

HISTORY OF GLOBALIZATION

Course Description

This course provides an overview of globalization from a historical perspective, which includes definitions of globalization, traces of origins, and the broad contexts of technological, social, political, economic, and psychological change and disruption. In this course, globalization is viewed primarily as a process of change and it focuses on four major turning points in world history that accelerated the process. Included are economics, migration, disease transmission, culture, and the environment and politics of globalization.

About the Professor

A widely published author and researcher in world history, Dr. Peter N. Stearns is Provost and Professor of History at George Mason University. Stearns was Chair of the Department of History at Carnegie Mellon University and also served as the Dean of the Dietrich College of Humanities and Social Sciences. In addition, he founded and edited the *Journal of Social History*. Dr. Stearns was educated at Harvard University. Professor Stearns's publications in world history include two popular textbooks and more than 100 works in world history and other topics. His books include *The Industrial Revolution in World History*, *Gender in World History*, *Consumerism in World History*, *Western Civilization in World History*, *Childhood in World History*, and *Global Outrage: The Evolution and Impact of World Opinion*. Textbooks include *World Civilizations* and *World History in Brief*. He edited the *Encyclopedia of World History*.

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P.N.S.

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I. Introduction and the Backdrop of Early Human Society

This course focuses on historical perspectives concerning globalization. We will talk a bit more about globalization in the first segment, but it is one of the most widely discussed phenomena in the world today, involving increasingly intense contacts among the various regions of the world, with impact on a growing range of human activities and institutions. The concept was introduced in the social sciences, two decades ago (though the Japanese had a comparable term as early as the 1960s). A number of historians have however developed a strong interest in helping to analyze globalization and situate it historically, and this course seeks to benefit from, and advance, this kind of approach.

We will be using the framework of world history, a subject that has been attracting growing attention, in the United States and elsewhere, particularly since the 1980s (though with ample precedents before that point). World history is obviously directly relevant to globalization. World historians explore the emergence of different societies and cultures, seeking among other things to compare their differences and similarities; comparing reactions to globalization, a challenging but vital topic, easily fits within this approach. World historians have also long been interested in the emergence of contacts among societies, and the history of globalization is a direct, concentrated application of exactly this key aspect of the human experience. Figuring out how, when and why globalization emerged from previous contact patterns constitutes the essential historical concern.

Despite the recency of historical work on globalization, some interesting disagreements have surfaced, which actually help organize analysis as well. Most obviously, historians differ on when effective globalization can first be identified. One group, the “new global” historians, insists on the past half century or so, seeing a dramatic departure in human affairs around the changes in global capacity. But a respectable argument has also developed for the later 19th century, and there are some other options as well.

Debate also focuses, quite properly, on the advantages and disadvantages of globalization whenever it emerged, and historians have contributed here as well. Attention to disputes over foreign influence on regional identities provides an entry point. Discussion of the distressingly early emergence of regional economic inequalities provides another vantage point. History also helps us pinpoint disparities in the process of global change. Obviously some regions respond differently from others. But some aspects of globalization – for example, trade relationships and more recently environmental deterioration – proceed more rapidly than others, which inevitably creates problems and tensions. A related angle, and a crucial one, involves probing the relationship between globalization and violence; some globalization theorists have been surprisingly optimistic about peace, but the historical record here is arguably more complex.

This course will lay out the assessment of globalization and its precedents in five chronological segments. The first (after a further introduction) deals with early human history and the emergence of more regular, but halting contacts among some but not all parts of the world. The postclassical period, 600-1450, maintained some of the motives and patterns that had developed earlier, particularly around the importance of Indian Ocean trade, but amid important changes that involved both intensification and broadening of transregional contacts. The centuries after 1450 obviously involved the whole world in regular exchanges for the first time, along with other important innovations, but also some impressive, partly manmade, limitations as well. Section IV explores the serious arguments for seeing the mid-19th century as globalization’s birthplace, but with an important period of retreat reflecting some of the distortions of the process. Section V treats the contemporary phenomenon itself.

Framework

The chapters in the first section lay out a further discussion of globalization as a historical problem but then, in chapter 2 and 3, the early human record. Early human societies were widely scattered, creating real challenges for serious interregional contacts: in a sense, this is the challenging past backdrop to all subsequent phases of globalization. But some types of contact did emerge surprisingly early, as agricultural economies formed. Then – and this is the subject of chapter 3 – the emergence of more elaborate and extensive classical civilizations after about 800 BCE, though strongly regional for the most part, created important new opportunities, particularly in the field of trade. We are dealing, obviously, with important precedents for later globalization, but also with key limitations that would have to be overcome later on.

Several books deal with the history of globalization, and it would certainly be desirable to consult at least one of them in conjunction with the course (see below). Each segment lists a number of articles available on line, plus at least one book that can be used for further depth as desired. Except for Chapter 1, all of the chapters cite relevant primary source material, also available online, with at least one follow up in the questions section. Each individual segment, plus each unit and then the course as a whole, lists a number of questions, from which each reader can make selections for developing his or her further analysis.

Globalization is a fascinating as well as significant phenomenon, and its history has all sorts of interesting byways. We also need, collectively, to figure out what next steps, in terms of further work and evaluation, will further improve our grasp of how present and future patterns have emerged from the past.

Basic Treatments (pick at least one):

Globalization in World History by Peter N. Stearns (Routledge 2010). Pages 1-28.

The Three Waves of Globalization by Robbie Robertson (Zed Books 2003). Pages 1-60.

Globalization: A Short History by Jurgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson (Princeton 2005). Pages 1-29.

Other Suggested Reading:

Social Change: Globalization from the Stone Age to the Present by Christopher Chase-Dunn and Bruce Lerro (Paradigm 2013).

Rise and Demise: Comparing World-Systems by Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas D. Hall (Westview 1997).

Cross-Cultural Trade in World History by Phillip D. Curtin (Cambridge 1984).

The New Global History by Bruce Mazlish (Routledge 2006).

Globalization in World History by A.G. Hopkins (W.W. Norton & Company 2002).

The World is Flat 3.0: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century by Thomas L. Friedman (New York: Picador, 2009).

Against Friedman's popular book – "The World is Spiky." By Richard Florida. From the *Atlantic Monthly*. October 2005.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/past/docs/images/issues/200510/world-is-spiky.pdf>

Chapter 1: Why Globalization, Why History?

Formal Definition

Globalization is a new word, but there is considerable agreement on what it means. Globalization involves the conversion of local or regional processes into global ones. It involves peoples in different parts of the world increasingly functioning together for at least some key aspects of their lives. Under the first heading, globalization can be deciding on a vacation in a spot halfway around the world, instead of a national park two hundred miles away. It can mean replying on an international agency to keep track of diseases or weather patterns, rather than a local public health office or national meteorological service. Under the second heading, it can involve people in Indonesia making an automobile part that it sent to workers in Mexico who actually assemble the car. Or students from the United States working with colleagues in China to help rebuild a southwestern region devastated by earthquake. Globalization centers on an intense network of contacts affecting a growing range of human activities.

Human Face

It is important not to be abstract, for globalization puts real people in new international settings. Globalization is McDonald's restaurants with 31,000 locations worldwide, all with emphasis on quick service and a staff trained to seem cheerful, with at least some common foods starting with the ubiquitous hamburger. Globalization is a quarter of the world's population watching World Cup soccer finals, regardless of time zone. It is stock markets in Tokyo responding to actions or inactions of the United States Congress. It is charitable contributions from around pouring into disaster areas like Southeast Asia after a tsunami or New Orleans after a devastating hurricane and flood. Globalization is the movement of people, ideas, goods, diseases, pollution.

Evaluation

Studying globalization is in principle a neutral activity. In fact, many of those who seize on the term also approve of most of its manifestations; globalization is often associated with optimism about the world's future as connections multiply. Thus an informal theory argues that no two societies that have McDonald's have ever gone to war with each other – an argument that global consumerism inhibits violence. (This is one worth debating, but we may not have enough evidence yet.) But globalization has some clearly bad aspects. Some people accept the existence of the phenomenon but point to a bleak future – with cultural diversity, for example, yielding to some faceless global consumer culture. Analysis of globalization must deal with some mixture of advantages and drawbacks, rather some pre-commitment to optimism or pessimism. And it must take into account various sources of opposition or anxiety about globalization, as well as positive support. Evaluation is inherently complex.

Change

Globalization – as the formal definition suggests – involves change, less localism and more contacts among diverse cultures and locations. Change is most obviously where the history comes in. Human society, as we will discuss in the next chapter, certainly did not begin globalized; local settings predominated. But contacts among regions had advantages too, bringing opportunities to seek new locations, or gain access to different goods, or (it was ultimately realized) acquire different ideas and technologies. Historical data and analysis help track the evolution of contact patterns and, particularly, help determine when periodic contacts become systematic contacts become globalization. Historical work allows

discussion of the causes of these kinds of change; of the varieties of responses from different groups and regions; and of the ongoing consequences. Globalization is a product of a rich history, with lots of participants at different points in time.

Disagreements

While globalization is a fairly new historical topic, some disagreements have already surfaced and they can stimulate further analysis. The most obvious clash is between those who see globalization as brand new versus those who emphasize earlier patterns and precedents. A related discussion involves magnitude of change: is globalization not only new, but a huge shift in the human experience? Or is it new but not such a big deal, as many prior habits and institutions can be maintained? Even on the past there is dispute. One historian sees globalization coming in three waves, with the first beginning in 1750; but another contends that the late 18th century is not a distinctive marker, but that some serious changes must be identified earlier. Too much dispute can be fussy, but there are serious issues of interpretation involved as well.

Global and Local

Balancing local and global factors is one of the trickiest parts of assessing globalization, both now and in the past. Different regions bring different concerns to the process of intensifying contacts. Almost all globalization theorists recognize that important distinctions will remain, even if and as globalization accelerates further, as a result of different traditions and historical experience, different specific economies, different political systems. A historical survey cannot of course deal with every nuance or detail, but it actually does facilitate a process of seeing how local and global reactions intersect, but also how local reactions can shift sometimes rather suddenly as part of a new accommodation.

Perspective

Many aspects of globalization are unquestionably new. But elements go back in time. It was in the 14th century that a Chinese observer, Wang Li, noted that "civilization has spread everywhere, and no more barriers exist....Brotherhood among peoples has certainly reached a new plane." Or a hundred years ago that John Maynard Keynes, the British economist, claimed that "the inhabitant of London could order by telephone, sipping his morning tea, the various products of the whole earth, and reasonably expect their early delivery upon his doorstep." But he also noted that the same Londoner could read about wars in other parts of the world as "little more than amusements" – that part, arguably, has changed (we no longer feel safe amid distant disputes), even if some aspects of globalization are not as novel as we might imagine.

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Questions

1. Why do historians disagree about the significance of globalization, among the various changes in the span of world history?
2. What does the periodization of globalization involve, and what are some key disputes about it?
3. Would Bentley and Mazlish agree on the relationship between global history and world history?
4. How might history contribute to an understanding of regional factors in globalization?
5. What are the advantages and drawbacks of beginning a study of globalization with early human societies, from the standpoint of best-possible historical analysis?

Chapter 2: Early History: Dispersion of the Species

Hunting and Gathering

Hunting and gathering societies require a lot of space – an average of over two square miles per person, depending of course on local climate and conditions. As a result, even modest population growth (and most such societies worked fairly hard to maintain a low birth rate, among other things through prolonged lactation) can force movement to a different region. We increasingly learn that even earlier versions of the human species, such as *Homo erectus*, generated bands of people who migrated long distances from the original human homeland in East Africa. Certainly *Homo sapiens* had such experience, after an initially stable period. Groups pushed out not only into other parts of Africa, but into the Middle East, where one segment ultimately branched into East Asia (and later from there to the Americas), and another group traveled into South Asia and Europe. This was all one-way migration, of course, without subsequent contact with the place of origin. But it created a situation where the effective beginnings of human world history emphasized dispersion and considerable separation. By 10,000 BCE, on the advent of agriculture, about 10 million people lightly populated virtually every area that currently enjoys human habitation; New Zealand and some of the Pacific islands were the main exceptions. This dramatic dispersion meant that local groups easily developed fairly separate habits, even languages, interacting almost exclusively with near neighbors. Far-flung contacts – save for the one-way migrations themselves – were not part of the early pattern. And some groups, like Australian aborigines, would be cut off from further contact for many millennia.

Types of Early Interaction

By 10,000 BCE or so, at the point in which agricultural economies began to emerge, the domestication of animals began to allow for a new, nomadic lifestyle that would differ both from agriculture and from hunting and gathering. Nomads, particularly in central Asia but also in Central America, the Middle East and parts of Africa, could play a special role in facilitating contacts (both hostile and friendly). The advent of early cities, in largely agricultural regions such as present-day Turkey, also obviously promoted contact, at least insofar as they depended on interactions with the countryside. And the emergence of even a small merchant class, normally a part of the urban agenda, favored a group from which more far-reaching contacts might emerge. While most agricultural populations remained tied to individual regions, with little or no wider travel, changing conditions were beginning to generate some new habits that could set the stage for more ambitious interactions.

Advantages of Contact

The big advantage of a wider outreach was, of course, the opportunity to trade for goods that were not available locally. The materials had to be fairly easy to transport – early long-distance trade could not be based on bulky items – but precious stones and metals, a few special minerals, a few particularly desirable condiments could easily qualify. The first evidence available for trade among regions dates from around 5000 BCE. By that point ornamentation produced in an Indian Ocean society was reaching Syria; we do not know whether individual merchants made a full trip or whether the jewelry passed from one locality to the next. By that point or soon after, seafarers from present-day Indonesia began traveling in the Indian Ocean, possibly occasionally reaching Africa – a source of transmission of some Southeast Asian food plants to Africa. Early shipping was emerging, obviously, but also the widespread use of donkeys as pack animals for overland transportation.

Ongoing Trade

After 3000 or so, early civilizations in Mesopotamia were trading with their counterparts in present-day Pakistan (Harappan civilization). Egypt began trading in the Red Sea and down the African coast, receiving gold, slaves and spices in return for manufactured goods. Longer distance trade in this case definitely involved short journeys with key cities – for example, Dilmun (present-day Bahrain) -- serving as transmission centers for items like precious stones produced elsewhere. As one result, purchasers of spices and jewels often had no notion where they really came from. And knowledge of distant regions was not only scanty but often amazingly fanciful, as in the accounts of the Greek scholar Herodotus. But some characteristic symptoms of growing trade clearly developed, including travel themes in early Mesopotamian and Indian stories and even accounts of pirates in the Persian Gulf. Interregional exchange – though in neighboring regions and without any indication of regular routes or connections – was clearly underway. And the process continued: Phoenicians ventured quite widely, through the Mediterranean but also along the Atlantic coast of Africa and Europe, even trading for tin in Britain. Commercial motivations and skills were emerging that would feed directly into the next phase of exchanges.

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Suggested Reading:

List of Food Globalization in Prehistory Sources:
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From Egypt to Mesopotamia: A Study of Predynastic Trade Routes By Samuel Mark (Texas A&M University Press, 2006)

Premodern Trade in World History by Richard L. Smith (New York, Routledge, 2009).

Questions

1. What does pre-classical art reveal about early contacts among human societies?
2. Why and how is the Middle East so central in early interregional trade contacts?
3. What does food exchange suggest about early contacts?
4. What were the limitations in the range and impact of early interregional contacts?
5. What were the main motivations in early interregional contacts?

Chapter 3: The Classical Period

Key Civilizations

From about 800 C.E. onward, more extensive civilizations developed in Persia, the Mediterranean, China and India, creating great cultural and institutional traditions that echo still today. Each society, partly through military conquest, created larger territories, ultimately yielding great empires. New cultural traditions – like Hinduism and Buddhism in India, Confucianism in China – helped establish identities at least for the upper classes, and created some degree of unity throughout the regions. Distinctive social systems and accelerating internal trade also marked the emergence of the classical societies. In all this, regional factors predominated: the focus was on expansion and integration of separate entities. China, for example, devoted tremendous energy to uniting the southern and northern portions of the new empire. But the classical civilizations also generated new outreach, partly on the strength of advances in agriculture and manufacturing. This outreach maintained many of the earlier limitations of long distance trade, but innovations occurred as well. The famous Silk Roads but also new routes in the Indian Ocean established connections and experiences that would begin to build a more extensive and more durable framework for transregional exchange.

Infrastructure

Classical civilizations built new roads and canals, primarily to facilitate internal communication, including the movement of troops; but the result could encourage transregional trade as well. Persia, because of its central geographical location, was a particularly important case in point. Persian emperors built an elaborate road network, stretching from India to North Africa and the Mediterranean; the highway system stretched over 8,000 miles. The Emperor Cyrus also built inns to house travelers, spaced a day's journey apart, with water supplies (he also set up the world's first postal system, but this was for internal use). A Greek later described the result: "With you Persians, every way is easy, every river is crossable, and there is no dearth of provisions." The Roman road system and the construction of new Mediterranean ports, the mix of roads and canals in China (with 22,000 miles of highway) were other instances in which improvements for internal coordination could provide new transportation resources for wider trade as well.

New Motives

The sheer power and economic strength of the classical civilization inevitably attracted attention from neighbors. Persian emperors, for example, received gifts from sub-Saharan Africa (including elephant tusks), as well as India and southern Arabia. Gift exchange also played a role in new Chinese interactions with the nomadic rulers of central Asia. Chinese emperors, rightly concerned about central Asia as a source of invasion, were eager to conciliate their neighbors. Emissaries (including reluctant brides for nomadic chieftains) represented the first formal occasions in which Chinese began to travel more widely. Gifts, including silk products, were similarly the first instance in which Chinese products began to be exported for transregional trade. In fact, the Chinese sent more silk than the nomads could handle, and they began to pass the surplus westward, for sale in India or the Middle East – the origins of that great pattern of exchange. More than gift-giving was involved with central Asia: the Chinese depended heavily on the region for a supply of horses. Other cases of government sponsorship of exchange involved the Roman Empire's organization of regular fleets to India, from ports on the Red Sea. And of course merchants soon joined in directly, seeking profit; this ultimately became the principal sustainer of new exchanges.

The Silk Roads

Small amounts of Chinese silk began to reach the Middle East as early as the 6th century BCE. Persians interwove silk on their military banners. By the first century BCE silks entered the Mediterranean trade routes, proving a very popular embellishment for the togas and gowns of the Roman upper classes in Europe and North Africa. Various routes thus began to link western China not only with central Asia, but also through that region to India, the Middle East, and the Mediterranean world. Exchange was of course mutual. From the west came precious stones, carpets, furs, exotic (mainly African) animals, and "the eggs of great birds" (probably ostriches). The trade was almost entirely carried in short hops, mainly by nomadic merchants who would carry the goods two hundred miles or so, then transship to another merchant caravan at one of the central Asian cities such as Samarkand.

The Indian Ocean

Less famous than the Silk Roads, but possibly more important (certainly more important in the future) were routes established for regular trade in the Indian Ocean. Improved ships, including the Chinese invention of the rudder, facilitated growing activity. India was the central point here, though Southeast Asia was also involved. Spices were the core of the trade. Romans, for example, developed a great fondness for pepper from India, for cooking and for medicinal purposes. Pearls and incense from East Africa entered the trade, and this was the point at which an Asian interest in rhinoceros horns began to develop. The Mediterranean world supplied goods such as wine, but also tin, linens made in Egypt, and gold. Indeed – foreshadowing a later issue – Romans found it difficult to provide enough goods to pay for the spices they sought, which is why they had to add gold to the exchange, prompting worry that too much wealth was being drained away. There was no question about the level of activity: at their height, annual Roman fleets to India included 120 ships, with archers to repel pirates; and colonies of Roman merchants operated in Indian coastal cities. Active trade also developed between China and Southeast Asia, where products like incense candles gained a strong Chinese market. India traded cottons and glass products (along with Roman gold coins) with Southeast Asia, in return for spices.

