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**NATIONALISM AND TRADE WARS:
END OF GLOBALIZATION?**

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Acknowledgements and dedication

We are very happy, life is wonderful in all its spheres and fields of action. It is obvious that the ups and downs are part of it and now with this level reached we can understand that these are necessary for the enjoyment of life itself.

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Abstract

This research addresses the issue of the "end of globalization," as some recent authors have called the current deep crisis in international markets. In order to analyze this scenario, two topics were selected that are closely related: the resurgence of far-right nationalisms, especially in the United States, and the commercial war that this country has declared against China. A type of hermeneutic analysis was used from which these topics were analyzed making an exhaustive documentary revision of texts from different disciplines. It was found that in this confrontation are underlying opposing political projects that are supported by diametrically opposed nationalist positions. Thus, on the one hand, Trump seeks to break and destabilize the order of globalization; while the Chinese, in their own nationalist project called "the Chinese dream," and from a central state planning of their communist model, have opened up to strong internationalist tendencies that support globalization. P For the date, the results of these tensions are unpredictable and there is only one certainty: the structure of globalization will undergo enormous changes, where perhaps the most important is the displacement of the United States by China in the hegemony of world governance.

Keywords: International relations, globalization, nationalism, trade wars, tariff wars, world hegemony.

Resumen

La presente investigación aborda el tema del "fin de la globalización" como algunos autores recientes han denominada a la profunda crisis actual de los mercados internacionales. Para analizar este escenario se seleccionaron dos temas que tienen estrecha relación: el resurgimiento de nacionalismos de ultraderecha, en especial en EEUU, y la guerra comercial que este país le ha declarado a China. Se empleó un tipo de análisis hermenéutico desde el cual se analizaron estos temas haciendo una exhaustiva revisión documental de textos de diferentes disciplinas. Se encontró que en esta confrontación subyacen proyectos políticos contrarios que se apoyan en posturas nacionalistas diametralmente opuestas. Así, por un lado, Trump busca romper y desestabilizar el orden de la globalización; mientras que los chinos, en un proyecto nacionalista propio denominado "el sueño chino", y desde una planificación central de Estado de su modelo comunista, se ha abierto a fuertes tendencias internacionalistas que apoyan la globalización. Para la fecha, los resultados de estas tensiones son impredecibles y solo se tiene una certeza: la estructura de la globalización sufrirá enormes cambios, donde quizá el más importante sea el desplazamiento de EEUU por parte de China en la hegemonía de la gobernanza mundial.

Palabras Clave: Relaciones internacionales, globalización, nacionalismo, guerras comerciales, guerras arancelarias, hegemonía mundial.

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Introduction

Since 2018 the world seems to be precipitating into an unpredictable economic scenario. The reasons and causes of this instability occupy the work of theorists and analysts around the world. For some, the effects of phenomena such as the resurgence of extreme right-wing nationalisms around the world, which hold isolationist and protectionist promises, and the trade wars unleashed between economic powers such as China and the United States, are not only creating a situation of economic crisis, but their repercussions are such that we are perhaps witnessing the end of an order that had dominated world governance in recent decades. Keeping the proportions with these somewhat apocalyptic glances of "end times", it is undeniable that the order of globalization in its neoliberal conception is undergoing profound changes, not only because of the isolationist attitude that many countries have taken (powers like England and the USA), but also because of numerous factors: the energy-environmental crisis, financial recession, low growth rates, increasing social inequality on the planet, the entry into the scenario of emerging economies that now compete with the traditional economic powers, among many others.

It is mainly from 2015 onwards that different analysts and academics begin to refer to the crisis in terms of the "end of globalization", although the warning of a crisis of such magnitude came in 2008. Along these lines are works such as *Grave New World: The End of Globalization, the Return of History* de Stephen King (2017) o *The levelling. What's next after globalization* (Michael O'Sullivan, 2019). However, according to the subject of the study, numerous papers were found on the regression of globalization in relation to the trade wars between China and the United States, as well as the resurgence of nationalism.

For the Chinese case study were important texts such as "On Chinese Nationalism: Breve Historia de su Construcción Contemporánea" (Arriola, 2009), "El Sueño Chino de Rejuvenecimiento Nacional: bases de formulación, dimensión interna y diálogo sinonorteamericano" (Santillán, 2017), "El sueño chino. Política contemporánea" (Fernández, 2018), among others. In the case of the United States and the emergence of the isolationist nationalisms of the far right, they gave light works like: "Trump: ¿Un parche nacionalista a la crisis de la globalización?" (Aronskind, 2017); "Going to extremes: Politics after financial crises, 1870–2014" (Funke, Schularick & Trebesch, 2016), "Resource nationalism" (Koch,

2019), Among others Thus, there were numerous works, especially academic, with which the topics were approached.

This monographic work will seek to reflect on the current crisis of globalization, focusing on two themes that have a profound relationship, given that such a complex phenomenon requires multiple study approaches and issues to address. The two selected were: the emergence of nationalisms, especially in the USA and China, and the trade wars that these two powers have unleashed as part of a confrontation over world hegemony. The analysis seeks to provide interpretation tools that allow us to elucidate which are the directions that markets can take in the short and medium term.

The methodological design had a qualitative approach that allows to approach social phenomena, which cannot be apprehended only from a numerical approach. Thus, a qualitative method such as hermeneutic analysis made it possible to analyze the selected topic from the reading, dialogue and analysis of different discursive sources, such as books, monographic works, academic articles, opinion and news articles, among others. Therefore, this is an approach that does not take books as simple sources or references, but rather as an activity of interpretation of the world that the author carries out mediated by active discussion with other authors who have already reflected on the subject, and that are supported by verifiable data and observations.

On the one hand, the different nationalisms of each country, considering their very different political and economic systems and projects, have led them to take diametrically opposed positions in the face of the order of globalization. For example, while the United States, led by the ultra-right Donald Trump, tries to weaken the institutionality on which the order of globalization is based, at the same time that it carries out isolationist reforms in its country, China, has strong policies of economic opening and is determined to make international markets grow, not only in the Pacific, but also in the rest of the world.

This means that since the Trump administration the international panorama has been reversed: now it is China that, from a central state economy, is advocating to strengthen and open more international markets, while the US is in an open war to avoid this expansion, even if it requires attacking the economic order on which its global predominance is based. From this

idea was analyzed the emergence of different phenomena that are postulated as a consequence of these changes: the return to the gold standard, competitive devaluation, currency diversification, among others.

To this end, the text is organized as follows: a first preliminary part in which a deeper approach is made to the problem to be studied, the state of the art is established, as well as a frame of reference and methodological tools. The second part is dedicated to the development of the three objectives into which the analysis is divided, these are: a description of the two types of nationalisms that currently operate in the US and China and how these influence their foreign policy; then, having clear the particular functioning of each country, it is analyzed what are the effects of these nationalisms on the trade war that China and the US are currently sustaining and that have international markets in a state of constant uncertainty; and finally, in a third part the consequences of these trade wars are analyzed, answering the question of whether this means the end of globalization, and whether this means the end of globalization.

The work seeks to contribute to the analysis of the relationship between these two factors in the face of the globalization crisis, what have been the effects they have had, and what are the directions it is setting for the future of international markets.

1 Formulation of the project

This research proposal carries out an analysis of the globalization crisis, understood as a political-economic configuration of the world, a model that has been hegemonic since the eighties, and that was consolidated with the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991. It is based on the premise that, from the financial crisis of 2008 to the intensification of the trade wars between the United States and China, this crisis has developed to the point of making people think that a process of decline has begun in the economic, cultural and social guidelines of globalization. Although the affirmation "the end of globalization" sounds radical and pretentious, it can be understood that under this question-sentence resides a feeling of uncertainty for the future of the geopolitical order and world governance.

Thus, without wishing to reaffirm or adhere to positions that attempt to categorically establish ends and beginnings of eras or social processes, the research seeks to carry out a political analysis of the reconfigurations that have been occurring in the current world order, until now governed by the practices and ideals of neoliberalism dictated by world powers, especially the United States. What are the origins of these reconfigurations? What are the main facts and actors in these changes? What would be the new forms of a world order in which the United States is no longer the only nation with a leading role? These types of questions arise from the problems to be studied.

Para responderlas, la investigación, en primer lugar, hace una revisión teórica de temas transversales como el desarrollo del neoliberalismo y la globalización, desde finales de los años setenta hasta la crisis económica de 2008; los nacionalismos, sus bases ideológicas y la forma en que conciben la política exterior en relación con el contexto de la globalización; y, finalmente, el concepto de guerras comerciales y financieras. En este viaje también intentaremos comprender el surgimiento de China y cómo este país, junto con los Estados Unidos, se erigirá en el siglo XXI como la geopolítica más influyente del mundo, gracias a su enorme participación en las exportaciones mundiales.

From this first theoretical revision the hermeneutic work is derived to understand the proposed problematic. This is developed in three moments: on the one hand, it reviews the current expressions of nationalism both in USA and China, emphasizing in the form of relation

that these traits establish with the order of globalization. In each of these powers, the nationalisms are different: unlike a few years ago, that of the United States has isolationist tendencies, while that of China encourages openness to the world as a way to strengthen their economy, the only thing that could guarantee their independence. The historical review of neoliberalism and globalization allows us to understand how this model has generated crises, discomforts and social problems that have been the nourishment of the resurgence of nationalist projects that oppose this world order of globalization, in its great majority, within neoconservative projects, often xenophobic and aporophobic.

In a second moment, the evolution of the economic relations between the USA and China is deepened, up to the present moment of the commercial wars, which threaten many of the structures on which the order of globalization is based. In order to deepen the analysis, one of the main targets of Donald Trump's economic policies was chosen, that is, to attack commercially (by means of tariffs and prohibitions) the Chinese technology companies that threaten to carry out a telecommunications revolution in which the United States would lose enormously its hegemony.

Finally, these two analyses will be knotted together in order to understand, in a final phase of analysis, how the trade wars between the USA and China destabilize to such an extent the economic order of globalization that, together with the local outbreaks of nationalist ideas, have paved the way for a process of decline and instability of the globalization model. This will answer the central question of research: if globalization is in crisis, what are the reconfigurations or new forms of world political and economic order that are beginning to emerge? These issues can be addressed from issues such as competitive devaluation, the possible return of the gold standard, among others.

These phases of political and economic analysis will be carried out from a hermeneutic methodology, based on the review of different bibliographic sources in databases and specialized publications. Texts from areas of the humanities such as political science, economics, history and sociology will be given priority. After an exhaustive search and systematization of sources, the analysis will be carried out in the four moments described. This research is expected to support the analysis of the current geopolitical situation, both locally and internationally.

1.1 State of the art

The question of the end of globalization, raised by current world politics, which has been defined as a "new world order of nationalisms", has only been raised in the last decade. Since the 1980s, the expansion of neoliberalism led one to believe that globalization, as an economic and political structure that integrated all nations under the precepts of democracy and the free market, was going to be imposed until it reached a point of stability. However, this has been precisely the problem, according to some analysts: the economic downturn has made us think that this promised progress had a limit, and not only that, but that this same logic has widened the inequality gap, awakening a collective discontent that calls for solutions to this crisis. It is at this point that anti-globalization political projects have prospered, promising the inhabitants of the different nations new protectionist policies that will bring back economic stability, and with it, better job offers for the original citizens. The election of Donald Trump in the US in 2017 is a clear sign of this situation. In addition, as he states (Baptista , 2016) Nations are becoming more and more aware of the prospective changes they may have if they protect their nation in the dimensions of political, economic, social, environmental, technological, juridical-legal, educational performance.

Therefore, building a state of the art from the question of the end of globalization has a limited margin of search, since it is mainly from 2015 that different analysts and academics begin to ask this question with more force, although the warning of the crisis came from 2008. However, another major thematic axis that has much more development and study is that of trade relations between the USA and China in the last two decades.

1.1.1 On the end of globalization

Grave New World: The End of Globalization, the Return of History – Stephen King, 2017

The economist's book Stephen King (2017) one of the most important references today in questioning the future of globalization. For the author, "the West is invaded by bad presentiment" due to different facts that have questioned the optimism for the project of globalization, which two decades earlier seemed to be reaffirmed with the victory over communism. This has led to an end to the conviction in Europe and North America for the

virtues of the Western model of liberal democracy and the free market, which had been sustained by the guidelines dictated from the USA. For the author the problem lies in the renewal of institutions and ideas, he says:

when it came down to it, it proved to be pointless. In the years following the fall of the Iron Curtain, there may have been economic, financial and, to some extent, technological globalization, but neither institutions nor ideas were globalized.

This renewal of ideas that could never materialize, in large part was due to the imposing attitude of the West of its values. This has triggered a situation where many countries around the world have questioned the adoption of American values, and not only nationalist but also regional positions have begun to emerge. This has shown that there is a wrong version of history: not all regions of the world are governed by the precepts of Western vision, as China and Russia have shown. For the author this is also a sign of a loss of US hegemony. Russia and China are now emerging as great powers capable of creating geopolitical blocs more in keeping with their worldviews and interests. The case of Brexit and the choice of Trump, according to King, is proof of this. In less than 20 years, this optimism has ended, and now a large part of the citizens of these countries are crying out for borders to be closed and national values to be strengthened.

However, King's great conclusion is that this does not mean that the market economy and democracy are going to be finished, it is quite far from that scenario, but that the policies and vision of globalization are going to be drastically transformed and there will be a geopolitical rearrangement. In fact, for the author this process has already begun, perhaps since 2015, and it will be the central theme of the international relations of the countries in the years to come.

