

(COMMENTARY 47, NOVEMBER 2017)

POWER TRAJECTORIES: 1405, 1517, 1917 AND 1947

Draft of a chapter for *Values, World Society and Modelling Yearbook 2017*

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Overview. The structure of power in world society is a major determinant of the structure of value outcomes. The pursuit of value leads to the pursuit of power, creating pressures for changes to the power structure, generating power trajectories, leading to the rise and fall of dominant powers. Events and anniversaries in 2017 illustrate these general points.

The passage of a Chinese naval flotilla through the English Channel causes Paul Kennedy to reflect on the 500-year rise of Western naval power and its current waning in the face of growing Chinese and Asian naval power.

The British Indian Empire gave way to the independent states of India and Pakistan in 1947, with East Pakistan becoming Bangladesh in 1971. In India and Pakistan the dominant party on independence has declined.

The Balfour Declaration of 1917 paved the way for the foundation of the state of Israel, following the mandates of Britain and France over parts of the defeated Ottoman Empire, thus changing the population balance in Palestine.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 brought about a total transformation of the power structure: the end of monarchy, aristocracy, priesthood, land and property ownership and the creation of a party and a one-party state, with communist ideology and state control of the economy.

Four centuries earlier in 1517 Martin Luther set in motion the Reformation and the further fracturing of the Christian religion.

The 500-year rise and fall of Western naval mastery

“And that’s the real point isn’t it? ... there’s a far bigger story unfolding.”¹

The following are some of the key events in the far bigger story to which Kennedy alludes:

In 1405 the Chinese put to sea a fleet larger and more powerful than anything the world had ever seen. Under the command of Zheng He the fleet patrolled the oceans of Asia, cruising as far as the Arabian Gulf and the east coast of Africa for thirty years. The action was part diplomatic mission, part trade mission, and part military force.²

...

In 1487 the explorer Bartolomeu Dias set sail from Portugal, sailed south and rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1488, and entered the Indian Ocean, the first European known to have done this.

In 1492 the Genoese explorer Christopher Columbus set off from Palos de la Frontera in Spain and sailed to the Canary Islands and thence across the Atlantic, discovering the Bahamas and Cuba and Santa Domingo, returning to Spain to report his discovery of new lands in the West.

In 1497 the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama set off from Lisbon, followed the route of Bartolomeu Dias, sailed up the East African coast and crossed over to Calicut and Goa in India.

In 1519 Ferdinand Magellan led a fleet of five ships that sailed from Spain, crossed the Atlantic, rounded Cape Horn and continued across the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The *Victoria*, the one surviving ship of the fleet, captained by Juan Sebastián Elcano, returned to Spain in 1522 – without Magellan who had been killed in the Philippines.

In 1557 Macau was leased to Portugal from Ming China as a trading port.

...

In 1842 The Treaty of Nanking ended the First Opium War, establishing the treaty ports of Amoy, Fuzhou, Ningbo and Shanghai in addition to Canton; providing for reparations and demobilisation; and granting Hong Kong to Britain as a crown colony.

¹ Kennedy, Paul. “Britain’s prestige is sinking as China bids to rule the waves. Power on the seas is shifting eastwards as decades of cost-cutting leaves the West dangerously exposed.” *The Times*, November 11, 2017, 32-33.

² Armstrong, Benjamin. “China... from the Sea: The Importance of Chinese Naval History.” *Strategic Insights*, VI, 6, December 2007. Accessed 26 November 2017. <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a519989.pdf>.

Dreyer, Edward. *Zheng He: China and the Oceans in the Early Ming Dynasty, 1405-1433*. New York: Pearson Longman, 2007. xii.

The siege of the Beijing Legation Quarter took place during the Boxer Rebellion of 1899-1901. The legations were from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands, the United States, Russia and Japan.

...

In 1894-1895 the First Sino-Japanese War regarding Korea.

In 1904-1905 the Russo-Japanese war regarding Manchuria and Korea.

...

In 1997 the UK handed sovereignty of Hong Kong back to China.

In 1999 sovereignty over Macau was transferred back to China.

...

In 2017 a Chinese flotilla of three ships sailed through the English Channel to join in exercises with the Russian navy in the Baltic.

