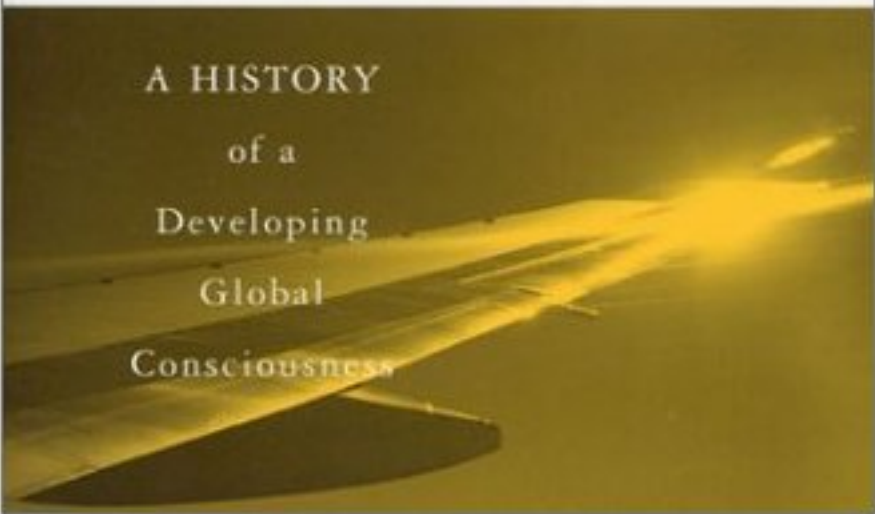


ROBBIE ROBERTSON



# THE THREE WAVES OF GLOBALIZATION

A HISTORY  
of a  
Developing  
Global  
Consciousness



## Critical Acclaim for this Book

This is a bold, imaginative book. Robbie Robertson elucidates the origins of globalization and the subsequent paths it has followed, highlighting important lessons for how the present wave of globalization should be understood, and handled. A very stimulating, critical contribution to the contemporary literature.

*Stephanie Lawson, Professor of International Relations, University of East Anglia*

At last an historian who sees the big picture about globalization and its present manifestation. Robbie Robertson has produced a readable but learned book that will cause anger, debate, even dismay both to those who support and to those who oppose globalization. A must-read for all those who care about our common future and want to know more about the human condition and its evolution and promise.

*Mike Moore, World Trade Organization*

## About the Author

Dr Robbie Robertson teaches History and Development Studies at La Trobe University, Australia. He is the author of several books including:

*Government by the Gun: Fiji and the 2000 Coup* (with William Sutherland) (2002)

*Multiculturalism and Reconciliation in an Indulgent Republic: Fiji after the Coups* (1998)

*Fiji: Shattered Coups* (with Akosita Tamanisau) (1988)

*The Making of the Modern World* (1986)

*The Contemporary Era: An Introductory History* (1984)



.....  
*The Three Waves of Globalization*  
*A history of a developing global*  
*consciousness*

ROBBIE ROBERTSON  
.....

Fernwood Publishing  
NOVA SCOTIA

Zed Books  
LONDON • NEW YORK

*The Three Waves of Globalization: A history of a developing consciousness* was first published by Zed Books Ltd, 7 Cynthia Street, London N1 9JF, UK and Room 400, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010, USA, and in Canada by Fernwood Publishing Ltd, 8422 St Margaret's Bay Road (Hwy 3), Site 2A, Box 5, Black Point, Nova Scotia, B0J 1B0, in 2003.

[www.zedbooks.demon.co.uk](http://www.zedbooks.demon.co.uk)

Copyright © Robbie Robertson, 2003

Cover designed by Andrew Corbett

Set in Monotype Dante by Ewan Smith, London

Printed and bound in the United Kingdom by Biddles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn

Distributed in the USA exclusively by Palgrave, a division of St Martin's Press, LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

The rights of Robbie Robertson to be identified as the author of this work have been asserted by him in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library  
US CIP data is available from the Library of Congress  
Canadian CIP data is available from the National Library of Canada