Limitations

Transregional trade, and the appeals to upper-class consumer tastes and merchant profit-seeking, became genuinely important in the classical period, setting a basis for even wider efforts in later periods. Some historians quite plausibly as the essential origin of the kind of commercial exchanges that would ultimately generate globalization. But there were key limits as well, including the fact that transregional trade was only a minor category compared to the level of economic activity (and other exchanges) within the individual civilizations themselves. Far more energy was internally-focused at this point. Further, particularly along the Silk Roads, relatively little travel was really long distance. The short hops limited transregional experience and impact. Romans did not even have a very clear notion of what China was (Chinese knowledge of Rome seems to have been a bit more extensive). A Greek writer (who did visit India) wrote about "Thina", noting that it was not easy to get to and very few people ever came from there. At most one merchant expedition made it all the way from Rome to China (in 166 CE), and we are not sure even about this (Chinese records suggest the emissaries brought gifts which did not impress the emperor); and there is no record of Chinese travel all the way west. This limitation explains another one: there were very few corollaries to the new patterns of trade. Very little cultural or technological knowledge seems to have been transmitted. No other society at this point, for example, caught on to the Chinese invention of paper. Chinese trade with India, at the end of the classical period, did facilitate the exchange of Buddhism, but while this was very important it was also exceptional. There are, admittedly, a few mysteries attached to this period of exchange. We know that the Indian Emperor Ashoka sent Buddhist missionaries widely, the first such effort, beginning the process of spreading this religion to places like

Sri Lanka. Did missionaries also reach the Middle East (for we know of no wide conversions)? Is this where the Middle East learned about the idea of using halos to surround holy figures in art, initially a Buddhist practice?

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Suggested Reading:

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The Silk Road in World History by Xinru Liu (Oxford, 2010).

Premodern Travel in World History by Stephen S. Gosch and Peter N. Stearns (New York: Routledge, 2008).

Questions

1. What was China's role in the contact patterns of the classical period?
2. How did India develop a key role in interregional trade in the classical period?
3. Discuss the trade policy of the Roman Empire
4. Why were nomads so important in regional trade during the classical period?
5. What were the limitations in the contact patterns of the classical period? Is it useful to see classical trade connections as pre-figurations of globalization?

Section I: Questions

1. Why do the Americas post a special problem in assessing the history of early human contacts?
2. What were the basic forces promoting the dispersion of the human species?
3. What place does the classical period hold in the history of globalization?

Section II: The Post-Classical Period, 600-1450: a New Network of Contacts

In the wake of the fall of the great classical empires, merchants and missionaries began to reach out in new directions. They utilized some of the contact routes that had been established in the classical period, particularly in the Indian Ocean, while embellishing them as well. Overland travel became more difficult for a time, thanks to greater political instability in Eurasia, which helped focus attention on seagoing opportunities. At the same time new regions began to connect, from Africa, northern Europe, and additional parts of Asia.

For several centuries, Arab and associated Middle Eastern traders dominated the expanded patterns of transregional trade. Missionary and merchant motives often combined, as Islam began its rapid expansion. The Middle East had long been a trade center, of course, but Islam's encouragement to merchant activity (under appropriate ethical guidelines) may have provided an additional spur. Arabic itself, or at least smatterings of the language, became the first-ever widespread trading language, a crucial component in the period. Ultimately, other Muslim merchants, from India and Southeast Asia, would join and compete with Arabs in the expansion of trade.

Transregional trade still highlighted luxury goods, but there is no question that wider arrays of consumer tastes were now involved, particularly in the enthusiasm for access to new spices and fabrics. Trade volume and wider regional engagement also brought more corollaries than had been true of the classical period. It became easier for one region to imitate another, particularly in the cultural arena. More ideas and styles were exchanged, along with goods themselves; and there was simply more long distance travel.

One historian, David Northrup, has argued that, on the strength of the new contact network, a watershed in world history was reached around 1000 CE. Before this, he contends, world history is mainly the story of separate regions and civilizations – as was probably true, for example, with the great classical empires that mainly focused on building their own institutions and ideas. After 1000, though gradually, world history becomes a story of increasing integration, a story of the results of contacts, mutual influences, and shared processes. If this is true – and it is certainly worth testing – then the postclassical period plays a special role in the history of globalization, for its achievements would set in motion a straight march toward still more elaborate patterns of contact.

And of course the contacts kept building. Toward the end of the postclassical period, for a century and a half, a new, interlocking series of Mongol empires unquestionably accelerated exchanges even further, particularly between Europe and Asia. And this would build, quite directly, to the next acceleration of transregional exchange.

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Globalization in World History by Peter N. Stearns (Routledge 2010). Pages 29-56.

The Three Waves of Globalization by Robbie Robertson (Zed Books 2003). Pages 61-74.

Globalization: A Short History by Jurgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson (Princeton 2005). Pages 31-45.

"Globalization and the Great Convergence: Rethinking World History in the Long Term." By David Northrup. From *Journal of World History*, Volume 16, Number 3 (September 2005)
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Chapter 4: Trade and Technology as Forces for Change

Arab Shipping

Improvements in Arab shipping, though not necessarily revolutionary, created new opportunities for use of the Indian Ocean, including greater capacities to carry bulk goods. Arabs benefited from Persian experience, as they took over this region. Arabs themselves introduced new devices to calculate the position of a ship in relation to a fixed star, particularly a simple instrument called the *Kamal*. They improved on the astrolabe, which they learned about by translating Greek documents, which improved measurement of stars, mountains or even large human structures. Most important was the Arab development of a triangular, or lateen, sail, which greatly improved ships' maneuverability, and proved especially useful in trade along with east African coast.

Other Improvements

China introduced additional improvements, which fairly quickly spread to Indian Ocean trade. Particularly crucial was the compass, which became a standard navigational device during the post-classical centuries. The Chinese also improved the use of rudders for steering. Toward the end of the period the Chinese themselves began to build boats of unprecedented size, using new methods of caulking to prevent leaks. These gains, however, did not have wide impact beyond a series of Chinese expeditions in the early 15th century. This exception aside, the other key point about new shipping and navigational technologies was their rapid spread, to Southeast Asia and Europe as well as the Arab world. Indonesians and Europeans both, for example, not only learned about the compass but introduced additional refinements by the end of the period.

New and Expanded Trade Routes

As suggested, the Indian Ocean became the center of transregional trade. Shipping moved west-east, from the Middle East to India, Southeast Asia, and the Chinese coast; clusters of Arab merchants located in Chinese port cities, for example. Another key route extended from the Middle East down the African coast, as far as present-day Tanzania. Arabs and Africans mingled in the port cities, building a new trading language called Swahili. The Mediterranean was an active hub, with goods transshipped from or to the Indian Ocean. But still other routes now added in. Japan began regular exchanges with Korea and China. Scandinavian merchants built a route overland (with the use of some rivers), from the north down through Kievan Rus (present-day Ukraine) to Constantinople; there, they exchanged with the Byzantines but also with Arab traders. African and Arab merchants reached across the Sahara in West Africa, using camels and horses – another key addition to the network. Finally, Western European merchants reached from the north – the Low Countries, northern France and Britain – to the Mediterranean, linking up with major arteries in the process. Never before had such a complex set of regional relationships been possible.

Trade and Taste

Along with new routes came, of course, a wider array of goods. From western Russia came honey, furs, amber and craft products, exchanged for textiles, glass, fine metals and spices. Central Asia contributed meats, leather goods, rugs, and various soaps. Japan sent timber, mercury and other minerals in its trade with China. Africa contributed gold, salt and slaves (Western Europe was another key source of slaves in the period). China and India, of course, traded in manufactured goods. Not only Chinese silks and now ceramics but also Indian printed cotton cloth and glassware became highly prized, from Japan to Western

Europe. Trade unquestionably stimulated new tastes. Arabs learned of sugar through their conquests in Persia (Persians had earlier learned from India), and quickly set up their own plantations. Europeans encountered sugar a bit later, in parts thanks to the crusades, but developed a great fondness for what was at that point a very expensive delicacy; European efforts to expand their role in trade were based in no small measure in a desire to gain greater access to affordable sugar, which could not be grown in Europe itself.

The Rich Ships

Recent discoveries of ships that sank in the period measure the nature and importance of trade. One Indian or Arab ship, the *Belitung*, was found near Indonesia in 1998. It has a lot of Chinese porcelain and some coins, anise, but also Middle Eastern mirrors and other glassware, intended perhaps as gifts for rulers and merchants, plus some cast-iron utensils. The ship had loaded in China and was bound for the Middle East. Another ship, the *Cirebon*, had loaded in south China and had over 200,000 items, including religious figurines as well as all sorts of ceramic objects, colored glassware inscribed in Arabic, and jewelry including ornate daggers. Personal items on the boat suggest a crew that had Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims from various regions in the Indian Ocean region. Participation in growing transregional trade clearly involved a new mix of people, as well as products.

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Suggested Reading:

Before European Hegemony – The World System A.D. 1250-1350 By Janet L. Abu-Lughod (Oxford, 1991)

Questions

1. How did the dissemination of the compass both illustrate and further the acceleration of transregional contacts?
2. Discuss the position of China and Southeast Asia in post-classical transregional trade.
3. How did Arab merchants gain a new role in transregional trade after 600 CE?
4. How did new contacts shape the mutual impressions of distant peoples, in the period 600-1450?
5. Were changes in transportation technology sufficiently great to position the postclassical period as a major turning point toward globalization?

Chapter 5: The Great Travelers

The Pattern

Significant travels had occurred earlier in world history, and of course some undoubtedly went completely unrecorded. Herodotus, the Greek historian, visited several adjacent societies and speculated (often wildly) about still others. A few Phoenicians may have traveled widely; one, conceivably, went around Africa though we have no definite knowledge. Chinese emissaries went to central Asia, and at the end of the classical period a number of Chinese pilgrims visited India and Southeast Asia. But all of this was scattered and, except for connections to next-door regions, fairly limited in significance. Not so the travel that developed in the postclassical period. Better shipping, more trade and more missionary outreach all facilitated and encouraged longer trips. Again, some journeys were still unrecorded, but a growing number of travelers not only showed new venturesomeness, but also proved eager to talk about (and sometimes to exaggerate) their exploits. The result was a growing body of travel literature, and on the whole more reliable travel literature that provided greater knowledge of distant regions and could stimulate still further outreach. It was still true that only a handful of people were involved, but their numbers and their impact were both on the rise.

Maps

More regular trade, along new as well as old routes, supported better mapmaking, which in turn encouraged further travel. Arab mapmakers were the most accurate in the world to date. Africa along with additional parts of Asia and Europe were rendered with growing precision. Ships' pilots began to keep meticulous logs on their trade routes, carefully noting for example safe passages in the intricate islands of present-day Indonesia.

Distances

Whereas more trade in the classical period had been in relatively short hops, along the Silk Roads or other routes, merchants in this new period became more venturesome. Again, better shipping and navigation helped. So, perhaps, did growing beliefs in a single divine system – for instance, the world under Allah – that made remote places seem less forbidding, because they fell under a single God. By the 9th century Middle-Eastern merchants began covering the whole 6000-mile trip to south China fairly routinely – a six-month commitment every time. A Persian book early in the 10th century, *The Account of China and India*, put these experiences in written form. Other travel literature began to appear on India alone. Religion also increasingly encouraged long-distance travel. Buddhist pilgrims continued to come from China and now Japan to holy sites in India and Southeast Asia. Christians sometimes went to Jerusalem, as well as to holy places nearer home. Islam, and the obligation of the *hadj* or pilgrimage to Mecca, promoted particularly long trips as the religion spread, with women involved as well as men.

Ibn Battuta

The world's greatest traveler was almost certainly Ibn Battuta, during the 15th century. Battuta, a lawyer from Morocco, began his adventures with a fairly routine pilgrimage to Mecca. Like many others he took advantage of the opportunity to travel around other parts of the Middle East. He later went back to Mecca, but also traveled more widely, taking jobs with Muslim governments in India and in the Maldivian islands. He also visited the east African coast, and at one point went deep into central Asia, heading up the Volga River into Mongol-dominated Russia, then doubling back to the Byzantine Empire. He visited China. This was his only prolonged experience outside the Islamic world, and while he admired

Chinese achievements he never felt comfortable there (except when he met some fellow Muslim merchants – “when I saw Muslims in China, I felt as though I was seeing my own kith and kin”). He doubled back via Indonesia, before launching a final trip to Mali in West Africa – where he provided some of the best information we have about the region in that period. Overall, Battuta would travel over 75,000 miles, on foot, donkey and by boat, and his memoirs added to the rich store of Arab travel literature that helped supply increasingly global knowledge.

Christian Travelers

During the century before Ibn Battuta, as Mongols gained control over vast stretches of Asia, a growing number of Christian travelers ventured into China. Some were churchmen, hoping to encourage conversions. Far more were merchants and adventurers. A few got jobs in China, including a handful of entertainers. The most famous of the lot, of course, was a Venetian, Marco Polo, whose uncles had also visited China earlier. Marco Polo spent some time in Persia, and then undertook the long trip into China (which gave him enough time to learn some Mongolian), reaching western China in 1273. Though carefully describing the non-Christian Chinese as Idolaters, he admired the splendid cities he saw and the effective administration the Mongols were developing. Polo’s later account was widely read in Europe, encouraging further taste for contacts with China and a spirit of adventure more generally. Polo’s book was one of the few volumes Christopher Columbus would take on his expedition two centuries later.

Disease

People were not the only creatures to take advantage of the new contact patterns. Early in the 15th century bubonic plague developed in the deserts of western China. Thanks to the regular exchanges now current, the disease quickly reached Chinese ports on the Pacific and from there to the Middle East, toward the middle of the century, where it would kill up over a quarter of the population. Another decade saw the plague reach Italy, and then spread northward in Europe with similarly catastrophic effects. Contagious disease was no novelty in world history, but the “Black Death”, as it came to be called, was unusually swift and deadly, a clear downside of the new ease of contact in Asia and Europe.

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Questions

1. How did religion and trade combine in encouraging new patterns of travel and contact during the postclassical centuries?
2. What impression did Marco Polo have, and convey, about China?
3. Discuss the role of Buddhism in trade and travel in the late classical, early postclassical centuries.
4. What were the motives of the leading travelers in the postclassical period? Why did travel begin to accelerate?
5. Did the travelers and their accounts have a significant impact during the after the postclassical period, or are they more an interesting sideshow?

Chapter 6: The Impact of Contact: Beyond Trade

A Key Change

Trade contacts before the postclassical period had normally involved little additional baggage – at least as far as we know. Alexander the Great's conquests in present-day Pakistan brought some interesting interactions between Greeks and Indians, affecting art and possibly science in the region, for a fairly short period of time. Trade between India and China helped broker Chinese awareness of Buddhism, but this was already toward the end of the classical period. After 600, trade often involved more. It frequently intertwined with missionary efforts, again particularly in Islam. It contributed to technology diffusion, as we have already seen in cases like the compass. It furthered the transmission of cultural apparatus, as in the famous case of "Arabic" numerals. And on a regional basis, it was also wrapped up in new patterns of deliberate cultural and political imitation. The new range of consequences was one of the striking features of transregional contacts in this period.

Diffusing Technologies

Trade, sometimes along with military contacts, unquestionably accelerated the spread of technology. Arabs learned of paper from the Chinese, after taking some prisoners in battle in central Asia. Paper production was established in Baghdad. Europeans, a bit later, learned paper from the Arabs, with a first factory set up in Sicily in the 13th century. Knowledge of silk production spread beyond Chinese borders, with the Byzantine government taking a special interest. Even more directly Arab scientists studied Indian steelmaking methods – the most advanced in the world. The result was a major improvement in metallurgy throughout the Arab world – including, at that point, Spain, where Toledo steel gained great renown. Various approaches, all involving contact and some involving deliberate inquiry, began to circulate technological gains.

Tastes

We have already seen that wider trade helped develop new tastes, sometimes affecting social habits as well. Tea use arose in China late in the classical period. Turkic traders carried tea central Asia, and early Japanese expeditions to China spread the product there as well, by the 6th century. Turkic migrations to the Middle East spread tea to Arabs and Persians, and from there (though only in the 16th century) it would reach Europe as well. Rituals around tea, often involving ceramic ware (from China), reached beyond sheer changes in taste. The craze for sugar was another case in point, already noted. Arab enthusiasm began to spread to Europe (the first European reference to sugar dates from 1099), particularly as a result of European experience in the crusades. Other taste changes reflected what one might call early examples of globalization – like the enthusiasm for tall hats by aristocratic women in Europe late in the Middle Ages, which echoed earlier style changes in China.

Apparatus: Numbers

Other ideas spread. Arab and Persian mathematicians began writing about the advantages of the "Hindu" numbering system in the 9th century, and while older methods persisted the Middle East increasingly converted. (The relevance to easier commercial transactions was obvious.) Knowledge spread to North Africa and thence to Muslim Spain. The first European reference occurred in 970. Italian scholars promoted the numbering system (which they knew as Arabic) by 1200, though it would only gradually displace the older (and far more cumbersome) Roman system. Chinese adoption of the system, copied

from Arab merchants, began by the early 16th century. Ultimately, of course, the triumph would be worldwide, but a strong start had been made already.

Missionary Religions

Much of the character of the postclassical period came from the combination of wider trade and the force of missionary religions: Buddhism, Christianity and particularly Islam. Many factors were involved in conversion, but the longer-distance efforts stemmed from deliberate outreach and, often, the mixture of commerce and piety. Most notably, the spread of Islam to Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, was entirely due to the missionary-merchant combination. Religions would of course complicate transregional interaction: tensions between Muslims and Christians, in particular, created new barriers in many places. But wider religious zones did cut across many previous political and cultural barriers.

Deliberate Imitation

Along with general transregional exchanges, specific programs of imitation created new ties between emerging areas and better-established neighbors. Japanese leaders launched specific inquiry into Chinese institutions and ideas in the 4th century, a connection that would last for many centuries. Japan as a result imported many Chinese technologies; the Chinese writing system, adapted for the very different Japanese language; styles ranging from martial arts to gardening to architecture; Buddhist religion and Confucian thought; and some ideas about social structure. Efforts to copy Chinese political institutions failed; the Japanese were not ready for such a centralized arrangement. And there was no attempt to import foot binding for women (though women's status did decline thanks to Chinese example). Russia's trade contact with Byzantium helped induce wide imitation of this empire, including Orthodox religion, a modified Greek alphabet (Cyrillic), artistic and architectural styles, and the idea of empire itself (though again, not specific political institutions, where Russia remained more decentralized). Widespread West European imitations of the Arabs (from mathematics – including algebra – to medicine to philosophy to commercial law), West African importation of Islam and the establishment of Islamic centers of learning like Timbuktu were other instances of unprecedented regional imitation based heavily on trade contacts. Transregional commerce, again, was breaking beyond the exchange of goods.

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Questions

1. Why and how did Japan begin to learn from China? How was a Japanese identity preserved in the process?
2. Compare Russia and West Africa as cultural importers during the postclassical period.
3. How were consumers' tastes shaped by transregional contacts, and how did these tastes affect contacts in turn?
4. Why did many societies place particular emphasis on styles and techniques as they sought results from contacts with other regions between 6-00 and 1450? Why were political systems not copied at least as widely?
5. Is it useful to see Western Europe as a "developing" society in the postclassical period, compared to more developed regions like China or the Middle East?