The levelling. What's next after globalization - Michael O'Sullivan (2019)

O'Sullivan has a vision close to King's. For him there is no doubt that the stage of optimism in the face of globalization is over, and that it is evident that this process has opened up a large number of social problems that have put the economy and political stability around the world in crisis. However, his contribution to this discussion is that, in addition to wondering about the reasons and the road travelled to date, he wonders about the reconfiguration that will follow this crisis. To explain it, he uses the term multipolarity to define the current situation of world governance, where there are no longer two opposing superpowers (the cold war) but

multiple centres of economic power that are increasingly diverse. For King, we are living through a transition of the world economy and finance, which puts an end to the era we know as globalization, and will give way to new institutions and powers that will be reconfigured on the basis of the logic of a multipolar world, in which not only great powers such as China, Russia, India or Japan will confront the power of the USA but also regional blocs that can be consolidated in Latin America, Asia and the European Union itself, if it finds a way out of the crisis unleashed by Brexit.

¿Es reversible la liberalización? – Harold James (1999)

This time Harold James emphasizes how the world has come through time accepting the idea of liberalization in terms of trade, however, by early 2000 it was previously observed how the big nations in terms of power were beginning to have a monopoly on globalization. He argues in turn that the issue has become a political conflict, as states with less political participation are increasingly forced to accept impositions from big nations, according to James (1999) globalization is and will be a subject of rigorous debate.

Las derechas contemporáneas en la posglobalización - Fabian Bustamante (2019)

For this section Fabian Bustamante (2019) carries out an analysis of how a new way of seeing globalization exists. On the one hand, he specifies that the new wars between left and right governments have refuted the idea that the term globalization continues to exist in its maximum purity, starting from the fact that, although it is true that trade apparently follows its accustomed "globalized" paths, globalization itself, as I term it, is seen with less and less solidity and there is greater uncertainty about the question: Where is globalization going? On the other hand, he points out that the new appearance of neoliberal nationalist forces has managed to change the vision of some developing countries, making them understand that they can have a greater participation in power, which would be understood as a greater protectionism of developing countries.

Proyecciones de la economía global 2019 – Alfonso Rafael Casanova (2019)

Doctor Alfonso Rafael points out that, in economic aspects, the world is undergoing a change of considerable volatility in terms of the movement of money, describing that countries such as the United States, China, the European Union, Japan and China, are going through a

moment of conjuncture, derived from a change in international economic relations. At the same time, it states that there are threats and opportunities derived from the conflicts that are taking place and have their epicentre in the government of the United States. Casanova (2019) predicts in the article the behavior of the world economy, based on the interests of the main countries of the world in terms of power; ending with a position that indicates that financial globalization is and will always be the axis of the world economy.

1.1.2 On the global role of the U.S. and China and their trade and political relations

China, EEUU y el futuro de Bretton Woods II – Federico Steinberg (2010)

On this occasion, Steinberg (2010) states that: "This article emphasizes the commercial relationship between these two great powers, China and the United States", they carry out an analysis of the financial equilibrium and the economic relations between them, in order to see the possibility of continuity of the relationship between these two powers after the Bretton Woods II agreement.

La relación triangular China, América Latina, Estados Unidos: socios necesarios en medio de la competencia por el poder mundial- Rafat Ahmed Ghotme-Ghotme & Alejandra Ripoll De Castro (2016)

According to Ghotme & Ripoll De Castro (2016), the object of this article is "the fundamental analysis of how the United States has reacted to the expansion of new exporting countries," and at the same time it has in its structure the consensual analysis of how the United States confronts the expansionist policies of other countries in order to maintain its sovereignty.

El déficit comercial de Estados Unidos frente a la entrada de China a su mercado - Ximena Valentina Echenique Romero (2012)

This is another article that evaluated the commercial relationship between the US and China, and how since the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century it was already a fact that China's exponential growth was going to threaten US hegemony. On this occasion,

Echenique Romero (2012) states that, "The article places special emphasis on how China's incursion and participation in exports", in turn states that it has linearly affected the sovereignty of the United States. He relates the possible financial balance that has as its center the economic relations between the two countries.

La evolución de las exportaciones de bienes de China: una visión panorámica-
Salvador Chamorro (2013)

According to Chamorro (2013), "the article details the phenomenon of the process of economic reform that China has experienced based on its exports", the aim is to analyze the evolution of international trade in China in recent decades, paying special attention to its exports of goods and emphasizing the changes experienced in recent years. This opening and these changes in its economic model meant for China an exponential growth without precedent in the history of capitalism, which positioned it in little more than three decades as the second economic power in the world. This article allows us to understand how China's export policy is at the center of its sustained growth, which in turn determines its relationship with the United States.

Las relaciones entre Estados Unidos y China: ¿el final de la luna de miel? – Pablo
Bustelo (2004)

In this article, Bustelo (2004) states that China and the United States, by the end of 2001, were on an authentic honeymoon in terms of the rapprochement and unification of international trade. Nevertheless, he emphasizes the demonstrations that are beginning to be seen in China for 2002 and how the possibility of a systematic distancing between the two powers under Bush's mandate is explored and looked at. In the same article it is pointed out that by the beginning of 2002 China begins to have an air of optimism about its independence and motivated by the election of the then president Bush forges its own path in terms of the struggle for world power; given that there is a growing negative position of China regarding the acceptance of American dogmas and its new administration.

1.2 Problem Statement

When Margaret Thatcher was elected prime minister of the United Kingdom in 1979, the Cold War was still active, and with it, the division of the world into two irreconcilable political and economic systems: communism and capitalism. Her rise to power marked the beginning of the great neoliberal reform of the rule of law in the West. His political programme and stance towards the geopolitical order of the world was summed up in his most famous proclamation: "There is no alternative". "There is no alternative", rather than the confirmation of a sociohistorical reality became a fulfilled self-prophecy. In other words, it is not that there really was no other type of political and economic organization, but that neoliberal capitalism, which started with the governments of Thatcher and Reagan in the United States, was to become the dominant system, a phenomenon that is also known as "globalization".

For Harvey (2007), globalization is one of many terms given to this new economic configuration of the world since the 1980s, driven by the neoliberal reforms of the United States and the United Kingdom. Once the USSR fell in 1991, capitalism was able to spread more rapidly around the world. This new world order, for decades seemed like what Thatcher said: the only alternative, and for many it was unthinkable that it would have an end. For Francis Fukuyama this was "the end of history", that is, the end of ideologies. These positions hold what, for Mark Fisher (2016), is the "normalization" of a hegemonic political and economic system. His concept of "capitalist realism" attempts to explain the idea that neoliberal capitalism, and its consequent globalization, is the only possible, and therefore enduring, world, thus negating any different political and economic project.

However, in recent years, especially since the events of 2008, there has been a proliferation of the idea that it started a process that could lead to the "end of globalization", since the market and economy of many nations has entered into crisis due to a large opening in the economic gap between developed countries and developing countries, a phenomenon represented in their poverty rates, their low gross domestic product (GDP) and a consequent decline and slowness of income to national capital. (Lee & Vivarelli, 2006; ECLAC, 2002; Smith, 2014; Sachs, 2017). Not only this, it is estimated that the growth of capital is quite slow in terms of the income of nations, in a process of reversion from globalization. (Smith, 2014). This economic gap between countries weakens economies. (ECLAC, 2002), which translates

into a deterioration in purchasing power, a decrease in foreign investment (Kotz, 2002), social inequity and rising levels of poverty (ECLAC, 2002).

Of course, this would not be the end of capitalism, but it would be a radical change in its structure, a reconfiguration of the world order and markets. This idea has by the latest political developments in European countries and in the United States (Harvey, 2007), where political projects of a conservative nature, based on nationalist positions that, par excellence, oppose the principles of globalization, have taken on more and more force. The most common are protectionist economic policies, the restriction of citizens' mobility, and the entrenchment of national identities (many based on ideas of race and immanent conceptions of culture and history). (The Smith Institute , 2007).

Many authors point to the birth of a new world nationalist order in opposition to globalization. This resistance comes after decades of bad social, cultural, political and economic experiences for most developing countries (Lee & Vivarelli, 2006). In many countries it is perceived that the expansion of market neoliberalism has brought many problems, such as: the loss of national identities, the detriment of national industry and commerce, the problem of migrants and refugees leaving impoverished areas. (ECLAC, 2002), the exponential increase in social inequality, the dismantling of social welfare measures that have had serious effects on citizens, the reduction of democratic freedoms, among many others (Lee & Vivarelli, 2006).

However, this resistance does not arise in view of the aggravation of these problems, but has always existed, since the neoliberal stance emerges as a revitalization of the classical liberal approaches, in response to the failure of the protectionist model of the governments of England and the United States during the 1930s and 1970s, citizens begin to distrust state regulation and promote a market with greater freedom (Einar, 2009). Not to go too far, in the case of Latin America, the entry of the neoliberal order demanded the establishment of military dictatorships, mainly in the countries of the south, which undermined alternative political projects, such as the regulatory policies of the State (Venugopal, 2015), as well as the elimination of economic interdependence (Kotz, 2002).

Through violent repression, in several cases, and the reduction of democratic freedoms, these governments made neoliberal reforms possible in Latin American countries, such as

Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Chile. However, their own imposition created currents of thought and policies that rejected this system, based on a long tradition of national and regional identity. These discourses tried to be repressed, but, always latent, they reappeared in the 21st century in a wave of left-wing governments that sought to push back these reforms with the strengthening of the State, understanding by this a type of 'resource nationalism', that is, a nationalism centered on the control of natural resources and an analytical and political stance on the distinction between the State and the Nation. (Koch, 2019), recognizing that resources should be perceived as an asset independent of the specific institutional arrangements through which they can be governed (Koch, 2019).

This rapid example of one of the many areas that have suffered the adverse results of neoliberalism, helps to understand that these demands of resistance to globalization are not new, but have deep historical roots that must be taken into account when making any type of economic analysis. In other words, it is important to point out these historical nuances, because demands for self-determination and self-identity have always existed in many parts of the world. What makes the current phenomenon particular is that the current anti-globalization currents are configured around a nationalist spirit closer to protectionist discourses and state regulation (The Smith Institute , 2007). But, even more importantly, these trends have begun to emerge in the very centers of political and economic power: in the USA itself, a process that was consolidated with the election of Donald Trump as President of the Nation, who during these four decades was at the forefront of globalization.

In the first instance, this may seem paradoxical, but, with a more rigorous analysis, this phenomenon can be understood as the inevitable result of a changing scenario of geopolitical hegemony. In short: The US founded its economic and cultural (in many cases military) expansion and influence on the idea of a globalized world governed by the values of democracy and the free market, that is, of individual freedoms in conjunction with commercial freedoms. Once the Soviet Union fell, this model, in discursive and ideological terms, was ratified as the "only possible alternative", which allowed it to accelerate its expansion. However, this growth, once in the 21st century, began to diminish, as well as to arise different problems generated in this tension between the global and the local, between the centers of power and the marginalized

zones, between an internationalist spirit and a nationalist one. (Correa Ramírez, 2012; Aronskind, 2017; Rosales, *El conflicto US-China: nueva fase de la globalización*, 2019).

According to different historians and political analysts, the effects of this globalization are concentrated in problems such as: economic slowdown, migration and national security, loss of national identities, among others, which began to increase after the financial crisis of 2008. This is the substratum for nationalist and anti-globalization discourses to begin to take hold in the political scene of countries such as England and the United States due to the economic monopoly and the centralization of goods and services in the market, which holds as a promise the increase of capital, the breadth of the market and the flow of goods (Harvey, 2007). What can be identified today, for many, as a new world order focused on protectionism and market regulation by the state as a strategy to reduce inequities (ECLAC, 2002). This position is consolidated as a rejection of the multiple adverse effects that globalization has left in a great majority of nations in the world a more protectionist stance. (The Smith Institute , 2007).

The diffusion of the neoliberal model, together with its intensification thanks to the process of globalization, widened the inequities and inequality gaps in the least developed countries. (ECLAC, 2002). It is paradoxical that once new powers have emerged in the global market, including strong economic blocs that try to be competitive with traditional powers, the response of the United States is precisely to attack that system it created to spread its hegemony and influence. In this way, the commercial wars that Donald Trump has begun to generate can be interpreted as a way of confronting the "Chinese monster" that continues its vertiginous economic growth, in the concentration of capital by the high labor rates (The Smith Institute , 2007). Within the neoliberal and globalizing discourse, protectionist measures and trade regulation have always been a weapon of political pressure (Ngono Fouda, 2012), it is enough to see the mechanisms of sanctions and economic blockades that some nations impose on developing countries, by virtue of allowing them to participate in a greater economic stability (ECLAC, 2002).

In other words, the globalization project, in particular its position of deregulating trade and financial controls, was never an absolute ideal to be applied anywhere and at any time. On the contrary, the economic powers have used both regulatory and deregulatory measures at their convenience to exercise global economic governance. Therefore, if political conditions and

diplomatic relations were not convenient with a certain government, economic pressure could always be put on it to improve the dominant position of the world powers, and thus improve the socio-political conditions for the establishment of neoliberal policies. Now, if these economic pressures or wars have been present throughout the almost four decades of hegemony of neoliberalism and globalization, why have the recent economic wars between China and the United States created so much uncertainty and many have begun to point to them as a symptom of the end of the world economic order as we know it?

The present research seeks then, on the basis of the problematization of these two subjects, the US and China trade wars, to understand which are the particular characteristics of this process, and if it really means the end of globalization, understanding this fact not as a rupture, but as a transformation of the current conditions of the world economy.

