

Chapter Six, “Lessons for Contemporary Powers,” for *Lessons from Early Empires*

History does not repeat itself. Particular circumstances always differ. But contemporary powers can learn powerful lessons from the experiences of early empires and kingdoms. Our tasks here are to organize the lessons from our case studies into categories and to draw final conclusions about what can be learned from a comparative analysis of twelve of the world’s most significant early states.

What lessons for contemporary powers can we draw from a comparative analysis of our early empires? Comparisons require categories. I group the lessons from our case studies into three categories – domestic economic policies, domestic political policies, and foreign policies. Each of these categories contains five lessons. I state each lesson in prescriptive terms and then note the experiences of representative early empires or kingdoms. Then I apply the lessons from early empires to the British Empire and to contemporary American hegemony.

Lessons for Domestic Economic Policies

1. Maintain a balance in the distribution of assets and income and avoid wide disparities in land-holdings. Han and Tang China permitted greedy nobles to usurp land from free peasants, eroding their tax bases and causing peasant rebellions. The Roman Empire gave tax breaks to its nobility, cutting the tax base and creating rural unrest. Asset and income distribution matter a lot. Excessive imperial greed does not pay.

Our first lesson emerges from the experiences of the Han and Tang Empires in China – to avoid peasant rebellions and protect their primary tax bases, political leaders must contain the greed of the rich and powerful.¹ During both the Han and Tang dynasties, popular land reform to aid the free peasantry was followed by backsliding that allowed powerful aristocrats to amass large estates.²

¹ See Chapter Five, pp. 44-60.

² For the Han Empire, see Arthur F. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959, pp.

That policy error had two fatal outcomes for the ruling dynasts. The governments undercut their agricultural tax bases. Consequently, revenue-short governments were unable to support their armies and control rebellions and foreign border incursions and to provide emergency food relief to peasants. Short-sighted land policy also angered free peasants who lost their land and were forced to become tenant farmers on large estates. Food emergencies – caused by droughts, floods, or pestilence – triggered rebellions among angry, landless peasants. Peasant revolts brought down both the Han and Tang dynasties.

23-28. For the Tang Empire, see Valerie Hansen, *The Open Empire, A History of China to 1600*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000, pp. 231-233, 243-244.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dignitaire_civil_Chine_Tang_Mus%C3%A9e_Mariemont_08112015_2.jpg>

Tang Official, Musée de Mariemont, Belgium – Han and Tang Governments Starved Peasants and Caused Rebellions

Starting in the 3rd century CE, Roman leaders similarly ignored the political pressures that arose from wide differences in the distribution of income and wealth.³ Roman taxation policy permitted the rich to avoid paying taxes. The uneven distribution

³ See Chapter Five, pp. 4-16.

of income – across income classes and between peninsular Italy and the provinces – coupled with tax breaks for the rich bred resentment and political instability.⁴ The Roman Empire disintegrated due to a number of interrelated pressures. But central in the decline was the widening of the gap in income between rich and poor. The Roman Empire had no middle class to pay most taxes and serve as a buffer between the elite and the masses. Aristocratic Romans earned incomes that were at least 100 times those of average Roman laborers. When the Roman Empire disintegrated in the 5th century, the rich Romans paid the price for their indulgences.

⁴ Peter Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-roman World*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 276.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pompeii_family_feast_painting_Naples.jpg>

*An Elite Roman Family's Meal, Pompeii, 1st century CE –
Tax Breaks for the Rich Led to Political Instability*

2. Maintain a balance in the allocation of resources between the government and religious societies to protect the government's sources of revenue. Three of our imperial states fell because they devoted too many resources to religious monuments and orders. Tax-free pantheistic temple foundations in Egypt, Theravada Buddhist temple societies in Pagan, and Hindu temple societies in

Khmer eventually controlled more land and labor than their governments did. Governments need revenues to survive.

A primary objective for ruling dynasts should be to protect their primary tax base. When agriculture provided most wealth, Egyptian governments needed to maintain workable balances between taxable and tax-free landholdings.⁵ Dynastic Egypt began to slide downhill in the 13th century BCE, when pharaohs tried to buttress their political legitimacy by transferring land and tenants to tax-free temple foundations.⁶ Near the end of the New Kingdom, temples owned one-third of arable land. Pharaohs also decentralized authority and allowed the regions to retain tax revenues. The regions distrusted the center and created their own militaries. Those two trends – the shift of land to temples and of power to the regions – removed central revenues, weakened the military, and debilitated the Egyptian empire.

⁵ See Chapter Five, pp. 23-36.

⁶ Ian Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 305-309.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karnakpanorama.jpg>>

*Hypostyle Hall, Precinct of Amun Re, Karnak, Luxor –
Temple Societies Owned One-third of Egyptian Land*

The fall of the Kingdom of Pagan also underscores the importance of maintaining a strong tax base.⁷ In the 13th century, the kings in Pagan were powerless to check the expanding economic control of the tax-free Theravada Buddhist church, which thus came into control of two-thirds of the country's productive rice land and bonded laborers.⁸ The rulers were too weak to invoke a purification cycle to transfer rice-growing assets

⁷ See Chapter Five, pp. 36-43.

⁸ Michael A. Aung-Thwin, *Myth and History in the Historiography of Early Burma*, Athens, Ohio: Center for International Studies, Ohio University, 1998, pp. 63-64.

back under state control. The loss of its tax base undercut the ability of the government to pay its bureaucracy, buy off its political opponents, control its tributary states, and protect its borders from invasion. Pagan fell in the late 13th century mainly because the government lost control of its tax base and only secondarily because of Kublai Khan's Mongol-Chinese invasion.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bagan,_Burma.jpg>

*Buddhist Temples at Pagan –
Burmese Government Overspent on Religious Monuments*

Khmer leaders made a similar crucial error.⁹ Balance among resource users is critical, yet the Khmer society became unbalanced. The system of imperial control came apart in the 15th century because too many resources were devoted to religious monuments and temple societies and not enough to running the state.¹⁰ The tax-exempt temple societies eventually came into control of excessive amounts of productive rice-producing land and bonded laborers. Strapped for funds, the Khmer central government could no longer buy off nobles, support the military, and invest in the irrigation and transportation systems needed to maintain rice productivity. The Khmer Kingdom gradually lost power and shrunk, and its leaders abandoned Angkor, relocated to Phnom Penh, and fell under Ayudhya Thai vassalage.

⁹ See Chapter Five, pp. 93-101.

¹⁰ David Chandler, *A History of Cambodia*, Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silkworm Books, 1998, pp. 78-80.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Preah_Khan,_Angkor,_Camboya,_2013-08-17,_DD_26.JPG>

*Preah Khan, Angkor Thom, Cambodia –
Khmer Leaders Spent Disproportionately on Religious Monuments*

3. To create wealth and enjoy economic growth, maintain political stability and enact sensible policies. Successful early empires created wealth to underpin their power. They enforced political stability through military control and political repression. But to generate and tax wealth, they had to create effective public administrations. The Roman Empire set the standard. Later states,

such as the Kingdom of Pagan, emulated the Roman example.

Political stability was not sufficient. Good policies were needed to create and transfer wealth to the center.

Effective public administration was a backbone of the pragmatic Roman Empire.¹¹ The government maintained law and order, collected taxes, and ran on a cash basis without borrowing.¹² The central bureaucracy was only one-twentieth that of Han China's civil service. The Roman state did not control production or trade or operate state factories. Instead, Rome promoted private trade and enterprise. Rome carried out regular provincial censuses to facilitate the collection of agricultural taxes. The government chose not to establish state monopolies to distribute food. Private trading companies handled almost all of Rome's grain, wine, olive oil, and luxury foods. Until things began to fall apart in the 3rd

¹¹ See Chapter Four, pp. 34-44.

¹² Peter Garnsey and Richard Saller, *The Roman Empire, Economy, Society and Culture*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987, pp. 20-21.

century, the Roman leaders ran their empire very effectively – creating wealth and maintaining power.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Western_Roman_Empire_395_Tribes.png

Agricultural Wealth, Concentrated in the Western Roman Empire – Roman Government Maintained Control and Collected Taxes

Pagan became a powerful regional kingdom largely because its Burman leaders combined astute public investments and

administration with military capability.¹³ Successful invasion and military takeover are only the first steps in the creation of sustainable kingdoms. Military prowess must be matched with an ability to run the show and produce wealth. Pagan's rulers understood that rice wealth was power. Hence, they had to raise rice yields, increase the number of rice crops that could be harvested each year, and expand the area under rice production. They accomplished those goals by investing in new techniques to irrigate rice fields in the plains of the Irrawaddy River.¹⁴ Pagan kings understood that sources of wealth needed to be nurtured by constant government attention.

¹³ See Chapter Three, pp. 13-21.

¹⁴ Nicholas Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia, Volume One, Part One, From Early Times To c. 1500*, Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 164.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Farming,_Myanmar.jpg>

*Plowing A Rice Paddy in Burma (Myanmar) –
Pagan Kings Expanded Rice Production to Create Wealth*

4. Place a high priority on public investments in science and technology to extend the country's natural resource base. Officials in Khmer and Pagan invested in innovations to increase rice production. But Muslim rulers in Ottoman Turkey, Safavid Persia, and Mughal India stressed militarism and lost their earlier leadership in science and technology. Power and wealth follow science and technology.

The Khmer rulers created a long-standing empire against long odds. The intelligent decisions of the Khmer elite offer a powerful lesson for contemporary powers – the importance of investing and innovating to capitalize on natural resources.¹⁵ For four centuries (the 9th-13th centuries), the Khmer imperial government was well-organized and sensible. The Khmers organized an efficiently-operated and centralized politico-religious system, based on Saivite Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism, to promote and tax rice production. They expanded to control the rice-rich Mekong Valley and the central plain of Thailand. Although their natural resource base was limited to agricultural assets, the Khmers innovated to increase rice production and rice underpinned Khmer wealth and power.¹⁶

¹⁵ See Chapter Four, pp. 4-19.

¹⁶ John Tully, *A Short History of Cambodia, From Empire to Survival*, Crows Nest, NSW, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2005, pp. 45-47.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Angkor - Bayon -
052 At Home \(8581882636\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Angkor-_Bayon_-_052_At_Home_(8581882636).jpg)>

*Agricultural Bas Relief, Bayon Temple, Angkor –
The Khmers Effectively Promoted and Taxed Rice Production*

In allocating government funds, it is important to place a high priority on research for science and technology and on public investments in infrastructure. The military aristocracies that led the Ottoman Empire – and also the Safavid Persian and Mughal Indian Empires – lost sight of this key principle. At a time when

European countries were benefiting from commercial, agricultural, and industrial revolutions, the world's three leading Muslim empires gave inadequate attention to investments in science, technology, and public infrastructure.

Muslim states – Islamic Spain, Fatimid Egypt, and the early Ottoman Empire – had led the Western world in making advances in applications of science and technology between the 9th and 16th centuries. When the Muslim governments' attention shifted elsewhere, Christian European governments emerged from the Middle Ages, occupied the scientific vacuum, and regained the lead held much earlier by Greece and Rome.¹⁷ The northern European states – Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands – began to ascend technically, politically, and economically. By the 19th century, those European nations had become imperialistic

¹⁷ Jason Goodwin, *Lords of the Horizon, A History of the Ottoman Empire*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1998, pp. 228-236.

expansionists whereas the remaining Muslim empires – Ottoman and Mughal – were on the defensive and soon to disappear.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Europe_1878_map_en.png

Europe in 1878 – Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands Were Ascending Technically, Politically, and Economically

5. Recognize the risks of globalization, since international markets

can change because of forces beyond a country's control. Only

two of our states, Axum and Mali/Songhai, depended primarily on

foreign trade for their wealth and power. Axum lost its trading

monopoly on the Red Sea to Persian and Arab invasions. Songhai

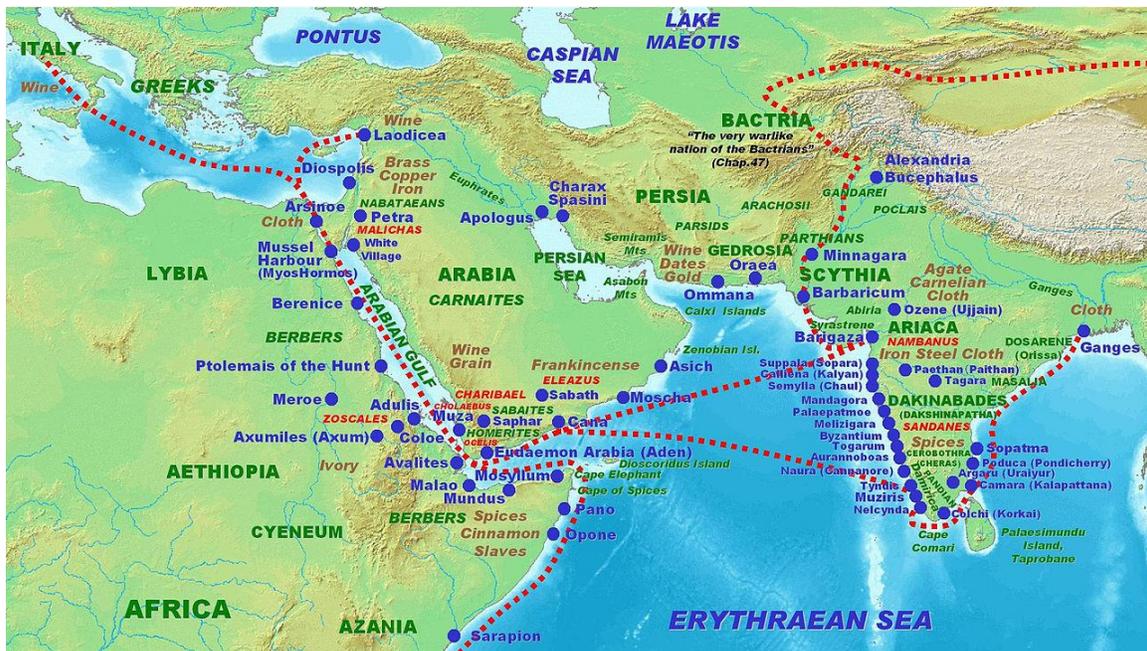
lost its control of trans-Saharan trade in part to a Moroccan invasion. But Portugal undercut trans-Saharan trade by shifting the gold trade to the Atlantic coast. World markets can be profitable but fickle.