Chapter 7: From Separation to Convergence

Limitations; Geography

All sorts of constraints continued to circumscribe transregional contact patterns, qualifying any easy connection to contemporary globalization. Most obvious was the geographical limit: exciting interactions did develop among parts of Africa, Europe and much of Asia – but the Americas and Oceania were not in the mix at all. Absence of contact would ultimately leave the Americas with a very different experience in terms of available domesticated animals, technology, and disease resistance, but none of this would become clear until interaction did develop from 1492 onward. The absence of Australia from exchange was particularly interesting, for Chinese vessels did actually probe the northern coast, seeking oceanic products, but there was no venture beyond despite proximity to Indonesia. Australian landscapes seemed bleak, animals unrecognizable – which would deter even European entry until the 18th century.

Limitations: Selectivity

Even in Afro-Eurasia, the constraints on contacts were numerous. Travel and communication were slow. Obviously effective products like paper did not catch on quickly. Commitments to routine made conversion to a clearly superior numbering system take literally centuries, in places like Europe or China. Societies were in different stages of development (an issue still with the world today, to some extent), such that even a desire to imitate an advanced political system like China's could not readily translate into reality. And of course many societies imitated selectively by intention – another feature still with us today. West African states adopted Islam for elites and used Muslims as literate bureaucrats, but conversions of ordinary people were limited; and Muslim travelers like Battuta noted that societies that were in principle Muslim did not copy Middle Eastern standards for the dress and behavior of women (and he was appropriately shocked, even while admiring overall piety). Finally, openness could change with time. Muslim Spain was highly tolerant, with positive interactions with Jews and Christians; but Christian reconquest created vast new barriers between Christianity and Islam in the peninsula, ultimately leading to the expulsion of Muslims after 1492. Japan cooled to Chinese example by the end of the period, wondering if Japan was now superior, while of course Russian reliance on Byzantium as a model weakened as the great Empire itself began to decay.

Convergence?

Even so, connections were clearly becoming more important overall. A number of societies became dependent on larger exchanges. Aristocrats and wealthy businessmen would not have perished without stylish cloth from Asia or Chinese porcelain, but they certainly sought the goods eagerly. Many merchants, correspondingly, depended directly on long distance trade. By the end of the postclassical period Spain and Portugal reached out to seize island groups in the South Atlantic, like the Canaries, setting up plantations to grow the precious sugar, for which such a strong market now existed in Europe. Europe did not need constant contacts with China to update its technologies, but a period of strong interaction proved essential, as Europe began to adapt explosive powder, printing and other devices to their own use. By the 14th and 15th century, key elements of European foreign policy were being shaped by the experience of contact and the desire for more. Societies without these active contacts with the technology leaders began to fall behind; Africa, for example, despite its ongoing exchanges with the Middle East simply lacked direct approaches to China at this crucial point.

Blurred Boundaries

Several key regions, thanks to the new opportunities for imitation, began to shape their identities in part around cultural features available from their more powerful neighbors. Japan did not become China. But by adopting so many styles and particularly by adding Buddhism and Confucianism to the cultural repertoire, something of a larger East Asian cultural zone began to emerge that would have deep effects on the values of societies like Japan and Korea, along with continued local distinctions. It has even been argued that China, for its part, respected the shared Confucian values of this region and downplayed aggressive moves, during this period and beyond. Russia did not become Byzantium. But it certainly took on key characteristics of its model. Ultimately, Russian leaders would claim to have inherited the Byzantine mantle: just as Byzantium carried on the Roman tradition, so Russia – now a “third Rome” – would keep the imperial line going, even to the point of calling its ruler a tsar, or Caesar. Regional diversities, new and old, remained extremely important, but new overlaps were shaping a number of emerging societies, and the process would continue in the future.

Continuity

The most telling sign of the new importance of the transregional contact network was its sheer persistence, even amid changes in leadership. By the 13th century Arab leadership was beginning to falter somewhat, most obviously with the collapse of the Caliphate. But other merchants were quite ready to take up the slack, providing abundant new competition. Muslims from other parts of the Indian Ocean, Europeans in the Mediterranean became more assertive (when Ibn Battuta sought ships to and from Mecca, he dealt with European traders, who had taken over some of the main routes). At the same time a new land-based network reemerged, thanks to the Mongol conquests in Asia and Eastern Europe; and when the Mongols pulled back, yet other claimants were ready to help sustain a transregional network. The process had become self-sustaining.

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Questions

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2. Discuss the extent and variations in tolerance in Muslim-Christian relations in the postclassical period. How did this factor affect transregional exchanges?
3. Did the shift in transregional trade by 1000 CE reflect a transformation in the role of exchanges in Afro-Eurasian history, or merely incremental change?
4. Discuss the relationships between missionary religions and trade in the postclassical period: is conflict or complementarity the dominant theme?
5. How much cross-regional imitation became possible between 600 and 1450?

Chapter 8: The Role of the Mongols

The New Empire

In 2000 the British journal *The Economist* named Chinggis Khan the most important single individual of the past millennium. The choice did not focus on his fierce fighting skills, but on his capacity to craft a new empire in Asia that would be open to the outside world. For over a century, interlocking Mongol Khanates did indeed provide unprecedented safe passage for travelers and offered unusual willingness to host, inform and learn from a variety of visitors. The result was a distinctive period in the history of transregional contacts and another step forward toward more global relationships.

The Mongol Domains

Chinggis Khan began to conquer territories in China early in the 13th century, and the Mongols would ultimately seize the whole country, by 1279. Conquests in central Asia added to the holdings. Successors swept into the Middle East, toppling the Arab Caliphate and carving out territory in the eastern part of the region, including much of Persia. Mongols also seized Russia and pressed some of the smaller countries in east-central Europe. There were also gains in Southeast Asia, though attempts in India and an effort to invade Japan were repulsed. Despite some setbacks, by 1300 the Mongols ruled or influenced much of Eurasia, with territories stretching about 6000 miles.

Openness

Mongol rulers, and particularly Chinggis' grandson Kubilai Khan in China, were notoriously open to foreigners and eager to use their talents. Chinese bureaucrats mistrusted their foreign overlords, and Mongols used Turks and other Muslims, and even some Europeans, extensively in their own ministries. The Mongol court welcomed foreign visitors, including Christian emissaries and of course the Polo family. Overland travel had never been more fruitful, with more and more visitors going long distances rather than the shorter stints characteristic of the old Silk Roads. Europeans were the most obvious beneficiaries of the new opportunities for exchange, but Turkic peoples also gained new knowledge, for example about methods of warfare and the use of explosive powder. Even more modest exchanges could be interesting: it was through the Mongol contacts for example that Europeans learned about the Chinese invention of playing cards.

Aftermath

The Mongol period was short lived. The overlords were expelled from China by the end of the 14th century, and their holdings in Persia collapsed at about the same time. Russian expulsion of the Mongols occurred a bit later, beginning in the early to mid-15th century. But there was no question that, by the 15th century, the Mongol era was over. The gains that had occurred during the period of transmission were not of course reversed: Europeans and Turks continued to adapt their new knowledge. But the Chinese took from the Mongol period a heightened concern that invasions of this sort not be repeated, which would lead soon to the construction of a more effective Great Wall and an attitude of some suspicion about contacts with foreigners. Japan, proud of its immunity from invasion, began to separate itself from the regular interchange with China, now tarnished because of the earlier Mongol victory. And of course with the Mongol retreat overland travel became noticeably less safe, with far less protection from brigands: attention inevitably returned to the seas.

The Chinese Interlude

Into this vacuum, the Chinese undertook a brief but fascinating series of expeditions of their own under the new Ming dynasty. The expeditions extended the growing Chinese role in transregional trade that had developed over the past several centuries, based on the strength of Chinese manufacturing in products like silks and ceramics. Now, however, a great fleet was built to organize state-sponsored visits around the Indian Ocean, seeking commercial contacts but also tribute from various regions. Under the Muslim admiral Zheng He, a first expedition, with 62 ships carrying 28,000 men, set sail for India. Later voyages probed the Indonesian islands, reached the Middle East and sailed down the coast of Africa, bringing porcelain and copper coins to exchange for local goods (which would include giraffes from Africa, which created a sensation back home). The ships involved were the most sophisticated in the world to that point, capable of carrying a year's supply of grain and carrying tubs to grow garden vegetables. Worried about the cost of the expeditions and pressed to invest in the Great Wall and a new capital city in Beijing, the Chinese government called a halt in 1433. While Chinese trading activity with the Philippines and Southeast Asia remained very active, the leadership in transregional trade would soon pass to the Europeans, who at this point were pressing down the coast of Africa in hopes of finding a more direct route to Asia. The motives for transregional trade were solidly established; the only question was what regional balance would next take shape. The connection is plausible, but we lack details – another sign that contacts, though important, were still sketchy in many ways.

Collapse

The classical empires began to end by the 3rd century CE. China entered a 350-year period of division and warfare, from 220 onward, reducing its participation in transregional trade. The Roman Empire soon divided and, in the west, fell apart. India's Gupta Empire faltered in the 6th century. These changes most obviously reduced overland trade, which now became more dangerous, with fewer political protections. But overall economic activity declined for a time, and it would be a few centuries before some newer societies, headed by the Arabs, began to revive, but also greatly extend, some of the classical connections.

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http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/mongols/figures/figu_polo.htm

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Questions

1. How did encounters with Mongol China affect European views of Asia and European regional relationships?
2. How did the Mongol experience affect Chinese involvement with transregional exchanges?
3. How did the Mongol network build on earlier transregional trade patterns?
4. How did contact patterns by 1400 differ from those of two centuries earlier, because of the Mongol role?

Section II: Questions

1. Does globalization effectively begin around 1000 CE? Is there a sufficiently tight connection between the transregional network at that point, and later extensions of contact, for this proposition to make sense?
2. Why did so many societies come to depend on explicit imitation of neighbors during the postclassical period?
3. Why were Europeans able to take more advantage of the Mongol network, as a channel for diffusion of Asian technologies, than Africans were? Geography was clearly a factor, but were there also different needs and outlook?
4. Were missionary religions more a source of contact or a source of transregional conflict during the postclassical period as a whole?
5. Compare Arab and Chinese positions in the patterns of transregional exchange developed during the postclassical period.

III: The Early Modern Period, 1450-1750

As historians have begun to pay serious attention to anchoring the phenomenon of globalization in the analysis of the past, many have recognized the importance of developments that began to take shape after 1450 or 1500. Some have introduced the term “proto-globalization” to cover this period. Approaches to globalization clearly accelerated, as the whole world was brought into regular interaction for the first time. The range and impact of exchanges increased, as new trade levels most clearly demonstrated and new technologies accelerated the speed of contact as well. The patterns fell short of more modern level – hence the hesitant “proto”. Transportation speed was deficient by later standards, and some societies could still choose largely to opt out of the contact network altogether. Key categories of exchange, particularly in the cultural arena, also remained hesitant. The result is a real sense of transformation, compared to the transregional interplay of the previous period, but with further innovations still essential before modern globalization can be identified.

Even with the hesitations, however, two other features of globalization already began to emerge. New regional inequalities demonstrated that changes in contact patterns were creating winners and losers – an issue that still bedevils globalization today. And enough contact was possible that some societies became visibly concerned about protecting their historic identities, though the problem was not phrased in this modern way. Here too was an issue that contemporary societies – leaders and ordinary folk alike – still grapple with. The early modern period, in other words, clearly introduces a new chapter in the globalization story, in a number of ways.

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Globalization: A Short History. By Jurgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson (Princeton, 2003). Pages 13 – 61.

The Three Waves of Globalization. By Robbie Robertson (Zed Book, 2003). Pages 87-127.

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Chapter 9: Technology and Trade

The New Combination

Trade motivations spurred European leaders to new explorations, hoping for more advantageous commercial arrangements. The motivations combined with new technologies, particularly in navigation and weaponry, to give Europeans greater access to world trade. They also, initially by accident, facilitated the inclusion of the Americas in world trade for the first time. The whole package of developments, finally, steadily increased global trade levels, making imports and exports more important in a host of regional economies.

Motivations

Europeans, led by the Portuguese and Spanish, began sending exploratory expeditions down the Atlantic coast of Africa during the 15th century, each trip pressing slightly farther than the last. Various causes were involved: Portuguese and Spanish leaders felt new energy after the expulsion of Islamic rulers from the Iberian Peninsula. Religious interests played some role, in seeking new missionary opportunities for Catholicism. But trade issues were front and center. Europeans wanted to expand their access to Asian products like spices and silks. They sought trade routes that could connect them more directly with Asia, so that they would not have to deal with Islamic middle-men in the Eastern Mediterranean. They also hoped to discover new sources of gold. Europeans were at a disadvantage in Asian trade because they had few products that attracted Asian buyers; new supplies of gold might repair that deficiency. Though they never found the treasures they sought, the allure long remained a factor in their new adventures.

Technologies

European efforts built on a number of new technologies basically acquired from earlier contacts with Asia. Sailing ships and navigational devices improved, with initial gains and subsequent developments yielding new opportunities. Guns were equally important, giving new levels of force a key role in global contacts. Major innovations in global contacts have always depended in part on new technologies, and the early modern period was certainly no exception. Trade and communication benefited from new speed and capacity. The inclusion of new regions, particularly the Americas, depended on the improved technology as well.

Sails

By 1500 European ships introduced a new pattern of sails. Borrowing the triangular, or lateen, sail from the Arabs, Europeans also added square sails. The result allowed sailors to take advantage both of crosswinds and tailwinds, which in turn permitted ships to cross stretches of water far from land. Traders could now cross the Indian Ocean directly, rather than hugging the shores, and they could navigate the Atlantic and Pacific as well. Other improvements included the use of different kinds of wood, to inhibit rot, and new hull design, again aimed at operations in mid-ocean. The results also improved cargo capacity, by as much as 25% by the 17th century.

Directions

Along with sails came better navigational devices. Europeans had acquired the compass from Asia, and they steadily improved it; it was Columbus who praised the needle for "always seeking the truth." Europeans also worked on other methods to calculate direction without sighting land. Arab devices provided the basis for using stars for orientation. Mapmaking improved steadily as well, along with more detailed use of ships' logs to provide

navigational information. By the 18th century, in a major development, Europeans also learned how to calculate longitude. All of this extended the use of the world's oceans. Already by 1500, sea routes extended 45% farther than had been possible in 1000, and the gains were just beginning.

Guns

Guns, which Europeans adapted from the Chinese invention of explosive powder, played at least as great a role in new patterns of global trade. Ships' cannon, particularly, enabled Europeans to intimidate local rulers in the Americas, and also traders in many parts of Asia. An Aztec observer commented on Spanish cannon, used in the conquest of Mexico: "a thing like a ball of stone comes out from its entrails...shooting sparks and raining fire....It is a most unnatural sight." Guns, along with other factors, would expand rapid territorial gains in the Americas. But they also allowed the aggressive Europeans to take over about half of the trade in the Indian Ocean, simply through force and intimidation – though one Portuguese leader supplemented guns by cutting off the hands of Asian sailors who tried to defy his control.

The New Geography: Americas

Based on new sailing technologies and new capacity for force, plus the odd mistake of Christopher Columbus in seeking a new route to Asia, European explorers and traders began to bring the Americas directly into global contact patterns, from 1492 onward. Successive expeditions reached farther and farther into the New World, making the Atlantic Ocean a central commercial artery for the first time.

The Pacific

Utilization of the Pacific proceeded more slowly. But in 1519 Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese sailor under the Spanish flag, rounded South America and entered the Pacific, ultimately discovering Guam and going on to the Philippines, before heading through the Indian Ocean. Regular routes were set between Mexico to the Philippines. Full exploration of the Pacific, bringing inclusion of Australia and New Zealand as well as the American northwest, awaited the 18th century.

Trade

The inclusion of American products, particularly the silver produced in Andean mines, progressively expanded the scope of world trade. Avid European merchants now had new means to pay for Asian goods. The Chinese responded eagerly, accelerating the manufacture of items like silk and porcelain – it was in the 17th century that the English word "china" reflected the importance of the latter product. China became the greatest earner of American silver – by the 17th century more silver Mexican pesos were circulating in China than in Mexico itself – but India was not far behind. Spice production for world trade also expanded.

New Consumerism

With growing prosperity, European consumers also had a growing impact. They helped accelerate the output of goods like sugar, coffee (copied from the Middle East), tea, and cocoa. Something of a mass market, and not just a luxury market, dependent on international trade emerged for the first time. Simultaneously, profits from world trade began to transform economic levels in both Asia and Europe. The global importance of merchants steadily expanded as well.

Some Costs

There were clear downsides to this new global trade patterns. Growing use of silver fueled inflation, in China as in Europe, which hurt many in the lower classes. World trade also embraced a new dimension of the slave trade, now bringing millions of Africans to the Americas, in turn to provide labor for commercial exports like sugar. Global warfare expanded to contest national trading positions, pitting various European countries against each other for control of trade routes and colonial outposts. The violent aspect of this stage of globalization persisted.

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<http://www.historyguide.org/earlymod/columbus.html>

Suggested Reading:

Merchants, Companies and Trade: Europe and Asia in the Early Modern Era by Sushil Chaudhury and Michel Morineau (editors).

Questions

1. What are the main issues in determining the reasons for Europe's changing role in world trade? What explanation works best?
2. What was the role of guns in early modern world trade?

3. What was the impact of silver on regional commercial relationships during the early modern period?
4. How does Columbus' diary suggest the role of new technologies in European explorations and trade by the late 15th century?
5. Why did other societies not imitate European trade patterns during the early modern period?
6. What were the most important downsides to the early modern global trade system?

Chapter 10: The Columbian Exchange

Geography

Active interchange among Europe, Africa and the Americas accelerated steadily after the Columbus voyage in 1492, and Asia would be drawn in as well. Expeditions came from Spain and Portugal; trade in African slaves soon added in, with over 12 million people shipped over a three-century span. Further, by the 16th century other European countries regularly reached the Caribbean and North America. While primary focus rested on Atlantic crossings, voyages across the Pacific changed the global landscape as well, for example directly connecting the Americas with the Philippines. The result was a new framework for global contacts in a number of respects.

Columbian Exchange

One result began to take shape quickly in the 16th century, and continued to operate through the next two hundred years: a set of biological interactions that have been called the Columbian Exchange. The "Exchange" had a number of important, in some cases tragic consequences; it also illustrates the range of impact that global activities now entailed. Quite simply the exchange involved new movements of peoples, germs, animals and foods.

Germs

Germs provided the most obvious drama. Europeans and Africans brought a variety of new diseases to the Americas (and in the 18th century, to Pacific Oceania), for which natives had no resistance. Smallpox, typhus and measles were the key villains, causing 80-85% mortality among local inhabitants and undermining local resistance to European colonization. There was some movement in the other direction, with new forms of malaria and yellow fever affecting southern Europe. But the big result of this aspect of the exchange was a huge change in regional population balance, opening up the Americas to new migrations or forced migrations from Europe and Africa.

Animals

Animals moved also, mainly from Europe to the Americas, bringing horses, cows, sheep and so on. Some of these quickly affected native American life. Others had important, largely harmful impacts on the environment.

Foods

Foods moved. European grains were brought to the Americas, while Africans brought strains of rice. These new foods particularly nourished European and African settlers – natives professed to find the taste of European bread "like that of dried corn stalks." More important was the movement of American foodstuffs – corn, various kinds of potato, chile peppers, several kinds of beans, ultimately the tomato – to Asia, Africa and Europe. The Spanish for example planted American crops in the Philippines, hoping to support labor force growth; Chinese traders encountered them there and brought some home. The results were twofold: first, some interesting changes in regional cuisines, in places like India or the Szechuan province of China. Second, the basis (along with local agricultural improvements) for rapid population growth. The pattern surfaced in China, for example, from the early 17th century onward. Ironically, Europeans were slow to use American foods, worrying that they were sinful because they were not mentioned in the Bible; but when they overcame their

scruples, and began to grow potatoes from the late 17th century onward, a huge population boom resulted there as well. New global contacts had wide global consequences, and today about a third of the foods used around the world have American origins.