There are several initial hypotheses for this question: on the one hand, there is talk of a reconfiguration of the world order based on large regional blocks of influence, which will consolidate the reduction of US hegemony, what has been called the multipolar scenario (Castro Bernal, Acosta Strobel, & Praj, 2019), which in turn will mean the atomization of markets and geopolitical zones, with a view to greater regulation of the market in order to prevent economic crises in developing countries (Lee & Vivarelli, 2006) Another interpretation that has gained strength is that of a geopolitical rearrangement based on the idea of a protectionist policy of state regulation of capital (Ngono Fouda, 2012), this will mean a closure of borders, both for the movement of goods and for individuals, a situation that will further call into question the integrating effect of the nations of globalization. However, this will not mean the cessation of international trade and transnational capitalism, which raises the question of how this situation could be reconciled.

However, any hypothesis that is handled in this regard must consider the 'economic pressure' that has generated the interdependence of nations in globalization (Steger, 2008), as well as the instability of the neoliberal economic model in weak economies (Lee & Vivarelli, 2006). The research starts from the question whether the quantity of changes and effects of the neoliberal model in the globalization process also represents a qualitative change of the hegemonic economic model. This can be seen in the absence of effective solutions to confront the great economic gaps and the high rates of poverty and inequity in the world (ECLAC, 2002).

What exists then is a resurgence of local alternatives to the hegemonic model of capitalism dictated by the US and England with their neoliberal project, which would not have been possible without the distant antecedent of the Bretton Woods economic conference, in which several institutions were created that would be fundamental for the propagation of this model, such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (Mir, Hassan, & Qadri, 2014). The case of state capitalism or market socialism in China is an irrefutable example of this fact. In short, the hegemonic model of neoliberal-style globalization seems to be coming to an end, and with it the consolidation of new capitalist structures that will profoundly change governance and the world order. The following research question therefore arises:

What will be the new configurations of the policies and institutions of the world economy if the era of globalization is coming to an end, thanks to phenomena such as nationalism and trade wars between world powers?

1.3 Objectives of the project

1.3.1 General Objective

Analyze the current crisis of the economic and political model of globalization and what would be the new economic structures on which the world order would be reorganized, based on two essential phenomena to understand this process: the emergence of neoconservative nationalisms and trade wars between the U.S. and China.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

1. To identify how nationalist positions have gained strength worldwide since the 2008 financial crisis in the framework of globalization and neoliberalism, in the two economic powers of the world: the US and China, and how these positions have modified their foreign policies.
2. Understand the dynamics of international trade and the trade wars between the United States and China as the cause of a reversal of the order of globalization, in which the nationalist policies of these two powers participate.
3. Analyze changes in the international financial system in the context of a reversal of globalization, focusing on specific cases of financial interdependence between the U.S. and China, competitive devaluation, the current configuration of Bretton Woods II, the gold standard and alternatives to the dollar.

1.4 Justification

Times of change always generate uncertainty and concern, especially in the area of trade and exports, as it is necessary to be aware of the changes and fluctuations of the different factors that influence the free exercise of these activities. A new warning has begun to travel through the public debates of the different countries: the end of the current economic order that we know as globalization. Beyond the scope and foundations of this radical ruling, there is a scenario of profound changes that alert the different actors belonging to this sector. Therefore, an analysis must be made of this situation in order to understand this broad phenomenon that is beginning to appear, and which manifests itself in issues such as: the return to protectionist policies, the trade wars between the USA and China, the emergence of nationalisms and their demands to restrict relations with the outside world.

This research is part of the discussion on these phenomena of change, recognizing the importance for the international trade sector of being aware of these structural changes in the world economic order.

1.4.1 Theoretical justification

According to Sabaj Meruane & Landea Balin (2012), "justification is a rational operation through which we base our acts, beliefs and knowledge. Because of its close link with knowledge". For this reason, it is considered essential to approach this problem in a deeper way from the academy. This will allow to create more solid theoretical foundations than those that can be found daily in the work of analysts that have to generate constant and updated states of opinion. Contrary to this, the academic space allows for a broader and more leisurely reflection on these issues. In this was based the theoretical rigor that this type of work can have.

1.4.2 Social and/or business justification

In the current studies on the end of globalization, there is a shared concern: to understand this context to provide companies and the corporate world in general, a deep analysis so that

they can make decisions according to their objectives. In the case of books such as King's (2017) or O'Sullivan's (2019), companies are called upon to be alert to the new configurations of this world economic order, given the changes that will take place in the institutions and policies of the global market. In the same way, this research wants to give a contribution to the productive sector to analyze the changes that come in this new stage of international trade.

1.4.3 Personal Justification

This work was conceived as part of the process of academic formation in the area of International Trade. The idea is to guarantee a clear and essential knowledge for future professionals in this area of study, since this will be the context that we will face in our professional life. For this reason it is considered urgent to address this issue and initiate a reflection on issues that will guide this professional work, such as: the fate of globalization, the emergence of protectionist policies, the effect of nationalist sentiments for international trade, the new multipolar reconfigurations of global markets, among others.

1.5 Frame of reference

1.5.1 Theoretical framework

There will be three foundations on which to build the theoretical basis for carrying out the research.

The issues of globalization and neoliberalism as a fundamental part for the construction of the first objective; the issue of the emergence of nationalisms, focused on the protectionist policies they demand in their political and economic project; and finally, the issue of the trade wars between the United States and China, and how these have brought great uncertainty to the current economic order.

- **Globalización y neoliberalismo**

For Harvey (2007), globalization is one of many terms given to the new economic configuration of the world since the eighties, driven by the neoliberal reforms of the United States and Great Britain. Harvey's words are so precise, and give such a complete definition of what the neoliberal doctrine is, understood as a theory of political-economic practices, which deserves to be quoted in its totality:

Neoliberalism is, above all, a theory of political-economic practices that states that the best way to promote human welfare is not to restrict the free development of the capacities and entrepreneurial freedoms of the individual, within an institutional framework characterized by private property rights, strong free markets and free trade. The role of the State is to create and preserve the appropriate institutional framework for the development of these practices...It has to guarantee the quality and integrity of money...It must provide the military, defensive, police and legal functions and structures that are necessary to secure private property rights and guarantee...the proper functioning of markets...It must provide the necessary military, defensive, police and legal functions and structures to secure private property rights and guarantee...the proper functioning of markets...It has to guarantee the quality and integrity of money... It must provide the necessary military, defensive, police and legal functions and structures to secure private property rights and guarantee... the proper functioning of markets. (Harvey, 2007, pág. 6).

But the state must not only guarantee the functioning of markets, but also create them, even where historically they did not prevail as a form of social and material relations. Thus, in areas such as water, education, social security, health care and other environmental areas, the State must intervene to build new markets that can be administered by individuals. However, once these markets are created, State action should be retracted and kept to a minimum, as the

State could "obtain the necessary information to anticipate market signals (prices) and because it is inevitable that powerful interest groups will distort and condition these state interventions for their own benefit" (Harvey, 2007, pág. 7).

These postures of market deregulation and weakening of national states, which had been strengthened after the Second World War, occurred from the 1970s onwards as a response to a generalized economic crisis, in which one of the culprits was singled out as the actions of the social States governed by the rule of law (Arango Vásquez, 2016). Thus, the resurgence of this classic liberal stance, now renewed, has its explanation in what many progressive economists call the economic instability of the time, so that market freedom could be reactivated from private capital, without the intervention of a state that had proved inefficient in the late 1970s. Companies and corporations realized that the Keynesian model regulator of the economy was no longer in favor of their interests, which required an alternative that would allow them to leave that regulation, was then where they found a theoretical basis in old liberal ideas that served as an ideological basis for the elimination of state programs that were seen as obstacles to a profit-making work. (Kotz, 2002).

Thus, neoliberalism emerges as a temporary response to the economic crisis that had resulted from a more conservative policy in the period between 1930 and 1970. From this crisis in the late 1970s and early 1980s the right wing of England's political victories, Thatcher's victory, along with Reagan's victory in the United States strengthened a neoliberal stance in governments. Under the U.S. administration of the Democratic Party and the Labor Party in England during the 1990s, this model consolidated its dominant position (Kotz, 2002).

In short, we can see that there was a proliferation of neoliberalism in the world, accompanied by the great powers, which came to be founded as a provisional response to the economic crisis of 1970, so that it is framed in a confused concept, hypothetical, rooted and multiple against what is understood as an exercise of free market circulation and business and economic participation. Not only assuming diverse positions, "but also positions that contradict each other" (Venugopal, 2015, pág. 178). Neoliberalism, from a broad conception is judged as a technically inadequate political and economic ideology, as well as too technocratic, which is based on the depoliticization of the market under a profoundly political position: that of the free

circulation of capital. Neoliberalism is obsessed with economic growth and is responsible for the lack of it (Venugopal, 2015).

For these reasons we can identify a time of crisis in the face of the neoliberal model. This point has been pointed out by different theoreticians, who see in this position the reason for an inevitable stagnation and instability that could lead to a social collapse (Kotz, 2002, pág. 16). Thus, if economic rivals are unable to communicate effectively with each other to find a common group of cooperation, market stability is impossible to achieve. Added to this is the difficulty of international monopolies to exercise adequate and effective regulation of the economies administered by the state apparatus (Kotz, 2002), among them developing economies that depend on constant foreign investment, so that a neoliberalist model is not adequate to face the near future.

- **Crisis of Globalization and the Neoliberal Model**

Globalization has not only generated a great interdependence of countries around the world, it has also been the cause of the emergence of complicated and acute inequities at the international level. (Prieto Suárez, 2015). The international economy is currently characterized as a field of flagrant inequities for a large majority of developing countries. The concentration of capital and technology developed by countries, as well as the strong influence that these countries have in the trade of goods and services, has established a very narrow framework of participation for other nations, whose inequalities and injustices are manifested in the concentration and monopoly of the economic spectrum that prevents their entry, and therefore, their development (ECLAC, 2002). These asymmetries of the dominant economic order are the root and cause of profound inequity in the distribution of economic income.

The large gap that exists between different regions and countries has been a relevant issue in the world economy for the past two centuries (ECLAC, 2002). As noted, the gap between different nations has expanded in terms of gross domestic product (GDP). Not only does it happen that this gap exists and expands over the years, but it comes to link employment possibilities in the countries with the development of the country itself, in this regard, research has found as a general feature the position that the impact of job growth is not necessarily positive in the development of a country (Lee & Vivarelli, 2006). Neither the creation of new

jobs, nor the diminishing of the inequality gap between countries objectively ensures the increase of trade and foreign direct investment. In contrast, the effect of the creation of new jobs can have very diverse consequences in different areas of the world, leading countries to an increase and concentration of capital, as well as to a phenomenon of economic marginalization. Consequently, if we take into account the capacity to 'absorb' a socio-institutional system that is quite broad. In more detail, the impact of job creation depends on an initial labor intensity, in which the productivity effect is characterized by trade in goods and non-traded goods sectors (Lee & Vivarelli, 2006).

In accordance with the values of these parameters and the magnitude of possible constraints on the supply of capital, infrastructure and skilled labour, very different results may emerge in terms of job creation for each nation. Very similar arguments apply to the effects of foreign direct investment (IED) inflows on employment (Lee & Vivarelli, 2006). For these reasons it is not possible to link the processes of globalization and neoliberal policies as factors that represent a direct benefit to the economy of a country, even if its GDP increases, this does not guarantee the elimination of inequities, or the narrowing of the economic gap between countries. In this way, the tools of the neoliberal and globalizing model, such as equal opportunities in the market, the free flow of goods and services, the dynamism of capital, appear as labels that are not fulfilled. Since the gap remains, inequity also remains, promoting a phenomenon of marginalization in those countries that do not participate in a framework of action and participation as broad as others, i.e. developing countries.

It has been thought that something about globalization has changed, the main cause of which is a direct result of the 2013 recession, which put many markets at risk (Smith, 2014). This crisis suggested the idea that globalization had stopped because financial integration was no longer possible, or, in other words, could no longer grow. So it was thought that globalization had entered a process of reversal, which has been the cause of the recent economic crises (Smith, 2014). However, what evidence is there that can be presented to support the idea that the model of globalization cannot be sustained or that we are approaching an end to globalization process? The main evidence refers to the return of jobs, specifically manufacturing jobs, to the United States. This is a sign of the centralization of capital, in which the financial and corporate monopoly is concentrated in a single entity or country, or a small group of them. The general

resurgence of manufacturing jobs inclines us to think that industrial, entrepreneurial and mass production is hoarded, the only way out being manufacturing processes.

This dynamic of concentration of labour in manufacturing is due in part to rising labour costs and prices in China, along with changes in cross-border cash flows. From this 'financial liberalization', as well as from the policy of deregulation of capital flows that had been driven by some trade groups, an enormous trade flow was derived, driven by the increase in exports resulting from globalization (Smith, 2014). In this way a 'global pressure' type was put in place, which eventually led to a large gap between the economies of developed and developing countries (ECLAC, 2002).

