2007.

⁸⁷ Fu Yiling, *Rural Social Economy in Ming and Qing Dynasties - On Social and Economic Changes in Ming and Qing Dynasties*, Zhonghua Book Company, 2007.

Province south to the Yangtze River." ⁸⁸ The obligations undertaken by the tenants were almost the same as those by the serfs. Ying Liangeng mentioned in the *Tenancy System of Sichuan Province* that "in ordinary times, tenants usually had to take on customary obligations in addition to paying the stipulated rent, such as helping workers, guarding warehouses, carrying sedan chair, fetching water, etc. They were also required to go to service for big events such as marriages and funerals"⁸⁹. This was the case in Zhengjiang, Jiangsu and Sichuan, which were located at the border between the north and the south. Assumedly, a larger degree of slavery could be found in Southern China. The attachment of the tenants to the landlords was evident in Southern China.

4. The Natural Practice of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties

In the Song Dynasty, among the four major inventions, compass, printing and gunpowder had come into practical use, the quality of paper was greatly enhanced, and the engraving printing and type printing were prevalent. In terms of metallurgical technology, the production of iron smelting furnaces were improved, the steel-making technology of *Guangang* (pouring pig iron liquid onto wrought iron solids) had been widely used, the copper smelting technology of *Dantong* (dipping iron in the solution of bluestone) was popularized, and non-ferrous metals such as brass and cupronickel also began to be produced. Mechanical engineering

⁸⁸ Quoted from Qin Hui and Peng Bo, "Study on the Independence of Tenants in Modern China", *Literature, History and Philosophy*, No.2, 2011.

⁸⁹ Quoted from Qin Hui and Peng Bo, "Study on the Independence of Tenants in Modern China", *Literature, History and Philosophy*, No.2, 2011.

developed greatly. Military workshops had more than 20,000 craftsmen. The armillary sphere and celestial sphere were all cast in bronze. This escapement did not appear until the end of the 17th century in Europe. In mathematics, there were arithmetic works such as *Pan Zhu Ji* (Collection of Plates and Pearls). In medicine, there were great works of pharmacy, such as *Compendium of Materia Medica*.

The development of natural practice after the Song Dynasty is omitted here, since the natural practice in Western Europe began to develop during the Ming and Qing Dynasties.

Chapter 5 Formation of Zone 3 in the First-Stage Bipolar World Process

In this chapter, Section 1 discusses the theoretical question of whether the nomadic society is continuous. On this basis, Section 2 analyzes the external connections between Inner Asian regimes in the first-stage process; that is, the pressure imported by Zone 4 through military expansion and alienation diplomacy. Sections 3 and 4 further analyze the influence of these external connections on the development of social forms and natural practices in Inner Asia.

Section 1 Theoretical Premise of Considering Changes in Social Forms: Is the Nomadic Society Continuous?

It is generally believed that the nomadic society has high population mobility and mixed ethnic groups. Population mobility means that the social composition of Inner Asian political and economic entities is always changing, and these changes complicate changes in social forms, leading to the question of whether the nomadic society has enough continuity to be considered by changes in social forms. The following section examines this continuity; that is, it attempts to make sense of traces of succession in the changes of Inner Asian regimes.

Historical records of the “Xunyu” date back to around 6000 B.C. In the Xia Dynasty (22nd–18th century B.C.), the Xunyu had close contact with the

Xia nationality. In the Shang Dynasty (18th–12th century B.C.), King Wuding of Shang fought three long wars against the “Guifang”. In the Western Zhou Dynasty (1046–771 B.C.), the “Jiayun” often intruded on Zhou.⁹⁰ This situation lasted until the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period, when more than 100 Rong and Di tribes appeared in the historical records. The changes in the name of the ethnic group indicate the separation and recombination of numerous clans or tribes. In the Warring States Period, most Rong and Di tribes were annexed by powerful vassal states in Central China. At the same time, many unrelated clans and tribes that had been active in northern China began to unite locally, establishing tribal confederations and even states in some regions.

It was through the above process that the Hun came to prominence in the 4th century B.C. and entered the stage of history in the 3rd century B.C. Its ethnic origin should include the Xunyu, Guifang, Jiayun, Rong and Di. All the ethnic groups that had been active in the north and south of the desert, such as the Xiutu, Yuwen, Dugu, Qiangqu and Helai, are all part of the Hun.⁹¹ During Modu Chanyu’s reign in the late 3rd century B.C., the Hun began to form a state. It successively conquered the Donghu, Yuezhi and Loufan respectively in the east, west and south of the Mongolian grassland, King Baiyang south of the Yellow River, the Dingling in the north and other tribes, building up a large multi-ethnic state.

⁹⁰ Ren Chongyue, Comments on the Origin of Hun, *Academic Journal of Zhongzhou*, No. 6, 2010.

⁹¹ Ren Chongyue, Comments on the Origin of Hun, *Academic Journal of Zhongzhou*, No. 6, 2010.

The Xianbei regime followed the Hun regime. Regarding the origin of the Xianbei, physical anthropology and molecular archaeology have confirmed that they originated from Donghu, and the Xianbei people who originated from the Greater Khingan Mountains are closely related to the Sibe people and Oroqen people who also originated from the northeast in terms of matrilineal inheritance.⁹² The Xianbei and Wuhuan were originally part of the Donghu tribal alliance. Defeated by Modu Chanyu of the Hun, the Wuhuan retreated to Wuhuan Mountain, while the Xianbei fled to eastern Liaoning beyond the Great Wall and became a nomadic tribe on Xianbei Mountain. From then on, the Xianbei and the Wuhuan established tribes separately.⁹³ It is clear that the Xianbei were once subordinate to the Hun regime. Around 160-170 A.D., the Xianbei joined the Tan Shihuai Alliance and became one of the western chiefs in the alliance. In 91 A.D., the Northern Hun was defeated by the Han Army. After the main forces moved westward, more than 100,000 Huns in Mobei (areas north of the great desert of Inner Mongolia) joined the Xianbei, and some Wuhuan people outside the Great Wall surrendered to the Xianbei.⁹⁴ The subordination of the Xianbei to the Hun and the succession of the Xianbei to the Hun in the regime basis show the continuity of social history in the Hun and Xianbei period.

The Rouran regime followed the Xianbei regime. Most scholars at home

⁹² Zeng Wen, *The Origin and Migration of the Xianbei and Khitan: Perspectives from Physical Anthropology and Molecular Archaeology*, Master's Thesis at Jilin University, Archaeology and Museology, 2009.

⁹³ See Ma Changshou, *Wuhuan and Xianbei*, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2006.

⁹⁴ See Ma Changshou, *Wuhuan and Xianbei*, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2006.

and abroad agree with the view of the *Book of Wei* and regard the Rouran as the descendants of the Xianbei in Donghu.⁹⁵ It can be seen that the Rouran originated from Donghu in the Hun period and the Tuoba Xianbei in the Xianbei period.⁹⁶ This is the succession between the Rouran, Xianbei and Hun.

The Turkic regime followed the Rouran regime. The Turkic tribe were originally slaves engaged in blacksmithing for the Rouran regime. Later, the Turkic tribe united with branches of the Rouran to overthrow the rule of the Rouran and established the Turkic regime.

The Huihu followed the Turks. In the 840s, under the leadership of Kutluk Boyla, the Huihu people united with the internal nine tribes, and other tribes including Gelolu and Baximi, to overthrow the post-Turkic rule with the help of the Tang Dynasty. This practice, in which tribes subordinate to the Turkic regime allied with other oppressed tribes to overthrow it, is actually a revolution.

The Mongols who came after Huihu may have originated from the Rouran people who once dominated Mongolia and the White Hun who ruled Turkistan in the 5th century A.D. The Khitan people who ruled Beijing in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. and the eastern part of Turkistan in the 12th century A.D. may also be primitive Mongols.⁹⁷ Genghis Khan was a descendent of the Qiyuan family

⁹⁵ Chen Fayuan, Discussion on the Origin of Rouran, *Academic Monthly*, No. 11, 1985.

⁹⁶ Chen Fayuan, Discussion on the Origin of Rouran, *Academic Monthly*, No. 11, 1985.

⁹⁷ See Suri Badalaha, *New Research on the Origin of Mongolian Nationality*, Ethnic Publishing House, 1986.

which ranked low among the twelve tribes of the Gaoche Alliance during the Rouran period. This is the continuity between the Mongolian, Rouran and Turkic regimes. The continuity between the Mongols and Huihu can be seen in the process in which the Khitan people, the origin of the Mongols, overthrew the Huihu regime and established the Khitan regime. As will be discussed later, the Khitan was originally affiliated with the Huihu regime. Later, the Khitan allied with other tribes to overthrow the Huihu regime and establish the Khitan regime.

Section 2 Pressure to Change from Zone 4

In the first-stage process, ancient China in Zone 4 exported pressure to Inner Asia in Zone 3 by means of military expansion and alienation diplomacy. We have discussed the territorial expansion of ancient China. This section is devoted to ancient China's alienation diplomacy towards Inner Asia, thereby laying the foundation for a discussion of the reasons for the formation of Inner Asia's social forms. Ancient China's alienation diplomacy towards Inner Asia can be divided into the following three forms⁹⁸: The first is to "attack barbarians by barbarians". This means causing conflict among barbarian states and weakening them by using their own tensions militarily. This strategy was used in the Han Dynasty, Kingdom of Wei, Western Wei Dynasty, Tang Dynasty, Northern Song Dynasty, Ming Dynasty and Qing Dynasty. The second is to "subjugate barbarians by barbarians". More specifically, Chinese dynasties selectively made peace

⁹⁸ See Li Ganfen, On the Policy of "Controlling Barbarians by Barbarians" in Feudal Dynasties, *Guangxi Social Sciences*, No. 4, 1992.

with the subjects of Inner Asian regimes through marriage, and formed tributary relations with them. As Engels pointed out when discussing alliances between medieval feudal lords through marriage, “Marriage is a political act. It is an opportunity to expand one’s power through a new marriage. It is the interests of one’s family, not one’s will, that play a decisive role.”⁹⁹ Selective reconciliation by marriage emerged for various political purposes to serve the great unification of dynasties in the Central Plain. The prototype of the tributary system was the Jifu system in ancient China (mainland China). The monarch (or emperor) of a Central Plain dynasty was the common lord of areas both near and far from the capital. The monarch exercised direct administration within the area near the capital and designated rulers to govern the areas far from the capital. These two strategies are based on the concept of alienation diplomacy known as “subjugating barbarians by barbarians”. The third is to “control barbarians by barbarians”, which is embodied in ancient China’s Jimi system in the border areas. The Jimi system was an ethnic policy adopted by feudal dynasties in multi-ethnic countries for minority areas with unbalanced social development.¹⁰⁰ All the feudal dynasties of China have implemented this system on the frontier, which adheres to the concept of alienation diplomacy known as “controlling barbarians by barbarians”. A detailed exposition of the different stages of ancient China’s alienation diplomacy towards Inner

⁹⁹ Quoted in Pei Monong, Diplomatic Marriage in the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Periods, *World Knowledge*, No. 21, 1989.

¹⁰⁰ *Jimi System*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/907041.htm>, last access: January 4th, 2013.

Asia is as follows.

1. Warring States, Qin, Han, Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties, and Sui and Tang Dynasties

The main reason feudal China's diplomatic relations with Inner Asia were relied on alienation through military expansion was because ancient China was the power core of the first-stage process. As previously mentioned, this power core was formed under the pressure of the northern nomads. This can be seen from the non-alienating diplomatic relations between the northern nomads and vassal states in the Spring and Autumn Period and Warring States Period. The invasion of the Rong and Di did not make the vassal states subordinate to them, but set the states on the road of transforming their social form to become stronger, shaping the power core of the first-stage process. Militarily, all states effectively resisted the invasion of the Rong and Di. Take the State of Zhao for example. Zhao bordered the Hun in the north. In 309 B.C., King Wuling of Zhao ordered the state to carry out "Wearing Hu dress and shooting on horseback". As its military power grew stronger, Zhao defeated the Hun and other northern barbarian tribes repeatedly. In the first year of the reign of King Daoxiang of Zhao (244 B.C.), Li Mu led his troops to fight against the Hun on a large scale, and all 100,000 of the invading cavalymen were destroyed. After annihilating the main force of the Hun, Li Mu advanced in triumph. He wiped out the Chanlan (north of present-day Yu County in Hebei), defeated

the Donghu (east of present-day Inner Mongolia) and subdued the Linhu (north of present-day Shanxi). The State of Zhao became so powerful that for more than 10 years after that, the Hun dared not enter the borders of Zhao. This was also true of the State of Qin and the State of Jin, which had the most contact with the Rong and Di. Military success depends on changes in internal social forms. The historical fact that the states in the Spring and Autumn Period and Warring States Period changed their ways, contended for hegemony and finally moved towards unification shows that the transformation of social forms made ancient China take the lead in feudalization and establish a powerful and unified country. Faced with a strong and unified country, the nomads certainly did not resort to alienation diplomacy.

The Qin Dynasty, China's first feudal dynasty, seemed to have only one kind of connection with Inner Asia, namely military expansion.

After the stage of military confrontation and stalemate between the Han and Hun from 209 B.C. to 58 B.C., the Xiongnu was politically a local regime under the rule of the Han Dynasty in the times of Chieftain (*Chanyu* in Chinese) Uhaanyehe (58 B.C. to 31 B.C.). Later, the wrong policies in the Wang Mang period (9 to 23 A.D.) led to a confrontation between the Han and Hun. However, in 48 A.D. (the 24th year of Emperor Guangwu's reign during the Eastern Han Dynasty), the Hun was divided into two tribes; the southern tribe was annexed to the Han Dynasty while the northern tribe

stayed in areas north of the great desert of Inner Mongolia, and later moved westward under the attack of the Han Dynasty. During the continuous expedition of the Eastern Han Dynasty, many of the northern Huns moved south to pay allegiance to the Han Dynasty. Even after Chanyu of Northern Hun retreated westward, his younger brother Prince Luli of the Left Yuchujian led thousands of people to pay allegiance to the Han Dynasty.¹⁰¹ It can be seen that, on the whole, diplomatic ties between the Han and Hun involved alienating and being alienated. Specifically, the Han regime used the strategy of “subjugating barbarians by barbarians” for a long time, with a large frequency and over a wide area, and “barbarian soldiers” were the most widely used. According to statistics, this strategy was used 106 times over 321 years, including 25 times in the Western Han Dynasty and 81 times in the Eastern Han Dynasty. The scope covered all the “barbarians” in the east, west, north and south, whether they were Hun, barbarians in the Western Regions, western Qiang, Nanyue, southwestern barbarians, Wuhuan or Xianbei. In addition to Han soldiers, “barbarian soldiers” were usually used, including soldiers of the northern and southern Hun, Western Regions, Qiang, Wuhuan, Xianbei, Nanyue, southwestern region, Goguryeo, Buyeo, Xiutu and soldiers of other dependent states.¹⁰²

The Wei, Jin and Southern and Northern Dynasties (220–589 A.D.) were a period of great division and separation in ancient Chinese history,

¹⁰¹ See Peng Jianying, On the Evolution of Han-Hun Relations, *Journal of Northwest University for Nationalities*, No. 4, 1999.

¹⁰² See Shangguan Xushi, Application and Influence of the Strategy of “Subjugating Barbarians by Barbarians”, *Journal of Nanyang Normal University (Social Science)*, No. 4, 2003.

during which nomads in the north entered the Central Plain in large numbers. The tributary system collapsed and was not restored until the Sui Dynasty reunified in 589. However, foreign invasions did not form diplomatic ties of alienation of Inner Asian entities to ancient China. On the basis of changes in social forms and natural practices, the separatist kingdoms in the north were able to guarantee the independence of their sovereignty. Nomads entering the Central Plain had to implement the localization policy to establish stable rule. At first, after the Hun, Jie, Di, Qiang and other ethnic groups entered the Central Plain, most of the regimes they established implemented the “Hu-Han partition”, which aggravated the ethnic conflicts at that time. Therefore, the later Xianbei regime had to implement the ethnic policy of “Hu-Han integration”. This ethnic policy was implemented by the Later Yan, Western Yan and Southern Yan established by Murong, Western Qin established by Qifu and Southern Liang established by Taifa.¹⁰³ Some northern separatist kingdoms could not only safeguard their sovereign independence, but also retain the traditional diplomatic advantage of alienating the Inner Asian regimes. Taking the Kingdom of Wei as an example, the rulers of Wei had a sense of superiority to the ethnic groups in and around the territory. They oppressed and enslaved the barbarians, forced them to submit and pay taxes and tribute, and tried every means to control them. They “punished the rebellious and appeased the obedient” and

¹⁰³ See Chen Ke, *Policies of Hu and Han in Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties*, Master’s Thesis at Capital Normal University, Ancient Chinese History, 2009.

alternated kindness with severity. For the Hun, Wuhuan, Di, Qiang and other ethnic groups within the territory, they alternated repression with appeasement, conquered them before migration, retained the tribes, designated chieftains and ruled them according to their customs, appointed officials to supervise and collect taxes, and put barbarians in military service. For Xianbei beyond the Great Wall and ethnic groups east of the Central Plain and in the Western Regions, the rulers adopted a softer policy and sent envoys.¹⁰⁴

The strategies of “attacking barbarians by barbarians”, “subjugating barbarians by barbarians” and “controlling barbarians by barbarians” were also important ways for the Tang Dynasty to deal with ethnic relations. Take “attacking barbarians by barbarians” as an example.¹⁰⁵ The use of barbarian generals was a form of attacking barbarians by barbarians. In the reign of Emperor Taizong of Tang, the representatives were Ashina Sheer and Qibi Heli of the Turks, and Feng Ang of the Nanyue. In the reign of Emperor Xuanzong of Tang, the representatives were An Lushan, An Sishun, Shi Siming, Gao Xianzhi and Geshu Han. They all performed meritorious deeds in different periods and different stages of national wars. An ethnic group could attack another one at the behest of the central government. For example, Turkic Khan Mochuo offered Emperor Wu Zetian to lead troops to

¹⁰⁴ See Bai Cuiqin, A Study of Wei's Strategies for Governing Barbarians, *Proceedings of the International Symposium on the History of Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties in China*, 2004.

¹⁰⁵ See Cui Mingde: On “Attacking Barbarians by Barbarians”, “Subjugating Barbarians by Barbarians” and “Controlling Barbarians by Barbarians” in the Sui and Tang Dynasties, *Minzu University of China*, No. 3, 1994.

fight back against Khitan. The troops of ethnic groups could participate in the central government's operations against other ethnic groups. The Huihu took part in the Tang Dynasty's war against the Turks. The Seyanto, Turks, Qibi and Yanyu took part in the Tang Dynasty's war against the Gaochang. The Tangut and Qibi took part in the Tang Dynasty's war against the Tuyuhun. The Chuyue took part in the Tang Dynasty's war against the Tiele. The Western Turks and Tiele took part in the Tang Dynasty's war against the Qiuci. The Qiuci took part in the Tang Dynasty's war against the Yanqi. Ashina Mishe and Ashina Buzhen of the Western Turks took part in the Tang Dynasty's war against Ashina Helu of the Western Turks.

2. Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, and Subsequent Dynasties

With the collapse of the Tang Dynasty, the Liao, Song, Jin, Yuan and other dynasties rose one after another, and the tributary system was once again plunged into chaos. However, just as in the Wei, Jin and Southern and Northern Dynasties, the invasion of the Inner Asian regimes did not form a pattern of alienation in Chinese politics. The success of the Song-Jin alliance against Liao shows the tenacious independence of Chinese politics. In the fourth year of Tianqing in the Liao Dynasty (1114 A.D.), under the leadership of Wanyan Aguda, the Nvzhen tribe revolted against Liao, and established the Jin Dynasty in the following year. In the fourth year of Tianfu of Jin (1120 A.D.), Jin and Song established an alliance against Liao. In February of the third year of Tianhui of Jin (1125 A.D.), Jin captured

Emperor Tianzuo of Liao, and Liao perished. The Northern Song Dynasty even had the advantage of alienating the Inner Asian regimes. The Northern Song government successfully implemented the policy of “subjugating barbarians by barbarians” in the west in order to win over the Panluozhi and Disiluo tribes of Tubo, Yeluoge tribe of Huihu, Tangut of Qiang and other tribes, convincing them to attack clans unwilling to pay allegiance to the Song Dynasty, and making the western tribes and Western Xia kill each other.¹⁰⁶

The policy of “subjugating barbarians by barbarians” in the Ming Dynasty is represented by the policy towards Nvzhen. On the one hand, the Ming Dynasty supported “loyal” Nurhachi; on the other hand, it contacted leaders in various areas of Nvzhen, appointed officials, awarded seals and established a large number of Jimi garrison units, eventually dividing and ruling Nvzhen. After the Zhengtong period, the Ming government also used the feud between Jin and Yuan to restrict Mongolia in the north.¹⁰⁷

The Qing Dynasty also practiced the Jimi policy on barbarian states. The vassal states in Inner Asia were controlled by Qing ministers stationed in Kashgar and Yarkand to maintain the tributary relation between the states and the Qing Dynasty.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Hu Jianhua, A Preliminary Study on the Policy of “Subjugating Barbarians by Barbarians” in the Early Northern Song Dynasty, *Academic Journal of Zhongzhou*, No. 1, 1998.

¹⁰⁷ Zheng Hongying, On the Ming Dynasty’s Amnesty to Nvzhen, *Heilongjiang National Series*, No. 6, 2010.

¹⁰⁸ Li Xiaoying and Niu Haizhen: On the Qing Dynasty’s Policy of Restraining and Enchanting the Northwestern Ethnic Groups, *Nationalities Research in Qinghai*, No. 4, 2006.

Section 3 From the Tribal System to Semi-tribal, Semi-feudal Serfdom

Due to feudal China's military expansion in Inner Asia, and Inner Asia's further westward expansion, the levels of the social forms and natural practices of Inner Asia were lower than those of ancient China (of which alienation diplomacy is a manifestation), and the rise of the Inner Asian regimes lagged slightly behind the great unification of China. Therefore, in the whole first-stage process, the feudalization of Inner Asia was shorter than that of ancient China. While there were three phases in the feudalization process of ancient China, feudalization in Inner Asia only experienced two. First, from the formation of the Hun regime in 300 B.C. to the extinction of the Turks in 745 A.D., the social forms of Inner Asia changed from the tribal system to semi-tribal, semi-feudal serfdom. Second, from the end of the Turks in 745 A.D. to the eve of modern times, the social forms of Inner Asia changed from semi-tribal, semi-feudal serfdom to feudal serfdom. This section discusses the specific process of the first phase.

1. Transformation of Social Forms

1.1 Before the establishment of the Hun Khanate

Before the establishment of the Hun Khanate, the grasslands of northeast Asia were divided by many nomadic tribes of different sizes¹⁰⁹: the Donghu tribal alliance was distributed in the Seramulun River and old Ha River basins in the southeast of the grasslands; the Dingling tribal alliance

¹⁰⁹ Lin Gan, *The General History of Hun*, People's Publishing House, 1986, pp. 1-8.

was distributed in the Selenge River basin west and south of Lake Baikal; and the Hun tribal alliance was distributed in the south and north of Yinshan, including so-called “Henan” (now Ordos Grassland) south of Hetao. In addition, there were other tribal groups scattered throughout the grasslands. Later, Hun State was established on the basis of the Hun tribal alliance and the conquest of the above tribes or tribal alliances.

The Hun did not border the Central Plain states at first. After Qin “attacked Yiqu” and Zhao defeated “Linhu and Loufan in the north”, Qin, Zhao and Yan became the southern neighbors of Hun. We will take Qin and Zhao as examples to illustrate the causal relationship between the strength of Central Plain dynasties and changes in social forms in Inner Asia. Under pressure from the rise of Qin, after the destruction of Yiqu and Dali bordering the State of Qin, its remaining forces joined the Hun alliance. In 309 B.C., King Wuling of Zhao ordered the state to carry out “Wearing Hu dress and shooting on horseback”. As its military power grew stronger, Zhao repeatedly defeated Hun and other northern barbarian tribes. It is likely that Linhu joined the Hun alliance.¹¹⁰ In the late Warring States Period, when the Huns rose in Hetao and Yinshan, the Loufan also broke away from Zhao and attached themselves to Hun. It can be seen that the Yiqu, Linhu, Loufan and other Rong and Di tribes became part of the Hun tribal alliance in the process of escape under Chinese military pressure. Since then, the Hun

¹¹⁰ Wu En, On Several Issues of Hun Archaeological Research, *Acta Archaeologica Sinica*, No. 4, 1990.

began to appear on the stage of history as the unified name of various tribes.

It can be seen that under the threat of Central Plain states, the northern ethnic groups formed a tribal alliance headed by the Hun. The disparate tribes began to form an alliance, which improved their social forms and strengthened their military defense. However, this tribal alliance was unstable and only a temporary and loose form of alliance. The relationships between tribes were equal, and the alliance had no normalized power center higher than the tribes. It was easy for the alliance to splinter after the external pressure dissipated or abated.

1.2 Hun

A. Military diplomacy of Zone 4 and the establishment of the Hun Khanate

Barfield argues that because Qin was a relatively large and highly organized settlement state, under the pressure from Qin, the nomadic tribes needed a form of state more organized than the loose tribal alliance.¹¹¹ The establishment and expansion of Qin were the external impetus for the tribes in Inner Asia to transform into a certain form of feudal state on the basis of the tribal alliance system in the Warring States Period. In 221 B.C., the First Emperor of Qin realized the great cause of unifying China, and sent General Meng Tian to lead 300,000 Qin troops to attack the Hun in the north. “The

¹¹¹ See Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China*, translated by Yuan Jian, Jiangsu People's Publishing House, 2011.

Hun were driven back more than 700 *li*, and barbarian people did not dare to go south to herd horses.”¹¹² Meng Tian was stationed in the north for five years. Afraid of Qin’s might, the Hun did not dare to invade. Under pressure from the Qin Empire, the Hun alliance had to be strengthened, and the originally equal tribal relations began to show the characteristics of feudal autocratic kingship. In 209 B.C., Modu killed his father Touman *Chanyu* and became independent. During the reign of Modu, the Hun alliance completed its transformation from equality to inequality, and formed the co-ruler system of the tribal alliance. The Hun empire built by Modu was centered around the Luandi and the three noble families of Huyan, Xubu and Lan which intermarried with the Luandi, including many non-Hun clans and tribes such as the Donghu, Yuezhi, Loufan, King Baiyang south of the Yellow River, Hunyu, Qushe, Dingling, Gekun, Xinli and states in the Western Regions.¹¹³ The former clearly had a higher political status than the latter.

B. Social form of the Hun

In the discussion of the social nature of the Hun, some historians used to mechanically apply Marx’s theory of social formation in the belief that the Hun was a slavery society, but this view is not consistent with the historical facts. In a slavery society, the slaves did not have any right to control their own economy, and all products produced were owned by the slave owners;

¹¹² *Ten Crimes of Qin*.

¹¹³ See Lin Gan, *The General History of Hun*, People’s Publishing House, 1986, p. 3.

even the slaves themselves were the property of the slave owners. In a feudal society, the serfs have their own economy and means of production. Neither was the Hun the so-called “clan slavery”. When the Hun colonized conquered states, they levied taxes on the whole tribe, which was similar to the exploitation of feudal serfdom under taxation. However, the people enslaved by the Hun regime had their own clans, tribes or even state power; they also had their own economy and production tools, part of which were used to pay the fixed tribute and taxes levied by the Hun rulers. This is clearly not the characteristics of slavery, but a social form with characteristics of both the primitive tribal system and feudal serfdom.

In terms of political form, feudal hereditary power and a hierarchy system began to be established while the mechanism of tribal democratic rights still generally existed.¹¹⁴ The Chanyu held all the military and political power, and was the highest power center of the political power organization, directly governing the central area of the Hun. Under the Chanyu, there were the Worthy Prince of the Left and Worthy Prince of the Right, respectively administering the eastern and western territories of the Hun. The positions of Worthy Prince of the Left and Worthy Prince of the Right were held by Chanyu’s sons and younger brothers. Under the Worthy Prince of the Left and Worthy Prince of the Right, there were Prince Luli of the Left and Prince Luli of the Right who had their share of land, and a royal

¹¹⁴ See Lin Gan, *The General History of Hun*, People’s Publishing House, 1986, pp. 26–28.

court in their grazing lands. Under Prince Luli, there were 24 officials including the Great General of the Left and Great General of the Right, Great Commandant of the Left and Great Commandant of the Right, Great Danghu of the Left and Great Danghu of the Right, and Guduhou of the Left and Guduhou of the Right, governing more than 10,000 ordinary soldiers and cavalries. Under them, there were official positions including Qianzhang, Baizhang, Shizhang, Pixiaowang, Xiang, Duwei, Danghu and Qiequ. These are the characteristics of political organizations in feudal states. However, from the Worthy Princes to the 24 officials, they were all both administrative leaders and military commanders, which is the characteristic of a military democracy in a primitive tribal society. Besides, the political succession system had the characteristics of tribal democracy. After the Khanate establishment of Hun, it was stipulated that the sons and younger brothers of the Chanyu who rose to the position of Worthy Prince of the Left could succeed the throne. This was the product of the combination of clan system vestiges and feudal elements. During the whole period of the Hun Empire, the problem of succession to the throne was never properly settled, resulting in internal struggles for power that lasted until the demise of the Hun Empire.¹¹⁵ More importantly, the basic-level ruling units of the Hun were still tribal and clan organizations. Conquered clans or tribes were obliged to pay tribute to the Hun, but the Hun rarely forced them, and there was no

¹¹⁵ See Ma Liqing, A Reanalysis of Hun's Social Form, *Academic Journal of Zhongzhou*, No. 6, 2011.

need to force them to integrate with the Hun. Instead, the Hun sent resident officials to collect tributes and exercise its sovereignty so that these clan and tribal organizations did not collapse under the rule of the Hun.¹¹⁶ In *Graves of the Northern Hun*, Dorzhsüren pointed out that no sign of the disintegration of clan organizations could be found in tombs dating back to the 1st to 3rd centuries B.C. The archaeological observations of Minaev Sergey also show that the nobles did not override the whole clan, and they were buried in the same clan cemetery regardless of their rank.¹¹⁷

In terms of economic form, it is recorded in *Shiji – Treatise on the Hun* that they collected taxes per head, which indicates that the economic relations between the tribes, especially the five noble tribes, and the central government began to show feudal characteristics. Within each tribe, private property and class began to appear, class division broke the bonds of the clan system and blood relationships to a certain extent, and there were obvious geographical factors. With the support of the aristocracy, tribal leaders began to use their privilege to drive the members of society to build them cities, houses, tombs and other grand facilities, and even led their clansmen to engage in plunder wars. However, this change was far from changing the nature of society.¹¹⁸ In terms of the land system, the land ownership of the nomads was still based on public ownership. In terms of the marriage system, succession marriage in primitive tribal society still existed. In addition, from

¹¹⁶ See Lin Gan, *The General History of Hun*, People's Publishing House, 1986, pp. 29–30.

¹¹⁷ Quoted in Ma Liqing, A Reanalysis of Hun's Social Form, *Academic Journal of Zhongzhou*, No. 6, 2011.

¹¹⁸ See Ma Liqing, A Reanalysis of Hun's Social Form, *Academic Journal of Zhongzhou*, No. 6, 2011.

the perspective of actual production workers, herders who were free people were the main production workers in Hun society. They were both soldiers and laborers. The slaves of the Hun were only domestic slaves engaged in housework.

1.3 Xianbei

A. Military diplomacy of Zone 4 and the establishment of the Xianbei Khanate

As mentioned above, the military expansion and alienation diplomacy of the Han Empire caused the Hun regime to fall apart. However, the Xianbei, who were originally attached to the Hun regime, took the opportunity to change their social form and establish a more feudal society, which increased their ability to resist the expansion of the Han Empire. In the early Western Han Dynasty, after being defeated by Modu Chanyu of the Hun, such Xianbei tribes as the Wuhuan were ruled by the Hun. In the early Eastern Han Dynasty, the Xianbei began to establish a tributary relationship with the Han Dynasty. In 45 A.D. (the 21st year of the Jianwu period), Zhai Rong, chief of eastern Liaoning, used the power of the Xianbei to fight against the Hun and Wuhuan. In 54 A.D. (the 30th year of the Jianwu period), Xianbei lords Yu Choubi and Mantou led their people to pay allegiance to the Han Dynasty, and were made king and marquis respectively. Later, the Xianbei united with other tribes. The Xianbei and Hun attacked each other for years. The Hun gradually declined while the Xianbei gradually gained

ground outside the Great Wall. From 89 to 91 A.D. (the first to third year of the Yongyuan period), the Northern Hun moved westward to Inner Asia, and the Xianbei took this opportunity to occupy the former land of the Hun. From the start of the process in which the Xianbei united with the Eastern Han Dynasty against the Hun, the Han Dynasty had the advantage of alienating the tribes in Inner Asia, which determined that even after the latter realized a more feudal social form, its social form could not be more powerful than that of the Han Empire which pressured and alienated it. After the collapse of the Han Dynasty, the Wei regime continued to maintain alienation diplomatic relations with the Xianbei to maintain the independence of their tribes and control them. However, this kind of control was very weak. With the collapse of the Western Jin regime, the Xianbei took the opportunity to enter the Central Plain and establish the Western Wei regime.

B. Social form of the Xianbei

The Xianbei and the Ruoran belonged to the Xianbei regime, and their social forms are discussed as follows.

In terms of political form, compared with the Hun, the autocracy and power centralization of the Xianbei regime was more prominent. First, the Hun had 240,000 independent horsemen under the jurisdiction of the Worthy Prince of the Left and Worthy Prince of the Right, which were most likely the heads of the tribal alliances during the tribal alliance period. By the

Xianbei period, the number of independent local regimes had been reduced to eight. In the second year of the Taichang period, the people of the eight tribes were governed by the lords of six tribes, and the people of the eight tribes became the people of six tribes. The difference between the new tribal alliance and old tribal alliance was mainly that the latter consisted of Xianbei tribes which were related to each other by clan blood, while the former consisted of Tuoba Xianbei tribes and other non-Xianbei tribes, and their relations were mainly regional. This is obviously a reflection of strengthened feudal centralization. Second, after Xianbei founded a state, the eight tribes became more geopolitical through the separation of tribes and division of settlements. During the separation of tribes, the original tribal organizations that were incorporated into the tribes and new government all disbanded, and the tribal lords were reduced to common people and engaged in production along with the tribal people. Most of the settlements were located in the suburbs of the capital, and they were no longer governed by the original tribal lords, but by the head or lord of the eight tribes that the royal family trusted most. Tuoba Gui, monarch of Wei, levied feudal taxes on the people of the former tribes as the income of the state. “Jun” and “Zhuang” established by the Ruoran under the troops governed by the tribal lords were both military and administrative units at the basic level. They were also reconstructed on the basis of the original tribes through geographical and economic connections. Finally, the Xianbei changed the

family names and hereditary control of the other seven states by sending ministers who were brothers of the emperor, and strengthened the control of the central government over the local authorities, thereby strengthening its feudal autocracy. During the reign of Emperor Xian (Tuoba Lin), except for the Tuoba tribe which was under his command, the lords of the other seven tribes were deposed and replaced by brothers of the emperor. The seven tribes were ruled and the family names of their lords were changed. However, the remnants of tribal politics still had a wide influence, mainly reflected in the tribal democracy in making decisions on such issues as sacrifice, election of the alliance leader, migration and foreign war. When the tribal alliance elected its leader, the eight tribal lords covered themselves with black cloth and chose the leader in a hide-and-seek way. The Rouran regime also had this custom. The Rouran people had the right to recall and elect the khan.¹¹⁹ When making decisions on collective migration and foreign wars, a meeting was held among the tribal lords.¹²⁰

In economic form, the Xianbei's economic system was more feudal than that of the Hun. In terms of the taxation system, the Xianbei regime implemented a feudal taxation system for people of noble tribes, and the objects of taxation were households; for non-noble tribes, the objects of taxation were the tribes, which was similar to the tributary system implemented by the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties for regime areas far from

¹¹⁹ See *Rouran*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/28450.htm>, last access: July 12th, 2013.

¹²⁰ This part refers to Zhou Weizhou, *Chile and Rouran*, Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1983.

the capital. For class differentiation, as mentioned above, within new tribes formed on the basis of the original tribal organizations and geographical and economic links, classes were further divided, and the free herders who used to belong to the tribes were further transformed into serfs. If class differentiation in the Hun period was only reflected in the living conditions and social division of labor of the tribal leaders and people, then class differentiation in the Xianbei period was reflected in the possession of wealth. In Rouran society, khans, prime ministers, geomancers, ministers at all levels and the lords, generals and commanders of the tribes all had large amounts of livestock and property; the social identity of the original tribal people began to show the characteristics of serfs; that is, they began to form personal subordination and economic dependence.¹²¹ But land resources, the most important for farming practices, were still publicly owned, at least legally. This determined the semi-tribal, semi-feudal nature of the Rouran economy.