“By 2030, the existence of a global Chinese navy will be an important, influential and fundamental fact of international politics,” said Patrick Cronin, director of the Center for a New American Security’s Asia-Pacific security program.³

The far bigger story then is the 500-year rise and fall of Western naval mastery. The story is multi-layered with a composite structure of actors. Within the West, mastery has shifted from Europe to America. Within Europe, mastery shifted from Portugal and Spain to the Netherlands, France and Britain. Within Asia, relative strength has shifted from Japan to China. Kennedy suggests the trends are “too broad for one to imagine a really significant reversal”.

The current balance between six major naval powers is illustrated in Figure 1 below. The USA has ten aircraft carriers whereas the other countries have one each. The USA and China have many more cruisers, destroyers and frigates than the other countries. The USA, China and Russia have roughly the same number of attack submarines, many more than either India, Britain or France.⁴

Looking to the future and noting naval shipbuilding intentions Kennedy suggests that the top four will be USA, China, Russia and Japan in that order with India, France and Britain in the second tier.

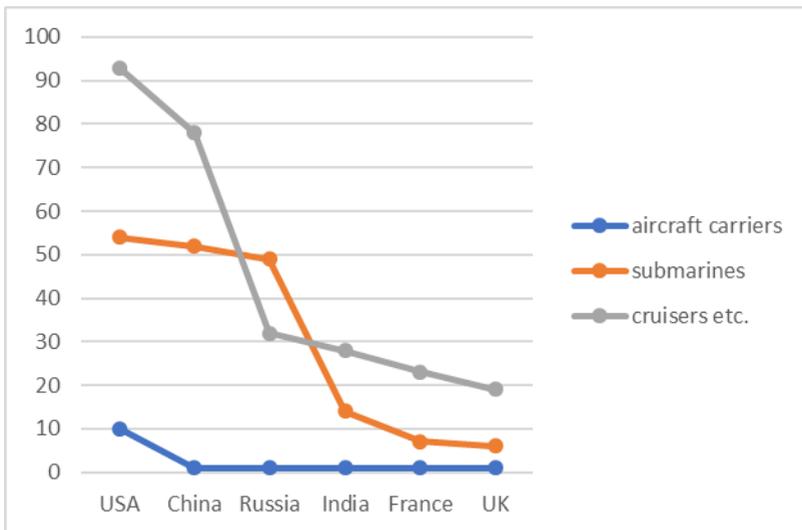
One explanation of the differences between countries is that bigger countries have bigger navies. There are various measures of the size of a country: area, boundary, coastline, population, GDP, GDP per capita, etc.

³ Tweed, David and Adrian Leung. “How China’s growing naval fleet is shaping global politics.” *Bloomberg Politics*. May 31, 2017. Accessed 25 November 2017. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-05-31/china-s-growing-naval-might-challenges-u-s-supremacy-in-asia>.

⁴ Kennedy, 2017, op. cit. The quoted source is: IISS Military Balance 2017.

Here GDP is the measure most highly correlated with naval strength. The top eleven countries in terms of GDP projected for 2017 include all the aforementioned countries: USA, China, Japan, (Germany), UK, India, France, (Brazil, Italy, Canada), and Russia.⁵ Other measures also correlate with naval strength but less strongly.⁶

Figure 1 The current balance between six major naval powers, 2017



⁵ Statistics Times. “List of countries by projected GDP.” Source: IMF World Economic Outlook, April 2017. Accessed 24 November 2017. <http://statisticstimes.com/economy/countries-by-projected-gdp.php>.

⁶ Statistics Times. “List of countries by projected GDP per capita.” *Statistics Times*. Source: IMF World Economic Outlook, April 2017. Accessed 24 November 2017.

<http://statisticstimes.com/economy/countries-by-projected-gdp-capita.php>.

Worldometers. “Countries in the world by population (2017).” *Worldometers*. Accessed 25 November 2017.

<http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/population-by-country/>.

World Atlas. “The largest countries in the world.” *World Atlas*. Accessed 25 November 2017.

<http://www.worldatlas.com/articles/the-largest-countries-in-the-world-the-biggest-nations-as-determined-by-total-land-area.html>.