Axum was the dominant power in northeast Africa for eight centuries until its decline in the 7th century CE. Trade was the primary source of wealth in Axum.¹⁸ Lacking local exports other than ivory, the Axumite leaders developed secondary trade routes to bring export products into their kingdom. They bought salt in the Danakil desert, gold and slaves in the Blue Nile basin, and frankincense and myrrh on the Somali coast.

The Axumites' principal long-distance trade route linked the upper Nile River Valley (providing access to Nubia and upper Egypt) with the Red Sea (giving access to Arabia, Persia, and India). Adulis, on the Red Sea, was the main port of Axum, where the kingdom operated a large merchant fleet owned by the royal

¹⁸ See Chapter Three, pp. 22-29.

state.¹⁹ With their exports of local elephant ivory and their re-exports of imported gold, incense, slaves, and hides, the Axumites imported cloth, metals, tools, jewelry, and glassware from Egypt, the Mediterranean, Persia, and India. Globalization thus came early to Ethiopia.



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at
 < https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Indo-Roman_trade.jpg >

*Trade Routes of the Kingdom of Axum, 2nd-7th centuries CE –
 Ancient Ethiopians Engaged in Global Trade*

¹⁹ Stuart Munro-Hay, *Aksum, An African Civilisation of Late Antiquity*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991, pp. 33-34.

Globalization can be both advantageous and risky. The generation of wealth and power in the medieval Kingdoms of Mali and Songhai depended heavily on international trade within a global economy. Both kingdoms taxed their farmers. But most of their income came from taxing the merchants who transshipped Saharan Desert salt and West African rainforest gold through the Sudanic kingdoms. Mali and Songhai thus were fully dependent on the international political and economic environment. For centuries, everything went well and trans-Saharan trade proceeded profitably.

In the 16th century, however, trans-Saharan trade went into a three-century decline.²⁰ Mali was already dead, and Songhai perished in the wake of the disastrous Moroccan invasion in 1591. But Songhai would have lost its economic base even if it could have maintained its independence and kept the kingdom together. Global conditions changed.

²⁰ See Chapter Five, pp. 110-116.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Trans-Saharan_routes_early.svg>

*Location of Trans-Saharan Trade Routes in West Africa, c. 1500 –
Portugal Diverted the Gold Trade Southward to the Atlantic Coast*

Portugal opened trade on the Atlantic coast of West Africa and diverted much of the gold exports southward.²¹ The Europeans shifted their attention in Africa to the horrendous Atlantic slave trade. The Ottoman Empire lost control of North Africa, and the northern termini of the Saharan trade routes became unstable. Songhai's ability to control the trans-Saharan trade, therefore, was a depleted asset. Countries have to change to maintain their competitive edge in a global economy. That lesson is as true today as it was in the 16th century.

Lessons for Domestic Political Policies

1. Ensure peaceful imperial successions and avoid costly palace intrigues and civil wars. Succession crises cause internal erosion in imperial states. Sustainable empires or kingdoms select rulers without fighting debilitating civil wars. The Achaemenid Empire in Persia, the Roman Empire in the Mediterranean, the Gupta Kingdom in India, the Kingdoms of Mali and Songhai in West

²¹ Edward W. Bovill, *The Golden Trade of the Moors*, Princeton, NJ: Markus Weiner Publishers, 1995, pp. 117-118.

Africa, and the Ottoman Empire in Anatolia and the Balkans suffered disastrous succession crises, which made them vulnerable to internal coups and external incursions. Peaceful succession is necessary for imperial success.

The decline of the Achaemenid Empire in Persia was triggered by royal succession crises.²² Those disputes over who would rule next evolved from court intrigues (in the 460s BCE) to a civil war (401 BCE) and to a regicide (336 BCE).²³ The suppression of rebellions in Babylonia, Bactria, Phoenicia, and Ionia was very costly. The imperial bureaucracy also splintered as regional governors revolted against central authority, most importantly in Anatolia (366-359 BCE). The erosion of governmental control opened the empire to external threats.

Alexander the Great of Macedonia (334-323 BCE) invaded and captured the Achaemenid Empire. But Alexander died

²² See Chapter Five, pp. 101-108.

²³ John Curtis and Nigel Tallis (ed.), *Forgotten Empire, The World of Ancient Persia*, London: The British Museum Press, 2005, p. 14.

because of a fever (possibly malaria) in 323 BCE at the age of 33. His generals murdered his Bactrian wife and infant son and struggled for power. The need to organize rules and procedures that would lead to a peaceful succession of rulers was critical throughout early imperial history.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Britishmuseumoxustreasuregoldchariotmodel.jpg>

*Gold Achaemenid Chariot, 5th c. BCE, British Museum –
Succession Struggles Eroded Achaemenid Power*

Succession struggles foment palace intrigues, drain the treasury, cause military disaffections, lead to civil wars, and undermine efforts to defend against foreign raiders. The Gupta Kingdom India reached its peak of territory and power under Chandragupta II and his son, Kumaragupta I, who consecutively ruled for eight decades in the 4th and 5th centuries.²⁴ The Guptas then controlled two-thirds of the Indian subcontinent. Thereafter, the kingdom was embroiled with succession controversies at a time when it could least afford such wasteful indulgences.²⁵ Local rebellions accompanied the succession crises, and both sources of internal weakness combined to debilitate the strength of the kingdom.

²⁴ See Chapter Five, pp. 16-22.

²⁵ Gordon Johnson, *Cultural Atlas of India*, Abingdon, England: Andromeda Oxford Limited, 1996, pp. 75, 79.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:KumaraguptaFightingLion.jpg>>

*Kumaragupta I, Second Gupta King, Killing a Lion –
Succession Struggles Eroded the Gupta Kingdom After His Death*

Both Mali and Songhai declined and fell due to a combination of internal weakness and external invasion.²⁶ In both instances, the internal weakness was caused by fratricidal struggles

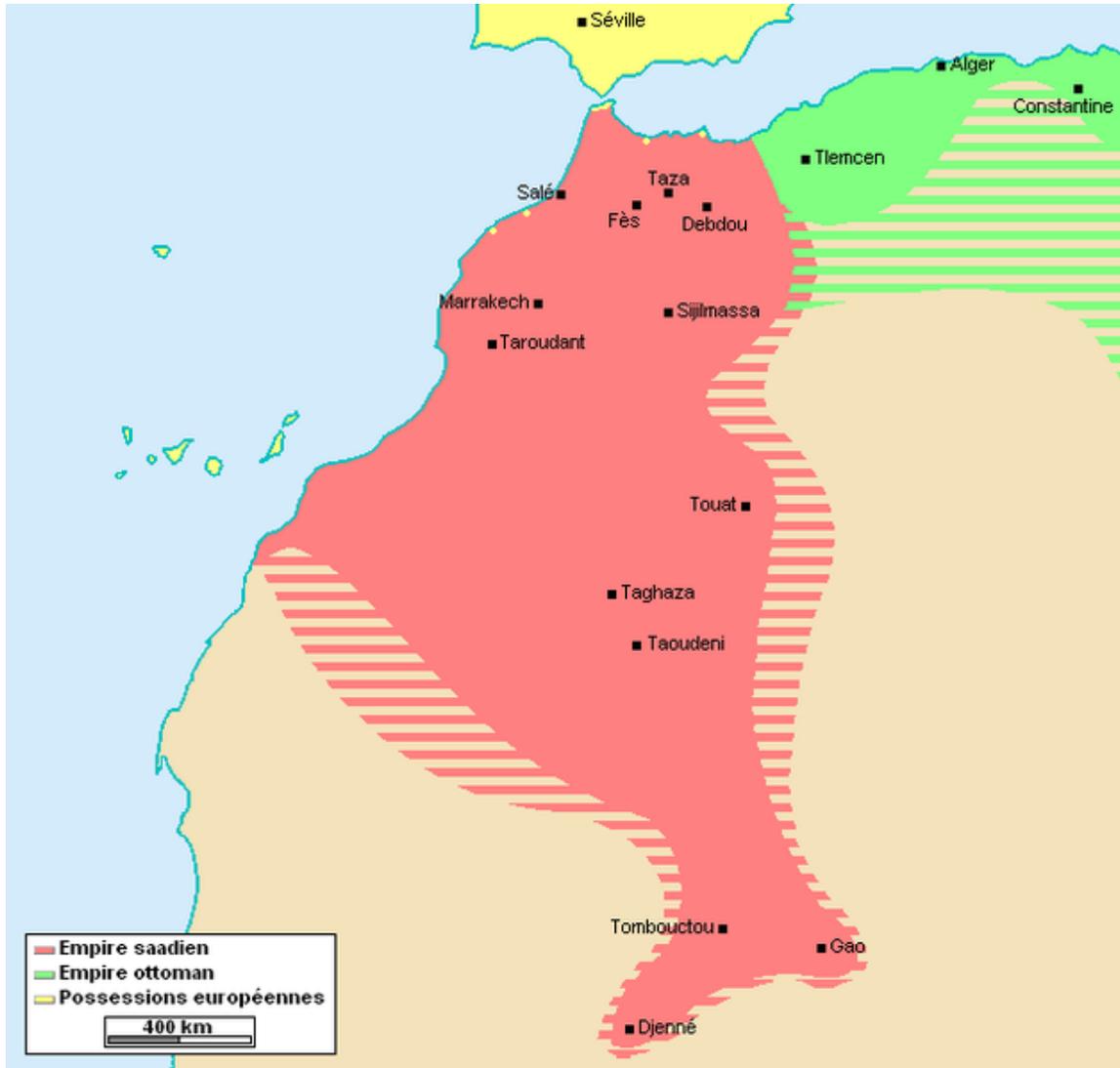
²⁶ See Chapter Five, pp. 109-115.

over succession to rule the kingdom.²⁷ Palace competition distracted officials from governing and taxing, and it turned the focus of the military from enforcing imperial hegemony to fighting civil wars. Succession struggles undercut the internal strength of the Malian and Songhai Kingdoms and made them vulnerable to external attack. For Mali, the enemy was near at hand. The Songhai Kingdom, earlier independent and then a vassal state under Mali, took over its former ruler in the 15th century. Mali thus lost out to a revitalized neighbor.

Songhai emulated Mali and suffered succession fights that weakened the kingdom from within. Lacking strong regional competitors, Songhai fell in the late 16th century to a shocking trans-Saharan invasion from Morocco. The lesson from both West African kingdoms is apparent. Defense from external invasion

²⁷ Edward W. Bovill, *The Golden Trade of the Moors*, Princeton, NJ: Markus Weiner Publishers, 1995, pp. 136-140.

must be predicated on predictable and peaceful succession from one ruler to another.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maroc - fin XVIe si%C3%A8cle.PNG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maroc_-_fin_XVIe_si%C3%A8cle.PNG)>

*Former Songhai Heartland Under Moroccan Rule, 1591-1833 –
Succession Disputes Undercut the Songhai Kingdom*

2. Govern efficiently by stressing effective bureaucracy, balanced budgets, and private entrepreneurship. Effective states are run by good governmental civil services. Rome's bureaucracy was small and good, Han and Tang China's were large and highly prestigious, and Khmer's and Pagan's were of modest size and effective. Long-lasting states nurtured and respected their bureaucrats. Bureaucracy need not connote inefficiency.