People

Finally, people moved. European settlements in the Americas were not large enough to have massive effects on populations back home. But the slave trade involved so many young men from West Africa that local birth rates suffered, and African population levels as a whole stagnated during the period of the Exchange.

Effects

Biological shifts do not often grab headlines, and the Columbian exchange was long underplayed. Its steady effects did however change the framework of world history. First, the drastic shift in regional population balance, to the detriment of Americans and Africans, had direct impact on peopling the Americas and an indirect impact on the places which now sent migrants. Second, the overall result, particularly thanks to the impact of new foods in Africa, Asia and Europe, was an acceleration of total global population growth, that would continue into the 20th century when new public health measures provided an even more important spur.

Third, while the most dramatic effects of the Columbian exchange settled down by 1700 (when American populations now began to grow again, but mainly on the basis of whites, Africans, and mixed race), the pattern of more extensive and rapid global disease exchange continued. As noted "old world" diseases later reached the Pacific. Some Europeans, in New England and the Canadian northwest, began deliberately giving natives smallpox-infested blankets, knowing the results, so what had been a horrible historical accident became somewhat deliberate as well. But there was more. European-Middle Eastern interactions would help spread new forms of typhus; greater contact with India involved recurrent waves of cholera, reaching the Americas as well at many points in the 19th century. The kind of globalization that took shape after 1450 thus clearly brought unprecedented issues around the problem of epidemic disease – a potential with which the world is still grappling.

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Also Suggested:

The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492 by Alfred Crosby (New York: Praeger, 2003).

Questions

1. In what ways did the globalization of American foods have unusually important consequences after 1500, compared to other food exchanges in world history?
2. Discuss the roles Africa played in the Columbia Exchange.
3. How does the Columbian Exchange help explain the widespread use of slaves in the Americas? What other factors may have been involved?
4. Why were Native populations in the Americas more vulnerable to "European" diseases than African populations were?
5. How do horses in the Columbian Exchange suggest the importance of animals in world history?
6. How does the *las Casas* document reflect the impacts of the Columbian Exchange?
7. Using examples from the Columbian Exchange, discuss the role of chance or accident in world history.

Chapter 11: The Great Trading Companies

New Types of Organizations

At least the names of some of the great trading companies of the early modern period are familiar, like the British East India Company. What is less commonly known is that these companies represented a significant innovation in business as well as political organization. They form the clear antecedent of the types of structures we now call "multinationals", and in some cases they wielded almost as much power. They constituted a clear departure from the business organizations that had previously sustained transregional trade. Organizational change, then, along with new patterns of trade, technology and biological exchange, mark the early modern period as a clear departure in the world history of contact.

Precedents

Arab and other merchants had long since devised effective procedures for dealing with long distance trade. They could issue letters of credit valid in different places, and they had mechanisms to exchange funds. Many of their interactions depended however on kinship networks, rather than a more structured bureaucracy. Branches of merchant families would simply be stationed in places like southern China, and the blood tie was taken as a guarantee of reliability. Indian merchants, dealing for example in central Asia, had similar arrangements. The approach worked well, but obviously it could have real limitations both in dealing with longer distances and in expanding the scale of transactions.

Shareholders and Capital

The companies that Europeans began to form in the 16th century, to take advantage of the new trading opportunities, devised new methods of accumulating investment capital. They involved a number of shareholders, with agreed-upon obligations and benefits, which went well beyond kinship ties. The Dutch East India Company, set up in 1602, had two specified types of shareholders, one consisting of investors who sought a profit, the other embracing a smaller number of investors who would also combine to manage the company. Almost 400 businessmen, in various Dutch cities, responded to the initial invitation, despite the high minimum investment required, raising an initial capital of 6 million guilders. This kind of fund helped companies establish huge merchant fleets, while arrangements with the government provided a monopoly over the nation's trade with Southeast Asia. Companies in other countries, notably France and Britain, had similar size and characteristics. The sheer organizational scale was unprecedented.

Production and Trade

Most of these new companies, though initially formed for trade, also moved quickly into overseas production. The Dutch company, for example, not only established commerce in spices. It also used military force to seize trading facilities and land in what is now Indonesia, so that it could expand spice production directly, using slave labor. (Native populations might be forcibly expelled in order to make room for this kind of operation.) The goal was higher output of nutmeg and cloves, while cutting costs. In India, the British East India Company, authorized by the British state, in effect took over local government functions, in interests of expanding trade and production alike. These companies wielded tremendous political and economic influence, often outstripping the authority of local units – just as many multinationals do today.

Organization and Information

The trading companies also innovated through their bureaucracy and information flow. They kept careful track of regional trade data, circulating news both to the home office and to other regional branches. They shifted funds from one place to another, depending among other things on the most favorable currency exchanges. Accounting procedures became more elaborate. Bureaucracies were recruited according to talent, though there was some preference for the offspring of shareholders (kinship is hard to deny entirely). Recruiters sought to winnow out people with vices such as heavy drinking or gambling. Most interesting of all was the increasing effort to standardize procedures, creating institutional rules and regulations that would preempt dangerous individual initiatives. The British companies thus had elaborate "laws and standing orders," specifying the procedures to be followed for all sorts of routine activities. These innovations were vital in allowing companies to expand steadily in a literally global arena.

Growth Patterns

Finally, like the multinationals today, the big trading companies were built to grow. The Dutch company obviously had outposts in Holland and Indonesia. But it also established facilities in Persia, India, China and many other parts of Southeast Asia, trading among these centers as well as between them and Europe. The same company helped launch the new Dutch colony in southern Africa. Expansion also involved the range of goods. The company focused on spices, but it also bought textiles in China and India, and copper and silver in Japan. By 1669 the Dutch company was the richest the world had ever seen, with 150 trading ships, 40 warships, 50,000 employees and a private army of 10,000 soldiers. Companies of this sort were redefining what it meant to be a global player.

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Suggested Reading:

The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company 1600-1760 by K N Chaudhuri (Cambridge, 1978).

Questions

1. What was the relationship of the trading companies to the state? Are the companies best seen as extension of government or as expressions of advanced capitalism?
2. What were the main innovations introduced by the new trading companies?
3. What are the main similarities and differences between the trading companies and contemporary multinational corporations?
4. What were the economic and political powers the trading companies wielded in places like India?
5. How did the competition among European powers affect the trading companies? Why did governments like Britain give the companies so much latitude?

Chapter 12: Regional Inequality: a Problem of Globalization

Complexity

The early modern period introduced two key complexities into regional relationships, and some elements of these complexities are still with us. First, the growing role of the West in trade and colonization created new gaps between its prosperity and success, and the numerous societies it exploited. A major theory has been constructed to capture this inequality. But second, regional participation also involved the success of many Asian societies, which does not neatly fit the "West and the rest" model. This second feature has gained growing scholarly attention as a huge modification of more traditional emphases on rising Western dominance.

The West as Profit Center

Western Europe in 1450, at the outset of the early modern period, was not one of the world's most advanced societies. Its manufacturing and agricultural technologies and its political capacities were inferior to levels in many part of Asia. But in the ensuing centuries, the West caught up at least to some extent. It used its sea power (guns included) and its colonial holdings to expand its role in trade. It learned to profit not simply from trade itself, but also through controlling the ships and commercial companies through which trade flowed; profit attached to each of these elements. It also increasingly exported some processed goods, like manufactured guns and craft products, from which profit could be made. Though they were very unevenly distributed, wealth levels rose in many parts of Western Europe.

Exploited Societies

A number of regions offered almost the mirror image of Western success, as they were drawn or forced into growing world trade at a clear disadvantage. These regions produced unprocessed goods, including foodstuffs, mineral products and in the case of West Africa, slaves. They imported more expensive items, including some of the European manufactured and craft wares. They depended heavily on forced labor (slavery or serfdom), seen as essential to keep costs down. Individual land- or mine owners (or slave traders) in these regions might grow wealthy, but the regions as a whole lost ground in the world economy. Merchant classes were small, with much trade handled by foreigners. Latin American and the southern colonies of British North America offered classic cases of this type of economy, but so in broad outline did West Africa. By the 18th century grain-producing areas of Eastern Europe, such as Poland and in some respects Russia, developed broadly similar patterns. In some cases, exploited societies also began to suffer new levels of environmental change.

World Economy Theory

Relationships between the West and the exploited economies were characterized theoretically in the 1980s by American sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein, in his work on the world economy. Wallerstein not only called attention to the regional inequalities that developed in the early modern period. He also highlighted connections between economic position and conditions not only in labor but also in politics. Thus the West increasingly featured wage labor, designed to maximize flexibility for manufacturing, but also strong states and militaries, which helped secure export gains and also benefited from growing resources. Dependent economies stressed coerced labor and also managed only weak states, open to penetration by Western traders and incapable of controlling the landlord class. Wallerstein's theory emphasized general typologies and the similarities among societies in each broad category. It also emphasized persistence, as the wealthy societies

tended to augment their wealth but the poorer, dependent economies found it difficult if not impossible to escape their category. Thus Wallerstein saw elements of the early modern pattern enduring even in current global relationships.

Critique

World economy theory encountered many criticisms, and it is less widely used today than when it was first developed. Critics note key differences among societies in a given category. Britain and France both drew profits from the world economy, but their political forms were quite different by the later 17th century. Strong West African monarchies contrasted with weak colonial states in Latin America, despite some broad economic similarities. Wallerstein's theory also offered little explanation of change, as when a region moved from one category to another. But the big problem critics emphasized, at least for the early modern period, involved Asia. Leading Asian economies not only did not fall into either of Wallerstein's main categories but had a driving global role that world economy theory, with its focus on Western profit-seeking, simply ignored.

Asian Dynamism

China and India, and to some extent the Middle East, maintained great economic vitality during most of the early modern period. They did not mimic Western efforts to send merchants all over the world. China traded with Southeast Asia, India through the Indian Ocean, but neither ventured more widely at this point. Both depended heavily on Western merchants, who brought in New World silver and managed much of the export of regional products. But the Asian economies grew their manufacturing sectors, in part responding to growing global demand. Indian printed cotton, for example, gained customers in many regions. The success of major Asian regions in the world economy, despite trade policies that differed from those of the West, is the second great complication in the regional patterns of the early modern period – and a major challenge to theoretical generalizations as well. To be sure, variety and change must be acknowledged. Japan introduced trade isolation after 1600, severely limiting wider contacts. India, under Western colonial pressure by the 18th century, faced new limits on manufacturing exports as opposed to increased production of lower-margin items like spices. (Indian leaders began to lament their region's "poverty and distress".) China, however, retained its trade advantages into the 19th century.

Regional Mixture

A growing world economy featured one region that particularly sponsored global trade activities. It featured a growing number of regions pressed to provide low-cost exports. Patterns of inequality emerged that would indeed persist into later periods, as world trade generated very uneven benefits. But the world economy also involved strong manufacturing centers in Asia. It also embraced some regions, like Japan or, before the 18th century, Russia, which had relatively little contact with wider trade networks. Finally, there were important changes in the mix during the early modern period itself. Spain and Portugal, initial trade leaders, fell back. India's economic position began to change under British pressure (including new British laws that restricted manufacturing imports from India). Merchants in the middle Atlantic colonies of British North America began to develop some global trade patterns of their own, though they were still modest players compared to Western Europe. Regional diversity remained a key theme, but the categories were not entirely rigid. Sorting out the complex relationships has been a major scholarly target in recent world history.

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Questions

1. What were the main features of Latin America's world economic position during the early modern period?
2. Is "exploited" a valid term to describe economic changes in places like Latin America or West Africa?
3. What are the main strengths and drawbacks of Wallerstein's world economic theory? Why has the theory lost favor among many historians?
4. What was the role of Asia in the early modern world economy?
5. To what extent did Western Europe gain global economic dominance during the early modern period?
6. How did Edmund Burke characterize British actions in India by the late 18th century? Why would a conservative like Burke raise concerns of this sort?
7. Compare the positions of Western Europe and the major Asian societies in world trade in the early modern period.

Chapter 13: Cultural Exchange and its Limits

Protecting "Identity"?

Global exchanges in the early modern period obviously highlighted trade and biology, and most regions were directly affected in both categories. Cultural contact was another matter, however, with far less consistent activity than might have been expected. Several societies, implicitly or explicitly, sought to protect their cultural distinctiveness by limiting external influence in this area. The idea of "identity" did not yet exist, as a conscious construct, but many societies saw some definite threats. In some ways, cultural exchanges were more guarded than they had been amid transregional contacts in the previous, postclassical period.

Missionary Religions

The most familiar kind of culture contact continued to a degree. Islam spread further in Southeast Asia and in the southern Philippines, completing a process launched at the end of the postclassical era. Islam also converted a minority in the Balkans, under the new Ottoman Empire. More striking were the missionary gains of Christianity that depended directly on the new contact patterns: Catholic missionaries worked diligently in Latin America and in the Philippines, with growing success. Along with Catholicism, Latin American societies imported dominant Spanish styles in religious art and architecture. Important elements of native culture persisted as well, in what was a new overall amalgam, but there was no question that contact brought significant cultural change. By the 18th century, upper-class Latin Americans frequently traveled to Europe, encountering other cultural currents as well.

India and Russia

Different kinds of cultural exchanges affected India and Russia during the 16th century. Russian tsars were eager to establish closer relations with Western Europe, and imported Italian architects to help design structures such as the Kremlin in Moscow, where Renaissance and Russian styles were blended. Developments in India reflected new contact patterns more directly. Early Mughal emperors prided themselves on tolerance and on the ability to blend cultural elements from other societies, while retaining their commitment to Islam. They interacted with Portuguese merchants who gained territory on the western coast, in Goa. European portraiture styles and even clothing styles gained popularity in the Indian upper classes, and even the name "Mary" caught on for a while. These were fairly superficial and short-term connections, however.

Japan

Japan reacted more systematically to outside cultural influences, after European traders and some missionaries began arriving in the 16th century. Initial European contact led to considerable Japanese enthusiasm for guns, and also several thousand conversions to Christianity. This led to leadership concerns about preserving the nation's feudal military structure and also its distinctive culture; the example of the Philippines coming under Spanish and Catholic control offered a clear warning. In response, from the late 16th century onward, the Japanese closed down almost all foreign interactions. Japanese were not permitted to travel. Only Dutch traders (seemingly safer than Spanish because they were not Catholic) had limited access to one Japanese port. Substantial isolation prevailed, in the policy of *Sakoku*, even as important but clearly separate cultural developments continued in the nation itself.

The Ottoman Empire and China

The Ottoman Empire, close to Europe and aware of European patterns, stood aloof without however attempting formal isolation. Notably, key European developments such as the printing press or rising interest in science, were simply kept at bay, except for some use of European doctors by the sultan. Only toward the middle of the 18th century did printing begin to gain authorization. China was a somewhat different case. European missionaries gained some access during the 16th and 17th centuries, often adopting Chinese dress styles and habits as they worked for conversions. The Chinese also entertained some interest in European clocks, regarded as interesting oddities. Contacts remained quite limited, however, and then in the 18th century the Chinese began attacking the missionary movement in the interests of retaining cultural purity. Again, cultural exchanges did not begin to match the importance of commercial exchanges.

Europe

Europe itself was not immune to cultural restraints. Europeans eagerly learned about exotic animals and other items from the growing range of contacts. New imports significantly affected popular taste. But their interest in foreign cultures more broadly was constrained, and Europeans were increasingly reluctant to acknowledge any borrowing that did occur – as from aspects of Islamic science, for example. In contrast, a sense of cultural superiority – for example, in a belief that Europeans were uniquely interested in technological progress – began to define European attitudes toward the wider world.

Science

Some signs of change did begin to emerge in the 18th century, though major developments were limited. China, as noted, did not budge, and shifts in the Ottoman Empire were modest. Japan, however, began to recognize that European scientific developments could not safely be ignored (as they learned about them from their Dutch connections), and allowed translations of scientific and medical works. Russia, beginning with Peter the Great at the end of the 17th century, went farther still. Peter was extremely interested in European science and technology, importing some experts (after his own incognito visit to Holland) and encouraging science education for the Russian elite. He also worked to westernize elements of Russian upper-class culture, for example in clothing styles and artistic and theatrical tastes. This was an effort at partial imitation; there was no attempt for instance to alter lower-class cultural patterns or to loosen the hold of Orthodox Christianity. But Russian high culture was moved increasingly into a Western orbit. Here was the clearest case of a shift from primarily trade contacts to a broader cultural spectrum.

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Questions

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2. How did cultural change in Latin America illustrate a process of syncretism?

3. Why and how did Russia "westernize" in the early modern period? What were the limits of the process in terms of cultural change?
4. How did new global contacts affect European culture?
5. What was the role of the scientific revolution in global cultural history during the early modern period?
6. Why and how was Catholic missionary activity more successful in the Philippines than in other parts of Asia during the early modern period? What were the limitations on the process?
7. Why did accelerating global contacts not have more consistent cultural impact around the world during the early modern period?

Chapter 14: Globalization after 1750

1750 as a Turning Point?

Signs of interest in European science plus the steady advance of global trade unquestionably pushed international exchanges to new levels by the later 18th century. A few historians of globalization have argued that the mid-18th century actually marks a crucial turning point in the globalization process, with modern forms clearly emerging. One for example claims that increasingly effective governments, and particularly the strong British navy, created clear changes by limiting the operations of pirates and so facilitating even greater seaborne commerce. Combined with the expanding scope of some of the great trading companies, with their organizational innovations, the result adds up to a new framework. The claim should be debated: arguably for example the organization changes really happened earlier. There were a few new developments however, beside the piracy point, even if more decisive changes awaited the global technologies of the mid-19th century.

Geography

While the basic geographical expansion of the global network dated from the 15th-16th centuries, it was toward the middle of the 18th century that Australia and New Zealand began to be explicitly included in contact patterns, with additional Pacific islands soon involved as well. Russia's Westernization process brought more upper-class Russians into active travel. India had of course long been central to transregional exchanges, but India's position now began to shift thanks to growing British power in the region. The clearer rise of Britain as the preeminent naval and leading imperial power constituted another change in emphasis, directly affecting the framework of global interactions. Soon after 1750 in fact, Britain would take the lead in the process of industrialization, as the West became the center of a broad technological revolution that would further redefine power relationships.

Consumerism

The mid-18th century is now commonly seen as the effective birth of modern consumerism, with the West in the lead here as well. Again, signs of this sprouted earlier, with growing interest in imports of products like sugar and coffee. But it was in the 18th century that widespread attachment to more stylish clothing and more elaborate home furnishings, and greater interest in creature comforts, began to suggest new definitions of the good life for many ordinary people in Western Europe and North America. The importance of shops and commercial lures including advertising gained as well. Much of this remained largely regional in scope, but modern consumerism did depend on imports from many parts of the world, providing additional stimulus to world economic relationships and the regional inequalities they entailed.

New Attitudes

A final change that began to take shape in the later 18th century involved the emergence of a new sense of humanitarian standards that arguably had global applicability. Both the American and French revolutions, for example, began referring to the "rights of man", as if there were certain categories that might apply to all of humankind. Some historians have referred to the rise of a new sense of "humanitarian sensibility" in the West at this time, thanks particularly to the political culture of the Enlightenment. A new anti-slavery movement was the clearest expression of this new sensibility on a potentially global basis. Antislavery advocates included impassioned leaders, but also hundreds of thousands of people in various parts of Western Europe willing to sign petitions against this old human

institution. The idea was that it was now contrary to acceptable global standards for one individual to own another; many appeals referred to presumably universal "principles of justice and humanity." Anti-slavery efforts involved a sense of moral responsibility for people in distant places; advocates saw themselves as "friends of the slave of every nation and clime." Ideas of this sort did not bear wide fruit in the 18th century itself, though in the 1790s the Haitian revolution directly referred to the new principles. But the suggestion of a globally-applicable morality, not based on any one religion, was a crucial innovation that would play a role in globalization from this time forward.

