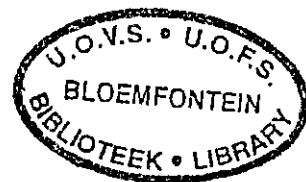


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**THE CRISIS OF THE NATION-
STATE: AN EVALUATION AND
RECONSTRUCTION OF THE
PERSPECTIVES OF
ALVIN TOFFLER**

ANGELIQUE HARSANT

**THE CRISIS OF THE NATION-STATE: AN EVALUATION
AND RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PERSPECTIVES OF
ALVIN TOFFLER**

by

ANGELIQUE MAY HARSANT

DISSERTATION

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

MAGISTER SOCIETAS SCIENTIAE

in the

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

(Department of Political Science)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE

Promotor: Prof. André Duvenhage

JANUARY 2003

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Various people and institutions have assisted, supported and motivated me both in the research and completion of this dissertation, and to them I express my appreciation.

I would particularly like to express my gratitude to my study leader, Prof. André Duvenhage, for his assistance and guidance which is worthy of special mention. Specific reference to his contributions regarding the strategic planning of the dissertation, especially with regard to the designing of the meta-theoretical framework according to which Toffler's contributions are reconstructed, evaluated and interpreted, needs to be highlighted. I would also like to thank him for working in the holidays to ensure the completion of this study.

Special appreciation is expressed to Dr Susan Brokensha for her professionalism and excellent linguistic contribution. I would specifically like to thank her for working during the holidays to ensure the completion of this study.

Sincere gratitude is extended to Adele Koortzen of Double Purple d'zine studio for her professional handling of the graphics for the dissertation. Especially worthy of praise is the fact that she worked over the holidays, under pressure and in a very short space of time.

A note of thanks is also extended to Dora du Plessis for typing a large portion of the work during the early stages of the study.

A special note of thanks is also extended to Mr Clem Sunter for his assistance, encouragement and donation of his books, which assisted in the completion of this dissertation.

Sincere gratitude is also extended to Dr Ria Hugo-Buroughs of the Department of Business Management at the University of Stellenbosch. Her insight, assistance and encouragement have been invaluable.

I would also like thank the Office of the Premier of the Free State, especially Anton Hurter and Tim Motsumi for supplying me with current information regarding service delivery and local government.

Various people, directly or indirectly assisted me in completing this dissertation. Here a special note of thanks is extended to colleagues at the University of the Free State. Their support, encouragement and motivation have enabled me to successfully conclude this dissertation. I am also truly grateful to my family, especially my mother, and my friends for their encouragement, assistance and interest. Their support is greatly appreciated.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the NRF for the financial assistance given towards the research of this dissertation. Any opinions or conclusions reached in this dissertation are those of the author and should not necessarily be attributed to the NRF.

Cardinally, my sincere gratitude is extended to my Heavenly Father for his guidance, direction and universal grace, without which this thesis would not have been completed.

In line with the premise of this dissertation, which is revolutionary change, I wish to express my gratitude to Dr Alvin Toffler for supplying me with the material to form a viable interpretation of current world affairs, especially of the future of man as we enter the 21st century. I sincerely hope my contributions form a justifiable basis for all readers who seek durable solutions to the future of mankind.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. GENERAL ORIENTATION AND MOTIVATION

Society consists of permanent authoritative structures which Strauss (1998:95) refers to as *consociational bonds*. These consociations, be it the state, the business, the church or the family, are not terminated by the exchange of its subjects. McGrew (1992:63) expands on this by stating that contemporary societal consociations cannot be distinguished from the nation-state. Weber (1964:156) offers a functional definition of the nation-state, namely "...an organisation, composed of numerous agencies led and co-ordinated by the state leadership (executive authority) that has the ability or authority to make and implement the binding rules of all the people as well as the parameters of rule making for other social organisations in a given territory, using force if necessary to have its way". Migdal (1988:18-19) explains that Weber's *ideal-type* conceptualisation of the state highlights the need for social control by the state. Even the strongest non-state actors are in submission to state autonomy. As a result of this every citizen has looked to the nation-state for guidance and each and every nation-state sets the rules which direct social behaviour by means of a social contract. However, theorists and futurists such as Marx, Huntington, Kaplan, Hall et al, Nossal, Sunter, Schwartz, Van Creveld, and Wack, amongst others, have highlighted serious threats against the nation-state which could lead to the ultimate demise of it as an institution on which humanity has depended since 1648 after the Treaty of Westphalia. If the nation-state should lose its sovereignty and power, which structure or institution will direct the social behaviour of citizens in the fast approaching post-industrial era?

As mankind approaches the dawn of the twenty-first century they are confronted with the realisation of the inability of the nation-state to forfeit durable solutions to issues such as the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), pollution, terrorism, the escalation of criminal activities, global Mafias, trans-national religious movements, the rise of powerful

multinational corporations, increased dependence on supra-national organisations and the increased dependence on mercenaries such as *Executive Outcomes* to protect citizens and/or state interests. The problem arises with the fact that the nation-state is not equipped to deal with global problems. The nation-state as a *consociational bond* will have to be redefined within a future societal context (*folgewelt*). McGrew (1992:63) expands on this by stating that all these universal truths, mentioned above, "...provide a powerful case for reassessing the traditional conception of society (and by association the nation-state) as a bounded, ordered, and a unified social space – a coherent totality ...[and if] ...globalisation is reconstituting the world as one place, then a re-focusing away from society and the nation-state towards the emerging world society – would seem a logical prerequisite for making sense of the contemporary human condition". Heywood (1997:139) refers to globalisation as leading to the creation of a world society.

Contemporary political analysts such as Hall et al, Easton, Huntington, Kaplan, Nossal, Schwartz and Fukuyama are primarily concerned with the nature of state power. The nature of state power is being altered by globalisation, privatisation, and localisation, which lead to a process where the functions of the state are slowly being transferred or shifted to other organisations or institutions (Heywood, 1997:83; 97). Globalisation is defined by McGrew (1992:65) as referring to the "...multiplicity of linkages and interconnections that transcend the nation-states (and by implication the societies) which make up the modern world system. It defines a process through which events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world can come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe".

Globalisation brings to the fore four critical aspects of the nation-state: *legitimacy, autonomy, its form and competence* (McGrew, 1992:87). Moldelski (1972:56) suggests that as "...the end of the century draws near, globalisation is forcing us to rethink the nature of the *political community*, the basic unit of human affairs. Indeed, globalisation appears to be challenging the modern orthodoxy that the nation-state defines as the *good community*.

2. RESEARCH PROBLEM

There has been an increase in the literature addressing the *crisis of the nation-state* which has resulted in a multi-paradigmatic approach in this regard. The most common forecasts sketched include *the Utopian Vision or the Age of Aquarius; the Pacific Century Hypothesis or the Medieval Analogy; the Clash of Civilizations; and the Vision of Chaos or Sheer Chaos Theory* (Huntington, 1996:35; Mailafia, 1997:3).

Out of the mosaic perceptions Toffler has formulated, through evolutionary progressive patterns, a highly insightful scenario for the future. Dr. Obadich Mailafia (1997:15), who teaches International Finance in London, notes Alvin and Heidi Toffler as working with the *Vision of Chaos* theory and motivates this by highlighting aspects of the work from "...terrorism in the capitalist heartland to the Mafia and organised crime in Russian, Italy, and Southern Europe; from Latin America drug barons to secessionists in the Basque". Mailafia (1997:15) explains this *Chaos Theory* as a paradigmatic shift from Newton's universal laws to a world filled with critical uncertainties. For Toffler the cause of this is the clash of universal civilizations with political tensions being the enduring scenario for the next couple of decades.

But what justifies Toffler's contributions from being distinguished from the mosaic of paradigms circling the globe? To answer this question Toffler's contributions will have to be highlighted.

Dr. Toffler, besides having five honorary degrees in science, law, and letters, was a student at the Russel Sage Foundation and a lecturer at the New School for Social Research. Not only is he a Washington correspondent and previously, editor of *Fortune*, but he has written many articles for scholarly journals, newspapers and magazines and is also the author of four books. Dr. Toffler is a widely accredited scenario thinker. The *New York Times* in *Power shift* (1990:618) regards Toffler's contributions as a "sweeping synthesis...[B]y placing the accelerated changes of our current information age in the larger perspectives of history, Mr. Toffler helps us to face the future with less wariness and more understanding".