1.4 Turks

A. Military diplomacy in Zone 4 and the establishment of the Turkic Khanate

Similar to the rise of the Xianbei, the Turks united with the Western Wei to fight against the Rouran regime. Finally, the Turks who were serfs of the Rouran united with other tribes to overthrow the rule of the Rouran and

¹²¹ See Zhou Weizhou, *Chile and Rouran*, Shanghai People's Publishing House, 1983.

establish a more advanced Turkic regime with more obvious feudal serfdom characteristics. Under the Rouran regime, the Turks lived as blacksmiths, namely tribal serfs who forge iron for the Rouran. Under the leadership of the Turkic leader Ashina Tumen, the Turkic tribes grew stronger and stronger. In 542 A.D., he sent people to express his wish to establish friendships and strengthen contact with the Central Plain dynasties. In 545 A.D., the Western Wei sent the Hu merchant Annuo Pantuo as an envoy to the Turks. The following year, the Turks sent a diplomatic mission to pay tribute to the Western Wei, and the relationship between the two sides became closer and closer. Supported by the Western Wei, the Turks began the process of seizing power in the grassland. In lunar January of the first year of the deposed emperor of Wei (552 A.D.), Tumen, the Yili Khan of the Turks, led a huge army to fight Anagui, the Khan of the Rouran, in northern Huaihuang, and the Rouran were defeated. Meanwhile, the Western Wei sent troops to the frontier, killed tens of thousands of people and captured the close relatives of Anagui and many chieftains. The Northern Qi also participated in military action against the Rouran, after which the bodies of Rouran people were spread over 20 *li*, and more than 30,000 were captured. The Turks finally replaced the Rouran. In the process of Turks uniting with the Western Wei against the Rouran and founding a state, the ancient Chinese dynasties still had the advantage of alienating the Inner Asian states even though they were in a period of separation and division. Therefore, even if the Turks

transformed to a more feudal social form, they could not surpass the Western Wei Dynasty which pressured and alienated them, or the Sui and Tang Dynasties which followed the Western Wei Dynasty.

B. Social form of the Turks¹²²

In the process of the Turks allying with the Western Wei against Rouran, we can see more social and regional features. The enslavement of various tribal people by the Rouran Khanate caused a serious crisis in the lower ranks of society under pressure from the ancient Chinese regime. The people of all ethnic groups in Rouran carried out constant uprisings against the ruling class. The first uprising took place in 582 A.D., when the Tiele tribes (Bokor and Tongluo) rebelled. The second uprising took place in 603 A.D., when more than ten tribes including the Tiele, Sijie, Hun, Huxue, Aba and Bokor rose up against the oppression of Datou Khan. The third uprising took place in 605 A.D., when the Qibi and Seyanto broke away from the Rouran and formed an independent tribal alliance in the Junggar Basin. The fourth uprising took place in 628 A.D., when the Baibin, Xi and dozens of other tribes in the east paid allegiance to the Tang Dynasty because the Turks imposed unlimited taxes. The fifth uprising was from 627 to 629 A.D., when more than ten tribes, including the Seyanto, Huihu, Bayegu, Tongluo and Bokor, united forces to drive out private sects and establish the Seyanto

¹²² See Xue Zongzheng, *History of the Turks*, China Social Sciences Press, 1992; Lin Gan, *History of the Turks and Huihu*, Inner Mongolia People's Publishing House, 2007; Lin Gan, Preliminary Study on Turkic Social System, *Social Science Front*, No. 3, 1981.

Khanate. This cross-tribe struggle and alliance based on common interests accelerated the integration of Inner Asian society.

In terms of political form, although the Hun and Xianbei had been feudalized, independence among the tribes remained strong, so the political form had the characteristics of tribal democracy to a large extent. The Turks continued the process of feudalization. Although the tribes were still independent to a certain extent, the integration of the tribes had become considerable, and the reform of the semi-tribal, semi-feudal system in Inner Asia society was complete. The degree of inter-tribe integration can be seen from the unity of language of Inner Asian society. Before the Turks, there was no unified language or writing system in Inner Asian society. The Turkic regime came into being on the basis of the further integration of the tribes, and the further regionalization of this local regime provided sufficient conditions for the Turks to popularize a unified language. The tribes in the Mongolian grassland invented and used writing on the basis of the Turkic script of the Turkic Khanate. Before that, neither the Hun nor the Rouran Khanate had created their own writing system. However, there were still large remnants of tribalism in the state's grassroots units. In the process of feudalization, the imam was transformed from the tribal or clan leader to the state's grassroots chief executive. In addition, although there were few slaves in Turkic society, the main class struggle was not between slaves and slave owners, but between imams and commune members.

In terms of economic form, the Turks expanded their privatization from those confined to livestock and other movables in the Xianbei period to the most important resource: land. Livestock, tents and tools of production were privately owned by herders, which began in the Gaoche or Chile tribes in the 4th and 5th centuries. However, in the Turkic period, even the land began to be occupied by the feudal herd owners, although primitive tribal communes still existed. The imams were the local aristocrats most closely associated with the communes, and they owned some slaves. The commune members were still the basic producers, but under the central feudal regime, the imams' deprivation of the common wealth of the commune members was further strengthened. For personal wealth, the imams actively responded to the call of the central government and organized the tribal people to go on expeditions. In addition to the commune members, some of the wealth looted from other ethnic groups went into the pockets of the imams.

The changes in social forms accelerated tribal integration and unified the eastern and western grassland of Inner Asia for the first time. Before the 6th century A.D., except for the Hun, the states in the eastern grassland did not expand to the western grassland, let alone merge the Mongolian grassland and the western grassland of Inner Asia into one country. For the first time, the Turks merged the Mongolian grassland and Inner Asian grassland into one country, over which they ruled for a hundred years.

2. Development of Natural Practices

The husbandry of the Hun was quite developed in the early days. During the Qin and Han dynasties, they bred mules and raised large numbers of livestock. Among them, horses and mules were used for fighting, while cattle and sheep were used for food. There were many mules and many kinds of horses. There were also many exotic animals, such as camels, jueti (a foreign breed of powerful horse), etc. The Hun had iron tools as early as the 3rd century B.C., and began to use them extensively after the 3rd century B.C. They were especially good at making weapons, including bows and arrows for long-distance attacks and knives for close combat. Iron was used to cast arrowheads, indicating that it was the most common and cheapest metal at the time. Arrows could not be retrieved once they were shot, so they were consumed in large numbers. Therefore, without sufficient sources of raw materials and large-scale manufacturing capabilities, it was impossible to meet such huge demand.¹²³

In the handicrafts technologies, the Rouran was more advanced than the Hun, especially known for making means of transport. The Chile and Rouran were good at making carts, especially Chile carts, which were called “Gaoche” (literally “high cart”) by the people of the Central Plains¹²⁴ because they had “high wheels and many spokes”. The Xianbei inherited the achievements of the Central Plain dynasties in astronomy, produced two armillary spheres, and made important contributions to the study of

¹²³ This paragraph refers to Lin Gan, *The General History of Hun*, People’s Publishing House, 1986.

¹²⁴ *Book of Wei – Biography of Gaoche*.

astronomical data. In mathematics, the Northern Dynasty was a period in which many mathematical works were produced. Gao Yun wrote six volumes of the *Liuzhang* and three volumes of the *Sankai Chongcha*. Yuan Yanfang, Xin Dufang and others also wrote mathematical works.

The Turks had a large number of cattle, sheep and other livestock. In 601 A.D., Qimin Khan was robbed of more than 300,000 head of livestock by Awu Sili. In 556 A.D., Muqan Khan gave Shi Ning 500 horses and 10,000 sheep. In 588, the chief of the Turkic tribe paid 10,000 horses, 20,000 sheep, 500 camels and 500 cattle as a single tribute. The handicraft industry has a long tradition in Turkic society, and the Turks learned forging techniques very early on. In the mid-5th century, when the Turks were ruled by the Rouran, they served the Rouran regime as blacksmiths. According to Western historical records, during the period of the Western Turkic-Byzantine alliance, Zemarchus, the envoy of Eastern Rome, was sent to the Western Turkic Empire. When the envoy reached Sogdia, the Turks came with iron for sale.¹²⁵

Section 4 From Semi-tribal, Semi-feudal Serfdom to Feudal Serfdom

In the first phase, after the social form transformed to semi-tribal, semi-feudal serfdom, the political and economic forms of Inner Asia showed significant feudal characteristics. By the Turkic period, the land had been

¹²⁵ This paragraph refers to Xue Zongzheng, *History of the Turks*, China Social Sciences Press, 1992.

privatized and the relationships between the tribes were far less equal than they had been before the Hun founded a state. In the second phase, the rise of Mongolia led to the further transformation of Inner Asian society into feudal serfdom. The land was completely privatized by the former tribal leaders, and the relationships among the tribal people of the grassland had completely merged into a feudal political and economic entity.

1. Transformation of Social Forms

1.1 Huihu¹²⁶

A. Military diplomacy of Zone 4 and the establishment of the Huihu Khanate

Similar to the rise of the Turks, the Huihu joined forces with the Tang Dynasty to fight against the Turkic regime. Finally, as serfs of the Turks, the Huihu united with other tribes to overthrow the rule of the Turks and establish the Huihu regime, which had a more advanced social form and obvious feudal serfdom characteristics. In the first year of the Daye period during the Sui Dynasty (605 A.D.), Tejian of the Huihu tribe was promoted to leader of the alliance with other Tiele tribes in the course of fighting against enslavement by the Eastern Turks. Later, his son Pusa led his followers and Seyanto to defeat the Eastern Turks. In the 21st year of the Zhenguan period during the Tang Dynasty (647 A.D.), Tumidu, chief of the Huihu, formally established the Huihu Khanate by the Duluo River

¹²⁶ See Yang Shengmin, *History of Huihu*, Guangxi Normal University Press, 2008.

(present-day Tuul River in Mongolia), and joined forces with the Tang Dynasty to destroy the Seyanto Khanate and occupy its land. Tumidu was honored as “General Huaihua” and “Hanhai Commander” by the Tang Dynasty. In the first year of the Tianbao period (742 A.D.), the Huihu joined forces with the Qarluq and Baximi to attack and overthrew the Turkic Khanate. Two years later, the Huihu united with the Qarluq to overthrow the Baximi, and Kutluk Boyla was elected Kutlug Bilge Khan by the allies and honored as the Prince of Fengyi by the Tang Dynasty. In the process of the Huihu uniting with the Tang Dynasty against the Turks and establishing a state, the ancient Chinese dynasties had the advantage of alienating the states in Inner Asia, which determined that even after the latter had realized a more feudal social form, its social form could not be more powerful than that of the Tang Dynasty which pressured and alienated it.

B. Social form of the Huihu

Politically, the Huihu Khanate was established on the basis of the former Turkic Khanate. The ethnic groups that had been under the rule of the Turkic Khanate were now under the rule of the Huihu Khanate. Many tribes became affiliated with the Huihu, such as the Shiwei, Xi and Khitan in the Greater Khingan Mountains; Bayegu east of Lake Baikal and Bokor south of Lake Baikal; Kirkas in the upper Yenisei River; Shatuo at the north foot of the Tianshan Mountains; and Qarluq in the southwest of the Altai Mountains. The nine tribes of the Huihu held the dominant position. Each of the tribes

had a governor to manage internal affairs, monitor political and military affairs, and supervise tributes and taxes.¹²⁷ This central-local relationship between the Huihu and its subordinate tribes was closer than it had been during the Turkic period. The official system was two-fold. On the one hand, it inherited the feudal system of the Turkic Khanate. The supreme ruler was the khan, and below the khan were “burkes” of all levels; that is, the ministers had 28 titles, such as Yehu, Qulüchuai, Abo, Qilifa, Tutun, Sijin, Xielifa, Dagan, etc. On the other, it also adopted the Tang system, with 6 external prime ministers and 3 internal prime ministers, as well as positions of governor, general and sima, who managed all affairs according to the khan’s will.¹²⁸

In terms of economic form,¹²⁹ compared with the Turkic period, the land was privatized to a certain extent. Although the herd owners had no clear ownership of the land, they had the right to control and distribute it. In fact, they owned a large amount of land, while the herders only had the right to use the land. Seigneurs began to loom. Within the khanate, the khan and his wife were the largest herd owners; the leaders of the nine royal tribes and outer nine tribes were also large herd owners; and the burkes (imams or bayi) at the local level were large herd owners or small and medium-sized herd owners, who owned a lot of land. The herders who grazed on this land already showed some semblance of serfs. Before they obtained the right to

¹²⁷ See Cheng Suluo, *The Rise and Fall of the Nomadic Feudal Huihu Khanate*, *Northwest Studies*, No. 2, 1990.

¹²⁸ See Cheng Suluo, *The Rise and Fall of the Nomadic Feudal Huihu Khanate*, *Northwest Studies*, No. 2, 1990.

¹²⁹ See Cheng Suluo, *The Rise and Fall of the Nomadic Feudal Huihu Khanate*, *Northwest Studies*, No. 2, 1990.

use the land or grassland from the herd owners, they must herd livestock, prepare winter clothes, dig simple pools and so on for the herd owners or large herd owners. Herders' unpaid labor gradually made the herd owners gather more herds and wealth, and the herders became poorer. In Huihu society, the people who were exploited and oppressed were herders, black people and slaves. Herders and a large number of black people were the main tax payers, making them the group with the most severe class conflict with the herd owners in Huihu society. As for the slaves, they were not the main producers of society, so their class conflict with the herd owners was less severe.

1.2 Mongols

A. Military diplomacy of Zone 4 and the establishment of the Mongol Khanate

Similar to the founding of the Huihu Khanate, the Tang Dynasty and the Khitan, the ancestors of the Mongols, united to fight against the rule of the Huihu regime. Finally, the Mongols united with other tribes to overthrow the Huihu and establish a Mongolian regime with a more advanced social form and more obvious feudal serfdom. In the mid-8th century, the Mongols were ruled by the Huihu. In the mid-9th century, the Khan of Kirkas conquered the Huihu Khanate, and the Mongols came under the control of the Kirkas. However, with the collapse of the Tang Dynasty, the Khitan regime became stronger and eventually established the Liao Dynasty, which glared at

northern China and controlled all the ethnic groups in the north during the reign of Emperor Taizu of Liao (916–926 A.D.). At the beginning of the 12th century, Jurchen nobles united with the Northern Song Dynasty to replace the Khitan regime and establish the Jin Dynasty. In order to maintain its rule, the Jin Dynasty alienated and oppressed the Mongol tribes. The Jin people treated the Mongols as they pleased. If any tribe dared to disobey their orders, the Jin would send troops to punish them.

The oppression of the Jin Dynasty became the driving force for social transformation among the Mongols. Anbaghai, the successor of Khabul Khan, Genghis Khan's ancestor, was captured in the tribal war and given to the Jin people, who killed him in a cruel way. Genghis Khan's father Yesügei also died in tribal infighting. These events directly led to Genghis Khan's ambitions. Later, the Mongols formed an alliance with the Southern Song to fight against the Jin Dynasty, which fell. In 1206 A.D., Temüjin proclaimed himself Genghis Khan and set up the Mongol Khanate along the Onon River, becoming a strong emerging power in the northern grassland.

B. Social form of the Mongols¹³⁰

In terms of political form, by the Mongol period, a feudal political form had been completely established in Inner Asia, the remnants of tribalism were nowhere to be found, and local power was entirely geopolitical. After

¹³⁰ See Boris Vladimirtsov, *The Social System of the Mongols: Mongolian Nomadic Feudalism*, translated by Liu Rongjun, China Social Sciences Press, 1980.

the victory of Genghis Khan's "Golden Family" members, the Qianhu system, which was based partly on blood ties, was replaced by the "Etuoque", or hereditary fief, which was based entirely on geographical ties. The Qianhu system was a military-administrative complex, while the Etuoque was the property of Genghis Khan's "Golden Family". Just as the Qianhu system was reorganized into Etuoque, Huoluoan replaced Gulieyan. These changes are the important criteria for determining the development level of the Mongolian feudal system. The original Gulieyan became the property of the feudal lords, while the ordinary members of tribal organizations became the subjects of the feudal nobles. In the Ming Dynasty, when the Mongols coexisted with the Kazakh nomadic group, the tribal organization basically did not have a clan form. This was the direct historical consequence of Genghis Khan replacing the original clan form with the Etuoque and Huoluoan systems. In the early days of the Mongol Empire, both big and small seigneurs were called "Nayan". Different from the decentralized seignorial system of Western Europe where the vassal of a vassal was not a vassal, Nayan at all levels had to provide equipment and send a certain number of personnel to the aristocratic guards of the emperor or khan appointed by Genghis Khan. This shows the degree of centralization of the feudal Mongolian regime.

In terms of economic form, the feudal taxation system was completely established and the former tribal leaders were completely transformed into feudal

lords, while the former tribal members were completely transformed into feudal serfs. The emergence of Holuoan meant the emergence of great feudal ownership, which included vassal states, independent domestic affairs and the residences of feudal nobles, as well as the tents of subordinate herders. When the Etuoke was founded, Alebatu became a new subordinate of the feudal nobles. The emergence of Alebatu who paid tribute in servitude meant the further development of nomadic feudal relations and the final establishment of the feudal taxation system. The most common civilian Alate was the Alebatu of his lord, and the lords and even kings could also be called Alebatu in their relations with their master (*Ezhan*) and khans. The subordinates' greatest obligation to their lords – feudal lords at all levels – was to provide Aleba, namely “providing services and paying tribute and taxes”. The land of Mongolia was nominally the property of state or of the khan, but in reality, the ownership and distribution of ranches were in the hands of the nomadic nobles at all levels. Although ordinary herders could use the land, they were deprived of its ownership. Mongol leaders, khans, kings and Nayan had all the means of production of the nomadic natural economy in their own hands, and ruled their people.¹³¹ These people were bound by the leaders, who could direct them to move to new places and give them new grazing land. On all important occasions on which his master spent money, such as paying tribute to the suzerain, calling meetings, transferring grazing land, and in the case of marriage in the master's family, the Alate was obliged to supply his master with livestock in kind in

¹³¹ Yang Qiang, On Land Ownership of the Mongolian Nationality, *North West Ethno-national Studies*, No. 2, 2010.

addition to the usual duties and taxes. The disposition of private property by Alate, such as the distribution of property to sons and outsiders (Russian or Han people), conclusion of credit covenants, accession to monkhood and marriage, was subject to the supervision and control of the feudal lord.¹³² This is clearly serfdom.

2. Development of Natural Practices

As a sign of the development of the natural practices of people in Inner Asia in the first-stage process, Al-Khwarizmi, known as the “Father of Algebra”, made great contributions to mathematics.¹³³ He introduced Indian numerals, developed arithmetic, invented Arabic numerals and decimal numbers, showed the basic methods of adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing numbers, and even demonstrated how to solve square roots and π . The decimal system and his numerical algorithms played a very important role in Western civilization, promoting the development of science and technology, and accelerating the progress of industry and commerce. His work *Algebra* was translated into Latin and used as a textbook in European universities until the 17th century.

¹³² Cai Zhichun, A Preliminary Study on the Feudal Personal Subordination System of Mongolia in the Qing Dynasty, *Qinghai Social Sciences*, No. 4, 1981.

¹³³ *Al-Khwarizmi*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/97645.htm>, last access: December 28th, 2012.

Chapter 6 Formation of Zones 1 and 2 in the First-Stage Bipolar World Process

After ancient China in Zone 4 exerted pressure on Inner Asia in Zone 3, part of that pressure became the driving force for Inner Asia to transform its social forms, while the rest was further transmitted to the Islamic world in Zone 2 and Europe in Zone 1 through Inner Asia, which became stronger after its transformation. The pressure transmitted from Zone 3 to Zones 2 and 1, as from Zone 4 to Zone 3, was mainly military pressure. The social forms and natural practices of Zone 3 were always more advanced than those of Zones 2 and 1 in the first-stage process because Zone 3 engaged in alienation diplomacy toward the latter two. Due to the existence of alienation diplomacy, the entity subject to pressure could not realize more advanced transformation than the entity exerting that pressure in terms of social forms and natural practices. Therefore, external relations, including military pressure and alienation diplomacy, must be analyzed before changes in social forms and natural practices can be explored. In this chapter, Section 1 deals with the military pressure and alienation diplomacy of Zone 3 toward Zones 2 and 1; Section 2 discusses the social forms in Zone 2; Section 3 discusses the social forms in Zone 1; and Section 4 explores the natural practices in Zones 2 and 1.

Section 1 Pressure to Change from Zone 3

1. Military Pressure

The military pressure and alienation diplomacy from Zone 3 can be discussed in two phases.

1.1 Military pressure in the first phase

Military pressure in the first phase includes the Hun-Sasanian War in Zone 2 and the “barbarian” invasion of Zone 1 due to the westward migration of the Hun.

A. Westward migration of the Hun. The fierce counterattack of Emperor Wu of Han against the Hun weakened them greatly. In 91 A.D., the Han army again attacked the Northern Hun and defeated their chief at Jinwei Mountain (present-day Altai Mountain). At this point, the Eastern Han had won the war against the Northern Hun. The Northern Hun could not find a foothold in Mobei, so they left the Mongolian plateau and began to move west. The process of their westward migration was as follows. The first stop was the Ili River Basin. After their defeat in 91 A.D., the chief of the Northern Hun led the remnants of his army to flee to Wusun in the Ili River Basin and continue to plunder. The second stop was the Syr Darya Basin. Under attack by the Han Dynasty, some of the Northern Hun began to move west to Kangju in the Syr Darya Basin around 160 A.D. The third stop was east of the Don River and north of the Caspian Sea. Around 290 A.D., the

Northern Hun appeared in the land of the Alans, east of the Don River. The fourth stop was west of the Don River and east of the Danube. After restoration and replenishment in the land of the Alans, the Northern Hun recovered completely and began to march west of the Don River and east of the Danube.¹³⁴

B. Influence of the Hun's westward migration on Zone 2. As mentioned above, the westward migration of the Hun began during the reign of Emperor Wu of Han. However, the historical data shows that as early as the Qin Dynasty and even the Warring States Period, ancient China began to exert pressure on Zone 3. This pressure was partly transformed into changes in the nomadic societies of Inner Asia,¹³⁵ and partly transmitted to Zone 2 through "westward migration" and other forms. However, these "ripples" were not the same as the influence of the Hun's westward migration on Zone 2.¹³⁶ The external pressure exerted on Zone 2 by the Hun's westward migration mainly manifested in the Hephthalite(white Hun)-Sasanian war.

¹³⁴ See Xiao Zhixing, Discussion on the Process of the Hun's Westward Migration, *Historical Research*, No. 7, 1978.

¹³⁵ As mentioned above, it was under the pressure of Qin and Zhao that the northern Rong and Di tribes merged into the Hun tribal alliance and established the Hun Empire in the late Warring States Period.

¹³⁶ Around 206 B.C., after the Hun defeated the Donghu, Modu attacked the Yuezhi in the west. Most of the Yuezhi people moved from present-day western Gansu to present-day eastern Xinjiang. In 176 B.C., Modu sent the Worthy Prince of the Right to look for the Yuezhi and defeat them. The Yuezhi retreated west until they reached the Junggar Basin. In 174 B.C., Laoshang Chanyu of the Hun attacked the Yuezhi again. The Yuezhi moved west to the Ili River Basin and attacked the local people, the Sakas. The Sakas retreated south into the Parthian Empire and were at war with the latter for centuries. The author has not been able to ascertain the influence of the Saka's southbound migration on the social development of the Parthian Empire, but it is clear that such influence was rather weak. In addition to the Yuezhi's westward migration, the pressure in Zone 4 must have caused other tribes to move west before the Hun. This pressure should be one of the external reasons why the Parthian tribe finally conquered the Western Seleucid Empire and established the Parthian Empire which lasted for 500 years, and why the Sasanian people conquered the Parthian Empire and established the Sasanian Empire which lasted for 400 years. In terms of the Sasanian Empire's social form, the influence of this pressure on Zone 2 should have been very small, not in the same league as the influence of the White Hun-Sasanian war on Zone 2 caused by the Hun's westward migration, because the latter led to the Islamic religious revolution and the rise of the Arab Empire, which realized the change in social form. However, judging from the failures of the Parthian Empire and Sasanian Empire in their wars against the Roman Empire (although partly due to the pressure exerted by Zone 3), due to the insufficient external pressure for reform, the development level of the social form in Zone 2 before the rise of the Arab Empire was still not higher than that of the Roman regime in Zone 1, which inherited the achievements of the ancient civilizations of West Asia and North Africa.

After the Xianbei united with other tribes to overthrow the Hun, the Rouran (a branch of the Xianbei) established a vast country under the leadership of Shelun. The expeditions of the Rouran Khanate impacted Yueban, a state established by the Northern Hun in the Western Regions. Under attack by the Rouran, the Huns in Yueban began their long migration.¹³⁷ The Hephthalites (White Hun) moved westward, occupied the whole territory of the Kushan Empire and began the war with the Sasanian Persian Empire. In the beginning, the Hephthalites were often defeated. However, in a battle in 454 A.D., while pursuing the Hephthalites, the Sasanian Persian army was ambushed and badly defeated by them. From then on, the balance of the war began to tip in favor of the Hephthalites. The Sasanian Persian Empire was defeated by the Hephthalites three times in 469, 475 and 484 A.D. The war left large swathes of the Sasanian Persian Empire in the hands of the Hephthalites, with large ransoms to be paid and Prince Kavād taken hostage. Eventually, the Sasanian Persian Empire became a vassal state of the Hephthalites.

The Hun-Sasanian war weakened the Sasanian Empire and increased the political and economic pressure within Zone 2, which provided the conditions for the rise of the Arab Empire.

C. Influence of the Hun's westward migration on Zone 1. After the Hun moved west into Europe, it triggered a chain reaction of barbarians

¹³⁷ *Hephthalites*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/169595.htm>, last access: June 3rd, 2012.

invading the Western Roman Empire. In 375 and 376 A.D., the Hun attacked the Ostrogoths and Visigoths successively, which caused the barbarian tribes scattered outside the Roman Empire, mainly Germanic people, to invade the empire.¹³⁸ In 395 A.D., Theodosius I died and the Roman Empire was divided. Under the command of Alaric (incumbent 395–410 A.D.), the Visigoths went south to Greece and west to Italy. In 410 A.D., they conquered Rome and established the Visigothic Kingdom centered at Toulouse in 418 A.D. After the Visigoths, the Germanic Suebi and Vandals and the non-Germanic Alans poured into the Roman Empire. At the end of 406, they crossed the Rhine River in Mainz. In the autumn of 409, they entered Spain via Gaul and established the Kingdom of the Suebi and the Kingdom of the Vandals and Alans. The Vandals then conquered western Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia and the Balearic Islands before conquering the city of Rome in 455. The Germanic Burgundians and Franks then crossed the Rhine River into the Roman Empire. They occupied Gaul in the early 5th century and helped the Romans and Visigoths to repel Attila, the ruler of the Hun, in 451. The Burgundians established the Kingdom of Burgundy in southeast Gaul in 457. In 486, the Franks, under the leadership of Clovis (incumbent 481–511), defeated the Roman army at Soissons, occupied northern Gaul and established the Frankish Kingdom. In the 6th century, the Frankish Kingdom expelled the Visigoths in the southwest (507), annexed

¹³⁸ See Qi Sihe, The Westward Migration of the Hun and Their Activities in Europe, *Historical Research*, No. 3, 1997.

Burgundy in the southeast (534) and took the whole territory of Gaul. It gradually became the most powerful of the Germanic kingdoms. After the Burgundians and Franks, In the middle of the 5th century, the Anglos, Saxons and Jutes of the Germanic people crossed the North Sea into Britain and established many small kingdoms in the east and south of the island. At the beginning of the 7th century, these small kingdoms merged into seven kingdoms. In 488, the Ostrogoths invaded Italy under the lead of Theodoric (incumbent 493–526). In 493, they conquered Italy and established the Ostrogothic Kingdom. The last Germanic settlers in the Roman Empire were the Lombards. In 568, the Lombards of Pannonia, under the command of Alboin (incumbent roughly 565–572), defeated Byzantium, occupied northern Italy and established the Lombard Kingdom. Thus, the barbarian invasion of Europe, which lasted for about two centuries, came to an end.

Impacted by the barbarian invasion and the uprising of local slaves and serfs, the slave-driving Roman Empire fell into decline, providing the external conditions for the establishment of the Germanic kingdoms and for the Franks to eventually unify Western and Central Europe, thereby starting the feudalization process of Zone 1.

D. Pressure not directly from Zone 4. Did such strong dynasties as the Tang Dynasty in ancient China of Zone 4 transmit pressure directly into the Islamic world of Zone 2 across Zone 3? According to the historical records, the Tang Dynasty and the Abbasid Caliphate (Abbasids) fought the Battle of Talas, which

was essentially a border skirmish that had no real impact on either power. It is clear that in the whole first-stage process, Zone 4 never directly transmitted pressure on Zone 2 or 1 across Zone 3. Therefore, the impetus for the changes in both Zones 3 and 1 came from the transmission of pressure in Zone 3.

1.2 Military pressure in the second phase

A. Westward expeditions of the Mongol Empire

After the founding of the Mongol Empire, during the 40-odd years from 1219 A.D. to 1260 A.D., it carried out three large-scale expeditions to the west and established a huge empire.¹³⁹ From 1219 to 1225, Genghis Khan launched his first expedition to the west, reaching as far as the north of the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea, Iraq, Iran, India and other places, and laying the foundations for the second and third westward expeditions. From 1235 to 1242, Genghis Khan's grandson Batu once again led the army to the west, reaching as far as Kipchak, Russia, Hungary, Poland and other countries and regions, and established the Kipchak Khanate which was the first northwestern vassal state of the Yuan Dynasty. From 1252 to 1260, Genghis Khan's grandson Hulagu launched the third westward expedition which reached as far as Syria, Egypt, Iraq and other regions, and established the Ilkhanate, another northwestern vassal state of the Yuan Dynasty. The three westward expeditions of the Mongols destroyed the Abbasids, weakened the

¹³⁹ See *Westward Expeditions of the Mongol Empire*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/40862.htm>, last access: December 30th, 2012.

Byzantine Empire and created the conditions for the rise of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, they communicated economic and cultural links between the East and the West, spread such ancient Chinese inventions as gunpowder, papermaking, printing and the compass to Western Asia and Europe, and introduced Western astronomical, medical and almanac knowledge to China.

B. Byzantine-Ottoman Wars

The Mongol westward expeditions destroyed the Abbasids and provided the conditions for the rise of the Ottoman Empire. After the rise of the empire, it fought a series of wars with the Byzantine Empire which finally destroyed the basic power maintaining conservative order in Europe, enabling European countries to start the process of nationalization, and the conservative order of medieval Europe began to decline. The Byzantine–Ottoman Wars were a series of military conflicts between the Ottoman Turks and the Byzantine Greeks that led to the final destruction of the Byzantine Empire and the rise of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁰ In 1299, Osman I established the Ottoman Empire and began a series of wars against the Byzantine Empire. In 1265 and 1289, the Ottoman Turks conquered Surgut and Eskisehir respectively in Anatolia of the Byzantine Empire. By 1430, all the main towns of the Byzantine Empire had fallen to the Ottoman Empire. In 1453, the Ottomans besieged the Byzantine capital of

¹⁴⁰ See *Byzantine-Ottoman Wars*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/7187046.htm>, last access: April 9th, 2012.

Constantinople, so the Byzantine Empire turned to their Christian counterparts in Western Europe for help. However, the reinforcements of the Holy Roman Empire, Poland and Hungary were defeated at Varna; after that, no other country came to the rescue, and Constantinople fell. The Ottoman Empire then conquered Morea in 1460 and Trebizond in 1461, and the Byzantine Empire collapsed. The Ottoman army threatened Europe until the 16th century.

2. Alienation Diplomacy

The alienation diplomacy of Inner Asia toward Zones 2 and 1 can be also divided into two phases.

2.1 Phase I

In the first phase, the alienation diplomacy of Inner Asia toward Zones 1 and 2 was mainly represented by the Byzantine-Western Turkic alliance. Due to the existence of this alliance, Zone 3 alienated Zone 2 from Zone 1, and the social forms and natural practices of Zones 2 and 1 were not more advanced than those of Zone 3. From 505 to 603 A.D., after the Hun and the barbarians destroyed the Western Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire (also known as the Eastern Roman Empire) became the successors to the Roman Empire. In response to the growing foreign invasions, the Byzantine Empire began to restore its friendship with its former enemy the Sasanian Empire. Since the Sasanian Empire also faced an attack by the White Hun, it

made peace with the Byzantine Empire in 505 and maintained the Sasanian-Byzantine alliance for about 100 years. The alliance benefited both sides. The Byzantine Empire conquered Italy and parts of Spain and North Africa, and almost restored the ancient Roman Empire, while the Sasanian Empire successfully resisted the invasion of the White Hun and even extended its rule to Western Asia and North Africa. However, after the rise of the Turks following Rouran, they chose to ally with the Byzantines to fight against the Sasanian Empire; as a result, the Turks in Zone 3 alienated the Sasanian Empire in Zone 2 from the Byzantine Empire in Zone 1.¹⁴¹

From 554 to 567 A.D., the Sasanian Empire allied with the Turks to resist the invasion of the White Hun. However, after the White Hun Empire was carved up by the alliance, the Turks in Zone 3 began to exert pressure on the Sasanian Empire in Zone 2. After Persia and the Turks carved up the territory of the White Hun, they became neighbors. The Turks soon took advantage of the decline of Persia to occupy the former land of the White Hun, and they became enemies. In 568, Istāmi sent messengers with gifts and letters to Byzantium to make a solemn oath to the Roman emperor: “The Turks are willing to work for the Roman Empire to repel the enemies that invade its territory”. Later, they formed an alliance. There are two clear records of the joint military operations of the Western Turks and Byzantine Empire: In the 11th year of the reign of Persian King Hormizd IV (588–589),

¹⁴¹ See Zhang Xuya, Interaction between the Byzantine Empire and the Western Turkic Khanate in the 6th and 7th Centuries, *World History*, No. 1, 2002.

the Turkic Khan Shaba took advantage of Persia's engagement with the Byzantine Empire on the western front to lead 300,000 troops to invade Persia. Persian general Bahram led the fight against the Turks. Shaba died and Persia won. In 626–628, Byzantine Emperor Heraclius and the Khazars subordinate to the Western Turks carried out a joint action against Persia. With the aid of the Khazars, Heraclius completely defeated the Persian army in 628 and forced Persia into submission.

2.2 Phase II

Founded in the 13th century A.D., the Ottoman Empire can be regarded as a political and economic entity generated by the integration of Zones 3 and 2, or as an alliance of Zones 3 and 2 built by Zone 3 in order to alienate Zone 2 from Zone 1. First, this is reflected in the politics. The Ottoman Turks originally lived in the Amu Darya Basin in Inner Asia, and were descended from the Oghuz Turks. They were nomadic since ancient times, living in the grassland. The Mongols began to expand westward, forcing them to migrate, attach themselves to the Sultanate of Rum established by the Seljuk Turks, and convert to Islam. Second, it can be seen from its territory that the Ottoman Empire at its peak spread across Europe, Asia and Africa, including the entire Balkan Peninsula and Asian Peninsula, all of the Middle East and most of North Africa. The empire reached Morocco in the west, the Caspian Sea and Persian Gulf in the east, the Austrian Empire and Romania in the north, and Sudan in the south. Its territory included parts of

Zones 3 and 2.

For the diplomacy between the Ottoman Empire and Zone 1, please refer to the discussion of military diplomacy in the formation of Zone 1.

Section 2 Formation of Zone 2

The first section comprehensively analyzes the external pressure exerted by Zone 3 on Zones 2 and 1. The pressure of Zone 3 on Zone 2 was mainly manifested in the war between the White Hun and the Sasanian Empire, and the western expeditions of the Mongol Empire, especially the former. This provided the external pressure conditions for the Middle East to reform feudal serfdom with less centralized political power.

1. Political Form

1.1 Political form of the Arab Empire: relatively unified and feudal¹⁴²

Foreign invasions aggravated the economic crisis and social tensions in the peninsula. The two great empires, the Byzantine Empire and the Persian Empire, fought a long war of plunder on the peninsula to possess and control the Arabian trade routes. In 525 A.D., with the support of the Byzantines, the Ethiopians sent troops to occupy Yemen. In 570, Abraha, the Ethiopian viceroy in Yemen, led troops into Mecca. In 575, Persia sent troops to drive out the Ethiopians and establish its rule in Yemen. In this context, the clans and tribes of the peninsula often fought each other for pastures, water and

¹⁴² This part refers to Na Zhong, *A General History of Arabia* (Volume I), Commercial Press, 1997; and Qian Xuewen, *A Brief History of Arab Islam*, Ningxia People's Publishing House, 2005.

land. Frequent wars and plunders caused serious damage to the social economy in Southern Arabia, and intensified class division within clans. Class division led to the emergence of tribal aristocrats who owned many oases, vast swathes of grassland and huge numbers of slaves and livestock, while the majority of nomads grew poorer. The rise of Islam is an ideological reflection of the desire of the Arab tribes for social and economic changes and political unity. It was against this historical background that Muhammad “followed the inspiration of Allah” and popularized Islam. Under the banner of a religious revolution, he led Arab social change and unified the Arabian Peninsula.

Political unity among the tribes was needed before social and economic conditions could be changed. Foreign invasions made the social conflicts in the peninsula transcend the narrow boundaries of tribal blood relationship groups. In the face of common interests, small and medium-sized clans formed a common class opposed to the noble tribes and upper-class clan dignitaries. The revelation of the Prophet Muhammad in Mecca fully reflected the sharp opposition between the new Islam and the clan dignitaries in Mecca. The revelation not only emphasized the equality of religious ideology, but also fiercely criticized all kinds of injustices perpetrated by the upper-class rich merchants and magnates, and advocated helping the poor. As a result, most converts to Islam during the Meccan period came from small and medium-sized clans, mostly ordinary people in humble

circumstances. At that time, the most powerful clans, Mekhchum and Shams, formed the main source of those opposed to Islam and the core force persecuting Muhammad.¹⁴³ Hugh N. Kennedy has pointed out that many of the converts came from Muhammad's Hashim clan and his mother Aminah's Zuhra clan. This was less due to the clans' kinship with Muhammad than to the deteriorating social environment.¹⁴⁴ At the end of 631, various tribes in the peninsula recognized Muhammad as the leader and converted to Islam. The whole Arabian Peninsula was basically politically unified and began to unify Zone 2. Through the efforts of the Meccan period, Rashidun period, Umayyad Caliphate and Abbasid Caliphate, the social form of Zone 2 changed from slavery with decentralized political power and more elements of feudal serfdom to the relatively unified feudal political form.