Questions About the Turning Point

The later 18th century clearly saw some new departures. But many key trends continued and extended developments that had been part of the early modern period more generally. The importance of the West as a key center of global initiatives was becoming steadily clearer, which was one reason that largely Western developments like new consumerism or sensibility could potentially have wider impact. On the other hand, some societies, like China, saw no particular change in global relationships at this point, as they held fast to basic policies that had carried them through the early modern period. Arguably, in this case and in others, more fundamental shifts would occur a bit later, toward the middle of the 19th century, when among other things a more decisive set of technological innovations redefined global interactions once again. The challenge of identifying key changes of direction in patterns of contact and globalization unquestionably warrants continued assessment and debate.

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Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution by Laurent Dubois (Harvard, 2005)

Questions

1. What were the main changes and continuities in Europe's relationship with other parts of the world in the later 18th century?
2. Did abolitionism express new values, and how did it link to wider global processes?
3. To what extent were the American and French revolutions global, as opposed to Atlantic, events, in terms of their impacts?
4. What are the challenges in fitting Africa into the major global trends of the late 18th – early 19th centuries?
5. What are the relationships between 18th-century consumerism and 18th-century global patterns?
6. On balance, did the later 18th century usher in a decisive new phase of globalization, or is it best seen in terms of amplifying earlier trends?

Section III: Questions

1. Is the concept of "proto-globalization" useful in describing developments in the early modern period, and their relationship to more recent patterns of globalization?
2. What was the role of military force in establishing new global relationships in the early modern period?
3. In what ways did China and Japan make different decisions about their interactions with global contacts in the early modern period, and what factors might explain the

IV: Globalization after 1850

The 1850s are not usually identified as a major break in world history. We are much more inclined to look back to the late 18th century, when the great political revolutions of the Atlantic world took shape and when British industrialization began to form. The conventional story then breaks again in the early 20th century, with the conflagration of World War I. Increasingly, however, many historians of globalization look to a mid-point, when patterns of global contact experienced more decisive changes. They argue, essentially, that it took several decades for Western industrialization to gain fully global impact, which begins to show up more systematically toward the middle of the 19th century than at the outset. More specifically, they see new technologies supported measurable changes in the volume and speed of international exchange, with the mid-century point the key break. On the heels of a new transportation and communication infrastructure, and the West's dominant industrial position, other changes began to take shape. Most notably, globalization begins to take on a political dimension, through international conferences and agreements, which had never before existed. And there were innovations as well in migration patterns and cultural contacts.

The argument for the 1850s, in other words, rests primarily on a new global framework, rooted in dramatic technological changes, and the expansion of the range as well as the sheer volume of global interactions. In contrast to previous patterns, literally every region of the world was now lured or forced into active participation; no major holdouts were tolerated. But all of this occurred under the arguably artificial dominance of the West, now the world's supreme economic, military and imperialist center. The combination proved fragile, and by the early 20th century a number of regions found opportunities to break away from the globalization process, entirely or in part, leading to unexpected retreats and confusions particularly in the decades after World War I. Some familiar developments, like the rise of fascism and communism, take on new dimensions when also seen as part of the ebb and flow of global exchanges. In a backhanded way, the growing power of globalization showed in new forms of resistance.

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Chapter 15: The New Global Technology

Symbols of Change

In 1851 the first World's Fair occurred at London's Crystal Palace. The Fair was in part a massive celebration of Britain's industrial leadership, with many displays of mechanical prowess with a featured glass pavilion that was itself a technological marvel. But the Fair also recruited displays from many other parts of the world around the theme "global connections shrink the world itself." A series of world's fairs followed, extending into the present day, allowing the host country to show off but also to recruit participation from other world regions, which faced increasingly interesting choices about whether to emphasize the beauty of their traditional culture or the strength of their modern accomplishment or, somehow, both together. World's fairs became both a symbol and a promotion of a new level of interconnectedness.

Transportation

Undergirding the new connections was a literal revolution in global transportation. Key inventions actually occurred early in the 19th century, but it was only in between the mid-1840s and the 1860s that their implication began to work out on more than a local basis. Steamships became crucial. Until the 1840s they needed to take on so much coal that they were really only useful on coastal or river routes. (A first transatlantic crossing, in 1818, ended up under sail power.) Only in the 1840s did the first regular transatlantic routes open, under the British Cunard Line. From this point onward steady improvement in engines amplified both speed and capacity. And other technologies contributed to new types of global trade, including refrigeration capacities by the 1870s. Trains, pulled by steam engines, also added to the global revolution. Train allowed rapid connections between interiors and coastal ports, and by the 1850s networks were developing not only in Europe and the United States but also Latin America and elsewhere. From the 1860s onward transcontinental lines, in the United States, Canada and, soon, Russia, contributed to global linkages even more directly.

Communications

The key invention here was the telegraph. Invented in 1837, the telegraph allowed intercontinental connections within 30 years. The Indo-European Telegraph Company, for example, opened in 1868, and soon connected India not only to Britain but also to Germany and Russia. Links between Australia and Europe were completed in 1871. Information, albeit in small chunks, could now be sent with unprecedented speed, quickly globalizing outlets such as newspapers. Prices for international telegrams dropped steadily. A transatlantic rate of \$100 for ten words, in 1866, reached 12 cents a word just 20 years later. The British poet Rudyard Kipling, noting the power of the deep-sea cables, wrote: "Men talk today o'er (the oceans), And a new Word runs between: Whispering, 'Let us be one!'" By the end of the century, international telephone linkages and experiments with radio added further to the mix.

Canals

Increasing global exchange provided the motivation for the construction of ambitious new canals, first in Egypt and later in Panama. A direct link between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean had been talked about for some time, but it was a French team that began to bring it to fruition in the 1850s. The Suez Canal opened in 1869. It cut travel time between India and Europe in half, between China and Europe by 25%. The Panama Canal, completed in 1913, reduced the distance between the east and west coasts of the United States by

18,000 miles, and provided addition spur as well to trade between various parts of the United States and East Asia.

Trade Levels

Reductions in travel time and costs pushed global trade to unprecedented levels. International shipping tonnage tripled between 1870 and 1900 alone. The total value of all imports and exports quintupled between 1850 and 1900. More and more countries depended heavily on sales and purchases abroad. Australia and Argentine, for example, became major exporters of meats. A growing range of goods, including daily products such as foodstuffs, now became routine items in global commerce. International companies, often seeking resources in one place, production facilities in another, became increasingly complex, and increasingly significant.

Geography

Industrialization in Europe and the United States created new capacity to produce manufactured goods, and it became vital to seek new international markets. Industrial exports, for example in clothing, steadily pushed back local production in places in Latin America and India. Industrialization also required new access to raw materials and food supplies. Industrialization, finally, created new military capacities for the Western powers, with mass-produced repeating rifles and machine guns. Along with the new capacities in transportation and communication, the cumulative result of all these developments was increasingly effective insistence that the whole world actively participate in the Western-dominated world economy. American and British naval pressure, for example, forced Japan to open to active world trade after 1853; Korea was soon embraced as well. China was compelled into new levels of interaction with foreigners. Imperialists pressed into the interior of Africa. Isolation seemed impossible. Here was the final component of the new framework for globalization.

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Questions

1. What role did trade play in the argument that globalization began in the mid-19th century?
2. What factors besides technology help explain the acceleration of global trade in the 19th century?
3. How important were steamships in 19th-century globalization?
4. How did the West's new leadership in manufacturing technology affect the process of technology transfer during the 19th century?
5. How did the development of the Suez Canal flow from European and imperialist rivalries? Why did the Canal become so important in global trade?
6. Compare the technological framework available for global contacts by the 1870s with the framework that had been available fifty years before.

Chapter 16: New Patterns of Immigration

Identifying Change

Migration of various types is one of the oldest phenomena in human history, long predating the advent of *Homo sapiens*. We have seen that migration – voluntary, by Europeans; and forced, by Africans – was a key aspect of the Columbian Exchange, in the previous period. As part of the acceleration of globalization after 1850, migration patterns changed in several ways. We need to look at volume (the most predictable); distance, and related changes in sources and cultural mixtures; and return trips (the newest phenomenon). Changes in migration obviously reflected the shifts in transportation patterns. They also reflected surprisingly fluid regulations. People moved from one country to the next far more freely, with far less paperwork, at this point than would be the case in the 20th century – or today.

A Decline of Force?

The transatlantic slave trade began to dry up after 1808, when Britain declared an end to the practice. Some trade continued, and older patterns of trade from Africa to the Middle East persisted strongly. But the use of outright force to compel migration undoubtedly declined. Growing hostility to slavery in the West, and the rise of anti-slavery ideas in other places such as Latin America, played a key role in this change. But so did the rise of opportunities to recruit labor in other ways. Contracts of indenture became increasingly common, as ways to recruit low-cost labor particularly from Asia. While there were harsh penalties for failure to fulfill the term of a contract, the arrangement was at least in principle voluntary. Concern persisted as well about illegal trade in people; at the end of the 19th century there was a major push against what was called “white slavery” or the seizure of women for use as prostitutes in places like Latin America. It was unclear how much this fear was justified. Overall, the context for migration changed with the formal end of slave systems, but problems and issues remained.

Numbers

The decades between 1850 and 1914 saw the largest movement of people in the history of the world to that point. Over 50 million Europeans went to the Americas, Australia and New Zealand. About the same number of Chinese went to the Americas and Southeast Asia. Thirty million Indians went to southern Africa and the Caribbean. Japanese immigrants became the largest single population group in Hawaii. Smaller but significant migration also occurred from some parts of the Middle East, particularly toward both of the American continents but also (in the case of Lebanese merchants) to Africa. Population pressures at home; the decline of slavery as a source of labor; new needs for workers in many places (and not just the United States) all combined to generate this unprecedented pattern.

Distances

Quite obviously, migration often now occurred over longer distances than ever before, particularly thanks to the new surge of people from Asia. Even more, the results of migration mixed groups of people from different places to an unparalleled extent. Latin America, with an existing population mixture of native, African and European origins, now saw additional influx from other parts of Europe but also substantial Asian influx. The United States saw new mixtures, primarily from eastern and southern Europe but again with significant Asian elements. Important new cultural tensions and racial animosities resulted in many places (such as resentments against Indian immigrants in parts of Africa). But there were new cultural combinations as well. The phenomenon of the Chinese restaurant in

the United States, for example, began to flourish from the middle of the 19th century onward, as immigrants branched out from feeding themselves to taking advantage of a wider clientele (while adapting their food traditions in the process).

Return Trips

Migration patterns, but above all the new transportation systems, promoted at least the beginnings of a new phenomenon: travel back and forth. Historically, with individual exceptions of course, most mass migrations had always been one way. A group went out, and never came back. Now, however, a surprising number of people changed their minds, or never intended to stay too long in the first place. By the early 20th century 70% of all immigrants to the United States from the Balkans, and 53% of those from Italy, returned after a few years. They made enough money to pursue goals back home, or they were homesick or victims of prejudice – all sorts of motives were involved. As a Hungarian put it, “God save America forever, but just let me get out of here.” Return trips were not just an interesting curiosity; they also brought change. Return migrants, even if they had disliked their experience, were altered by it, and that brought new ideas and styles back to their native habitats. (They also sometimes annoyed the locals, by insisting on change or putting on airs, but this too could be part of a process of change). This new aspect of migration was a significant feature of globalization, challenging local isolation. Here was another way in which movement of people, though an old story in part, highlighted global connections.

After 1914

Global migration slowed after 1914, for over two decades. War and ensuing tensions helped reduce opportunities. So did economic dislocations, including of course the Great Depression. The United States took a new lead in passing laws to limit immigration, particularly from less favored ethnic and racial groups such as Asians or southern Europeans. More and more countries also began to install formal passport requirements and stricter border controls, which also complicated population movements and travel. There was however some continued change. A trickle of North Africans, for example, began to migrate to France, where slow population growth created some obvious labor needs. There were hints, in other words, of additional population flows that would emerge more strongly after World War II.

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Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration by Hasia R. Diner (Harvard, 2003).

Questions

1. What were the main differences in later 19th century migration patterns from previous patterns in world history?
2. Why and how did Asia become an important migration source?
3. What were the main variations in patterns of Italian migration to, and return migration from, the Americas? What were the nature and impact of return migration?
4. What kinds of pushback did new patterns of migration generate? Why was particularly hostility directed against Asian immigrants?
5. Discuss how patterns and changes in migration fit the larger process of globalization from 1850 onward.

Chapter 17: Global Policies

The Idea of “Political Globalization”

Growing trade and new technology, and even new population movements, might be counted as fairly familiar aspects of the 19th century, though they have not always been combined into a globalization focus. The development of new kinds of global policies and institutions is less familiar, partly because the 19th century also saw the rise of nationalisms that have tended to dominate our sense of history. In fact, however, new ideas about global policies gained ground. Various conferences issued new global policies on a whole range of subjects – and some of these would lead directly to global institutions still essential today. New institutions themselves were established, particularly by the end of the 19th century. Finally, the beginnings of non-government efforts at a global level (at least in principle) capped the process. The overall combination did not keep global policies on pace with global economic change, but it did create some important international controls and mechanisms.

Global Standards

Building on patterns already suggested in the late 18th century, the Western world was the source of a number of reform ideas that were meant to have global applicability. Various movements promoted the abolition of slavery, including mass petitions and rallies, the formation of formal organizations, artistic efforts such as touring companies for a stage play of Uncle Tom’s Cabin; all were bent on the claim that no group or nation now had the right to enslave other human beings. Gradually, international anti-slavery efforts gained results, though the campaigns continued into the 20th century in parts of the Middle East. By the 1880s the idea of global standards also began to apply to conditions for women. In China a combination of Western missionary pressure and new local reform efforts began to attack the practice of foot binding. On a few issues, at least, the idea of a common global moral standard, backed by “enlightened” public opinion, began to gain strength.

Global Policies

In 1863 the United States government called a conference on international postal exchange. Prior to this point, it was impossible to mail a letter from one country to another; letters had to be given to travelers for safekeeping. By 1874, backed also by German leadership, a Universal Postal Union was formed to honor stamps from any country. In 1851 French scientists convened an international conference to discuss methods to control the spread of cholera, the latest source of devastating global epidemics. The result was additional research, but also the coordination of policies to impose quarantines in cases of disease outbreak (particularly, initially, in the Middle East and Russia). Under international sponsorship a Red Sea Sanitary Service was established to help prevent disease among pilgrims to Mecca. Here was the seed of the idea of an outright international health organization; and in fact the spread of epidemic disease was slowed. Other global policies involved recognition of patents on inventions (1883), or exchanges of data about climate and weather, or regulation of activities on the seas, or territorial claims in Antarctica. From 1884 onward the idea of standard time zones across the globe was promoted through international conferences, though full adoption awaited 1929 (when Nepal became the final country to sign on). An ambitious undertaking, spurred by a Swiss engineering, involved pledges about the treatment of prisoners and wounded in war, leading to the first Geneva Convention in 1864.

Global Institutions

A number of official organizations stemmed from the growing interest in articulating and implementing international policies. The International Meteorological Association formed in the 1870s. The International Red Cross formed in 1863, from the same movement that motivated the Geneva Convention. In 1899, triggered by a Russian statesman eager to preserve peace but also protect his country from an expensive arms race, a conference met that would lead a few years later to the establishment of a Permanent Court of Arbitration, in the Hague, Netherlands. The idea was a global institution that could provide individual nations the opportunity to settle disputes without outright conflict.

International NGOs

Although the huge surge of International Non-Governmental Organizations would await the 1960s, some important precedents developed amid the globalization of the later 19th century. Anti-slavery societies were an example, and the London Anti-Slavery society legitimately claims to be the oldest existing international NGO. Several international feminist organizations formed in the 1880s; while their membership in fact was largely Western – though genuinely international – leaders made concerted efforts to recruit at least token membership from places like Persia or China. Karl Marx encouraged the formation of the first Workingman's International, in 1864, designed to support labor organizations throughout the world.

Limitations

The effort to develop international standards and policies, and some outright institutions, was a genuinely important innovation. It followed from globalization – the idea of time zones, for example, gained traction only as international travel became more important and more rapid – but it promoted it in turn. Some global practices we take for granted today – like the existence of facilities to send letters and packages around the world – clearly date from this period. But limitations on political globalization at this point are obvious as well. All sorts of problems were not touched by international activities. International business organizations were not regulated effectively at all. Discussion about limiting military buildups through international agreements was discussed, but nothing happened. And the international efforts that did emerge were almost uniformly Western-dominated, not really global at all. As other countries gained greater voice, they might or might not see advantages in this aspect of globalization.

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Questions

1. How do the Red Cross and the Geneva Convention fit into the new patterns of political globalization after 1850?
2. What changes in ideals and values help explain the rise of the anti-slavery movement? What other factors were involved with anti-slavery on a global basis?
3. Discuss the relations between post-1850 political globalization and Western imperialism.
4. Why did new efforts to control disease contagion become necessary and possible after 1850?
5. Discuss political globalization as an innovation in world history: how new? How significant?
6. What factors help explain why China would be newly responsive to outside influences on the issues of foot binding?

Chapter 18: Cultural Globalization: Some New Steps

Background

Trade contacts had promoted cultural influences before. Some conventional patterns persisted, simply taking advantage of the wider range of exchange. Thus Christian missionary activity, now Protestant as well as Catholic accelerated. Important conversions occurred in the Pacific islands, in Korea, and in parts of Africa. Islamic missionary activity stepped up in Africa as well. But there were newer types of interactions as well. On the whole, the hesitancy about cultural influences that had characterized the early modern period was modified. More and more regions either could not withstand external cultural examples, or in fact began to seek them out.

Students

A key source of global cultural change came from realizations, on the part of governments, groups, or individuals that it was becoming increasingly important to learn about certain aspects of Western culture. This applied most obviously to science and technology, but it could also create interest in subjects like childrearing. A key result of this interest, and an obvious source of global interaction, was a growing movement of students or study trips across borders. Japan for example began to send observation groups to the West even before its reform period formally began, in 1868. By the 1890s China began to send students to the United States, Europe and Japan. Under European imperialism a growing handful of Africans and Indians went for study at schools and universities in Britain or France. Students did not, of course, always like what they saw. Japanese study groups thought that American political behavior was quite odd and the treatment of women bizarrely egalitarian (which is not what most American women thought at the time). But opportunities for influence were obvious. Finally, Westerners might be directly imported to help provide guidance. A Rutgers University professor was brought in to head up Japan's new educational initiative, in 1872.

Science

Science became a key focus for international cultural exchange. Eager American doctors went to Europe, the dominant center for medical research; and the whole idea of a research university was imported to the United States from Germany. Japanese reform featured explicit emphasis on the importance of copying Western science, and the need to modify Confucian reverence for tradition accordingly. Gradually, an international scientific movement began to develop, though Western predominance would remain for many decades.

Popular Tastes

While most food styles remained resolutely regional, some wider influences did begin to emerge. The spread of Chinese restaurants has been noted. From the 1840s onward, French food style began to shape the definition of elegant dining in the United States and some other parts of the Americas. Western clothing styles gained new ground, gradually competing with traditional fashions in places like Japan; by the early 1880s Japanese political leaders were normally depicted in Western dress. A bit later the leader of independent Turkey, after World War I, required the adoption of Western clothing styles, insisting for example that the hat replace the traditional fez, which he associated with backwardness.