Toffler's work forms an intellectually consistent holistic view of mankind in a state of equilibrium which is then suddenly thrown into disequilibrium as their environment changes, thereby highlighting the temporal transitional frame of mind of a confused humanity. The central thread throughout all of Toffler's work is **change**. From these central thoughts a clear picture evolves showing how, beginning with the First Wave Civilization, every aspect of life revolved around tilling the soil with all power and control centred in **violence**. Throughout the evolutionary period of change until 1750, followed by a sudden revolutionary change, power was shifted into an industrial era and as the Second Wave Civilization rolled across the earth, launching the Industrial Revolution, revolutionary changes once again transformed every aspect of human life. Revolutions such as the French, American, English and Russian Revolutions heralded in the new era where conflicts were caused by the clash of civilizations as the feudal past receded and the Industrial Revolution became established. From far-reaching social and political changes came a new era revolving around the machinery and factories with all power and control centred in **wealth**, while the nation-state became the basic political unit of the globe. With mass production came mass democracy and mass destruction, thereby highlighting Toffler's **Gestalt** approach that there is a correlation between the way we make money, the way we govern ourselves and the manner in which war is conducted. With the use of **smart cards** and symbolic money, the structures of politics are changing to accommodate this economic revolution. Mankind is now entering the Third Civilizational wave where all levels of life will revolve around a post-industrial society with the power and control centred on **knowledge**. **Force, wealth and knowledge** have been present in each wave and are interrelated to a degree. Both force and wealth are finite and limited and belong to the powerful and the rich. Knowledge, on the other hand, is **infinitely expandable, unlimited and classless** (Toffler, 1990:19). In the past force and wealth were the key power tools used by the ruling elite to gain social control of the nation-state, but those who have the knowledge as a power tool will become the ruling elite of tomorrow. The new ruling elite will have to use knowledge to satisfy the new diversified needs of a future civilization. The nation-state has not adapted to the changing environment allowing more power to fall into the hands of the non-state actors or **Global Gladiators** who Toffler (1990:450-460) identifies through the following tendencies: **the Resurrection of Religion; the Empire of Cocaine; the Corporate Condottieri; the Dispersed Oppressor; the UN-Plus and New-Style Global Organisations**. The **Global Gladiators** will be discussed at length in the political

component of the Third Wave in Chapter 6. Toffler predicts that after close examination of current events it is more probable that social control will be shifted into the hands of these **Global Gladiators**, who are better equipped and have more knowledge to deal with diversified needs and global problems, and he regards this shift as our next revolution in the political arena. Toffler (1990:3) expands on this by stating that we "...live at the moment when the entire structure of power is taking form. And this is happening at every level of human society". From the above it is clear that the concept change, revolution and power run like a thread through Toffler's work and therefore feature strongly within a meta-theoretical framework which will be discussed in the next chapter (Figure 2.9) and which was used as a blueprint to order and structure Toffler's contributions.

Toffler's work offers a comprehensive explanation of the driving forces which propel the events which will ultimately shape the future of the globe. Schwartz (1996:107) identifies five main driving forces which play a decisive role in shaping scenarios for the future; i.e. environmental, technological, economical, social and political. Further structure is given to scenarios by dividing the driving forces into **predetermined elements** and **critical uncertainties**. The work of Toffler, a leading world futurist, offers a comprehensive insight into the above mentioned determinants by providing a systematic framework, which forms the core of the meta-theoretical framework in (Chapter 2, Figure 2.9.), in which the multifaceted changes facing the globe, as we approach the new millennium, can be understood. Using this framework as a point of departure, he has formulated a comprehensive synthesis which can be used as a premise on the basis of which scenarios about the future of the world can be sketched in terms of five driving forces, namely, the environmental, technological, economical, sociological ultimately political components. This framework is laid out in his four books, namely, **Future Shock** (1970), **Third Wave** (1980), **Power shift** (1990), and **War and Anti-war** (1993). Toffler (1990: xix) explains this by stating that "...**Futures Shock** looks at the process of change – how change affects people and organisations. The **Third Wave** focuses on the directions of change – where today's changes are taking us. **Power shift** deals with the control of changes still to come – who will shape them and how?" **Power shift** (1990) also focuses on Toffler's power theory, i.e. the relationship between violence, money and knowledge which ultimately result in changing global affairs. Toffler's work, therefore, offers historic, analytic, strategic and normative answers to the Third Wave Civilization which is about to

be unleashed on humanity on a global scale and also provides a prominent scenario for the nation-state's ultimate destiny. The fundamental question, therefore, will be to establish what the enkapitic relationship between the nation-state's destiny and the ultimate destiny of mankind will be in the future.

3. AIMS OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study has three dimensions. Firstly, a reconstruction and interpretation of Toffler's viewpoints are made in terms of the role and the place of the nation-state within his historic-spatial model. These are contextualised within three universal civilisations. Secondly, his scenarios for the Third Wave, with specific reference to the future of the nation-state, are reconstructed. Prior to an exploration of Toffler's political scenarios, an in-depth investigation must be conducted into the *crisis of the nation-state*. To determine the nature and extent of this crisis, the contributions and perspectives of other authors in this field will also be consulted.

The objectives of the study include highlighting a meta-theoretical framework, for Toffler's views, upon which the study will be ordered and structured. This framework is divided into three components. Firstly, the *historical-reconstructive component*, focussing on the past or *vorwelt*, which examines historical questions such as *what the events were which led up to the creation and establishment of the nation-state?* The second, the *analytical component*, focuses on the present or *umwelt*, which attempts to answer meta-analytical questions such as *what the meaning of the nation-state is, what the current status of the nation-state is and what the key debates in the domain of the nation-state are?* The third, the *strategic component*, focussing on the future or *folgewelt* which attempts to answer exploratory questions such as:

- *What are the factors or forces influencing the future of the nation-state?*
- *What the current situation of the nation-state is?*
- *Where to and why concerning future of the nation-state?*
- *What the ideal profile of the Third Wave political component is, especially the role of the nation-state within it?*

4. METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The study proceeds from within the qualitative phenomenological paradigm and the phenomenological interpretative tradition. The research design will include an ideographic (contextual interest) research strategy with descriptive-exploratory research goals. There are two qualitative techniques used in the study, i.e. a historical/comparative research technique and a scenario building technique. The historical/comparative research technique is used to differentiate between the three universal civilizational waves grounded in Toffler's historic-spatial model. Within these universal civilizational waves Toffler attempts to provide a clear picture of the phenomenological aspects of our current global society as well as the global political environment and the place and role of the nation-state functioning within these parameters. It is within these civilizational waves that Toffler's power theory finds expression as he describes and explores the actors and political structures controlling each civilizational order bringing about change. Toffler's power theory postulates that for a power shift to occur, from one civilizational wave to the next, the code or blueprint of that particular universal civilization has to be transformed. The study then takes on an exploratory dimension as Toffler proceeds to explore the question of *where to and why concerning the nation-state?* and ventures into the unknown parameters of the new post-industrial era and what political structure will be in place, especially with regard to the future of the nation-state. A mosaic of perceptions has emerged out of the unknown parameters of the new world order and for Toffler to create order and structure from this environment the art of scenario building will be utilised. Schwartz (1996: xiii) regards scenarios as a "...vehicle for an imaginative leap into the future". Scenarios are therefore the second qualitative technique used in this study. The use of scenarios in the study, as a qualitative technique, has a dual dimension. Firstly it is used in the study's epistemological journey as a tool to find answers to the future of the nation-state and to produce scientific knowledge in this regard. Secondly, the study uses the scenario technique to provide a context for Toffler's scenarios for the future, which are drawn from the matrix of data and information circling the contemporary global environment. As the crisis of the nation-state is the focus area of this study, the scenario technique is also used to sketch Toffler's political scenario for the Third Wave which highlights two radically different pathways which serve as a crossroads to *nation-state in crisis*. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6. Toffler uses the scenario technique as a vehicle to

challenge contemporary *cognitive mind maps* or *mental models* of the present political order centred within the realm of the nation-state. To understand Toffler's contributions, a meta-theoretical framework of his thought will be designed to provide order and structure for the study. This meta-theoretical framework will be discussed at length in Chapter 2 (Figure 2.9). Toffler's *Gestalt* approach includes a discussion of the environmental, technological, economical, sociological and political dimensions of universal civilizations. However, to tunnel these thoughts/views, in respect of the role and place of the nation-state, has required the use of a meta-theoretical framework or blueprint to act as a compass for the study as it embarks on an epistemological journey to order fragmented information and create a synthesis, hence the *Gestalt* approach. This meta-theoretical framework, therefore, creates order and structure of Toffler's views, especially with regard to his thoughts on the place and role of the nation-state and is the blueprint in which the *historic-reconstructive*, *analytic* and *strategic/futuristic* dimensions of these views find expression.

An in-depth study of Toffler's contributions over several years resulted in a thesis to meet the requirements for the degree *Baccalaureus Societatis Scientiae Honores* in Political Science entitled *A Reconstruction, Interpretation, and Evaluation of Toffler's Work with special reference to the nation-state and its future in the new world order*. Further investigation into Toffler's thoughts led to an article published in Vol.19 No2 of *Politeia* in 2000 entitled *The Nation-State in crisis - exploratory perspectives*. This dissertation is a result of an extension of extensive research conducted in an effort to understand the astonishing changes which have propelled mankind into a new century and a new world order with an accompanying new global political order, especially with regard to the future of the nation-state.

5. OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

The study commences in Chapter 2 with an outline of the meta-theoretical perspectives of Toffler's contributions. A *meta-theoretical framework* will be designed for the purpose of understanding Toffler's contributions and to serve as a *blueprint* according to which this study is ordered and structured.