At the beginning of the 7th century, Arab society experienced a profound social transformation, bidding farewell to the barbarism of primitive society, and feudal society began to form. The emergence of the state was the political manifestation of the transformation of Arab social forms in the time of the Prophet Muhammad. The extension of public power from religious life to the secular realm was the core content of this process. Islam has emphasized the majesty of Allah since the time of Mecca: "The majesty of Allah lies not only in creating the universe, but also in governing the earth and all living creatures." On the basis of emphasizing the

¹⁴³ Na Zhong, *A General History of Arabia* (Volume I), Commercial Press, 1997, p. 431.

¹⁴⁴ Quoted in Na Zhong, *A General History of Arabia* (Volume I), Commercial Press, 1997.

supremacy of Allah, Islam gave Muhammad absolute religious power as the messenger of Allah. This is reflected in the religious obligations that Muslims must fulfill, while religious obligations gave rise to secular rights.¹⁴⁵ First, in terms of the right to arbitrate tribal affairs, the people of Ummah must submit to Allah's will and accept Muhammad's verdicts. Second, in terms of the battle against the enemy, without the permission of the Prophet, the people of Allah were not allowed to attack, kill or plunder, and could only fight under the unified arrangement of Allah. The Prophet launched a series of holy wars in the name of Allah, expelling the Jewish tribes Qaynuqa, Nadir and Qurayza from the Medina oasis. On the basis of conversion and conquest, Muhammad selected devout Walis (friends of Allah) from various Arab tribes and sent them (i.e. masters) to various parts of the peninsula to establish state bureaucracy. The job of the Walis was to spread the creed of Islam in the name of the Prophet, lay down the corresponding religious obligations and codes of conduct, and arbitrate disputes, recruit fighters and collect taxes and tribute according to the law of Allah. However, the new state power was born out of the social structure of clans in the Arabian Peninsula, and the clans had great influence on the society of the whole peninsula. The vast majority of Muslims still lived in their respective clans, and the conversion did not immediately make them abandon their traditional blood ties. For example, many Walis only used

¹⁴⁵ See Ha Quan'an, Religious and Secular Rights in Islamic Countries in the Time of Mohammed, *Journal of Northeast Normal University*, No. 6, 1993.

persuasion and negotiation in the exercise of religious and secular power rather than the necessary coercive means. Although Muslims fought a lot during the Medina period, there was no standing army. By the time of the Prophet's death in 632, state taxes were limited to requirements in most areas and had not become a reality.¹⁴⁶

The Umayyad Caliphate perfected the feudal state system, but "Asabiyyah" (i.e., Arab sectarianism) still existed. The Umayyad Caliphate failed to overcome the inherent contradiction of "Asabiyyah" because it held the idea that Muslims ruled the non-Arab pagan population, which led to its collapse. After its establishment, the Abbasid Caliphate drastically changed the political structure of the Islamic world in order to expand the ruling base of the caliphate. The caliphate tried to eliminate the traditional antagonism within Arab society, and adopted both southern and northern Arabs. The political status of southern Arabs as supporters of the Abbas movement rose markedly, and the northern Arabs, who had long followed the Umayyad Caliphate, were not ostracized. Nevertheless, the Arab aristocrats were no longer the sole rulers of the Islamic world; they lost the privilege of monopolizing the various military and political positions of the caliphate, and Muslim aristocrats of many backgrounds were involved in politics. This is a feature of the Abbasid Caliphate which distinguishes it from the Umayyad Caliphate.

¹⁴⁶ Li Chengde, Establishment and Nature of Medina State, *Journal of Henan University*, No. 3, 1980.

During the Abbasid Caliphate, Islam ruled all of Zone 2, incorporating all the political power and people of Zone 2 into its political system. However, it is clear from the above statement that the influence of the revival of Islam on the political form of Zone 2 was limited. Within the empire, there was not only tribal sectarianism in the Arabian Peninsula, the birthplace of Islam, but more importantly, serious political opposition between the Arabian Peninsula and the regions outside, the most important of which was the local separatist forces in Persia. These limitations are also reflected in the economic form, as we shall see later.

1.2 Political form after the Arab Empire: not sufficiently unified

After the Arab empire, the degree of political unity and feudalism of the Arab Empire period was maintained in the political form of Zone 2. We shall take the political form of the Ottoman Empire as an example.¹⁴⁷

By the middle of the 17th century, the Ottoman Empire established by the Turks was a huge feudal empire spanning Asia, Europe and Africa, but it was not unified internally. Its various parts differed greatly in the races, languages and religions of its inhabitants, in their level of social, economic and cultural development, and in their degree of dependence on the central government. The dominant Turks were a minority of the empire's population; they occupied only a portion of Asia Minor but exploited and oppressed the

¹⁴⁷ This part refers to Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, translated by Xu Xuya and Zhang Zhongxiang, Qinghai People's Publishing House, 2006.

peoples of the empire.

In the long war of aggression, in order to strengthen their military power, the successive sultans implemented the military fief system and granted a large amount of land as fiefs to meritorious generals and officials. The military fief-holders (sipahi) who acquired the land had to provide the sultan with cavalymen for the war. More than 3,000 Ziamet Sipahis (fief-holders earning more than 20,000 akçe a year) and 50,000 Timariots (another name for Timarli Sipahi, fief-holders earning less than 20,000 akçe a year) constituted not only a military force in the empire, but also a major political force.¹⁴⁸ Some military fief-holders even refused to fulfill the obligation to provide the sultan with cavalymen and soldiers, which reduced the revenue of the national treasury and led to the financial crisis. In order to solve the financial crisis, the sultan began to promote tax farming. Thus, the military fief-holders turned into tax farmers, and they had the right to tax the original fiefs as long as they paid a certain amount of tax every year as agreed in advance by the central policy. Later, the sultan even sold fiefs to the tax farmers, which turned the exploitative sipahis, who used to take war as their main business and were greedy for military prizes, into feudal seigneurs whose main goal was to exploit the farmers. This shows the independence of the fief-holders from the central government. Once there was a social crisis, the nature of the fief owners as local separatist forces

¹⁴⁸ Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, translated by Xu Xuya and Zhang Zhongxiang, Qinghai People's Publishing House, 2006, p. 445.

emerged. Therefore, the political form of the Islamic world was unified in the first-stage process compared with that of Europe in Zone 1, while it was not sufficiently unified compared with the political form of Inner Asia in Zone 2.

2. Economic Form

2.1 Economic form of the Arab Empire: feudal serfdom¹⁴⁹

The foreign expansion and military occupation of Arab Muslims led directly to a change in the nature of land ownership in Zone 2. The Caliphate City of Medina extensively practiced state land ownership in the conquered areas. All conquered land became the public property of the caliphate and the common source of wealth for all Muslims. This land was later called “savafi” by Islamic jurists. Umar stipulated that Muslim warriors should not take conquered people for themselves as slaves, nor should they freely seize their property or otherwise enslave them, and that the land granted by Allah must be left to the conquered to continue farming, and taxes and tribute were collected from the conquered which were shared by all Muslims. The caliphate preserved the old systems of Byzantine and Sasanian Persia in more areas when it identified certain land as savafi. The non-Muslim native squires were relatively independent and autonomous on the premise of paying taxes and tribute, thus retaining the actual power to control their

¹⁴⁹ See Ha Quan'an, *Studies on Arab Feudalism*, Tianjin People's Publishing House, 2000.

original land. This land was called “mulk”.¹⁵⁰

During the Umayyad Caliphate, savafi began to transform into military iqta. Muawiyah gave some land in northern Syria to jihadi Muslims, which was the original military iqta.¹⁵¹ At the same time, the Umayyad Caliphate levied taxes on the land owned by the pagan natives of the conquered areas according to the tax standards set by the Byzantine Empire and Sasanian Persia. Land acquired by Arab Muslims in the conquered areas of the peninsula was exempt from the full land tax, and only a tithe was paid; such land was called “tithe land”. The revenue of the caliphate was affected by the successive conversion to Islam of the pagan natives in the conquered areas, who refused to pay the full land tax and assumed only the tithe. In this context, after his accession to the throne, Umar II (717–720) restored the tax policy of the caliphate of Medina, stipulating that those who believed in Islam should pay a tithe only, but land acquired by Muslims after 719 was subject to the full land tax. Hisham further stipulated that the collection of land taxes depended on the nature of the land and not on the beliefs of the land owners, all “tribute land” was subject to the full land tax no matter who owned it, and only the tithe land formed in the early years was exempt from the full land tax.

In the early days of the Abbasid Caliphate, the military iqta were mostly in remote areas beyond the caliphate’s control. After the middle of the 9th

¹⁵⁰ Ha Quan’an, *Studies on Arab Feudalism*, Tianjin People’s Publishing House, 2000, p. 234.

¹⁵¹ See Hu Yaohui, On the Land System in the Umayyad Caliphate, *Journal of Chifeng University*, No. 2, 2010.

century, with the decline of the caliphate's centralized politics, the military iqta gradually increased and expanded from the remote areas to the interior. In the later period of the Abbasid Caliphate, the military iqta further expanded, and the number of military iqta holders increased dramatically. After the arrival of the Seljuks in West Asia, the development of the military iqta system reached its peak. During the administration of Malik Shah, there were 40 aristocrats holding a considerable number of military iqta, most of whom were Turks and Persians who paid tribute to the sultan in addition to providing the necessary troops in wartime. Along with the increase of military iqta, the land system of the late Abbasid Caliphate had two other characteristics. First, iqta were heavily privatized as mulk. Second, due to the difficulty of collecting taxes directly, the tributary system of the military iqta was gradually transformed into a tax farming system. When Al-Ma'mun was in power, the tax farming system was implemented in Egypt, and the tax farming contract had a term of four years. During the reign of Al-Mu'tamid, the tax farming area was gradually expanded, mainly including land tax, but sometimes business tax and other taxes. Tax farmers, unlike the original tax collectors, often had private arms and exercised extensive power and super-economic rule in their tax areas. Ali Ahmed paid 1.4 million dinars a year in exchange for the right to tax southeastern Iraq and Khuzestan, while exercising governing power in his tax area almost entirely independent of the caliph. Abu Hassan and Ali Khalaf were even appointed governors of

Jajira by the caliph because of tax farming. It can be argued that the privatization of iqta and the prevalence of tax farming meant that local power increased to a certain extent.

During the Arab Empire, farmers were mainly responsible for production activities, while slaves were mostly excluded from the field of production and were mainly domestic workers. Farmers accounted for the majority of the rural population, especially tenant farmers. However, the social status of tenant farmers was actually the same as that of serfs, which can be seen in the amount of rent paid and the farmers' dependence on the land. First, tenant farmers rented land for farming; the landowner provided seeds and farm animals, and the rent could be up to 50% of the harvest. Second, the government made every effort to fix farmers to the land to ensure the stability of their tax sources. In Jajira and the Nile valley in the late 8th century, it was common for farmers to flee the land. Iraqi governor Yusuf established special agencies to hunt down and repatriate farmers who fled to cities. Many were caught by the authorities, fined, flogged, had their faces stamped and were repatriated, and even those who harbored fugitive farmers were fined. Meanwhile, when caught by the authorities, unidentified people were fined and their ships burned. Lastly, after the 9th century, many land-holding farmers were so overwhelmed that they had to surrender their land to the big landlords for protection, which was known as "talegye", and became serfs similar to the tenants of the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern

Dynasties in China. Talegye was common in the Fars area during the Samanid Empire.

2.2 Social form after the Arab Empire: feudal serfdom

After the Arab Empire, the social form of Zone 2 was still feudal serfdom. Egypt is a good example. During the Ayyubid Dynasty, the military iqta system was widely developed in Egypt, and almost all the cultivated land in the Nile valley was designated as military iqta. Compared with the Arab Empire, the military iqta was a relatively stable private property in Egypt during the Ayyubid Dynasty; recipients often had the right to inherit and transfer the fief, the cultivators were protected by the state and the rent was fixed by the sultan. After the establishment of the Mamluk Dynasty, the right to inherit and transfer military iqta was abolished for a time. During the rule of the Ottoman Empire in Egypt, part of the land was allocated to the “basha” appointed by the Turkish emperor as administrators, and another part was allocated to the Mamluk feudal nobles for operation. The feudal lord had the right to collect taxes from the farmers, including labor, land rent in kind and in money, and other taxes.¹⁵² Under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, Egyptian farmers were not only politically oppressed, but also exploited by the feudal lords. Under the oppression of heavy rent, exorbitant taxes, tyranny, hunger and death, the farmers were utterly miserable serfs.

Section 3 Formation of Zone 1

¹⁵² See Liu Yongsheng, *Early Modern Economic History of the World*, China Radio International Press, 1996.

The pressure of the Hun in Zone 3 on the Roman Empire in Zone 1 led the latter into the Middle Ages of feudal serfdom with decentralized political power. Later, the pressure on Zone 1 from the Arab Empire, the social forms and natural practices of which were not much more advanced than those of Europe, brought medieval Europe to maturity. Finally, the pressure on Zone 1 from the Ottoman Empire as a complex in Zones 3 and 2 led the former toward the ending process of medieval Europe.

1. Pressure from Zone 2

We have comprehensively analyzed the pressure of Zone 3 on Zones 2 and 1. Zone 1 is adjacent to Zones 3 and 2. Zone 2 is closer to Zone 3 and under greater pressure, which makes its social forms and natural practices slightly more advanced than those of Zone 1. Therefore, the connection between Zones 2 and 1 is generally a process of Zone 2 exerting pressure on Zone 1. This process is divided into two phases. The Sasanian Persian Empire and the Arab Empire form the first phase, while the Ottoman Empire forms the second phase.

1.1 Period of the Sasanian Persian Empire. The Sasanian family rose up in Fars, southwest Iran. In 224 A.D., Ardashir I (224–241), the grandson of Sasan, overthrew Parthia (the Parthian Empire) and occupied large areas of its former territory. The Sasanian Persian Empire carried on the Parthian tradition of resisting Rome. Before 505 A.D., the Sassanid fought a 300-year war with the Roman Empire over the borders of Armenia, Asia Minor and

Syria, and generally took the strategic initiative. Between 505 and 603, the Sassanid united with the Byzantine Empire, the successor of Rome, against the invasion of the White Hun in Zone 2 for 100 years. However, after the Turks in Zone 2 reformed, rose and exerted pressure on Zone 3, Byzantium chose to unite with the Turks against the Sassanid after 603 A.D.¹⁵³ This suggests that before the rise of the Arab Empire, Zone 2 exerted pressure while Zone 1 was subject to pressure, though the Sassanid Persians were finally crushed by external pressure and internal revolution. If the fall of Parthia was due to attacks from the East and West, or mainly due to the strength of the Roman Empire, the demise of the Sassanid was mainly due to pressure from the East. As we can see, during the period of Parthia, under pressure from the Han Dynasty, there was no country with a sufficiently advanced or powerful social form in Inner Asia after the Hun. The pressure of Inner Asian regimes on the West was so limited that it was not necessary for Zone 1 to form any alliance with Zone 3 against Zone 2, which led to the demise of Parthia in its struggle against the Roman Empire. During the period of the Sasanian Persian Empire, under pressure from Zone 4, the powerful regimes of the Xianbei and Turks rose in Inner Asia, and the pressure of Inner Asian regimes on Zone 2 was so great that Zone 1 had to unite with it to resist the pressure from Zone 2. This time the fall of the Persian Empire was caused not so much by Rome as by Zone 3. This shows

¹⁵³ We can see that power politics is characterized by associating with distant countries and attacking near ones, while alliances between weak countries can only be characterized by associating with near countries and attacking distant ones.

that the bipolar world mechanism was dominant in the formation of the Western order, and the social forms of Zone 3 became more advanced than those of Zones 2 and 1. Because of this, along with the barbarian invasions, the Sassanid also played an important role in the collapse of the Western Roman Empire and the start of feudalization in Europe, which made feudal factors begin to sprout in European society.

1.2 Period of the Arab Empire. The Arab Empire and Byzantium fought a series of wars from the 7th to the 11th century. The wars began with the expansion of the Muslim Arabs and ended in the middle of the 11th century after the Rashidun period, Umayyad Caliphate, etc.¹⁵⁴ Due to the rapid expansion of the Arabs from the Arabian Peninsula in the 630s, Byzantium soon lost Egypt, Syria and other southern provinces. Over the next 50 years, the Umayyad caliph attacked Asia Minor, twice threatened Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, and took over the African region. There were military attacks almost every year, supported by the Abbasids and local rulers. In the early centuries of the war, the Byzantine Empire was always on the defensive. After 740 A.D., the Byzantine Empire began to fight back. After the fall of the Abbasids in 861 A.D., the Byzantine Macedonian Empire recaptured such areas as northern Syria and greater Armenia. However, after the arrival of the Seljuk Turks in 1060, Muslims began to use a navy in the war. In the late 9th and early 10th centuries, they

¹⁵⁴ See *Arab-Byzantine Wars*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/183761.htm>, last access: May 23rd, 2010.

captured Crete, Malta and Sicily, gaining the commanding heights of the Mediterranean Sea, and making it easier for their ships to reach the coasts of France, Dalmatia and even around Constantinople. In the Arab-Byzantine wars, it is clear that the latter was generally in a passive position.¹⁵⁵ As a result of the war, Europe's conservative international and domestic orders took shape, and the Holy See assumed a supreme position of authority over all regimes. With the support of the Holy See, France achieved dominance over the conservative international order in Europe. The chivalric code of Christian warriors gradually formed, as well as the scattered aristocratic political form and serf economic form.

1.3 Period of the Ottoman Empire. As mentioned earlier, in the first-stage process, the Ottoman Empire could be seen as an alliance between Zones 3 and 2 against Zone 1, but its main function was as a source of pressure exerted by Zone 2 on Zone 1. The Ottoman Empire not only exerted pressure on European countries militarily for hundreds of years, but also alienated Europe diplomatically through the Franco-Turkish alliance, which deepened the bottom position of Zone 1 in the first-stage bipolar order, and weakened the conservative feudal order of the latter, as we will see later.

¹⁵⁵ Although Zone 1 launched the Crusades against Zone 2, this does not mean that Zone 1 exerted pressure on Zone 2. First, from the perspective of motivation, the Crusades were launched by the Holy See to strengthen and consolidate its control over European politics. Second, the purpose of the Crusades was to recover the lands lost by Christian countries in the Arab-Byzantine wars, so the war was resistant rather than aggressive. Finally, except in the Reconquista that accompanied the Crusades, which drove the Islamists out of Spain, the Crusades were generally a failure, and the Christian countries did not recover their lost ground.

2. Conservative Order in Medieval Europe Dominated by Ancient

France

The military pressure and alienation diplomacy of Zones 3 and 2 against Zone 1 placed Europe at the bottom of the first-stage bipolar world process, leading to its backward social forms and natural practices. It is necessary to study the European international order before discussing the reasons why European countries lagged behind in social forms and natural practices. It was the military pressure and alienation diplomacy of Zones 3 and 2 against Zone 1 that kept the international order in medieval Europe very conservative. In the first phase of pressure exertion, Byzantium, inheriting the religious and political heritage of the Roman Empire, and at the forefront of the war with Zone 2, was a unifying force in Europe's resistance to the invasion of Zones 3 and 2. This was the first level of European international relations in the first phase. With the support of Byzantium, the Holy See's religious control over European politics continued. This was the second level of European international relations in the first phase. With the support of the Holy See, the Franks were able to unify Europe. The dominance of the Franks was the third level of European international relations. The international links at these three levels are discussed below. In the second phase of pressure input, as the complex of Zones 3 and 2, the Ottoman Empire directly connected with France, which dominated the conservative order in Europe, and made the latter become its

vassal. In this way, while exerting military pressure on Zone 1, the Ottoman Empire realized alienation diplomacy towards Europe, which deepened the position of Zone 1 at the bottom of the first-stage bipolar world process. In both phases, France played a dominant role in the internal order of Europe, as we shall see later in France's military diplomacy and Christian identity.

2.1 Phase I

A. Diplomatic relations between the barbarians and Byzantium

After the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, Byzantium was surrounded by unstable tribes who moved frequently. Byzantium's main diplomatic task was to compel the barbarian tribes not to threaten the empire, but to serve it.¹⁵⁶ The Byzantines carefully gathered accurate information about these tribes' customs, military power, trade, relations, conflicts, powerful people, and the possibility of bribing them, thereby providing a basis for an alienation policy against them. The easiest way to alienate them was to employ them as the armed forces of the empire. They bought off the leaders of barbarian tribes and rulers of barbarian states, and forced them to fight for Byzantine interests. Byzantium awarded tribal leaders with titles, medals, gold and silver crowns, robes and symbols of power, and gave the barbarians land and large sums of money each year, ensuring that they would guard the frontiers of the empire as vassals. The daughters of Byzantine aristocrats were married to barbarian leaders, while the sons of the latter

¹⁵⁶ See Wang Fuchun and Zhang Xuebin, *History of Western Diplomatic Thought*, Peking University Press, 2005.

were held hostage in Constantinople to receive loyalty education. Constantinople kept a close eye on the daily conflicts between the tribes. Byzantium gave refuge to leaders who failed to subdue or were marginalized by rebellious barbarians. Byzantium even developed a system of diplomatic strategies for inciting the barbarians to fight each other. For example, Byzantium incited the Hun against the Bulgars, the Avars against the Hun, the Ostrogoths to subdue the Vandals, and then the Franks to defeat the Ostrogoths.

B. Diplomatic relations between Byzantium and the Holy See

After the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the Holy See was generally subordinate to Byzantium during the latter's existence. In 392 A.D., Roman emperor Theodosius I declared all paganism banned, and Christianity became the state religion of the empire. When Christianity became the state religion, the Holy See became a department or institution of the Roman Empire under the emperor's jurisdiction. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the Holy See was ungoverned for the first time, but it kept its distance from the Germanic Ostrogoths who ruled Italy at the time. In 536, the Byzantine emperor Justinian I conquered the Ostrogoths, regained control of Italy and put the Holy See back under the emperor's control. From then until the middle of the 8th century, the Holy See was under the direct control of the Byzantine emperor. Most of the popes were Syrian or Greek, and if they did not obey Byzantium, they would be imprisoned by the

emperor. Later, the Lombards invaded and drove the Byzantines out of central and northern Italy. Moreover, in order to protect the interests of the new military aristocracy, the Isaurian Dynasty attacked the church and launched the 117-year “Iconoclastic Movement”, which caused the eastern and western churches to break away openly; however, they both maintained Christian interests in the face of their common enemies, Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism, until the fall of Byzantium. In this regard, the Crusades launched by Byzantium and Europe against the Islamic world are an example, although they also looted Byzantium during the fourth crusade.

C. Diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the Franks

The Holy See’s traditional relationship with Byzantium allowed it to impose new control over Europe after the barbarian invasion. During the Germanic invasion, in areas where the Roman administration retreated or lost control, the Holy See, as a relatively independent political force, exerted the traditional political influence of Rome and Christianity, and seemed to be the “eternal city that cannot be destroyed” by the barbarians. The popes cleverly used their historical heritage as bishops in the capital of the Roman Empire to obtain large amounts of land and income from the Christian world to strengthen their material base and maintain their “primacy” in the Christian Church¹⁵⁷ At that time, one of the main tasks of papal diplomats was to convert the polytheistic and Aryan barbarians to Christian Catholics

¹⁵⁷ This part refers to Wang Yuequn, On the Relationship Between Feudal Religious and Secular Authority in Western Europe in the 5th–11th Centuries and Its Historical Function, *Journal of Shaanxi Institute of Education*, No. 1, 1996.

obedient to religious authority. Many barbarian kings also saw contact with the Holy See as a way to consolidate their power, so they converted. The Kingdom of the Franks was such a country. The unity of interests led to a political marriage between the Holy See and the Franks which affected the entire Middle Ages. The pope saw the Franks as allies against their nearest enemy, the Lombards, while the Franks sought to unify Europe with the Holy See's traditional influence over Europe. At the pope's request, the Franks crushed the Lombards and returned the former Byzantine territories occupied by the Lombards to the pope. As a reward, the pope crowned Pepin and gave him and his son the title of "Roman aristocrat". After that, Charlemagne made full use of Christianity to expand, and the political influence of the religion was further restored.¹⁵⁸ As Christianity was attached to the crown due to its dependence on the barbarian kings led by the Frankish emperor, the Holy See became very powerful after Charlemagne's empire was broken up. When Charlemagne's empire was divided, the Holy See forged the *Donation of Constantine*, which provided a legal basis for the pope's rule over Western Europe and Italy, and removed the monarchy's control. From then until the late Middle Ages, the Holy See acted almost like a central government in Europe.

2.2 Phase II: Franco-Turkish (Ottoman) alliance

The Mongol western expeditions combined Zones 3 and 2 into the

¹⁵⁸ Pan Zhengang, A Brief Analysis on the Relationship Between Charlemagne's Military Campaign and Christianity, *Business Culture*, No. 6, 2011.

political and economic entity of the Ottoman Empire. After destroying Byzantium, the Ottomans replaced its function in the first phase of the European order; as a result, the position of Zone 1 at the bottom of the first-stage bipolar world process was deepened, and the conservative order of Europe began to decline.

The Franco-Turkish alliance was an important alliance in the history of European diplomacy in the 16th century.¹⁵⁹ Christian Europe was invaded by the Ottoman Turks, and the king of the Franks, known as “His Most Christian Majesty”, signed an alliance treaty with the Turkish sultan in 1536 to fight the Holy Roman Empire. The Franco-Turkish alliance was accused at the time of being an “unholy alliance”, and was later called an “impious alliance” by some scholars, but the Franks honored the alliance and maintained friendly Franco-Turkish relations for centuries. The alliance between the Ottomans and the Franks helped to divide European politics. International relations at the time were not completely divorced from the medieval tradition of establishing relations between monarchs and dynasties on the basis of marriage and blood ties. Holy Roman Emperor Charles V was a typical example of this tradition. On the issue of the Turkish invasion, his traditional stand was the firmest, and he tried to unify Europe against the outside world, but met with strong resistance from Francis I, King of France. Francis I then asked the sultan of the Ottoman Empire for help. He added, “It

¹⁵⁹ See Song Baojun, “The Impious Alliance”: Establishment and Influence of the Franco-Turkish Alliance in the 16th Century, *Journal of Northeast Normal University*, No. 5, 2010.

has been confirmed that all the talk about the Crusaders and the Christian world is utter nonsense. Power and ambition have long been at the heart of international politics... The determination to establish a national state and the rise of a national army puts an end to the Christian world and the myth of chivalry”.¹⁶⁰ The Ottoman Empire also needed allies within Europe, so Suleiman began to establish friendly relations with France at the beginning of his reign, and later with Venice. In 1536, France and the Ottoman Empire signed the *Treaty of Amity & Commerce between the Ottoman Empire and France*. This treaty was later known in the West as the “treaty of humiliation”, while the Franco-Turkish alliance was seen as “the sacrilegious union of the lily and the crescent”. The Franco-Turkish alliance continued into the late modern period, playing a strategic role in France’s containment of the House of Habsburg of the Holy Roman Empire, which tried to unify Europe. The joint military operations of the two armies in the Mediterranean Sea on many occasions made Charles V and Philip II unable to escape the fundamental strategic dilemma of fighting on both the European continent and Mediterranean Sea.¹⁶¹

2.3 The conservative order in medieval Europe dominated by ancient France

As mentioned earlier, France played a dominant role in the international

¹⁶⁰ Quoted in Song Baojun, “The Impious Alliance”: Establishment and Influence of the Franco-Turkish Alliance in the 16th Century, *Journal of Northeast Normal University*, No. 5, 2010.

¹⁶¹ Pu Limin, The War of the Ottoman Empire and the Formation of the Modern European International System, *Journal of Xingtai University*, No. 3, 2007.

relations of medieval Europe. It was Christianity that maintained the conservative order of medieval Europe, while France was the most Christian nation, and its king the most Christian king. As Duby points out in his *History of France*, before the bourgeois revolution, “all the kings of France were addressed as ‘His Most Christian Majesty’”.¹⁶²

As early as the 7th and 8th centuries, when the Christian Church was trying to find converts in the barbarian world, the religious status of the king of France as “His Most Christian Majesty” was taking shape. The king of France wanted to draw on Christian traditions, while Christianity wanted to maintain and develop its position, so they came together in the 8th century. The Carolingian family needed religion to increase its political influence and control, and the Holy See needed secular authority to fund its survival and expansion. After the *Donation of Pepin* in the middle of the 8th century, for the first time, official documents of the Holy See gave the honorary title of “His Most Christian Majesty” to Pepin the short, who had made great contributions to the development of the Holy See. By the time when Charles became king in 800, he was flattered by the Holy See as the unique “Confessor”. The term “Confessor” was not a title exclusive to the Frankish monarchs of this period, but was also used by many Christian monarchs in other parts of the world (Italy, Britain, etc.) who vied to flatter the Holy See.

¹⁶² Chen Wenhai, Religious Identity of the King of France and His Country in the Age of Monarchy, *World History*, No. 4, 2006.

Even local bishops used “Confessor” to refer to local dignitaries.¹⁶³

After the middle of the 12th century, the French kings actively responded to the call of the Holy See and led armies to participate in the Crusades. The Holy See became more exclusive to the religious status of the king of France as “His Most Christian Majesty”, which even became a collective religious and cultural characteristic of the Franks.¹⁶⁴ According to the contemporary text *Deeds of God through the Franks* by Guibert de Nogent, Pope Urban I declared, “The Franks have devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the pope, and God has therefore transformed them into a ‘holy nation’; from very early times, the Franks were steadfast and indomitable in their faith; historically, when popes were in trouble sought refuge, the French emperors were always eager to help; the Franks were distinguished from ‘all other nations’ by the sweetness of their land, by the fervor of their faith, and by their devotion to the church, so there must be many martyrs, confessors, and crusaders to liberate the ‘holy land’.” In documents praising Louis IX as “His Most Christian Majesty” in 1239 and 1245, the Holy See declared him to be “the head of a most Christian nation”. *The Great Chronicle of France*, compiled in 1274 by the monks of Saint-Denis Monastery, first extolled the French nation’s deep faith in Christianity, reading, “This nation has become more famous than all others, not for nothing, but because it has not long been in a state of idolatry and

¹⁶³ Chen Wenhai, Religious Identity of the King of France and His Country in the Age of Monarchy, *World History*, No. 4, 2006.

¹⁶⁴ Chen Wenhai, Religious Identity of the King of France and His Country in the Age of Monarchy, *World History*, No. 4, 2006.

infidelity”; “early on, it honored its creator and offered the first fruits to God”; “there is no other land where faith is more fervent and more insistent”; “if any other country causes the holy church to suffer injustice or misfortune, it would always pour out its complaints to France, and always seek refuge and help from France, and France would draw out its sword to avenge it”; and, “France is a devoted daughter who would come to her mother’s aid whenever she needs it, and this continues. Only France is in a position to support and assist the church”.¹⁶⁵ Thus, “The Most Christian Nation” became a political and cultural characteristic of all French people in the Middle Ages.

The practical functions of the status of France and its kings as “the most devout Christians” are as follows.¹⁶⁶ First, France ideologically established its “primogeniture” rights in the Christian world. France played a dominant role in the international affairs of Western Europe, while its Christian identity played the role of a voice or ideology vital to maintaining this dominant position. Second, its status provided a theoretical basis for intervention in European affairs. Because of this basis, France could make various suggestions or requests for intervention to other European countries, and even to the Holy See.

The dominance of France in the conservative order of Europe

¹⁶⁵ Chen Wenhai, Religious Identity of the King of France and His Country in the Age of Monarchy, *World History*, No. 4, 2006.

¹⁶⁶ See Chen Wenhai, Religious Identity of the King of France and His Country in the Age of Monarchy, *World History*, No. 4, 2006.

manifested in a series of wars. The first was Clovis's war to unify the Franks. In conquering the barbarians, Clovis had to resort to Christianity. According to *History of the Franks* by Bishop Gregory of Tours, when the Franks and the Alamans fought, the Franks suffered heavy losses, so Clovis prayed to Jesus and promised to become Christian if they were victorious over the Alamans. Clovis's conversion to Christianity enabled him to gain the support of the Roman clergy and the original Christian inhabitants of Gaul, laying the social foundation for the conquest of the Germanic tribes who believed in Arianism. The second was the Hundred Years' War, an intermittent struggle between England and France that lasted from 1337 to 1453. Though partly provoked by Flemish merchants, the war against France was more so a result of England's long-accumulated resentment of France. After William, Duke of Normandy, conquered England, most of the officials were French aristocrats. For nearly 200 years, the royal family, nobility and gentry spoke only French. Moreover, the French looked down on the English and interfered in everything. "Even the kings and nobles of Normandy, who had become Englishmen, were angry about this".¹⁶⁷ The Hundred Years' War was the embodiment of England's desire to escape its monarch-subject relationship with France. Next, there were the Italian Wars, a series of wars fought by the Holy Roman Empire, Spain and France from the end of the 15th century to the middle of the 16th century for control of Italy. These were

¹⁶⁷ See *Hundred Years' War*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/39624.htm>, last access: January 5th, 2013.

not so much wars for supremacy as wars for France to maintain its traditional hegemony in Europe. The last was the Anglo-French War in the 18th century. England was the first European country to become nationalized, capitalized and powerful. During its rise, France, a traditional European powerhouse, played a containment role. This was reflected not only in the aforementioned Hundred Years' War, but also in the Anglo-French War which lasted for half of the 18th century.

3. Formation of Conservative Political and Economic Forms

The conservative international order resulted in the low unity and advanced level of European politics in the Middle Ages. Compared with the relatively unified political form of the aristocracy in the Islamic world, Europe lagged behind and presented a political form of aristocracy with decentralized political power. The decentralization of political power is reflected in the relationship between the fief system and the central government. The political form of the aristocracy is reflected in the political and economic status of knights as medieval Christians and feudal guardians.

3.1 Political form of decentralized aristocracy

A. The basic force maintaining the backward political forms of the Middle Ages – Christianity

The barbarian invasion destroyed the Western Roman Empire, after which the Christian Church, the remnant of that empire, played a crucial role

in European politics. The barbarian states wanted to subdue each other, so they converted to Christianity in order to gain the support of the Roman tradition. To maintain its traditional power, the religious authority also needed to be recognized by the secular authority. Finally, through the *Donation of Pepin* and the coronation of the French king by the church, the political status of Christianity was re-established. In the following centuries, especially in the process of leading Europe to resist the invasion of the Arab Empire, the Christian power gradually removed the restrictions of the secular authority and became the supreme political power in Europe. Although European countries in the 14th and 15th centuries started the process of nationalization and began to escape the rule of the Holy See, the religious authority of each country played the role of political controller until modern times. Therefore, Christianity was arguably the basic force maintaining the backward social forms of the Middle Ages.

Christian politics was able to maintain the political forms of Europe because it had the privileges over the secular authority in politics, economics, military affairs, justice and culture.¹⁶⁸ First, the church possessed a complete hierarchy and organizational system, forming an institutional tool to control the secular authority. In the 9th century, Europe was entirely Christianized, and churches spread in urban and rural areas with a huge scale and complete functions. The pope was the head of the church elected from

¹⁶⁸ See Yang Chunhua, The Dispute between the Crown and Religious Authority in the Middle Ages, *Journal of Liupanshui Normal University*, No. 1, 2004.

among the cardinals. He held office for life. Below him were the most senior bishops: cardinal bishops appointed directly by the pope, who were closely connected with political circles. Below them were clan bishops, metropolitan bishops, archbishops, diocesan bishops, etc., who presided over religious affairs on a hierarchical basis, and were responsible for the corresponding administrative, judicial, economic, cultural and even military aspects. The pope also often sent missionaries, spies, secret agents and other agents to the kingdoms, who acted as political advisers or important officials participating in national decision-making and influencing the governance of countries. The church's complete hierarchy and organizational system laid the organizational foundation for the church to seize the secular authority. Second, the church was the largest feudal lord in the feudal society of Western Europe. Due to the dependence of the secular feudal lords, the church was constantly granted property by kings and officials, and donated property by believers, while it also annexed "heretical" property and reclaimed unowned wasteland. In addition, the church also used a variety of illegal means to seize land, thereby acquiring large amounts of property. Throughout the Middle Ages, the church occupied about one third of the cultivated land in Western Europe, one third of which was directly under the Holy See, which became the largest feudal lord in Europe. The manors of the church not only produced grain, but also engaged in wine making, salt well development, cooking pot sales, forest and pasture management, sea

transportation, and other activities; later, they developed mortgage, usury, finance and other businesses. The church also levied the poll tax, tithe and other taxes. Together, the annual income of the Holy See was much higher than that of any country in Western Europe, providing a solid economic foundation for the political rule of religious authority. Third, the church enjoyed certain legislative and judicial powers. Ecclesiastical law was the universal code of European law, and kings often appointed clerics as judges. Church judges issued new orders through churches and religious conferences to enrich church law. The church also had a group of jurists who were invited to participate in the construction of secular law. Most popes were jurists, such as Innocent I. On the contrary, many kings and governments lagged far behind the church in legislation and justice. By the 13th century, church courts had overtaken secular courts, church doctrine had become political dogma, and biblical statements had legal force in secular courts. Fourth, the church had military power and commanded its deployment. Just like the private guardians organized by secular lords, the church also organized soldier monks, crusade knights, church knights, Knights Templar, etc. In addition to subjugating all kinds of “heretics”, it also helped the secular lords suppress popular uprisings and national movements.