World by Map. “Coastline lengths.” *World by Map*. Accessed 25 November 2017. <http://world.bymap.org/Coastlines.html>.

Population rankings are: China, India, USA, ... Russia (9th), ... Japan (11th), UK (21st) and France (22nd).

Length of coastline rankings are (Canada), ... Russia (3rd), Japan (5th), ... USA (8th), ... China (10th), ... UK (12th), ... India (18th), ... France (27th).

Area rankings are Russia, (Canada), USA, China, ... India (7th), ... France (43rd), ... Japan (62nd) ... UK (79th).

GDP per capita rankings are: USA (8th), ... Japan (24th), UK (25th), France (26th), Russia (64th), China (74th), India (144th).

Note that GDP per capita ranking correlates negatively with naval strength ranking. Military spending is a zero-sum or negative-sum game. In general military expenditure produces a loss of per capita welfare. From the above rankings the welfare loss is greater for Russia, China and India. "Maybe the British and French treasuries are justified in keeping a tight control over expensive warship building ..."⁷ Using G for GDP, W for welfare spending and M for military spending, we have:

$$G = W + M \quad [1]$$

Per capita welfare w is W/N where N is the population size. Maximum per capita welfare is $w^*=G/N$. Military spending is partly driven by a target proportion p of GDP (for NATO, 2%) and partly driven by a target proportion p' of competitors' military spending, M' . The relative weighting of these two components is b and $(1-b)$ respectively. The per capita welfare loss due to military spending is given by the following equation.

$$w = w^* - bpG - (1-b)p'G' \quad [2]$$

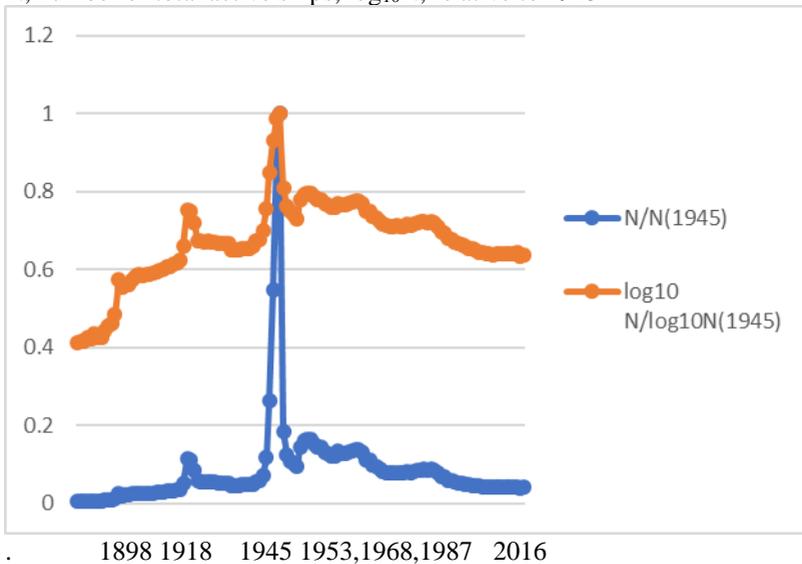
An explanation of historical change is that growing/declining countries have growing/declining navies. Similarly in the case of relatively growing/declining. Asia has an increasing share of world GDP and Kennedy notes a naval arms race there involving Vietnam, Pakistan and Bangladesh as well as Japan, India and China. The West has a declining share of world GDP and Kennedy notes that the USA had 583 ships in 1986 but now has 275.

⁷ Paul Kennedy, *op. cit.*

Figure 2 shows the US Ship Force Levels, 1886-2016 (total active ships).⁸ Note though that the destructive power of a ship in 1886 is small in comparison with that of a ship in 2016. The World War II numbers dwarf the rest and so as well as the actual numbers the logarithm is also presented. There is a clear pattern of rise and fall in numbers of ships. Local peaks relate to the Spanish-American War in 1898, and World Wars I and II and subsequent but declining peaks in 1953 (end of Korean War), 1968 (Vietnam) and 1987 (just prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union and end of the Cold War).