Roman public policy was quintessentially pragmatic. The Roman Empire was based on military conquest followed by effective public administration to promote agriculture and trade, run provincial cities, and transfer tax revenues to Rome.²⁸ The Romans had a small and efficient government administration – only one-twentieth the size of that in contemporary Han China, which had about the same population as the Roman Empire (about 60 million people).²⁹ They avoided state monopolies, encouraged

²⁸ See Chapter Four, pp. 34-44.

²⁹ Peter Garnsey and Richard Saller, *The Roman Empire, Economy, Society and Culture*, Berkeley: University of California Press,

private enterprise, and ran a balanced budget. For several centuries, the empire created significant wealth and ran well.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Statue-Augustus.jpg>

Augustus of Prima Porta (Emperor Augustus), Vatican Museums, Rome – Organized A Small and Efficient Roman Bureaucracy

The Han and Tang Chinese leaders mixed political organization with religious persuasion to extract wealth for the elite and maintain imperial power.³⁰ The early Han emperors

1987, pp. 20-21.

³⁰ See Chapter Four, pp. 19-31 (Tang Empire), 44-55 (Han Empire).

relied mainly on Daoism, using magicians, astrologers, seers, and shamans to interpret omens and set policies. Emperor Wudi (141-87 CE) introduced Confucianism as the basis of government, employing highly literate scholar-officials who ran the bureaucracy according to principles, rituals, self-restraint, and loyalty.³¹ At the peak of its efficiency under Wudi, the Han government had strong bureaucratic control, effective taxation, and a powerful, centrally-controlled military.

The early Tang emperors installed a centralized bureaucracy, collected taxes efficiently, and created a strong military machine. Tang rulers were eclectic, accommodating two million Buddhist monks in 30,000 monasteries, powerful exam-based Confucian officials in the government bureaucracy, and Daoist cults for their urban and rural masses.³² The cosmopolitan Tang government

³¹ Patricia Buckley Erbey, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China*, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 77-79.

effectively inter-married two cultures (Chinese and Turkic), welcomed foreign merchants, technologies, and ideas, and promoted artistic creativity (notably poetry). Han and Tang Confucianist bureaucracies thus were large, prestigious, and effective.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at <>

*Three-color (Yellow, Green, and Brown) Tang Funerary Pottery –
Tang Bureaucrats Were Numerous and Effective*

³² Patricia Buckley Erbey, *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China*, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 101-102.

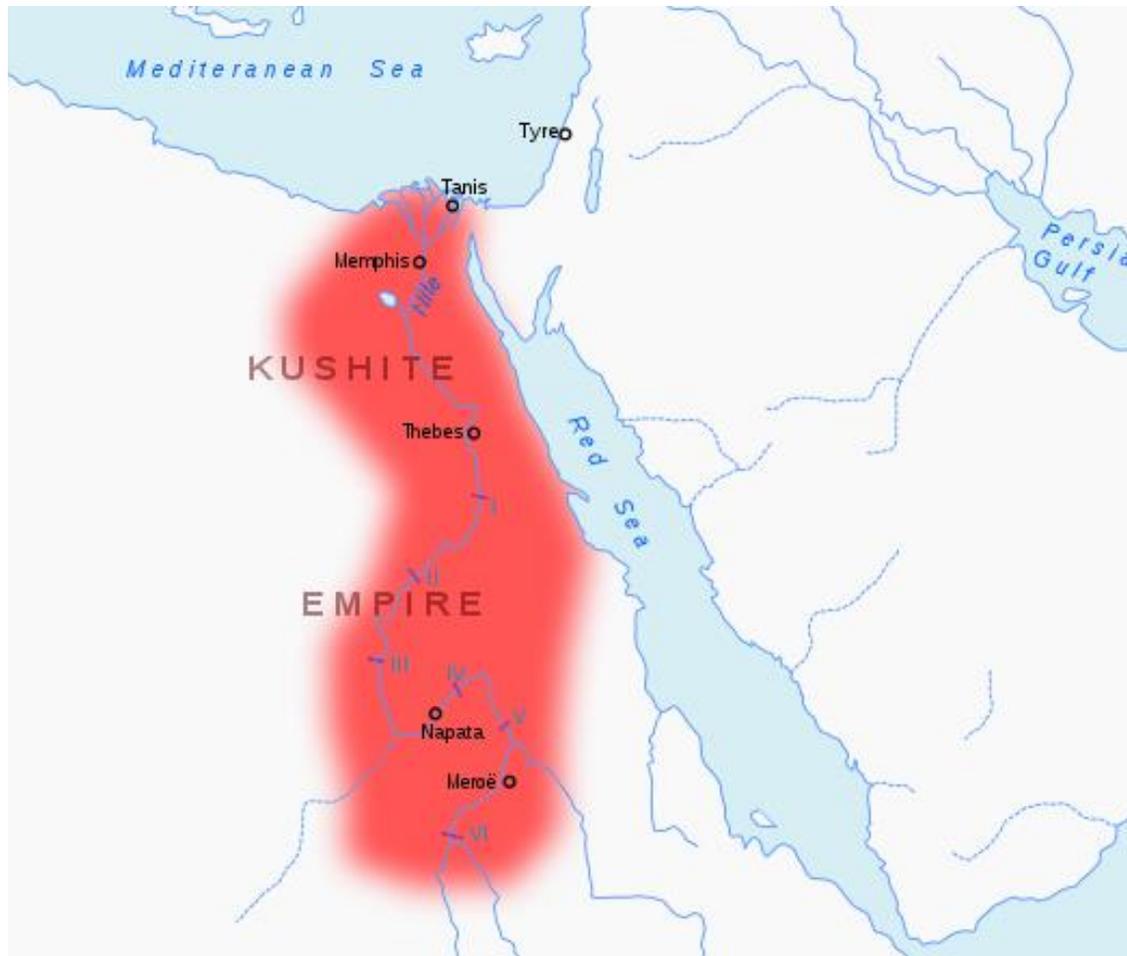
3. Avoid arrogance and self-righteous smugness, and do not believe the rhetoric of sycophantic advisors. New Kingdom Egypt lost Nubia and the Levant in part because of resistance to arrogant rule. Mughal India splintered after Aurangzeb became self-righteous about Islam, and Ming and Qing China slid downhill as sycophantic advisors reassured emperors that Chinese superiority and dominance were unequalled and China was not under foreign threat. Openness to criticism is essential for good governance.

It is dangerous politically when rulers and their advisors convince themselves that they are omnipotent. Egyptian pharaohs were perceived as living gods who communicated with other gods in the pantheon to preserve order. During the New Kingdom, the pharaohs used military force and perceived superiority to create an advantageous trading network linking Asia with Africa and putting Egypt in the center as the lucrative entrepôt. But when Egyptian military strength declined in the 11th century BCE, Nubia and the Levantine city-states declared their independence, the trading

network fell apart, and Egypt lost a source of considerable wealth. Egyptian rulers had behaved arrogantly, believing that their culture and political system were inherently superior. The resentful Nubians had long memories.³³ They gloated when at last they were able to gain revenge and rule Egypt as the 25th Dynasty in the 8th-7th centuries BCE.³⁴ Arrogance never pays.

³³ See Chapter Five, pp. 23-36.

³⁴ Jaromir Malek (ed.), *Cradles of Civilization, Egypt*, Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993, p. 37.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Egypt_kush.svg>

*The 25th (Nubian) Dynasty of Egypt (744-656 BCE) –
Nubians Gained Revenge for Egyptian Arrogance*

A related lesson is the danger of self-righteous smugness among a country's leaders and their technical advisors who begin to believe their own self-promoting and rationalizing rhetoric. Confucianist ideology placed China and its emperor at the center of the world. That exalted degree of nationalistic self-confidence

might have been warranted when China led the world in technological innovations and artistic creativity under the Tang and Song dynasties (6th-13th centuries). But under the Ming and Qing dynasties (14th-20th centuries), both Chinese and Manchu emperors relied too heavily on reassurances from their Confucian bureaucrats that China indeed was invincible and ignored signs of increasing Chinese political, economic, and military weakness. China thus retrogressed from international leadership in science and technology in the 15th century to lagging traditionalism in the 19th century.³⁵

³⁵ John Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China, A New History*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998, pp. 137-138.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ming-dynasty-map-small.jpg>>

Ming Dynasty of China (1368-1544) – Feared Mongol Re-invasion and Turned Inward On the Advice of Sycophantic Advisors

4. To avoid insurgencies or revolts, pay close attention to the needs of ethnic minorities and practice religious tolerance. Cyrus the Great founded Achaemenid Persia on the principles of equality

of ethnic and religious groups, right of repatriation of displaced peoples, and restoration of cities and religious centers. Ethnic minorities were the majority in the Roman Empire. Rome thrived because the Italian rulers encouraged upward mobility in the provinces. Provincial leaders served as Roman emperors. Islamic Mughal emperors ruled an Indian population that was three-fourths Hindu by being tolerant of all religions. When Aurangzeb tried to impose Islam, allied Hindu princes bolted and the Mughal Empire disintegrated. In multinational empires, religious tolerance is good politics.

Cyrus the Great (ruled 550-530 BCE), the founder of the Achaemenid Persian Empire, is renowned in history for his attention to ethnic minorities and his practice of religious tolerance.³⁶ Cyrus was both a brilliant military leader and a skilled public administrator. For political expediency, the Achaemenid Persians governed benevolently and embraced local institutions

³⁶ See Chapter Three, pp. 54-63.

and cultures. Cyrus recorded his ruling principles – equality of ethnic groups and religions, freedom of repatriation of peoples to their homelands, and restoration of cities and temples – in the Cyrus Cylinder (538 BCE), history’s first human rights charter.³⁷ Cyrus sponsored the repatriation to Israel of 10,000 Jews who had been forcibly resettled in Babylonia, and he subsidized the restoration of their temple in Jerusalem. Achaemenid Persia prospered for a century – so long as Cyrus’s principles of human rights and religious tolerance were followed.

³⁷ A. Bernard Knapp, *The History and Culture of Ancient Western Asia and Egypt*, Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1988, pp. 256-260.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cyrus_Cylinder.jpg>

*The Cyrus Cylinder, 538 BCE, Cyrus the Great, Achaemenid
Persia – History’s First Human Rights Charter*

Within the Roman Empire, the locus of economic power shifted twice – from the Greek-speaking east to Italy (in the 1st century BCE) and from Italy to the expanding western provinces (during the 2nd century CE). Political power also shifted away from Rome and peninsular Italy as the empire matured.³⁸ Non-Romans prospered. The Roman Senate became dominated by

³⁸ See Chapter Four, pp. 34-44.

senators from the provinces. In the early 3rd century, several emperors were natives of Roman provinces – Septimius Severus (ruled 193-211) and Caracalla (ruled 211-217) were from Leptis Magna in Tripolitania (modern Libya), and Marcus Aurelius (Elagabalus) (ruled 218-222) and Alexander Severus (ruled 222-225) were from Syria.³⁹ Rome encouraged ethnic minorities.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Septimius_Severus_Glyptothek_Munich_357.jpg>

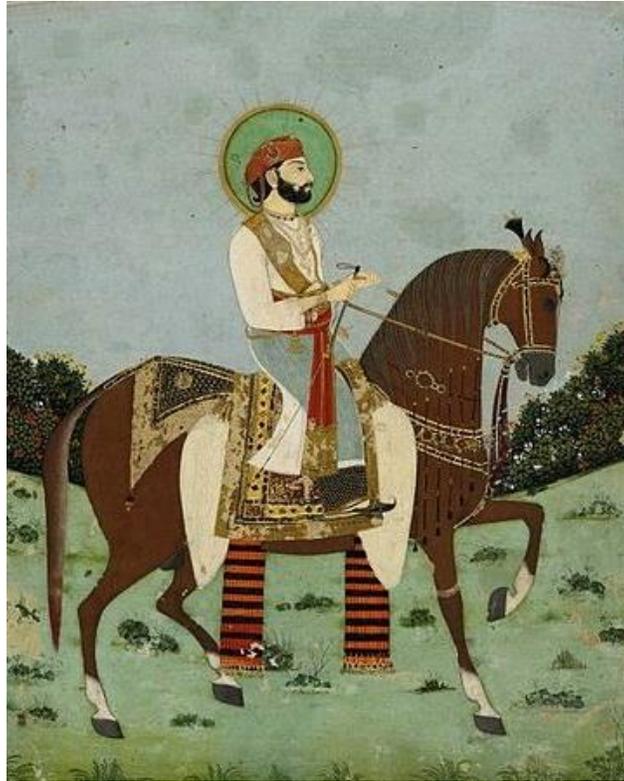
Septimius Severus (ruled 193-211), Native of Leptis Magna in Tripolitania (Libya) – Rome Encouraged Ethnic Minorities

³⁹ Chris Scarre, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of Ancient Rome*, London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1995, pp. 88-89.