B. Religious knights as feudal guardians of Christianity and Western Europe

Chivalry sprang from the barbarian invasions and the

Sasanian-Byzantine war when Zones 3 and 2 exerted external pressure of the first phase to Europe. It started during the period from the rise of the Arab Empire in the middle of the 8th century to the Arab-Byzantine wars in the first phase of external pressure in the 13th century, especially during the Crusades. Under the external pressure of the second phase, i.e. pressure from the Ottoman Empire, after reaching its peak in the 14th century, it declined from the rise of the Ottoman Empire in the 15th century to the eve of modern times. After the 17th century, the knights in European countries gradually turned into landlords and the bourgeoisie, and retired from the stage of history. From the function of the chivalric code, we can see the political status of chivalry.¹⁶⁹ First, knights had to be Christian and obey the doctrine. As Christians, knights should not only believe in God, but also obey the canon and fulfill the doctrine. At the same time, they should act according to the will of the church, and fight and die for the interests of Christianity. Second, knights should be loyal guardians of the interests of the church. According to Christian doctrine, knights are soldiers of God who have the obligation to protect the “House of God” on earth, and it is the sacred duty of every knight to protect the church. Third, knights should maintain the feudal order. Christianity was the spiritual ruling pillar of feudal society in Western Europe, and knights’ strict performance of feudal obligations was very important for ensuring the political stability of feudal society and

¹⁶⁹ See Zhang Jingquan, A Preliminary Study on the Connotations of Chivalry in Medieval Western Europe, *Historical Research in Anhui*, No. 3, 2003.

maintaining normal social order. The church attached great importance to the loyalty of knights. It required them to be loyal to their lords, and even stressed that the sin of disloyalty to their lords could not be forgiven through repentance alone, but required years of penance.

It can be seen that knights were loyal guardians who protected the interests of the Christian Church and maintained feudal order in Europe. Knights formed the political basis of Christian domination. Therefore, it can be argued that medieval European politics presented the political form of the gentry. Unlike the other three entities in the first-stage process, the feudal lords of Western Europe had one important characteristic: they all had certain administrative and judicial rights over their estates, by which they controlled the manor courts on their land and had jurisdiction over the farmers. The existence of such power was undoubtedly a manifestation of the high centrifugation of the central government by feudal lords at all levels, and it was also the basis for the conservative order in Europe. In addition, vassals were only responsible for their direct territories, and vassals of “my vassals’ are not my vassals”, which reveals that Europe had the political form of the gentry with highly decentralized political power.

Historically, in contrast to the Islamic world, if the relationship between the local military fief system and the centralization in Zone 2 fluctuated within a range of relative division, then the relationship between the fief system and the centralization in Zone 1 could be considered as decentralized

from the beginning. From Clovis's conquest of Europe to all subsequent empires, and even to the early modern period, this decentralized political form of the relationship between local fiefdoms and the central government was maintained, with no fluctuations. However, the degree of political unity in the Islamic world was always changing. When an empire was strong, it usually adopted the military iqta system; when an empire was weak, it usually adopted tax farming or the iqta privatization strategy. Therefore, the political form of Zone 2 was relatively unified, while those of Zone 1 were scattered.¹⁷⁰

3.2 Conservative economic form of feudal serfdom

A. Formation and decline of economic form

During the period of resisting the barbarian invasions under the external pressure of the first phase and the Sasanian-Byzantine war, the Franks unified central and Western Europe, and feudal elements began to sprout in the economic form. Before the Franks conquered Gaul, Western European society was still in the primitive tribal stage. The prevailing social organization was the march commune, which were dominated by free commune farmers; as Engels pointed out, "Between the Roman coloni and the new serfs were the free Frankish farmers".¹⁷¹ Within such communes,

¹⁷⁰ If the political form grew less advanced from east to west, the economic form should have followed suit. The author intended to use the ruling scope of the landlord economy to describe the decline in the advancement of the economic form and the personal dependence of the farmers on the landlords, but it was so difficult to collect the relevant data that such statistics were almost impossible to obtain. As such, it is inferred that the landlords in Zone 4 ruled ten households, the landlords in Zone 3 ruled 100 households, the landlords in Zone 2 ruled a few hundred households, and the landlords in Zone 1 ruled 1,000 households; the personal dependence of the farmers on the landlords increased with the extension of their rule.

¹⁷¹ *Marx/Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 4, People's Publishing House, 2009, p.174.

most of the land was communal, and forests, ponds, rivers and wasteland were the collective property of the commune. The feudalization process began after the conquest of Gaul. The feudalization of the Franks began in the second half of the 6th century. Due to the polarization of wealth within communes, the formation of tribal nobles and the oppression of the free farmers, the latter lost their personal freedom and became serfs of the tribal noble lords. After the 8th and 9th centuries, in the process in which the Christian world, under the external pressure of the first phase, resisted the invasion of the Arab Empire, the feudalization of the Franks was greatly accelerated; feudal land ownership based on knights' domains was gradually established; the march commune was replaced by the feudal fief manor; and the free farmers became serfs attached to feudal lords. After the 15th century, feudal fiefs were gradually converted into capitalist farms, and serfs were also redeemed to become farm laborers or workers.

B. Conservative economic form of serfdom

As is well-known, the typical economic form of Western Europe was serfdom. The feudal lords of Western Europe divided their estate into manors (a manor was a business unit) and the land was divided into lord-owned land and farmers' land. The lord-owned land was cultivated by serfs and other dependent farmers without pay, and its income went to the lord. It was in essence the labor rent which reflected the essential characteristics of serfs. In addition to the right to obtain the land rent, the feudal lord had certain

administrative and judicial rights over the people and things on the land. This led to the notion that vassals of “my vassals’ are not my vassals” among lords at various levels.

The lowest workers in the feudal society of Western Europe were the serfs. In the 12th and 13th centuries, jurists prescribed the social and economic status of serfs.¹⁷² First of all, a serf’s body belonged to his owner. *The Dialogue of the Exchequer*, a 12th-century English document, says that a serf’s body and land belong to his owner. Pope Innocent III once said, “The serfs are not their own”.¹⁷³ The owner could dispose, transfer, exchange, remove, imprison and torture serfs at will. According to *The Mirror of Justice*, “Their owners may bind, detain, torture and severely punish them as long as they do not endanger their lives or limbs. They cannot flee from their owners as long as their owners provide for them; no one may accept them without the consent of their owners. They cannot oppose anyone but the criminal without the consent of their owners. If such serfs own land from their owners, they must understand that they do so at their owners’ will, through indefinite servitude.”¹⁷⁴ Besides, serfs had to pay all kinds of taxes to their owners. The first was the labor rent. Before they could manage their own land, serfs had to work on the lord-owned land for the lord without pay, usually three days a week, and they had to work more days in the busy

¹⁷² Quoted in Gu Luanzhai, Legal Status and Actual Situation of Serfs in Feudal Society in Western Europe, *Qilu Journal*, No. 4, 1991.

¹⁷³ Quoted in Gu Luanzhai, Legal Status and Actual Situation of Serfs in Feudal Society in Western Europe, *Qilu Journal*, No. 4, 1991.

¹⁷⁴ Quoted in Gu Luanzhai, Legal Status and Actual Situation of Serfs in Feudal Society in Western Europe, *Qilu Journal*, No. 4, 1991.

season. The second was marriage and inheritance taxes. Serfs were taxed when they married. Although generally a small amount, this tax was often used by lords as a tool with which to rudely interfere with the marriages of their serfs. In addition, serfs were required to pay taxes to their lords when they inherited property from the dead. The third was the arbitrary tax. This was levied by lords at will, in varying amounts and times. Richard of Middleton, then a professor at the Paris Theological Seminary, said, “These subjects are either serfs or freemen. If they are serfs, I think they have to pay any taxes imposed on them, even if the right is only for the benefit of their lords, because serfs and their possessions are the property of their lords”.¹⁷⁵

Section 4 Development of Natural Practices

In the Middle Ages, Arabian and European countries did make many achievements in technology. Research on the history of science and technology has shown that many inventions which appeared in Arabia or Western Europe as late as the 10th century or later were made in the first centuries of China. This shows that the technological achievements of medieval Arabia and Europe were dwarfed by China’s flourishing ancient technologies. Nonetheless, Arabia was a little more advanced than Europe, though less advanced than Inner Asia in Zone 3.

The caliphs of the Arab Empire valued learning, which contributed to

¹⁷⁵ Quoted in Gu Luanzhai, Legal Status and Actual Situation of Serfs in Feudal Society in Western Europe, *Qilu Journal*, No. 4, 1991.

the academic achievements of the Arabs.¹⁷⁶ The Arabs made important contributions to medieval science and technology in two aspects. First, they preserved such ancient cultures as Indian culture and ancient Greek culture. Serving as the trade and communication link, the Arab region connected and facilitated scientific and cultural exchanges between the East and the West, playing a connecting role in the revival of European science and culture. Second, the Arabs made their own contributions to science and technology by absorbing the excellent cultures of all ethnic groups. In astronomical observation, the Arabs found variations in solar eccentricity and revised many astronomical constants. Al-Biruni, a prominent scholar, also argued that the Ptolemaic system did not correspond to the actual structure of the universe. During the European Renaissance, astronomers including Copernicus revolutionized astronomy by using 900 years of Arabian astronomical observations. In medicine, the Arabs continued the ancient Greek medicine tradition while adding their knowledge of new diseases and medicines. Ibn Sina's *Canon of Medicine* is the highest achievement of Arabian medicine. Ibn al-Nafis believed that blood flowed from the right ventricle to the lungs and then to the left ventricle 300 years before Harvey. In metallurgy, alchemy emerged in Arab countries in the 8th century, which promoted experimental chemistry to some extent.

In Europe, Christians changed from victims to persecutors after

¹⁷⁶ See Qian Xuewen, *A Brief History of Arab Islam*, Ningxia People's Publishing House, 2005.

Constantine legalized Christianity in 312 A.D. They were ideologically and scientifically hostile to anything that was not biblical. They advocated the Trinity, the theory of original sin and other religious ideas and scholasticism, strictly controlled the dissemination of scientific ideas, and set up inquisitions to punish heretics; school education also served theology.¹⁷⁷ Many great thinkers and scientists were persecuted by Christians throughout history (such as Copernicus, Bruno, Galileo, etc.). During the reign of Pope Gregory I (590–604 A.D.), the contents of the ancient Roman Palatine Library were even burned. The Eastern Roman Empire did not make particularly great achievements in science, but after the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, a large number of scholars migrated to the Eastern Roman Empire, allowing Greek culture, Roman culture and other classical cultures, especially almost all the works of Plato and Aristotle, to survive.

¹⁷⁷ This part refers to *Middle Ages*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/65782.htm>, last access: July 12th, 2013.

Chapter 7 The Second-Stage Bipolar World

The second-generation bipolar world process started with the formation of the power core of the second-stage process and ended before the formation of the power core of the third-stage process; that is, it lasted from the rise of capitalist England in 1800 to the start of the third-stage process promoted by socialist China in the first half of the 21st century.

Section 1 Characteristics of the Second-Stage Bipolar World

1. Characteristics in Political Geography

The first-stage process had four relatively independent political and economic entities in political geography, while the second-stage process had only two relatively independent entities, namely the capitalist world and the socialist world. The shift from four to two was not a deliberate pursuit of logic. Just like the first-stage process, the second-stage process could only be abstracted into two entities because there have only been only two abstract political and economic entities with different social forms, natural practices and geopolitical interests throughout modern history: the capitalist world in the West and the socialist world in the East. Relations between countries in one pole are generally closer than those in the other pole. The bipolar order diagram in Chapter 2 gives a better description of the second-stage process.

2. Characteristics of Social Practices

Like the first-stage process, the characteristics of social practices in the second-stage process are divided into dynamic and static.

2.1 Dynamic characteristics. Dynamic characteristics involve the process in which the power core exerted pressure and the entities under pressure continued to conduct that pressure; that is, the external conditions and internal dynamics of the outward expansion of pioneering capitalist countries. Throughout modern history, it is clear that the direct external conditions for pioneering capitalist countries in Western Europe to continuously expand is that their economy, technology and other natural practices are more advanced than those of eastern countries. The reason why pioneering capitalist countries in Western Europe could change their natural practices is that they took the lead in transforming their social form from feudalism to capitalism. When pioneering capitalist countries became strong, countries with underdeveloped natural practices in the East were still feudal societies. Their underdeveloped social form was the direct result of their underdeveloped natural practices. Therefore, the difference in the degree of advancement of social forms between the East and West was the fundamental external condition for western pioneering capitalist countries to achieve external expansion. The internal driving force for the external expansion of developed feudal countries was the need for land tribute and taxes, while the internal driving force for the external expansion of developed capitalist

countries was the need for raw material markets. This is easily confirmed by the history of capitalism, and it was true in England and the United States. Due to the natural tendency of capitalists to avoid disadvantages in commodity production, they always adopted the strategy of cost minimization and profit maximization, and as cheaper raw materials and larger markets were the most basic elements for realizing this strategy, they tried every means to find cheaper raw materials and larger markets. Under the dominance of capital, developed capitalist countries had realistic conditions for external expansion, so they tended to use all means, including war, to find cheap raw materials and exploit markets. As feudal countries in the West came under pressure from developed capitalist countries, the latter alienated the former politically through military pressure, bribery and other means, preventing the former from independently implementing social form reform towards socialism at a more advanced level than capitalism, and could only become capitalist countries. Although both were capitalist, the pioneering capitalist countries retained advantages in natural practices over later capitalist countries, which was sufficient to make the latter subservient to the former.

2.2 Static characteristics. Statically, the second-stage process only produced two relatively independent political and economic entities, western capitalism and eastern socialism. As mentioned earlier, the second-stage process was advanced on the basis of the first-stage process, and its

expansion steps were influenced by the four characteristics of the first-stage process, although only two entities were formed in the end. Why did Zone 2 in the first-stage process lose its independence in political and economic systems, and become attached to the former Zone 1 in the process in which the power core of the second-stage process, i.e. the former Zone 1, exerted pressure through external expansion? It has been pointed out in the summary of the overall characteristics of the three stages of processes that, although natural practices did not determine social practices in the expansion of each stage, it was the development of natural practices that improved the integration of human social practices. This can also be interpreted from historical facts. The underdeveloped feudal states in Zone 2 in the Iron Age had no resistance to Zone 1 which was in the Machine Age. This disparity in natural practices led them to be integrated into the capitalist world dominated by Zone 1. Why did the former Zones 4 and 3 merge into one entity, a socialist entity? This can also be explained in the previous way. It was precisely because of the disparity in natural practices that Zones 4 and 3 had to work together, transform their social forms and merger into one entity in the face of military and diplomatic pressure from the capitalist world.¹⁷⁸

3. Characteristics of Natural Practices

The natural practices of the second-stage process are characterized by

¹⁷⁸ Historically, Zones 3 and 4 did indeed merge into a socialist entity. Although Zone 3 was capitalist after the collapse of the former Soviet Union and drastic changes in Eastern Europe, it was more independent, more left-leaning politically and closer to Zone 4. Thus, such a vague statement can be made.

machine practices, and machines were the basic tools for people to transform the natural world.

4. Characteristics of Fracture Zones

4.1 Number of fracture zones. There is only one basic fracture zone in the second-stage process, namely that between the two relatively independent political and economic entities of the western capitalist system and eastern socialist system.

4.2 Level of fracture zones. The fracture zone of the second-stage process is at the economic system level; that is, there is no racial or class discrimination in the political law, and the real differences between people and countries are only reflected in the economic system. The fracture zone in the economic system is manifested in the simple measure of social differences by wealth. The fracture zone is in the form of economic system conflicts, and the wars, crime and other acts thus caused.

Section 2 Formation of the Power Core in the Second-stage Bipolar World Process

Zone 1 was at the bottom of the first-stage bipolar world process. When the power core of the first-stage process constantly exerted pressure, Zone 1 at the bottom gained increasing momentum to achieve revolutionary changes. At the westernmost end of Europe and at the bottom of Zone 1, England bore the largest share of pressure in the first-stage process, enabling it to take the lead in realizing a

capitalist society more advanced than the social form of the power core in the first-stage process.¹⁷⁹ After the realization of capitalism, England also achieved the machine transformation in natural practices, thereby becoming the power core in the second-stage process.

1. Pressure on the First-Stage Bipolar Order

Before the reform of capitalism, England was attached to the conservative international order of Europe dominated by France in politics and economy, which made England bear the largest share of pressure on Europe in the first-stage process.

First, there was pressure from the Christian Church – the most fundamental force that maintained Europe’s conservative order. By the mid-12th century, the power of the Pope had reached England.¹⁸⁰ The Pope placed the dioceses and monasteries of England under the protection and control of the Holy See by giving freedom to English bishops and monasteries. In 1114, Pope Innocent II granted autonomy to Malmesbury Abbey under the protection of the Holy See. After that, Innocent III also gave autonomy to many monasteries, including Launde, Chertsey, Waltham and Anglesey. It was after paying tribute to the Pope that John Lackland received the support of these English bishops and abbots. The Holy See also strengthened its control over secular regimes through papal envoys. In 1171,

¹⁷⁹ In feudal society, human dignity was worthless, while in capitalist society, the historical logic of accumulating primitive capital through “redemption” (serfs in Western Europe often became capitalist workers by “redemption”) shows that human dignity began to be valuable. This is enough to show that capitalism is more advanced than feudalism.

¹⁸⁰ See Liu Cheng, Papacy and the English Crown in Medieval Europe, *Historical Research*, No. 1, 1998.

the Pope appointed the bishops of London and Worcester as papal envoys. After the king of France won the battle for authority over the Archbishop of Canterbury, the latter became the Pope's permanent envoy to England through whom the Holy See interfered in England's internal affairs. Political dependence inevitably led to economic dependence, which was the Christian church's form of pressure on British society. Since the days of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, England had been the Holy See's main source of revenue. The Roman Church enjoyed the privilege of collecting "Peter's Pence" in England. After John Lackland became a vassal of the Pope, the power of taxation was further institutionalized and the amount collected increased significantly. Two days after John swore his oath to the Pope, he began to pay the Pope an annual fief tax. In addition, during the Crusades, Innocent III required all parishes and monasteries under the protection of the Pope to pay one twentieth of their income every three years. Later, the Pope imposed a special tax of one tenth on English priests.¹⁸¹ The primary task of the papal envoy in England was to oversee tax collection.

Second, there was pressure from France, the dominant force of the European order. The pressure from France on England was highlighted in a series of wars. The first was the battle for authority over the Archbishop of Canterbury. When William, Duke of Normandy, conquered the British Isles, he occupied a large territory in France as a vassal of the king of France.

¹⁸¹ Liu Cheng: Papacy and the English Crown in Medieval Europe, *Historical Research*, No. 1, 1998.

During the reign of Henry, Count of Anjou, the fiefs of the king of England in France were larger than all the fiefs of the French king, constituting the greatest obstacle and threat to the strengthening of the crown in France. Later, during the Third Crusade, the conflict between the king of England and the king of France deepened as they fought for influence in the Mediterranean region, and war finally broke out over the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury. John Lackland lost the war and paid tribute to the Pope. He also lost such British fiefs in France as Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Tullins and Poitou. The second was the Hundred Years' War between England and France. The war lasted for more than a hundred years and ended in defeat for England. Its impact on England was not limited to the international sphere, but also to domestic political instability. During the Hundred Years' War, some English nobles took the opportunity to expand their private armed forces, which provided the necessary conditions for the Wars of the Roses, the modernization of England and the development of capitalism. The failure of England led to the political downfall of Henry VI, and the two aristocratic houses of York and Lancaster began to compete in British politics. In the end, the Tudors of the House of Lancaster, which favored the interests of the new aristocracy and the English people, won out, and established the Tudor Dynasty which started the modernization of England. The third was the Anglo-French War which was launched by France in the first half of the 18th century to contain England after its

transformation into a capitalist society. The war lasted for half a century. Under the pressure of war, the capitalist system in England was fully established, catalyzing the Industrial Revolution in England's natural practices.

Finally, the pressure from Christianity and France on England was transmitted to all levels of British society. The great military expenditure of Richard the Lionheart in the Crusades, the huge ransom paid to the German emperor and a large amount of taxes paid by John Lackland after he became a vassal to the Pope were levied on the feudal lords, knights and townspeople at all levels. Before the Hundred Years' War, taxes became more frequent and numerous. This economic exploitation intensified political and social conflicts, in England and provided the social conditions for the new aristocracy to take to the stage of history. At first, they united to limit the power of the crown attached to continental politics, dividing the royal court into large and small parliaments. After the Hundred Years' War, they sided with the crown which favored the interests of the bourgeoisie, and England thus started its centuries-long social transformation towards capitalism.

2. Transformation of Social Forms

2.1 Political transformation

Before the capitalist revolution, it was necessary to remove external reactionary forces from British politics to escape the shackles of the

first-stage process. There were two main reactionary forces: Christianity and France. The intervention of the Roman Church intensified the various contradictions in British society and accelerated the development of the British monarchy towards becoming a constitutional monarchy. In the long period of 300 years since the 14th century, the British crown and the Pope became strong and weak respectively in continuous cooperation and struggle.¹⁸² As the beginning of modern English history, the Tudor Dynasty, made outstanding achievements in both social transformation and the removal of external reactionary forces. In the early 16th and 17th centuries, the Tudor monarchs led the struggle against the Pope during the 14th and 15th centuries to the English Reformation. Supported by nobles and merchants, in order to sever its political ties with the Pope, the parliament passed a series of religious decrees declaring that England would no longer be loyal to Rome. At the same time, the Tudor monarchs also legally denied the Pope's right to rake in money in England. From 1532 to 1534, the parliament passed a decree that clergy could not pay tribute to Rome without the consent of the king. As a result of the struggle between the English crown and the Pope, the crown finally completely defeated the religious authority and established a national religion.

A. The Great Charter of Liberties and the germ of capitalist politics.¹⁸³

¹⁸² See Wang Hongbin, The Relationship between the English Crown and the Pope in the Late Middle Ages, *Journal of Lianyungang Normal College*, No. 1, 2003

¹⁸³ This part refers to *The Great Charter of Liberties*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/410415.htm>, last access: April 20th, 2012.

The king of France occupied most of the British territory in Normandy. The nobles of England demanded that the king of England take back the land, so John launched a war against France in 1214, but was defeated. In 1215, the feudal nobles of England gathered in London and took John, the king of England, hostage. John was forced to support the *Articles of the Barons* (the original *Great Charter*) proposed by the nobles, but his acceptance was not sincere. Immediately after the nobles left London and returned to their fiefs, John renounced the *Great Charter* and England was plunged into civil war. After John's death, Henry III repeatedly issued the *Great Charter*, and his son, Edward I, issued the last revision of the *Great Charter* (commonly known as the *Magna Carta*) in 1297. According to the *Great Charter*, the king shall not collect any grants or shield money from his immediate vassals without the consent of the "great council" composed of nobles, priests and knights; the king was deprived of the right to interfere in the justice of the feudal lord courts; the king shall not arrest or imprison any free man or confiscate his property without the judgment of his peers; and a committee of 25 nobles had the power to use force against the king if he violated these rules. Later, the *Great Charter* became an important basis for the establishment of the capitalist rule of law by the modern bourgeoisie.

B. The Hundred Years' War, the Wars of the Roses and the emergence of capitalist politics in England. The Hundred Years' War was the catalyst for capitalist politics in England. First of all, it changed the class structure of England in the 14th and 15th centuries, and made those new

nobles who had the courage to assume national responsibilities and favored industrial and commercial interests in the war step onto the historical stage; the new nobles played an important role in the history of British capitalist politics.

After the Hundred Years' War, "fortunately for England, the old feudal lords had killed each other in the Wars of the Roses".¹⁸⁴ The old feudal lords were the House of Lancaster symbolized by the red rose and the House of York symbolized by the white rose. They were the two most powerful feudal vassals in the kingdom. The two families had different class and social bases. The former represented the people of the wild southwestern and northern areas, while the latter represented the people of the southeastern area with strong economic power. To be specific, the former were feudal lords and serfs who lived under the feudal economy in medieval Western Europe, while the latter were small and medium-sized squires who managed land in a capitalist way, and serfs who had obtained their freedom. These small and medium-sized squires were the so-called "progressive nobles", i.e. the prototype of the new nobles. The two feudal noble groups killed each other for their own benefit, and both were badly weakened. As a result, the old nobles as a class declined in British politics, which paved the way for the modernization of England, and the new nobles, with bourgeoisie characteristics and the ability to ally with the bourgeoisie in the development

¹⁸⁴ *Marx/Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 3, People's Publishing House, 2009, p. 512.

of capitalist politics, entered the political arena. Henry Tudor, a member of a branch of the Lancaster family, gained the support of the new nobles in the southeast who sought to unite the country, and started the House of Tudor in modern English history. Although both the new nobles and old nobles were feudal nobles, the former were capitalist in economic operation and supported the strong and unified crown in politics. In the later evolution, many members of the new nobility went into enclosure, business, piracy and capitalist operations, and thus evolved into the merchant bourgeoisie and handicraft bourgeoisie that rose during the Tudor period, so that “their habits and tendencies were more bourgeois than feudal”.¹⁸⁵

During the Hundred Years’ War, the important reason why the new nobles came to the forefront of history was that they were the first to liberate and rely on serfs, which was also an important reason for the rise of the Tudors. The war forced the feudal crown in Western Europe to end serfdom and liberate the serfs, which on the one hand accumulated mass power for the development of capitalist politics, and on the other provided free labor for the rural handicraft industry. However, serfdom was ended not by the rulers themselves, but by foreign competitors and domestic peasant uprisings. In 1381, at the end of the Wars of the Roses, a revolt against the poll tax broke out in the village of Fobbing in Essex County. The revolt was ruthlessly suppressed, but there were numerous small-scale serf uprisings in

¹⁸⁵ *Marx/Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 3, People’s Publishing House, 2009, p. 512.

the following ten years. At the same time, the Great Society, a union of serfs, was pressing the government economically for higher wages and reduced labor costs.¹⁸⁶ This dealt a heavy blow to the underdeveloped feudal crown and accelerated the disintegration of serfdom and the feudal economy. After the Hundred Years' War, most serfs were freed.¹⁸⁷ Therefore, it can be argued that the emergence of the new nobles and the emancipation of the serfs, namely the emergence of the so-called "free peasants or wage laborers",¹⁸⁸ are two aspects of the changes in the class structure of England caused by the Hundred Years' War.

The economic base determines the superstructure. The author believes that the economic base is class struggle. The new nobles created in the war began to take their place in the kingdom. Before the bourgeoisie was sufficiently strong, it united with the new nobility. They supported the crown, which also protected their interests to a certain extent. The mutual use of the two sides made modern British politics increasingly dominated by merchants and capital. The platform through which they influenced politics was the parliament. The extra expenses of the war forced the king of England to call parliament frequently, which led to a rise in parliamentary power and a change in its composition. By the end of the 14th century, the parliament was divided into the hereditary House of Lords and the electoral House of

¹⁸⁶ Morton, *A People's History of England*, SDX Joint Publishing Company, 1962, p. 97.

¹⁸⁷ See Liu Zhiwei, On the Influence of the Hundred Years' War on England, *Examination Weekly*, No. 24, 2009.

¹⁸⁸ Morton, *A People's History of England*, SDX Joint Publishing Company, 1962, p. 98.

Commons.¹⁸⁹ The House of Commons was the platform for new nobles and merchants to discuss government affairs. In 1404, Henry IV declared that no one could amend an existing act of parliament without the consent of the House of Commons, which meant that the House of Commons already had some power to pass laws. By the time of the Wars of the Roses, the position of the House of Commons had been significantly enhanced by the rivalry between the old nobles. Edward IV of York courted the House of Commons in order to consolidate his power, and in 1461 he claimed that it was the support of the House of Commons that restored him to his rightful power. In the same year, the House of Commons won the right to agree to parts of the proposal amended by the House of Lords. By 1489, it was generally accepted by jurists that a bill of parliament must be approved by the House of Lords, House of Commons and the king.¹⁹⁰ This shows that at the end of the Wars of the Roses, and upon the establishment of the Tudor Dynasty, the House of Commons was elevated to the same position as the House of Lords, which had a “veto” right on any bill. Also, new nobles and merchants also gained the right to impeach. This was a special judicial system in which ministers were prosecuted by the House of Commons as the plaintiff and tried by the nobles of the House of Lords as judges. The impeachment power gave feudal high officials the obligation to explain their official activities to the public, which was also the rudiment of modern government

¹⁸⁹ See Qian Chengdan and Xu Jieming, *History of England*, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2007.

¹⁹⁰ See Pei Yaqin, On the Political Status of the Tudors in England, *Journal of Yunnan University* (Social Sciences), No. 2, 2008.

accountability. It can be seen that during the Hundred Years' War, the British parliamentary system made remarkable progress, and its capitalist complexion became increasingly obvious.

Religion and politics were linked in medieval Europe. The Hundred Years' War not only catalyzed political reform, but also caused religious reform and significantly increased the secularity of religion. The long-standing nationalist sentiment against the continental religious authority grew stronger during the Hundred Years' War. The *Statute of Provisors* of the English parliament required all clerics in England to observe English customs. The *Statute of Praemunire* was subsequently enacted, stipulating that any right of appeal for any cleric was vested in the king of England. Accordingly, Wycliffe's ideas of religious reform were followed by the Lollards, who grew into pioneers of religious reform in Western Europe in the 16th century.¹⁹¹

C. The Anglo-Spanish War, the Anglo-Dutch wars and the establishment of capitalist politics in England. After the Wars of the Roses, England experienced 100 years of the Tudor Dynasty, which had modern significance in politics and economics. The fundamental driving force of these developments was the Hundred Years' War between England and France, and the Wars of the Roses that were thus caused. In the second half of the 16th century, to achieve new development in politics and economics,

¹⁹¹ See Zhang Yangang, The Hundred Years' War and the Source of Modernization in England, *Data of Culture and Education*, No. 21, 2009.

England needed new external driving forces. The Anglo-Spanish War in the latter half of the 16th century, the Anglo-Dutch wars in the middle and latter half of the 17th century, and the Anglo-French wars that lasted for decades after the Glorious Revolution gradually established and consolidated capitalist politics in England.

1) The Anglo-Spanish War and the impending English Bourgeois Revolution. Although the Anglo-Spanish War took place before the English Bourgeois Revolution, it played an important role in promoting the growth of the English bourgeoisie and new nobles before the revolution and the final occurrence of the bourgeois revolution. Half a century after victory in the Anglo-Spanish War, the economic and political strength of the English bourgeoisie and new nobles were substantially enhanced, and the English Bourgeois Revolution was brewing under the leadership of the new nobles. The wool industry during the Tudor Dynasty and the need for markets and cheap raw materials led to the adoption of mercantilist economic policies. Before they had adequate maritime military capabilities and overseas hegemony, the Tudor rulers encouraged domestic merchants, pirates and others to expand trade and colonize overseas territories. During this period, Drake and his pirates threatened the West Indies and Walter Raleigh founded the Virginia colony. A number of overseas trading companies representing the power of the English monarchy were also established, such as the Muscovy Company (1554), Baltic Sea Company (1579), Oriental Company

(1581) and East India Company (1600).¹⁹² This policy affected the interests of Spain, the maritime overlord at that time. In the Elizabethan period, the conflict between the two sides intensified, and reached an unprecedented level when Spain attempted to assassinate Queen Elizabeth in revenge. Finally, the execution of Queen Mary of England in 1587 was the trigger for the famous sea war between England and Spain in 1588. Relying on its naval power developed during the Tudor period, England defeated the strong Spanish Armada, and with this victory initially gained control of the Atlantic route. After seizing control of the sea, English such goods as woolen cloth traveled unimpeded across the English Channel, Mediterranean Sea and Atlantic Ocean, which injected vitality into the development of British industry and commerce, and greatly expanded the overseas textile market of England after the Hundred Years' War.

The expansion of overseas markets and colonial authority provided necessary space for the expansion of the English bourgeoisie before the revolution. During the late 16th and first half of the 17th century, English industry grew rapidly. Not only did such old industrial sectors as mining, ironmaking, wool processing and shipbuilding continued to develop, but new industrial sectors also emerged, including cotton textiles, glass manufacturing, soap and silk. According to the data of more than 10 regions such as Durham and Northumberland, the annual coal output was 210,000

¹⁹² Paul Mantoux, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century*, Commercial Press, 2009, p. 76.

tons from 1551 to 1560, before increasing to 2.982 million tons from 1681 to 1690, with the fastest growth period from 1600 to 1660.¹⁹³ The development of coal mining originated from the kingdom's need for the development of the iron industry. The annual iron output increased from 5,000 tons in the 1550s to more than 23,000 tons in the 1650s.¹⁹⁴ From the 1450s to the 1640s, the value of national industrial exports increased by 15–16 times, and by 5–6 times even when price increases are taken into account.¹⁹⁵

The bourgeoisie in industry and commerce envied feudal privileges, and the dynastic rulers wanted to woo them to consolidate their dominance, so quite a few industrial and commercial capitalists bought titles of nobility from the dynasty. After the establishment of the Stuart Dynasty, the rulers sold titles of nobility. Within four months of James I's accession, Britain had added 906 knights, and the total number of knights in the country had risen precipitously to 1,161, a nearly threefold increase over the number in the late Elizabethan period. The abuse of knighthoods continued after Charles I ascended the throne in 1625. According to the relevant statistics, landowners spent an accumulated £173,537 pounds on buying titles of nobility between 1630 and 1635.¹⁹⁶ However, “it is not so much that the new nobles were split from the old nobles as that the new nobles were mainly non-nobles who entered the ‘noble’ camp”.¹⁹⁷ The bought aristocratic status did not bring

¹⁹³ Wang Juefei, *Modern English History*, Nanjing University Press, 1997, p. 8.

¹⁹⁴ Wang Juefei, *Modern English History*, Nanjing University Press, 1997, p. 9.

¹⁹⁵ Wang Juefei, *Modern English History*, Nanjing University Press, 1997, p. 11.

¹⁹⁶ Yan Zhaoxiang: *A History of English Aristocracy*, People's Publishing House, 2000, p. 158.

¹⁹⁷ Gu Xiaoming, On the New Nobility in the English Revolution in the 17th Century, *Journal of Fudan University*, No. 1, 1982.

practical privileges to industrial and commercial capitalists. The perverse actions of the king even made them unhappy. The bourgeoisie was deeply dissatisfied with the royal monopoly on the exclusive right to sell. Before the revolution, the new aristocracy and bourgeoisie had a series of struggles with the feudal crown in the fields of religion and politics. In England, the development of ideology and culture in the 17th century was so significant that it was said that the emergence of a “scientific civilization” in the 17th century was “the greatest historical phenomenon since the birth of Christ”. At that time, Bacon was the most influential man in scientific thought in the world. The struggle of the bourgeoisie against feudal forces in ideology was manifested in religion; that is, enlightenment thinkers fought against feudal ideas by advocating “Puritanism”, and their ideas attracted many people from the middle and lower classes who were dissatisfied with the status quo. In 1603, the puritans presented the *Millenary Petition*, a list of reform requests, to King James I.

Encouraged by progressive ideas, the new nobility and bourgeoisie were increasingly willing to challenge the feudal monarchy politically. Their struggle was first manifested in the contradiction between the parliament and the king. During England’s wars with Spain from 1624 to 1630, and with France from 1626 to 1629, the king was unable to meet the expense of the wars, and there were serious conflicts between the parliament and the king over whether to collect subsidies. They also held the power of revenue and

taxation, and in 1628 submitted the *Petition of Right* to the king, which was passed. The petition further stipulated that the king could not collect taxes without the consent of the parliament. However, Charles I did not follow the act. After that, he collected taxes without the consent of the parliament, so the parliament called on the people to refuse to pay taxes, and Charles dissolved the parliament. After that, their struggle took the path of armed confrontation. Finally, upon defeating the Spanish maritime hegemony, and after more than 50 years of power accumulation and political deliberation, the struggle between the new nobility and bourgeoisie and the feudal monarchy in England developed into the English Bourgeois Revolution

2) The Anglo-Dutch wars and the English Bourgeois Revolution.

After defeating the Spanish maritime hegemony and breaking the colonial monopoly of Spain and Portugal, England gradually developed into an emerging colonial power. The expansion of the commercial hegemony and development of the colonization made it inevitable that England would struggle against the Netherlands, the world's hegemonic power at the time. The struggle for hegemony coincided with the English Bourgeois Revolution, and the two promoted each other. The latter provided a foundation of foreign policies for the former, while the victory of the former further consolidated the political power of the British bourgeoisie.

The Netherlands was “the standard capitalist country of the 17th

century”.¹⁹⁸ The Dutch shipping industry developed greatly after the signing of the *Peace Treaty of Westphalia*, which ended the Thirty Years’ War, and after its separation from Spanish rule. Its trade investment was 15 times greater than that of England at the time, and it owned 10 times more ships than England. The Netherlands had three-quarters of the world’s tonnage of merchant ships, and the world’s best shipbuilding technology and capacity.¹⁹⁹ Marx quoted Gustav von Gülich as saying that the Netherlands “had almost a monopoly on trade in East India and commerce between southwest and northeast Europe. Its fishing, shipping and handicraft workshops were better than those of any other country. The Dutch Republic might have had more capital than the rest of Europe combined”.²⁰⁰ The Dutch crowded out English merchants everywhere. After the victory of the English Bourgeois Revolution, the bourgeoisie and new nobility who held power were deeply dissatisfied with the Dutch hegemony. In particular, those pirates, ship owners and merchants who did not have the support of the government in the past now obtained that support, and they urged the government to use its power to fight against the Dutch maritime hegemony and safeguard their maritime interests. Thus, in 1651, the English parliament passed the *Navigation Acts*, which stipulated that all goods imported into England must be carried by English ships, or by ships of the actual place of origin; in other

¹⁹⁸ *Marx/Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 5, People’s Publishing House, 2009, p. 861.