Economic instability led to greater nationalist and protectionist sentiments prevailing in the face of the global market (Ngono Fouda, 2012), therefore, causing a concomitant stagnation of trade, as well as a reduction in financial investment: "deglobalization", in short, if erratic capital flows have triggered financial crises, it is possible that slower flows may promote greater stability (Smith, 2014). In other words, protectionist policies, more geared towards regulating the market, could provide better ways of solving the inequities that have resulted from the development of globalization and the implementation of neoliberal trade models (Ngono Fouda, 2012). However, these solutions are uncertain and can generate many unexpected effects, given the complex economic interdependence that has been built among nations. However, the problem with these nationalisms and their protectionist policies is that many times they do not seek real solutions to the economic crisis, but articulate these tools as part of a populist discourse that extreme right-wing positions are taking advantage of to gain followers and take important positions in local governments. Therefore, it must be understood how in this crisis of neoliberalism nationalisms have emerged as a counterweight to this order, and how they use protectionist policies.

- **Nationalism and protectionist policies**

Nationalism is a modern term that is born from the idea of nation, which, in turn, was born from milestones such as the French Revolution and the Independence of the United States, around which the current political order of the West was built. This first idea of a 19th century nation was revolutionary and was articulated around the creation of essentialist national

identities that sought to establish a political order where self-determination and freedom of peoples were possible. The example of France, and then the United States, quickly spread to other peoples as well:

Beyond the borders of France culturally distinct populations soon became aware of their ethnic and historical difference, claiming for themselves freedom and sovereignty, and "imagining" themselves as Communities (Anderson, 1991:5-7). In the early years of the nineteenth century, nationalism expanded rapidly, incorporating the political ideas of liberalism (Mazzini) and the cultural ideas of romanticism (Herder, Fichte), overcoming the rational cosmopolitanism of the old Enlightenment.(Savarino, 2001, pág. 99)

These nation-states, once consolidated, carried out the "nationalization" of their population with the eradication of particular identities that did not attend to a homogeneous body of nation. At the same time, it served to expand modernization, which meant a first modern globalizing impulse, in which "with respect to the regions and small regions, nationalism entailed a first "globalization", mercilessly devastating ancient cultures rooted in the soil and in historical time" (Savarino, 2001, pág. 99). These are paradoxes of modernization: nationalism strengthened local identities while destroying them and giving a first impulse to a globalized society.

However, these contradictions would lead to the year 1914 and the greatest war confrontation to history, which split in two the history of humanity and the conception of the term nation. Thus, these 10 million victims would begin to give a negative tone to nationalist discourses, considering that they promote intolerance and confrontation with other peoples, instead of cultural exchange and mutual collaboration. After this first war, radical nationalisms began to emerge and form another phenomenon: fascism. The outbreak and atrocious consequences of the Second World War would end up consolidating the negative conception of nationalisms, and more so in their radical facets.

These facets occur when the idea of "nation" is used to justify authoritarian discourses and policies that seek isolation and aggression against the other, seen as an enemy, and not as an ally or collaborator. In this order of ideas, nationalisms can be mixed with many political currents: the nationalism of the Soviets, Latin American populisms, Islamic theocracies, post-colonial dictatorships in Africa, etc. Although they are very different manifestations, the majority agree on aspects.

A general characteristic is that nationalism and protectionism are so closely related that the invocation of one often refers to the other. This is because nationalist projects generally go hand in hand with protectionist policies, as an integral part of their populist discourse, so it is difficult to imagine that a nationalist policy does not erect this element as one of its pillars of international relations. However, in the case of protectionism, it does not only respond to nationalist projects, although its use differs widely from the objectives and political positions that generate them. A government can approach protectionist policies to strengthen national industry as a way to make it competitive in a globalized market, while right-wing and especially ultra-right governments tend to use them to isolate nations from an internationalist order, based on a repulsion for the other that is at the very heart of the neoconservative and neonationalist discourses that have revived the world in recent decades (Prieto Suárez, 2015; The Smith Institute , 2007).

In a context of globalization, protectionism can become policies and discords based on the dilemma between globalized liberalism and protectionist nationalism. These are the two paths that are outlined for the governance of the different nations and around which the different points of the political spectrum are organized. This is the current situation throughout Europe and the US, a dispute between these two positions. Therefore, the emergence of this type of nationalism can only be understood in the framework of a neoliberal globalization that has generated a series of social, economic and cultural problems that have been the sustenance for a generalized discontent of the civil population, which has led them to elect political leaders who have articulated nationalist discourses.

- **Trade wars, global governance, interdependence and Bretton Woods**

The theme of world governance refers to the theoretical discussion between realists and idealists in the twentieth century on the concepts of hegemony and interdependence. In this discussion, Keohane (1993) in his article "Neoliberal institutionalism: a perspective of world politics", takes two ideas from this current: first, the international scenario is anarchic, and second, that the behavior of States derives from the rational calculation of their interests. Nevertheless, Keohane maintains that world governance cannot be left to the simple exercise of military power, of a hegemony that makes use of force, but that this order must arise from an international institutional structure that through clear and consensual rules limits the use of

violence and fosters collaborative strategies that bring benefits to all parties. In other words, not unilateral, warlike and hegemonic global governance, but multilateral, peaceful and multipolar.

These forms of current cooperation are born of a new reality that can be described as an enormous and complex web of interdependencies among nations that go beyond the exercises of hegemony. The way for this interdependence to be managed is through international institutions, which today organize world politics. In this way, these institutions, which have been organizing with the greatest impulse since the end of the Second World War, are the ones that control the anarchy that is born of the competitive confrontations of the countries. This was precisely what the US understood after this war, creating from the Bretton Woods agreement an entire scaffolding of international institutions that would guarantee a world economic order made for its influence and governance (Steinberg, 2010). This is thanks to the creation of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which established the dollar as the center of the world economy, under the idea that unifying international markets under a single currency would guarantee their stability, and therefore an economic balance for world peace (Reyes Konings, 2010).

Thus, the idealist current is based on the idea that "the ability of states to communicate and cooperate depends on man-made institutions, which vary historically and according to subjects" (Keohane, 1993, p.15). These institutions have the objective of international cooperation, since it allows them to agree on practices and through mechanisms to monitor compliance with commitments, resolve disputes diplomatically, exchange information and resources, among others. In this order of ideas, these international institutions can be:

1. "Formal intergovernmental or international non-governmental organizations: These are entities with the capacity to control different social activities, by means of specific rules addressed to individuals and social groups" (Keohane, 1993, p. 17). These include the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund..
2. International regimes: These are explicit rules to which governments have adhered, i.e., they are "negotiated orders" such as the international monetary regime and the limited arms control regime. (Keohane, 1993, p. 17)
3. Conventions: informal institutions that establish the expectations of nations, that seek to generate mutual trust, without an explicit and normative imposition. They are often the

first step in creating formal international regimes or organizations. (Keohane, 1993, p. 17)

In short, the current order of neoliberal globalization that has governed the world since the 1980s is based on a large institutional structure that not only regulates economic and political issues, but also influences all spheres of human societies. Thus, in conceptual terms, we are not talking about the exercise of hegemony as world governance, but rather about a broad network of interdependencies that has been strengthened in recent decades. However, it is in this specific context that the trade wars that have been intensifying in this world ordinance since 2018 take place. Trump's attacks on China are attacks on this interdependence, which is why these trade wars, which seek to affect the economies of other countries, in many cases allies and partners of the United States itself, are aimed at affecting the institutional framework on which it is based. That is why Trump's strategy is to breach or withdraw from the different treaties and conventions signed for years by the United States. His vision is therefore clearly a realistic mentality that believes in the hegemonic exercise by means of force, in this case, of economic blackmail. (Aronskind, 2017; Koch, 2019).

1.5.2 Conceptual framework

- **Neoliberalism**

The concept of neoliberalism is linked to the development of liberal thought, in a new formulation of it, which reconfigures it. Liberalism as a political ideology arises in the framework of the political significance of the establishment of the parliamentary assemblies of Spain and Sweden, an example that would be seconded by other countries throughout Europe in the first decades of the nineteenth century (Einar, 2009) These nascent political forms used the term 'liberal' as a sign of a political stance regarding the establishment of democratic systems, which at that time were emerging in England and the United States. It was not only a term that signified the favourable position of some parties with respect to democratic ideology, but it was also coined as an antagonistic concept of their conservative opponents, who advocated a return to forms of government prior to revolutionary processes (Einar, 2009).

On the one hand, classical liberalism appeared, associated with the idea of the minimal presence of the State in the treatment of citizens, this means that the duties of the State would be limited to the armed forces, compliance with the law, as well as other non-exclusive goods. All that would remain outside of these duties would be in the hands of the free treatments and dynamics of the citizens and organizations, who would be in condition to freely choose to which establishment, person or commerce to add themselves in their treatments and interactions (Einar, 2009).

On the other hand, modern liberalism is characterized by a greater willingness to allow the State to be an active participant in the economy, not only by virtue of its great capital, but because of the tendency to regulate the market, in this sense seeks a greater balance, without neglecting the obligations of the State with respect to basic human needs, providing essential goods and services to all (Einar, 2009). For these reasons we could argue that modern liberalism is a profound revision of classical liberalism, centred on the economic policies traditionally associated with it. A final position would be 'libertarianism', whose priority is freedom over any other topic, in this sense, economic and commercial freedom are founded as the basis of this thinking, without considering issues relating to market regulation or state presence. It therefore eliminates the liberal emphasis on the purposes and values of social justice and democracy, leaving only the realm of commercial and economic freedom without any regulation (Einar, 2009).

From the above, it can be understood that liberalism is a vague concept, but highly interpreted by authors, establishments, individuals and states. In general terms, we could describe it as a political ideology that is based on the disposition towards a freedom of individual and democratic nature, which is part of a political point of view of a person, political culture or country. Without being a fully delimited concept and defined in a set of political beliefs (Einar, 2009). But then what is neoliberalism? Is it a reformulation of the classic liberal ideas of the market?

Neoliberalism is, in this view, intended as a new 'paradigm' for economic theory and public policy - the ideology behind the most recent stage in the development of capitalist society, and at the same time, the rebirth of the economic theories of Adam Smith and his intellectual heirs of the nineteenth century (Einar, 2009, pág. 8)

To further understand the concept of neoliberalism we must observe its emergence. As we have said, according to Harvey's ideas (2007), neoliberalism is that political and economic ideology that considers that the well-being of man is based on the free development of the economic and entrepreneurial capacities and freedoms of the individual within the institutional framework of private property. In this sense it is a more current version of classical liberalism, dominant in the United States and England during the time of the Great Depression in the 1930s (Kotz, 2002).

From then on, from the mid-1930s to the mid-1970s, liberalism was influenced by an interventionist approach, which accepted within capitalism the regulation of the market by the state, in order to make it viable (Kotz, 2002). This belief lasted at least until the end of the 1970s when classical liberalism took hold again (Kotz, 2002), first in academic circles of economics, and then in the field of public policy. Neoliberalism can be understood both as a state policy, as well as a body of economic theory, this is based on the claim of an amplitude of the capitalist system in which it is not regulated by any entity and a free market economy.

Thus, trying to combine this idea with the ideal of an individual freedom of choice that not only defends individual freedoms, but tends to an optimal development in terms of efficiency, economic growth, technical progress and distributional justice of the economy. In it, the "State is assigned a very limited economic role: to define property rights, to watch over the fulfillment of contracts and to regulate the monetary supply" (Kotz, 2002, pág. 64). Neoliberalism is suspicious of state intervention with a view to correcting the problems and failures it presents, to the extent that such intervention tends to generate more problems in the market, rather than improving them.

For these reasons, neoliberalism is engaged in dismantling the dynamics of regulation that still remain in the market with the State, in other words, it seeks the elimination of any regulatory policy against the economic and business environment, among its most relevant recommendations we find the deregulation of business; the privatization of evaluations and public activities; the elimination or cutting of social welfare programs; as well as tax reductions for companies and the class of investors (Kotz, 2002). Thus, in the international arena, neoliberalism watches over the free movement of goods, services, capital and currency, outside the limits imposed by nations. Those who would participate in this free circulation of capital

would be corporations, banks, and investors, who would have the freedom to move their properties outside national limits, as well as to acquire them freely without restriction of such limits (Kotz, 2002).

- **Globalization**

"Globalization is a multifaceted phenomenon that encompasses economic, social, political, technological and cultural dimensions." (Mir, Hassan, & Qadri, 2014, pág. 607), has been defined, in a very general way, as a multiplicity of links and interconnections that transcend the limits imposed by nations. However, it is possible to describe its dimensions as follows: political globalization, understood as the process of intensification of international interdependence as a function of the growth of international competition and the free market system through the wide diffusion of technology (Mir, Hassan, & Qadri, 2014); social globalization, which refers to the broad processes in which power is located in social formations expressed through global information and communication networks, rather than the social formations expressed in the nation and territory (Mir, Hassan, & Qadri, 2014); cultural globalization, on the other hand, names and identifies the explosion of a plurality of differences that are mutually intertwined and individually syncretic; promoting the emergence of new identities that had hitherto been suppressed and the expansion of a culture of international standing, based on media and communication technologies with the promise of greater democratization. (Mir, Hassan, & Qadri, 2014); technological globalization refers to the intercommunication and use of various technological developments in terms of a global and expansive communicative connection (Mir, Hassan, & Qadri, 2014).

Economic globalization is a relentless and unstoppable force that seeks the integration of national markets, financial services, jobs and firms on an unprecedented scale. For these reasons it is recognized as a massive and unrestricted flow of capital, financial information, goods and services with virtual availability worldwide, thus developing a free flow of capital in all parts of the world (Mir, Hassan, & Qadri, 2014). Another important aspect of globalization refers to the capacity to govern, i.e. the sovereignty of states in the era of globalization, since globalization seeks a restructuring of states in political terms based on the interdependence between countries, their sovereignty is at stake. On the other hand, from its social and cultural

implication, globalization includes the interweaving of social structures, as well as of diverse cultures.