In order to understand our current transitional, trans-national environment, a brief historical clarification is necessary. For this purpose, Chapter 3 includes an **historical reconstructive component** which highlights Toffler's views pertaining to the First Wave Civilization. This chapter focuses on certain historical questions, namely,

- ***What led to the formation of the nation-state?***
- ***Why the nation-state came about?***
- ***What the events were that led up to the creation and establishment of the nation-state?***
- ***What caused the nation-state?***

This focus on the past (***Vorwelt***) will be structured within the parameters of the five driving forces mentioned above. The main emphasis, therefore, will be on the rise or creation of the nation-state.

The Second Wave Civilization will be discussed in Chapter 4 and will also sketch mankind's current, temporal, transitional situation, thereby highlighting the evolutionary as well as revolutionary process which will lead the Second Wave Civilization into the new millennium. This chapter focuses on the **analytical component** of the meta-theoretical framework and attempts to find answers to meta-analytical questions (refer to Chapter 2 Figure 2.9). These questions include:

- ***How and why the nation-state was established?***
- ***What the meaning of the nation-state is?***
- ***What the current status of the nation-state is?***
- ***What the key debates in the domain of the nation-state are?***

The focus of this chapter will be on the present or current (***umwelt***) status of the nation-state. The discussion will also be centred on the five driving forces, namely, the environmental, the technological, the economic, the sociological and political components.

As mankind undergoes a paradigmatic shift into the new millennium with its new Third Wave Civilization, it is of vital importance to establish what the code or blueprint for the Third Wave will be. In Chapter 5 the investigation into the first exploratory question ***what the factors or forces influencing the future of the nation-state are?*** will highlight the ***strategic component*** of the meta-theoretical framework for this study. The focus on a future (*folgewelt*) order will also be investigated within the parameters of the five driving forces.

Chapter 6 is an extension of the investigation into the Third Wave Civilizational code and focuses specifically on Toffler's scenario for a new Third Wave political order. It is within this chapter that an in-depth investigation is conducted into the crisis of the nation-state and its role, if any, within this new political dispensation. Chapter 6 investigates the following exploratory questions, namely:

- ***What the situation of the nation-state is?***
- ***Where to and why concerning the future of the nation-state?***
- ***What the ideal political profile of the Third Wave political component, especially the role of the nation-state within it is?***

The last chapter involves an evaluation of Toffler's contributions in light of his meta-theoretical framework which contains three components into which the three civilizational waves find expression. Toffler's contributions are based within the phenomenological tradition and scenario building as a phenomenological tool was utilised, especially in the last component, i.e. the strategic component. It now becomes important to establish whether Toffler's views and scenario techniques can be evaluated favourably when measured against the criteria set for scenario building and how this technique operates and features within the broader context of the meta-theoretical framework or blueprint for this study. Chapter 7 is devoted to these issues.

Toffler (1980:135), from his extensive research, has concluded that the ***nation-state is in a crisis*** and this study will now accept the challenge of exploring the ramifications of this statement.

CHAPTER 2

A META-THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONCEPTUAL ORIENTATION

1. INTRODUCTION

The media cover a wide range of issues occurring globally such as terrorist attacks, teenagers going on shooting sprees, civil religious wars, genocide, chemical warfare, attacks on churches, schools and the aged. This information becomes a part of mankind's ordinary knowledge which is mainly unsystematic and experiential. In order to progress in the process of knowledge production, what is required is "...a systematic framework for understanding the clash of forces in today's world, we are like a ship's crew, trapped in a storm and trying to navigate between dangerous reefs without a compass or chart. In a culture of warring specialisms, drowned in fragmented data and fine-toothed analysis, synthesis is not merely useful - it is crucial"(Toffler,1980:16). In order to achieve this systematic framework the production of scientific knowledge is required.

A theorist or scientist aims at studying an event or phenomenon of reality which will result in the production of scientific knowledge which is based on methodological systematic processes (Toffler, 1980:15; Babbie & Mouton, 2001:3-16). During a theorist or scientist's epistemic journey, the main objective is to attempt to understand a problem or occurrence by means of scientific tools or conceptual frameworks (model, typologies or theories). The use of these scientific tools should be utilised within the parameters of a meta-theoretical framework. When the contributions of a theorist such as Toffler, regarding phenomena such as the crisis of the nation-state are reconstructed, interpreted and evaluated, it should be done according to certain criteria as determined by meta-theory. In other words, before an analysis of theoretical contributions (second order theory) can be attempted, it should be based foundationally upon a meta-theoretical framework (third order theory) (Duvenhage, 1994:57-60; refer also to Figure 2.3).

To fully understand Toffler's contribution it is important to reflect on the role and nature of the status of his scientific enquiry. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to attempt to grasp Toffler's scientific contributions regarding the future of the nation-state, by means of a meta-theoretical framework, within the matrix of views concerning science and the practice of scientific inquiry. The aim of this chapter is not to use meta-theory (third order theory) to direct scientific inquiry, but merely to use it as an instrument or tool to understand the full complexity of Toffler's normative and empirical commitment.

The matrix utilised for this chapter is diagrammatically represented as follows in Figure 2.1.

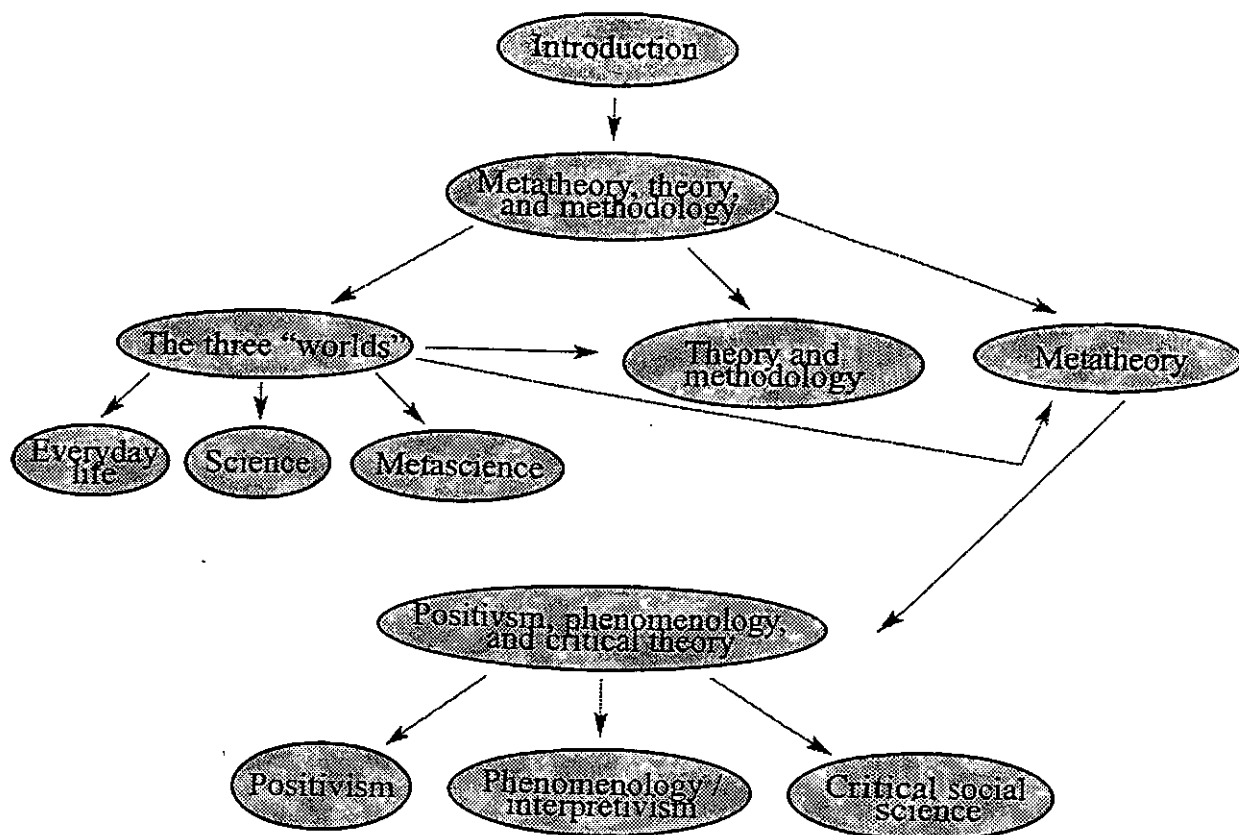


Figure 2.1.: A Cognitive Map of Chapter 2 (Mouton, 2001:10)

The first objective of this chapter includes an explanation of the meta-theoretical perspectives of the study based on five contexts within which scientific practice can be conducted, i.e. pre-scientific, scientific, subject-scientific, theoretical and operational contexts. This meta-theoretical framework will be diagrammatically represented in Figure 2.6.