¹⁹⁹ See Guber, *Colony: A New history of Protectorates*, Vol. 1 (Part 1), translated by Wu Qingyou, New China Books, 1949, p. 24.

²⁰⁰ *Marx/Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 5, People’s Publishing House, 2009, p. 864.

words, no other country with shipping capability was allowed to interfere. The *Navigation Acts* dealt a blow to the Netherlands' intermediary role in England's trade with other countries, and the struggle between the Netherlands and England intensified as never before. The Netherlands opposed the English *Navigation Acts*, and England refused to repeal them, which led to the Anglo-Dutch sea wars. In three Anglo-Dutch wars, both sides seemed to have both won and lost, but the ultimate winner was in fact England. The wars destroyed the Netherlands' role as the "Sea Coachman" and forced the Netherlands to recognize the *Navigation Acts*. Thanks to the implementation of the acts, England rapidly developed its foreign trade and gradually enhanced its maritime strength, enabling it to catch up with the Netherlands in both number of merchant ships and maritime trade in 30 years, while the Netherlands declined accordingly.

By exploiting the fruits of war, England not only accelerated the development of its domestic industry and laid a solid foundation for foreign trade, but also attacked support for its feudal forces from Spain and Holland, the world's hegemonic countries in the 16th and 17th centuries, giving the English bourgeoisie sufficient power to completely establish a bourgeois constitutional monarchy. In the 16th century, Spain, the hegemonic country that monopolized international trade, lost the battle for hegemony with England, but in the 17th century, it did not entirely decline and was still looking for opportunities to undermine England. After the outbreak of the

English Bourgeois Revolution, Spain took the opportunity to intensify contact with the royalists and strongly support the Irish uprising. Even though Spain had to support English parliamentary politics diplomatically due to the Franco-Spanish War, it never ceased its activities against English capitalist politics. The Netherlands, the hegemonic country in the 17th century, tried to prevent the political maturity of England by supporting the English feudal forces because of its competition for commercial hegemony with England. During the revolution, the Dutch parliament explicitly supported the king of England. The Anglo-Dutch wars took place during the English Bourgeois Revolution, the first two of which took place during Cromwell's dictatorship, and the last of which occurred during the reactionary rule of the Stuarts. Victory in foreign wars provided the necessary conditions for the final victory of the English bourgeoisie in the revolution. After seven years of civil war, four years of the English Republic, seven years of Cromwell's dictatorship and 28 years of the Stuart Restoration, the Bourgeois Revolution ended in the Glorious Revolution of 1688 without shedding blood. During the 40-odd years of revolution, the English bourgeoisie also established its domestically dominant position in the country's foreign wars.

Before 1640, the English industrial and commercial bourgeoisie had to unite with the new nobility politically despite its development during the Tudor Dynasty. The conservatism of the new nobility continued into the

English Bourgeois Revolution and determined its twists and turns. In Marx's words, economically, the new nobility consisted of "great landowners". They accumulated original capital through the Enclosure Movement and had a close connection with land management, but in politics, both those by descent and those who bought their noble identity in the time of Charles I "retained a lot of feudal traditions and conservatism". The new nobility took the lead in the revolution. According to the statistics of Dr. Steven Antler, of the 527 members of the English Long Parliament in 1640, 72 were great nobles, 252 were knights and landlords, and 88 were lawyers, all of whom were new nobles.²⁰¹ The motivation of the new nobility to participate in the revolution was to "gain land for capitalist agriculture and merge land with capital".²⁰² They gained a great deal of land from the reformation of the feudal land system during the revolution, especially from the conquests of Scotland and Ireland. Cromwell, a member of the new nobility, received 1,000 acres of prime land in one instance. His son also received more than 22,000 acres of land in Ireland, as well as hunting grounds and castles. As the most active nobles in the revolution, the senior officers received most of the 1,973,476 acres of land captured by the army.²⁰³ The new nobility opposed the further development of the revolution after leading and utilizing the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie.

²⁰¹ See Gu Xiaoming, On the New Nobility in the English Revolution in the 17th Century, *Journal of Fudan University*, No. 1, 1982.

²⁰² Marx, *Capital*, Vol.1, People's Publishing House, 1976, p. 801.

²⁰³ See Gu Xiaoming, On the New Nobility in the English Revolution in the 17th Century, *Journal of Fudan University*, No. 1, 1982.

After seven years of civil war and a brief republican era, the fruits of the revolution were completely in the hands of the new nobility. They established a military dictatorship with Cromwell as its Lord Protector, which provided the conditions for the restoration of the Stuarts. After Cromwell's death in 1658, George Monck, a fallen noble who had grown up in various wars at home and abroad, took advantage of the Presbyterian faction, which was closely associated with the royalists abroad after the revolution, to bring Charles Stuart back to England, thereby restoring the Stuarts. Although the restored dynasty no longer had its authority, its perverse behavior still drove the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie to continue to promote the revolution. During the reign of Charles II, even though the dynasty recognized much of the revolution's *fait accompli* in land relations, it restored some of the land confiscated by the new nobility during the revolution, which dissatisfied the latter. When James II ascended the throne in 1685, he attempted to restore Catholicism and thus perhaps seven tenths of the land.²⁰⁴ This angered the new nobility and forced them to join forces with the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie to launch the bloodless Glorious Revolution of 1688. With the support of the bourgeoisie, Prince William overthrew James II and established the bourgeois regime, which completely established the political rule of the English bourgeoisie. However, even when the bourgeois constitutional monarchy had been

²⁰⁴ Gu Xiaoming, On the New Nobility in the English Revolution in the 17th Century, *Journal of Fudan University*, No. 1, 1982.

established, the new nobility did not immediately disappear; its upper echelons were still in contact with the royalists, who were abroad and ready to make a comeback. Therefore, the capitalist politics established in 1688 were still likely to have been restored by the feudal forces and needed to be further consolidated.

D. The Anglo-French War and the consolidation of English capitalist politics. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the capitalist politics established in England were not consolidated, and met with hostility from reactionary forces at home and abroad. The Anglo-French War which lasted for half a century was a period in which the Whigs, representing the interests of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, were dominant in English parliamentary politics, and the Tories, representing the interests of the underdeveloped nobility (the landed nobility) were marginalized. The latter was associated with the remnants of feudalism at home and royalists abroad who were ready for the restoration, and was supported by France. Therefore, the Anglo-French War was the period in which England cracked down on the foreign supporters of domestic reactionary forces and consolidated its capitalist politics.

In the process of modernization, England met with hostility from the feudal countries in continental Europe, led by France. However, through a strange combination of circumstances, the hostility and exclusion of the continental countries became the driving force of England's political and

economic modernization. After the Hundred Years' War, despite contradictions, England and France were generally able to live together peacefully without fighting. During the English Revolution, France had no power to intervene, even though it wanted to. During the Stuart restoration (1660–1688), England and France established a royal alliance (a marriage between the younger sister of King Charles II of England and the Duke of Orléans, brother of King Louis XIV of France). To fight against the parliament, the platform of capitalist politics, Charles II often obtained financial support from the French court, causing English foreign policy to be largely subordinated to the French feudal regime. The English bourgeoisie was very dissatisfied with this. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 changed the political situation in England, finally ending the Stuarts' rule and establishing the legal status of the bourgeoisie and new nobility. This made France furious. The conflict between England and France intensified when Louis XIV tried to shield James II, who had been overthrown by the coup, and supported the Stuart restoration. The struggle between Western European powers over capitalist politics and feudal monarchy eventually developed into the four decades of wars that began in 1689. The first was the War of the League of Augsburg from 1689 to 1697. This war did not directly benefit England economically, but politically. Under the peace treaty concluded at Ryswick after the war, France had to recognize William of Orange as king of England, and should not support the Stuart restoration.

Thus, England consolidated its capitalist politics through this war. However, this was not enough, as the foreign “supporter” of the domestic feudal forces did not really fall. The feudal forces of England would be supported by France before England achieved an effective worldwide attack on the French economy. Then, four years later, between 1701 and 1713, a war was triggered by the succession to the Spanish throne. The war began when France attempted to inherit Spain’s commercial and colonial “heritage” around the world by interfering in the succession to the Spanish throne, and publicly proclaimed James III as king of England. Later, England launched an anti-French war alliance formed by England, the Netherlands and Austria in Western Europe. In the war, England not only politically defeated the reactionary supporter of domestic feudal forces, but also gained economic monopolies in the colonies of Newfoundland, Acadia, the shores of Hudson Bay, Gibraltar as the gateway to the Mediterranean, and the Spanish colonies in the Americas. This dealt a heavy blow to France’s colonial power overseas and preliminary established the English hegemony in the world. But French forces still challenged England’s position, and English politics were still in danger of a restoration. Thirty-one years later, the two sides fought a four-year war over the succession to the Austrian throne. This war was smaller in scale than the previous war and did not bring England any economic benefits, but it struck France hard militarily. As a result, by the end of the war, England had 140 ships while France had only 67. After the

war, the struggle between the two sides did not end. Under pressure from England, the French feudal force lingered on, still trying to consolidate the monarchy through foreign wars. Finally, in 1756, there was a seven-year war on the scale of that sparked by the Spanish succession. The *Treaty of Paris*, which ended the Seven Years' War, led England to take the east bank of the Mississippi, Cape Breton, Canada and Louisiana (except for New Orleans) from France, Florida from Spain. England also took many French colonies, such as Dominica, St. Vincent, Tobago and Grenada in West Indies, and Senegal in Africa. In addition, France had to withdraw from Portugal and its territories, and the territory of the Electorate of Hanover, and only retain the five Indian cities of Yanam, Chandernagore, Karaikal, Mahé and Pondicherry which could not be fortified.

The worldwide commercial and colonial hegemony which was established on the premise of these victories greatly increased the market and the supply of cheap or even free raw materials on which English industry developed, providing the most critical conditions for the occurrence of the Industrial Revolution. During the Anglo-French wars, the class power balance changed on the basis of England crushing French support for the feudal forces in England. The English industrial and commercial bourgeoisie began to take a leading position, while the new nobility, which was closely related to land management in economy and had feudal privileges in politics, began to decline. By the mid-19th century, Peel, a member of the industrial

bourgeoisie, refused to accept the title of nobility. After the Glorious Revolution, under the bourgeois constitutional monarchy established in England, the landed nobility controlled state power for a long time. Three of the seven who initiated the coup in 1688 favored the interests of the landed nobility: Earl Danby, the founder of the Tories; the stubborn and conservative Baron Lumley; and Henry Compton, the Bishop of London. As British historian George Trevelyan points out, “The revolution was really a demonstration of the strength of the landlord class”. Of the 513 members of the House of Commons in 1701, more than 400 represented or partly represented the interests of the landed nobility.²⁰⁵ Their position in state power was part of the English constitutional monarchy on the one hand, and opened the way for its elite to collude with royalists abroad and other foreign powers because of their conservatism on the other. In the Anglo-French wars, the support of France was gradually cut off, and the feudal forces in England also went into final decline. As early as 1694, William III discovered that the Tory nobility, representatives of the feudal forces, had always been firmly opposed to war against France, so he drove them out of the government and appointed the Whig nobility, who were inclined to the interests of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, to form a one-party cabinet. Later, the Whigs and the Tories fought over the War of the Spanish Succession. After Queen Anne created a mixed cabinet

²⁰⁵ See Gu Xiaoming, On the New Nobility in the English Revolution in the 17th Century, *Journal of Fudan University*, No. 1, 1982.

and appointed the Tory nobility, the Tories had a temporary advantage in the House of Lords. Thus, England ended the war against France ahead of schedule, and signed the unilateral *Peace of Utrecht* with Spain. However, with the end of the Stuarts in 1714 and the establishment of the House of Hanover in England, the Whigs turned the tide. They strongly supported the House of Hanover, sidelined the Tory gentry and nobility, and even arrested and punished some Tory nobles for treason. As a result, many Tory nobles lost their titles of nobility and fiefs, and many who had nothing to do with armed rebellion or conspiracy were even stigmatized as “James’ accomplices” and excluded from the government and parliament.²⁰⁶ After the Tories, who favored the interests of the landed nobility, lost their political advantage in the Anglo-French wars, the Whigs, who favored the interests of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, established a one-party cabinet which lasted for half a century until the end of the Anglo-French wars. The landed nobility did not hold power until the Seven Years’ War between England and France. Unwilling to shoulder the growing military costs, they expected an “anti-war king” to withdraw from the war as soon as possible. However, the House of Lords had been an important battleground for the Whigs against Tory demands. Some bills were passed in the House of Commons but rejected in the House of Lords. Only after the end of the Anglo-French wars and the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in

²⁰⁶ Yan Zhaoxiang: *A History of English Aristocracy*, People’s Publishing House, 2000, p. 210.

England could the representatives of the former landed nobility, who had been transformed into the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, enter the House of Lords and fight for the corresponding political voice. By this time, however, they had completely lost their feudal character. The landed nobility was transformed into the agricultural and even industrial and commercial bourgeoisie when they were politically unsuccessful. With diminishing political privileges, the landed nobility could only seek development by improving land management. In 1694, Sir John Lowther was the first to set up a “homestead”, and some of the landlords followed suit.²⁰⁷ By the late 18th and early 19th centuries, capitalist farms were in full swing. Some nobles became agricultural capitalists while others became industrial and commercial capitalists. When England and France were competing for hegemony, nobles with modern economic minds began to turn their attention to industry and commerce. Dukes or marquises, such as Norfolk, Chandos, Beaufort, and Bute, built coal and copper mines on their estates, and noble mines accounted for a large proportion in all areas for a long time.²⁰⁸ By the end of the Industrial Revolution, history had “squeezed out” the declining class of landed nobility.²⁰⁹ The complete withdrawal of domestic feudal forces from the stage of history meant that English capitalist politics were thoroughly consolidated.

2.2 Transformation of the capitalist employment system in economic

²⁰⁷ Yan Zhaoxiang: *A History of English Aristocracy*, People’s Publishing House, 2000, p. 241.

²⁰⁸ Yan Zhaoxiang: *A History of English Aristocracy*, People’s Publishing House, 2000, p. 245.

²⁰⁹ *Marx/Engels Complete Works*, Vol. 11, People’s Publishing House, 1995, p. 245.

form and the development of natural practices

Before the 14th century, England's economic development was at a low level, which made England not only politically but also economically attached to the continental countries of Western Europe. The Hundred Years' War made English politics dominated by capital, and a series of economic policies were carried out in favor of the interests of the new nobility and merchants. As a result, rural industry in England received its initial development. As mentioned earlier, at the end of the Wars of the Roses, the House of Commons had already acquired a "veto" of any bill. Therefore, the parliament had to seek the approval of the House of Commons to levy taxes on non-traditional items. Since the House of Commons was in charge of the revenue and taxation of the kingdom, more issues, especially economic legislation, were controlled by merchants, and the king had to first agree to their wishes on other matters in order to obtain their financial support. Gradually, the House of Commons began to extend its remit beyond taxation to other fields. As historians Judith M. Bennett and C. Warren Hollister lament said, "The origin of every new law was in a petition to the House of Commons". Led by the interests of the new nobility and merchants, the British government actively adopted economic policies to protect and expand domestic production, which promoted the development of the domestic wool industry. The Tudors witnessed the rise of the House of Commons. During the Hundred Years' War, although the House of Commons

was established and played a certain role as a platform for the new nobility and merchants to participate in politics, people never paid as much attention to it as they did during the Tudor Dynasty. Before the Tudors, the nobility generally looked down their noses at the House of Commons, especially the eldest sons of the nobility. They did not want to associate with the House of Commons because they could inherit the right to attend the House of Lords. However, by the Tudor Dynasty, the tide had turned, and even the eldest and second sons of the Earl of Bedford had been made members of the House of Commons.²¹⁰ On the one hand, the rise of the House of Commons was reflected in its role in political legislation. During the Hundred Years' War, the House of Commons had little involvement in national politics except as a follower in the occasional clash between parliament and the crown, but by the time of the Tudors, especially during the English Reformation, the king and Privy Council gradually discovered that their reform will and measures could be better understood and supported in the House of Commons than in the House of Lords. As a result, the political proposals of Henry VIII's government were increasingly put to the House of Commons, making it the nominal initiator of these proposals. By the time of Mary I and Elizabeth, there was an increasing number of political bills in the House of Commons.²¹¹ On the other hand, the rise of the House of Commons was more evident in social and economic legislation. During the Hundred Years'

²¹⁰ See Liu Xincheng, *A Study of the Tudor Parliament in England*, Capital Normal University Press, 1995, p. 239.

²¹¹ See Liu Xincheng, *A Study of the Tudor Parliament in England*, Capital Normal University Press, 1995, p. 239.

War, members of the House of Commons occasionally made petitions concerning industry and commerce, but they were few in number and largely ignored. However, by the Tudor period, as industry and commerce flourished and the House of Commons rose in political status, an increasing number of economic proposals were approved by the king. In 1461, the House of Commons introduced the first economic bill, which was highly valued by the king. The king not only submitted the bill to the House of Lords for discussion, but also, as an exception, invited the members of the House of Commons to participate in the discussion in the House of Lords.²¹² In order to solve the crop failure and high food prices in 1597, the House of Commons proposed 11 bills; and between 1576 and 1601, the House of Commons made as many as 11 bills to tackle alcoholism.²¹³ The rise of the House of Commons coincided with the decline of the House of Lords. Before the 16th century, the House of Commons never amended the bills of the House of Lords, and the House of Lords not only frequently amended the bills of the House of Commons, but the revised bills were not returned to the House of Commons for consent. But by the mid-16th century, the House of Lords had lost all its legislative edges. During the reign of Mary I, the bills initiated by the House of Lords only accounted for 26% of total bills, while in the reign of Elizabeth, the proposals of the upper house only accounted

²¹² Law Science Textbook Editorial Department, *Foreign Legal History* Compilation Group (ed.), *Foreign Legal History*, Peking University Press, 1982, p. 105.

²¹³ See Chen Xiwen, *A Study of British Economic Change and Policies in the 16th Century*, Capital Normal University Press, 1995.

for 22.8% in parliament in the earlier period (1559–1581) and 18.3% in the later period.²¹⁴ Based on the House of Commons, the English industrial and commercial class pushed the kingdom to adopt a mercantilist economic policy which further stimulated the prosperity of the English wool industry. Mercantilism was a popular economic theory in the period of primitive capital accumulation in Western Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. It held that a country can gain benefits by expanding its surplus in foreign trade as much as possible such that the amount of exports exceeded the amount of imports, which reflects the interests of the commercial bourgeoisie in the period of primitive capital accumulation. Under their leadership, there were as many as 250 acts concerning the economy in the Tudor Dynasty. Among them, agricultural acts involved the enclosure of land, industrial acts involved the production, sales, wages and prices of wool textiles, and commercial acts involved the currency system, customs, treaties, import and export of goods, etc.²¹⁵

Among many economic policies, the Enclosure Movement was the most fundamental because it provided the most direct conditions for English farmers to transit from serfdom to hired hands, and transformed the English economic form from feudal serfdom to the capitalist employment system. Regarding the motivation behind the Enclosure Movement, in its early stages

²¹⁴ See Chen Xiwen, *A Study of British Economic Change and Policies in the 16th Century*, Capital Normal University Press, 1995.

²¹⁵ Chen Xiwen, *A Study of British Economic Change and Policies in the 16th Century*, Capital Normal University Press, 1995, pp. 3–4.

it was based on the needs of the so-called capitalist agricultural revolution, which produced large quantities of wool on large farms to provide the wool industry with raw materials. Corresponding to the three development stages of the wool industry, the three climaxes of the early Enclosure Movement were the periods when the development of the wool industry made qualitative changes. The first climax occurred in the last 30 years of the 15th century and the first 10 years of the 16th century, i.e. the late Wars of the Roses and early Tudor Dynasty. This was the period in which the rulers of the kingdom began to protect and develop the domestic wool industry after the Hundred Years' War. By the early 15th century, the wool industry employed between 15,000 and 25,000 people. If part-time workers were included, this number would double. Meanwhile, according to the statistics of Edwin Francis Gay, from 1485 to 1607, the total enclosed land area of the ten shires of central England had reached 186,718 acres, accounting for 3.16% of the total land area and 21.1% of the total cultivated area. The second climax occurred during the English Reformation in the 1530s, when the wool industry was developing rapidly during the Tudor Dynasty. The third climax occurred in the late 16th and early 17th centuries when England defeated the Spanish maritime hegemony, and the need from overseas markets led to the expansion of the wool industry.²¹⁶ The latter two periods took place in the glorious 16th century. John Neff even compared the

²¹⁶ See Qin Hao, *An Investigation on the Influence of the Enclosure Movement on the Change of Farmland System in England from 1500 to 1750*, Master's Thesis of Tianjin Normal University, Specialized History, 2010.

industrial growth of this period to the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century, calling it the “first revolution” in English history. By the end of the 16th century, 43.3% of the rural population was employed in non-agricultural industries thanks to the Enclosure Movement. After the English Bourgeois Revolution, under the more mature capitalist political framework, the early Enclosure Movement turned into the Parliamentary Enclosure Movement. The British parliament approved 15 enclosure acts between 1717 and 1727, 226 between 1728 and 1760, and 1,482 between 1761 and 1769.²¹⁷ By the end of the 18th century, the Enclosure Movement had swept across the whole of England, reaching its peak, and the enclosure procedures were becoming simpler. Between 1797 and 1820, during the Napoleonic Wars, there were 1,727 acts which captured about four million acres of land.²¹⁸ The Enclosure Movement in the 18th and 19th centuries was closely related to sources of labor for the Industrial Revolution. When the Enclosure Movement deprived small farmers of their land, they were forced into the cities and became the main source of labor for the Industrial Revolution.

The Enclosure Movement paved the way for the industrialization of England. By the 18th century, before the Industrial Revolution, rural industry had spread to almost every village in England. The wool industry was the “national industry” before the English Industrial Revolution. It was the most

²¹⁷ See Liu Shuzeng and Feng Shuxian, Analysis of the Causes of Differences in Land Ownership between Britain and France in Modern Times, *Journal of Shijiazhuang University*, No. 4, 2008.

²¹⁸ Liu Shuzeng and Feng Shuxian, Analysis of the Causes of Differences in Land Ownership between Britain and France in Modern Times, *Journal of Shijiazhuang University*, No. 4, 2008.

important handicraft economic sector and the economic pillar of the whole country. The prosperity of the textile industry and the needs of foreign wars also spurred the ironmaking industry. The West Midlands, with Birmingham as the center, was known as the “Black Country” for its ironmaking industry. In this region (excluding Birmingham), 61% of the population was engaged in industry and commerce, and 34% in ironmaking. In addition to small towns, there were more than 20 industrial villages; some villages had a higher proportion of iron workers than small towns, and for example, the proportions of iron workers in Darlaston (58%) and Tipton (56%), were much higher than towns such as Stockbridge (36%) and Dudley (22%).²¹⁹ In addition, there were secondary sectors in the rural handicraft industry, including the production of socks, gloves, lace and straw mats. From the mid-16th century, the so-called “great industries” of mining, smelting, shipbuilding, munitions, salt making, soap boiling and alum and glass manufacturing sprung up in England. The Industrial Revolution ushered in the machine age of human natural practices. The use of machines greatly improved production efficiency. Between 1771 and 1775, England imported an average of fewer than five million pounds of seed cotton a year, compared with 528 million pounds in 1841 and more than 600 million pounds in 1844.²²⁰ The machines were made of iron, which further promoted the revolution in the metallurgical, coal and transportation industries. The pig

²¹⁹ See Xiang Rong, *Collected Studies on Social Transformation in Europe from the Late Middle Ages to Early Modern Times*, People’s Publishing House, 2012.

²²⁰ See Hammond, *The Rise of Modern Industry*, translated by Wei Guodong, Commercial Press, 1959.

iron output in England increased from 68,000 tons in 1788 to 125,000 tons in 1796 and 250,000 tons in 1806.²²¹ Two-thirds of the bar iron used in England at the beginning of the 18th century came from abroad.²²² By the end of the 18th century, England had begun to export bar iron. Without coal, there would have been no metallurgical industry. In 1750, the coal output in England was 4.7 million tons; by 1770, it had increased to 6.2 million tons.²²³ After the first railway was built in 1825, parliament approved 54 railway plans between 1825 and 1835.²²⁴ More than 600 ships were built from 1811,²²⁵ and for the first 25 years of the 19th century, Britain had 4,670 miles of canals and well-maintained rivers.²²⁶

Section 3 Specific Phases in the Second-stage Bipolar World Process

The second-stage process can be divided into the following phases: the rise of Britain to the mid-19th century, the rise of Britain and France to the end of World War II, and the end of World War II to the present day. The power core of the second-stage process is Britain, and the division of these phases is based on the phased characteristics of Britain in exerting pressure. In the first phase, under pressure from Britain, France realized the transformation to a capitalist society and the development of natural practices. In this phase, the

²²¹ See Hammond, *The Rise of Modern Industry*, translated by Wei Guodong, Commercial Press, 1959, p. 132.

²²² See Doburov, *British Economic Geography*, translated by Wang Zhengxian, Commercial Press, 1959, p. 75.

²²³ Hammond, *The Rise of Modern Industry*, translated by Wei Guodong, Commercial Press, 1959, p. 134.

²²⁴ Boliński, *Foreign Economic History (the Era of Capitalism)*, translated by Guo Wuxin et al., SDX Joint Publishing Company, 1963, p. 266.

²²⁵ *Marx/Engels Collected Works*, Vol. 1, People's Publishing House, 2009, p. 401.

²²⁶ Boliński, *Foreign Economic History (the Era of Capitalism)*, translated by Guo Wuxin et al., SDX Joint Publishing Company, 1963, p. 265.

colonization of colonists led by Britain was characterized by land grabbing of the same nature as the internal dynamics of expansion in primitive tribal and slave societies. Therefore, the capitalist colonial system formed in this phase is called the “capitalist colonial system of land grabbing”.²²⁷ After the rise of France, Britain and France became the common power core, and they pushed the second-stage process into its second phase. In the second phase, under pressure from Britain and France, Germany, Japan and the United States realized transformations to capitalist societies and industrialization. In this stage, the colonization of colonists led by Britain, France, Germany, Japan and the United States was characterized by land grabbing and raw material markets which were integrated into land tribute and taxes. Therefore, the capitalist colonial system in the second phase can be called the “capitalist colonial system of land tribute and taxes”.²²⁸ The two world wars created the Eastern socialist camp. The socialization of the former Eastern feudal countries advanced the social form, preventing the developed Western capitalist countries from exerting pressure. As with the resistance to the outward expansion of China, the power core of the first-stage process, this resistance led to the transformation of the social form of the capitalist colonial system, and the transformation of old colonialism into neocolonialism. The expansion of the neocolonial system was purely driven by the need for raw material markets, so the process was characterized by raw material markets.

²²⁷ Land is the most basic public product. We can also call this stage the “capitalist colonial system of public products”.

²²⁸ We can also call this stage the “capitalist colonial system of natural monopoly”.

Therefore, the capitalist colonial system in the third phase can be called the “capitalist colonial system of raw material markets”.²²⁹

1. The Rise of Britain to the Mid-19th Century: the Capitalist Colonial System of Land Grabbing or Capitalist Colonial System of Public Products

1.1 The rise of Britain and the formation of the capitalist colonial system of land grabbing

The rise of Britain and its external pressure on France led to the capitalist revolution and industrialization of the latter, and formed the capitalist colonial system of land grabbing with Britain and France as the main colonial powers.

A. Pressure from Britain and the French capitalist revolution

After Britain became strong in the Bourgeois Revolution, it began to exert pressure on its European neighbors, especially France. For the countries under pressure, Britain was already the vanguard of the reactionary forces. In the process of exerting pressure, Britain had to maintain its advantages in natural practices over the countries under pressure, and keep the social form of these countries on the level of feudalism. To this end, Britain’s political intervention in these countries was realized by uniting with the feudal forces of these countries to fight against the capitalist

²²⁹ We can also call this stage the “capitalist colonial system of competition”.

revolutionary forces of these countries. For decades, in newspapers and magazines, Marx and Engels repeatedly exposed the reactionary diplomacy between the feudal ruling classes of such underdeveloped countries as Russia, Prussia and France, and the British bourgeois government. In 1864, in *Address and Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association*, Marx wrote that the proletariat must “know the secrets of international politics”, supervise the diplomatic activities of bourgeois governments, resist them and expose them. The following will discuss the decisive influence of the pressure formed by the reactionary role of Britain on the French Bourgeois Revolution.

Between 1789 and 1794, the theme of European politics was the struggle between the French Revolution and the counter-revolutionary alliance led by Britain. After the outbreak of the French Bourgeois Revolution, Britain initiated and led an anti-French coalition formed by such European feudal dynasties as Prussia, the Bourbons of Spain, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and Austria which had family relations with the French queen, and other French feudal forces. Faced with the threat of revolution, British Prime Minister Pitt organized the first anti-French coalition in Europe in September 1792. In 1793 and 1794, the French defeated the coalition forces and broke up the first anti-French coalition, but the fruits of the revolution were not consolidated, and the anti-French coalition remained strong. From 1794 to 1815, the struggle between the French bourgeois

government and Britain in Europe, at sea and in the colonies constituted the main content of international life. Britain initiated and formed the second anti-French coalition, and secured victory over France by virtue of its industrial advantages, which led to Napoleon's abdication and the restoration of feudal forces. In 1814, Louis XVIII (1814–1824) restored the Bourbon Dynasty. Although the *Charter of 1814* had been issued at the beginning of the restoration to guarantee that the economic order established by the revolution and the freedom of the bourgeoisie would not be changed, in 1820, the extreme right wing of the royalist party abandoned the *Charter of 1814* when it came to power. To prevent the French bourgeoisie from making a comeback, Britain launched the Quadruple Alliance consisting of Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria. At the same time, to further prevent the outbreak of bourgeois revolution in European countries, in addition to the British regent, Ottoman Sultan and Pope, the feudal forces in Europe also formed the Holy Alliance. The two alliances opposed revolutions everywhere and acted as the hangmen of European revolutions. In the 1820s, the Holy Alliance crushed the Italian and Spanish revolutions, and attempted to intervene in the independence movement in Latin America. The reactionary rule of the restored dynasty enraged the French bourgeois liberals and the masses, and they launched the July Revolution in 1830. Charles X (who ruled from 1824 to 1830) was overthrown and replaced by the July Monarchy under the great bourgeoisie. The return of the bourgeoisie

to power provided the political conditions for the development of natural practices in France, which sparked the Industrial Revolution in France after Britain. After the February Revolution of 1848 which overthrew the July Monarchy, France established the fully capitalist Second Republic, with all classes of the bourgeoisie participating in the regime. Under the impact of the bourgeois revolution, Britain had to withdraw from the Quadruple Alliance, and the two reactionary alliances immediately disintegrated. The disintegration of the alliances showed that support from foreign reactionary forces, the soil for the restoration of French feudal forces, had been completely defeated, and the French capitalist society was completely established.

B. Formation of the capitalist colonial system of land grabbing

The modern colonialism of Western European countries began in the 15th century. From the 15th to 17th century, the process of colonization was mainly driven by the two colonial empires of Portugal and Spain.²³⁰ After Columbus' discovery of the American Continent in 1492, Spain began the conquest and colonization of America, wiped out all the empires established by the Indians in a very short period of time, and established a vast colony. In 1494, by the Pope's arbitration, Portugal also gained a very large colony in the Americas east of 50°W. From 1502, Spain and other countries set up many trade stations along the coast of West Africa, selling slaves, ivory, gold

²³⁰ See *Colonialism*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/133004.htm>, last access: April 13th, 2012.

and peppers.

In the course of capitalism reform that lasted for hundreds of years, Britain gradually joined the movement of fighting for and occupying colonies. In 1526, England began the slave trade. After defeating the Spanish Armada in 1588, England established the Hudson Bay Company and New England Colonies in North America. In 1600, England established the East India Company and began its expansion in India. From the early 17th century to the mid-18th century, in four Anglo-French wars, Britain, with its powerful navy, captured large areas of French territory in India, Canada and east of the Mississippi River. In 1763, the *Treaty of Paris* among Britain, France and Spain marked that Britain had replaced Spain as the world's top colonial power. From 1825 to 1875, European countries gradually ceased to grab and fight for colonies, and switched to colonization and land grabbing in the form of land tribute and taxes.

1.2 Social form of the capitalist colonial system of land grabbing

For the colonial system formed in the first phase of the expansion of the second-stage process, the essential feature of its social form was that in the process of exerting pressure, colonial powers took land grabbing in colonies by means of slavery or genocide as the internal motive of expansion. The external condition for this expansion process was the difference in advance extent between the capitalist social form of colonial powers and the primitive tribal social form of the colonies. On the basis of this difference in

advance degree, the natural practices of colonies were less advanced than those of colonial powers, so the people in the colonies were killed or enslaved,²³¹ and the land was occupied. This capitalist colonial system of land grabbing was transcontinental. Western European countries (Britain, France, the Netherlands, etc.) were at the top of the system, while Africa and America were at the bottom. The whole process of occupation was divided into genocide in the Americas, the slave trade in Africa, the establishment of slavery in the Americas and other steps.

A. Genocide in the Americas

The European settlers who came to the Americas after the 16th century brought a devastating disaster to the native Indians. According to statistics, during the colonial period, 13 million Indians were killed in Spanish territories and about 10 million in Brazil; another 1 million or so Indians were killed during the American westward movement. As a result, male Indians in Latin America had almost no pure-blood male descendants, and most of their mixed-blood descendants were the descendants of male colonists and local women. The situation was even worse in North America, where Indians were driven to Indian reservations and made up less than 5% of the local population. Today, American Indians make up only about 1% of the population.²³²

B. Slave trade in Africa

²³¹ Although killing is the expansion form of primitive tribal society and enslavement is the expansion form of slave society, the result of both expansion forms is land grabbing. Therefore, these two expansion forms are not distinguished in the stage of land grabbing.

²³² See *Indians*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/10100.htm>, last access: December 2nd, 2012.

In the colonial system, hundreds of thousands of black people enslaved by colonialism were not in Africa, but kidnapped and sold to the other side of the Atlantic for commercial production. Almost all of the surplus value produced by Africa's tens of millions of young laborers was captured by American planters, and even the share of tax revenue (including export taxes) was absorbed by the Americas.²³³ In the capitalist colonial system based on slavery, the slave trade played the most fundamental role. After its beginning in 1502 in Spain, slave trade peaked in the 1840s with an annual import of 135,000 slaves to the Americas. Angola, Mozambique, Congo, Guinea and East Africa were the countries and regions with the largest slave export numbers in Africa.²³⁴

C. Slavery in America

Africans were sold into slavery in the Americas after their land was taken. From the 17th century until before the American Civil War, plantations in the southern United States used African slaves as labor. The slave status of black laborers can be seen in the laws of the states from the colonial period to the period before the Civil War.²³⁵ Slaves were the property of their owners and had the common features of other types of property. They belonged to their owners in private ownership and could be used, disposed of, transferred and sold by their owners at will. For example, the code of

²³³ Zheng Jiaxin, *History of Colonialism: Africa*, Peking University Press, 2000, p. 9.

²³⁴ See *Indians*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/10100.htm>, last access: December 2nd, 2012.

²³⁵ See Xing Xianjin, The Evolution of the Legal Status of Black Americans from the 17th Century to the 1950s, *Journal of Luoyang Normal University* (Natural Science), No. 3, 1997.

Alabama in 1752 clearly stated that slaves were the property of their owners; owners had the right to possess their time and labor; slaves should obey and serve their owners according to the law; and slaves should be loyal to their owners. They should be punished for disobeying their owners, running away, drinking, stealing, leaving the plantation without permission, not returning to their homes at night at the specified time, and laziness or slowness in work. However, the colonial laws imposed little or no punishment on those who killed slaves. The law of Virginia in 1779 made it not a felony for an owner to kill a slave because “no one will deliberately destroy his property”. Later, the southern states successively made the intentional killing of slaves the same crime as the killing of free men, but due to the restrictions of various additional conditions, very few people were actually convicted for killing slaves, and many who killed slaves were not punished at all.

2. The Mid-19th Century to the End of World War II: the Capitalist Colonial System of Land Tribute and Taxes or the Capitalist Colonial System of Natural Monopoly

In the mid-19th century, after the rise of France, it became the power core behind the outward expansion of the capitalist world along with Britain. Under pressure from Britain and France, slavery was reformed in the southern United States; Germany and Japan also changed their feudal serfdom and realized capitalization, thereby joining Britain and France as the power core behind the expansion of the capitalist world. Meanwhile,

Britain and France made certain social changes such as improving the employment situation, working conditions and living standards of the working class. On the basis of such social transformation, a far-reaching electric revolution took place in Britain, France, Germany and Japan at the end of 19th century. The expansion of the power core and the in-depth development of the Industrial Revolution accelerated the expansion of the colonial system, and its social form also changed from land grabbing to both land grabbing and raw material markets. Land grabbing is a process characteristic of a slave society, while the raw materials market is a process characteristic of a capitalist society. The combination of the two forms the land tribute and taxes of a feudal society. Therefore, the capitalist colonial system in this phase can be called the “capitalist colonial system of land tribute and taxes”.