In India's Mughal Empire, Aurangzeb (ruled 1658-1707) and his weak successors made a crucial mistake.⁴⁰ They ended the long-standing Mughal policy of religious tolerance and arrogantly attempted to impose their own fundamentalist version of Sunni Islam on their Hindu allies and vassals. Even the Hindu leaders of Rajputana (Rajasthan), who had been loyal allies of the Mughals for two centuries, rebelled against Muslim cultural imperialism and took advantage of Mughal military decline to declare their independence from Mughal control and taxation.⁴¹ Religious intolerance thus accelerated the Mughal descent in the 18th century.

⁴⁰ See Chapter Five, pp. 70-79.

⁴¹ John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire*, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 290-292.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1_Maharaja_Sawai_Jai_Singh_II_ca_1725_Jaipur_British_museum.jpg>

*Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II of Jaipur (ruled 1688-1743) –
Declared His Kingdom Independent of Mughal Hegemony*

5. Avoid paranoid isolationism and xenophobia, and maintain active and open foreign relations. When Dynastic Egypt was in the final throes of decline, some pharaohs turned inward and vainly hoped that Egypt could disassociate from the outside world. The emperors of Ming China were paranoid about a possible Mongol resurgence. Their isolationist, xenophobic, and short-sighted

policies were anti-commercial, and they led to the decline of Chinese technical leadership. Prudent openness is the best policy.

During the Third Intermediate Period (11th-7th centuries BCE), some pharaohs of Dynastic Egypt tried to turn inward and become isolationist.⁴² But Egypt suffered intermittent civil wars. In spite of its military weakness, Egypt escaped invasion for several centuries because of the lack of strong foreign competitors. Nubia (modern Sudan) was the first Egyptian vassal to declare independence in the 11th century BCE.⁴³ The Levant (modern Israel, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan) followed suit soon thereafter. The permanent loss of its control of Nubia and the Levant ended Egyptian dominance of the foreign trade nexus connecting Africa and Asia. Later, both Libyans and Nubians asserted political control and established foreign dynasties ruling

⁴² See Chapter Five, pp. 23-36.

⁴³ Ian Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 345.

Egypt while adopting the Egyptian religion and pharaonic system.

Declining Egypt could not isolate itself from foreign influences.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Third_Intermediate_Period_map.svg>

Dynastic Egypt Declined in the Third Intermediate Period (1064-664 BCE) – Libyans and Nubians Briefly Ruled Egypt

A more extreme example of paranoid isolationism occurred in the Ming dynasty in China during the 14th-17th centuries. An

obsessive, inward-looking policy caused Chinese scholars and practitioners to ignore advances made outside of China and lose their technological and scientific prominence. Ming emperors and their advisors were paranoid about the possibility of another Mongol invasion and takeover of China. The Ming dynasty's policies of anti-commercialism (banning foreign trade and throttling maritime commerce) and xenophobia (limiting foreign contact and ignoring foreign inventions) had a deleterious effect on the Ming economy and thus on tax revenues.⁴⁴ Isolationist policies were convenient in the short-term for Ming leaders, but they proved to be disastrous for China in the long run. They culminated in 200 years of economic weakness, military decline, and international impotence, starting in the late 18th century.

⁴⁴ Valerie Hansen, *The Open Empire, A History of China to 1600*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000, pp. 13-14.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Anonymous-Ming_Chengzu.jpg>

Ming Yongle Emperor (ruled 1402-1424) – Sponsored Foreign Trade Missions Before Ming China turned Autarkic

Lessons for Foreign Policies

1. Conquer areas that are profitable and avoid imperial myopia, nationalistic pride, and religious fervor. Axum fell after King Kaleb conquered Yemen to support its Christians but lost Yemen and the Red Sea to the Persians. Byzantium weakened after its emperors twice tried to conquer the Mediterranean region and recreate the Roman Empire. The Mughal Empire was debilitated

after Emperor Aurangzeb fruitlessly fought in the Deccan to expand his empire and spread Islam. Empires declined after unprofitable conquests.

The Axum Kingdom in Ethiopia fell because the kingdom's rulers overplayed their hand.⁴⁵ In the 4th century, Axum invaded Meroe (in modern Sudan), destroyed a trading competitor, and had the good sense to retreat in victory. But in the 6th century, King Kaleb of Axum conquered Yemen, the once-rich homeland of his ancestors, and occupied it. He was motivated by nationalistic greed – a desire to control the ports on both shores of the southern Red Sea – and religious fervor – a hope to promote Orthodox Christianity, goaded by Byzantine leaders in Constantinople.⁴⁶

But the Axumites had not foreseen that the Sabaeans in Yemen would call in the Sasanid Persians to evict the Ethiopian

⁴⁵ See Chapter Five, pp. 62-70.

⁴⁶ Roland Oliver and Brian M. Fagan, *Africa in the Iron Age, c. 500 B.C. to A.D. 1400*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1975, p. 46.

invaders. Axum then lost control of the Red Sea trade to the Persians and with it the main source of Axumite wealth. The religiously-inspired foray into Yemen thus debilitated the Axumite kingdom and led to its eventual fall. The lesson in foreign policy is to balance religious fervor and nationalistic pride against the maintenance of economic opportunities and regional geo-political realities.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sasanian_Empire_621_A.D.jpg>

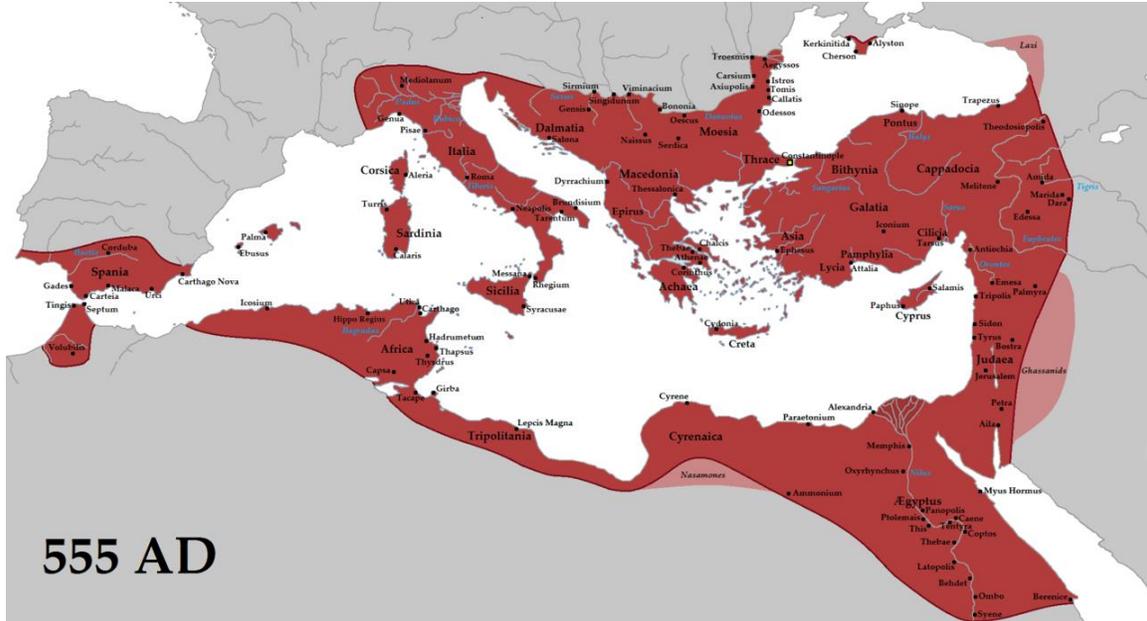
The Sasanian Empire of Persia At Its Greatest Extent, 621 CE – Axumite Hubris Led to the Loss of Yemen and of Red Sea Trade

The Byzantine Empire (395-1453) debilitated its strength and fell to invading Seljuk and Ottoman Turks largely because it focused its expansionist attentions in the wrong direction. After the fall of Rome in 476, Byzantine leaders, who considered themselves eastern Roman emperors and thus legitimate successors of Rome, wanted desperately to emulate the former Roman control of the entire Mediterranean region. In the 6th century and again in the 10th century, Byzantine emperors expended enormous resources and bled their empire to re-conquer the Mediterranean area, only to lose control after short-lived victories.⁴⁷

But the Mediterranean by then was largely sapped of wealth and thus not a profitable target for Byzantine conquest. The real economic opportunities – and military threats – for Byzantium lay with the Persians (and later the Arabs and Turks) to the east and north. Byzantine fixation with re-conquering the ex-Roman Mediterranean thus provides a classic example of imperial myopia

⁴⁷ Philip Whitting (ed.), *Byzantium, An Introduction*, New York: New York University Press, 1971, pp. 24, 28-29.

– looking backward in time and westward in direction when the present and future were in the east.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Justinian555AD.png>>

*The Byzantine Empire After Emperor Justinian’s Reconquest, 555
– A Classic Example of Imperial Myopia and Pyrrhic Victories*

The decline of the Mughal Empire in the early 18th century is a third instance of a hegemonic power unnecessarily weakening itself by obsessively fighting the wrong battle – winning Pyrrhic victories and undermining imperial strength.⁴⁸ In his three-decade struggle to control the Deccan region of central-south India,

⁴⁸ See Chapter Five, pp. 70-79.

Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb violated the imperial principle that an empire should not attempt to subjugate another state unless the tax benefits will outweigh the conquering and ruling costs.

Aurangzeb's obsessive battles in the Deccan cost the Mughal Empire hundreds of thousands of lives, the endless fighting drained the Mughal treasury, and the government was not able to collect substantial tax revenues from the region.⁴⁹ The fruitless Deccan wars thus overextended Mughal capacity and initiated the gradual loss of the empire to imperial Britain.

In 1591, the Sultan of Morocco, flush from victory over Portugal, ordered his force of 4,000 very well-armed troops to cross the Sahara Desert and conquer Songhai.⁵⁰ He assumed that his powerful army could win the war, rule the region, and control the production of gold. He was right on the first count and wrong on the two others. The Moroccan army used their superior

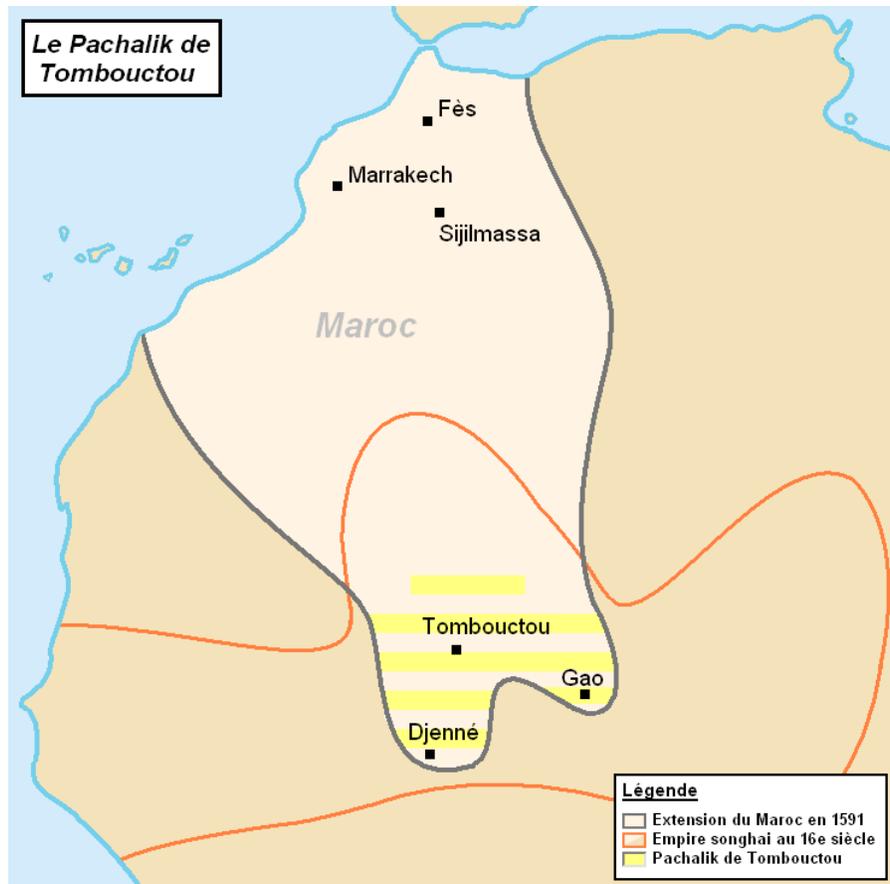
⁴⁹ John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire*, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 290-292.