The second objective is the creation of an applied meta-matrix, hence the qualitative nature of this study, which will be created to sketch a meta-theoretical framework for Toffler's contributions (Faure, 1991:19; 46; Miles and Huberman, 1994:78). This meta-matrix is, therefore, the practical application of Toffler's contributions (Figure 2.9.) within the confines of the meta-theoretical framework (Figure 2.6.). The first section of the meta-matrix (Figure 2.2.) will be pragmatically explained within five contexts, i.e. pre-scientific context; scientific context (meta-science); subject-scientific context (meta-politics); the theoretical context (meta-theory) and the operational context (pragmatic) [Duvenhage, 1994:57-60].

The meta-theoretical perspectives, which serve as a blueprint for understanding Toffler's contributions, will now be discussed.

2. THE META-THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES OF THE STUDY

When studying the five contexts reference should be made to the meta-matrix (schematically represented in Figure 2.2.). Although each of these five contexts is discussed independently, it should be born in mind that they are interdependent in nature and are discussed below. The purpose of explaining the meta-theoretical perspective of the study within the confines of these five scientific contexts is that it acts as a means of creating order and structure to Toffler's vast array of views and acts as a guideline to keep the study focused on the central theme, i.e. the *crisis of the nation-state*.

2.1. Pre-Scientific Context

A theorist's pre-scientific context is a cognitive activity which originates from experience and pre-scientific knowledge. As far as knowledge is concerned, pre-scientific knowledge finds expression in a life and world view which provides the totality of answers or convictions of mankind regarding fundamental questions concerned with the origin, meaning, destiny, objectives and values of mankind and the world and their relationship to God, or an alternate apostate relationship (Stoker, 1961:113). The life and world view forms the core of the theorist's scientific contributions. Popper (1965:187) emphasises the importance of pre-scientific knowledge by referring back to Plato's sixth book, *Republic*. In *Republic*, Plato suggests that during scientific inquiry new observations are interwoven with new interpretations of old facts and this cannot be achieved without a life and world view, conceptualised by semi-religious, historically founded views. Plato suggests that scientific inquiry does not commence with observations, but rather with an idea which contains a mythological or religious realm. Toffler (1990:xx) suggests that when exploring the revolutionary changes heralding in the future, the assumptions and facts underlying these changes should be placed in historical perspective by looking at **pre-existing power structures**, hence the need for a **historical reconstructive component** within the First Wave Civilization. Religion plays a vital role in understanding the pre-scientific context within which Schoeman (1980:4) explains, "... nothing that man does,... can ever be divorced from this innermost religious centre of his existence which is itself driven by certain fundamental directing forces (powers, motives) of a religious nature. This means that..., during his theoretical (scientific) activity, man is directly influenced by this religious selfhood which..., is set up in either an anastate (directed at the true origin of all things) or an apostate (directed at some supposed origin) direction" (refer also to Dooyeweerd, 1969 II: 564, and Duvenhage, 1994:19-20). As for the experiential aspect within the pre-scientific context, it is important to understand the theorist's image of the world (**weltbild**), i.e. the image that is formed by reality, and the worldview (**weltanschauung**) which is the total view of reality. Within this domain, Sire (1976:17) defines the worldview of the theorist as "...a set of presumptions (or assumptions) which we hold (consciously or subconsciously) about the basic makeup of our world".

Assumptions are divided into the *world hypothesis* and *domain assumption* (refer to Figure 2.2) that are internalised via the theorist's cultural context and find expression in the scientific life view. The purpose of highlighting these assumptions is to outline the theoretical infrastructure of scientific theory concerning aspects of reality (Botha, 1990:14&36). Kuhn (1962), one of the main exponents of the historical school, focused on developing the idea that the paradigm is the principle upon which presuppositions are based and is used as a magnifying glass through which the scientist views an aspect of reality.

Newrath (1973:309) explains the relationship between knowledge, experience and presuppositions as follows, "... there is knowledge only from experience, which rests on what is immediately given. This sets the limits for the contents of legitimate science". Presuppositions form a part of our experiential reality which directs inquiry within these limitations set for conducting legitimate scientific inquiry. Scientific development rests on the radical reorganisation of historical scientific knowledge which is brought about by theoretical redefining, restructuring and renewal. This process was defined by Kuhn (1973:11) as a scientific revolution. The pre-scientific context, therefore, focuses on the intellectual climate within which the theorist operates. To fully understand the theorist's contributions, it is important to investigate and identify all meta-theoretical (ontological) assumptions concerning his/her view of mankind and the world with specific reference to the image of man (what is man?), of society, and the state. A holistic view of the theorist's pre-scientific knowledge will result in the comprehension of scientific choices made during his/her journey of scientific inquiry. These choices focus on how the theorist will conduct the practice of science (Duvnhage, 1994:58-60).

In summary, the pre-scientific context, therefore, sketches the intellectual climate of the theorist, in this case Toffler, in terms of his *ideological problematic* within his epistemological journey. To understand the complexity of these choices the scientific context will now be discussed. Refer to Figure 2.2. which diagrammatically represents the first four contexts.

**META-THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES
A FRAMEWORK FOR THE LIFE AND WORLD VIEW OF THE THEORIST**

INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE

META-THEORETICAL (ONTOLOGICAL) ASSUMPTIONS

What is man? (Images of man)

Concerning the man and his world

What is the nature of the state / society / culture /
economic / technology / environment

**POPPER'S EXPLANATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN META-SCIENCE,
SCIENCE & EVERYDAY LIFE**

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

DETERMINANTS OF RESEARCH

DOMAIN ASSUMPTIONS

The theorists view of science and the implications thereof

- The search for valid and reliable knowledge
- The search for order and structure
- The choice of scientific methods

THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Theories, models, typologies, methods and techniques

RESEARCH STRATEGY

Assumptions about specific aspects of the research domain

- Disciplines:** Philosophy of science, research methodology, research ethics
Approaches: Empiricism, subjectism, substantialism, realism, rationalism, phenomenology, post-modernism, hermeneutics
Methodologies: Conceptual analysis and critique, descriptive studies, exploratory studies, qualitative and quantitative techniques, deconstruction
Object of inquiry: The world of science (World 2)

WORLD 2: THE WORLD OF SCIENCE (EPISTEMIC INTEREST)

The theorists point of departure within the world of science regarding conceptual frameworks: Theories, models, typologies, concepts, statements, definitions.
Disciplines: Social Sciences: Political Science, Sociology, Development Studies.
Natural Sciences: Entomology, Chemistry.
Theoretical approaches (Discipline specific): Modernisation theory, dependency theory, force theory, systems theory, dialectic theory, regionalisation theory, theory of international relations, chaos theory, political development and political decay
Methodologies: Case study, surveys, action research, scenarios.
Object of inquiry: Everyday life / Phenomenon (in World 1).

RESEARCH GOAL

RESEARCH DECISIONS

TOPIC

- **PROBLEM STATEMENT**
 ↓ **RESEARCH DESIGN**
 ↓ **METHODOLOGY**
 ↓ **CONCLUSIONS**

Figure 2.2: A meta-theoretical framework for understanding the pre-scientific, scientific, subject-scientific, and theoretical contexts (adapted from Mouton & Marais, 1990:22; Duvenhage, 1994:60; Mouton, 1996:10 and Babbie & Mouton, 2001; 14-15).

2.2 Scientific Context

To understand the complexity of the scientific context, Popper offers a toolkit to explain the relationship among meta-science, science and everyday life /pragmatism. This toolkit divides scientific inquiry and the scientific knowledge result into three phases or *worlds*, i.e. World 1: meta-science; World 2: the world of science; and World 3: the world of everyday life. In this section the focus will be on World 1: meta-science (refer to Figure 2.1 and 2.3). *Meta*, a Greek word meaning *transcended*, suggests that the conceptualisation of meta-science functions on a higher order linguistic level, however, pragmatically meta-science does not transcend but rather reflects on science (Mouton, 1996:7-14). Mouton (1996:11) defines meta-science as the "... meta-reflective disciplines..., that make the world of science into an object of critical inquiry and reflection. Meta-science is characterised by the critical interest, which is the interest in improving science". The three worlds are not isolated but are interrelated to ensure the production of knowledge. Each world does, however, have a functional motivation or interest that drives knowledge production. The foundational motivation or interest of World 1: meta-science is the critical interest. The critical interest motivates theorists to reflect on scientific inquiry and on scientific knowledge production. It stimulates interest for scientific deconstruction, transcendental criticism and general comments on scientific practice. *Domain assumptions* form an integral part of the reflective nature of the *critical interest*. It is within the scientific context that the focus is solely on active scientific practice and it is at this level that the theorist's view of science and the consequence thereof are of vital importance. The theorist's view of science is comprised of the search for valid and reliable knowledge, the search for order and structure, the choice of scientific methods and that which is contextually founded (Mouton and Marais, 1990:7-25; and refer to Duvenhage, 1994:18-60, for an in-depth discussion).

Within the area of *domain assumptions*, there are certain presuppositions that influence and direct the theorist within the scientific context. The theorist's choice of paradigm, discipline, approaches and methodologies (refer to Figure 2.2) reflects the assumptions he/she has concerning specific aspects of the research domain and focuses on the object of inquiry in this context which is World 2: the world of science (Duvenhage, 1994:58, Babbie and Mouton, 2001:14). The subject-scientific context is a sub-context of the scientific context and will be discussed in the next section.