2.1 Phase I: expansion of Britain and France, and the social transformation and economic development of the power core

A. Social transformation of Britain and France

Britain’s Industrial Revolution was completed in the early 19th century. Under pressure from Britain, the industrialization of France was completed in the mid-19th century. After the Industrial Revolution, Britain expanded further. Just as occurred at the end of the outward expansion of every great unified dynasty in feudal China, the power core of the first-stage process, with the increase of internal social tension, the living conditions of workers

were deteriorating, the effective demands of the proletariat were insufficiently met, economic crises were frequent and social conflicts were intense. To alleviate social conflicts and solve economic crises, the British government developed a social welfare system to expand effective social demand and improve the treatment of the working class. However, in France, due to its relatively underdeveloped economy and lower living standards, in order to cope with the pressure from Britain, its capitalist reform had the nature of a welfare society at the beginning, and the reform process was in essence the gradual formation of the welfare system. Here, the formation of the British welfare system is taken as an example to illustrate the social reform process in Britain and France.²³⁶ The *Factory Act* of 1833 stipulated that children aged 9 to 13 should work eight hours and children aged 14 to 18 should work 12 hours; child labor under the age of nine was banned, and a standardized shift system was introduced to factories. The *Mines Act* of 1842 banned women and children under the age of 10 from working underground. The *Waterworks Act* of 1847 prohibited the contamination of any river, reservoir or pipe in a water system that served as a public water supply, and the contamination of the drinking water supply. In 1848, the *Public Health Act* was passed to improve the environment in industrial towns. The *Housing of the Working Classes Act* enacted in 1875, 1882 and 1885 marked the beginning of a wide range of rental housing for the working

²³⁶ See Li Hongtu, *Reconstructing Society: Social Revolution and Dissolution in Europe in the 19th Century: Professor Li Hongtu's Speech at Fudan University, Wenwei Daily*, February 6th, 2012.

class.

B. Expansion of Britain and France, and the social transformation of the United States, Germany and Japan

Just as feudal China started a new round of external expansion after changing the social form during the period of separation, on the basis of welfare social reform, Britain deeply developed industrialization while France realized the Industrial Revolution, providing impetus for the further expansion of the capitalist world. Due to geopolitical factors, the first rivals of Britain and France in eastward expansion were the United States, Germany and Japan. Under pressure from Britain and France, the latter realized social transformation toward capitalism; like in France, this transformation was of a welfare capitalism nature from the beginning.

After the consolidation of capitalism and the Industrial Revolution in France in the mid-19th century, Britain and France no longer opposed each other in international affairs, and together they became the power core of the eastward expansion of capitalism. The pressure from expansion led to social transformation and industrialization in such later capitalist countries as Germany and Japan. Just as Britain was to France at the beginning of the 19th century, the diplomatic relations between Britain and France and Germany and Japan were also a relationship between counter-revolution and revolution for the social transformation of the latter. Here, Germany is taken as an example. After the rise of France, the capitalist world continued to

expand eastward. After France realized capitalism and developed natural practices, there was a gap between France and its neighboring Germany in social forms and natural practices. Under the influence of this gap, France was politically and economically dominant in the Franco-German relationship. The pressure of political and economic enslavement was a manifestation of the pressure of the capitalist world's eastward expansion. The pressure of enslavement was transmitted to all social classes in Germany, which then became the driving force of the German capitalist revolution. The revolution process was also the process of national unification, because the internal disunity of the states was the premise of the political and economic enslavement of Germany by Britain and France. During the "Thirty Years' War" in the 17th century, Germany was divided into 360 independent states and 1,500 semi-independent territories, and each state averaged just over 20 square miles. After the capitalist revolutions in Britain and France, they tried to maintain the disunity and feudal rule of Germany. This diplomatic tendency of the French bourgeois government was manifested as early as the Napoleonic period. On July 16th, 1806, after the end of the third anti-French war, 16 German states signed a protocol declaring their separation from the German Empire and formed the Confederation of the Rhine. It was stipulated that the confederation was obliged to provide Napoleon with 63,000 soldiers in the event of war. Britain and France tried to maintain the feudal rule of Germany and Japan (and

slavery in the southern United States) through this political division so as to realize the purposes of colonization and plundering.

However, due to the limited strength of the capitalist world, the gap between Britain and France and the United States, Germany and Japan was not very big, at least not as big as that between Britain and France and the colonized countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. On the contrary, the pressure of expansion enabled the later capitalist countries to realize welfare capitalist reform and industrialization. Here, Germany is taken as an example. Napoleon not only brought oppression to Germany, but also the advanced ideas of the French Revolution. Within a few years after 1807, independence movements broke out in Germany. The states rose up one after another against the French invaders, defeated the French army in the sixth anti-French coalition and achieved national liberation. But after the war, the Congress of Vienna, manipulated by European powers dominated Britain and France, established a council consisting of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover and Württemberg, and signed the *Final Act of the Ministerial Conference to Complete and Consolidate the Organization of the German Confederation*, forming the German Confederation consisting of 38 monarchical states and free cities. The states within the confederation had independent diplomatic, military and financial powers, and the fact that the Germans were divided remained unchanged. Under external pressure, Prussia in northern Germany was the first to achieve social transformation.

In 1807, the government decreed that the serfs were free. In 1811, the *Edict of Regulation* was issued, declaring that serfs could buy their land and become individual farmers. Serfdom reform was finally completed in 1850 with the *Act on Adjusting Landlord-Farmer Relationships*. In this process, a large number of Junkers achieved the primitive accumulation of capital and solved the problems of labor and capital in social capitalism, which made Prussia rise to replace Austria as the main force leading the unification and revolution of Germany. In 1833, under the leadership of Prussia, the Prussian-Hessian Customs Union merged with the Southern German Business Union to form the Customs Union of the German Confederation, which made the German states a unified economic entity and laid the economic foundations for the unification of Germany. In the 1860s and early 1870s, Prussia fought wars with Denmark, Austria and France. Especially in the Franco-Prussian war, Bismarck and Prussia achieved the transformation of Germany from a confederation to a unified national state. The process of leading unity was also the process of leading social change. Germany's capitalist road is also known as the "Prussian road". This road of change was welfare from its beginning. In 1881, William I issued the *Golden Bill* to introduce the "social security act". In the 1880s, the imperial parliament successively passed three pieces of social legislation: the *Workers' Disease Insurance Act*, *Accident Insurance Act* and *Pension Insurance Act*. After this, Japan and other Western European countries followed Britain, France and

Germany in promulgating their own social security acts and disease insurance acts at the end of the 19th century, and initially established social welfare systems, thereby guaranteeing the basic rights of the proletariat in such aspects as birth, senility, illness, death, working conditions and basic living conditions.

However, just like in the first-stage process,²³⁷ Germany and Japan transmitted the pressure of the power core on underdeveloped countries in the East after becoming strong through reform, so their reform degree was not as advanced as that of Britain and France, and their social form retained feudal factors. As a result, Germany embarked on the path of militarism and was always at a disadvantage, finally failing in the colonial struggle with Britain and France to seek land tribute and taxes. This is why, under the same geopolitical pressure, the later capitalist camp consisting of Germany, Japan, Italy, Austria and other countries was defeated by the Allies with Britain and France as the core in the first and second world wars. The later capitalist camp was to Britain and France what the Qin Dynasty was to the Han Dynasty and the Sui Dynasty to the Tang Dynasty; the social form and expansion mode of the latter capitalist camp lagged behind that of Britain and France. The defeat of the traditional socialist camp by the capitalist camp may also be understood in this way.

C. Economic development of the power core

²³⁷ The whole process of the second-generation world, such as Britain's victory over France, Britain, France and America's victory over Germany, Japan and Italy, and NATO's victory over the Warsaw Treaty Organization, can be explained in this way.

The change in social forms provided the institutional basis for the Second Industrial Revolution in the late 19th century. Different from the First Industrial Revolution, the Second Industrial Revolution was carried out almost simultaneously in Britain, France, Germany, Japan and other countries, with a larger scale, wider scope and more extensive influence. Thanks to the discovery of electricity and its wide application, the energy structure and means of transportation and communication of human society were revolutionized after 1870, and various new technologies and inventions emerged one after another. Electric lamps, electric trolleys, electric drills, electric welders and other products sprang up, and the electric power industry and electrical appliance manufacturing industry developed rapidly. In particular, the emergence of the internal combustion engine and its extensive application after the 1890s provided the possibility for the development of the automobile and aircraft industries. At the same time, it broadened the energy structure of human society and spurred the development of the most basic modern industry, the petroleum industry. In 1870, the world only produced about 800,000 tons of petroleum. By 1900, the amount had soared to 20 million tons. The emergence of the energy and modern manufacturing industries promoted the emergence of the chemical industry. In the 1880s, people began to refine ammonia, benzene, artificial fuel and other chemical products from coal; and plastics, insulating materials, artificial fibers and smokeless powder were invented and put into production

and use. Meanwhile, technological innovation was accelerating in such old industrial sectors as metallurgy, shipbuilding, machine manufacturing and transportation.

The Industrial Revolution led to the rapid development of heavy industry, forming the two industrial zones of Western Europe and North America. Productivity was greatly improved, and capital was highly concentrated. In the early 20th century, the concentration of production in the major capitalist countries reached a high degree, and monopoly organizations in the production sector already existed widely. According to the scope and degree of association of large companies, monopoly can be divided into temporary price agreements, cartels that carve up markets within the production sector by specifying output and prices, syndicates for the joint procurement of raw materials and products, trust that uniformly administer the business and financial activities of an enterprise in the form of an independent enterprise, and Konzern, conglomerates of companies in different sectors with a powerful corporation as the core. The high concentration of industrial capital also led to the rapid development of financial monopoly capital in the early 20th century. The convergence of industrial and banking monopoly capital produced economic bank monopoly capital and political financial oligarchs; as a result, finance changed from an ordinary financing intermediary to a monopolist controlling the entire industrial structure, dominating the monetary capital of almost all capitalists

and small proprietors, and the source of most of the means of production and raw materials at home and abroad. This provided the basis for the financial oligarchs to further control the state machinery. At the beginning of the 20th century, for example, major industrial sectors in the United States were almost monopolized by several or even one big trust, such as Ford in the automobile industry, Rockefeller in the petroleum industry, Morgan in the steel industry, AT&T in the telecommunications industry, etc. The monopolies of the trusts in each sector accounted for 95% of the petroleum industry, 66% of the steel, 81% of the chemical industry, 77% of the metal industry, 85% of the aluminum industry, 80% of the sugar industry and 80% of the tobacco industry.

2.2 Phase II: Expansion of the power core and the formation of the capitalist colonial system of land tribute and taxes

In the formation of the capitalist colonial system of land tribute and taxes, the first phase was social transformation and economic development in the capitalist world, while in the second phase, monopoly capital from the first phase went out to the world, and a colonial system of a new nature eventually took shape. This change represented the transition and tension of domestic welfare economics – neoclassical economics and the international Austrian School of Economics – the historical school of economics in Western economic thought. Just as capitalist economic thought changed from Keynesianism to neo-liberalism in the 1970s, the mainstream economic

thought of major capitalist countries in the late 19th century also experienced a change from welfare economics to neoclassical economics. In brief, welfare economics advocated supplementing workers' consumption to achieve economic and social equilibrium, while neoclassical economics advocated expanding employment to replace the state's investment in consumption or welfare, and achieve equilibrium. This change of thought reflected the stage transition characteristics of colonial countries' outward expansion after internal transformation and development. Jobs were created at all stages of the expansion and colonization process. Therefore, "consumptive" welfare was replaced by the "productive" welfare of employment. However, like the transition from classical economics to welfare economics, this transition was not active but passive in capitalist countries. If the economic crisis of the first half of the 19th century, and especially of 1825, stemmed from insufficient consumption by the working class, the economic crisis of the second half of the 19th century stemmed from excessive capital. The new economic growth driven by the Industrial Revolution created excessive capital. Before the 1870s, this capital could not fully go out to the world and materialize, so it "wandered" at home, forming a price bubble of goods, especially those for people's livelihood, which led to the inability of civilians to consume, causing an economic crisis. Therefore, the economic crises in these two periods were ostensibly caused by insufficient effective demand, which was also the view of Marx's

economic crisis theory.²³⁸ But the root causes of insufficient demand were different. The crisis in the early 19th century was caused by poverty while the crisis in the middle and late 19th century was caused by excessive capital. The former was the true deficiency of domestic effective demand, and the latter was the false deficiency of domestic effective demand. The former was the deficiency of domestic effective demand and the latter was the deficiency of international effective demand.²³⁹ Like the debate between neoliberal economics in the capitalist world and Marxist economics in socialist countries at the end of the 20th century, in the mid-19th century, Austrian economics, which represented the mainstream economic thought of the pioneering capitalist countries, also had a dispute with the German historical school of economics, which represented the mainstream economic thought of the later capitalist countries. This reflected the economic and political struggle between the expanding countries and those being invaded in the expansion of the capitalist world.

The development of natural practices and the concentration of capital accelerated the expansion of financial capital and financial oligarchs, brought the Eastern feudal countries into the colonial system, and

²³⁸ Of course, Marxist economic theory and bourgeois economic theory are different. Keynes' economic crisis theory focuses on production, while Marx's economic crisis theory focuses on property rights.

²³⁹ In essence, the deficiency of effective domestic demand is the relative deficiency of internal demand generated by the expansion of the capitalist world system under the reform resistance of the Eastern system. It is the root cause of the economic crisis during the internal reform of the capitalist world system and an external stress. In essence, the deficiency of effective international demand is the relative deficiency of external demand generated by the capitalist world system when it forms new expansion potential for the Eastern system after its internal reform. It is the root cause of the economic crisis during the external expansion of the capitalist world system and an internal stress. The former is mainly solved by expanding domestic effective demand, while the latter is mainly solved by expanding international effective demand. This is the nature of the economic crises in the three stages of the second-generation process and their solutions.

established colonies covering the whole world. Meanwhile, the nature of colonization changed from land grabbing before the Second Industrial Revolution to land tribute and taxes. Its nature was land tribute and taxes rather than raw material markets because the capital export of colonial countries was based on military conquest and political control. The export of capital developed rapidly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Around 1870, the foreign investment of such major capitalist countries as Britain, France, Germany and Japan was only USD 5 billion. In 1914, it increased to USD 44–48 billion.²⁴⁰ Different from export capital at the stage of raw material markets,²⁴¹ capital exported on the basis of political settlement controlled the public goods industry in Zone 2, natural monopoly industry in Zone 3 and competitive industry in Zone 4, so the exploitation by colonial powers of people in colonies, especially in Zone 2, was similar to the feudal “land tribute and taxes”; that is, economic slavery with personal bondage. The income from the capital export of bondage was greater than that of raw material markets and certainly smaller than that of land grabbing.

The social change and economic development of colonial powers, as well as the change in the nature of colonization, greatly accelerated the pace of colonization. From 1876 to 1914, the major colonial powers plundered nearly 25 million km² of territory, colonizing two-thirds of the world’s total

²⁴⁰ See *Capital Export*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/43023.htm>, last access: July 12th, 2013.

²⁴¹ Capital export in the colonial stage of raw material markets or competition controlled the natural monopoly industry in Zone II and the competitive industry in Zone III, but failed to control the main competitive industries in Zone IV, such as automobiles, aircraft manufacturing and steel.

land area and subjecting 56% of the world's population to colonial oppression.²⁴² In Africa, from the end of the 15th century to the mid-19th century, colonial powers occupied 3.18 million km² of land in Africa; and in the last 25 years of the 19th century, European countries occupied 25.69 million km² of land in Africa. By 1900, European countries had completely carved up Africa. In Asia, Russia captured 17 million km² of land in 1876, France conquered Annam, Laos and Cambodia, and Britain captured Peninsular Malaysia and North Borneo, and controlled the Persian Gulf and southern Arabian Peninsula. In addition to directly conquering colonies, colonial powers semi-colonized certain economically underdeveloped countries, mainly those in Zones 4 and 3, such as China, North Korea, Siam, Persia, Afghanistan and the Ottoman Empire. In these countries, the colonial powers seized the rights of customs, communications, commerce, road construction, mining, factory construction, bank establishment and military training.

2.3 Social form of the capitalist colonial system of land tribute and taxes

A. Political form

In the first-stage process, the feudal countries in Zone 2 were completely incorporated into the capitalist colonial system of land tribute and taxes due to the disparity of natural practices between them and the

²⁴² See *Colonialism*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/133004.htm>, last access: April 13th, 2013.

colonial powers. The feudal countries in Zone 2 did not change their social form under pressure like those in Zones 4 and 3 because the disparity of natural practices and geographical proximity made them immune to invasion by the colonial powers, so the original feudal political and economic systems in the first-stage process were retained intact. In the capitalist colonial system of land tribute and taxes, this made the colonies politically dependent.

Take the British colonization of Egypt from 1882 to 1914 as an example.²⁴³ In order to maintain British colonial rule, the occupying authority chose the great Egyptian landlords that were loyal to Britain to serve as the social foundation for its rule over Egypt. The Egyptian government, at Cromer's behest, decreed that landowners had full ownership of their land, making them more politically dependent on the British occupying authority. Political dependence was prominent in finance. The British colonists always tried to make more money from Egypt. In order to increase the land tax, Cromer ordered the land to be remeasured, and the land tax was set at 14% of the land rent, with a maximum of GBP 1.64 per *feddan*. Tariffs were another important tax. After Britain occupied Egypt, a large amount of European goods entered the Egyptian market, resulting in a sharp increase in tariffs. British financial advisers recommended that the Egyptian government sharply increase the tax on tobacco imports from 5 to

²⁴³ See Lei Yu and Su Ruilin, *General History of Middle Eastern Countries (Egypt)*, Commercial Press, 2003, pp. 224–226.

20 piaster per kg. Meanwhile, Egypt's national debt was growing. Cromer confessed that Egypt's national debt was GBP 96.457 million in 1883 and subsequently increased by GBP 18.21 million. Obviously, the income and national debt were not used for public welfare, but for the benefit of British colonial rule. During British rule, Egypt's culture, education and health services deteriorated.

Egypt is in Zone 2. The above process of the British colonization of Egypt shows that the acquisition of various tax rights and national debt issuance rights by Britain in political and military control was undoubtedly the same as the colonization in the feudal period; both consisted of the control of public product resources through economic and super-economic slavery with personal bondage.

B. Economic form

The economic form consistent with the political form of "land tribute and taxes" is serfdom. Serfdom is an economic slavery system with personal bondage, and the economic form of the capitalist colonial system of land tribute and taxes has this same characteristic. We can take the tenant farmers and indentured Chinese laborers in the southern United States after the American Civil War as an example.²⁴⁴

After the independence of the United States, plantation owners in the

²⁴⁴ This part refers to Zhao Yingjiao and Bao Zhen, The Situation of Black Americans after the Civil War, *Journal of Baoshan Teachers' College*, No. 1, 2007.

southern states practiced slavery, and black slaves were their private property. The northern states abolished black slavery, but plantation slavery in the southern states expanded due to the rapid development of the cotton planting industry. The anti-slavery movement began in the northern United States in the early 1830s. The anti-slavery movement culminated in John Brown's raid of 1859. The *Emancipation Proclamation* of 1863 set 4 million black slaves free in the southern United States. But true freedom was far from coming, and a life of servitude in tenant farming began. Although the emancipation of the black people gave them the right to bargain with the landlords, the labor control system could not be eliminated, and they were actually socially attached. At the beginning of their liberation, they had no political rights such as elections, associations, assembly or education, or such property as houses, land, cattle or farm tools. They did not even have decent clothing. They were forbidden to marry white people, carry and bear arms, serve as priests or even to go near white people without a summons. In addition, they were often lynched by various terrorist groups against free blacks organized by slave owners' restoration forces, such as the Ku Klux Klan. Even the Johnson administration formulated the *Black Codes* based on the pre-war "slave codes" to maintain the reactionary rule of plantation owners and suppress the struggle of the free black people for democratic rights. Although the constitution, passed in 1869, gave black people the right to vote and use all forms of public transportation, the reactionary forces

were too strong, and they were unable to exercise these rights. Until the first half of the 20th century, “free” black people without political rights or land had to become tenant farmers (they had no land and only partial means of production, such as seeds, furniture, etc., and used a quarter or a third of their harvest for rent) or sharecroppers (with nothing, they were required to give half or two-thirds of their harvest to landowners). They could not even feed themselves by their labor and ended up in debt slavery. These debt-ridden slaves were obviously in personal bondage. Thus, after the Civil War and until the first half of the 20th century, the southern United States practiced a social form similar to serfdom.

From the Opium War to the end of the Qing Dynasty, almost all Chinese laborers around the world were forced to sign contracts and were commonly known as “contracted Chinese laborers”.²⁴⁵ Take the Chinese laborers called “*zhuzai*” (literally “piglets”) as an example. In Penang in 1800, there were Chinese laborers who indentured themselves to sell their labor for one year, who were known as “*maizhuzai*” (literally “selling piglets”). After the Opium War, there were trading places for buying and selling “*zhuzai*” in Penang, Singapore, Xiamen, Shantou, Hong Kong, Macao, etc. Chinese laborers had to pay for their price with three years of bonded labor, and had to renew the contract if they ran up a debt at the end of the three years. They were mainly used to develop wasteland and mines, and a large proportion of

²⁴⁵ See *Contracted Chinese Laborers*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/158892.htm>, last access: August 6th, 2012

them were abducted to make up for those who died. In the early days, the average annual death rate of Chinese laborers in Malaysia was 50%. By the early 1920s, the average annual death rate was still as high as 20% (the average annual death rate in the eastern part of Sumatra was still as high as 50%). From the 19th century to the eve of World War II, more than 10 million Chinese laborers were estimated to have been sent to Southeast Asia. The high death rate was obviously not the result of three years of bonded labor, but of long-term bonded labor due to the forced renewal of contracts, i.e. contracted Chinese laborers' personal bondage to their employers. It can be seen that contracted Chinese laborers were similar to serfs.

3. The End of World War II to the First Half of the 21st Century: the Capitalist Colonial System of Raw Material Markets or Capitalist Colonial System of Competition

The two world wars set many colonial countries, especially the colonies in Zones 4 and 3, on the road of national liberation, and even led to the formation of the Eastern socialist countries and camps. The socialization of the Oriental feudal countries made the comprador-bourgeoisie and imperial capitalist forces that had originally depended on the feudal system withdraw from these countries, thus theoretically forming an obstacle to the expansion of the capitalist colonial system in accordance with the expansion mode of the second stage. Just like the outward expansion of the dynamic core of the first-stage process, countries subject to expansion changing their social form

hindered the expansion of the expanding powers. If the expanding powers continued to act as the power core, this had to be achieved by transforming the social form to promote economic development. In the second-stage process, this was true of the transformation of land grabbing to land tribute and taxes, and the further transformation of land tribute and taxes into raw material markets. Although many countries achieved independence after the two world wars, following the great depression of 1929, the developed capitalist countries expanded their effective domestic demand and further eased their class contradictions through the implementation of Keynesianism, and their economies developed on this basis. Therefore, the countries that achieved independence, especially those in Zone 2, were still at the bottom of the capitalist colonial system. But in this system, colonization by colonial powers was less serious.

Like the stage of land tribute and taxes, the raw material market stage was also divided into two phases. The first phase was the welfare reform of developed capitalist countries to ease class contradictions, and the subsequent economic development on this basis. The second phase was the new round of economic growth and expansion of developed capitalist countries. These two transformation phases were both passively realized against a backdrop of economic crises, and the difference between a crisis that promoted social change and a crisis that promoted expansion was the same as in the stage of land tribute and taxes. But the nature of welfare

reform was different, and so was the nature of expansion. Welfare reform in the stage of land tribute and taxes remained at the level of pure consumption, while it developed to the level of production in the stage of raw material markets. In the stage of raw material markets, especially before the transition from Keynesianism to neo-liberalism, Western developed countries generally nationalized public goods, natural monopolies and even individual competitive industries. Expansion in the stage of land tribute and taxes was motivated by the search for land tribute and taxes, while expansion in the stage of raw material markets was motivated by the search for raw material markets. Expansion was not realized by force but by foreign aid and preferential international credit.

3.1 The first phase: social transformation, unification and economic development of colonial powers

A. Economic crisis and social transformation

The economy of the Western world experienced a long boom from the 1870s to the eve of World War I, and a brief boom from 1924 to 1929. As the later capitalist camp further changed the social form through militarism as before World War I, the capitalist world was once again divided. The existing expansion of the pioneering capitalist countries was hindered, leading to the Great Depression of 1929–1933 which affected the productive sector of the entire capitalist world. During the Great Depression, industrial production in the entire capitalist world fell by 40%, output fell back to the

level of the late 19th century, total trade volume shrank by two thirds and more than 30 million people were unemployed.²⁴⁶ In 1933, Roosevelt implemented the “New Deal” after he became President, which mainly included the following: public works to reduce unemployment and expand consumer demand; social relief to stabilize the social order; strengthening state control over industrial production; rectifying the financial industry, restoring bank credit, etc.

Although Keynes’s theory was published after the New Deal, the spiritual core of the New Deal was Keynesian. Thus, Keynesianism continued as the mainstream economic thought until the early 1970s. It advocated that the state should increase overall social effective demand by expanding fiscal expenditure in the public sector to promote economic growth. According to Marxist understanding, the spiritual core of Keynesianism is to narrow the class gap and alleviate social contradictions. Generally speaking, the greatest social contradiction in a capitalist country is between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, but in the United States, it was between white people and non-white people, mainly black people. As mentioned earlier, in American society, black people were serfs until the first half of the 20th century. However, the implementation of Keynesianism, especially in the 1950s and 1960s, further improved the social status of black people as capitalist employees, and truly realized their freedom. The

²⁴⁶ See *Great Depression*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/87519.htm>, last access: July 12th, 2013.

social form of the United States changed again after the Civil War, and social productivity was liberated again. As Xie Guorong writes in *Franklin D Roosevelt's New Deal and Black Civil Rights*, "The Roosevelt administration did not give black people a real 'New Deal', nor did it take significant measures to promote black people's civil rights. However, the relief measures taken by the Roosevelt administration during the Great Depression and the expansion of the appointment of black celebrities by the federal government made black people see that the federal government under the Democratic Party could be a tool for them to fight for civil rights. Roosevelt's 'New Deal' also changed the political party choice of most black people, which had a profound influence on the later political life of the United States and black people's struggle for civil rights". Before the 1950s, various black protests such as the Tuskegee Movement, Niagara Movement, Garvey Movement, Holy Father Movement and Black Muslim Movement had failed. By the 1950s and 1960s, however, the black civil rights movement had achieved great success. Congress passed three civil rights acts in 1964, 1965 and 1968, which made great progress in banning segregation and guaranteeing black people's right to vote.²⁴⁷ The fact that black people had the right to vote and were no longer segregated showed that they had acquired the basic characteristics of modern citizenship and were no longer serfs.

²⁴⁷ See Zhao Yingjiao and Bao Zhen, The Situation of Black Americans after the Civil War, *Journal of Baoshan Teachers' College*, No. 1, 2007.

B. Unity of colonial powers

After the two world wars, the capitalist colonial countries finally achieved unity. Both camps in the wars consisted of capitalist countries. The causes of the rivalry between them, as we have seen, were their differences in geopolitical interests, social forms and expansion nature. In the first-stage process, there were underdeveloped countries in the East that could transfer some of the pressure from changes. In the second-stage process, the social transformation of underdeveloped countries was not as advanced as that of developed countries, and the expansion was feudal in nature, which made always put the underdeveloped countries at a disadvantage in competition with the developed countries. The *Treaty of Versailles* signed after World War I enabled Britain and France to maintain dominance in their relationship with the central powers. The international institution that maintained the Versailles system was the League of Nations controlled by Britain and France. This dominance continued to exert pre-war pressure on the central powers. In the *Treaty of Versailles*, the post-war reparations were huge enough to bring Germany down. The Germans could not afford such a huge debt, and the seeds of hatred were planted in the hearts of the Germans, providing the soil for the rise of the Nazis. Before World War I, Lloyd George, the British prime minister, predicted, “The document we have drawn up will lay the groundwork for war 20 years from now! When you impose such conditions on the German people, it will only lead to the Germans

either breaking the treaty or going to war!”²⁴⁸ Thus, World War II broke out. Due to the feudal nature of the expansion of the latter camp, it could not change its social form and attitude towards independent and socialist countries as the former countries had in the war, and was eventually unified by the capitalist colonial system of raw material markets reformed and dominated by Britain, France and the United States.

C. Economic development

The social transformation and unification of the capitalist world promoted the development of the economy. After World War II, the United States took the lead in the Third Industrial Revolution. The Third Industrial Revolution was another great leap in the natural practices of humans in modern times following the steam and electric technology revolutions. Marked by the invention and application of atomic energy, electronic computers, space technology and biological engineering, it promoted the further upgrading of the industrial structure and significantly improved the ability of humankind to understand and transform the natural world. The extensive application of new technology and upgrading of the industrial structure brought the Western economy rapid growth for more than 20 years. The economic growth rate of Western countries, which averaged 1.7% during the two world wars, was as high as 6.1% from 1950 to 1972, during which time the contribution of scientific and technological progress to

²⁴⁸ See *Treaty of Versailles*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/27260.htm>, last access: December 11th, 2012.

economic growth increased from 5% to 10% and then to 60%. The world's industrial output in these 20 years was equivalent to the total output of a century and a half since 1800.²⁴⁹

3.2 The second phase: expansion of neo-liberalism and the formation of the capitalist colonial system of raw material markets

After a long period of economic development in the 1930s, especially after the 1950s, the formation of the capitalist colonial system of raw material markets entered the second phase after the 1970s, which was reflected in mainstream economic thought as the transition from Keynesianism to neo-liberalism. As mentioned above, like expansion in the stage of land tribute and taxes, the fundamental reasons for this transition were the relative improvement of the organic composition of capital and the large amount of surplus capital generated by long-term economic growth. Before going out to the world, this capital was accumulated in the domestic market, especially in the livelihood industry. It was increasingly difficult for Keynesian state investment in people's livelihood to effectively expand the total social demand, leading to so-called "stagflation" in which prices rose continuously and effective demand was not satisfied. In 1970, 1975, 1980 and 1982, the United States alone went through four stagflation crises, resulting in a high inflation rate, high unemployment rate and low economic growth rate.

²⁴⁹ See *The Third Industrial Revolution*, 360 Baike, <http://baike.so.com/doc/5367085.html>, last access: July 12th, 2013.

Against a backdrop of such crises, in the early 1980s, the Thatcher administration in Britain and the Reagan government in the United States pioneered the neoliberal policy of privatizing most state-owned enterprises, especially those that provided public goods and natural monopoly products. This measure alleviated the welfare disease caused by economic stagflation to some extent. At the same time, through providing some developing countries with concessional credit and free assistance, they obtained the highly privatized and liberalized markets of such countries, enabling their domestic surplus capital to go out to purchase local assets²⁵⁰ and expand effective international demand. Thus, the economy saw a new round of growth from the 1980s, which provided the conditions for the occurrence and development of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, the information technology revolution that would have such a profound impact on human forms of production and living. Neo-liberalism was promoted by developed and developing countries all over the world, forming a capitalist colonial system of raw material markets led by transnational corporations, with capital export as the main form and production internationalization and economic globalization as its manifestations. Neo-liberalism advocated liberalization, privatization and marketization, and denied public ownership, state intervention and socialism. As neoclassical economics was to welfare

²⁵⁰ As mentioned above, different from the stage of land tribute and taxes, the acquisition in Zone 2 failed to extend to the field of the public goods domain and was limited to the field of natural monopoly; the acquisition in Zone 3 failed to extend to the field of natural monopoly and was limited to the competitive fields; while the acquisition in Zone 4 was limited to the partial and minor competitive fields.

economics in the 19th century, the relationship between neo-liberalism and Keynesianism was essentially the replacement of consumption welfare with employment welfare, while for developing countries expanded by neo-liberalism, the implementation of neo-liberalism policies replaced employment welfare with consumption welfare. In the national liberation movement after World War II, not only developed countries but also developing countries generally nationalized their public goods, natural monopolies and even competitive industries, providing the public with a large number of jobs. However, these highly economically cooperative state-owned enterprises, often based on a whole economic sector of the country, had difficulty in economic cooperation with other countries (even if there was economic cooperation, as in traditional socialist countries, it was overly advanced economic cooperation based on political cooperation), making it difficult to develop the state-owned economy and improve people's welfare in economic cooperation. After the expanded countries opened up the market and gave up some jobs in public goods, the aid, credit and transnational transfer of production resulted in the increase of people's consumption welfare and the improvement of their livelihood. This is why neo-liberalism was once successful in Southeast Asia and Latin America, and could further spread around the world.

3.3 Social form of the capitalist colonial system of raw material markets

A. Political form

After World War II, the national liberation movement was at an all-time high. Most of the colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America became independent from the colonial system of land tribute and taxes. The promotion of neo-liberalism in the world, the liberalization of markets and the globalization of production made the international monopoly capital break through the nationalist barriers and even socialist barriers of national states, forming the capitalist colonial system of raw material markets. In this system, developed countries continued to exert influence on the political, economic, military and cultural aspects of developing countries, especially those within the system, by fostering dependence on their economic structure. As has been noted, however, this effect was not achieved by force, but by aid. The prerequisite for aid was the introduction of multi-party systems and the democratization of neoliberal politics, which is why so many developing countries now have multi-party systems. However, history shows that the multi-party system has not brought any benefits to developing countries, but has instead intensified such internal conflicts as ethnic separatism, ultra-religionism, political instability and polarization, hindering economic and social development. Of the 80 developing countries surveyed, 26 had a one-party system, with six (23%) experiencing coups; of the 18 countries dominated by one party, six (33%) had coups; of the 16 two-party states, seven (40%) had coups; and of the 20 multiparty states, 17 (85%) had

coups.²⁵¹

B. Economic form

The upper economic form of the capitalist colonial system of raw material markets is international monopoly capitalism, and its basic characteristics are as follows.²⁵² First, monopoly is no longer a general monopoly, but a highly concentrated international monopoly. Monopoly organizations are no longer the original international trusts, but huge multinational corporations and subsidiaries with tentacles all over the world. These giant international monopoly companies are the most important economic entities integrating production, trade, investment, finance, technology development, technology transfer and other services in the current world economy. They control global technology, capital, production, sales and markets, and determine the orientation and order of the whole world economy through investment socialization, production integration, management informatization, networking, etc. At the same time, to adapt to the needs of global development and compete for a monopoly position on a larger scale, some large transnational corporations also form various types of international alliance to strengthen their competitiveness and monopoly position in the global market with collective power. Second, financial capital plays a decisive role in today's economic globalization. Driven by financial

²⁵¹ See Qiu Huiqing and Zheng Shucun, "Failure of Democratization" in Developing Countries, Its Causes and Lessons, *Contemporary World and Socialism*, No. 2, 2012.

²⁵² See *International Monopoly Capitalism*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/145296.htm>, last access: December 24th, 2012.

capital, capital and wealth were rapidly concentrated, forming unprecedentedly wealthy consortiums, oligarchs and tycoons in the world. According to the statistics of the world's 500 largest enterprises released by *Fortune* in 1999, the total income of the top 30 enterprises was equal to 9% of the world's GNP in 1998, which was equal to the total GNP of more than 100 middle and low-income countries. According to the data published by *Business Week*, the market value of the top 10 largest enterprises in 1999 was equal to 8.5% of the world's GDP in 1998, 5.7% higher than the GNP of Germany which was ranked third in the world.

Due to the political weakness of developing countries, especially those in Zone 2, their economic forms were also attached to the upper economic form of the colonial system. This attachment is discussed from the perspective of industrial exploitation, financial exploitation and the consequences for colonies of exploitation by colonial countries:

1) Constant industrial exploitation. Under the old capitalist international division of labor, colonies were the vassals of imperialist countries in terms of industrial raw materials. Under the new capitalist international division of labor, many developing countries were forced to become the vassals of imperialist countries in industrial agriculture or the high value-added industrial primary product industry. In terms of industry, except for a few developing countries, most countries are so underdeveloped in industry that they do not yet have their own machine manufacturing

industry. Even in developing countries that have begun industrialization, the process of industrialization is extensive.²⁵³ Transnational corporations break down the production process into several parts, keeping the more complex, highly skilled production sectors at home and transferring the low-skilled, low-value-added, high-consumption, polluting production to developing countries. For example, the Environmental Protection Act of the United States encourages transnational corporations to move polluting and consuming industries such as oil refining, chemical engineering, steel, paper making and asbestos to developing countries. As the “foreign workshops” of transnational enterprises, developing countries are bound to the capitalist colonial system of raw material markets.

2) Irregular financial exploitation. The political liberalization of developing countries also liberalized the economic management system, and the financial sector was excessively opened to developed capitalist countries. On the one hand, this provided the possibility for Western developed capitalist countries, especially the United States government, to exploit developing countries through the massive issuance of so-called international currencies, while on the other provided the possibility for international hot money to enter developing countries for private financial exploitation. It is important to note that this is not the same as the constant industrial exploitation. The dependence of developing countries in the international

²⁵³ China is one of these countries.

division of labor attaches their industry to that of developed capitalist countries, thus acting as the raw material market provider of the latter. In the new colonial system, the subordinated status of the colonies essentially determines their exploited status. Such exploitation is frequent and inherent in the colonial system. Conversely, financial exploitation occurs when the colonial system is in decline. To transfer domestic pressure, colonial countries exert it on developing countries through financial exploitation. For example, when the United States economy was in recession, the country chose to issue a huge amount of dollars to increase government spending and the international competitiveness of its products. From a purely domestic point of view, the printing of large amounts of money leads to a rise in prices, making it meaningless. However, the US dollar is an international common currency. When issuing US dollars, the United States conducted exchange rate manipulation, ensuring that the exchange rate of the manipulated country could not freely change or even be reversed when the US dollar depreciated, thereby transferring domestic economic pressure to developing countries and worsening their economies. It is clear that such exploitation occurs only when the colonial system is in decline, and is for this reason irregular.

Due to the above two types of exploitation, there exists a serious polarization between developed capitalist countries and developing countries

in the colonial system of raw material markets. According to the data,²⁵⁴ industrially developed countries accounting for 24% of the total population have 80% of the total GNP, while developing countries accounting for 80% of the total population have only 20% of the total GNP.