Another aspect to bear in mind is that the liberalization of financial transactions is an inherent effect of the internationalization of trade. This liberality occurs through the deregulation of interest rates, the suppression of control credits, and the privatization of state banks and financial institutions. This globalization of financial trade "allows for increased mobility in different sectors of the financial industry, with some restrictions and greater investment opportunities (Steger, 2008, pág. 42). This new financial structure was born in 1980 with the gradual deregulation of capital and security of markets in Europe, America, East Asia, Australia and New Zealand. A decade later Southeast Asian countries such as India and various African nations will adopt the model. So that, by the end of the 90's, it becomes an economic policy widely accepted and used in the world (Steger, 2008).

Subsequently, in the last two decades of the twentieth century began a third phase of this process of globalization, thanks to the expansion of free trade, the establishment of a transnational scenario of corporations and international companies that have entered local markets, thus causing a great mobility of mixed capital. All this has been accompanied by a standardization of the models of economic development around the world, which in most cases, responds to the interests of the economic powers, mainly the U.S., who is the one that often dictates these models through different organizations (ECLAC, 2002, pág. 4).

- **Economic Globalization**

Contemporary economic globalization is the result of an intensification and emergence of an international economic order starting from the economic conference held at the end of the Second World War in Bretton Woods, England. There, the largest economic powers in the north of the globe reversed the protectionist domestic politics of war, a motion that was not only approved by England, but also seconded by the United States, both countries establishing themselves as leaders of the movement. The consensus was based on an increase in international trade between the host countries, where they agreed to establish rules for linking the countries, in which any international trade activity should be welcomed. (Mir, Hassan, & Qadri, 2014). The Bretton Woods conference brought international politics to the foundation of major

economic organizations such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (Reyes Konings, 2010).

The first of these, the International Monetary Fund, is established for the purpose of controlling and administering the international monetary systems. Similarly, the World Bank is created with the idea of facilitating the line of credit for the reconstruction of Europe due to the damage caused by the war, so that its scope was extended so that it could finance and provide loans to all developing countries in the world. Based on consensus among the countries hosted by such entities, a general agreement on tariffs and trade was established to address the economic problems of 1947 (Mir, Hassan, & Qadri, 2014), which would lead to the creation of the Trade Organization, in order to manage and assess the difficulties encountered in the implementation of these policies. When we speak of economic globalization, that is to say:

An intensification and stretching of economic interrelationships across the globe. Huge flows of capital and technology have stimulated trade in goods and services. Markets have extended their reach around the world, in the process creating new links between national economies. Large transnational corporations, powerful international economic institutes, and large regional trading systems have emerged as the main building blocks of the global economic order. (Steger, 2008, pág. 37)

Economic globalization refers to a progressive constitution and formation of links or 'networks' in the national market, pretending that such links can unite those markets into one, intimately interconnected through a global economic policy, in which, from their accumulation and distribution resources are largely governed by neoliberal principles that emphasize the role of the market in relation to the intention of minimizing the involvement and involvement of governments in economic affairs. This link between markets is possible when there is a transnational concept of decentralization of the services and products of markets, such a concept allows to build a larger, faster, more efficient and cheaper integrated global market in terms of the flow of information, services, goods and individuals beyond national borders (Steger, 2008).

The creation of networks and links is possible if we assume a decentralized transnational concept of the production and provision of goods and services, since an integrated global market would materialize those links. This process of economic globalization is reinforced by the policies of market deregulation, the transport of products internationally, the revolutionary and innovative technological advances and the forces of integration allowed by the ecological

problem (Mir, Hassan, & Qadri, 2014). In terms of trade, globalization means a continuous process of opening up to the goods and services of the market, all of these in a context of great dependence on the international market as a source of income and prosperity. Today all countries have international trade and trade proportionately and significantly to their income. Consequently, trade has reached an unprecedented level that is founded proportionately to world trade and income (Mir, Hassan, & Qadri, 2014).

Thus, at the financial level, globalization has been characterized by a growing integration of the international financial market, which consists of: the high level of foreign investment outside national borders, the flow of capital, foreign borrowing and joint ventures of the past. In this sense, economic globalization manifests itself in an increase in the flow of capital, the transnational flow of goods and services, in the direction of a global market that seeks to dismantle national boundaries and determinations (Mir, Hassan, & Qadri, 2014). As can be seen, the dynamics of globalization are combined with the ideological guidelines of the neoliberal stance, in this sense there is an intimate relationship between the processes of economic globalization and neoliberal economic models, since both seek to achieve an opening of the market, greater interconnectivity, interdependence and free flow of capital. Therefore, without any regulation, or very precarious.

1.6 Methodological Framework

1.6.1 Investigation Method

Although, as Gadamer (1997) states, the method itself does not validate knowledge, it is a necessary tool to give rigour, in the case of the human sciences, to the "inquiry into a culture or a text". However, one must be clear about this "methodological arsenal", which comes from many disciplines, and which is conceived as a "device for approaching the facticity of the world of life" (Pérez, 2011). The present research was conceived as a hermeneutic study of different texts and theories of the human sciences, such as history, political science, sociology and economics, in order to analyze, from a socio-economic approach, a particular phenomenon of the present.

- **Research Approach**

By the nature of the object of study, and depending on the objectives to be achieved, research has a qualitative approach. Vasilachis (2009), in *Strategies for Qualitative Research*, gives the following definition:

Qualitative research is interested in people's lives, their subjective perspectives, their histories, their behaviours, their experiences, their actions, their senses, and interprets them in a situated way, that is, by placing them in the particular context in which they take place. It tries to understand these contexts and processes and to explain them using local causality. (Vasilachis, 2009, p. 78)

With this method it is possible to go deeper into social phenomena, in which individuals respond to their own subjectivities that have been constructed by the conditions of the environment in which they live. This allows that the analysis from the qualitative approach is open, to be able to approach the multiplied of elements that interact in these phenomena. Thus:

Qualitative approaches are open, expansive that gradually focus on relevant concepts according to the evolution of the study, are oriented to learn from experiences and points of view, assess processes and generate theories. (Baptista, Hernández, Fernández, 2010. p.634)

Research of this type therefore requires us to address the different perspectives and subjectivities that develop in the face of a phenomenon. The data collection of a qualitative work is done from the events, events or individuals, and, therefore, cannot be reduced to numerical measurements (Baptista, Hernández, Fernández, 2010, p 312). Choosing this type of research presupposes certain techniques and methods that were used to answer the question posed.

- **Type of study**

In accordance with the approach, hermeneutic analysis was chosen as the type of study. On this we find that:

is framed in the interpretative comprehensive paradigm; which supposes a rescue of the elements of the subject over those external facts to him. In this sense, it should be noted that this analysis takes as its fundamental axis the process of interpretation. This interpretation takes textual data as data sources, which does not imply only keeping the text and in it; it is an interpretation that requires the will of the subject who knows to transcend the "frontiers" of the text to be interpreted. (Cárcamo Vásquez, 2015, p.211)

This type of analysis then takes the texts as a starting point, but assuming a "permanent openness, product of the re-interpretative activity". Therefore, a hermeneutic approach does not take books as simple sources or references, but rather it is a work of interpretation of the world that the author carries out mediated by active discussion with other authors who have already reflected on the subject, and that are supported by verifiable data and observations. (Cárcamo Vásquez, 2015)

1.6.2 Research Methodology

- **Data collection techniques and tools**

Rojas Crotte (2011) states that the most common qualitative techniques are of three types: documentary research techniques, field data collection techniques, and information processing techniques. The first technique is the one that corresponds to this investigation, since in this one one works with procedure oriented to:

the approximation, processing and retrieval of information contained in documents, regardless of the documentary support in which they are found. Examples of these techniques are the critical apparatus (set of supports to the main text of a scientific document, according to international standards), the reading techniques (approximation to the document) and the review, the summary, etc. (information retrieval). (Rojas Crotte, 2011, p. 279)

Thus, by means of these tools of information retrieval in different texts and documents, the information will be collected for the subsequent hermeneutic work.

- **Methods of analysis**

Following the selected data collection technique, a hermeneutic interpretation was made, according to the methods proposed by Rojas Crotte (2011). This work helps to highlight the key

ideas and concepts that make up a speech or document. Thus, in addition to understanding and organizing the ideas studied in these texts, an own analysis was made, that is, the analysis of the current crisis of globalization based on two general themes, nationalism and trade wars. In this measure, the hermeneutic work is not limited to the accomplishment of cards or bibliographic lists, but the contribution is an own interpretation of the sources to present a diagnosis and own interpretations.

1.6.3 Scope

According to the designed methodology, the scope of this research is that of a written product of argumentative and interpretative type that seeks to account for a particular phenomenon and reality that is inscribed in the area of economics and international relations. Its contribution, as well as its limitations, are given from the approaches of these disciplines, bearing in mind that such a complex context can only be approached from the multidisciplinary and from the constant discussion and feedback between different authors and analysts.

2 Development of research

2.1 Nationalism in China and the U.S. in the Context of Globalization

This section seeks to define how the current nationalist positions have emerged in the world's two economic powers, the US and China, since the 2008 crisis. The particularity of this situation is that these positions occur mainly in the country that led the globalization process, the United States. This cannot be understood without the presence of China in the new world order.

"The end of history" is the famous sentence with which Fukuyama defined the new world order in the nineties (Fukuyama, 1992). An event as transcendental as the fall of the USSR, after decades of Cold War, could only mean a new geopolitical order. The failure of the Soviet socialist project was the fact that it ended up defining the new destiny of the majority of nations in their economic and political order: neoliberalism. The following two decades saw a rapid expansion of this economic doctrine, which promised sustained development and greater well-being for people, goals that were projected through development indexes created by the international organizations involved in this globalizing project (Harvey, 2007). But there was something more implicit in Fukuyama's phrase, and it was the belief that with this the disputes of economic systems were over, and capitalism was going to stand as the most suitable of all (even more in keeping with human nature).

These essentialist conceptions promulgated by the neoliberals were part of a rhetoric of naturalization of a hegemonic order. Before 2008, when there was sustained economic growth, the benefits of this model continued to be a widespread belief, however, the "lie of Fukuyama", in the words of Briseño Pimentel (2012), began to become more evident with the financial crisis of that year. However, there have always been critical and dissident voices under the neoliberal model, evidencing that the beneficiaries of this order were the great economic powers, and especially the transnational corporations who take advantage of the deregulation and exemptions that allow them to operate in these markets preventing local competition. Inequality soon became evident and the social and economic ravages were not long in coming. But 2008 was the year of inflection that marked a point of no return in this hegemonic world order for the

United States. The financial crisis in this country made the most reluctant forces to the neoliberal project and globalization come to power in 2016 with the election of Donald Trump (Aronskind, 2017).

2.1.1 From the 2008 financial crisis to Donald Trump's nationalist populism

At the time of his election, Donald Trump was listed as the son of the 2008 financial crisis (Rosales, *El conflicto US-China: nueva fase de la globalización*, 2019), since his arrival to the presidency was thanks to an ultra-right populist discourse that responded to a series of social demands and discontents that came from the crisis. His speech, among many other points, found the culprits of the high rates of unemployment and economic recession in external agents, who had managed to interfere within the U.S. for its economic destabilization. This, of course, was made possible by globalization, which, since Trump's speech, is a scenario that deprotects the US from external threats. Hence, migrants, exports and foreign capital were accused of the crisis, and, therefore, in order to combat them, protectionist policies had to be put in place that went through a nationalist discourse that even went to xenophobic positions (Sánchez, 2018; Villaseñor Bouvier, 2017).

Of course, like all populist discourse, this was a distorted reading of reality, which resorted to a series of prejudices of American society, and, on the contrary, the reality of the crisis of US hegemony is much more complex, and has to do directly with the neoliberal policies under which Trump himself accumulated his fortune. Two reasons can be reviewed here: on the one hand, the abuses of the banks that were deregulated, which led to a financial crisis that had to be intervened by the State (saving the banks with capital injection), and, on the other hand, the strengthening of China in world exports, which would not have been possible without the structure of globalization (Aronskind, 2017).

As Dabat (2009) states, the crisis of 2008 was of a different type than other crises of the capitalist system, since this did not respond only to an overaccumulation of capital, to the bursting of a bubble of financial speculation, but also to the crisis of the capitalist system.

A growing disconnect between the new financial economy (colossal mass of overaccumulation of speculative capital-money in search of lucrative placement by any means) and the dimensions

of the real economy, social demand and productive investment in the United States and most of the world. (p. 43)

This was because, since the end of the 20th century, this over-accumulation occurred in a new deregulated banking system formed in neoliberal globalization. This allowed the abuse of banks to make investment loans, which later could not find buyers, and to carry out mortgages, which for small economies were unpayable. In other words, it was a long continuous period of low interest rates, which provoked an over-investment that later did not generate any type of wealth. In addition, the decrease in interest rates devalued the dollar, which allowed China to position itself in the export markets by having the yuan also at a very low rate, which in the long term meant, in real terms of wealth, a loss of US hegemony over global markets in the face of the new superpower (Vila Moreno, 2018; Fernández, 2018).

The perception of the loss of this hegemony was appropriate and redirected as a campaign bastion by Trump with the phrase "Make America Great Again". His choice was made under the promise of returning the US to the dominant position of world governance. This phrase takes up again the idea of "America First", with which Trump proposes isolationist patterns and with a peculiar moral pragmatism, which goes against, evidently, the neoliberal doctrine. The impact of his stance against the system of globalization is unpredictable, as it has led to destabilizing international markets with his decision on foreign policy, as well as generating uncertainty in the U.S. domestic economy.