2.3 Subject-Scientific Context (Meta-Politics)

This context is a sub-context of World 2: the world of science. Therefore, it is influenced and directed by the previous context. The aim of this context, however, is limited to the understanding of a study field which is structured as a discipline or sub-discipline. The study field is linked to certain traditions, sub-traditions and approaches (Duvenhage, 1994:58). One of the focus areas of this study is on revolutionary change and power, especially in the field of state dynamics. Therefore, the disciplinary focus will be within the parameters of meta-politics. The understanding of meta-politics is important for the cognitive or intellectual investigation of phenomenon in political science. To understand the complexity or dynamics of meta-politics, the nature, role and extent thereof should be explored. Gregor (1971:11) conceptualises meta-politics as "...a concern which commences with an analysis of the most primitive of fundamental knowledge claims upon which the edifice of political inquiry rests". Meta-politics is, therefore, generally a critical and analytic study of the conceptualisation, investigation and evaluation of political literature. Historically the manner in which political inquiry has been conducted depends on three main approaches to political science, i.e. the traditional approach, the behaviourist approach and the post-behaviourist approach/es (Faure, 1984:1; 31 and Kotze and Van Wyk, 1986:93). The post-behaviourist approach/es, at present, consist of three sub-categories or traditions, i.e. Positivism, Interpretive Social Sciences and the Critical Social Sciences (Neuman, 1997:61-85 and Babbie & Mouton, 2001:20-45). The role and place of meta-politics within political science is schematically represented in Figure 2.3.

THIRD ORDER THEORY	SECOND ORDER THEORY	FIRST ORDER THEORY
Meta-theory: Philosophy of science and philosophical epistemology	Political theory: Philosophical (normative) and scientific (empirical)	Political thought: Political policy, ideas, and or ideology

Figure 2.3.: The role and place of meta-politics in Political Science (Faure, 1991: 20)

The third order theory is concerned primarily with the philosophy of scientific practice. Faure (1991:21) explains that the philosophy of scientific practice is "... particularly concerned with questions about the origin, structure and methods of sciences, as well as the validity of knowledge claimed by the sciences". In the search for valid and reliable knowledge the focus is now shifted to the epistemic dimension within the theoretical context.

2.4 The Theoretical Context (Meta-Theory)

The shift in the process of knowledge production now shifts to World 2: the world of science (refer to Figure 2.1). The ultimate goal of science is the search for the truth by means of gathering valid and reliable knowledge concerning an aspect of reality. The theorist now is stimulated by an *epistemic interest* to strive to obtain *truthful knowledge* or the closest approximation thereof (Mouton, 1996:9, 28-34 and Babbie and Mouton, 2001:7-8). The theorist now has to make decisions concerning the use of conceptual frameworks and the research strategy. The implication of those decisions rests on three aspects, i.e. the truth, objectivity, and rationality.

Babbie and Mouton (2001:13) explain the relationship between these aspects as follows: "Scientific knowledge comprises statements which are better or worse approximation of reality (truth) which are accepted by the scientific community after having scrutinised these (rationality) and which are based on the best supporting evidence gained through the application of rigorous methods and techniques (objectivity)".

The choice and utilisation of conceptual frameworks provide order and structure to understanding an aspect of reality in search of valid and reliable knowledge. The research goal assists in the operationalisation thereof by means of describing, explaining or exploring the identified events, phenomena or problem/s (Duverhage, 1994:58).

The research decision finds expression in issues such as the selection of a research topic, problem formulation, the research design and methodological specifications, to name but a few steps, in the research process (Mouton and Marais, 1990:22).

Research decisions are taken in the light of certain meta-theoretical traditions and with the aim of finding solutions to an aspect of reality (phenomenon, problem, or event) [refer to Figure 2.4]. This shifts the focus within the process of knowledge production to the pragmatic dimension of World 3: everyday life, and to the operationalisation context.

2.5 Operationalization Context

The world of everyday life consists of a matrix of knowledge components which range from common sense, experience, insight and wisdom to traditions and customs, to name but a few. The sources of non-scientific knowledge are endless. Yet it is within this very domain that theory and pragmatic issues become interrelated, as the process of creating order and structure in the search for valid and reliable knowledge is directed towards a problem, phenomenon or event so as to fulfil the scientific function, i.e. to understand an aspect of reality. It is within the operationalisation context that pragmatic interests highlight the need for a valid and reliable understanding of an aspect of reality. The aspect of change in power dynamics and revolution, especially the contemporary crisis of the nation-state, may serve as an example of a phenomenon of which insufficient valid and reliable knowledge exists (Duvenhage, 1994:59; Babbie and Mouton, 2001:7).

At the onset of the 1960's the focus of scientific practice was shifted to the anti-positivistic paradigm which resulted in the re-evaluation of the social sciences. The consequence of this re-evaluation found expression in the utilisation of three influential approaches or meta-theoretical traditions, i.e. Positivism, Interpretive Social Science (Phenomenology), and Critical Social Science (Critical Theory). These approaches are linked with three research methods, i.e. quantitative, qualitative and participatory action research methods respectively (Neuman, 1997:61-85; Babbie and Mouton, 2001:20-45).

The place and role of these approaches and methods are schematically represented in Figures 2.1 and 2.4. The previous contexts will have a directive influence on the choice of the appropriate approach, especially the pre-scientific context as well as the nature of the phenomenon, event or problem subject to scientific inquiry focussing on the attainment of valid and reliable knowledge. The operationalisation context is diagrammatically represented in Figure 2.4.

Within meta-politics, when working with Popper's three worlds of knowledge production, cognition and applied epistemology are new or contemporary scientific developments in this regard. Traditional meta-politics differs from applied epistemology in that the first focuses on World 2: the world of science (i.e. to gain an understanding of political inquiry by means of the research process), while the latter aims to integrate World 2 and World 3: the world of everyday life (Faure, 1991:36-45).

Applied epistemology primarily focuses on the cognitive and intellectual criterion that is required when knowledge is utilised for human gain within the pragmatic domain. The meta-theoretical framework within the meta-matrix (Figures 2.1 and 2.2) is designed according to the process of applied epistemology.

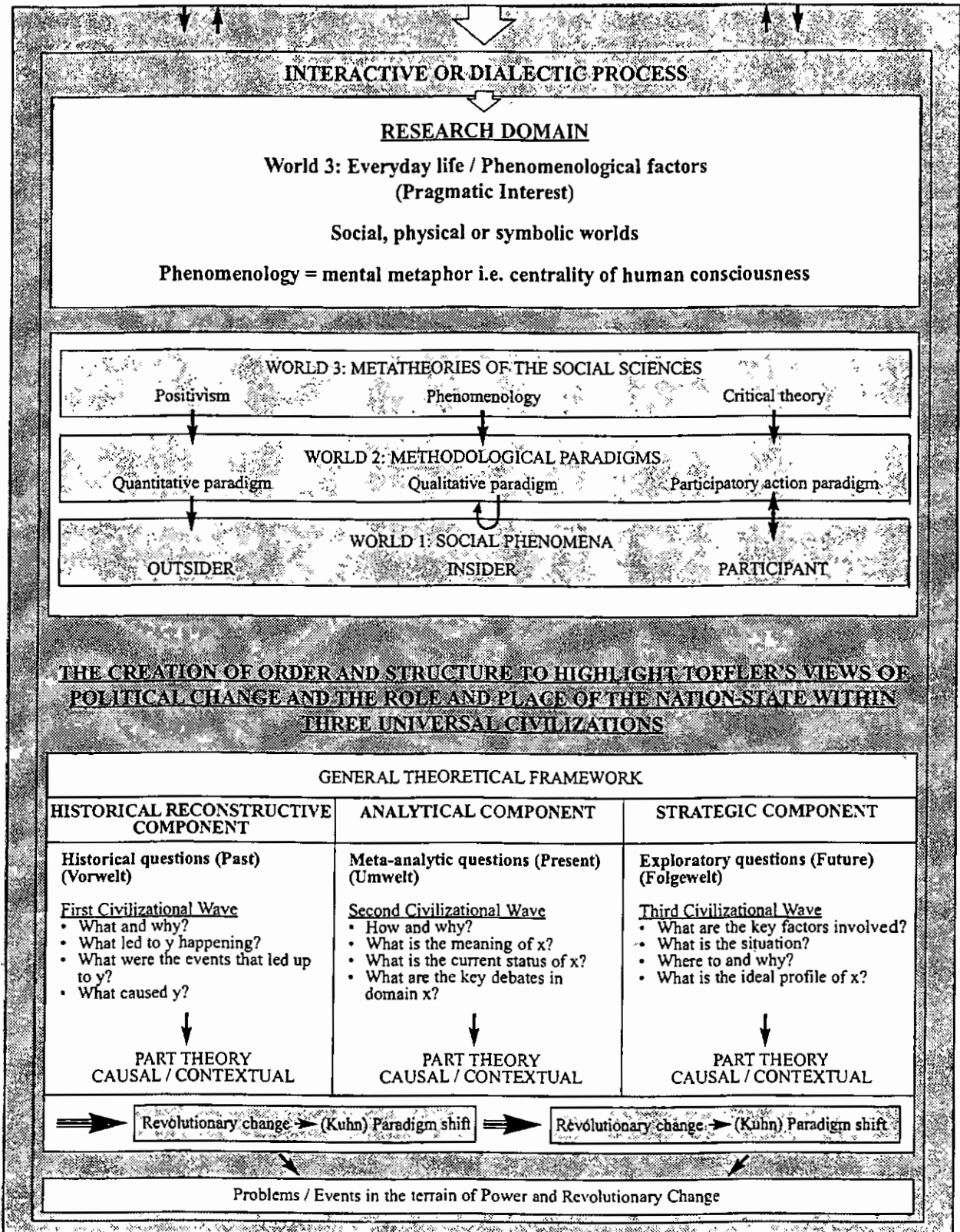


Figure 2.4.: A meta-theoretical representation of the operationalisation context (adapted from Duvenhage, 1994:67; 69; Babbie & Mouton 2001:15; 48)