Figure 2 US Ship Force Levels, 1886-2016 (total active ships)

N, number of total active ships; $\log_{10}N$, relative to 1945



Another report focuses on a more restricted definition of number of ships and notes that USA is down from 226 ships in 2000 to 188 ships in 2016 with a slight rise anticipated with 199 ships in 2030, a thirty-year decline

⁸ Naval History and Heritage Command. "US Ship Force Levels. 1886-present." *Naval History and Heritage Command*. Accessed 25 November 2017. <https://www.history.navy.mil/research/histories/ship-histories/us-ship-force-levels.html>.

of 9%. The corresponding figure for China is 163 ships in 2000, 183 ships in 2016 and 260 ships anticipated in 2030, a thirty-year increase of 60%.⁹

“The ascendant power of Beijing may seem to the West a disruption to the status quo, but for China it is the restoration of a millennium-long equilibrium. China was the biggest economy in the world for most of the past 2,000 years, only comfortably overtaken by Europe in the 19th century.”¹⁰

“[China is] one of the richest, best cultivated, most industrious, and most populous countries of the world ... much richer than any part of Europe.” [1776]¹¹

The British Indian Empire ... 1757-1857-1947-2017

The preceding section has placed India on the sea routes of the 1400s from China and from Europe, Goa being taken by the Portuguese in 1510. The East India Company rule in India ran from 1757 to 1857 and the British Indian Empire ran from 1857 to 1947. India gained On independence in 1947 the territory split in two, into India and Pakistan. Indian troops moved into Goa in 1961 ending more than four centuries of Portuguese control. Geographically split between West Pakistan and East Pakistan, following civil war the separate state of Bangladesh was formed in East Pakistan in 1972, and West Pakistan became Pakistan.

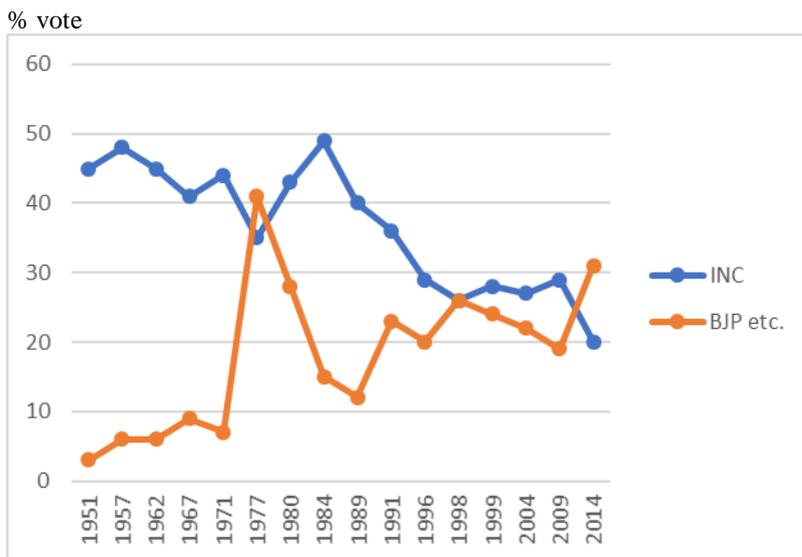
Prior to independence, in the general election of 1945 the Indian National Congress (INC) won 59 seats in the Central Legislative Assembly and the All-India Muslim League won 30, Europeans won 8 seats and others won 5.

The post-independence electoral history of India has seen the decline of the INC and the rise of Bharatiya Janata Party (1980 to the present), its predecessors being the Bharatiya Janata Singh (1951-1977) and the Janata Party (1977-1980). See Figure 3.

⁹ Tweed and Leung, op. cit.

¹⁰ Editorial. “Global power. President Xi wants to usher in a new era of Chinese world leadership. The West should be wary of Beijing’s growing economic and political ambitions.” *The Times*, October 19, 2017: 31.

¹¹ Smith, Adam. *The Wealth of Nations*. 1776. Cited in Editorial *The Times*, October 19, 2017: 31, op. cit.

Figure 3 Indian general elections 1951-2 to 2014

The first elections in Pakistan were held in 1970. Support was spread amongst many parties with the Awami League (East Pakistan) gaining 39% and the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) (West Pakistan) gaining 19%. The country then became two separate countries Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Since 1977 voting in Pakistan has seen the decline of the PPP and the rise and splitting of the Pakistan Muslim League (PML). See Figure 4.