²⁵⁴ Cao Peilin, Promoting the Development of Political Science Based on Basic Theoretical Research, *Tianjin Social Sciences*, No. 4, 1997.

Chapter 8 Third-Stage Bipolar World

The third-stage bipolar world start from the forming of its power core, and end with the collapse of bipolar world. As the process of the third stage is actually a theoretical prediction based on the development trend of the first and second stages, the specific time of each phase are difficult to determine. In consideration of the world economic development trend, we regard the first half of 21st century as the time when the power core of the third stage—socialist China—begins its economic cooperation with the outside world.

Section 1 Features of the Third-Stage Bipolar World

1. Geopolitical Characteristics

The first stage was a process of four geopolitical entities independent to each other. The second stage had two separate entities—capitalist world and socialist world, while the third stage will be a process where these two entities merge into one. The merging process, however, inherited the features of the first and second stages: geopolitically, the merging started from Zone 4, then to Zone 3, Zone 2, and finally, Zone 1²⁵⁵.

2. Characteristics of Social Practices

255 In the first and second stages, the geopolitical barycenter was in the North. The third stage, which promotes global integration, is a process of decentralization, but in its early phase, the geopolitical barycenter was necessarily in the South. This was decided by the geopolitical features of the North and the South in the previous two stages. In the first stage, the geopolitical barycenter of China, the power core, mainly stayed in the North, though it kept moving to the South. Other countries in the world manifested the same feature. The second stage inherited this feature. Geopolitical barycenter, though moving further to the South, still remained in the North. The third stage, as a process of decentralization, would bear a feature in opposite to the previous two generations, which can be proved by the facts that China's modern and contemporary revolution originated from its southern part, and that the international community values South-South cooperation. As the third stage evolves, its geopolitical barycenter will move westward from the South China along the southern part of Eurasia.

From dynamic perspective, socialist society is more advanced than capitalist society, and socialist countries need state-owned property right cooperation. These two conditions are respectively the endogenous and exterior premises to the foreign cooperation of the third stage's power core. Property right is a concept in market economy, and property right cooperation is the cooperation among state-owned properties in socialist market economy. In theory, such property right cooperation enables the ownership by the whole people to have stronger pricing power in the world market and socialist economy to have a stronger control, and thus market resources will flow to strengthen state-owned properties. The ownership by the whole people will account for a larger proportion in the world economy. In regards of the economic and political issues in socialist countries and Zone 3 countries, cooperation among SOEs can solve the root causes of their fund and market challenges²⁵⁶, and prepare stronger mass foundation for addressing political issues such as corruption and political deviation. In the third-stage process, socialist property right cooperation covers larger scope²⁵⁷ and rising levels²⁵⁸.

²⁵⁶ Like collectively owned economy, ownership by the whole public and other cooperative economy, international SOE cooperative economy can both forms monopoly against other countries gaining extra high profits, and reduce production cost, expanding domestic demand. Cooperation among private-owned economies can only acquire monopoly price, but will reduce effective demand instead of expanding it.

²⁵⁷ The SOE cooperation phase of socialism features the cooperation between Zone 4 and Zone 3; the financial cooperation phase of socialism features the cooperation among Zone 4, Zone 3 and Zone 2; and the world communism phase features the cooperation among the whole world, including all the four Zones.

²⁵⁸ First, in terms of parties in cooperation. Ranked by the participation of whole-people-owned economy, the lowest are competitive SOEs, followed by natural monopoly SOEs, and the highest are public goods SOEs. Most of the SOEs in Zone 2 and Zone 1 are public goods SOEs. The reason why there are differences in participation is because competitive SOEs mainly cooperate with non-fundamental or non-resource-related sectors, which are consumed by only part of the people. Natural monopoly SOEs cooperate with fundamental or resource-related sectors, which are consumed by the majority of people, and public goods SOEs cooperate with all sectors consumed by the whole people. Due to the differences in living standards among the countries, nations and social classes within and between the zones, SOEs cooperation has to start with competitive SOEs, which are the most distant from people's daily life, and then move on to higher levels. If starting from public goods SOEs, which are the closest with people's daily life, it will fall into the trap of politics-oriented cooperation of traditional socialism. In terms of cooperation forms, the SOE cooperation phase of socialism features cooperation among SOEs on production factors, such as price, technology and capital; the financial cooperation phase of socialism, cooperation among state-owned capitals on currency system, such as foreign exchange rate and interest rate. The world communism phase features cooperation aiming to eliminate social differences and private ownership.

Private-owned properties and economy is shrinking²⁵⁹ while whole-people-owned economy is expanding, consolidating the status of socialism in the international landscape. Social differences, including differences among social classes, are narrowing and will be eliminated in the last link. It should be pointed out that the scope and level of socialist cooperation are interlinked. As the cooperation evolves, expanding the scope is the fundamental momentum of raising the level. b. From static perspective, the third stage is to eliminate the differences in social forms on the basis that multiple social forms were merged into two types during the second stage process.

3. Characteristics of Natural Practices

Unlike the natural practices of rough machine in the second stage process, the natural practices in the third stage process must be conducted by more sophisticated machine. Information revolution is different from agricultural revolution and industrial revolution, which primarily acted on productivity and expanded the survival space of human being. In the long run, these two revolutions promoted the changes in production relations and social forms. In the short run, however, they were the “rivals” of changes in production relations. In contrast, information revolution directly acts on production relations in connecting human with human, human with things, and things with things. It makes human life and production far more organized, and strengthens the ability and capacity to

²⁵⁹ Including collectively owned economy. In facilitating the development of whole-people-owned economy, such ownership shall only serve as a guarantee of democracy. In Phase II and III of the third generation process, collective ownership shall gradually retire from the historical arena.

transform and utilize nature of the human being as a whole. In both the long and the short run, information revolution facilitates changes in production relations. Compared with capitalism, socialism is more advanced in representing the fundamental interest of the vast majority of people and the requirements for productivity development. Socialism mobilizes the whole people to develop productivity. Therefore, in essence, the natural practices of the Internet take the same form as the social practices of socialism. It can be predicted that information technology will play a critical role in the third stage process.²⁶⁰

4. Characteristics of the Fracture Zones

The third stage process witnesses the bridging and elimination of the fracture zones in the second stage, including the economic fractures. In such a process, the difference in economic status between individuals shrinks, and economic conflicts are eliminated.

It should be mentioned that the expansion in the third stage process must take the form of property right cooperation, a form of peaceful expansion. This statement can be proved by the peaceful development logic embodied in socialism. Sticking to the peaceful development path is a fundamental principle of socialism. As was pointed out by Karl Marx, only by abandoning “those foreign policies taking advantage of national discrimination and bleeding the people and wasting their wealth in plundering wars (German: *raubkrieg*) for evil purposes”, can the

²⁶⁰ Such a role could be described as a formula: exterior stress of international SOEs cooperation × Internet = 21st century Marxism f (theory, practice).

working class emancipate themselves. “The unity of the working class (German: *Proletariat*) all over the world will finally eradicate any war.”²⁶¹ The fundamental reason why socialist countries pursue peaceful development path is because these countries are relatively backward in world economy and their systems are based on public ownership. Economic backwardness determines the basic principle of foreign cooperation, and public ownership determines the absence of major conflicts among different social classes. Therefore, there is no need to mitigate internal conflicts through wars.

Section 2 Formation of Power Core in the Third-Stage Bipolar World

Under the pressure of the second stage process, China realized socialist changes in social form.

Before the Opium War in 1840, China had been an independent feudal state. After the Opium War, the imperialist invasion changed China’s social development trajectory. As a result, its social nature witnessed two major changes²⁶²: first, China gradually lost its independence and was reduced to a semi-colony. Through armed invasion, capitalist powers coerced the Qing government to sign a series of unjust treaties, which led to cession and forceful lease of land. They carved out spheres of their influence, stationed armed forces on the Chinese territory and interfered administrative and judicial affairs. China lost a large part of sovereignty, and was

²⁶¹ Xiao Guiqing, Liu Aiwu, “Peaceful development path and the intrinsic logical of socialism with Chinese characteristics”, *Ideological and Theoretical Education*, Vol.17, 2011.

²⁶² *New-Democratic Revolution*, Baidu Baike, <http://baike.baidu.com/view/32458.htm>, Lastly visited on December 28, 2012.

no longer entirely independent in politics. Meanwhile, they manipulated China's economic artery through controlling customs and taxation and monopolizing fiscal and financial income, depriving China of its independence in economy. China had to be enslaved to imperialist powers. Second, China reduced from a feudal state to a semi-feudal state. Imperialist powers colluded Chinese feudal powers and bureaucrat capitals, taking advantage of their political and social privilege to hinder the development of China's national capitalist economy. Therefore, oppressed by foreign capital, domestic bureaucrat capital and feudal powers, China's national capitalist economy was not able to make China a latecomer in the capitalist world, which led to the failure of old-democratic revolution. All the anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism struggles by the Chinese people from the Opium War to 1911 Revolution fell into the scope of old-democratic revolution. The World War I and the October Revolution in 1917 of Russia opened a new epoch of proletarian revolution, enlightened the oppressed people in the Oriental colonist and semi-colonist countries. Influenced by the October Revolution in 1917 of Russia, China's proletariat started to appear on the historical arena as an independent political power. Marxism became the fundamental guiding ideology of China's revolution, driving it into the period of new-democratic revolution. In this period, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and with the guidance of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese people has overthrown the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism²⁶³.

²⁶³ Just as the second-stage power core to the first, the third-stage power core came into being dependent on the second. In the third phase of the second stage, the changes and adjustment in political, economic and social landscape has provided China's

After the victory of new-democratic revolution, China conducted the three major socialist transformation movements, and thus its social form transformed towards socialism. The means of production changed from private ownership to socialist public ownership, which primarily established the fundamental economic system of socialism. In 1958, people's commune movement entered into climax. China stepped towards communism in haste pursuing the public ownership featuring "large-sized people commune, entirely public-owned means of production and purely public ownership", severely harming national economy and people's life. After the reform and opening-up in 1978, China ceased to apply public ownership everywhere and opened the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics based on the political and economic achievements in the previous three decades. The Advancement in social practices would develop economic or natural practices. As the power core of the third stage, China's socialist revolution enabled natural practices to experience rapid development. By 2017, China has become the world's second largest economy, largest manufacturer, largest trader in goods, second largest consumer of goods and second largest destination of capital inflow. These remarkable progresses were made after the reform and opening-up, but their institutional foundation was laid by the three major socialist transformation movements. It is apparent that collectively land supply based on land public ownership has played an important role in China's urbanization, and

revolution with necessary external condition for success. In World War II, the Allies promoted colonization in competitive fields was purely economic, which was more advanced than the colonization of the Axis. This enabled the victory of the Allies. Such purely economic colonization gave China's revolution survival spaces. This may have decided that socialist China had more economic elements than the Soviet Union which was born earlier.

that SOEs, especially those SOEs administered by the central government, has been a great actor in implementing China's economic strategies²⁶⁴.

Power core cannot export momentum right after social form revolution, rather, it has to wait until its natural practices have grown stronger. However, the natural practices need by the third-stage power core can be relatively weaker than those needed by the first and second stages, because the previous two stages were the expansion of the powerful. Their natural practices before expansion must be stronger than the destination of expansion. The third stage is the expansion of the weak in the world market. In this process, the weak strengthen themselves through property right cooperation and hence enter the world market. Their natural practices before expansion are not necessarily stronger than the destination. But still, the third stage must raise the natural practices to a certain level to break through the blockade of capitalist system and conduct foreign economic cooperation. That is why China, the power core of the third stage, did not expand outward through foreign economic cooperation immediately after the socialist revolution in mid-20th century, but experienced some zigzags in political cooperation and strengthened natural practices firstly.

“Only after emancipating the whole human being can proletariat finally emancipate itself.” We can understand this statement of Marx as follows: without the common development of all countries or common emancipation of the

²⁶⁴ China's urban land is owned by the whole people, and rural land is collectively owned by villagers. Although rural land is collective ownership, it has a certain degree of whole-people ownership nature, because collectively owned land must be expropriated by the government before it enter into the market as land for the purpose of industry and commerce. This is the most important secret of the China miracle.

proletariat of the whole world, no country can realize communism alone, nor can the proletariat in any country emancipate itself alone. Although Lenin made the statement at the beginning of the 20th century that socialist revolution could success in one or several countries earlier than others, which has been proven by the practices of USSR, China, DPRK and Cuba, history and reality both demonstrated that without the world market, these countries and their proletariat have encountered a lot of structural problems on the way to emancipation. How to strike a balance between the planned system and market system has always been a fundamental issue determining the destiny of socialism. Without market system, socialist countries cannot link their political and economic governance with the world market, nor can they work together with the weak in the world market to break through the restraints of capitalist colonization. Although China, the power core of the third stage, has gained large success through establishing socialist market system, the rapid urbanization driven by collective land supply system may hide high risks²⁶⁵. In essence, this risk is the same as “the Great Leap-forward” in the 1950s—both of them are structural disproportion caused by the planned system. How to solve this fundamental issue?²⁶⁶ As all the reform measures are approaching the bottom line of scientific socialism principles²⁶⁷, the only way out

²⁶⁵ Among the three pillars driving economic development, investment and export account for a disproportionately large share. Infrastructure industries including real estate have kidnapped the national economy and consumption has been sluggish. Lack of consumption is a demand-side issue, which is universal among developing countries. Disproportionate share of investment and export is a supply-side issue, which is unique to countries with centralized economic system. The root cause of this issue is easy to understand. In the capitalist world market which has a center-marginal texture, developing countries lack consumption capacity and can only supply low level product to developed countries. Socialist countries are no exception to this.

²⁶⁶ The economic issue in China is a demand-side issue in the short term, a supply-side issue in the mid-term, but an ownership issue in mid- and long-term and a political and economic structural issue between the center and periphery in the long term. To solve this, we need to coordinate all issues at the four levels. Demand-side reform should serve supply-side reform; supply-side reform should serve ownership reform; and ownership reform should serve world governance system reform.

²⁶⁷ Public ownership is one of the most important principle of scientific socialism. The current economic reform in China has

for China is to seek common development with all countries, especially developing countries. In common development, we can introduce external momentum and external supervision to solve both China's issue and the issues of all countries, especially developing countries²⁶⁸.

How to achieve common development? Modern political and economic system is western-country-centered. Even though on the periphery, the emerging economies, as latecomers, have gained relative independence, the political and economic link among these countries are not as strong as that among developed capitalist countries. To get rid of the economic and political control of developed countries at the center, the peripheral developing countries are bound to enhance cooperation. Since the Bandung Conference, the developing countries have experienced sixty years of South-South Cooperation. But except several relatively independent emerging economies, it produced very little effect. Economic ties among developing countries have not been strengthened, and peripheral developing countries are still controlled by countries at the center. Due to historical reasons, the parties in South-South cooperation are mainly countries in Zone 4 and Zone 2, or the so-called Third World countries. In the expansion of capital

touched upon on its bottom line, but without apparent effects. For example, state-owned capital holding the majority of the shares is an elementary requirement for SOEs. Although the state-owned capital is nearly losing the holding status of the SOEs in the mixed ownership reform, researches show that the performance of enterprises has not been effectively raised. Another example is land ownership. Public ownership of land is the key artery of socialist economy. The pilot projects of the land market entrance system reform, which aims to remove the state-owned nature of the collectively owned land, will not only shake the fiscal foundation, but also deprive farmers of competitiveness in the market.

²⁶⁸ China's reform and opening-up has shown that opening-up is the primary driving force of economic development, reform is the secondary one, and innovation is the tertiary one. Previously, China's opening-up was mainly western-oriented. Due to the existence of colonial system, western-oriented opening-up will definitely generate fragmented and mal-organized driving force of reform. Fragmented reform aims to solve issues in a short run, while delayering reform aims to solve issues in a long run. The third-stage process witnesses China's westward open cooperation with Zone 3, Zone 2 and Zone 1, and the driving force it generates will necessarily be delayering and conducive to improving the organization of Zone 4, Zone 3 and Zone 2 in colonial system.

colonization, because countries in Zone 2 were geographically near to invaders and their social forms, left by the feudal system period, were backward, they were vulnerable to external powers and were the first to be colonized. With longer time and higher extent of colonization, these countries are still within the control of capitalist colonization system, though they have gained political independence after World War II. Although these countries maintained a large number of public goods SOEs, they have few natural monopoly SOEs and no competitive SOEs, resulting in low balance of international payment and price control capacity, and hence their politics and economy are vulnerable to the manipulation of western powers and capitals. In contrast to countries in Zone 2, those in Zone 4 and Zone 3 are far away from western countries and had advanced social forms during the feudal system period, so they have stronger defense against external powers. Therefore, though they were also once colonized by western countries, the time was relatively short and extend relatively light; and thus they successfully adopted socialism and got rid of capitalist control in the 20th century. After the disintegration of USSR, countries in Zone 3 transformed to capitalist system, but they still have a more centralized political and economic system and independent status in the world landscape. The failure to firstly strengthen cooperation with countries in Zone 3 is the fundamental reason why South-South Cooperation has not achieved remarkable results. Therefore, the foreign cooperation of Zone 4 should start with Zone 3.

Section 3 From Socialist Political Cooperation to Economic

Cooperation

The author holds that the dissolution of USSR was inevitable. The third stage of the bipolar world is the integration of human society, which should be realized through economic integration. However, the USSR advanced world socialist movement through political integration. Without economic integration, or in other words, the convergence of interest, the forceful political integration would necessarily lead to the inequality and imbalances between the advancer and targets²⁶⁹. Under external pressure, such inequality is prone to growing into imperialism in international terms and absolutism in national terms. Apparently, imperialism based on absolutism is even more backward compared with capitalist-imperialism based on freedom and democracy. Therefore, with certain external pressures, the traditional socialist political cooperation will definitely fail.

1. External Pressure

Economically backward countries in the East established socialist system and political and economic alliances because they were confronted with a common enemy—capitalist colonization. Traditional socialist political cooperation system was formed under the external pressure posed by capitalist world order, which was dominated by developed capitalist countries. After the World War II, both USSR

²⁶⁹ Socialist countries are all developing countries and have common fundamental interest when faced with the capitalist camp, but they still have differences in interest and gaps in people's living standard among themselves. National interest and class interest cannot be coordinated in forceful political cooperation. Similarly, working class in developed capitalist countries and that in developing countries have common interest when faced with the capital class, but they have gaps in living standard among themselves. This gap is even larger than that within the working class of developing countries. If political cooperation is forcefully promoted before economic cooperation and gaps in living standard are hastily bridged, working class in developed countries will not support that. That is why working classes are easily to be incited by politicians with nationalism, and it is also the reason why Bernstein and others could adjust Marxism and entered the political arena in West Europe in the 19th century.

and China once hoped to have normal exchanges with capitalist countries, but due to the latter's economic blockade and military containment, the former had to follow the path of political alliance and maintained the Cold War with capitalist countries in about half a century. Meanwhile, political and economic cooperation among socialist countries were dominated by political concepts.

1.1 The USSR and China were forced to start the Cold War. During the World War II, the economy of traditional capitalist countries in West Europe broke apart and people lived in poverty, which provided the development of Communist Party with favorable environment. The Communist Party won most of the post-war election in these countries, especially in France, it even once occupied the most seats in the Parliament. The USSR strictly clung to the understandings and agreements reached by the wartime ally, in particular not to touch the sphere of influence of the US and the UK and not to trigger disputes. The United States, however, with its strong power, proposed Truman Doctrine to contain USSR and Marshall Plan to assist European capitalist countries to recover their collapsing economic system, so that they could check the spontaneous development of Communism in Europe. USSR once showed interest in the assistance plan, and Stalin proposed on many public occasions that USSR and US could and should coexist peacefully despite different economic institutions and ideologies. But the US were not sincere enough to accept USSR in the Plan, requiring USSR to reform its political system and participate in the unified market of Europe. It was impossible that USSR accept such conditions, and eventually USSR rejected the

assistance plan. As the international prestige of USSR was growing and some people's democratic countries (including the PRC) emerged, western countries accelerated to contain socialism. The two camps started confrontation in political and military affairs. By the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Cold War between the East and West had already taken shape in the world. Faced by the hostility of the US, China had to "totally lean to" socialist camp in its foreign policy.

1.2 The socialist camp were mainly on the defensive during the Cold War in both the opening and process. From the perspective of academia, the Cold War was divided into three phases. Phase I lasted from mid and late 1950s to early 1960s, when USSR had a large gap in comprehensive national power especially military power with US. The USSR was apparently on defensive so that Khrushchev even anchored his hope on "USSR-US cooperation" to co-chair the world. Phase III lasted from mid 1980s to the collapse of USSR. Due to the break-up of China-USSR relations and new technology revolution of the US, the gap between USSR and US was further enlarged. The USSR retreated one step after another and eventually dissolved. Some scholars considered that in Phase II the USSR caught up with or even outperformed the US in military and science, but if taking industrial structure, people's living standard and other factors into account, USSR still lagged behind the US in terms of economy. In spite of economic gap, USSR took offensive strategy, resulting in the increase of internal tension and social division. This has foreshadowed its strategic failure.

2. Political Cooperation

2.1 The nature of political cooperation

A. International cooperation. In explaining the reasons for the breakdown of China-USSR relations, some scholars thought relations among traditional socialist countries had some structural problems²⁷⁰. The first one was conflicts between internationalist ideas and national interest pursuit. The specificity and differences in each country's interest were covered up by the universality and identity of ideology. If we consider that the disagreements between China and USSR at the 20th National Congress of Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) were confined to ideology and thus they could be controlled, then since the summer of 1958, the disputes on national interests between the two countries damaged the political alliance and became uncontrollable. The second was contradiction between the hierarchical organization principles within the alliance and the principle of equal rights of each country. Inter-party relations and international relations were mixed. Since the October Revolution in 1917, the USSR had long stayed at the center of world revolution. With a special status, USSR leaders had got used to throwing their weight around and giving orders to the revolution and development of allies. In the 1950s and 1960s, the CPC and CPSU had deep divisions and fierce debates over how to appraise Stalin, how to deal with the relations between socialist countries and western countries, how to consider social development path, etc. In such escalating debates, China and USSR has been

270 Luan Jinghe, “Reasons for the Breakdown of the China-USSR Relations’ Research and Review”, *Contemporary China History Studies*, Vol. 11 (2007).

confronting. These structural problems reflect that China-USSR alliance based their economic cooperation on political cooperation, making the alliance more “inelastic”, and thus easily collapsed upon greater external pressure.

B. Domestic cooperation. Socialist international cooperation was more about politics, which decided that domestic cooperation and political economic system of socialist countries were more about politics. First, in dealing with relationship among ethnic groups, socialist political pursuits were dominant, and special and specific interest requirements of all ethnic groups were neglected. This led to conflicts between practices and the Constitution²⁷¹. Stalin and his successors simply attributed ethnic issues to the existence of exploiting class and exploitation institution. Second, in dealing with domestic political economic issues, they put politics before economy, and as a result, economy dysfunctioned. During the Cold War, the two camps competed on diplomacy, politics, military, culture as well as science, technology and economy. For the East, economic development was to serve international and domestic political situations and requirements. Taking China as example, political requirements like outpacing imperialist countries, added by the estrangement from USSR, were the very reason for accelerating economic growth. This triggered the “Great Leap Forward” and the “Movement of Peopole's Commune” after 1958, destroying agricultural and industrial production, disturbing the economic balance and bringing difficulties to people’s life.

2.2 External pressure and internal tension were strengthened. Traditional

271 Zuo Fengrong, “Ethnic Policies and the Dissolution of USSR”, *Contemporary World and Socialism*, Vol.2 (2010).

socialism cooperation is “inelastic”. When the external pressure is high, it has a risk of being transmuted into hegemonism and absolutism.

A. Stronger external pressure. The collapse of USSR and tremendous change to East Europe had two external reasons. First, the breakdown of China-USSR relations strengthened the external pressure from the West. The estrangement between China and USSR made both of them separately bear external pressure, especially after China-USSR relations fell apart and China-US relations was normalized, when the US was able to dedicate more efforts to tackling the USSR, posing higher pressure on the latter. As a result, socialist cooperation system put more emphasis on internal control. Second, the new technological revolution in the West strengthened external pressure even more²⁷². The new technology cluster emerged in the fourth technological revolution, including information technology, biotech, new material, new energy, space technology, marine development technology and space technology, brought major changes to economic or industrial structures. The USSR applied only a quarter of its scientific and technological results into economy, resulting in continuous deterioration of the Soviet Union's economy and the decline of its overall national strength, as well as increasing internal tension.

B. Stronger internal tension. Higher external pressure strengthened internal tension, which manifested itself as hegemonism and absolutism. In the period of Khrushchev and Brezhnev, due to heavier political and military control within the

272 Zhang Yan, “New Technological Revolution and the End of Bipolar Landscape in the Cold War”, *Journal of Northwest A&F University*, Vol.3 (2003).

socialist camp caused by the estrangement from China, the USSR showed more and more features of hegemonism in relations with other socialist countries, rudely interfering the internal affairs of other countries. At the same time, it showed tendency of absolutism in its domestic cooperation, manifested as personal centralization, life-long tenure of leaders and designated successors.

2.3 People's Livelihood. During the Cold War, developed capitalist countries in the West improved people's livelihood in the developing countries at the bottom of capitalist system that played strategic roles; while socialist camp slipped into hegemonism and absolutism because of growing external pressure. As a result, people's life turned poorer and poorer, shaking the cornerstone of national solidarity and people's faith in socialism, and eventually led to the dissolution of the USSR. First, deteriorating living standard shook the cornerstone of national solidarity²⁷³. The USSR had long been clinging to the statement that "ethnic issues are issues of social classes", and promoted some unpractical and wrong theories and policies like "integration" "ethnic merging". Lots of ethnic-related problems were accumulated and conflicts among ethnic groups were triggered. Second, deteriorating living standard destroyed people's faith in socialism²⁷⁴. According to statistics, as of the early 1980s, one-third of adult citizens in the USSR always got drunk, social security kept worsening and criminal rate rose. This has seriously affected the superiority of the socialist system and shaken the

273 Lu Jiyuan, "People's Livelihood in the USSR and its Reflections", *Journal of Naval University of Engineering*, Vol.3 (2012).

274 Lu Jiyuan, "People's Livelihood in the USSR and its Reflections", *Journal of Naval University of Engineering*, Vol.3 (2012).

people's belief in socialism.

3. Towards Economic Cooperation

Traditional political cooperation framework of socialism has collapsed, and China and former USSR countries have adopted opening-up policies, but they were still backward in economy and faced with common rivalries—developed capitalist countries or capitalist colonial system led by them. This would inevitably lead them to adopt a new mode of cooperation, that is, economic cooperation²⁷⁵.

3.1 International Cooperation

A. Cooperation between China and CIS countries. After the dissolution of USSR, China rapidly established diplomatic relations with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Here, we take Central Asian Countries as an example. After their independence, their relations with China have been deepened within several years. The Chinese government and people did not haste to carry out political cooperation and be backseat drivers on other countries' internal affairs like the USSR did. Instead, China based its cooperation with CIS countries on economic grounds. Both sides were pragmatic and cooperated on the basis of common economic interests.

B. Cooperation among CIS countries. Right after the dissolution of the USSR, Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and the five Central Asian countries signed the CIS Collective Security Treaty, and established the Commonwealth of Independent

²⁷⁵ China, which has more economic cooperation characteristics, replaced the USSR as the major force in the East. This may be turning point from the second stage to the third stage.

States. It is the fundamental reason why former Soviet Union countries were able to resist the interference of western forces and keep the high extent of state ownership of economy as well as political and economic independence. After the inception of CIS, economic cooperation among CIS countries were also put on the agenda. At the same time, Central Asian countries was in the process of integration.

3.2 Domestic cooperation

A. Reform of China's internal cooperation models. First, democratic system and mechanism has been improved. The system of people's congress, the system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the CPC, the system of regional ethnic autonomy, political participation and rights protection of citizens have witnessed profound development. Second, the CPC has been further developed, with higher capability of ruling in a scientific, democratic and law-based manner. Third, administrative reform has achieved major breakthrough. The fundamental economic system, in which the public ownership occupies the principal status and economy with different types of ownership is jointly developed, has been identified. Socialist market economy has been established, where the market plays fundamental role in resource allocation.

B. Reform of internal cooperation models among CIS countries. We take Central Asia as an example. In terms of political cooperation, the social system of Central Asian countries had gone through two phases after the dissolution of USSR. Currently, in these countries, Parliaments are dominated by political parties led by

the President or supporting the President. In terms of economic cooperation, despite the privatization reform, public ownership still accounts for a large share, second only to the share in socialist countries. Planned economy has been transformed to market economy.

Section 4 Mission of International Cooperation of State-owned Enterprises

1. Financial Crisis and the End of Neoliberalism

In the previous decades, due to the prevailing and long-term deficits in western countries, emerging economies represented by China and Russia had been in surplus in foreign trade (their foreign reserves accounted for two-thirds of global official foreign reserves). Added by excessively low consumption rate, the credit system in developed countries was impacted on, resulting in the 2008 financial crisis. Neoliberalism economy has not seen any hope of recovery so far. Instead, in each of the four regions, some countries witnessed “re-nationalization”, and China, which is in Region 4, also experienced a process of “growing state-owned elements and shrinking privately owned elements”. This may be regarded as the end of capitalist colonial system in raw material market. Within capitalist system, the power core of the first-stage and Phase I and Phase II of the second-stage process advanced social formation by nationalization. But the author cannot allege whether the current capitalist system can further advance the social formation by implementing higher level nationalization than that after the World War II, so that it can provide the new round of economic growth and new type of external

expansion with foundation²⁷⁶. This is an issue of practice²⁷⁷. However, for capitalist countries, even higher level of nationalization does not have the same model as that in China, the power core of the third-stage process. In the phase of raw material market, major developed countries adopted high welfare and expansive fiscal policies. Government expenditure on social welfare accounted for about 50% of total fiscal expenditure. Even so, due to the growing deficit and government debts and under the pressure of rising power core, they have to implement nationalization to address internal issues. However, such nationalization is passive. Its only meaning is to supplement private economy in expanding domestic demand. Therefore, the nationalization focused on public goods industries and natural monopoly industries, only filling in the gap of private economy rather than thoroughly break the limitation of private economy in expanding domestic demand and mitigating social crisis. But in China, the nationalization not only covers public goods industries and natural monopoly industries, but also dominates major competitive industries, and thus can develop economy and improve people's livelihood.

2. Limitation of Policies Expanding Domestic Demand

According to Marxism, economic crisis, in essence, is a chain reaction in industrial chain led by insufficient consumption and overcapacity. The fundamental

²⁷⁶ The backflow of manufacturing industry in western countries demonstrates weaker control of developed capitalist countries on countries on lower levels in the hierarchy. This shows that the collapse of capitalist colonial system is irreversible, because such phenomenon is unprecedented. But this can also be a representation of strategic contraction and internal reform in competitive areas of colonial system before the new round of expansion.

²⁷⁷ To the backdrop of the Belt and Road Initiative, current disputes on WTO subsidy and rules may lead to qualitative changes in international politics. The status of state-owned enterprises is expected to be identified in the international community.

solution is to expand effective demand, the key to which is to expand the consumption of low- and mid-income classes. In other words, the reason why it is hard to expand domestic demand and consumption is because the consumers cannot afford those goods. If private economy need to expand consumption, producers have to sell their goods at a lower price. If so, producers are not able to acquire the industrial average profit of their goods, or even lose money. If things continue in this way, producers' competitiveness in the market will fall, and finally companies go bankrupt. Therefore, even if we neglect the willingness of capitalists and only count the objective facts of privately owned enterprises in, private economy essentially pursues profits, which determines that it is not able to expand domestic demand and insufficiency in effective demand is "inevitable". Even capitalist countries do not rely on private economy to expand effective demand; rather, they use national force, that is, fiscal and tax policies. Thus, state policies are the only way to expand domestic demand. In the following part, the author will analyze the limitation of such policies.

2.1 Limitation of fiscal and tax policies. After the financial crisis, many countries adopted proactive fiscal and investment policies to stimulate the economy and drive growth, but the inflation resulted from foreign-relying economic structure diluted the driving force and raise government debts and fiscal deficits. Also, many countries expanded their public consumption expenditure. Despite its importance, consumption must result from economic growth, rather than being used to stimulate economic growth. Otherwise, demand will only be

generated in current period of consumption and will not continue. Therefore, in the long run, fiscal and tax policies cannot be used as method to drive economic growth.

2.2 Limitation of economic and trade policies. Another method taken by developing countries to shift the pressure of expanding domestic demand is expanding overseas demand. In other words, they adjust traditional economic and trade structure to make up for the falling demand from developed countries. In traditional economic and trade structure, developed countries are demanders. But after the financial crisis, demand from these countries was weak, and to make up for this, developing countries, especially emerging economies started to seek cooperation among themselves, in order to increase the trade volume. But because of the differences among emerging economies in development stage and industrial structure, such cooperation would encounter frictions, which will hinder these countries from deeper cooperation. Research shows that adjustment in traditional international trade structure is the very reason why trade frictions extended from developed countries to developing countries.

2.3 Limitation of enterprises M&A. On one hand, from “the losing decades” of Japan, we can see that when the effective demand all over the world is universally insufficient, overseas acquisition will definitely be faced with such insufficiency, wherever the acquisition takes place. The acquired assets will be left unused or depreciated. Such economic risk will not only be taken by brand acquisition of privately owned enterprises, but also by commodity acquisition of

state-owned enterprises. On the other hand, in mineral industry, energy and some other industries related to national economy and people's livelihood, acquisition may incite nationalism, and to solve this, some governments may cancel the contract, raise taxation rate or impose a ceiling on the share proportion held by foreign investors. These action will harm the rights and benefits of investors and the interest of the parties involved in acquisition cases.

3. Cross-Border Cooperation between State-Owned Enterprises Is a Necessary Choice

Although China's population is as large as the aggregation of European developed countries, the United States and Japan, the scale of state-owned enterprises, entities critical to China's development strategy, is only one-seventh as large as the multinational corporations (MNCs) in western developed countries, and enterprises' structures are outdated as well²⁷⁸. The scale determines the ability to control market factor prices and flow, and such control, as an "institution" in the world market, will naturally maintain western MNCs' advantages in economic scale and industrial structure. Therefore, from the perspective of market, with merely a small scale, China's state-owned enterprises can hardly outperform western MNCs in the long-term competition, nor can they outpace the development of competitors on their own. Based on the law of market, China's state-owned enterprises have to cooperate with their counterparts in other countries, especially Zone 3 countries. Like ownership by the whole people and collective

ownership economy, the cooperative economy owned by the whole people between developing countries also belongs to cooperative economy. Referring to the function of collective ownership economy in a narrow sense, we can understand that the economic cooperation among the weaker players in the market is able to form monopoly prices, and they can transfer the profits gained from such monopoly to the weaker, so that effective demand of the weaker can be increased. International cooperation of state-owned economy has such a function²⁷⁹.

3.1 Theoretical possibility

A. From Macroscopic perspective, SOEs in different countries have common interest. Although they represent the whole people's interest in their own countries, they share common interest in capitalist world market. In this market, developing countries' SOEs have common interest in promoting each country's economic development strategy, enhancing economic autonomy and strengthening endogenous development engine; meanwhile, SOEs of developed countries and developing countries also have common interest in expanding domestic demand

²⁷⁹ State-owned enterprises operate in areas related to national economy, people's livelihood and national development strategy, and thus their products enjoy high value-added and high technological factors, representing the trend of social productivity development. Therefore, SOE cooperation must be the driving engine of the socialist economy cooperation in Zone 4 and Zone 3, in which economic development is weaker (so far, SOE cooperation can address a most acute issue of economic imbalance—insufficient domestic demand). Collectively owned economy cannot be this driving engine. Collectively owned economy accounts for a large share in Zone 4, holding land, forestry and other resources, but the value-added and technological factor of its products are low. Cooperation among them and the collectively owned economy growing from such cooperation will dominate the market, making market resources flow towards primary industries. This is not conducive to industrial upgrading and the consolidation of socialist cooperation (excessive cooperation of collectively owned economy hinders industries from upgrading, and under the pressure of developed capitalist countries which have upgraded their industries, the institutional foundation of socialist cooperation collapsed. This may be one of the reason why socialist planned economy failed.) However, it need to be mentioned that though collectively owned economy is not able to bear the aforementioned mission, in socialist countries, it can and must be the economic basis safeguarding people's livelihood. Because collectively owned economy controls land resources, the most important resource for people's livelihood. With the government regulation, land and the products grown from it can get access to the market, meeting the demand of people and thus anchoring price and employment. After the reform and opening-up, China became a market economy, and its collectively owned economy still had single form and was weakened. But as people's livelihood issues are increasingly acute in these years, collectively owned economy need to be more diverse and creative. For example, inelastic demanders can be encouraged to raise fund and build houses on the land expropriated by the government, so that the housing price can be contained.

and improving people's livelihood.

B. From mesoscopic perspective, cross-border SOE cooperation can introduce legal external supervision to SOE governance of each country²⁸⁰.