The historic-spatial nature of the three dimensional theoretical framework used in this study focuses on dealing "...with the present and the future through the use of cognitive patterns taken from past experience and alternative anticipations of the future, and to make reasoned choices in terms of these categories" (Faure,1991:39). The historic-spatial categories, which are dialectic in nature (refer to Figures 2.5 and 2.6), include the past (*vorwelt*), the present (*umwelt*) and the future (*folgewelt*). An example of this would be Toffler and Toffler's (1993:20) three historic *waves of change*.

When focusing on the future, applied epistemology is based on three cognitive requirements, i.e. predictions (or scenarios), control (predetermined elements), and choice (critical uncertainties) within a historical-spatial foundational context. These cognitive requirements find expression within the meta-theoretical framework that ultimately focuses on the critical uncertainties of choice or alternative outcomes. Within this meta-theoretical framework, past experience is based on a descriptive, ideographic outline and highlights the utilisation of *generalised patterns* (Faure, 1991:40; Schwartz, 1996; Toffler, 1980:18). To sketch a scenario for the future, Faure (1991:41) explains, requires "... a *description* in a time space context in which no observation has yet taken place. By the same token, *control* over the environment requires the ability to reproduce a given situation as captured in *description* and the critical element of choice demands choosing between two or more *descriptions* of anticipated future events". The meta-theoretical framework is divided into three historic-spatial components, i.e. *historical /reconstructive* (past); the *analytical* (present) and *strategic* (future). Each historical-spatial component is characterised by a set of generalised patterns or codes. Toffler (1980:59) speaks of a *hidden code* which is rules or principles which permeates all activities in each civilizational wave in the form of a repeated design.

The shift from one historic-spatial component to the next is defined by Kuhn (1962), within a meta-theoretical context, as a paradigm shift; a phase of revolutionary change on how to conduct science.

The descriptive nature of each of the three historic-spatial components does not only relate perceptions and experience of each phase, but also highlights that the dialectic nature of each component or phase serves as the *raw material* of knowledge production (Faure, 1991:41). Toffler (1990:419) also refers to this as a *knowledge revolution*. Marx highlighted the interactive role of the actors who were responsible for designing each civilizational code, which Ritzer (1992:49) explains within a historical dialectic model, schematically represented in Figure 2.5. As one historic-spatial context is replaced by the next one, accompanied by a new paradigm, a revolutionary break with history occurs, resulting in a *Gestalt-switch* and a *conversion-experience*. The main reason for the *Gestalt-switch* is that the new paradigm offers solutions to problems emanating from the previous historic-spatial component (Mouton, 1993:58-71). When discontinuities occur in history, economies may set the decaying process in motion but, as Toffler (1990:384) suggests, the process occurs due to a multidimensional, holistic conversion or *Gestalt-switch* because to "...reduce history to any single force or factor is to ignore complexity ... but to regard history as a succession of patternless or unrelated accidents is equally reductionistic". The paradigm is a useful tool and is "acceptable only in a metaphorical sense". The wave movement, used by Toffler (1980:28) as a metaphor to highlight historic-spatial universal civilizations within the evolutionary process of mankind, is an example of this. The reconstruction, interpretation and evaluation of theoretical contributions are made possible, when explained within the pre-scientific, scientific and subject-scientific contexts. The creation of meta-theoretical frameworks, as schematically represented in Figure 2.9, forms the blueprint according to which Toffler's theoretical contributions regarding revolutionary change, power and state dynamics and in particular the crises of the nation-state and its future can be reconstructed, interpreted, evaluated and compared to other contributions. The dialectic nature of Toffler's work has been divided into three large scale structures, i.e. the *historical-reconstructive* component (past/ *vorwelt*), the *analytical component* (present/ *umwelt*) and the *strategic component* (future/ *folgewelt*). Each component is driven by actors or driving forces which drive the process of revolutionary change resulting in a shift from one paradigm to the next.

This is diagrammatically represented in Figure 2.5, and should be compared with Figures 2.4 and 2.8.

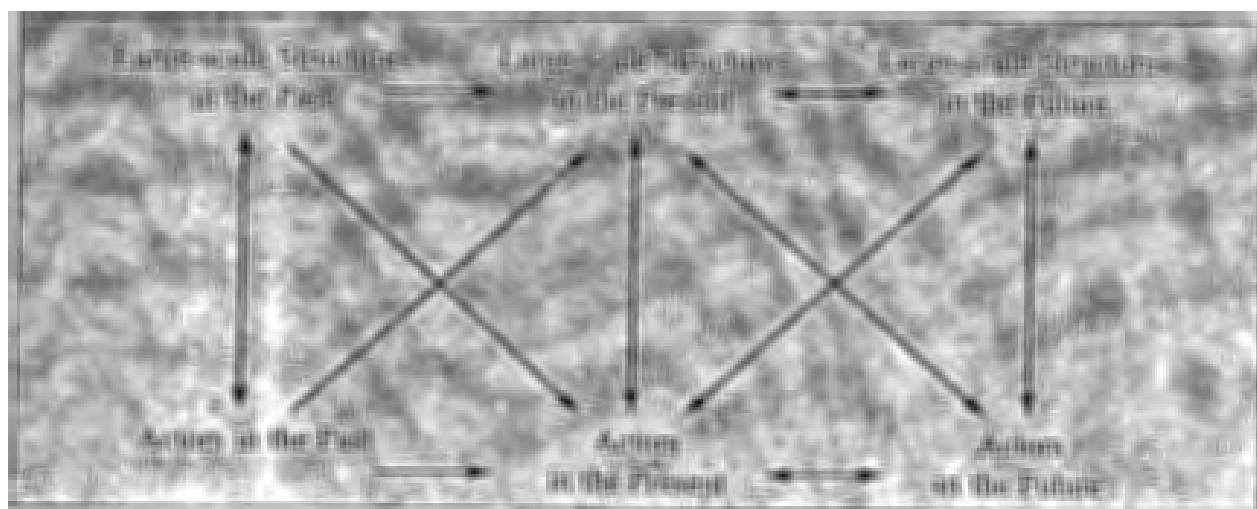


Figure 2.5: A diagrammatical representation of a sociological relevant dialectic (Ritzer, 1992:49)

In summary: within the operationalizational context the focus is placed on pragmatic interests where theory and pragmatic issues become interdependent as an effort is made to create order and structure in order to understand an aspect of reality (in this study that would be the crisis of the nation-state). These pragmatic issues can be grounded within the meta-theories of the social sciences such as positivism, phenomenology or the critical theory. The five contexts mentioned above form the basis upon which a meta-matrix for Toffler's contributions will be designed. The meta-matrix is diagrammatically represented below in Figure 2.6.

**META-THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES
A FRAMEWORK FOR THE LIFE AND WORLD VIEW OF THE THEORIST**

INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE

META-THEORETICAL (ONTOLOGICAL) ASSUMPTIONS

What is man? (Images of man)

Concerning the man and his world

What is the nature of the state / society / culture /
economic / technology / environment

**POPPER'S EXPLANATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN META-SCIENCE,
SCIENCE & EVERYDAY LIFE**

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

DETERMINANTS OF RESEARCH

DOMAIN ASSUMPTIONS

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THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

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RESEARCH STRATEGY

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Approaches: Empiricism, subjectism, substantialism, realism, rationalism, phenomenology, post-modernism, hermeneutics
Methodologies: Conceptual analysis and critique, descriptive studies, exploratory studies, qualitative and quantitative techniques, deconstruction
Object of inquiry: The world of science (World 2)

WORLD 2: THE WORLD OF SCIENCE (EPISTEMIC INTEREST)

The theorists point of departure within the world of science regarding conceptual frameworks: Theories, models, typologies, concepts, statements, definitions.
Disciplines: Social Sciences: Political Science, Sociology, Development Studies.
Natural Sciences: Entomology, Chemistry.
Theoretical approaches (Discipline specific): Modernisation theory, dependency theory, force theory, systems theory, dialectic theory, regionalisation theory, theory of international relations, chaos theory, political development and political decay
Methodologies: Case study, surveys, action research, scenarios.
Object of inquiry: Everyday life / Phenomenon (in World 1).