In Bangladesh, voting has been split between Bangladesh Awami League and Bangladesh National Party, with Jatiya dominating in 1986 and 1988. Several of the elections have been boycotted by one or more parties. See Figure 5.

Figure 4 Pakistan general elections 1977 to 2014

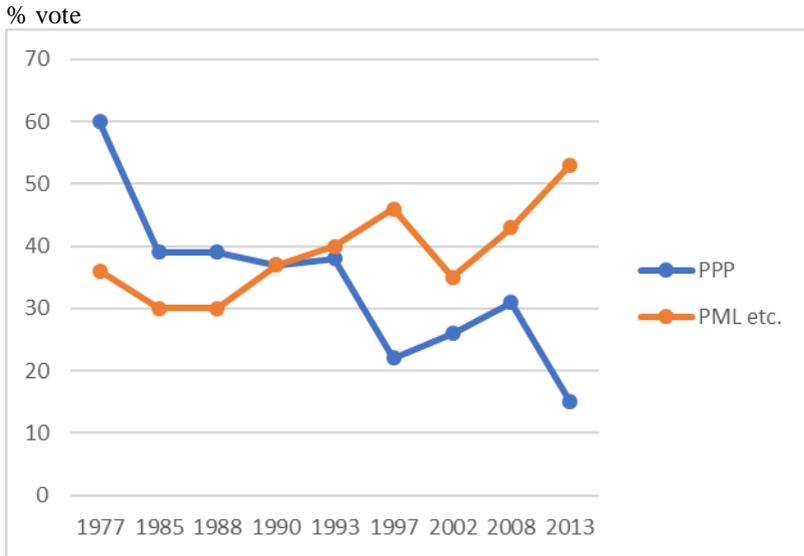
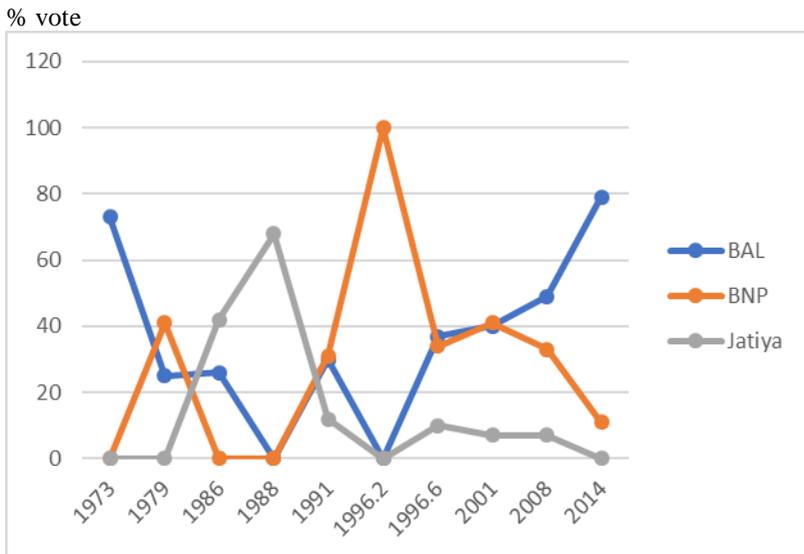


Figure 5 Bangladesh general elections 1973 to 2014



The Ottoman Empire ... the Balfour Declaration, 1917

“A land without a people and a people without a land.”¹² [1844]

“The establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people ... [nothing should] prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities.” Balfour Declaration [1917]

“An empire promising a land that it had not yet conquered to a people not living there, without asking the inhabitants”.¹³

“Hushed remembrance of Balfour deal centenary ... Britain has sought to play down the event.”¹⁴

“... in a region dominated by the rule of autocrats, jealous of their powers ... Israel stands out as an exception: ... a vibrant liberal democracy, an innovative economy and an ally of the West.”¹⁵

A few years after the Balfour Declaration, in the aftermath of the end of the First World War and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the San Remo conference in 1920 gave mandates over Syria to France and over Iraq and Palestine to Britain – as foreshadowed by the British-French Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916. Britain’s Palestine Mandate proposed a Jewish national home in Palestine.