⁵⁰ See Chapter Five, pp. 110-116.

firepower – firearms and cannons not yet known in West Africa – to defeat the Songhai troops.

But the Moroccan invaders never succeeded in ruling effectively.⁵¹ Instead, they established a parasitical aristocracy in the major Sahelian entrepôts and totally destabilized the region. Nor did they ever gain control over the gold mines in the rainforest. However, some reports have the sultan of Morocco receiving considerable booty from the original conquest of Songhai although the amounts transferred are not known. Hence, the Moroccan Sultan might have profited from his trans-Saharan military adventure. But his invasion triggered three centuries of chronic warfare and instability in the West African Sudan.

⁵¹ Harry A. Gailey Jr., *History of Africa, Volume I: From Earliest Times to 1800*, New York: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1981, pp. 72-74.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
 <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:TombouctouPachalik_4.png>

*Moroccan Rule of Timbuktu, Djenné, and Gao. 1591-1833 –
 Triggered Chronic Warfare in the West African Sudan*

2. Avoid militaristic ideology, based on extreme religious tenets, and protect vulnerable regions. Egypt's Ramesses II felt he had a divine right to conquer, but he was fortunate to earn a draw with the Hittites in the 13th century BCE. In the 7th century BCE, Assyria believed that its primary god demanded conquest. The

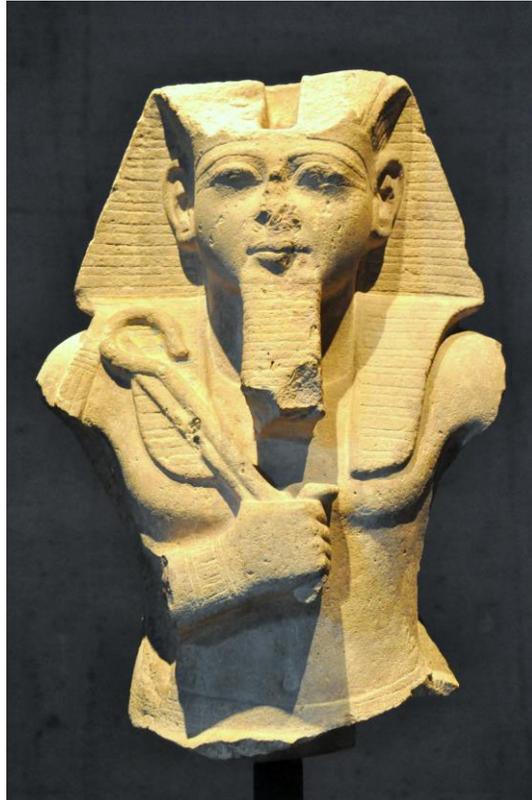
Assyrians conquered the Levant and invaded Egypt. But they did not protect their rear, lost battles to Persians and Babylonians invading Assyria, and disappeared from history. Warfare calls for prudence.

Ramesses II (ruled 1279-1213 BCE) believed that he had a divine right to conquer.⁵² In the Levant (southwestern Asia), Egypt's military raids were intended to ensure privileged access to the Levantine trading network within southwestern Asia and the eastern Mediterranean and to collect tribute from the Levantine city-states. An over-confident Ramesses II fought the Hittites at the Battle of Kadesh (c. 1275 BCE), made tactical errors, and was fortunate to escape with his life and battle to a draw.⁵³ The subsequent peace treaty divided the Levantine trade routes between the two powers. The Egyptians and Hittites honored that pact, which created political stability on Egypt's northeastern front, for

⁵² See Chapter Three, pp. 41-54.

⁵³ Bill Manley, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, London: Penguin Books, 1996, pp. 84-85.

200 years until the New Kingdom ended. Ramesses II had been foolish but fortunate.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ramesses_II_holding_a_crook_and_a_flail.19th_Dynasty,_c._1240_BC._From_Nubia._State_Museum_of_Egyptian_Art,_Munich.jpg>

*Ramesses II, c. 1240 BCE, State Museum of Egyptian Art, Munich
– Fortunate To Escape With A Draw With the Hittites, 1275 BCE*

Sargonid Assyria (911-612 BCE) had a holy war ideology based on a belief that the Assyrian god, Assur, demanded that their kings assert universal rule through conquest. The Assyrians

assembled the most powerful army that the world had ever seen and conquered the weaker city-states in the Levant. But in their attempt to conquer Egypt, the war-maddened Assyrians neglected to cover their rear flank in the east and were wiped out of existence by a coalition of neighboring Persians and Babylonians.⁵⁴ The ancient Assyrian experience provides two related lessons – militaristic ideology based on extreme religious tenets is dangerous for the health of empires, and attempts to control distant regions should not be made if there is potential trouble at home and next door.

⁵⁴ A. Bernard Knapp, *The History and Culture of Ancient Western Asia and Egypt*, Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1988, pp. 227-230.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
 <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Neo-Assyrian_map_824-671_BC.png>

Sargonid Assyria (911-612 BCE) – Holy War Ideology Based On Extreme Religious Tenets Led To Destruction At Home

3. Do not try to buy off foreign invaders who have superior firepower unless they will stay bribed. In the 5th and 6th centuries, nomadic Huns from Afghanistan raided the Gupta Kingdom of India. The Huns had superior weaponry and refused to be bought off by bribes. The drained Gupta Kingdom fell. Han and Tang China were more fortunate. For protection, the Hans paid reverse tribute (bribes and favorable trade terms) to the nomadic Xiongnu

and the Tangs to the Turks and Uighurs. Successful bribery takes luck and balanced interests.

The leaders of the Gupta Kingdom in India could not resist the temptation to try to buy off their enemies.⁵⁵ But accommodation of more powerful enemies is a dangerous game that rarely is sustainable. Foreign invaders will continue to raid and pillage so long as they have greater military strength and maneuverability. The Huns, militaristic nomads from Afghanistan, began making periodic predatory raids into northern India in the mid-5th century.⁵⁶

Efforts to defend against those incursions by buying off the Huns drained the treasury of the Gupta Kingdom and weakened Guptan military capability to defend their territory. Hun raids persisted, and in the early 6th century they captured most of the Gangetic Plain, the Guptan agricultural heartland. The Huns

⁵⁵ See Chapter Five, pp. 16-22.

⁵⁶ Gordon Johnson, *Cultural Atlas of India*, Abingdon, England: Andromeda Oxford Limited, 1996, pp. 75, 79.

exploited Guptan weakness, and their incursions led to the dissolution of the Gupta Kingdom in 550. The Hun presence in northern India continued until the end of the 6th century, when the Huns were overtaken in Afghanistan by Turks and Persians and disappeared from history.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Toramana_portrait_and_initials_Tora.jpg

Toramana, Leader of the Hun Invasion of Gupta Kingdom, c. 500 CE – Refused To Be Bought Off With Bribes

Westward, land-based trade on the Silk Road, ancient China's key trade route, required political stability to ensure safe passage through Turkestan (now Xinjiang Province of western

China) en route to Central Asia and the Mediterranean region.

Both the Han and Tang Empires thus bribed steppe nomadic empires, paying reverse tribute (extorted subsidies and favorable trading terms) for military protection and Silk Road access – the Han with the Xiongnu Empire (209 BCE-155 CE), and the Tang with two Turkish Empires (552-734) and the Uighur Empire (745-840).⁵⁷ In spite of its cachet and romantic appeal, the Silk Road was not a major source of wealth for either the Han or Tang Empires.

The Han and Tang governments probably broke even in their interactions in the foreign regions located north and west of China. Government revenues earned in producing trade goods and taxing Silk Road trade about matched the amounts expended on reverse tribute and on military campaigns to control raiding and pillaging. But successful bribery of their steppe nomadic rivals allowed

⁵⁷ Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier, Nomadic Empires and China, 221 BC to AD 1757*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Inc, 1992, pp. 49, 70, 143, 154-157, 164.

officials in both Han and Tang China to improve security and access the Silk Road trade routes during much of their ruling eras.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hsiung-nu-Empire.png>>

Xiongnu Steppe Nomadic Empire (209 BCE-155 CE) – Extorted Subsidies and Favorable Trading Terms from Han China

4. Do not trust liberating foreign powers that promise freedom and religious tolerance. Most Egyptians were relieved when Alexander the Great liberated Egypt from Persian rule in the 4th century BCE. However, the Macedonians initiated two millennia of foreign rule of Egypt. In the 7th century, Muslim Arab invaders were welcomed in Egypt and Syria because they overthrew the despised

Byzantine rulers. But the Arabs soon ended their religious tolerance of Coptic and Syriac Christians. After the tottering Ming dynasty invited their Manchus allies to Beijing to suppress a revolt in the 17th century, the Manchus refused to leave and governed China for two-and-one-half centuries. Foreign liberations carry high risks.

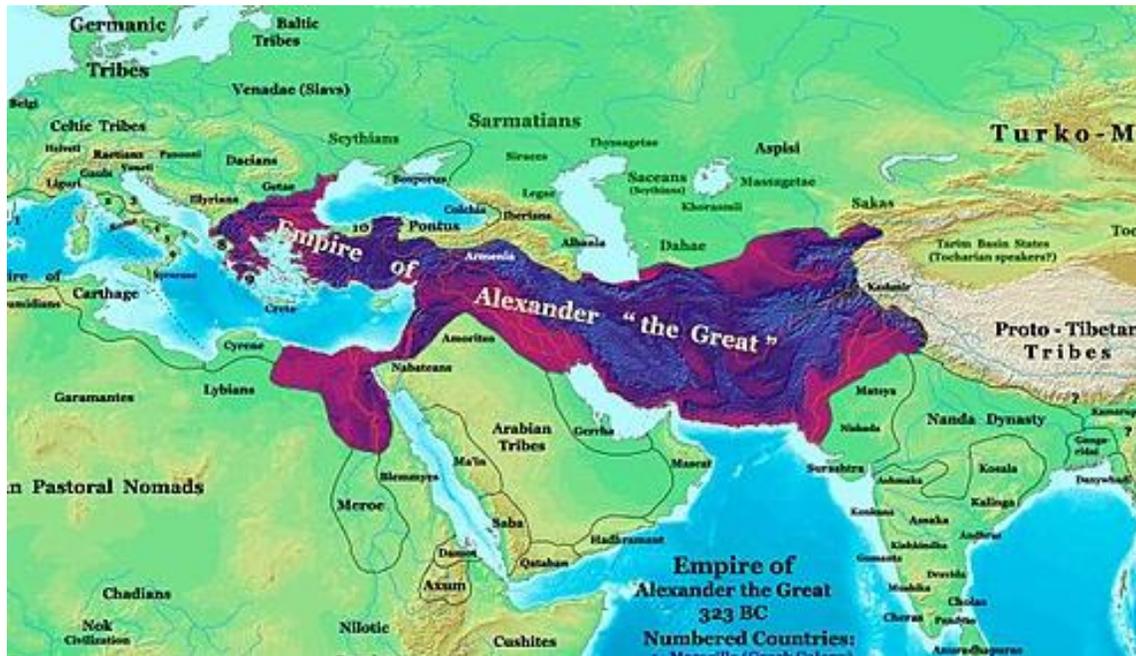
The history of post-Dynastic Egypt illustrates why it is prudent to be wary of a foreign power that claims to be invading your country to liberate it from another foreign conqueror. That declared altruistic act of liberation too often results in the replacement of one hated foreign oppressor by yet another.⁵⁸

When Alexander the Great liberated Dynastic Egypt from the despised Achaemenid Persians in 332 BCE, the Macedonians replaced the Persians as foreign conquerors and ruled as the Ptolemaic Dynasty for three centuries.⁵⁹ Other foreign rulers

⁵⁸ See Chapter Five, pp. 23-36.

⁵⁹ Bill Manley, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, London: Penguin Books, 1996, pp. 128-129.

(Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Berbers, Kurds, Mamluks, Ottoman Turks, and British) followed. Egypt was not again ruled by Egyptians for two millennia – until the mid-20th century.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alexander-Empire_323bc.jpg

Alexander the Great Liberated Egypt in 332 BCE, Defeating Persia – But Foreign Powers Then Ruled Egypt for Two Millennia

A corollary lesson is to be cautious in believing promises by foreign invaders who guarantee religious tolerance, especially if the invasion was inspired in part by an attempt to impose the invaders' religion on the conquered people. When the Arab Muslim invaders liberated Egypt from the disliked Byzantine

rulers in 641, the new rulers promised Egypt's Coptic Christians that they would be permitted to practice their religion and culture. The Copts readily exchanged Byzantine for Arab imperial domination, and most found their new masters initially more tolerant than the old ones had been. The majority of Egyptians remained Christian and retained the Coptic language.⁶⁰

But that promise of religious freedom lasted no longer than a century before the Umayyad Caliphate revoked the freedom for Coptic Christians to practice their religion and began persecuting the Copts. During the 9th century, administrators in Egypt for the Abbasid Caliphate brutally suppressed revolts by the Coptic Christians and enslaved and deported many Copts. The promised religious tolerance had come to an abrupt halt.

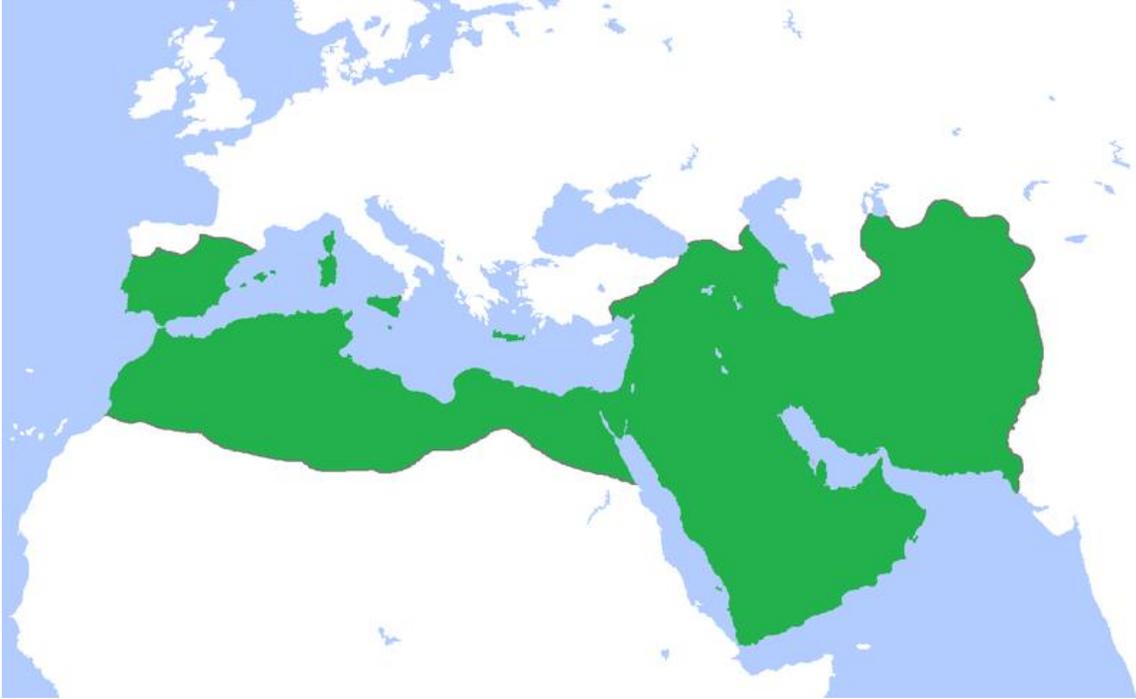
A related lesson arises out of the six centuries of rule by the Arab Islamic Caliphates – the Umayyads (661-750) and the Abbasids (750-1258). The lesson is to be wary of newly-won

⁶⁰ Barbara Watterson, *The Egyptians*, Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1997, pp. 231-232.

allies, even when they have adopted your religion and profess to want to accept your leadership and culture. Arab leaders, practicing the new religion of Islam, had emerged from northwestern Arabia in 634 and quickly imposed their rule on richer and more sophisticated cultures in the Levant, Iraq, Persia, Egypt, and North Africa.

During the Umayyad period, the Arabs retained control of the dynastic leadership, the bureaucracy, and key parts of the regional economy. But that heady control soon dissipated. In the Abbasid period, real leadership in the east was effected by Persians and Turks and in the west by Berbers and Islamic Spaniards. Arabs retained titular leadership – the caliph (the religious and political leader of Islamic peoples) was always an Arab – but their political control was effectively marginalized.⁶¹

⁶¹ Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002, p. 5.



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at
<<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:IslamicWorld850.png>>

*The Abbasid Caliphate At Its Peak , c. 850 – Arabs Retained
Titular leadership, But Real Power Was Wielded by Non-Arabs*

In the late 16th and early 17th centuries, the Ming dynasty faced fiscal crises and peasant rebellions in China. A new Manchu state declared independence from Chinese rule, and in 1636 its rulers established the Qing dynasty. By 1640, the Manchus had conquered all of northeastern China outside of the Great Wall and all of Manchuria north to the Amur River. In 1644, they monitored the chaos in northern China, accepted the invitation of some

Chinese leaders to help put down a massive rebellion led by Li Zicheng, and invaded Beijing.

To the chagrin of their Ming Chinese collaborators, the Manchus then refused to leave and instead moved their capital to Beijing from Mukden (in central Manchuria). Within fifteen years, the Manchu military machine had conquered all of China except for a part of the Fujian coast and the island of Taiwan, which they took in 1683.⁶² The Manchu Qing dynasty then ruled China for more than two-and-one-half centuries (1644-1911). This invited liberation thus led to a lengthy period of foreign rule in China.

⁶² Thomas J. Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier, Nomadic Empires and China, 221 BC to AD 1757*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Inc, 1992, pp. 250, 266-267.



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at

< https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Qing_Dynasty_1820.png >

Manchu Qing Dynasty (Ruled China 1644-1912) – Invited In By Ming Leaders to Quell A Rebellion, But Stayed To Rule

5. Maintain advanced military and commercial technology, especially a strong and up-to-date navy and merchant marine. In the 16th century, Christian Ethiopia fought a civil war against Islamic jihadists. Ottoman Turkey supplied modern arms to the jihadists, and Ethiopia survived only because Portugal intervened. Mughal India had no navy and an insignificant merchant marine.

European chartered companies monopolized Indian commerce and infiltrated India. Starting in the 17th century, the Ottoman Empire gradually lost its lead in military technology to northern European rivals. Continuing hegemony requires modern technology.

In the 16th century, the Solomonic Dynasty of Orthodox Christian Ethiopia nearly perished. The Ottoman Empire supplied Ethiopian Muslims, fighting an Islamic Jihad, with advanced weaponry – firearms and artillery – that the Solomonids had never used. Portugal, the new imperial European power in eastern Africa, saved the day by offering both modern weapons and troops to Christian Ethiopia.⁶³ The lesson is to keep up with advanced military technology or to find allies who can provide it in need. The Solomonids later astutely moved to the secure northwestern part of the country and, with the help of Portuguese advisors, reorganized their truncated state into a defensible unit.

⁶³ Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia*, Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1994, pp. 31-34.

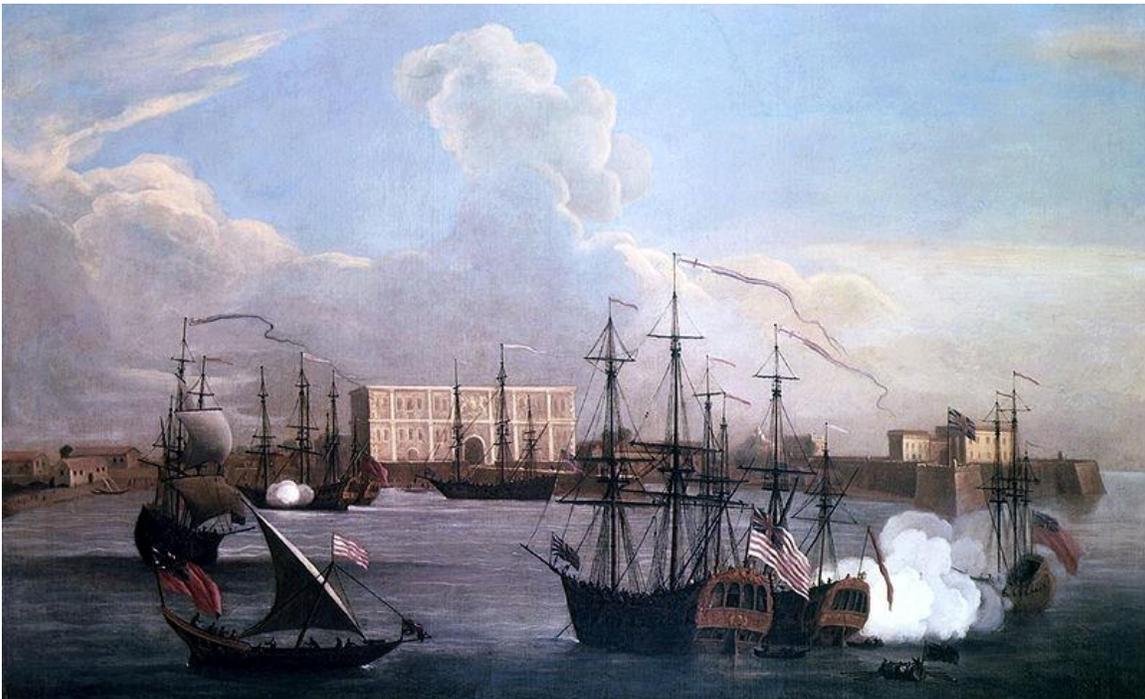


Source: Wikimedia Commons available at
<<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gragne.jpg>>

Ahmad ibn Ibrahim Led Muslim Jihad Against Christian Ethiopia (1527-1543) – Portugal Supplied Ethiopia With Modern Weapons

In India, the Mughal emperors had failed to perceive the importance of having a strong navy and merchant marine. Self-inflicted, internal Mughal weakness precipitated the British takeover of India in the 19th century. The Mughals' narrow focus on land-based militarism and commerce permitted imperialistic European nations, notably Great Britain, to gain a toehold, first in international trade, later in nabobism (renting their mercenary armies to local rulers in return for tax-collecting rights), and finally

in conquistador imperialism.⁶⁴ Mughal errors thus enabled Britain, a lesser power than Mughal India in the 17th century, to undercut the declining Mughal Empire and conquer wealthy India, step-by-step, in less than a century.



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ships_in_Bombay_Harbour,_1731.jpg>

*English East India Company Ships, Bombay Harbor, 1731 –
Mughal Failure to Develop A Navy Facilitated British Conquest*

⁶⁴ Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia, History, Culture, Political Economy*, Abingdon, Oxon, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2018, pp. 50-51.

After peaking in the 16th century, the Ottoman Empire gradually deteriorated during the next three centuries.⁶⁵ Military conservatism, an inability to adopt new technologies and strategies, was a key cause of Ottoman decline. The mode of warfare in Europe changed in the 17th century toward greater use of massive infantry and mobile field artillery. But the Ottomans continued to rely on traditional infantry and cavalry and on foraging in the field for military supplies.⁶⁶ Military obsolescence set in during the 17th and 18th centuries, as the old system proved unworkable. The Ottomans introduced military reforms in the 19th century – universal conscription, training in modern tactics, up-to-date weaponry, and employment of foreign officers in battle. But those changes were inadequate and too late. The loss of the First World War sounded the final death knell for the Ottoman Empire.

⁶⁵ See Chapter Five, pp. 81-92.

⁶⁶ Jason Goodwin, *Lords of the Horizon, A History of the Ottoman Empire*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1998, pp. 239-240.



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Battle_of_Vienna_1683_11.PNG>

Ottoman Army Losing the Battle of Vienna, 1683 – Ottoman Military Strategy Remained Unchanged Until the 19th Century

Existing and aspiring hegemonic states thus can learn valuable lessons from the successes and failures of early multinational empires and regional kingdoms. Sustainable empires followed consistent economic policies to create wealth. Their rulers avoided wide disparities in asset holdings (especially of land), protected the revenues of central governments from incursions by religious societies, permitted private agents to carry

out most economic activities, invested state resources in promoting science and technology, and recognized the potentials and risks of international markets.

Lasting empires also enacted sensible domestic policies to maintain power. Effective imperial leaders ensured the peaceful succession of rulers, governed with efficient bureaucracies, avoided smug arrogance and sycophantic advisors, practiced religious tolerance and attended to the needs of ethnic minorities, and eschewed isolationism and paranoia.