Thus, its foreign policy has focused on issues such as border security, the deportation of immigrants, the renegotiation or cancellation of multilateral treaties, the increase of tariffs to lower imports and strengthen the national industry, among others (Villaseñor Bouvier, 2017). To fulfill these promises, Trump has made numerous changes through presidential decrees, such as withdrawals from multilateral agreements, strengthening immigration policy, deportation of immigrants. However, their demise has often been met with discontent from Congress and other social classes. Perhaps one of the most serious and problematic events is that the promotion of this economic and cultural isolation led to an open trade war with China in 2019, which, rather than counteracting this loss of hegemony, has been worse for the U.S. economy (Sánchez, 2018).

Trump's path with these nationalist decisions to change the course of many U.S. government policies was possible, in the first instance, because there was in the U.S. electorate,

not only discontent, but also material conditions crossed by the crisis that made the nationalist drives re-emerge in the collectivity as a way of recovering the lost lifestyle. Thus:

Trump's electoral message has captured well the discontent of middle-class North American sectors with the effects of the current modality of globalization; sectors that have seen their quality of life deteriorate due to income concentration, wage stagnation, loss of manufacturing jobs, being pressured to enroll in low-paying services. To this end, it has constructed a discourse in which it blames trade and particularly trade with China for these evils, appealing to the white and low-educated citizens of these middle and lower-middle classes. (Rosales, 2019, p. 97)

Trump was then chosen for these promises of re-establishing a lost hegemony and an improvement in the living conditions of an impoverished social class. As a world power, the North American case has had repercussions throughout the world, expanding this nationalist wave, given that the negative repercussions of neoliberalism are present around the world. This has allowed numerous parties to direct the blame to the order of globalization and to rekindle nationalist sentiment as a promise of overcoming the crisis of the different collectivities (Koch, 2019).

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To this end, it is important to review in U.S. history the foreign policy principles that he updates and redirects to globalization. Dobson & Marsh (2001) speak of three currents of foreign policy thought in this country, which characterize its relationship with the world, these are: Exceptionalism (moral pragmatism), the tension between isolationism/internationalism and the tension between the paradigms of idealism/realism.

The idea of exceptionalism refers to a certain "missionary" conception of the United States vis-à-vis the world. This nation has the mission to propagate values that are condensed in democracy and its model of protection of freedom, the right to life and the pursuit of happiness. In ideological terms, much of the international system is discursively based on these values. This has become a justification, not only for expanding its models and political and economic

agendas, but even for military interventions to countries with despotic regimes that go against the order of democratic freedom. Thus, U.S. behavior is judged by its own moral standards, and U.S. morality has become a universal standard for assessing the behavior of nations. In other words, states around the world are judged according to whether or not they follow the paths of this "American creed" (Dobson & Marsh, 2001).

The second current of isolationism/internationalism is conceived as a pendulum movement throughout U.S. history. The first position conceives that national interests are protected if there is a healthy distance and isolation from the rest of the world. While internationalism believes that in order to protect the interests of the US around the world, it is necessary to have a very active foreign policy, which implies its openness to the world, through agreements, mutual collaborations, very flexible tariff and migratory policies (Dobson & Marsh, 2001). Throughout its history, we see how some governments were more inclined towards one or the other position.

The third aspect of foreign policy thinking comes from the concepts of realism and idealism. The first conceives foreign policy as a rational action among nations, where the confrontation of influence and power between the opposing agents prevails. This was the conception on which the Cold War was based, in an interaction of mutual distrust in which the exercise of preventive force was the fact that regulated the relationship between nations, which included actions such as preventive wars, espionage systems, arms warfare, among other factors. Under this thinking, multilateral treaties are not possible, since unilateral action in which each nation disputed the hegemony of world governance prevails (Haass, 2017).

On the contrary, idealism is based on the idea of collaboration and interdependence of nations. Therefore, its pillars are open diplomacy, universal protection of human rights, avoidance of war through diplomatic mechanisms that fall on international bodies, and, in general, a search for collective security and democratic freedoms. Clearly, it is in this current of thought that the models of globalization are written, a project that aspires to a universal harmony and equilibrium in which the relations of nations are given by ways founded on justice, peace and material prosperity (Haass, 2017).

According to these authors (Haass, 2017; Dobson & Marsh, 2001), between these three currents of thought, U.S. foreign policy has developed around two fundamental themes: national security and economic hegemony. Thus, protectionist nationalism and globalizing neoliberalism occur in the fluctuation that occurs within these three currents. Within this interpretative framework can be understood Trump's nationalist policy, which, as he promised in his campaign, he began to implement from his first days in power. This radical change in US foreign policy is possible thanks to the predominant role played by the figure of the president.

Clearly, Trump has a realistic and isolationist stance that has entered into tension with the structures of globalization. This has led to the imperturbable idea of American exceptionalism being conceived in terms of political hegemony with openly belligerent strategies that have engendered phenomena such as trade wars with powers such as China, the European Union and Russia. In other words, the "mission" of carrying American values is no longer conceived through diplomatic strategies but through an imposition, which in most cases has generated opposite effects: the open rejection of other nations by being harassed, threatened and blackmailed by the way in which Trump has converted American diplomacy.

This new form of international relations is given under the ideal of "making America great again". Since the elections, his nationalist discourse articulated two central ideas to understand his positions: first, the weakening of the U.S. is given in that he "neglected" the construction of this great nation by having directed attention to building a supposed world order through collaboration. And second, flexible migration policies bring in external agents that unbalance this internal order (Rosales, *El conflicto US-China: nueva fase de la globalización*, 2019). This has led, according to Trump, to a situation of weakening because, on the one hand, its allies are taking advantage of the resources it invests in multilateral treaties and agreements, and on the other hand, the immigrants who have become a burden on the country's internal economy (Villaseñor Bouvier, 2017).

This means in its rhetoric that this order, to which the United States had to invest many resources, has turned against itself, and is the cause of the loss of its hegemony. This means, openly, that Trump's foreign policy, with its nationalist ideological basis, has a clear objective: to go against the order of globalization (Villaseñor Bouvier, 2017). This may seem paradoxical, considering that in the very center where this order was created, it is now being promulgated by

going against it. In short, as China emerges as the next great power in the globalized world, the strategy wielded by the US since Trump's nationalist policies is to attack the same order it had created for its interests and over which it has gradually lost influence. The paradox of this scenario has created a deep sense of uncertainty about the results of Trump's stance, which profoundly affects the world economy. Among the most pessimistic, it is believed that this erroneous action will only end up pushing the neoliberal system into a worse crisis (Pereznieto, 2017; Aronskind, 2017).

2.1.2 China in the 21st Century: State Capitalism and Nationalism

China's nationalist and protectionist policies are very different from that of the US, i.e. they demand an independent analysis. They are based on the idea that the process of adopting capitalism and its insertion into global markets is very different from that of the rest of the world's nations. For this reason, its current foreign policy differs enormously from that of the United States. Its foreign policy is based, more than on a hegemonic orientation, according to the precepts of the realist current, on a search for financial and economic autonomy thanks to a leadership position in a system of interdependence with other countries, mainly in the Pacific region (free version) (Anguiano, 2011). In this way, their expansionist strategies, such as imposing their currency or creating scenarios such as "The Silk Road," are given under the discourse of mutual benefit of China and its allies (Fernández, 2018).

However, in order to understand the conditions of this current global scenario, a brief account must be made of the path China has taken to date. For this analysis it is necessary to answer a question: what was China's path for adopting capitalist policies from a central planning model? David Harvey (2007) begins his famous book *Brief History of Neoliberalism*, affirming that between 1978 and 1980 there was "a revolutionary turning point that would change the social and economic history of the world". This was the adoption by China of some practices of capitalism, under a model of central regulation, which began with the liberalization of the economy by the reforms of Deng Xiaoping. From this moment China began a path to the highest rates of economic growth in history. This is thanks to state strategies that in recent decades have allowed China to place its currency in international markets and increase its exports. (Harvey, 2007).

This fact causes surprise, since it was conceived that the communist model was against these capitalist measures. This is because one of the notions that lasted since the fall of the USSR is that the free market was more efficient than central state planning, which led to the belief that democracy, the political system that accompanies capitalism, was also more efficient than communism. In other words, developing this sophistry, capitalism was only possible in democracy and its free market, and not in communism and its central regulation. However, this was precisely what China denied with its accelerated growth (Anguiano, 2011). Communism with some capitalism, that is the unexpected formula that disrupts all world governance. However, this does not mean that China has a capitalist economic system; on the contrary, the market is still very much regulated by the Communist Party (Vila Moreno, 2018).

It is more correct to speak of a mixed economy or a state capitalism, which from a state control has introduced elements of capitalism that has allowed it to strengthen its economy, until it reaches the much dreamed of economic independence. An example of this is the concept of "free creation of enterprise". This exercise is possible today in China, but it is quite regulated, since, on the one hand, the State owns the largest companies in the country, and on the other hand, the individual who wants to open a company must ask for permission from the party, which will take into account two points: that this will not be a competition for its state companies, and that the economic activity proposed will be in accordance with the five-year plan in force (Anguiano, 2011).

Having reviewed the adoption of this model of "state capitalism," one can review the role played by Chinese nationalism in transforming its economic structure and foreign policy. In the first instance, it is necessary to understand the millenary roots of the imaginary of the Chinese collectivity, going back to empires more than three millennia ago. However, the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century meant a time of humiliation due to the continuous invasions and interferences of other peoples, such as the United Kingdom and Japan (Arriola, 2009). The idea of this humiliation is one of the bases of current Chinese nationalism. The idea of strengthening its independence and internal cohesion was born from overcoming this stage. Thus, it is this desire to consolidate a project of nation that has defined the history of China in the twentieth and twenty-first century:

As Lui Kang (professor of Chinese Culture at Duke University) points out, "The current Chinese communist government is more a product of nationalism than a product of ideology like Marxism and Communism. The corollary of Chinese nationalism would be definitively consolidated with the Second World War and the catastrophic Japanese onslaught on Chinese territory, and its occupation from 1931 to 1945. It is a process that continues to this day, and it is not possible to fully understand the behavior of the current CCP if we fail to address the historical dimension that the construction of such a longed-for Chinese Nation-State means to the communist government. Today, the CCP finds itself corresponding to that profound historical legacy; a heritage that clearly marks the compass of each of its movements. (Arriola, 2009)

In this way, it is broadly asserted that the political project of the Chinese Communist Party lies at the intersection of socialism, developmentalism and nationalism (Fernández, 2018). The latter, as a great identity project, has been essential so that the great economic projects that the Party has proposed have had such a successful response from a society that conceives its unity and the defence of its autonomy as a great social imperative. Of course, this unity has not only been built from symbolic cohesion, but also through physical coercion, which has led the government to repress a large number of minorities that inhabit its territory (Arriola, 2009).

In conclusion, Chinese nationalism has been one of the pillars for its dizzying economic development. Similarly, this nationalism has been linked to the order of globalization, conceiving its economic independence as the result of a network of interdependence with other nations. This is the particular approach taken by the nationalist current in the Asian country. This new Chinese nationalism is part of the project of the leader Xi Jinping and the "fifth generation of party leaders":

The Chinese Dream of National Rejuvenation is part of the strategic definition of objectives in the PRC from the emergence of Xi Jinping's leadership (since his assumption as General Secretary of the Communist Party of China - PCCh, in 2012), has been an important conceptual sustenance of the diplomacy of the Asian country. (Santillán, 2017)

It is for this reason that China's response to the U.S. trade war has been that of the diplomatic route, seeking to defend the order of globalization, in which its international influence is now based. In this order of ideas, the case of the commercial wars between these two countries and which are the identifiable consequences in the order of globalization is deepened next.

2.2 Nationalism and Globalization in the U.S.-China Trade War

Reviewing the two different forms of nationalism exercised today by the United States and China, allows a broader understanding of the context of the current trade wars that have destabilized international markets and created great uncertainty in the financial system, to such an extent that for many this is the most notorious symptom of the critical moment through which the order of globalization is passing. (Aronskind, 2017; Funke, Schularick, & Trebesch, 2016; King, 2017). At the same time, the dynamics of trade between these two countries, and the interdependence they possess, must be borne in mind.

2.2.1 History of US-China trade relations

First, a quick recount of your business relationships. As mentioned above, one of the central points of China's economic strategy was to become the world's leading exporter, which demanded becoming a trading partner of the United States, not only allowing the free exchange of goods and services, but also encouraging the presence and capital investment of U.S. companies in its territory. (Vila Moreno, 2018). The controlled and gradual liberalization of the Chinese economy allowed North American multinationals to begin to establish themselves in the Asian country, bringing with them not only investment and labour supply, but also productive and technological knowledge that would be appropriate and developed over the years. The statistics are conclusive:

At the time of Mao Zedong there was not a single foreign company in China; by 1979 about 100 foreign-owned companies had been established, and by the beginning of the 21st century there were about 300,000 foreign companies in China.. (Hernández Hernández, 2006)

It is necessary to clarify that most of the production of these companies was destined for international markets and, to a lesser extent, for internal consumption by the Chinese. Imports and exports grew rapidly between the two countries, and by the first decade of the 21st century China had already displaced Mexico as the first exporter to the U.S., mainly of manufactures, thanks to the low costs of their products in international markets. Its trade history dates back to the end of the 19th century, and by the middle of the 20th century, after World War II, China was already the USA's largest partner. However, once the communist revolution triumphed in

1949, relations declined to the point of a total embargo that by 1951 had ended relations between the two countries (Hernández Hernández, 2006).