In 1920, an advisory council was set up comprising the high commissioner, 10 British officials, 4 Muslim Palestinians, 3 Christian Palestinians and 3 Jews. In 1922 a Legislative Council was proposed

¹² The phrase appeared in an 1844 review of Christian Restorationist Alexander Keith’s book , *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion Derived from the Literal Fulfillment of Prophecy*. Accessed December 1, 2017. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A_land_without_a_people_for_a_people_without_a_land.

¹³ White, Ben. “This week a world leader much worse than Donald Trump is visiting the UK – but I don’t see any protest from MPs.” *The Independent*. November 2, 2017. Accessed December 1, 2017. <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/benjamin-netanyahu-uk-visit-israel-prime-minister-theresa-may-worse-donald-trump-protests-none-a8029301.html>.

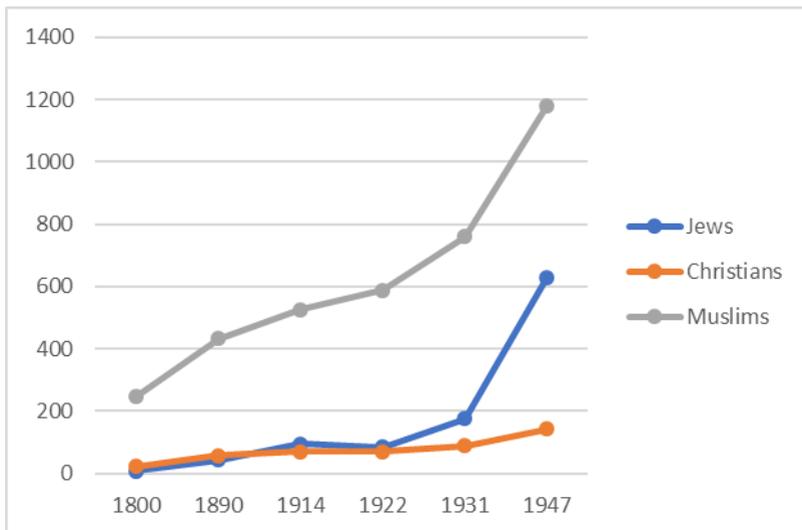
¹⁴ Pfeffer, Anshel. “Hushed remembrance of Balfour deal centenary.” *The Times*, November 2, 2017: 31.

¹⁵ Leader. “Sixty-seven words. Britain’s firm commitment to a Jewish homeland ... It should not be muddied by Labour’s distrust of Israel.” *The Times*, November 2, 2017: 31.

which would consist of the high commissioner, 10 British officials, 10 Palestinians and 2 Jews. In 1923 an election was held for a Palestinian Legislative Council. The electorate voted for 'electors' who in turn would vote for Council members. A total of 823 secondary electors were to be elected; 670 Muslims, 79 Jews, 59 Christians and 15 Druze. However there was an Arab boycott and an Advisory Council was proposed comprising the high commissioner, 10 British officials, 8 Muslim Palestinians, 2 Christian Palestinians and 2 Jews – this gave Arabs 43% representation even though they were 88% of the population. This too was partly boycotted and Palestine was run by officials up until 1948.¹⁶

Figure 6 shows the preponderance of Muslims in Palestine prior to the First World War and the sharp rise in the Jewish population in the period 1922-1947.¹⁷

Figure 6 Population of Palestine, 1800-1947



¹⁶ <http://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/advisory-council-palestine>.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palestinian_Legislative_Council_election,_1923#Electoral_system.

¹⁷ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographic_history_of_Palestine_\(region\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographic_history_of_Palestine_(region)).

Some of the key events in the history of Britain's involvement in the Middle East are listed below. Naval control of the Mediterranean and of the Suez Canal route to Asia and the presence of oil in the Middle East are all in play.

1713 Britain gains control of Gibraltar

1800 Britain takes possession of Malta which becomes the home of the British Mediterranean Fleet.

1854 France and Egypt & Sudan set up Suez Canal Company

1869 Suez Canal opened

1875 Britain buys Egypt & Sudan's shares

1877-1960- British administration of Cyprus. Military bases continue.