In their foreign policies, the rulers of successful states did not conquer for nationalistic pride or religious fervor, refused to adopt extreme militaristic ideologies, did not try to buy off powerful foreign adversaries, did not trust liberating foreign powers that promised freedom and religious tolerance, and maintained up-to-date commercial and military technology. These lessons continue to ring true in the early 21st century.

Lessons from Early Empires Applied to the British Empire

To what extent do our lessons from early empires apply to the experience of the once-powerful British Empire (1627-1966)? James Joyce, the Irish author, quipped that the sun never rose on the British Empire. At its peak in 1900, the British Empire included one-fourth of the world's land area and population. How did Britain come to rule so much of the world?



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:British_Empire_in_1914.png>

*The British Empire in 1914 –
One-fourth of the World's Land Area and Population*

Beginning in the 15th century, European nations began applying science to technological innovations. They used naval

innovations to explore, colonize, and exploit resources.⁶⁷ Britain overcame the 16th-century lead of Portugal and Spain, outcompeted France and the Netherlands in the 17th and 18th centuries, and became the world leader in naval warfare and maritime trade in the 19th century. British merchants and missionaries disrupted societies and created the opportunity to impose colonial governments.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ David B. Abernethy, *The Dynamics of Global Dominance, European Oversea Empires 1415-1980*, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2000, pp. 178-179, 187-197.

⁶⁸ Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage, *A Short History of Africa*, London: Penguin Books, 1995, pp. 99-103.



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Portuguese_Caravel.jpg>

*Portuguese Caravel Ship, 15th-century Innovation –
Led to the European Age of Exploration and Imperialism*

The British Empire began in the Caribbean. Between 1650 and 1710, Barbados was Britain's richest colony. Slave-based sugar plantations and the Atlantic slave trade created enormous wealth.⁶⁹ When the first British planters settled Barbados in 1627,

⁶⁹ Michelle Harrison, *King Sugar, Jamaica, the Caribbean, and the World Sugar Industry*, New York: New York University Press, 2001, pp. 93-97.

Spain had abandoned the island and no Amerindians lived there.

British farmers grew tobacco, cotton, and indigo, and 10,000

British settlers arrived by 1640. In 1645, the planters switched to sugar cane. But most of their white indentured laborers were dying from introduced African diseases (yellow fever and malaria).

The British planters then shifted to African slave labor and employed 80,000 slaves in 1667. Cane production – planting, spreading animal manure, and harvesting – was very labor-intensive. Sugar processing – milling, boiling, drying, and distilling – required careful management and ample labor.⁷⁰

Because sugar prices were high, Barbadian planters received annual rates of return of 50 percent. The British Empire was launched.

⁷⁰ Jan Rogozinski, *A Brief History of the Caribbean, From the Arawak and Carib to the Present*, New York: Plume, for Facts on File, 2000, pp. 71-73.



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at
<[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Mill_Yard -
Ten Views in the Island of Antigua \(1823\), plate V - BL.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Mill_Yard_-_Ten_Views_in_the_Island_of_Antigua_(1823),_plate_V_-_BL.jpg)>

*Slave-based Sugar Production in Barbados –
Launched the British Empire in the 17th century*

British leaders modeled their empire on the Roman Empire, even terming peace in the 19th century, *pax britannica*. To create and transfer wealth, Britain (like Rome) created overseas colonies. Britain either established settler colonies (in Barbados, South Carolina, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa) or imposed its rule (in India, Burma, Hong Kong, Egypt, East Africa,

and the Middle East).⁷¹ Colonial rulers developed and taxed agriculture – either plantation (sugar in Barbados, rice in South Carolina, opium in India, coffee in East Africa) or farmer-owned (rice in Burma, wool in Australia and New Zealand).^{72 73}

⁷⁴Additional wealth was transferred by taxing foreign trade – either exports to Britain of natural resources (furs from Canada, gold and diamonds from South Africa) or exports from Britain of manufactured goods (throughout the British Empire).^{75 76}

⁷¹ Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Africa Since 1800*, Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 127-128, 157-159.

⁷² Walter Edgar, *South Carolina, A History*, Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1998, pp. 139-144.

⁷³ Geoffrey Blainey, *A Shorter History of Australia*, Port Melbourne: William Heinemann Australia, 1994, p. 40.

⁷⁴ James Belich, *Making Peoples, A History of the New Zealanders*, Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2001, p. 345.

⁷⁵ Robert Bothwell, *The Penguin History of Canada*, Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2006, pp. 217-220.

⁷⁶ Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995.



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:American_Beaver.jpg>

North American Beaver (Castor canadensis) – Leading Fur Export of the British Hudson’s Bay Company, 4.7 Million Pelts by 1868

How did India become the jewel of the crown in the British Empire? British imperialism in India evolved through three phases – from trade to taxation to conquest. In 1600, the British queen, Elizabeth I, granted a 20-year, royal charter to the English East India Company (EEIC).⁷⁷ Subsequent charters renewed the

⁷⁷ Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 147-148.

Company's trade monopoly until the EEIC was abolished in 1858.⁷⁸ The Company built fortified warehouses at key ports in regions that supplied Indian exports, bought Indian textiles with English silver or gold, exchanged the textiles for Indonesian spices, and sold the spices in England.⁷⁹ Annual Company profits usually exceeded 20 percent. Only later did trade evolve into control.

⁷⁸ Stanley Wolpert, *A New History of India*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 152.

⁷⁹ Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia, History, Culture, Political Economy*, Abingdon, Oxon, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2018, pp. 50-51.



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:East_Indiaman_Warley.jpg>

Warley, An East India Company Ship – Painting By Robert Salmon, 1804, National Maritime Museum, London

Nabobism is the term used to describe English intervention in Indian local politics. The EEIC provided military aid to local rulers in succession or territorial disputes. If they chose the winning side, the British gained the right to collect taxes. Starting in the mid-18th century, the EEIC engaged heavily in nabobism in Bengal, the richest textile-exporting region of India. The Company used Bengali tax revenues to purchase Indian textiles for

export and to finance armies to permit the British conquest of other parts of India.⁸⁰



Source: Wikimedia Commons available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sir_Joshua_Reynolds_-_Portrait_of_Captain_John_Foote_in_his_Indian_Garb_NY_YAG_YORAG_216.jpg>

*Captain John Foote (1718-1768) in British Nabob Attire –
Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds, c. 1761*

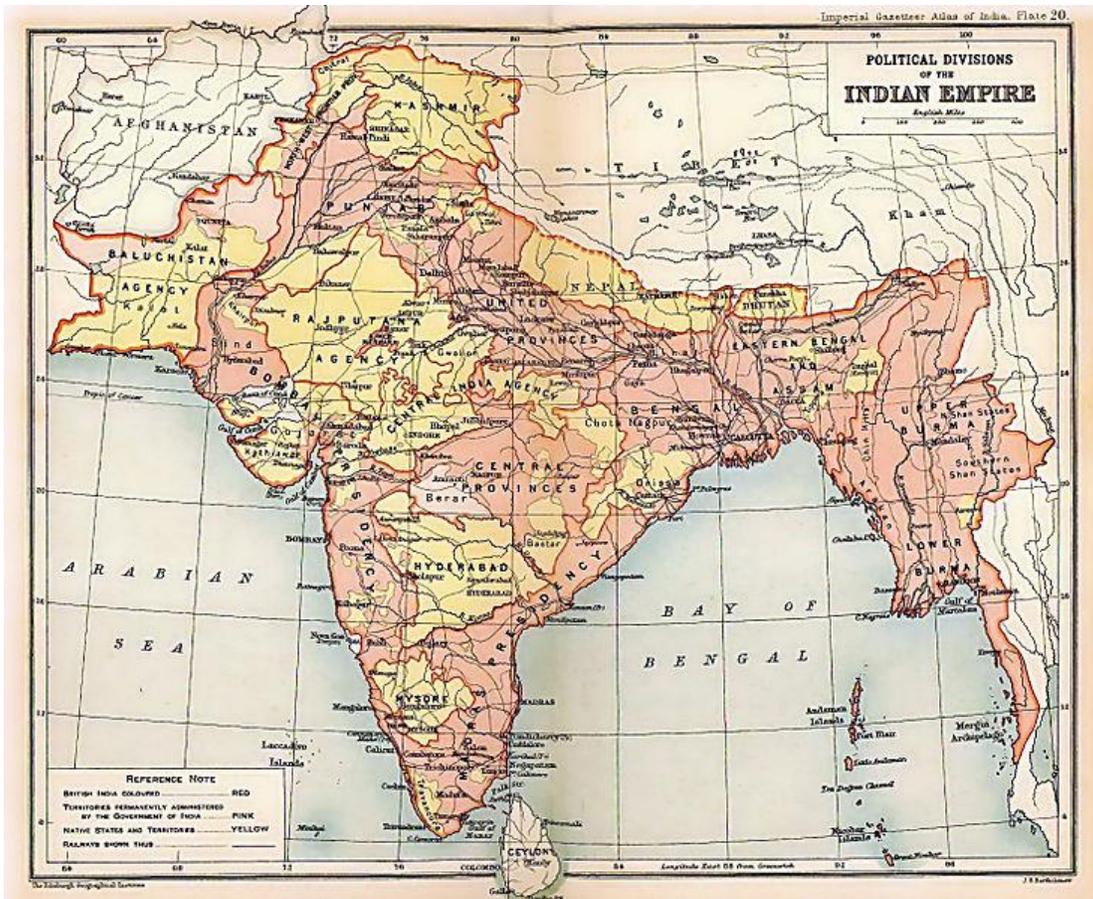
During the first half of the 19th century, British imperial policy in India shifted from tax plundering to conquistador

⁸⁰ Richard M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier, 1204-1760*, Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1993, pp. 203-204.

imperialism. With its European-style, 200,000-man mercenary army, the EEIC conquered or subjugated most of South Asia. The imperial system was constructed to transfer wealth from India to Britain.⁸¹ The British built new Indian infrastructure (railroads, roads, and ports), protected British export markets in India, promoted the interest of elite landowners, appropriated land for British plantations, and brutally suppressed Indian opposition. The British thus built their empire largely with Indian resources.⁸²

⁸¹ Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia, History, Culture, Political Economy*, Abingdon, Oxon, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2018, pp. 61-62.

⁸² Craig Jeffery, *Modern India: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2017, pp. 21-24.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:British_Indian_Empire_1909_Imperial_Gazetteer_of_India.jpg

*The British Indian Empire At Its Peak, 1909 –
 Britain Built Its Empire Largely With Indian Resources*

Two world wars and the Great Depression shattered the foundations of the British Empire in the first half of the 20th century. World War One (1914-1918) and World War Two (1939-1945) involved intra-European alliances that undercut the empire. After 2.7 million colonial troops fought alongside British soldiers

during World War One, colonial nationalists felt betrayed when Britain reneged on political concessions. Following the Second World War, Britain faced daunting reconstruction and opted to give political freedom to its colonies.⁸³ By 1945, the costs of empire were judged to exceed imperial gains and the Labor Party government was focused on national goals – economic reconstruction and creation of a welfare state. Educated nationalists in the colonies and Labor Party leaders in Britain agreed that there was no rationale for continued British rule.⁸⁴ Except for the massive migrations and deaths in India and Pakistan, the transition to independence thus was mostly peaceful.

⁸³ David B. Abernethy, *The Dynamics of Global Dominance, European Oversea Empires 1415-1980*, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2000, pp. 148-150, 159.

⁸⁴ Shashi Tharoor, *India, From Midnight to the Millennium*, New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1997, pp. 14-15.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mahatma-Gandhi_studio_1931.jpg>

*Mohandas Gandhi, The Mahatma, 1931 –
Leading Indian Nationalist*

Britain's imperial history underscores three principal lessons for contemporary powers – develop marine technology (to underpin naval power and mercantile success), conquer profitable areas (by avoiding the temptations of nationalistic grandeur and religious fervor), and govern conquests effectively (by creating effective bureaucracies, limiting state intervention in the economy, and quashing local political opponents). How did I reach that

sweeping conclusion? It is instructive to discuss the extent to which our lessons from early empires were applicable to the British Empire in the 17th-20th centuries. By revisiting our fifteen lessons in the context of the British Empire, we can gain further insights into their applicability for today's hegemonic power, the United States of America.