It was not until 1972, with President Richard Nixon's official visit to China, that trade relations were re-established, until 1979, when the Trade Relations Treaty was signed, laying the foundations for reciprocity. This treaty led them to become the major trading partners again in the nineties, thanks to the signing of multiple specific agreements on textiles, maritime and air transport, an agreement to avoid double taxation, among others, which gave preferential treatment to China, above the rest of the nations of the world. However, in 1989, due to the Tiananmen Square incident, the US again applied sanctions to China, which led to a 16.5% decrease in Chinese imports (Hernández Hernández, 2006).

This was a constant in trade relations throughout the nineties, crossed by constant tensions due to political disagreements that ended in consequences in their trade relations, but always avoided leading the situation to an open trade war. Even so, the growth of its economic interdependence continued to grow, while the Chinese economy was developing at great speed, as was its inclusion in international markets. A high point of this last aspect occurred in 2001 with China's accession to the World Trade Organization thanks to a bilateral agreement made with the United States. Statistics show how this process led the two countries to become the world's largest trading partners:

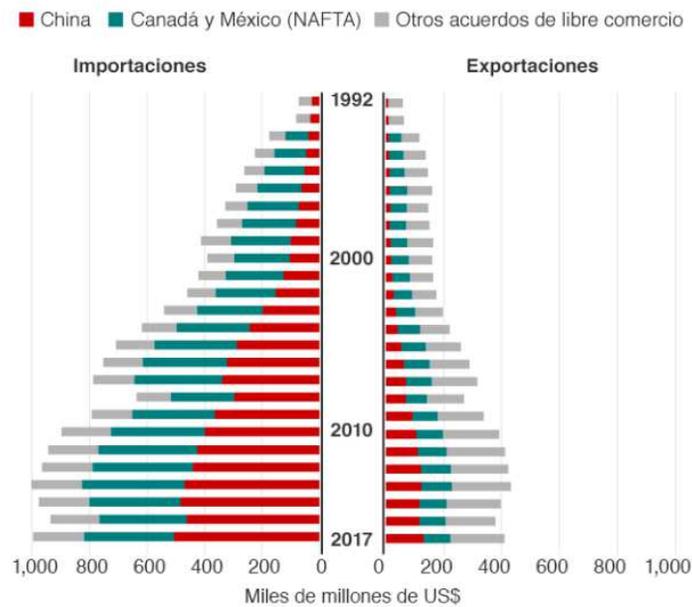


Gráfico 1. U.S.-China Trade Relationship

Source U.S. International Trade Commission U.S. Census Bureau U.S. Census Bureau

As can be seen in this quick historical account, trade relations between China and the US have always been marked by confrontations that lead to protectionist measures as a tool of hegemonic control. That is to say, the current scenario of trade wars has clear antecedents and they are not new; however, the magnitude of their impact has unprecedented proportions.

However, the second aspect to bear in mind is the role that current nationalisms have played in the direction of this confrontation. In short, according to the analysis of the previous chapter, the roles have been reversed: the USA has adopted protectionist policies and its foreign policy has become passive, tending towards isolationism; on the contrary, China, under the leadership of the "fifth generation" of the communist party, has adopted a much more active stance in its foreign policy, becoming a staunch defender of globalization (Ramírez Ruiz, 2014). Thus, from China's entry into the OMC in 2001 until the financial crisis of 2008, this country was in a passive position, while it was reforming its internal economic structure and introducing itself into the order of global markets (Vila Moreno, 2018). However, after the 2008 crisis, its strategy changed and it is now in the race to dominate world markets. This has led many analysts to say that China has taken over the leadership of globalization (Rosales, El conflicto US-China:

nueva fase de la globalización, 2019). China's current threat to its hegemony has led Trump to start a trade war that jeopardizes the economic interdependence that these countries created over the past decades.

This hegemonic confrontation between the US and China has created a hostile context for international markets, which has become an open commercial war for the domination of international markets. Several analysts speak of a chain reaction or a "protectionist spiral" caused by Trump's unwary foreign policy (Agosin, 2018). In opposition, China's position has been to retaliate prudently in order to mitigate the effects these measures may have on its economy and that of its allies, especially those in the South Pacific.

We then have the USA at the head of Trump and his nationalist, anti-immigrant and protectionist policy, and China and its nationalist project of the "Chinese dream" which implies two fronts: a reinforcement of economic independence under the ideal of a great Chinese nation with strong identity traits in opposition to the West, but at the same time, a need to open up to the world and to the order of globalization, with the aim of guaranteeing and continuing to strengthen its enormous economic growth thanks to exports and the imposition of its currency on international markets (Anguiano, 2011; Fernández, 2018). The current focus of their respective nationalisms then explains the two positions that each power has taken: the US wants to commercially attack its partners in order to lead them to capitulations that improve their dominant position in the markets, thus deteriorating the order of globalization, while China manages a policy of mutual collaboration that seeks to defend the global market from the damages that these decisions of Trump can bring to it (Rosales, *El conflicto US-China: nueva fase de la globalización*, 2019).

2.2.2 The trade war unleashed by Trump

But how does this trade war work? What tools has Trump used? There are two main tools: change its tariff policies to discourage exports and affect China's economy, and sabotage, and often liquidate, the multilateral treaties and agreements it had with different countries (Rosales, 2018). Thus, Trump's redirection of foreign policy began with an attack on the institutionality on which the international market book is based:

In the case of Trump, his administration promoted the exit of the Paris Agreement, the exit of the TPP, the renegotiation of NAFTA and KORUS, and now boycotts the nomination of arbitrators in the WTO and establishes a battery of restrictions on imports of goods and, eventually, also on investments (Rosales, 2019, pág. 97)

Similarly, the first trade attacks with protectionist measures (increased tariffs) were not given from the beginning to China, but to several of its most important partners and allies, such as Mexico, Canada or South Korea. These tariffs were placed, from the beginning of his administration to steel and aluminum, in a first gesture that showed the direction of his policies that warned from his campaign. Likewise, the consequences of these acts also showed how the markets would behave in the face of these acts of Trump: these measures were counterproductive for the USA itself, since since the 1950s its production of these raw materials had decreased. The need to import these products caused losses in economic sectors of prime importance to the US economy, such as the automotive industry (Agosin, 2018). This tariff policy was quickly directed at China, which had been condemned by Trump, since the presidential campaign, as his country's greatest economic enemy. For this reason:

The tariffs imposed on China are a separate chapter. It began with a list of products, on which a 10% tariff was imposed, then increased to imports valued at US\$ 200 billion. Trump threatened to raise the tariff to 25% on January 1, 2019, and eventually apply this tariff to all U.S. imports from China (over \$500 billion) (Agosin, 2018, pág. 7)

As Agosin (2018) states, this action is undermining international institutionality, since the rules and principles of the WTO, which has regulated the commercial relations of nationals since the 1970s, are being violated. In fact, its selective and unilateral decisions against China and other countries violate the general principle of this organization, which states that the tariffs that one country applies to another should be generalized to all WTO members. It is also violating the principle of "consolidation" which prevents a country from unilaterally modifying tariffs when they have already been announced. (Agosin, 2018).

In opposition to this, Trump raises, lowers or stabilizes these rates at will, going against not only the OMC but his country's own Congress. In this way, undermining the institutionality on which economic activities are based only harms the order of globalization by sowing mistrust in the different nations. This, in the future, would set a precedent for other countries to bypass these consensual rules, pushing for international markets to be controlled on the basis of the

"law of the strongest", a scenario that has been tried to be avoided since the postwar period. Another consequence is that it would increase the vulnerability of the less developed countries, since, without negotiating power, they would be at the mercy of the reprisals of the world's economic powers (Agosin, 2018).

Trump's way of operating shows a clear intention to destabilize the Chinese economy, which is why these protectionist policies go beyond a matter of national security, as he discursively wanted to justify it, and take a tone of open hostility, in a desperate act of counteracting the growth of the Asian country (Aronskind, 2017). Given the interdependence of trade, China was able to counteract these measures with protectionist policies, which led to negotiations between the two countries. The result was internal pressure on the president in the US, as many productive sectors would inevitably be affected by this sabotage of international markets (Rosales, 2019; 2018).

2.2.3 China's rise in global value chains: the case of the US war against Huawei

One of China's strategies for consolidating its new global role as an economic power and sustaining its growth and development is to move up global value chains in order to turn China into a technological power. In this goal the results were also disconcerting, achieving dizzying progress, to the point of developing state-of-the-art technology on par with the U.S., and surpassing it. (Vila Moreno, 2018). This is the case of the 5G telecommunication network, which was first developed by the Chinese, generating alarm, as this would expand their influence. For this reason, the U.S. government started an open war against Chinese technology companies, as happened with the Huawei company.

That is why authors such as Rosales (2018;2019), following the analyses of specialized media such as *The Economist*, maintain that in the end it is not a commercial war, but a technological war. According to the author, this could at least explain the silence and complicity of some economic sectors and the US Congress in the face of Trump's decisions, which have clearly brought adverse results. Thus, what is at stake is something else that goes beyond the immediate stability of the markets: the future control of information and communication networks:

This is why it is important not to lose sight of the fact that the "trade war" is only an initial phase of a longer-lasting conflict. What is really at stake is technological hegemony in the rest of the 21st century. We are entering a new phase of globalization, marked by this techno-economic battle between the US and China for control of 21st century technologies: IA, IOT, Big Data, robotization, etc., all areas in which China has been making significant efforts. (Rosales, 2019, p. 98)

That's why Trump has used all sorts of strategies to affect these companies, and stop their expansion. For example, he has tried to sabotage companies like Huawei, with very questionable practices, such as demanding that American companies break off their commercial relations with this company, under the argument that they pose a threat to the national security of the United States. However, it is worth clarifying that this policy was initiated by Barak Obama (Agosin, 2018). This dependence, of course, is not viewed favourably by the American economy. For this reason, another technology giant, Google, joined the sabotage by banning the use of its operating system for smartphones on Chinese branded devices.

In addition to the struggle for TIC control, this technological advance would also give greater productive independence, as it would allow advanced manufacturing processes to reduce and fix costs, and therefore also economic scales, allowing a multiplicity of small-scale facilities to serve local consumers. Advanced manufacturing and manufacturing will reduce or eliminate fixed costs and, in this sense, allow economies to scale up, allowing multiple small-scale facilities to serve local customers. Symptoms that represent this phenomenon are the concentration of production, with the development of 3-D printers and robots, as well as the rapid accumulation of capital in China, has led to a drastic reduction in terms of the difference between the capital-labor relations of China, Europe and the United States (Smith, 2014; Sachs, 2017)

Thus, this is a clear example of how this trade war could not be carried to the ultimate consequences, because thanks to their interdependence the two economies would be affected. This effect of the trade war on China's technology industry was quickly felt in the United States. A clear case is that of Apple, which projected that its effects would have a large proportion, for the simple reason that most of its devices are manufactured in China, but, in addition, Apple's sales in China dropped exponentially, which is one of its largest markets. This caused Trump to give in to Apple's requests to lift some restrictions, as the US company has a central role in the

US technology industry, and if this were to be affected, the consequences would quickly be felt throughout this economic sector.

Now, here another effect can be traced which derives from Chinese nationalism, which has a direct influence on the consumption of the population in the Asian country, and which the central organization of the communist party can use in its favour to protect its economy. Apple's decline in sales in China is explained by a "patriotic reaction. This is why people began to prefer Huawei's devices, which, moreover, had already reached, and in some cases even surpassed, the quality standards of Apple's devices, something that seemed impossible years ago.

This review of some of the points and reasons for this trade war shows that, in a context of globalization, factors such as the commercial interdependence created by these countries in recent decades and, in turn, the two very different types of nationalism operating in each country intervene in this confrontation. The next question to be answered, once the causes have been clarified, is what the consequences are. The next question to be answered is: what are the consequences of this trade war for world finance and, in particular, for trade relations between the two powers? These types of consequences directly affect the order of globalization, hence the pessimism about the future of this system.

2.3 Consequences of the China-US trade war: the end of globalisation?

The conflict between China and the United States is transforming the foundations of international markets, to the point that there is talk of a new phase of globalization in which China will take the hegemonic role in this structure. (Rosales, *El conflicto US-China: nueva fase de la globalización*, 2019). So far, where have we begun to see these changes? In this third part of the analysis, the changes in the international financial system will be evaluated in the context of a transformation of globalization, focusing on the specific cases of financial interdependence between the USA and China, competitive devaluation, the fate of Bretton Woods II, the gold standard and the alternatives to the dollar.

2.3.1 Effects on international trade

The first obvious and clearly visible and measurable effect is on exports between the two countries, which directly affects their trade relations. As a consequence of this trade war, China's

exports to the US fell by 25%, according to a report presented by the ONU Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). This has resulted in losses of approximately \$35 billion. For the US, this has meant diversifying its suppliers to countries such as Mexico and Taiwan. However, the magnitude of this decline in international trade directly affects the entire market. This is reminiscent of the aggravation of a financial crisis that has been going on for a decade and an inevitable slowdown in world growth. This panorama can be seen in the following statistics from international trade organizations.



Fuente: WTO Secretariat, Banco Mundial, FMI.



Fuente: WTO Secretariat, Banco Mundial, FMI.