1882-1956 Egypt becomes a British protectorate and then continues to be a base for British forces.

1908 Britain discovers oil in Iran.¹⁸

1920-1948 British Mandate of Palestine¹⁹

1948 founding of Israel

1956 Britain uses Cyprus as a base in the war with France and Israel against Nasser's seizure of the Suez Canal.

The Russian Empire ... the October Revolution, 1917

“Modern revolutionary activity in the Russian Empire began with the [Decembrist revolt](#) of 1825. Although [serfdom](#) was abolished in 1861, it was done on terms unfavorable to the peasants and served to encourage revolutionaries.”²⁰

In 1881 Tsar Alexander II was assassinated by the terrorist organisation Narodnaya Volya which advocated socialism based on the peasantry. The group also plotted to assassinate Tsar Alexander III in 1887, but the plot was foiled and the five conspirators were hung – one of them being the elder brother of Lenin. In 1894 Tsar Nicholas II assumed the throne. In 1895 Lenin was arrested, kept in solitary confinement and then exiled to Siberia.

In 1905, troops killed peaceful demonstrators outside the Winter Palace. Sailors on the battleship *Potemkin* mutinied. Russia suffered

¹⁸ <https://www.brandeis.edu/crown/publications/meb/MEB24.pdf>.

<https://www.wired.com/2008/05/dayintech-0526/>.

¹⁹ <https://www.theglobalist.com/britains-legacy-in-the-middle-east-iraqs-oil/>.

²⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Decembrist_revolt.

defeats in the Russo-Japanese war. Tsar Nicholas created an elected parliament, the Duma, with the Council of the Empire as an upper house.

Russia entered in the First World War in 1914. By 1917 military losses and food shortages were encouraging unrest. Tsar Nicholas abdicated, removed his son from the succession and his brother refused to accept the throne. A provisional government under Prince Lvov was formed. Lenin returned from Switzerland. Soldiers' committees disrupted action on the battlefield and armed anti-government demonstrations took place. Lvov resigned in favour of Kerensky, who crushed the demonstrations and acted against the Bolsheviks. On October 25 1917 the Bolsheviks took control of the Winter Palace and replaced the provisional government. They proposed land reform and withdrawal from the war, and an armistice was signed with the Central Powers in December. Russia ceded territory in Finland, the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine. Poland also was lost. Tsar Nicholas and his family were executed in July 1918. The Russian Civil War, 1917-1922, pitted the Bolshevik Red Army against the White Army and other groups including soldiers from Western countries.

The Soviet Union was formed in 1922. Its boundaries expanded and contracted with the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939, the German invasion of 1941 and final victory in 1945. Its control extended beyond its borders crystallised with the formation of the Warsaw Pact in 1955 and its relations with non-Western countries. The Soviet Union lasted almost seventy years until in 1990-1991 it disintegrated into fifteen independent states. The largest of these was Russia.

Revolution, monarchy and empire

The revolution brought hereditary rule in Russia to an end. In this, Russia was following a pattern that was followed in many countries. Monarchies became republics and new countries were constituted as republics. Empires lost their territories, retreating to their cores.

1642-1651 The English Civil Wars and the Execution of Charles I in 1649 and the restoration of Charles II in 1660. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 replacing James II with William of Orange.

1775-1783 USA: the American War of Independence started in 1775 as a conflict between Great Britain and its thirteen colonies. In 1776 the colonies declared their independence and formed a new nation, the United States of America, a republic.

1789-1792 France: the French Revolution started in 1789; the National Convention abolished the monarchy in 1792; and Louis XVI was executed in 1793.

1804-1825 Latin America: countries contest rule by France, Spain and Portugal and declare their independence as republics.

1911-1912 China: the Xinhai Revolution brought an end to the 2000-year-long dynastic rule with the abdication of the Puyi.

World War I

1917 Russia (see above)

1918-1919 Germany: German Revolution at the end of the First World War and replacement of monarchy with republic.

1918 Austria-Hungarian Empire: following defeat at the end of the First World War, the empire disintegrated into separate states constituted as republics and ending the Hapsburg monarchy.