Insufficient check and balance of shares due to lack of external supervision is the fundamental reason of low efficiency in SOEs. State-owned assets and privately-owned assets have different fundamental interests; as a result, although external supervision was introduced into the mixed ownership enterprises and could partially improve SOE governance, corporate governance in such enterprises was still an issue, just like in enterprises entirely owned by the state, unless state-owned assets lose holding rights of these enterprises²⁸¹. In past decades, SOEs in many countries have brought some privately-owned assets into their share structures through privatization for check and balance, but such actions did not shake the holding rights of state-owned assets. The external supervision created by such reforms were not real external supervision, because the supervisors are representatives of governors, rather than actors from outside the governance system. Such “external supervision” is not strong enough to raise the efficiency. In comparison, cross-border SOE property cooperation can both secure the public

280 The advancement of third-stage process can not only introduce external supervision to SOE governance, but also introduce external supervision to the economic and political governance of socialist countries and other countries. In the past four decades, China's reform and opening-up has achieved great success. It is basic best practice that promoting the reform through opening-up. The key to success is getting engaged into world market, so as to introduce external supervision to corporate and government governance, and thus to improve efficiency. However, in the past 40 years, the external supervision created by macroscopic, mesoscopic and microscopic level reforms were not real external supervision. The supervisors, to some extent, were still representatives of governors, rather than actors from outside the governance system. Inefficiency still existed, and comprehensive and deepened reform and opening-up was still needed. International governance and cross-border SOE property right cooperation helps avoid the limitations of “Western models”, prevent the “nearsighted market” from offsetting the effects of governance, stick to the Four Fundamental Principles and strengthen the force of international communist movement. More importantly, it helps further introduce supervisors from outside the system to China's economic, state and social governance, so as to create strong and effective external supervision and fundamentally improve governance efficiency.

281 A number of empirical studies have proven that the holding proportion of state-owned assets in SOEs were not directly related to enterprises' performance.

ownership of SOEs and conduct effective check and balance. Thus, governance efficiency can be thoroughly raised²⁸².

C. From microscopic perspective, such cooperative enterprises can make products more competitive than those made by privately-owned enterprises. Due to differences in factor endowment, SOEs can make products of lower cost, cheaper price and more affordable for the economically weak through cross-border property cooperation, which combines factors from different countries. In contrast, private monopolies will only form a monopolized price rather than lower selling price.

3.2 Practical possibility

A. In conformity to the rule of law. Capital concentration is regulated by the Anti-Monopolization Law. The guiding principles of this law in all countries are mainly to restrain capitals from getting monopolized price, so as to protect the rights and benefits of consumers. This law does not contain capital concentration that is conducive to consumers and public good. Cross-border SOE cooperation, which can reduce production cost and selling price and thus improve people's consumption power, is exempted by the law.

B. Demand of crisis response. After the financial crisis, the emerging economies have been unprecedentedly willing to conduct economic cooperation.

282 Despite the influence of language, talent and host country environment on micro operation, such kind of cross-border state-owned enterprises can achieve effective check and balance, and be prudent in major decision-making, like privately-owned joint-equity enterprises. Under the condition that common interests of strategic investors are guaranteed, the operation efficiency of such enterprises will not be lower than privately-owned ones. And given that state-owned enterprises can expand effective demand, these enterprises' comprehensive efficiency will be higher than that of privately-owned ones.

Such cooperation mainly took the form of intergovernmental mechanism. Many major projects were SOE cooperation, and have achieved substantial progress²⁸³.

Section 5 Formation of the Third-stage Bipolar World

What form the SOE international cooperation takes and how deep it goes can decide to what extent it can monopolize price and expand domestic demand. Competitive SOEs, due to narrow scope and low extent of cooperation, are more flexible in international cooperation, and the benefits from cooperation are easier to be “evened up” among the people of state parties in cooperation. Therefore, competitive SOEs are more likely to be engaged in international cooperation, and the third-stage process may be kicked off by these enterprises. Their international cooperation kept going on and SOEs kept growing, evening up the social and economic development level of different countries. This underpinned the cooperation of natural monopoly SOEs and public goods SOEs, whose cooperation are deeper and more advanced. According to such understanding, the author predicts the phases of third-stage process as follows: from the first half to the second half of the 21st century, SOE cooperation socialism phase witnesses the international cooperation among competitive SOEs; from the second half of the 21st century to the first half of 22nd century, financial cooperation socialism phase witnesses the international cooperation among natural monopoly SOEs, the aim of which is financial cooperation²⁸⁴. From the first half to the second half of the 22nd

283 Production capacity and infrastructure are the two major cooperation areas of the Belt and Road Initiative. They are interdependent and complementary. It may still need another seven or eight years before the Belt and Road Initiative influences the whole picture.

284 Of course, financing also belongs to natural monopoly industries. It is the highest level of natural monopoly.

century, the phase of world communism witnesses the international cooperation among public goods SOEs. This phase of cooperation totally evens up the socioeconomic development level and people's living standard of all countries, and social differences and classes die out²⁸⁵.

In previous parts, it is mentioned that the third-stage process is a unification process, but its phases inherit part of the features of the first-stage and second-stage processes. The first-stage process had four zones, and the third-stage process inherit the features of these four zones; that is, the expansion from the east to the west also experienced the phase where the world is divided into four zones. In the second-stage process, Zone 2 was dependent on Zone 1; Zone 3 and Zone 4 converged into one polar because of their cooperation, independent from the other polar formed by Zone 2 and Zone 1. The third-stage process inherits this feature: Zone 4 cooperates with Zone 3 firstly, then with Zone 2, and lastly with Zone 1. The first phase, which witnesses cooperation between Zone 4 and Zone 3, is called SOE cooperation²⁸⁶; the second phase, which witnesses cooperation among Zone 4, Zone 3 and Zone 2, is called financial cooperation socialism²⁸⁷; and the third phase, which witnesses cooperation among Zone 4, 3, 2 and 1, is called world communism²⁸⁸²⁸⁹.

285 From the analysis in previous chapters, we can see that the first-stage and second-stage process both witnessed "oscillation cycle"; that is, the momentum output by each stage's power core converted into the momentum of the input object's reform, and after that, this converted momentum began to hinder the existing expansion of the power core and thus promote the reform of power core and generate new and stronger momentum and expansion. The oscillation cycle of the first-stage process lasted 700 years, that of the second 70 years. The third-stage process will necessarily go through such a cycle as well. The author estimates that it will last for 50 years.

286 We can also call it competitive SOE cooperation socialism.

287 We can also call it natural monopoly SOE cooperation socialism.

288 We can also call it public goods SOE cooperation socialism.

289 It should be emphasized that geopolitically, the first two phases do not strictly follow this process. This is only a general feature. For example, in the first phase, Zone 4 do not only cooperation with Zone 3.

1. From the First Half to the Second Half of the 21st Century: SOE Cooperation Socialism or Competitive SOE Cooperation Socialism

1.1 Features

A. Geopolitical features. Generally speaking, the geopolitical scope of this phase covers Zone 4 and 3. The order of cooperation with countries in Zone 3 shall be based on to what extent the economy is state-owned (or public-owned) and to what extent the politics is left-wing (or independence). The higher the extent is, the higher the country will be on the list of cooperation partners (CIS states shall be the highest on the list, because these countries have the highest extent of public ownership and political independence). But overall, cooperation with these countries should not confine to state-to-state cooperation. Cooperative economy within Zone 3 countries should be encouraged, and Regional alliance should be developed on this basis²⁹⁰.

B. Social practices features. In the first phase of the third-stage process, the external condition of expansion is pressures from the capitalist colonial system of the raw material market in the second-stage process; the internal momentum is the higher extent of public ownership and left-wing politics of Zone 4 and Zone 3 and their independence from colonial system. Under the pressure of colonial monopolizing capitals, the state-owned assets of Zone 4 and Zone 3 will cooperation, and thus increase their pricing power in the transaction with colonial

290 For Zone 4, cooperation with Zone 3 will encounter security risks, but such risks are lower than those caused by regime changes in Zone 2 and ideological risks in Zone 1. These risks, especially ideological risks, are a kind of strategic risk.

system in the world market.

1.2 Economic form of SOE cooperation socialism

In previous parts, we cover the political form and then economic form, but for the third-stage process, economic form shall be elaborated before political form, because in the third-stage process, economic cooperation pushes forward political cooperation. In this part, we take Central Asia as an example to introduce the economy of Zone 3 and its economic ties with Zone 4, and to predict the economic form of SOE cooperation socialism.

In the market-oriented reform of Central Asian countries, state-owned assets, including industrial enterprises, public institutions, united corporations, agro-industrial complex, state-owned farms, collective farm, commerce, construction industry, service industry, catering industry, housing, and all kinds of production, social, cultural facilities, all have been non-nationalized and privatized (for example, in automobile industry and other important manufacturing industries, state-owned assets still occupy some proportion). Natural monopoly²⁹¹ and public goods resources, including land, mines, energy, water resources, animals, plants, cultural relics, power plants, electric system, railway, aviation, national defense and state security facilities, telecommunications, environment protection system, are still controlled by state-owned economy. However, Central Asian countries' economic development embody the general features of developing countries: agriculture, energy sectors, raw material production and processing accounts for a

291 The control over natural monopoly sectors are the major difference between Zone III and II in terms of ownership.

large share in the industrial structure, and the economy, in general, is still in extensive development phase, a primary phase in development. In addition, narrow domestic market, outdated production equipment and techniques, heavy debt burden, unbalanced trade structure, inconvenient transportation and low administrative efficiency are also the reasons why the Central Asian countries enjoyed high growth rate but the quality of development was not good in recent years. To the backdrop of the decline of western capitalist world, the economic cooperation within Zone 3 has been on track, though it has not reached a high level. This has laid a solid foundation for their cooperation with China.

The economic cooperation of SOE cooperation socialism mainly takes the form of the cooperation between whole-people-owned economies in competitive areas²⁹². If such cooperation come into effect, both zones will be less relied on developed capitalist countries in terms of economy. People's livelihood will be improved; state-owned economy will be large in scale and higher in quality, and will have stronger control over the world market; industrial structure will be optimized.

1.3 Political form of SOE cooperation socialism

In this part, we take Central Asia as an example to introduce the political situation of Zone 3 and its diplomatic ties with Zone 4, and to predict the political form of SOE cooperation socialism.

²⁹² In public economy, apart from the fact that competitive SOEs have the function of realizing national economic strategic goals, other economies, including public goods SOEs, natural monopoly SOEs and all kinds of collective-owned economies, merely act to secure people's livelihood. Compared public economy in other countries, China's basic economic system has a special advantage in owning a large number of competitive SOEs.

After the collapse of the USSR, the political systems of Central Asian countries went through two phases²⁹³: in the first phase, the USSR Constitution amended in 1990 cancelled the legitimate leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Central Asian countries issued many laws; and under the trend of ideological and political diversification, many political parties were founded. In the second phase, after 1995, political parties in Central Asia developed steadily. The administration over political parties was strengthened, and many small parties died out. With this, multiparty political structure and political party policy has been formed. Meanwhile, all countries valued the development of large parties. Through admitting more party members and cooperating with other parties, these large political parties won a large margin or even absolute advantage in parliamentary elections, and took important positions in central and local government departments, becoming ruling parties *de facto*. So far, in Central Asian countries, the parties led by the President or supporting the President dominate the parliaments, and the President is granted strong power. Political parties play a very limited role in national politics.

Right after the collapse of the USSR, Russia, which took the leadership in CIS, once hastened to integrate into western world, and neglected the newly independent Central Asian countries, even regarding them as “burdens”²⁹⁴. But generally speaking, ten years after the independence of the five Central Asian countries, the US and Russia take turns to offend and defend in their confrontation. Russia

293 Wu Hongwei, The Establishment and Development of Political Party System in Central Asian Countries, *Russian, Central Asian & East European Studies*, Vol.4, 2006.

294 Xu Qinhua, History of Central Asian Geopolitics, *Asia and Africa Review*, Vol.3, 2005.

succeeded in safeguarding this traditional scope of influence, and even occupied advantage in some aspects²⁹⁵. This underpinned the political cooperation between China and Zone 3 under the circumstances of strengthening economic cooperation. Currently, on the basis of socialist system of China and the former USSR, the political cooperation between China and Zone 3 has just started. Although without any political cooperation agreements²⁹⁶, they have higher political trust level than any other countries. After the independence of Central Asian countries, the Chinese government and people had large interest and desire to develop friendship and cooperation with them. Diplomatic ties were deepened in a few years²⁹⁷.

Economic cooperation, after grown to a certain level, will deepen political cooperation. Before cooperation, Zone 4 is already governed by the Communist Party, and after the cooperation, bureaucracy, corruption and political diversification shall be mitigated; while Zone 3 is not governed by proletarian party²⁹⁸, but due to political centrality, cooperation can not only mitigate bureaucracy and corruption, but also can transform partisan parliamentary system to centrist parliamentary system or even central-left-wing presidential system²⁹⁹.

2. From the Second Half of the 21st Century to the First Half of the 22nd Century: Financial Cooperation Socialism or Natural Monopoly SOE

295 Chang Qing, International Strategy, Foreign Policies and National Security, *East Europe and Central Asia Studies*, Vol.3, 2003.

296 Of course, Shanghai Cooperation Organization is counter-terrorism organization in nature, but it has some political elements.

297 Zhao Huasheng, Theories and Practices of China's Diplomatic Ties with Central Asian Countries, *China International Studies*, Vol.4, 2007.

298 But these parties are legitimate and account for a large number of seats in the parliament.

299 In the third-stage process, the three economic phases: competitive SOE cooperation, natural monopoly SOE cooperation and public goods SOE cooperation match the three political phases: centrist parliamentary reform, central-left-wing presidential reform and left-wing single party system reform.

Cooperation Socialism

2.1 Features

A. Geopolitical features. Generally speaking, the geopolitical scope of this phase is Zone 4, 3 and 2. Similarly, cooperation with the newly added region—Zone 2— also is based on to what extent the economy is public-owned and to what extent the politics is left-wing. The higher the extent is, the more prioritized the cooperation is. However, cooperation with these countries should not confine to state-to-state cooperation. Cooperative economy within Zone 2 countries should be encouraged, and Regional alliance should be developed on this basis.

B. Social practice features. While socialist cooperation going broader and deeper, capitalist colonial system is shrinking. In this process, to transfer the pressures posed by economic downturn, colonist countries will divert these pressures to colonies by controlling the latter's politics and economy, and thus the economy of colonies will be even worse. If socialist cooperation does not go that broad and deep, colonial system will not seriously shrink, and colonists will not transfer too much economic pressures to colonies. As a result, the economy of colonies will not be so deteriorated that the grassroots people call for a revolution. If socialist cooperation is broad and deep enough, the economy of colonies will deteriorate, and social forms will change in a revolution. Therefore, it can be predicted that as the cooperation grows broader and deeper, it will pose increasingly higher pressure to colonial system, and sooner or later, the colonies'

economy will deteriorate to such a low level that socialist revolution will come. On this basis, Zone 4 and Zone 3 can cooperate with Zone 2. We must mention that in SOE cooperation socialism, because Zone 4 and Zone 3 are both independent from capitalist colonial system, the political effect of their economic cooperation shall be realized through top-down reforms; but in financial cooperation socialism, because Zone 2 originally stays at the bottom level in capitalist colonial system, it will bear increasingly heavy oppression from the colonial system, which is impacted by SOE cooperation socialism. The result is, after SOE cooperation socialism, Zone 2 will realize socialism in economy and politics through revolution. This is the basis of financial cooperation socialism³⁰⁰.

In the following part, we will take the Middle East as an example to introduce the economy, politics and diplomacy of Zone 2, and to predict the economic and political form of financial cooperation socialism.

2.2 Economic form of the financial cooperation socialism

Compared with Zone 3, Zone 2 countries have more developed private economy, more free trade regime and more open market, and they do not have independent economic structure³⁰¹³⁰². After the 1990s, almost all countries in Zone

300 Although Zone 2 countries nationalized part of natural monopoly areas after the financial crisis, it mainly stays at the bottom level of capitalist colonial system in the second-stage process. Hence we can judge that upon the recession of western powers, the nationalization in Zone 2 will not be strong enough to make it independent from the political and economic control of colonial system. Therefore, it is not possible that Zone 2 can follow the same path as Zone 3, which is to conduct socialist economic cooperation through a top-down way. In the first half of the 20th century, in raw material market phase, the revolution in Zone 2 did not help it get rid of the control of Zone 1; rather, this revolution only make it mitigate such control through controlling the supply power of public goods. The supply power of natural monopoly products is still controlled by international monopolizing capitals.

301 Wang Tai, Trend and Features of Contemporary Middle East Political and Economic Development, *Arab World Studies*, Vol 2. 2005.

302 From the privatization of the Middle East, we can see that the natural monopoly areas of Zone 2 is not controlled by SOEs. But unlike in the land tribute and tax phase, SOEs in Zone 2 can still control the supply of public goods, that is, keep political independence. SOEs in Zone 1 also control some of the public goods industries, but the share is not as large as that of Zone 1. For

2 issued laws and regulations encouraging private investment and privatized state-owned enterprises. In the whole zone, areas allowing private investment and FDI gradually extended from competitive industries like manufacturing and processing to natural monopoly industries, like financing, power, telecommunications and environmental protection. In these industries, the restrictions on the percentage of shares held by private and foreign investor were gradually lifted. This made the economic structure of Zone 2 lack of independence and stay at the peripheral of capitalist colonial system, leading to sluggish modernization and large gap between the rich and the poor³⁰³. At the peripheral of capitalist colonial system, Zone 2 does not have cooperation as close as in that of Zone 3. After the mid-1990s, a major trend of the economic ties of Middle East with other countries was enhancing cross-regional economic integration while seeking regional economic cooperation. Although the modernization of Middle East countries started from the late Ottoman Empire and has lasted for more than two centuries, these countries are still in traditional agricultural society, the economic basis of which is nomadism, farming and handicraft industry.

The economic cooperation in financial cooperation socialism is the cooperation between the whole-people owned economies in natural monopoly

example, the privatization of medical industry of the US has seriously weakened state-owned assets' control in this public goods industry.

303 Serious polarization in the Middle East, <http://finance.eastmoney.com/news/1351,20121112258738753.html> Last visit on: November 12, 2012.

areas, and the highest form is financial cooperation³⁰⁴. After the economic cooperation is completed, theoretically, Zone 4, 3 and 2 will be independent from the economic control of Zone 1, economic development level will even up with Zone 1, and people's livelihood issues will be thoroughly addressed. The whole-people-owned economy in all the four zones will become a dominating power in the world economy.

2.3 Political form of financial cooperation socialism

Due to the private-owned, free, open and dependent economy, the political form of Middle East countries is necessarily well differentiated. After the collapse of Ottoman Empire, the UK and France did not fulfill their commitment to helping the independence of Arabic countries, but carved up the Arabic world. As a result, regional political landscape of the feudalism phase was kept until today. For example, in land tribute and tax colonization phase, the UK fostered a puppet reign—the Hashemite family, a Sunni family from the Arabic Peninsula. In raw material market colonization phase, western developed capitalist countries carried on this basic feature in their political and diplomatic policies for Islamic world. They supported the Sunni and oppressed the Shiah. For a long time, the US dominated Middle East affairs just through this basic policy in this region.

China's diplomatic ties with the Middle East countries are different from

304 During the advancement of the Belt and Road, in early stage, "Belt and Road" state currency index can be created, directly linked to the foreign exchange rates of all related countries, and these countries will not have to link their currency with USD or the currency of other developed countries. In this way, the financial hegemony of developed countries can be torn apart. This process can be described as "Belt and Road" currency index + f (Belt and Road currency index, western major currencies) = western major currencies. The author estimated that the adjustment of world currency landscape is like a general oscillation period, which include a number of specific periods and circuits.

those with Zone 3 countries. The latter enjoys longstanding socialist friendship tradition. China and Zone 3 are like comrades, while the relations between China and Zone 2 is like the relationship between “enthusiastic intellectual” and “the weak”. Zone 2, which was a part of colonial system, changes its position towards China with the ups and downs in world politics and economy. When colonial system was on the rise, it was not possible that Zone 2 accept the “assistance” of “enthusiastic intellectual”. This can be proven by the fluctuations in diplomatic ties before the reform and opening-up. The Middle East, though was the weaker, did not follow the socialist path. When colonial system is falling, Zone 2 will gradually understand and accept socialism. But due to its dependence on Zone 1 in political and economic terms, Zone 2 will cooperate with China before Zone 1. China’s political cooperation with Zone 2 is also based on economic cooperation. Without the economic basis, hasty political cooperation is hard to be accepted by Zone 2, and this is not conducive to the advancement of the third-stage process.

After the political cooperation is completed, bureaucracy, corruption and political diversification in Zone 3 and Zone 2 shall be thoroughly addressed, and the transition from partisan parliamentary system to centrist parliamentary system or even central-left-wing presidential system can be realized.

3. From the First Half to the Second Half of the 22nd Century: World Communism Realization or Public Goods SOE Cooperation Socialism

World communism realization is a phase where the financial cooperation socialism actors in Zone 4, 3 and 2 cooperate with Zone 1 to achieve communism.

In the third-stage process, capitalist colonial system will gradually release the peripheral countries, and these countries will conduct social revolution and join socialist economic cooperation. This is also a process where colonist withdraw monopolizing capitals from colonies. After these capitals are withdrawn, they will be nationalized, and their operation form will be more favorable to grassroots people³⁰⁵. This is also a type of social revolution for colonists. Therefore, as the socialist economic cooperation form keeps changing in this process³⁰⁶, Zone 1 will also realize socialist revolution step by step. Both parties are in socialism, which gives them an “instinct” of unity. It is predictable that the world communism will not be realized through force imposed by socialism on capitalism, nor through the “surrender” of capitalism to socialism, but in all probability through the cooperation between socialism and capitalism.

Public goods SOE cooperation in the next step following natural monopoly SOE cooperation. Public goods SOE is the most fundamental form of whole-people-owned economy, critical to people’s livelihood. Cooperation among such economies is in nature political cooperation. In the world communism realization phase, the economic cooperation is public goods SOE cooperation, and thus it is also a kind of political cooperation to realize communism. In this phase, geopolitical competition will die out, so will the social difference among people.

3.1 Features

305 Takes state-owned forms.

306 Whole-people-owned economy grows larger in scale and higher in quality.

A. Geopolitical features. Generally speaking, this phase will cover Zone 4, 3, 2 and 1.

B. Social practice features. Under the pressure of the third-stage process, raw material market colonial system was shrinking, and the upper-level countries transferred the pressure to the bottom-level countries. However, the more pressure upper-level countries transferred, the large the momentum bottom-level countries would have to be independent from the system through social revolution. The imminence of the third-stage process will peel peripheral countries off the colonial system, like peeling an onion. These countries will gradually separate themselves from colonial system and join socialist cooperation system. Meanwhile, less and less countries are available for the upper-level countries in the colonial system to acquire raw materials and market. The result is, upper-level countries will go through a progressive social form revolution, and transform into countries with left-wing politics and public-owned economy. Even when the third-stage process are approaching the gate of Zone 1, Zone 1 will initially complete socialism-oriented social changes³⁰⁷. This provides endogenous momentum for the realization of world communism.

3.2 The elimination of social differences

Since the birth of agricultural civilization, geopolitical competition based on land has promoted the emerging and development of private ownership, patriarchy, social class, ethnic group, country, region and other organization forms of human

307 After the financial crisis, the nationalization in Zone 1 may be regarded as the starting of this process.

society. In essence, the third-stage process is a process where geopolitical competitions die out. Public-owned economy grows increasingly stronger, and the intensive private-owned economy becomes increasingly more vulnerable and “extensive”. Following the reverse order of birth promoted by geopolitical competition, all kinds of social organization forms will also die out one by one: from region, country, social class, ethnic group to patriarchy and family³⁰⁸. After the elimination of family³⁰⁹, private ownership will vanish.

3.3 The future evolution mechanism of human being

After the realization of world communism, the human society no longer has artificial centers and only natural practice exists. But as nothing in the world will stand still, what will be the mechanism of human evolution at that moment? The only possible momentum is the contradiction between old natural practice and new natural practice. The productivity restricted by class society will be thoroughly unleashed, the human being will have stronger ability to use right-handed substances, and this ability will grow more rapidly. For this, information technologies represented by the Internet may enlighten us.

308 Since the birth of patriarchy, in slave society and feudal society, the marriage and family relationship of human society experienced a period of polygamy, because in these two societies, there were political differences attached to property system among people. In capitalist society, because such political differences vanished and only economic differences stayed, the family form of human society changed to monogamy. In the third-stage process, as the competition within human species, which in essence geopolitical competition, will vanish, family will also die out. Some people, considering sexual demand, may not understand it. In previous parts, when we analyzed the evolution momentum of asexually reproduced organisms and sexually reproduced organisms, we have stated that sexual reproduction and sexual demand it generates is only special to certain stages of evolution. After communism is realized, the human being will no longer need competition within the species as an evolution momentum, and thus the biological sexual instinct will also vanish. The starting of this process may be proven by the decrease of fertility rate in developed capitalist countries. It can be speculated that the future human reproduction will use artificial technologies, including genetic technology and machines. Classic authors also have discussed the vanishing of family.

309 Family culture is the core of human culture. Due to religion-related reasons, Zone 3 and Zone 2 happen to be places which do not value family. In the third-stage process, religions may be used as bridges, and open cultures based on non-family concepts may be advocated, in order to guide the people in these countries to change ancestor worship into human worship, and change family reproduction model into social reproduction model. In essence, human worship converts the worship to ancestors and prophets into the love of the whole human species based on non-difference kind-heartedness. This discourse system can connect the doctrines of all major religions.

Conclusion: State-owned Enterprises of the World, Unite! ³¹⁰

Karl Marx advocated: “Workers of the World, Unite!” World Communism is an objective trend of the times, but it also needs the proletarians to leverage their subjective initiative. Today, under the globalization, only through uniting in the world market can proletarians emancipate themselves.

1. World History and Its Trend

Struggle for survival is the major momentum for biological evolution. Similarly, in the long Paleolithic Age, anthropoid—the ancestor of human being—gained evolution momentum from biological environment, rather than from the “society” formed by the primitive group of anthropoid. Even in late the Paleolithic Age, during the transition to the Neolithic Age, anthropoid had become a species biologically the same as modern human—*Homo sapiens* and matriarchy, a more organized social form than the random and simple primitive group, had emerged, but the evolution momentum of human being still came from biological environment, rather than within the “society” formed by *Homo sapiens* matriarchy. After the short transition of Mesolithic Age to Neolithic Age, agricultural revolution happened and patriarchy emerged, geopolitical competitions based on land, including tribes, ethnic groups, social classes, countries, regions and the East

310 This part is summarized from the papers published by the author on *New West*, *Shandong Youth* and other journals in 2016.

and the West, emerged one after another, and formed the fundamental momentum for the development of human society and the evolution of human being.

As geopolitical competition grew increasingly fiercer, clan communes contended in improving agricultural production and stone working technologies, and developed into tribes and union of tribes through land annexation. In this period, as social class had not emerged yet, most people in conquered tribes were killed and slavery was rare. Then, in response to inter-tribe competition, most people in the conquered tribes were retained and replaced the labors of the conqueror. Thus, slaves and slave owners emerged. Social class oppression demanded a rule-based disguise with force, which is country, with larger population and higher organization form than communes and tribes. From then on, the human being entered civilized society with social classes, and cruel competitions of the jungle law among tribes was replaced by legal slavery.

After the emergence of country, on the basis of international geopolitical competition, mitigating the attitude towards the ruled class in class struggle became the direct momentum of productivity improvement, which is the ability to conquer and remold the Nature. Productivity improvement made it possible for some countries to annex other countries that failed to timely transform social forms in domestic class struggle. The latter countries lagged behind, because they failed to reform production relations, mitigate class conflicts and mobilize the initiative of the ruled class to develop productivity. Such annexation enabled the conquerors to integrate more population and to cover larger geographical areas. Up to the

Bronze Age, two separate and independent slavery country cluster or semi-tribal semi-slavery country cluster had emerged in West Asia—North Africa and East Asia, belonging to the West and the East respectively.

The invention and utilization of ironworks further improved agriculture productivity and provided large-scale animal domestication with surplus food, and thus made the emergence of nomadic civilization linking the East and the West possible. Up to 500 B.C., nomadic tribes had appeared widely in the continent and formed geopolitical competition based on land, and thus combined the East and the West into one single part with organic internal connections and competitions. Via the conduction by the intermediate zones, the East and the West became two poles in geopolitical competition, posing pressure on each other and contending in reforming social forms, developing productivity and shaping world order.

In the past more than 2,000 years, human society has gone through two generations of bipolar world—from the East to the West, and then from the West back to the East, and now the third-stage process has started. The first-stage process started from the rise of Qin Dynasty, a feudalist empire acting as the first-stage power core, in 500 B.C., and ended in 1800 A.D., with the rise of the United Kingdom. The nature of the first-stage process was “land tribute and tax”. The second-stage process started from the rise of the capitalist UK, went through three development phases of capitalist society—public goods colonization, natural monopoly colonization and competitive areas colonization, and finally ended in the first half of the 21st century with the development of socialist China, the power

core of the third-stage process. The nature of the second-stage process was “raw material market”. The third-stage process started from the development of socialist China in the first half of the 21st century, and is estimated to end in the second half of the 22nd century with the realization of world communism, after going through competitive SOE cooperation socialism, natural monopoly SOE cooperation socialism and public goods SOE cooperation socialism. The nature of the third-stage process is “property cooperation”. The four separate political and economic entities formed by the first-stage process were increasingly less advanced in social forms from the East to the West, successively Zone 4 (China and others), Zone 3 (Central Asia, Russia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, etc.), Zone 2 (Middle East, Africa, South America, etc.), and Zone 1 (Japan, Australia, North America, Europe, etc.). The four zones were integrated into two entities (capitalist world and socialist world) in the second-stage process, and will be integrated into one single entity in the third-stage process, namely world communism.

2. Marxism Theory and Practices

Productivity determines production relations, which is the basic principle of historical materialism. This is the conclusion reached by Marx and Engels in vertically researching human history. Indeed, in history, major progresses of conquering and remolding nature were always accompanied by major victories in class struggle. However, in vertical and horizontal researches of specific historical stages, we can find that it was the geopolitical relations among countries that decided the revolution of production relations, and thus decided the progress of

productivity. No exception. Lack of horizontal historical data and textual researches was one of the reason for such deficiency. Another reason was people tended to use “natural selection” to depict the relationship between productivity and production relations due to the reductionism in western world’s scientific and cultural environment. Thus, they failed to find that after patriarchy emerged, the momentum for human evolution had shift from natural selection to social selection based on land. This was a major change in the history of species evolution, and is understandable. People are engaged in production and creation as actors in social competition network, not the other way around.

In his later years, Marx noticed the surging waves of revolution in the East, and proposed a “bipolar connection” theory, which considered the revolutions in the East and the West were interlinked. Revolutionary leaders in the East supplied the experience of the reaction of production relations to productivity through summarizing their practices of revolution. However, the relationship between productivity and production relations had not been sorted out. Conflicts between “productivity only” theory and “production relations only” theory have always existed in Marxist theory and practice, and are yet to be bridged. Followers of “productivity only” theory think that only when productivity is fully developed can communism be realized. Those of “production relations only” theory think that communism can be realized even when productivity is not strong enough to sustain development. Both neglect that geopolitical relations determine the future of countries, and both assume that countries can take the lead in realizing communism

individually, separated from such geopolitical relations. Even in the USSR period, when international communist movement were in climax, the communist ideal of Eastern countries still did not regard the world as a whole, but as two opposite camps—socialist and capitalist, which were opposite in politics and military and had no economic links. Such theory and practice failed to get rid of the contradiction between productivity and production relations either.

3. Structural Union Based on SOE Cooperation

After the last phase in the second-stage process, the politics and economy in all the four zones were as follows: Zone 4 had a large number of public goods and natural monopoly SOEs and dozens of competitive SOEs, and enjoyed high ability to balance the international payment and regulate prices. Its politics were independent from the control of western powers and capitals. Zone 3 had a large number of public goods and natural monopoly SOEs and a few competitive SOEs, and enjoy moderately high ability to balance the international payment and regulate prices. Its politics was not likely to be controlled by western powers and capitals. Zone 2 had a large number of public goods SOEs, a few natural monopoly SOEs and no competitive SOEs. Its ability to balance international payment and regulate prices was low, and its politics was likely to be controlled by western powers and capitals. Zone 1 had public goods SOEs, a few natural monopoly SOEs and no competitive SOEs, and it mastered quite a large pricing power and influence.

Only by introducing geopolitical factors while clinging to the basic principles of scientific socialism, can the theoretical and practical issues in Marxism be addressed³¹¹. Maybe we can call this “geopolitical Marxism”. Today, given that the West is more powerful than the East and both sides are interdependent, only when the four zones conduct economic cooperation first and then political cooperation and improve all countries’ geopolitical environment in an orderly manner, with priorities in different steps, can all the countries improve their domestic environment of development and restart the reform agenda of production relations, and can Marxism be further developed. Ownership is the core of production relations. Each and every ownership reform in the history had unleashed large productivity. In the long run, effective demand issues in the world market can only be fundamentally addressed by a structural solution of public and private ownership issue all over the world. Therefore, in an era when revolution is fading away, public-owned economy can hardly be expanded, nor can ownership structure be optimized, unless countries use the existing public-owned economy to get additional development.

We can summarize the ongoing third-stage bipolar world as a historical process featuring three-pronged economic cooperation in terms of space, industry and property. Such cooperation covers Zone 4 and Zone 3 first, then Zone 4, Zone 3 and Zone 2, and finally Zone 4, Zone 3, Zone 2 and Zone 1; engages competitive areas first, then extends to natural monopoly areas, and finally to public goods

311 Introducing geopolitical factors can avoid the ontological or destructive development of materialistic dialectics, historical materialism and labor theory of value, so that it enables Marxism to maintain the unity of subjectivity and objectivity, scientific nature and revolutionary nature.

areas. With the advancement of this process, the political and economic ties among related countries will necessarily be strengthened. In gradual economic and political integration, these countries will tend to form a system separated from the center of the world market.³¹²

4. Tasks and Organization of International Left-Wing Forces

Marxism is a scientific theory studying world landscape and historical trend from a macroscopic perspective. In the third-stage process, Marxist position, viewpoints and methodologies are needed in policy research, ideological legitimacy argument, mind mobilization and political preparation.

In the third-stage process, international left-wing forces have three historic tasks: first, fight against the disruption of right-wing forces; second, develop public-owned economy³¹³; third, win the support of host country's government and ruling party. Based on the differences in politics, economy and geopolitical environment, the four zones' left-wing forces have different priorities in their tasks. Zone 4: promote and ensure economic cooperation as backbone forces; push forward diversified and mix ownership reform in SOE shareholding, guarantee the control power of state-owned assets, and further develop competitive SOEs; conduct cross-border industrial and property cooperation mainly of competitive SOEs. Zone 3: further develop local public goods SOEs and natural monopoly

312 We can construct a basic equilibrium formula "the third-stage process + f(the third-stage process, the West) = the West" for empirical studies and quantified description. Separated from the center does not mean decoupling the East from the West, but means that all countries get rid of capitalist colonial system and form a decentralized political and economic structure.

313 In mixed ownership reform, private-owned capitals can be introduced, but it must be avoided that private-owned capitals dilute state-owned assets without limit, so that competitive SOEs still have the function of realizing national strategic economic targets.

SOEs through production capacity cooperation, and try to establish competitive SOEs to participate in cross-border property cooperation of SOEs; develop collective-owned economy to ensure people's livelihood³¹⁴; prevent western forces from interfering in internal affairs through rule-based struggles. Zone 2: further develop local natural monopoly SOEs and try to establish competitive SOEs to participate in cross-border property cooperation of SOEs; develop collective-owned economy to ensure people's livelihood; prevent western forces from interfering in internal affairs through political struggles. Zone 1: further develop local public goods SOEs³¹⁵ and try to establish natural monopoly SOEs to participate in cross-border property cooperation of SOEs; contain right-wing forces³¹⁶.

To fulfill the aforementioned tasks, international left-wing forces need organizations to unite under the banner of Marxism, a banner representing the vulnerable group. As non-interference in internal affairs is a basic principle of modern international law and government and ruling parties will definitely not establish such organizations, they must be established by non-governmental forces within countries and operated in legal framework. Like the modern political system in eastern backward countries, such organizations are vanguards, and thus they

314 Developing countries are backward in economy, so they are different from developed countries in how to secure people's livelihood. Developed countries mainly rely on national budget expenditure, while developing countries can only rely on collective-owned economy due to limited funding. In developed countries, welfare expenditure accounts for about 40-50% of total expenditure, while that proportion in developing countries is about 15-25%. On the contrary, developed countries spend about less than 10% of their total budget on economic development, while this figure in developing countries is about 30%. Even with such a large proportion, developing countries still cannot fully address people's livelihood issue. Relying on collective-owned economy is a basic practice of socialism.

315 Developed countries fulfill people's livelihood demand mainly by developing public goods SOEs and natural monopoly SOEs.

316 In the third-stage process, cross-border property cooperation of SOEs is not only conducive to Zone 4, 3 and 2, but also beneficial to the value keeping and appreciation of the state-owned assets in Zone 1. The author judges that if all types of social security funds of Zone 1 can participate in cross-border SOE cooperation, the trend will be irreversible.

must start from top-down ideological and political coordination. Therefore, the position of such organizations shall be international non-governmental academic and political groups, with functions including theoretical researches, policy consultation, mind exchanges, left-wing coordination, political preparation, etc. Government officials, legal left-wing party members and related friendly personages can join such organizations in their own names. These organizations can convene congresses on a regular or irregular basis, and set up secretariats to collect materials, organize researches, contact members and prepare for meetings. After natural monopoly SOE cooperation socialism comes, these organizations may be developed into “Communist International”.

If the third-stage process is bound to come, setting up such international academic and political groups is necessary. The third-stage process need both inter-governmental international organizations and non-governmental international organizations. Marxist organizations must be and will be part of them. Under legal framework, they can act as “political parties” of the political economic community created in the process, and do not have to follow the path of classic Marxist organizations, which were formed after the cross-border capital flow generated international proletariat. They can be started now.

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