ISBN 1 85649 860 3 cased

ISBN 1 85649 861 1 limp

In Canada

ISBN 1 55266 100 8 limp

# Contents

Preface and Acknowledgements	vii
<b>PART ONE</b> <i>Globalizing Knowledge</i>	<b>1</b>
1 <i>Developing Global Consciousness</i>	3
The historical and social context of globalization / 3	
Our exploration / 7	
2 <i>Struggles for Survival and Well-being</i>	14
Rare earth / 14	
The chaos of life / 17	
Evolving from diversity to diversity / 19	
Interpreting the human condition / 22	
What drives humans? / 28	
Struggles for survival and well-being: The historical consequences / 32	
<b>PART TWO</b> <i>The First Wave of Globalization</i>	<b>47</b>
3 <i>Early Global Transformations</i>	49
Civilizations / 49	
Migration as a strategy for security and well-being / 54	
Conquest as a strategy for security and well-being / 60	
Commerce as a strategy for security and well-being / 62	
The technological impulse / 64	
The agricultural record / 69	
4 <i>Fragile Commercial Imperatives</i>	78
Reading backwards / 78	
Exceptionalism denied / 83	
The lure of riches / 87	
The commercial strategy / 91	
New global dynamics / 94	
Instability / 97	
<b>PART THREE</b> <i>The Second Wave of Globalization</i>	<b>103</b>
5 <i>Globalization's Industrial Child</i>	105
Europe alone / 107	
Britain alone / 111	
Globalization's child / 115	
Global development futures / 120	

6	<i>Empires of Disadvantage</i>	130
	The industrializing impulse /132 Prisoners in other people's futures /137 Empires of disadvantage /139 The technological imperative /147	
7	<i>Implosion</i>	151
	The second wave falters /152 The shock of uncertainty /156 Corporatism's new deals /159	
PART FOUR <i>The Third Wave of Globalization</i>		169
8	<i>American Globalism</i>	171
	Strategies for globalization /171 Decolonization /178 Modernization /182 The war of globalisms /185 Soviet globalism /187 Globalization transformed /193	
9	<i>Globalizing Democracies</i>	202
	The democratic divide /202 The democratic imperative /207 Democracy reinterpreted /210 Gender democratized /217 Democratizing race /221	
10	<i>Globalizing Perspectives</i>	229
	The economic challenge /231 The environmental challenge /242 The multicultural challenge /250 Proposals for developing global consciousness /258	
	<i>Bibliography</i>	272
	<i>Index</i>	281

# *Preface and Acknowledgements*

Globalization is not a subject renowned for interventions by historians. It has so far remained the realm of sociologists, political scientists and economists. But historians should be as concerned about contemporary issues as other academics. The present is never disconnected from the past. I hope this introductory study demonstrates that historians have something useful to contribute to contemporary debates.

*The Three Waves of Globalization* deals with matters of inclusion and empowerment. In this regard language is obviously important, and not only for reasons of accuracy. Accordingly I have made three decisions as to usage. The first is gender-related. I do not refer to nations as women. The second is geographical. The world consists of three main continents – Afro-Eurasia, the Americas, and Australia. Thus Europe is not a continent but a subcontinent, and the 'Near East' or 'Middle East' is more properly described as West Asia. The third point of usage relates to the division of time. In a study designed for global and non-religious application, the terms BC and AD are inappropriate. Hence I have followed a newer convention and used instead BCE (Before the Common Era) and CE (the Common Era).

*The Three Waves of Globalization* is an exploratory history only. It is designed to stimulate debate. It is not intended as the definitive word on the subject, let alone an exhaustive study of all aspects of globalization and its scholarship. Instead I have selected elements of the story that I believe best convey a sense of the processes of change involved, and have focused on a small number of writers whose work is representative of general trends in contemporary scholarship.

Many people assisted in the making of this book, but my family – especially Akosita Tamanisau and Nemani Robertson – require special mention for their support, understanding and patience during a long year of very intense creativity. La Trobe University allowed me leave to work on this project, and the Institute of Social Studies (particularly Professor Martin Doornbos and Professor Mohamed Salih) once again provided a perfect working environment in The Hague to undertake much of the writing. William Sutherland read a draft and provided much welcome criticism and comment. Omissions and errors remain mine, however, and while every effort has been made to attribute sources correctly, no slight is intended in any misattribution or omission.