1918-1923 Ottoman Empire: at the end of the First World War, the empire broke up into separate states and the Turkish War of Independence, 1919-1923, abolished the Sultan and established a republic.

post World War II

1947 India and Pakistan ... gain independence from Britain and become republics

Africa and Asia: countries gain independence from European imperial powers

Russian elections, 1991 to 2016

Michael Gorbachev was last leader of the Soviet Union from 1985 to 1991. Gorbachev appointed Boris Yeltsin mayor of Moscow in 1985, but Yeltsin wanted faster reform and received popular support in Moscow and the Russia SFSR, and rallied support against the abortive coup in 1991. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the formation of Russia as an independent state, Boris Yeltsin was elected Russia's first president.

Since 1991 Russian Presidential Elections have returned Presidents Yeltsin, Putin and Medvedev, each the favoured successor of the predecessor. Except in 1996 they received an absolute majority of the vote. The Communist candidate in 1996 and 2000 received a third of the vote but otherwise no other candidate gained more than 18%. See Table 1.

Table 1 Russian Presidential Elections, 1991 to 2016

.	Indep.	Utd R.	Comm.	Lib. D.	A Just R.	other
1991	59	-	17	8	-	16
1996	36	-	33	6	-	25
2000	53	-	30	3	-	14
2004	72	-	14	2	-	12
2008	-	71	18	10	-	1
2012	-	64	17	6	4	9

Winners: Yeltsin, Yeltsin, Putin, Putin, Medvedev, Putin

The first three elections displayed great plurality with the leading party gaining less than a quarter of the vote. With the merger of the Unity Party and the Fatherland-All-Russia Party to form the United Russia Party the vote became more concentrated. See Table 2.

Table 2 Russian Legislative Elections, 1990 to 2016

.	Utd R.	Comm.	Lib. D.	Just R.	other
1993	-	12	23	-	65
					R's Choice 16; Women of R 8; Agrarian PR 8; Yabloko 8
1995	-	22	11		67
					Our Home R 10; Yabloko 7; [R's. Choice] 4; Agrarian PR 4
1999	-	24	-	-	76
					Unity 23; Fatherland 13; Rightist 9; Yabloko 6; Zhirinovskiy 6
2003	38	13	11	-	38
					Rodina 9; Yabloko 4; Rightist 4
2007	64	12	8	8	8
2011	49	19	12	13	7
2016	54	13	13	6	14

Power trajectories in politics

The power of political parties changes over time. The Bolsheviks gained just 24% of the vote in the Russian Constituent Assembly election, 25 November 1917, but it was the Bolsheviks' Communist Party which had a monopoly of power in the Soviet Union. This monopoly came to end and in Russian Legislative Elections, of 2016 the Communists gained just 13% of the vote. Similarly but less dramatically the INC in India, the PPP in Pakistan have seen their vote decline and they have lost their dominance. As these parties fall other parties rise.

Power trajectories in religion: Martin Luther, 1517

In 1517 Martin Luther protested the sale of indulgences in the Roman Catholic Church and initiated the Protestant Reformation and the further splitting of the Christian Church. After five centuries of tumult there is a rich structured diversity of faiths. See Table 3.

Considering all the world's religions, Christians form the largest group 31%, followed by Muslims 24%, unaffiliated 16%, Hindus 15%, Buddhists 7%, folk religions 6%, other religions 0.8% and Jews 0.2%. Combining the Abrahamic religions thus gives 45.8%, almost half the world total.

Table 3 Membership of different Christian denominations (millions)

Catholic 1285	Anabaptist 4
Protestant 900	Hussites 1
Eastern Orthodox 270	Quakers 0.4
Oriental orthodox 86	Pentecostalism 280
Restorationism and Non-	Non-denominational Evangelicalism 80
Trinitarianism 35	African initiated 60
Independent Catholicism 18	Seventh Day Adventists 20
Other 1	New Apostolic 10
Baptist 75-105	Chinese-originated and Chinese Independent 10
Lutheranism 70-90	Restoration 85
Methodism 60-80	
Calvinism 55-85	
Continental Reformed Churches 20-30	Anglican Communion 80