Department Stores

Increasing globalization of a new (1830s) Western consumer institution, the department store, confirmed the growing relationship between international contacts and the spread of modern consumer habits. Pioneered in France as a way to offer a range of consumer goods amid attractive displays and advertising, the department stores spread to the United States and Russia by the 1850s. The format proved attractive along with its association with a modern, Western seal of approval. Department stores developed in Tokyo in the 1890s, and at about the same time in the Western-dominated sections of Shanghai. Not everyone was entranced; some Japanese and Chinese, even with some money to spend, professed to find nothing interesting in the proliferation of foreign styles. But there was some undeniable contagion. Young people, particularly, might see in the department store an opportunity to demonstrate independence from the habits of their parents.

Sports

Growing Western influence drew increasing international attention to several sports, and something of an international sports following began to develop. Soccer football headed the list, with teams in Latin America forming from the 1860s onward. An international federation emerged in 1904 to oversee the game on a global basis. Russians imported soccer to China, through the northern city of Harbin. American baseball also spread, to Latin America and Japan. A new Olympics movement formed in the 1890s, with the hope of making sports competition a symbol of global harmony, though in fact the games were almost exclusively Western for many decades. Still, the suggestion of international spectator interest in some key sports added to the sense that global contacts were promoting a new kind of popular culture.

Arts

While most cultural influence fanned out from the West, there were some other interactions. Growing familiarity with artistic styles in Africa and Japan, thanks to international exhibits organized in the West, deeply influenced modern artists like Gauguin and Van Gogh, contributing actively to major innovation in styles. The late 19th century hardly saw systematic cultural fusion, and there was both resistance to and ignorance of many of the major influences. But important new connections were being formed, constituting another new facet for globalization more generally.

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Questions

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2. Was there any difference between late 19th-century "cultural globalization" and Westernization?
3. What kinds of resistance developed to late-19th century cultural globalization?
4. Discuss the role of science in cultural globalization in the later 19th century.
5. How did Christian missionaries serve as agents of cultural globalization, beyond religion itself?
6. How did Japanese and other travelers help select between western cultural features worth imitating and features to be avoided?

Chapter 19: The Western Role

The Problem

Globalization after 1850 took shape in a Western-dominated world framework. The process of globalization was very real, but it developed alongside the rising tide of Western imperialism plus growing interference into technically independent states like China or the Ottoman Empire. The West's temporary monopoly on industrialization created simultaneous economic advantages, as the income gap between the West and virtually every other region widened greatly. The challenge was obvious: how greatly would the West's global advantage complicate or compromise the globalization process? Would regions be able to distinguish between growing international contacts and their concerns about undue Western influence?

Imperialism and Globalization

For some societies, imperialist pressures undeniably increased global contacts. European penetration of Africa, for example, brought more Africans into production for export markets and into some exposure to Western cultural and social standards. It was imperialist pressure on China that brought department stores to foreign-influenced cities like Shanghai. Obviously, imperialism also tended to exacerbate global inequalities. African peasants pressed to produce cotton for export, often at costs to local environmental quality and even the available food supply, earned meager wages at best, and often saw their living standards and sense of economic control both deteriorate. Imperialism could also confuse signals about global standards. Imperialists talked about their responsibility to end slavery, or improve conditions for women, or even to reduce cruelty to animals. But many used physical force to coerce local workers, or sought to press for sexual favors. In Kenya at one point, British authorities punished natives for animal abuse by --- whipping them. It was easy to confuse global standards with exploitation.

The Case of Japan

Japan made its basic commitment to globalization during its Meiji era, after 1868, ending the long period of substantial isolation. The nation eagerly organized study trips, international advisors, and a host of new interactions that would, among other things, assist it in launching its own process of industrialization. But the novelty of the endeavor raised obvious questions about how much to copy, how much to protect a treasured cultural and political identity. Initial enthusiasms for Western ways were soon tempered. By the 1880s the government pulled back in the interest in exploring Western political values, restricting access to Western influence in these areas, for example in the school system, even as scientific and technological contacts persisted. A new or renewed emphasis on group loyalty and worship of the emperor replaced what was seen as excessive Western individualism and political division. Here was one important attempt to distinguish between continued globalization and what seemed undesirable aspects of Westernization.

Nationalism

The 19th century saw a major expansion of nationalist ideas, literally around the world. Nationalism, as a set of political and cultural loyalties, had first emerged in the West in the 18th century. Potentially at least it challenged both the local and the larger religious loyalties that had previously prevailed. The power of these new ideas began to surge beyond Europe, from the early 19th century onward. East European and Latin American nationalisms became firmly established. Later in the century statements of Arab, Turkish, Indian, Jewish and African nationalisms emerged. Nationalism became part of the Japanese reform era. The whole phenomenon bore an ambiguous relationship to globalization. On the one hand, the

spread of nationalist ideas illustrated the new connections that allowed this kind of widespread dissemination. On the other hand, nationalism could easily emphasize cultural distinctiveness and separation, and could encourage political barriers, that could resist or impede global contacts. Nationalism certainly helped many societies resist or oppose Western domination. It also began to undermine a number of "multinational" states, such as the Ottoman Empire. Its role in globalization, both in the later 19th century and more recently, has been complex.

An Egyptian Example

Around 1900 a number of Egyptian reformers attacked the practice of veiling for women, arguing that it was retrograde by global standards and made the country look backward to foreigners. Other Egyptians, including many women, reacted in the other direction, contending that precisely because of foreign interference veiling should be retained, even expanded, as a badge of independent identity. Western-dominated globalization could produce diverse reactions, and to some extent that remains the case today.

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Questions

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2. How did Japan define a distinctive approach to late-19th century globalization?
3. How did international corporations affect regional responses to globalization?
4. Discuss changes and continuities in Africa's relationship to world trade in the later 19th and early 20th centuries.
5. Was there any distinction between globalization and assertions of Western world power in the later 19th century?
6. What was Hobson's critique of imperialism? Why was imperialism beginning to raise new concerns after 1900?
7. How did imperialism and feminism impact the Middle East? What new divisions resulted?

Chapter 20: The (Partial) Retreat from Globalization After 1918

Causes

Western influence obviously created opposition and resentment, which helps explain important movements to limit Western-centered globalization during the first half of the 20th century. Nationalism, but also new movements such as Nazism and Russian Communism pressed for greater independence from the process. World War I, a brutal conflict which global connections spread internationally, signaled to many the failure of the current global order; so did ensuing economic difficulties, and particularly the great Depression. A number of countries and regions found ways to pull back from all or part of the global network that had been forged after 1850. The result was a significant though incomplete setback for the whole process that would last until after World War II (and in some cases beyond).

Isolationism

The United States famously decided after World War I not to join the new League of Nations and to avoid most other possible alliances. In no sense did the nation seek to withdraw from other aspects of globalization, but its leaders believed that global diplomacy as usual jeopardized American interests. There was also concern that certain kinds of international political arrangements would compromise sovereignty, and this concern persists. Many historians believe that greater U.S. political involvement might have helped stabilize the international scene, though this can be debated. Accompanying isolation was the new movement to limit immigration, particularly from certain parts of the world.

The Soviet Path

Communism was in principle an international movement, and many of the new revolutionary leaders in Russia hoped to connect with other protest groups. By the late 1920s, however, Stalin led the nation into a more separatist path, seeking to develop industrialization without major foreign connections, under the motto "socialism in one country." The Soviet Union decidedly pulled away from many Western cultural trends, building its own styles of socialist realism; and it dramatically reduced trade links as well. There was even some effort to establish a separate brand of science. Many of the police controls set up by the regime aimed among other things at carefully controlling external political influences.

Japan

Japan emerged disappointed from World War I, convinced that the Western states were bent on denying its rightful place among the great powers. Further damaged by the depression, the nation came under an authoritarian military regime that sought to carve out a new empire in East Asia and the Pacific, one that could support the Japanese economy while partially separating it from the world economy. The idea of a new "Co-Prosperity" sphere was provision of raw materials, cheap labor and markets independent of the Western-dominated global system.

Nazi Germany

Nazism was a reaction to Germany's defeat in war and the democratic republic that struggled in its aftermath. It was also a reaction to globalization. Nazi leaders vilified "international" artistic styles and scientific conventions. As he prepared for war Hitler also hoped to use growing control in east-central Europe to provide resources and opportunities for the German economy that were distinct from the world economy more generally.

Cumulative Results

There were other distractions from global linkages. Many colonies, and particularly India, saw local leaders focusing increasingly on goals of national independence; they were not necessarily anti-global, but their priorities aimed elsewhere. Western nations greeted the Depression with decidedly national reactions, raising tariffs for example and in general trying to protect selfish interests in ways that actually reduced international recovery and constrained their own economies. The postwar years also constituted the period when passport systems were more widely introduced, creating new constraints on international travel. Overall, the interwar years, and particularly the 1930s, saw a retreat from globalization in many ways. Global political arrangements took the worst hit, but there was also new economic division and new attacks on global cultural influences. The trends show how fragile globalization trends can be, at least a century ago and perhaps again in future. At the same time, attacks on globalization provide an important, if less familiar, vantage point for a number of the key trends of the interwar period

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Questions

1. What were the major arguments for and against isolationism in the United States? How did Americans reconcile isolationism with the nation's role in the world economy?
2. How and why did Japan turn away from globalization?
3. What were the main features of Stalin's stance toward global relationships? How and why did communism change in this regard after the initial excitement of the 1917 revolution?
4. How did Britain experience the new constraints on globalization?
5. What were the main overall causes of the retreat from globalization between the wars?
6. What aspects of globalization persisted or intensified despite the "retreat"?

Chapter 21: Globalization between the Wars

Counterthrusts

While reactions against Western-dominated globalization form an important part of interwar history around the world, they were not the whole story. Globalization continued to advance, both along lines already established and in some new ways as well. The patterns were complex.

Enhancing Themes

A number of established patterns not only persisted but actually expanded, though sometimes with new twists. International sports resumed after World War I and continued until the next conflict. More and more countries established soccer programs. Interest in the Olympic Games increased, though a sense of national competitiveness increased as well particularly in the Nazi-organized Berlin Games in 1936. On another front, many international companies expanded their operations. Many student exchanges continued. It was in the 1920s, despite isolationism, that some American universities began setting up study abroad programs; though focused almost exclusively on Europe; the program suggested that greater cosmopolitanism was becoming a part of elite education in the United States. Cultural globalization, though challenged, also developed new mechanisms. The rise of an international film industry was a key trend. Based particularly in Hollywood, American film companies set up offices in Latin America, Australia and South Africa as well as Europe, and attendance at American movies became part of the urban experience in many countries, even in the Middle East. By 1920 a majority of films shown in Britain originated in the United States, and a number of international stars flocked to Hollywood at this point as well – making the movie industry an interest mix of the American and the global. Finally, technology continued to enhance global linkages. Aviation accelerated certain kinds of international deliveries; radio provided new connections across continents.

Global Imitations

Efforts to use global connections to imitate expanded less rapidly amid the signs of tension and retreat, but there were important cases. In the 1920s a growing number of young Japanese provided eager consumers of Western fashion – some were dubbed “modern” girls and boys in consequences. Turkey under its new leader, Kemal Ataturk, sought to combine intense nationalism with new connections to the West, even adopting the Western alphabet as well as the famous adoption of clothing styles. Innovations in the United States, such as cheap retail outlets (the so-called dime stores) either expanded directly in parts of Europe, or sparked imitations such as the French Monoprix.

Women’s Rights

Earlier connections among feminist movements, plus more general imitation, helped spark an incomplete, but clearly international approach to some new rights for women. Voting rights, already established in Scandinavian countries and Australia, now spread to more (but not all) countries in Europe as well as the United States. This was an area where Turkey also joined in. The Soviet Union also spearheaded women’s suffrage, providing another force toward wider international interest.

Political Globalization

The most obvious innovations in globalization took place in the political arena. A growing International Labor Office, though suggested before World War I, promoted international

interest in worker gains, advocating also an international ban on child labor. Important international conferences broke new ground in gaining agreements on limiting naval forces, particularly among Britain, the United States and Japan; while the effort broke down in the buildup to World War II, the precedent was vital. And competition in battleship production, a key issue before 1914, actually did end once and for all. A chemical weapons ban was also signed by many countries, though the United States among others held out. The idea of global arrangements was clearly expanding.

The League of Nations

The most ambitious experiment, of course, was the League of Nations. Now known historically mainly for its ultimate failure, the League deserves attention both as an innovation in principle and for a number of positive results. The idea of a league received wide discussion during World War I itself: surely, many urged, a new global institution could prevent a recurrence of such a disaster. The postwar peace conference at Versailles readily embraced the concept, with the notion that an international body could discuss key issues before they burst into open conflict. Of course the implementation was flawed in many ways. Important nations were excluded, at least for a while, including Germany and the Soviet Union, and American rejection also hurt. Despite massive discussion no real agreement was reached on giving the League the power of military enforcement; major disputes thus drew hollow condemnations with no real results. But the fact that a body of this sort was even attempted shows a further growth in global political thinking. And the League did resolve some problems, settling 35 of the 66 international issues presented. Finally, discussions continued into the early 1930s about improving League mechanisms, and particularly the possibility of a military response to aggression. No agreement was possible, and then the tensions of the 1930s forestalled further initiative. But here too a precedent was set that would later be resumed.

The Interwar Years

The 1920s and 1930s fit uneasily between the two world wars, and the theme of globalization retreat was an important part of spirit of the times. Too many aspects of prior globalization seemed either flawed or abortive. But pressures to globalize continued as well. The generated complexity during the decades themselves, and they also form an active backdrop to a renewal of the larger process after the second war.

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Questions

1. What were the main ways in which globalization advanced between the wars, despite the "retreat" of many regions from global interactions?
2. Why and how were women's rights becoming an increasing part of globalization by the 1920s?
3. What were the crucial weaknesses of the League of Nations as an instrument of political globalization? How does the League illustrate both an advance in globalization, and the new signs of retreat?
4. Why and how did popular culture become a growing area for global exchange during the 1920s?
5. Why were United States popular cultural forms beginning to gain such wide global influence? What advantages did the nation have over European competitors in appealing to global mass taste?

Section IV: Questions

1. Discuss the complex relationship between nationalism and globalization in the 19th century. Use Japan as one of your examples.
2. What were the common factors in the movement by many societies away from globalization after World War I?
3. Discuss the relationship between science and globalization in the 19th century.
4. Define the four or five most novel features of globalization after 1850, compared to previous contact patterns.
5. Discuss the complexities in the relationship of East Asia to globalization after 1850.

V. Contemporary Globalization: The 1950s Onward

There is no question that, at the very least, globalization processes have notably accelerated and expanded in recent decades. The retreat from globalization during the interwar decades has been decidedly reversed. But there may be more. Many globalization theorists in the social scientists assume, without formal historical analysis, that current patterns of globalization are quite new in the human experience. A group of historians, devoting themselves to what they call the “new global history”, agree. Some of them contend specifically that globalization over the past half century is vastly different from earlier contact patterns; a few even argue that globalization is one of the most basic innovations in the whole human experience.

A number of categories capture many of the key developments in contemporary globalization, and allow some tests of the most dramatic claims for innovation. Technology, organization and policy head the list, combining to produce new and intricate frameworks for interaction. But globalization can also be measured by its heightened impacts on political exchanges, culture, even the environment. Range of global developments and intensity are both involved.

And geography must be factored in, with two dimensions. First, during recent decades virtually every region in the world has been drawn into the globalization process, again reversing some earlier efforts to isolate; only a handful of countries, headed by North Korea, now stand apart. And while all sorts of pressures promote globalization, some of the regional adhesions – like China’s decision to rejoin in 1978 – have been at least partly voluntary. Second, contemporary globalization continues to reflect disproportionate Western influence but now at greatly diluted level. Thanks to decolonization and regional economic growth, globalization is more balanced than ever before.

Beginning a consideration of globalization around 1950 may seem an odd choice. It captures the impact of World War II, which directly promoted some of the key changes in technology and indirectly prompted important policy revisions. But 1950 was also precisely when the Cold War seemed to introduce new divisions, which did indeed complicate the globalization process. However, both sides in the Cold War sought global connections, so the contradiction is more apparent than real. And key developments, for example in more rapid communication technologies, occurred despite the Cold War – which turned out in any event not to represent a very durable global framework.

Whatever the decision about the novelty of contemporary globalization, it remains complex. It does not erase regional divisions and distinctions. Indeed, balancing the “global and the local” is one of the key challenges to accurate analysis. It brings a mixture of benefits and disadvantages, with winners and losers both within and among key regional societies. It has a host of detractors, including some who periodically protest the process directly and others who are more diffusely discomfited by it. In some measurable respects globalization advances even though a majority of people profess to dislike some of its principal features. These issues and more must be factored into contemporary historical analysis.

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The Three Waves of Globalization by Robbie Robertson (Zed Books 2003). Pages 171-265 .

Globalization: A Short History by Jurgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson (Princeton 2005). Pages 113-152.

Chapter 22: The New Technologies

Assessing Change

Dramatic new technologies unquestionably accelerated the movement of people, goods and information on a global basis. The result was both part of globalization and a framework within which other developments could occur. The novel features of multinational corporations, for example, would be inconceivable without jet travel and rapid information flows. At the same time, the new technologies built on an existing trajectory, in which travel and communication had already been transformed. It is not easy to sort out the drama of real innovation from the changes that had taken hold earlier.

Transportation

The key change here kicked in quite soon after World War II, building in part on the tremendous advances in aircraft and associated infrastructure during the war itself. Pan American airlines had already established a transatlantic route in 1939, but it was the advent of jet aircraft that really transformed global links, for travelers and the shipment of goods alike. British Overseas Airways set up the first regular jet service between London and Johannesburg in 1952. The first nonstop flight across the Pacific launched in 1965. At the same time the United Nations brokered important international agreements to coordinate international flights. Numbers of passengers heading to global destinations increased steadily, for business and tourism alike. Even discomfort was altered, as the term jet lag, introduced in 1966, was described as debility not un-akin to a hangover." Jet travel also altered the movement of goods. By the 1970s jets were being used to ship goods to six continents, with particular impact on the movement of perishables.

Communication

Both World War II and the Cold War spurred further innovations in this sector. It was in 1945 that Arthur C. Clarke, a British electronics expert, speculated about the possibility of sending communication satellites into space, and research in the area began to blossom in the 1950s. The Soviet space launch in 1957 stimulated further activity. American launches of orbiting communications satellites began in 1964. A new organization, Intelsat, soon opened communications possibilities to all nations, while individual countries also set up their own satellites systems. The result was a revolution in the cost and clarity of international phone calls, as well as the unprecedented opportunity to send television signals worldwide. Portions of the 1964 Olympic Games in Tokyo were thus televised to Europe and North America. The advent of cell phones, plus the continued reduction in the costs of international calls, opened access to many individuals even in some of the poorer regions of the world.

Computers

The emergence of the Internet stands as the most important single communications change. Research on the possibility of connecting computers began in the 1950s and 1960s, both in Europe and the United States. Initial goals focused both on communication and on enhanced storage and retrieval capacity. Electronic mail opportunities emerged from 1979 onward, though particularly for military purposes. By the 1980s greater standardization began to develop. In 1984 University College London began using Internet capacity to communicate with the United States, with computers talking directly with other computers.