In operating the British Empire, imperial British officials employed consistent domestic economic policies to create and transfer wealth. They imposed political stability, taxed agriculture and trade heavily, and gave privileged positions to British settlers and merchants. The British colonial service was small and brutally efficient. The powerful British military suppressed revolts effectively. No rebellions overthrew British rule, although the Sepoy Revolt in India (1857-1858) came close.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Troops_of_the_Native_Allies.jpg>

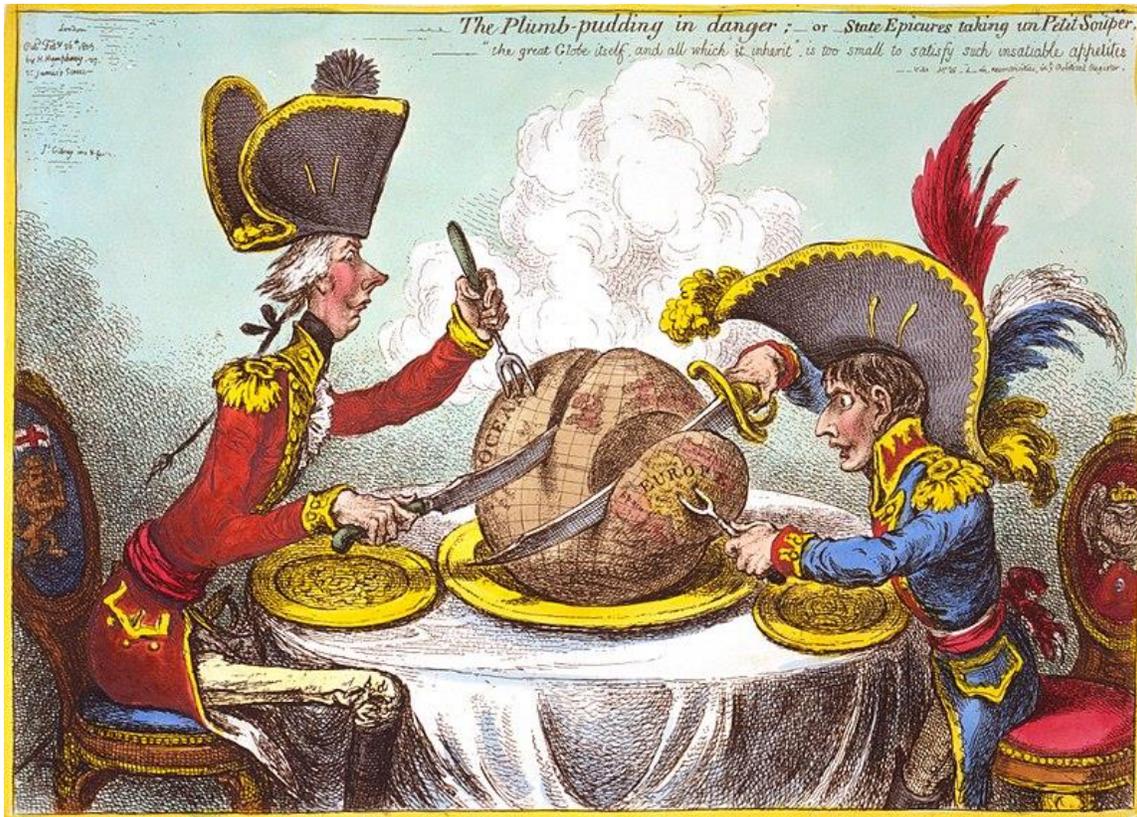
*The Sepoy Revolt in India, 1857-1858 –
Britain Nearly Lost Imperial Control of India*

Britain did not allocate disproportionate sums to religious monuments or lose control of its tax base. British leaders built their empire on the basis of Britain's industrial and agricultural revolutions, and they effectively utilized their advantages in applying new discoveries in science and technology for economic benefit. In the mid-19th century, Britain astutely exploited its competitive advantage in global markets by reducing barriers to

international trade and imposing freer trade on its main trading partners. Within the empire, Britain maintained a system of imperial preferences to ensure trading advantages for the mother country.

Imperial Britain's domestic political policies also reflected an understanding of the experience of early empires. Unlike the large states that had existed before the industrial revolution, Britain did not have to concern itself with ensuring peaceful political successions. The United Kingdom had a longstanding constitutional monarchy and a well-functioning and democratic system of parliamentary government. In administering the British Empire, Britain prided itself in utilizing a small and effective bureaucracy to maintain order, collect taxes, and enforce laws. British chartered companies and (later) colonial officials effectively created and transferred wealth, especially in India, combining privileged private entrepreneurship with government transportation infrastructure. But the effectiveness of British

policies and practices in preparing the ex-colonial countries for eventual independence continues to be hotly debated.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Caricature_gillray_plumpudding.jpg>

The Plumb-pudding in Danger, James Gillray, 1805 – Britain (William Pitt) and France (Napoleon) Divide Imperial Conquests

Although some British colonial officials were arrogant and openly racist, Britain managed mostly to avoid smugness and sycophancy because of the openness of parliamentary debate and the vibrant and free British press. In its imperial possessions,

Britain generally practiced religious tolerance. However, the British record with ethnic minorities was mixed because its practice of indirect rule brought British support for traditional, often repressive ethnic leaders. Imperial Britain also did not suffer from isolationism or xenophobia, since the creation of wealth in the British Empire was predicated on an outward-looking approach – expanded international trade, investment, and migration.

The officials operating the British Empire, furthermore, appear to have learned the lessons from foreign polices practiced by early empires. During the first two centuries of the British Empire, Britain typically conquered areas, notably India, which turned a healthy profit. That approach changed after the mid-19th century, however, when Britain used strategic and geo-political rationales for some of its conquests in Africa, Oceania, and the Middle East. Even then Britain did not seem to justify its imperial expansion on militaristic or religious ideologies, as some earlier empires had done.

Britain did not have to face the question of longstanding bribery of potentially troublesome neighbors – to prevent foraging raids or to provide access to key trade routes. The era of instability on the Eurasian steppe had ended just before the British Empire emerged. Similarly, Britain did not have to decide whether to accept liberating foreigners (allied American troops in the Second World War were not a threat to stay on and rule Britain). Although Nazi Germany had designs on Britain in its plan to control Europe, no foreign power conquered Britain to take over its empire.



Source: *Wikimedia Commons*, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Adolf_Hitler_colorized.jpg>

*Adolf Hitler (Ruled Nazi Germany 1934-1945) – Britain
Courageously Avoided German Conquest in World War Two*

The most critical lesson from early empires that Britain applied so effectively in operating the British Empire was to maintain an up-to-date navy and merchant marine. Britain became the world's most powerful nation by exploiting its advantages in commercial and military technology. The United Kingdom parlayed its advantages from the industrial revolution to revolutionize world trade in the 19th century. India, which had led the world in exporting cotton textiles for two millennia, began to import their cotton goods from Britain.

Britain, however, was capable of making serious strategic blunders. It shortsightedly stood by while a French group, led by Ferdinand de Lesseps, built the Suez Canal and opened it in 1869. When Britain recovered neatly six years later by outmaneuvering France to buy 44 percent of the canal shares, Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli tersely wrote to Queen Victoria, "You have it, Madam."⁸⁵ Although the impact of the British Empire remains

⁸⁵ Zachary Karabell, *Parting the Desert, The Creation of the Suez Canal*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003, pp. 262-264.

deservedly controversial in the conquered imperial regions, which are now mostly independent, British policy-makers and officials ran a tight ship that served narrow British imperial interests effectively.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Victoria_Disraeli_cartoon.jpg>

*“You Have It, Madam.” – Benjamin Disraeli Bought 44 Percent of
the Suez Canal for Britain’s Queen Victoria, 1875*

Lessons from Early Empires Applied to American Hegemony

Many of our lessons from early empires are directly applicable to the contemporary role of the United States as a hegemonic world power, whereas others are largely irrelevant because historical times have changed dramatically. I begin this discussion with mention of the lessons that are now out-of-date and thus only remotely applicable, if at all, to modern American hegemony. In its domestic economic policies, the United States faces increasing political pressures arising from the unequal distribution of income and assets, but disparities in land-holdings are no longer critical (since agriculture generates only a tiny proportion of American national income and employment). Equally marginal is a concern over the balance of government revenues spent on religious monuments and orders, especially in light of the American separation of church and state.



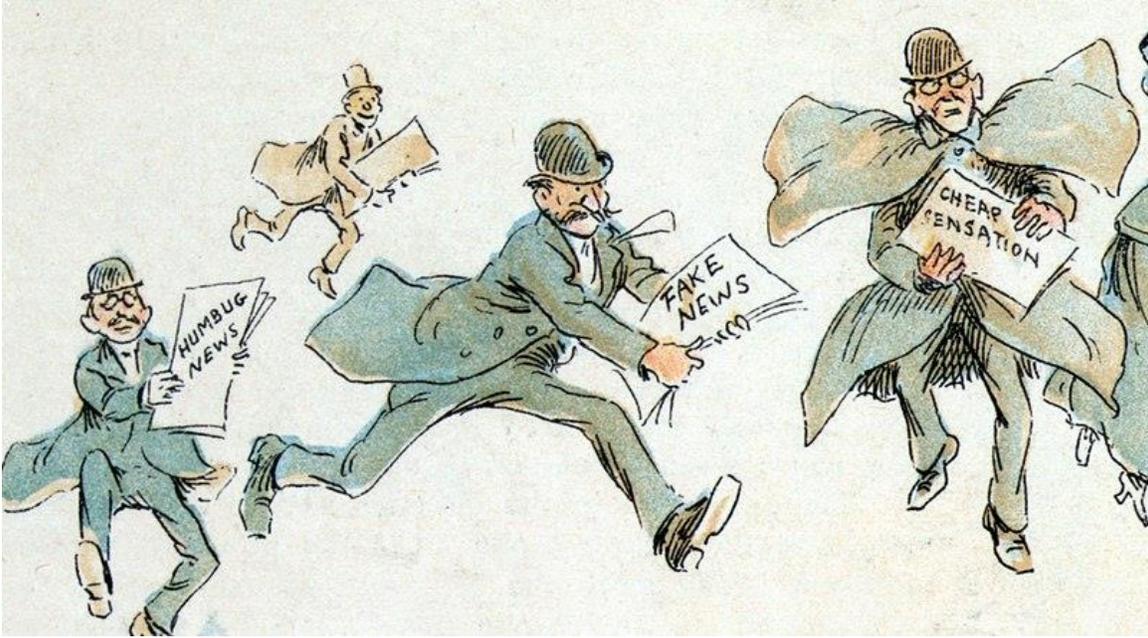
Source: *Wikimedia Commons, available at*
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wheat_harvest.jpg>

Wheat Harvest in the Palouse, Idaho – Agriculture Provides Only One Percent of GDP and of Employment in the United States

Two of our lessons drawn from the domestic political policies of early empires are not relevant for the maintenance of modern American hegemony. Peaceful political succession, the bane of early empires, has not been an issue in the United States, thanks to the American system of political and judicial checks and balances. Moreover, extreme isolationism has not been a central part of the American political scene since the period leading up to

the Second World War. Three of our five foreign policy lessons no longer apply. American foreign policy is not underpinned by an extreme militaristic or religious ideology, American officials cannot legally use large-scale bribery for military or commercial purposes, and the United States has not been occupied and in need of foreign liberation.

More than half of our lessons from early empires remain very applicable today, however. To continue as a world power, the United States will have to follow domestic economic policies that underpin political stability, ensure continued economic progress, and support global military strength. That goal will continue to depend in important part on American ingenuity and innovativeness in science and technology through applications of private and public research-and-development. Because of global interconnections in an information-driven economy, American policies will have to pursue more open international markets.



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“Fake News”, Frederick Burr Opper, 1894 – In An Information-driven Economy, America Needs Enlightened Policies

Three lessons from the domestic political policies of early empires also continue to ring loud and true today. More than ever before, it will be desirable for the United States to try to stress effective bureaucracy, balanced budgets (or budget surpluses to pay down national debt), and private entrepreneurship. In political discussions and economic policy-making, there continues to be a need for openness, self-criticism, and honest debate. Moreover, although the United States constitutionally practices religious

tolerance, its continued role as a great power will rest in part on its ability to integrate ethnic minorities better and to overcome widening disparities in the distribution of incomes and assets.

Two of our lessons from the foreign policies of early empires are entirely relevant today. American foreign policy-makers need to remain leery of committing American military resources for reasons of nationalistic pride. The country continues to be divided over the strategic need for and enormous cost of the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq in the first decade of the 21st century. In addition, it is imperative for the United States to stay on the cutting edge of developments in commercial and military technology. These central lessons, drawn from the history of early empires, continue to resonate loudly.



Source: Wikimedia Commons, available at
<<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tr-bigstick-cartoon.JPG>>

Theodore Roosevelt and His Big Stick in the Caribbean, 1904 – US Needs to Be Leery of Committing Resources for Nationalistic Pride