RESEARCH GOAL

RESEARCH DECISIONS

TOPIC

PROBLEM STATEMENT

RESEARCH DESIGN

METHODOLOGY

CONCLUSIONS

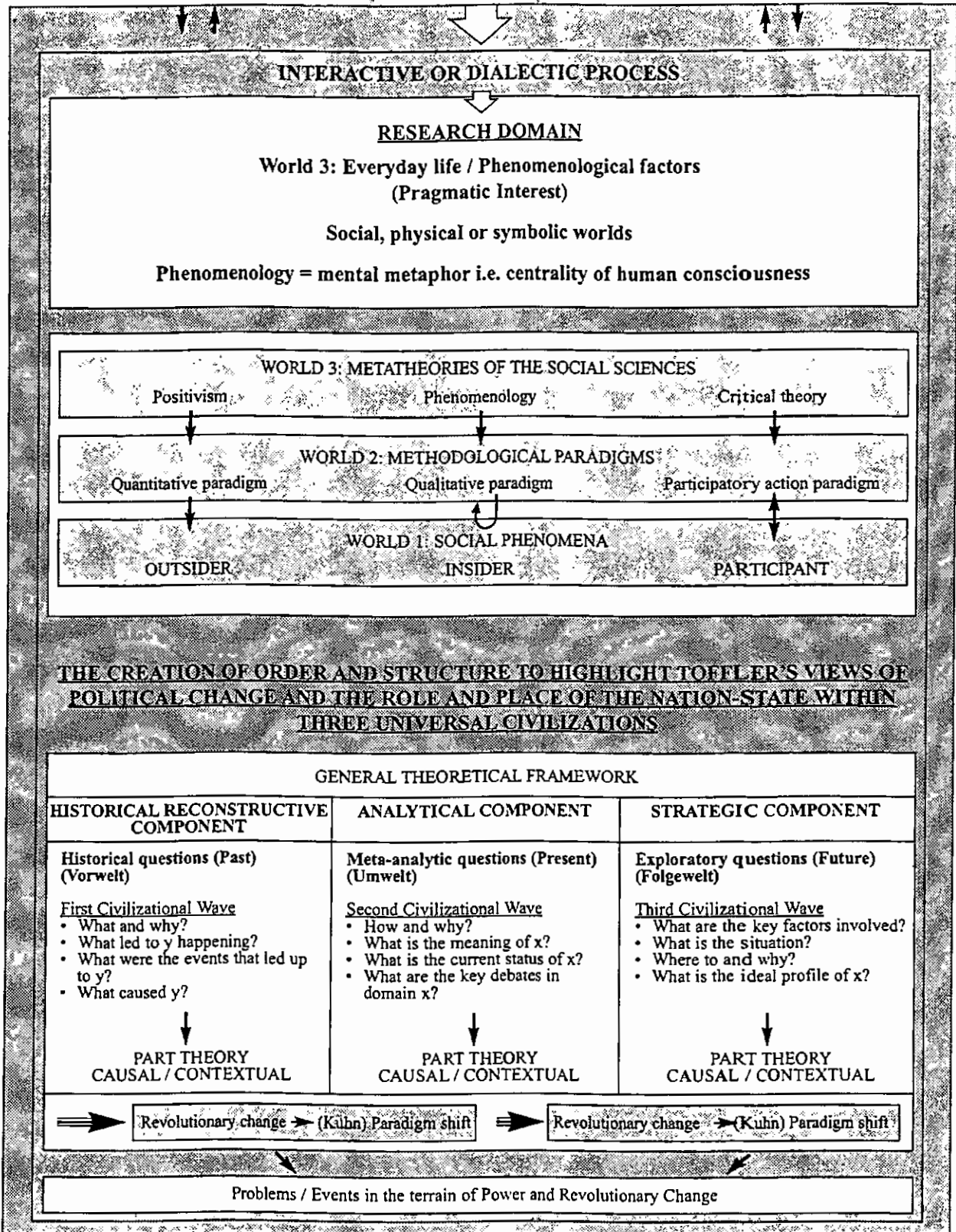


Figure 2.6.: A meta-theoretical framework for Toffler's contributions (adapted from Mouton & Marais, 1990:22; Duvenhage, 1994:60;67;69; Mouton, 1996:10 and Babbie & Mouton, 2001; 14-15;48).

3. A META-MATRIX FOR UNDERSTANDING TOFFLER'S CONTRIBUTIONS

In this section an attempt is made to apply the meta-matrix and theoretical framework to Toffler's work so as to create order and structure for the scientific inquiry of his contributions. An explanation of the meta-matrix and theoretical framework will be done in accordance with the schematic representation in Figure 2.6. In order to explain the meta-theoretical framework an explanation of Toffler's contributions within the pre-scientific, scientific and subject-scientific contexts are required. These contexts have a direct influence on the creation, order and structure of the meta-theoretical framework (refer to Figure 2.2). To fully comprehend Toffler's contributions it is important to understand his life and world view, as outlined in the pre-scientific context, especially regarding his view of man, society and the state.

3.1 *The Prescientific Context Of Toffler's Contributions*

Toffler and Marx both believed that scientific inquiry is not free of subjectivity and emphasised the importance of the pre-scientific context (compare Toffler, 1980:18 and Mouton, 1993:213). To highlight the place and role of this normative component of Toffler's contribution, it is important to start with a brief sketch of Toffler's life and academic contribution as a dimension of his life and world view.

Alvin Toffler's epistemological journey has evolved over many decades in a surprisingly similar fashion to Karl Marx. Young Marx, influenced by Engels's view on the working class, as editor of a radical alternative newspaper, gave expression to *ideological problematic*.

Marx's activist notions resulted in closure of the newspaper, exile from the French government and his revolutionary declaration **Workers of all countries unite!** These events resulted in new situations in which a now mature Marx withdrew from political revolutionary activities and focused on scientific inquiry. The result of this phase of his epistemic journey was the completion of three books. Marx has been described as family orientated, dedicated to his wife and daughter and an **abstract thinker**. His Ph.D. in Philosophy is a mere reflection of his academic achievements (Ritzer, 1992:46-47; Mouton, 1993:199). Marx's theoretical contributions regarding dialectical materialism were destined to have a great influence on Toffler's thoughts.

Similarly, a young Toffler, having worked as a factory worker for a period of five years in a steel plant, an auto plant and other industrial plants, which he described as **the dark satanic mills**, sympathised with the working class. Toffler was also an associate editor of the **Fortune** magazine, whose founder was Henry Luce (1898-1967), and which is still operated from the Rockefeller Centre in New York (Toffler, 1990:10; Toffler and Toffler (1993); and Anon, 1997:10). Toffler's years as a factory worker left him a self proclaimed Marxist. Later, a mature Toffler moved away from **ideological problematic** towards an academic life. Toffler has astounding academic achievements which include five honorary degrees in science, law and the letters and has won the McKinsey Foundation Book Award in the USA, the Golden Key Award in China and the, Prix du Meilleur Livre Etranger in France. He is a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Toffler proceeded to write four books within this epistemic journey. In 1994 the Selye-Toffler University was founded to provide M.A., M.Sc. and Ph.D. studies and is serviced by 400 professors in over 80 different countries. Toffler is devoted to his wife Heidi, who has an honorary doctorate in law and is internationally acclaimed, having won the medal of the President of the Italian Republic for her work, and to his daughter Karen. Heidi Toffler was co-author of the book *War and Anti-war* (Toffler and Toffler 1993). Toffler has been described as an internationally acclaimed academic, abstract thinker and futurist (Toffler, 1980; Toffler, 1990).

On an ideological level, Toffler is a self-proclaimed Marxist, but he acknowledges that at this level one's contributions are biased, one-sided and isolated. Toffler's epistemic journey had to move to the next and higher level, i.e. to World 2: the world of science. To understand Toffler's contributions the meta-theoretical framework within the meta-matrix needs explanation. To obtain a comprehensive totality of his contributions, he suggests the need for a **systematic framework** (Toffler, 1980:16-20; Mouton, 1996:7-8). It is within the scientific context that it becomes apparent that Toffler's epistemic journey is not limited to Marxism but is based on the phenomenological tradition. Phenomenologists regard the purpose of the social sciences as "...primarily directed towards understanding: understanding of individuals in terms of their own interpretations of reality and understanding of society in terms of the meanings which people ascribe to the social practices in that society" (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:33).

Within the phenomenological tradition the phenomenologist supports amongst others, inter-subjectivity, interpretive (**Verstehende**) understanding, and an idealist theory of knowledge. The phenomenological tradition is also associated with anti-positivistic methodology and epistemology (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:33). Phenomenology uses a **mental metaphor** which focuses on human consciousness and exists within the operationalisation context of the meta-theoretical framework, i.e. world 3: the world of everyday life (refer to Figure 2.9). The phenomenological tradition is diagrammatically represented in Figure 2.7.