This shows how much international trade has been affected. However, these negative predictions were already becoming evident years ago, before the start of trade wars. This is the case of research by Funke, Schularick and Trebesch (2016), which warned of how in 2008

globalization reached its highest point, and from this point onwards a regression in economic openings had begun. These prospects, and the imminent consequences on international trade, have caused the FMI to reduce its growth prospects, due to the stage of low integration into which markets have entered (IMF, 2019).

2.3.2 Final de Bretton Woods II

This slowdown was then exacerbated by the inability of the United States to start this trade war. In terms of financial stability, analysts such as Steinberg (2010) propose the weakening of what in the 21st century was called Bretton Wood II, understood as a situation of financial interdependence between China and the United States, which has led to a balance of currencies on the world market. This informal equilibrium favoured by China as part of its economic strategy was baptized by Dooley, Folkerts-Landau and Garber (2003), quoted by Steinberg (2010) as the Bretton Woods II, for "its similarities with the regime of fixed exchange rates that was in force in the world between 1944 and 1971, and that had as its central currency the dollar and as peripheral currencies the European currencies and the Japanese yen" (Steinberg, 2010, p. 119).

Despite this comparison, it is clear that these two situations are very different. Firstly, because the flow of capital is much greater than in the last century, and secondly, there are other strong currencies on the world stage, such as the Euro. Moreover, this is an informal situation, which is not supported by any signed agreement. It is therefore in conditions of informality that make it unstable, as indeed seems to be happening. The author, from years ago, proposed two scenarios that could end this balance: the US imposing tariff measures unilaterally on China, and the latter opting very diversify its reserves, which would lead to a crisis of the dollar. The author's thesis is that:

The continuity of Bretton Woods II depends to a large extent on China's exchange rate policy and the trade policy followed by the United States in relation to China: if China diversifies its reserves it could generate a dollar crisis and if the United States imposes unilateral tariffs on China to force a revaluation of its currency (as it did with Japan and Germany in 1971) it could weaken the multilateral trade system.

For 2019, this forecast has been verified with the performance of the US, which has led us to ask again about the future of Bretton Woods II. Now, this war to be pushing China to the other dreaded scenario: the intervention of its currency so that it devalued against the dollar.

Since 1995 the exchange rate of the yuan had been fixed with the dollar, even in the period 2005-2008 when a devaluation occurred, the Chinese government made the necessary interventions to rebalance it. This stability was propitiated by China as one of its strategies to gain predominance in international markets, especially in trade. The effect from the beginning was clear: the monetary strategy consisted in keeping the yuan at the same level as the dollar through state policies, at the same time as they began to buy the American debt, in order to keep the dollar in turn stable. The reason for this fact is in the commercial sphere, since China could sell its products at very low prices proportional to the dominant currency of exchange in the world, which in turn was the currency of its largest trading partner. The statistics are clear on the success of this strategy, and on the stability that was maintained for years in the trade relations of the two countries. Thus, a competitive devaluation was against this policy, which is why making use of this tool is one of the last responses that China can give to the trade war that has raised the U.S.

But in 2019 for the first time since 2008 the yuan was devalued by 1.26%, although the next day the Chinese government stabilized it at 0.5%. This happened hours after Trump's announcement to raise tariffs on Chinese products by 10%, so everything suggested that this devaluation had been caused by the Chinese government as a way of both exerting pressure and mitigating the impacts that the threats of more tariffs would bring. Given Trump's attitude and discourse, this had an immediate response from the US president. For this reason, from his social networks he quickly communicated about this fact and accused China of being a "currency manipulator". This incident was recorded by numerous media around the world (Portafolio, 2019; BBC Mundo, 2019; EURONEWS, 2019), and keeps alive the uncertainty that, if China finally responds with a currency war, this will lead to further destabilization, because it could start a currency devaluation war that would have financial effects difficult to calculate. For now, China denies any intention to intervene its currency and finish unbalancing the markets, which is why it has vehemently refuted Trump's statements.

While this was not the beginning of a currency war, it did demonstrate several points. First, financial markets quickly collapsed, demonstrating that in the current context of globalization and financial interdependence, such acts can have immediate and profound effects. Second, this may be a warning from China to the US of the possibility of using a strategy that

could aggravate the crisis. For now, Trump has not carried out its dalliance of raising 10% of tariffs to about 300 billion dollars of Chinese imports, while the Chinese government remains cautious with this action, since many of the state and private companies in his country have high debts in dollars, so a devaluation of the yuan would increase them, devaluing the price of their shares on stock exchanges and causing a flight of capital. In the midst of this threat of a currency war, which is made possible by the current regime of floating fiduciary currencies, another issue has taken hold: the gold standard.

2.3.3 The gold standard as an alternative to economic uncertainty?

The gold standard fulfils the function of being a measure of monetary regulation. As it is based on the idea that every central bank needs a metal backing to issue money, this avoids that money can be issued without any kind of limit. In theory, it could serve as a tool to prevent governments from willingly issuing money leading to inflation risks. (Lelart, 2005). However, it is not clear how this measure, which has been abandoned since the 1970s in a context of international markets in which many currencies interact, and financial movements are boosted by telecommunications and computer technologies, could behave (Rothbard, 2018).

If you look at the history of the gold standard, in the second half of the twentieth century this was a tool that served the U.S. to position its currency in global markets. This pattern had started from the 20th century until the First World War abolished it in 1914. It was then revived by the US with Bretton Woods as a measure to avoid the inflationary characteristics of money, which was considered one of the reasons for the crisis that led Europe to war (Guillén Romo, 2008). However, the U.S. introduced a variant: before a government issued money according to the backing it had in gold reserves, but this ceased to be so and another model was proposed: the gold exchange standard model (1944-1971). This meant that the currency of each country would become convertible into dollars, as long as that dollar (which flooded the international market) was backed by gold (Lelart, 2005).

For multiple reasons, in 1971 President Nixon announced the termination of this model of fixed currencies based on gold, leaving the markets under a floating fiduciary currency regime. This move allowed the US to flood the world with dollars, as it no longer needed to print its banknotes in relation to the gold backing it had in its reserves (Lelart, 2005). This order

has been maintained until today, but in the context of the financial crises and the recent trade war between the US and China, its use has been reconsidered. It is not only a theoretical approach, but many countries in the world seem to be taking measures to deal with this possible phenomenon.

Several economic powers around the world are beginning to buy large gold reserves. This phenomenon is led by Russia, Turkey and Kazakhstan, while China is buying more and more reserves (Martínez Gallego, 2019; Muñoz, 2019). Added to this is Germany's eagerness to repatriate its gold, which it had held in the custody of the USA and England since the time of the world wars. This new phenomenon of hoarding gold suggests that central banks are preparing for a new entry into force of the gold standard, since no such magnitude of purchase was seen since 1967, when it was still in force with the Bretton Woods. In terms of the amount of gold reserves, the US continues to hold first place, while China continues to hold sixth place (Orgaz, 2019).

What does this mean for globalization and its future because of trade wars? Because of its characteristics, the price of gold is determined by the market, not by central governments, which is why many defenders of the free market have been supporters of the gold standard (Lelart, 2005). This may be one reason why it can bring stability, because in an open war of currency alteration by governments, gold, which cannot be directly intervened by state decisions, could be a rescue to a crisis.

In the case of China, this reveals another fact: China's interdependence with the dollar, which it had built over the last few decades with a fixed currency policy based on the dollar, can be counteracted with two movements: the gold standard and currency diversification. These strategies are beginning to be used. This is complemented by the analysis that has been carried out, since, if China today is more in favor of protecting the structure of globalization, this measure is a policy in accordance with its interests. This would explain why it has joined this new fever to increase gold reserves, and that its purchases have increased since the beginning of the economic war proposed by the United States (Martínez Gallego, 2019).

The desire to return to the gold standard then lies in depriving States of the power to manipulate the value of currencies. This, in a trade war such as Trump's, would be beneficial

for China, and for world markets. This would allow some certainty and stability in the markets, and in particular, would avoid China having to enter a currency war that would end up aggravating the global scenario (Muñoz, 2019). It could be concluded that the current situation shows that there is a setback in the integration of international trade as a consequence of a setback in globalization. However, the position adopted by China suggests that this situation is counterbalanced by Trump's foreign policy interests.

The different points analyzed show the profound effects that globalization is suffering. In the midst of a trade war that can take any turn, and that tends to get worse if other points are touched like currencies, radical and pessimistic diagnoses are risked, like the one we are witnessing "the end of globalization". It is difficult to suppose under what terms one could speak of an "end". What there is no doubt about, and this has been tried to show, is that confidence in international markets, and in the mutual collaboration of nations in terms of trade, is diminishing. This will bring radical changes to the current world order, which are difficult to assume. What China and the US have demonstrated in this scenario is that beyond the obvious conflicting interests, each seems to be influencing different destinies for globalization. The diversification of currencies, the return of the gold standard, the reconfiguration of alliances and markets, the fluctuation of the financial system, are all facts that emanate from the same crisis and can bring unexpected effects.

3 Conclusions and Recommendations

3.1 Conclusions

The current "globalization crisis" is a profound imbalance of international markets, due to different factors around the world. The research focused on the theme of the emergence of nationalisms, as political projects that run against the institutionality of globalization, and the trade wars between the United States and China, which, fed precisely by these nationalist positions, have worsened the panorama of international markets, leading to a moment of uncertainty in which many wonder what will be the path that the world economies will take, to say, what will happen with the different trade agreements, the relations between countries, the conditions of economic collaboration, the currency system, among others.

Se comprobó que las posturas nacionalistas de tendencia de extrema derecha en el mundo se han posicionado como las corrientes más fuertes en contra de la globalización. El ejemplo más claro, y que explica la incidencia de estos proyectos en la globalización, es la política exterior de Donald Trump en EEUU, reformas que ha hecho desde el inicio de su mandato en el 2016 y que se han intensificado para el 2019, al menos en lo que respecta a la guerra comercial declarada a China.

Trump's trade war develops out of the "tariff war". In this way, Trump arbitrarily raises, lowers or stabilizes tariff rates, which clearly violates the principles of the OMC and his country's Congress. This course of action has short- and medium-term implications. In addition to immediately destabilizing international markets (stock exchanges react quickly to the uncertainty arising from the violation of these treaties), in the future this course of action may set a precedent on which other countries can rely to take similar actions, which would mean that international markets are controlled on the basis of the "law of the strongest". One of the most serious consequences of this situation is that it would increase the vulnerability of the least developed countries, since, without bargaining power, they would be at the mercy of reprisals from the world's economic powers (Agosin, 2018). This is not a favorable scenario for a region like Latin America, and specifically for Colombia.

However, despite these strategies, Trump's results have not been the best. Therefore, it can be assumed that the results of these trade wars are uncertain, so that this scenario of "the law of the strongest" is perhaps unlikely, as long as interdependent relations are maintained, and even more so when it is China that is protecting them, since this fact is part of its development strategy. At this point it is important to understand that for China, economic development is a way of preserving its sovereignty, and that this development can only take place through interdependence. For this reason, it is important to analyze under its context what the results of its policies of international integration, productive, financial and commercial, can be, because clearly they are not governed under the same principles and under the same ideology of the West..

The particularity of its model and its interests suggests that if China were to take the lead in global markets, globalization would have profound structural changes. These changes would distance themselves from that global economic order that the United States built to its measure and for its interests and that it successfully managed during the second half of the 20th century. In other words, the order of globalization would not be ended by US attacks on its institutionality. Protectionism and trade wars alter markets, but its economic interdependence with the world, and mainly with China, makes one think that Trump cannot take this project much further without affecting the US economy and, therefore, its national sovereignty. China will continue to support a globalization that it knows can begin to mold to its measure to become the world's greatest power. It is not the end of globalization, but perhaps it is the end of the globalization we know so far.

3.2 Recommendations

In disciplines such as economics, international relations, among others, the imperative of foresight and anticipation weighs heavily. In other words, it is intended that, on the basis of a diagnosis and explanation of the present, it will be possible to foresee the future according to particular interests. Of course, it is the desire of any individual or government to be able to anticipate economic phenomena in order to benefit from them and manage a desired stability. However, it is not possible to foresee the future, beyond providing analytical tools through

which our present can be understood in order to be able to act with greater haste in the face of what is to come. In this sense, this research showed the complexity of the phenomenon that is being experienced in the international economic order as a result of recent events, such as the commercial war declared by the United States at the head of Donald Trump in China. Most authors agree that this is such a complex scenario that the only possible diagnosis is uncertainty.

However, some general recommendations can be subscribed to. In the first instance, of course, the need to deepen the analysis of this subject, giving it a historical approach that allows it to be better understood. It is not advisable to allow oneself to be carried away by the immediacy of events that have so much historical weight and that go at such an intense pace. The analysis showed how, since the beginning of their relations in the 19th century, the US has from time to time declared these scenarios hostile to China, by means of blockades and tariff policies. In other words, this phenomenon has antecedents that must be studied in order to better understand how these countries act in terms of foreign policy.

On the other hand, it is clear that the order of globalization will not be the same. The vertiginous change that has taken place forces to adapt to this new scenario, mainly in the following aspects: the entry of new hegemonic agents is unstoppable, especially China and the countries of the South Pacific; a new technological revolution is approaching in which the USA will not have a unique hegemonic position as had happened decades ago; third, the tensions between globalization and nationalism are never going to be suppressed, and it seems a constant of the present societies to have to live under the tension of these two elements. Thus, any commercial project or plan has to take these scenarios into consideration, and accept that one cannot count on a completely stable and predictable scenario. In particular, it is necessary to be aware of the directions that globalization will take in this new stage, and the role that China will play.

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