Australian linkages developed at about the same time, and by the late 1980s Japan, Singapore and Thailand also gained global Internet connectivity. China introduced its first capacity in 1991, and with some external funding, African connections were forged by the mid-1990s. There were challenges, of course. Far fewer people in poor countries, and in rural areas generally, had access to the Internet than wealthier urbanites; only a minority, globally, had any kind of direct contact with the system even by 2013. Individual countries also imposed filtering processes which limited the flow of information. Still, opportunities for rapid and capacious global contact, among private individuals, scholars, and businesses were truly unprecedented.

A New Framework

Changes in transportation and communication were obviously cumulative, with new developments building on past milestones virtually every decade. A host of new patterns quickly built on this new potential. One key index was the emergence of English as the first truly global language. Widespread travel and communication virtually compelled some common linguistic medium, for airline pilots for example, or for scientists taking advantage of global access to research. Because of the British imperial precedent and then the power of the United States, English moved into the void, becoming the language not only of global air travel, but also global sports, business and computerization. By the early 21st century 66% of the world's scientists spoke English. By 2008 80% of the electronically stored information in the world was in English. Small wonder that learning English gained ground steadily in global aspirants like China: as a 12-year-old Chinese noted in 2012, self-taught in the language, "If you can't speak English you're deaf and dumb." Here was one sign of the new demands but also the new possibilities of global communication. Language and technology now combined to produce new types of collaborations among researchers, managers, even ordinary tourists.

Human Impacts

The changing technology infrastructure affected all sorts of activities, but among them, and not to be forgotten, was a clear human component. Migration changed even further, as longer-distance travel became even easier. People from poorer regions might try to move farther than ever before, seeking jobs in more affluent settings; and cultural mixing, in the recipient regions, became increasingly complex. Downsides involved an unquestionable increase in human trafficking, with up to 800,000 people per year lured or coerced into virtual slavery, including sexual slavery. Exploitation of, and prejudice against, many immigrants surfaced strongly as well. Large immigrant minorities emerged in Western Europe and the Gulf states, as well as in several parts of the Americas – a tangible illustration of ongoing globalization.

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Questions

1. Transocean steamship or jet airplane: which caused the greater changes in global contacts?
2. Discuss resistances and hesitations in reactions to the new global technologies after 1950.
3. Compare the contemporary role of English to that of earlier "global" languages like Arabic.
4. Overall, have the new global technologies reduced or exacerbated regional divides?

5. Which was more important in shaping global relationships 1950 to 1990, the Cold War or the new transportation and communication technologies?

Chapter 23: New Policies and Organizations

Beyond Technology

Most students of globalization, including the “new global” historians, emphasize the importance of new policy initiatives in the wake of World War II, and then a number of new organizations, in illustrating and furthering the dramatic changes in international contacts. These innovations meshed with technology, but they are significant in their own right and help define the globalization process and its timing. Initially, some of the key changes sought to respond to the divisions and tensions that had led to World War II, but many of the initiatives would take on a life of their own.

The United Nations

At the height of World War II the major allies – Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union and China – issued a call for a new world body to replace and transcend the League of Nations. The United Nations was founded after an international conference in 1945, and began operations the following year. The new organization was structured to respond more swiftly and effectively to conflict situations than had been true of the League, though continuing divisions among the great powers continued to impose constraints. The new organization had a far larger infrastructure than its predecessor, with subordinate groups working on issues ranging from health conditions to women’s rights. As decolonization proceeded, creating many newly-independent nations, the United Nations also moved away from Western dominance, becoming a more truly global sounding board. While limitations on the effectiveness of the United Nations became obvious, particularly during the Cold War, the new body did respond effectively to a number of crises, sending multinational forces to many trouble spots.

Global Economic Policy

Along with the United Nations, a number of new institutions were established to help regulate the global economy in the wake of World War II. A conference in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in 1944 set up mechanisms to coordinate international financial policies among capitalist nations, seeking to prevent the kind of disruptions that had occurred between the wars. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and what later became the World Bank were two specific results. The IMF helped oversee the stability of exchange rates, also providing loans to members to cover temporary trade deficits. The World Bank provided investment funds, initially to aid on postwar economic recovery and later in promoting wider economic development. Both the new organizations encountered criticism for interfering in national economic policies and for promoting the interests of the established industrial powers, but they did seek to promote global stability. Later a third institution, the World Trade Organization (emerging in 1995 after a number of previous international agreements on reducing tariffs barriers) worked directly to encourage a freer flow of goods and services. Membership in the WTO became increasingly widespread particularly after the end of the Cold War in 1989.

Multinationals

In part because of the new international policy umbrella, and certainly on the strength of new technologies, a novel type of global business organization began to emerge, helping to define this new stage in globalization overall. Multinational corporations often amassed huge economic power, helping to shape labor and environmental conditions in many regions. Their most characteristic feature involved locating stages of production processes in many

different countries, depending on available resources, labor supply and environmental regulations. A contemporary multinational might thus make one set of components for a product in Indonesia, either directly or through a subcontractor, another in Turkey, a third set in Kentucky for final assembly of the whole product in Mexico. Multinationals developed the capacity to relocate key operations quickly, depending on favorable conditions such as wages, without much regard for the region affected. The multinationals maintained older features of international companies, with some key innovations including increasingly international management teams. By 1970 about 6,000 real international companies operated in the world, double the number of 1914, but by 1988 the level was 18,500 and by 2000 it had reached 63,000. Most multinationals continued to be based in the advanced industrial regions such as Western Europe, Japan, South Korea and the United States, but entrants emerged from China and other places as well. The rate of growth was both a measure and a source of globalization.

INGOs

The emergence of International Non-Governmental Organizations was in many ways more striking than the pattern of the multinationals, because the effort was more novel. INGOs sought to counter the power of the multinationals, in areas such as the environment and labor policy, while also seeking to constrain national governments, as in the human rights arena. INGOs sought to develop international memberships, while also trying to mobilize and coordinate "world opinion". They often linked to local NGOs, which provided information about issues such as political imprisonment or attacks on trade union leaders. Key new INGOs included Amnesty International, formed in 1961 to publicize and protest human rights abuses in every major region. By the 1980s the organization had over 700,000 members in 150 countries, and had successfully participated in a number of key campaigns such as the attack on apartheid in South Africa. The overall numbers of INGOs expanded steadily, from about 2000 in 1960 (ten times the number that had existed in 1900), to 4000 in 1980. The range of concerns expanded as well, embracing not only human rights but also women's rights, labor conditions, and environmental quality. Many successful campaigns were mounted against multinationals, as in the pressure on the McDonalds restaurant chains to stop using non-biodegradable cups (1980s) or on the use of sweatshop labor conditions by companies like Nike (1990s).

Cumulative Impact

On the whole the new international policies and institutions increasingly provided greater global coordination, particularly in the economy but also around issues such as global standards for women, both before but especially after the end of the Cold War. Resistances continued, with a number of countries particularly seeking to limit or regulate the impact of INGOs when they seemed to challenge domestic political authority.

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Questions

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2. What are the main causes of the explosion of INGOS since 1960?
3. Discuss the limitations and drawbacks of the new international organizations and policies since 1945?
4. To what extent has the United Nations overcome key weaknesses of the League?
5. How important were the new financial organizations created after World War II in furthering economic globalization?
6. To what extent have the new international organizations and policies created since 1945 overcome or modified earlier Western dominance of globalization?

Chapter 24: Regional Commitments

National Decisions

Along with new technologies and organizational frameworks, decisions by a number of key governments, over time, helped cement the globalization process in contemporary world history. Regional hesitations persisted, of course, but the reversal of the various efforts to withdraw from global contacts, or create alternatives networks, developed fairly steadily.

Post-World War II

Defeat in war ended the experiments in Japan and Germany to create spheres of control separate from the global mainstream. Both countries surprisingly quickly returned not only to robust economic growth, but to active participation in the global community. Japan was more hesitant than Germany about apologizing for wartime excesses, which complicated its relations with its near neighbors. But Japan's growing export sector supported its emergence as one of the world's leading economies, and by the end of the 20th century the nation was also taking a leading role in global popular culture. Both Germany and Japan participated actively in various United Nations activities, including peace-keeping missions.

The United States

Experience in war also weaned the United States from isolationism, despite a brief temptation to revert after the war ended. For better or worse the United States replaced Britain as the West's leading protagonist, heading up one "side" in the Cold War and continuing active global military and diplomatic engagement as the "world's only remaining superpower" after 1989. Aspects of globalization continued to cause some distress. American policymakers were particularly averse to global engagements that might be seen as restricting international sovereignty. Thus the nation refused to acknowledge jurisdiction from the new International Criminal Court, established in the early 21st century, and it also refused to sign agreements, such as one prohibiting the use of landmines, despite advocacy by many American citizens. Still, the United States' global role was far more multifaceted and robust than had been the case during the interwar decades, another major change in terms of regional commitments.

China

We now know that China's global history is more complicated than once imagined; the society has frequently been suspicious of too much outside contact but never really isolationist. But the exploitative quality of foreign intervention in the 19th and early 20th centuries unquestionably prompted a retreat under Mao Zedong, in which international contacts were carefully limited and supervised. In 1978 the nation substantially changed course, however. While eager to preserve a separate and authoritarian political system, new Chinese leaders decided to embrace the world market and express an unparalleled interest in hosting international visitors and sending students and group delegations to various corners of the world. The goal was to learn as much as possible from the wider world, and to engage this world as a source of supplies and markets; the nation acceded to the World Trade Organization in 2002. Never before had so many Chinese traveled so widely, even as China's role in the world economy and in other global sectors, such as athletics, expanded rapidly.

Russia

The decision by the Soviet Union to begin to open wider contacts, from 1985 onward, was almost as dramatic as the Chinese shift. As in China, substantial isolation from the world began to seem too costly, in terms of lagging economic and technological development. Again, new levels of international exchange resulted, in a variety of sectors, even though the Russian political system retained some distinctive features. The wider collapse of communism, after 1989, produced new global exchanges also for other east-central European countries, including even Albania which had long been a particularly isolated pocket.

The End of Isolation?

Many regions continued to have real concerns about key aspects of globalization, and regional differences remained sharp in many respects as well. But policy shifts, many of them reasonably voluntary, showed the power of new global arrangements, while augmenting these arrangements in turn. By 2012 one of the last holdout nations, Myanmar (Burma) also began to open to new contacts, interestingly using new openness to global human rights standards as an entering wedge.

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Questions

1. Compare the decisions of China and Russia to expand their global contacts in the 1970s and 1980s. Were similar causes involved? Were there similar impacts and results?
2. To what extent has contemporary globalization operated within an Anglo-American framework?
3. Using Myanmar as example, discuss the nature and limitations of regional isolation in the contemporary world? How can a region rejoin global society?
4. Assess the main stages of Japan's encounter with globalization, from 1853 to the present.
5. Has contemporary globalization become inevitable, or does it depend heavily on national policy decisions?

Chapter 25: Political Globalization

The Category

Global political arrangements became increasingly complex and wide-ranging from the 1950s onward, building of course on the new policy framework and responding as well to pressures from INGOs. It was a truism that politics lagged behind other aspects of the globalization process – as in the environmental area. A number of effective arrangements did emerge, however, that generated real change both internationally and in many specific regions. With time, leading global political discussions expanded to include more and more representatives from outside the West, though full balance remained elusive if only because of disparities in resources.

United Nations Conferences

Conferences proliferated on a whole variety of international policy issues. Spurred by the United Nations and the International Labor Office, a number of conferences worked toward agreement on various issues concerning children. New conventions sought to ban the capital punishment for children convicted of crimes, with most nations signing on; even the United States Supreme Court agreed with this “principle of international law,” in 2006. Efforts to agree on banning child labor encountered various resistances, but an agreement did spell out types of exploitative labor to which children should not be subjected, and also sought to ban child soldiers. Other international conferences worked with some success to limit above-ground nuclear testing, to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and to reduce existing arsenals. A 1985 agreement, signed by almost all nations within 15 years, actually banned chemical weapons, and many countries began to destroy existing devices in compliance.

Women’s Rights

International feminist organizations and the United Nations helped spread new standards for the treatment of women, on an increasingly global basis. The United Nations made specific reference to women in the Universal Charter of Human Rights, in 1948. Then in 1965 the organization began proclaiming the “Year of the Woman” every decade, with an international conference attached. Large numbers of governments, in response, issued assurances of women’s rights in their national constitutions, as with many of the new nations of Africa. Here as in many cases, gaps emerged between important international agreements, with strong world opinion to match, and actual practice. Violence against women increased in some places, in part responding to global pressures for greater equality, and some national courts and governments ignored international standards altogether.

Health

Globalization inevitably increased the potential for the spread of communicable diseases, and the speed of contagion. But in many ways political responses, headed by the World Health Organization (WHO), responded effectively. Thus in 2002-3 an epidemic of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) began in China, whose government initially sought to conceal the outbreak lest it embarrass the regime. But the disease was picked up by a Canadian health warning system, which prompted WHO response. Transmission to other Asian countries, and to Canada, also sparked new efforts at quarantine, while airline passengers began to be screened for the disease. By summer 2003 the disease had been contained, with many regions spared entirely. International responses also applied (with varying degrees of success) to other diseases such as AIDS and dangerous strains of flu.

Global institutions were increasingly positioned not just to record new health dangers, but to coordinate countermeasures. Other global health problems, not based on contagion, such as the growing global incidence of childhood obesity, were less easy to deal with organizationally.

Crime

A somewhat sketchy international police organization was formed in the 1920s. It was revived in 1945, under the nickname Interpol, and has become the second largest global institution after the United Nations itself, with 98 national members. Interpol works to coordinate activities among national police forces and to work against international criminal activities, including drug trafficking, wildlife trafficking and terrorism. While information exchange is a crucial activity, direct enforcement efforts occur as well.

Military Crises

International responses to many military crises remained frequently deficient. The United Nations, thanks to great-power vetoes, could not effectively intervene in Cold War conflicts such as Vietnam. Devastating civil strife and genocides, as in Rwanda in the 1990s, were not brought under international control. Many regions, however, set up arbitration agreements after World War II that proved largely effective in settling disputes. This was true in Latin America, in Southeast Asia (particularly after the Vietnamese War), in Europe with the movement toward greater unity, and in parts of Africa. The United Nations itself proved more decisive after the Cold War ended. Between 1988 and 1993 13 new peace keeping operations were launched, with troops from many countries working to assure agreed-upon borders or resolve civil conflicts. A bit later, in 1998, in a successful mission to resolve a bitter civil war in Sierra Leone, 17,000 troops were involved. By 2013 15 missions were active, with 109,000 troops. United Nations projects had mixed results, but by the early 21st century some experts argued that, thanks to these efforts and other regional agreements, the amount of armed conflict in the world was actually going down.

Trends

International institutions and coordinating efforts had many weaknesses, and remained fairly powerless against determined individual states. A number of problems – such as growing inequality among different levels of society, a pervasive global trend from the 1990s onward – were simply not tackled. Other issues drew inconsistent response. In some areas, however, international institutions gained greater experience in the decades after 1950. And ambitions increased as well. In 2002, for example, a large number of countries agreed to the formation of an International Criminal Court, designed to try war criminals and others guilty of crimes such as genocide. By 2017 leaders who committed acts of aggression were meant to be brought under the court's purview. The notion that war crimes could be clearly defined, and that an international body could respond to them, was ambitious, and it remained to be seen how effective the Court would be. But the goal showed a continued hope that international political action could tackle fundamental problems.

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Questions

1. What is the role of science in contemporary globalization, and what key changes from past scientific patterns are involved?
2. Why have fast foods become such an important component in global consumerism?
3. What is Japan's role in contemporary global consumerism?
4. How, and how well, do regional and global cultures combine in contemporary world history?
5. What groups are most, and what groups least, drawn to global cultural forms?
6. Is global culture a significant phenomenon, or is most of what passes for global culture rather superficial in terms of its meaning to the people involved?

Chapter 26: Cultural Globalization

Trends

The intensity and range of contacts, and particularly the new capacities in global communication, inevitably had deep impact on values, beliefs and styles, without eliminating regional identities for many people. Many people, particularly youth, felt new need to stay connected to a larger cultural world. The young man in a McDonald's restaurant in Shanghai, who admitted he preferred traditional food but want to be linked to global tastes, was a case in point. Correspondingly, global cultural inroads created new resistances as well.

Sources

The West, and particularly the United States, helped create larger segments of global culture, particularly around media and consumerism. But Japanese popular music and animation made large inroads, and by the early 21st century South Korea was becoming a trend-setter as well. Exchanges occurred in many directions. Thus American television shows and movies dominated many markets, but Americans themselves picked up music crazes from Europe, toy and game fads from Japan, some movie styles from India, some medical approaches from China – the list was long and complex.

Science

Something like a global approach to science and medicine clearly emerged, though research was obviously more extensive in affluent countries than in poorer regions. Scientific meetings gained global clientele. Many students flocked to universities that could provide the latest training in science and technology, and by the 21st century leading institutions in places like Singapore were competing with Western centers for this kind of international clientele. Major projects in physics as well as medicine linked scholars from many regions. Beyond research, hospitals in most major urban centers, except in the poorest countries, began providing fairly standards approaches to the leading diseases, though sometimes individuals combined interest in modern medicine with more traditional rituals and remedies.

Art and Architecture

Shared architectural styles increasingly dominated the new sections of cities around the world, for the very good reason that many architectural firms developed international commissions. Artistic and musical trends were more varied, and not every society actively patronized the leading "modern art" styles of the West. But orchestras with essentially common repertoires developed widely in East Asia as well as Europe, Russia, Israel and the Americas, and performers and conductors were similarly diverse. Even regional cultural groups developed global audiences, thanks to the possibility of international tours.

Consumer Culture

Here was the epicenter of what most people identified as global culture, thanks in large part to shared media but also to international corporations in areas like food services. American-style fast food spread widely, particularly from the 1970s onward, with only modest concessions to local cuisine (such as more vegetarian fare in India). By 1998 McDonalds, for example, was operating in 109 countries. Many sporting events became global, even aside from the increasingly popular Olympic Games. Globally-shared consumer items, like Hello Kitty merchandise from Japan, reflected many common tastes. Beauty

contests globalized (amid periodic dispute), from a base in the West and particularly the United States. Thus a Miss World competition was launched in 1951. Regional and national contests emerged in India, Africa and elsewhere. Interest even grew in parts of the Middle East, with a Lebanese winner of Miss International in 2002 and a Pakistani winner of Miss Bikini Universe in 2006 (though amid great local controversy). Clothing styles globalized, around such items as the ubiquitous blue jeans. Commercial aspects of Christmas spread, even to places like Turkey or the Emirates; the song Happy Birthday, associated with new types of celebrations for children, was translated into most major languages.

Hesitations

Many people were not moved by the new tastes, preferring older styles. Even some participants might be only superficially involved. And different regions did adapt global styles, avoiding absolute uniformity. Thus Japanese visitors at the nation's Disney Park were more likely to buy goods for others than were Americans, who saw Disney as a chance mainly to purchase items for themselves. Other adaptations were interesting, as in the huge Bollywood film industry in India that mixed traditional styles and stories with Hollywood conventions. And there was much outright criticism and resistance. At one point the Japanese government tried to support the use of chopsticks in schools, worried that a national tradition was being eroded. Islamic criticism of excessive consumer sexuality, and the clear preference of many Muslim women, even where clear choices were available, to maintain traditional dress reflected an obvious source of friction. The varieties and meaning of global culture remained complex.

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Questions

1. Discuss the interaction between human rights principles and contemporary globalization.
2. Compare international political action on disease control and on the control of violence. What are the similarities and differences?
3. How does the effort to prosecute crimes against humanity relate to the broader process of political globalization?
4. Is political and economic globalization beginning to displace nationalism and national political control?
5. What are the key objections to global human rights standards and efforts at implementation?

Chapter 27: Environmental Globalization

Emergence of a Global Issue

Humans have affected, or damaged, the environment at many points. And some of the damage has certainly been related to earlier patterns of interregional contact. European animals, for example, substantially altered many American grass lands, as part of the Columbian exchange. Western industrialization, in the 19th century, prompted many countries to introduce new crops that increased soil erosion, altered water sources or had other harmful effects, in the interests of supplying the expanding export markets. Thus the proliferation of rubber plantations in Brazil had significant consequences, as did encouragement for planting cotton in less-suited parts of Africa. Never before the later 20th century, however, had environmental changes in one region had literally global impact. And never before, by the same token, had global institutions sought to grapple with environmental concerns.

New Patterns

Several changes in the 20th century began to redefine environmental impacts, and intensify scientific and political attention to the issue. During the 1970s scientists began to call attention to increasing damage to the ozone layer, particularly over Antarctica, presumably because of the use of halocarbons, such as Freon, in refrigeration and air conditioning systems. Damage increased into the later 1980s, causing growing concern about the results of more direct exposure to ultraviolet light from the sun. On another front, attempts to curb local factory pollution by creating tall smokestacks, to disperse this form of waste over wider territory, turned out to generate more acidic rainfall in distant regions, with considerable harm to northern forests. Thus tall stacks in the United States Midwest had direct effects on Canadian forests, while acid rain in Scandinavia was generated from the German Ruhr. Finally, and most important, the increase of overall carbon emissions as a result of factories but also automobiles, plus the diminution of Amazon forests due to growing demand for beef and other products, combined to produce increasingly measurable global warming. Polar icecaps began to melt, temperature averages increased, with resulting increases in more dramatic storms plus growing concern about the results of rising sea levels. Environmental change had gone global.

Responses: Halocarbons

Global environmental change provided an obvious challenge for global political institutions. At first, many nations tried to tackle some of the problems through their own legislation. Thus the United States and the European nations took action on ozone-damaging halocarbons through separate laws. Strategies changed in the early 1980s, however, toward insistence on a more international approach; purely national action had only limited results. In consequence, a series of meetings led to a 1987 convention in Montreal, in which many nations agreed to ban halocarbons and replace them with less damaging chemicals. The result was some reduction in problems with the ozone layer.

Responses: Global Warming

Action on global warming was considerably more challenging, but discussions of the need for international action intensified by the later 1990s. A major conference in Kyoto, Japan, set limits on carbon emissions in order to address the problem. A number of industrial nations pledged reductions. Ensuing conferences occurred in the 21st century, with additional pledges but also considerable dispute. The United Nations, in the meantime,

sponsored a series of scientific studies (with international panels of experts) to demonstrate the changes that could be recorded in the climate and discuss probable causes through human activities. As of 2014, responses had proved inadequate to reverse the trends.

A Global Dilemma

More complicated environmental issues, notably global warming, proved difficult to address through international agreement. Industrial countries differed among themselves as to the seriousness of the threat. The United States, particularly, embraced considerable dispute over whether global warming was real, and whether it had human causes; strong political contingents resisted action, and prevented ratification of American pledges at conferences like Kyoto. Economically developing nations hesitated, believing that they would be disadvantaged competitively if they agreed to expensive remedies, worrying that industrial nations were using environmental concerns as a means to limit their own growth. At least for the moment, global environmental change outstripped global political capacity, despite deep concern in many quarters.

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Questions

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2. What were the main principles of the Kyoto agreement and what kinds of concern did the agreement cause.
3. What factors in recent decades have converted human environmental impacts from a regional to a global phenomenon?
4. Assess the main variations in regional responses to global environmental change.

Chapter 28: Downsides to Globalization

Loss of Control

Environmental changes, disputes, and ineffective responses make it obvious that globalization is hardly an unalloyed blessing. Some globalization theorists have tended to paint a resolutely rosy picture, but one can also believe that globalization is occurring but lament the results. Major concerns about the process fall into several major categories. But an overarching feature of globalization may involve, for many people, a less specific sense of loss of control. Familiar features change, when economic competition comes from more distant places or one's city is populated by an increasing diverse immigrant group. Even aside from specific problems, in other words, globalization can generate a sense of unease

Economic Issues

For quite a while, economic problems associated with globalization received greatest attention, and they certainly continue to cause concern. During the 1980s and 1990s there was a widespread belief that globalization was producing greater inequality among key regions. Industrialized areas, now including Japan and the Pacific Rim, seemed to be able to take advantage of less developed regions to garner resources and foods at falling prices (oil was an exception here), while encouraging the importation of higher-cost goods and services. Institutions like the International Monetary Fund were accused of constraining the poorer countries, for example in insisting on austerity policies. Parts of sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia seemed mired in growing poverty. By the 1990s, however, the economic success of China, India, Brazil and other key countries suggested the regional inequality was actually in decline, with globalization – opportunities to export, particularly – now seen as beneficial. Several African countries, by the 21st century, also seemed able to take advantage of global prosperity. Greater attention shifted now to growing inequality within regions – from the United States to China, and to sectors where new levels of low-wage foreign competition seemed to generate greater unemployment. Most nations held back from direct confrontation with economic globalization, through mechanisms such as higher tariffs, which suggested considerable belief that on balance economic opportunities outweighed threats; but groups within many societies were less sanguine.

The Issue of Identity

Many intellectuals as well as many ordinary people have developed grave concerns over globalization's threat to regional cultures. Africans lament the perversion of folk art in the interests of pleasing tourist tastes. A leading Mexican novelist writes about the threat to distinctive identity posed by global urban culture and of course the omnipresence of United States influence. Chinese intellectuals divide over whether globalization is blessing or curse, some claiming that global prosperity will give the nation a greater voice, others worrying that interactions with globalization press the nation into a foreign mold. Religious leaders in many regions worry about the distractions of consumer culture. Parents, in many cases, see threats to their control over their children, as youth-centered global styles gain greater attention. The challenge of cultural globalization is less obvious in nations like the United States, whose popular fashions help lead the parade, but it is very real in many societies. For many, cultural globalization is just a fancy name for American or Western dominance.

The Immigrant Challenge

Immigration is not, again, new with contemporary globalization, nor is the ethnic tension that can accompany it. Nevertheless the distant origins and the mixing of immigrant groups do provide new challenges. The whole immigrant phenomenon can seem to

incorporate some of the wider meanings of globalization. In Europe, tensions with Muslim immigrants could be particularly severe; France for example legislated prohibitions on traditional dress for Muslim women, but there were also culture clashes in the Netherlands and Scandinavia. Many Americans focused strongly on the real or imagined threat of illegal immigrants, citing unfair economic competition and welfare costs or the danger of criminality. Japan, despite a falling birth rate, held back from admitting many immigrants in the first place.

Disagreement

Polls taken in the early 21st century suggest that a majority of people in the world actually opposed globalization, because of one or more of the threats it poses. Cultural globalization draws the greatest concern, with up to 72% opposition; economic globalization draws disapproval from over 50% of respondents. Only political globalization wins majority favor, with some hope that political agreements might help keep other aspects of globalization, such as the excessive power of the multinationals or environmental degradation, under some control. But Americans were particularly worried about political interference, with considerable concern even about the United Nations. Group responses did vary. Young people in Western Europe, Japan and the coasts of North America actually favored cultural globalization, by a 4-1 margin, in obvious contrast to the rest of the world. Worldwide, women favor globalization a bit more than men do, which makes sense in terms of globalization's impact on traditional gender relations. Here too, however, there is complexity.

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Questions

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2. What are the leading disadvantages of economic globalization?
3. What are the leading disadvantages of cultural globalization?
4. Why is cultural globalization contested more widely than economic globalization, and both more than political globalization?
5. What are the major challenges in interpreting regional poll results on contemporary globalization?
6. Compare reactions to globalization in Africa and in the United States: what causes major similarities and differences?
7. Obviously, we lack polling data on globalization before the last few decades: speculatively, do you think hostility to global contacts has increased or decreased over the past 150 years? Discuss the main reasons for your response.

Chapter 29: Protest

Innovation

One of the most interesting features of contemporary globalization was its generation of a specifically anti-globalization protest movement. This was quite new. It reflected the greater power of globalization as a process, that it could not focus at least a certain amount of explicit discontent. It also reflected the decline of other targets: with formal imperialism largely gone, for example, some of the hostility directed at earlier global relationships now had to move in new directions. Anti-global protest was not, as yet, a terribly important movement, though it did force global leaders to isolate their planning conferences. The development is worth at least passing notice. But it is also important to consider some less direct methods of resistance, which linked to the whole process but possibly in more significant ways.

The First Outbreak

Extensive street protests broke out in Seattle, in 1999, on the occasion of meetings of the World Trade Organization, aimed at reducing barriers to international trade. While disproportionate shares of protesters were North American, there were groups from a whole variety of regions. As one participant put it, "Protesters included: French farmers, Korean greens (environmentalists), Canadian wheat growers, Mexican environmentalists, Chinese dissidents, Ecuadorian anti-dam organizations, U'wa tribes people from the Colombian rainforest, and British campaigners against genetically modified foods." Passions ran high, and there was considerable property damage as well as clashes with the police. Impact on the conference itself was slight.

The Leading Grievances

As the Seattle cast of characters suggested, anti-global protest gathered a variety of groups concerned about continued economic development. Some trade unionists worried about the impact of global trade on jobs in established industrial countries. There was a great deal of concern about global consumerism and its impact both on traditional producers and on cultural values. Thus an articulate French tractor driver used the occasion to voice his disdain for McDonalds (a message he would later carry to other protest activities). A great deal of hostility was directed at the power and irresponsibility of multinationals. Environmental concerns obviously loomed large: the assumption was that globalization encouraged the kind of unchecked production that endangered nature but also traditional groups like the Columbian tribespeople. Finally, an indeterminate of outright anarchists were involved, not so much concerned about globalization (though certainly not friendly to it) as eager to seize the occasion for disruption.

Impact

In the short run, protests against globalization had no discernible impact except to provoke massive security arrangements at subsequent global gatherings. Meetings of the World Bank, of global leaders in the leading commercial and industrial powers (the so-called Group of 20 after 2009), as well as other global policy groups in the economic sphere all called forth loud street demonstrations. Many meetings, in consequence, were held in relatively remote locations. Again, no real policy shifts resulted, and it remained unclear whether the protest movement had particularly deep roots.

Other Manifestations

Probably more important and consequential signs of concern about globalization were more oblique than outright protest, but drew from deeper popular concerns. The Green Party movement in key parts of Europe, focused on environmental protection and sustainable development, was not explicitly anti-global, but it certainly viewed globalization through a distinctive lens. The rise of anti-immigrant political groups, in both the United States and Europe, sometimes seemed to express a level of anxiety that went beyond immigrant issues themselves, and may have focused a wider concern about loss of control and familiarity amid globalization. More important still, from the 1970s onward, was the role of fundamentalist religious movements in many societies. A number of movements arose to urge a return to religious fundamentals, in the process emphasizing the primacy of a particular faith over other beliefs, whether religious or secular. Strong fundamentalist currents developed in Hinduism, Christianity, Judaism as well as Islam. While many fundamentalist leaders took advantage of new global communication links, the pattern ran counter to globalization in many ways. Fundamentalism often appealed to urban groups left behind in the global economy, including underemployed youth; it was characteristically intolerant, often more intolerant than earlier traditions had been. More than nationalism, by the early 21st century, some religious manifestations suggested the incomplete hold of globalization, and the continued validity of cultural options.

Sources

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2. "Peasant—farmer movements, third world peoples, and the Seattle protests against the World Trade Organization, 1999." By Marc Edelman. From *Dialectical Anthropology*. Volume 33, Number 2 (June 2009)
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5. "Transnational Protest: States, Circuses, and Conflict at the Frontline of Global Politics." By Kate O'Neill. From *International Studies Review*. Volume 6, Number 2 (June 2004) Details other global protests other than Seattle along with their motives and participants.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3699592>

Primary Source:

Anti-Globalization Protests, Seattle 2009 -
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=33npOsQXAn8>

Large Feature on Seattle 2009, Watch First Half-
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pFamvR9CpYw>

Suggested Reading:

Fundamentalism: Prophecy and Protest in an Age of Globalization by Torkel Brekke
(Cambridge, 2011).

Questions

1. What were the main reasons for the rise of active protest against contemporary globalization?
2. What were the main components of the Seattle protest? How did it get organized?
3. What is the relationship between active protests against globalization and opinion polls on the same subject? What targets are shared? What, if any, are not?
4. Is anti-globalization protest significant? Is it likely to become more so?
5. Why does globalization cause concern among many religious groups? Has globalization created major religious issues in the past half-century?
6. By the early 21st century, which was generating the most important impediments to globalization, religion or nationalism?

Chapter 30: Globalization, History and the Future

Perspective

It's hardly surprising that a historical account urges the importance of perspective when it comes to globalization. So many studies of globalization have implied that it sprang up almost unbidden after the end of the Cold War that it is important to note the richer history of human contacts from which globalization has emerged. The historical approach also helps clarify, as against many popular impressions, that globalization both now and in the past has involved more than technology, though the technological role is undeniable. A historical approach does not definitively answer the question of when "real" globalization began, that is at what point more traditional or "protoglobal" forms of contact yielded to the more intense network we see around us today. As we have seen, there are several options, including the "new global historians'" notion that globalization, while not just yesterday, is indeed a dramatic new feature of the past half century. Arguably, some debate and disagreement form part of a useful perspective, so that observers are not trapped in a singular approach to the phenomenon.

Component Parts

Whatever the conclusions about the timing of globalization, as opposed to looser patterns, history does suggest a discussion of stages of interaction, rather than an overemphasis on the stark novelty of recent changes. It also encourages breaking globalization down into component parts, which is another way to gain perspective. Some aspects of regional interaction are, after all, virtually as old as the species itself: migration and disease transmission are cases in point. They change shapes with more recent globalization, but they have important earlier precedents as well. Reasonably regular transregional trade takes off a bit later, but it also has a long history. Political and cultural globalization, in contrast, are much more recent (missionary religious outreach excepted), though they begin to build into the equation in the later 19th century. Full globalization obviously involves interconnections among different sectors, but it helps to trace each component as well.

Inevitability

Whether through a contemporary or a more historical lens, globalization, whenever it takes hold, can seem to be an inexorable process: nothing can stop the global train once it starts running. Indeed, the advantages of transregional contact, and the motivations involved (often, commercial, profit-seeking motivations above all), have fairly steadily advanced the process of interaction for a long time – possibly, as we earlier discussed, from the networks established in the classical period onward. Disruption of one system of interaction almost always saw another framework rise to replace it, in fairly short order. But history also shows the complexities of globalization, which can qualify the impression of some steady forward march. Many societies, at many points including relatively recently, have decided that wider contacts are not desirable for them – and this possibility may exist even in the future, despite the relentless pace of technological and organizational advance. The retreat from globalization early in the 20th century is a dramatic indication that the process can run aground, at least for a few decades, even in a relatively contemporary setting. Certainly, individual societies and groups have exercised various options in deciding how to react to global contacts, even aside from isolationist impulses. The "local and global" mantra still counts. We have always needed to interpret contact patterns in light of different regional reactions, and this remains true today and, insofar as one can estimate, on into the future. Globalization has never produced monolithic results.

Frameworks for Debate

The historical perspective contributes directly to understanding why there are so many ongoing arguments about the pros and cons of the globalization process. Some controversies – particularly over issues of cultural identity amid external influence – have literally gone on, if sporadically, for centuries. The challenge of regional economic inequality, among global contacts, is at least five centuries old, and there are some explicit links between its current version and past patterns. Confusion between globalization and Western imperialism, though receding slightly, is another historical basis for controversy that has inescapable historical roots. Globalization has often marched forward despite bitter debate, but the resulting tensions are very real, and dissipate slowly at best.

Upsides

While history illuminates some of the problems attaching to globalization, from past to present, it also highlights why globalization, and its predecessors, have continued to advance. Profit and power can accrue from successful encounters with globalization, but there is more besides. Contacts have also widened horizons, contributed new ideas and exciting new styles and products. Even global consumerism, prosaic as it may seem, has had a role to play here. The interplay among anxiety and fears about loss of control, measurable drawbacks, but also new stimuli and opportunities is another aspect of globalization that has moved from the past to the present, and toward the future.

Violence

Globalization discussions, both past and present, range readily from biological exchange to culture to the status of trade and technology. A focus on global violence is less common. Clearly, however, violence has been part of globalization at least since the Europeans literally forced their way into world trade from 1500 onward. Globalization's spur to competitiveness, cultural tensions, or a growing scramble for world resources may open further chapters of conflict as the process moves forward. But the glimmer of hope in new ideas of global citizenship and new institutions that work to preempt or resolve hostility deserves attention as well. Certainly, the criterion of conflict management can be legitimately added to the assessment of the process going forward.

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Resistance of violence of globalization against women through local measures. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27648013>

3. "Beyond Nation-State Paradigms: Globalization, Sociology, and the Challenge of Transnational Studies." By William I. Robinson. From *Sociological Forum*. Volume 13, Number 4 (December 1998) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/684864>

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Primary Source:

Choose two of the following speeches:

Nils Gilman Discusses the Effect of a Globalizing Black Market Economy -
<http://www.trendhunter.com/keynote/nils-gilman>

The Income Inequality Speech by Chrystia Freeland is on the Global Rich -
<http://www.trendhunter.com/keynote/income-inequality-speech>

Jeff Rubin Describes How an Increase in Oil Prices Will Shrink the World -
<http://www.trendhunter.com/keynote/jeff-rubin>

Ethan Zuckerman Discusses How the Internet Has Made the World Smaller -
<http://www.trendhunter.com/keynote/ethan-zuckerman>

Sheikha Al Mayassa Discusses the Role of Art in Globalization -
<http://www.trendhunter.com/keynote/sheikha-al-mayassa>

Suggested Reading:

Making Globalization Work by Joseph E. Stiglitz (W.W. Norton & Company 2007).

The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy by Dani Rodrik (W.W. Norton & Company 2012).

Questions

1. Is globalization proceeding despite widespread criticism and protest, or has it been slowed up? Do you expect current patterns to continue? Explain the reasons for your answers.
2. What is the impact of globalization on crime?
3. Will globalization significantly reduce global cultural and political diversity?
4. Why do women, on the whole, favor globalization slightly more than men do?
5. To what extent has globalization limited national sovereignty? Are limitations likely to increase in future?
6. One of the "thinking skills" in world history, promoted by globalization, is the ability to illustrate how local and global factors combine. Give two examples of how this kind of local/global analysis can work effectively.
7. What are some of the newer approaches to research in globalization?

Section V: Questions

1. Discuss three major impediments to globalization during the past 60 years.
2. Has political globalization lagged behind other facets of globalization since 1945?
3. Has the relationship between violence and global contacts changed in recent decades, compared to the early modern and 19th century periods? Does globalization now inhibit violence?
4. Is globalization here to stay, or will there be another retreat, as occurred earlier in the 20th century? Explain the reasons for your prediction.
5. What would the most useful next steps be in historical research and analysis, to understand contemporary globalization better?

Final Questions

1. Why have some societies been more open to global contacts than others at key points in world history? Use specific examples in developing your answer.
2. What are the best criteria to use in deciding when globalization effectively began? Illustrate your answer with specific examples.
3. Discuss the role of consumerism in the major stages of the evolution of transregional contacts in world history. Does globalization cause or reflect changes in consumerism over time?
4. Pick one of the following societies, and trace its relationship to the evolution of transregional or global contact patterns from 1000 to the present. Discuss the causes of major changes in the relationships.
 - SubSaharan Africa
 - Russia
 - Japan
 - Middle East
5. Discuss the relationship between major religions and globalization, from 1000 to the present. Use specific examples in developing your essay.