It is within this tradition that the interplay between phenomenology and the critical theory takes place. Johnson et al (1984:80) explain this interplay within the phenomenological tradition as occurring "...directly, through the attempts of Schultz to apply phenomenology to the problems of the social sciences, and indirectly through the Husserlian influence on the Frankfurt School (**Frankfurter Schule**) of the critical theory and what have become known as phenomenological marxists".

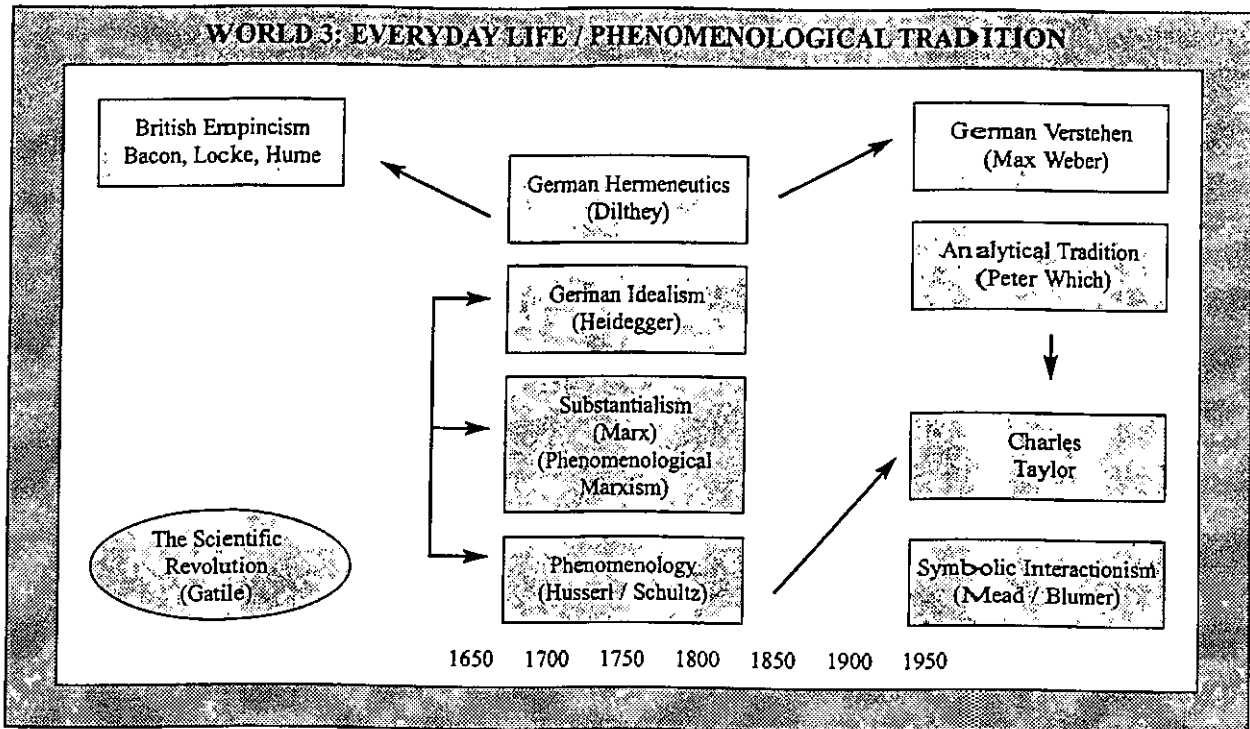


Figure 2.7: The Phenomenological Tradition (adapted from Babbie & Mouton, 2001:32 and Johnson et al 1984:80, 114-146).

Phenomenological Marxism is also known as **substantialism** (Johnson et al, 1984: 80; 114-146). To obtain a full understanding of Toffler's approach to the historical reconstruction of man, society and the state, it is important to highlight that his life and worldview is grounded in **substantialism**. Toffler's link to **substantialism** may be explained by the fact that Marx's thoughts are centred on the nature of political power and its relationship with socio-economic organisation.

Marx's views regarding the political institution are complimented by thinkers such as Machiavelli and Kautilya as well as Neo-Machiavellian elitist thinkers such as Pareto, Mosca and Michels. Machiavelli and Marx undisputedly differ in their line of thought, but have one common thread, i.e. that their thoughts are based in phenomenological philosophy. Phenomenological philosophy, especially the work of Edmund Husserl, focuses on the aspect that to understand the full impact of political reality, a thorough knowledge of the power behind the political structure and those who design the **rules of the game** is needed. Weber also focused, as did Marx, Machiavelli, and Toffler, on aspects of power, who controls this power and what power structures are in place. Weber, like Toffler, feels that the control of any group or structure is anchored in power (Pelser and Botes, 1992:11-12). Toffler, as was the case with the Marxian system, regarded power not simply in its current form but as having been historically rooted (refer to the section on power). They both raised questions of future power structures under "...changed social circumstances" (Ritzer, 1992:50).

To understand these social phenomena, reference can be made to Weber's principle of **Verstehen** or the understanding of historical events and the forces underlying these events. Ritzer (1992:117) explains **Verstehen** as "...consistent with large-scale theories (for example, structural functionalism), whereas an individual level view is appropriate for small-scale theories (for example, symbolic interactionism)" (refer to Figure 2.7). Ritzer (1992:117) concludes that **Verstehen** can be used as a tool for **macro-level analyses**, similar to Toffler's macro level conceptualisation of universal civilizations. **Verstehen** has also been interpreted as understanding the interaction or power struggles of actors within the macro environment, which in Toffler's work would mean within the parameters of three civilizational waves. Machiavelli, Marx, Weber and Toffler, therefore, have all focused on the question **who is really in control of the power in society?** Toffler has, however, stronger Marxist tendencies of economic determinism when trying to find answers to this question, while Machiavelli focused more on political dominance of leaders who had extraordinary personal and political skills. Weber and Toffler differ from Marx in that they do not regard the individual as an economic being alone but rather within a **Gestalt** approach [Machiavelli 1891; Toffler, 1980:19; Toffler, 1990:4,14,384; Ritzer, 1992:118; Pelser and Botes, 1992:2;9;11-12; Johnson et al, 1984:127-134].

The **Gestalt** approach originated from thinkers such as Wolfgang Kohler, Kurt Koffka and Kurt Lewin. This approach promotes mankind's perceptions of the situations and events viewed as a **dynamic whole** (Sears et al, 1991:6-8). Marx, Weber, and Toffler's theoretical foundation was centred in the German Schools of thought. It is especially within the historic-spatial context of Hegel's ideas of the progressive unfolding of the evolutionary process of mankind that Marx, Weber and Toffler's contributions find expression within German Idealism. Hegel's dialectic gives expression to their ideas regarding history. Toffler (1980:113) refers to the "...progress principle... [as]... the idea that history flows irreversibly towards a better life for humanity". Weber regarded **concrete historical events** as having a temporal-spatial character being both **ideographic** (contextual – event and actions) and **nomothetic** (generalised laws) by nature. For Weber, Hermeneutics can be used as an instrument to understand the events and actions of history. To understand the general laws functioning within these idiosyncratic events Weber suggests the use of **historical ideal types**. Toffler's meta-matrix, representing three civilizational waves corresponds to Weber's idea of **historical ideal types** (refer to Figure 2.8). Weber points out that each idiosyncratic event has its own unique laws that are at some stage discontinued. These ideas resulted in Weber's creation of a developmental theory of political change (Ritzer, 1992:110-156; Robertson, 1993:490). Hegel and Marx also referred to these discontinuities as contradictions in the dialectic process where driving forces bring about change to higher and newer forms of social differentiation (Nelson, 1996: 339-342). The **social wave front analysis** used by Toffler (1980: 27) is similar to Weber's **historical ideal types** as it focuses on discontinuities. This new approach, Toffler (1980:27) explains, "...looks at history as a succession of rolling waves of change and asks where the leading edge of each wave is carrying us. It focuses our attention, not so much on the continuities of history, as on the discontinuities - the innovations and breakpoints". This approach also assists in identifying emerging patterns of change or driving forces.

This **social wave front analysis** serves as a foundation for Toffler's (1980:26) **revolutionary premlse**. Kuhn regards these historical breaking points or discontinuities as a paradigm shift or **Gestalt switch** (compare Mouton, 1993: 220 with reference to paradigmatic change).

Toffler's meta-theoretical framework (Figure 2.8) focuses on three universal civilizations and its "...structure mirrors its central metaphor – the clash of waves" (Toffler, 1980:17). The wave metaphor has been used by theorists such as Norbert Elias, Frederick Jackson Turner, and more recently, S.P. Huntington. Within each idiosyncratic wave, Toffler (1980:17-19) highlights the driving forces of change, i.e. the **techno-sphere** (technology and economics); **socio-sphere** and **info-sphere** (social); **bio-sphere** and **psycho-sphere** (environment), and the **power-sphere** (politics). The work of Toffler offers a comprehensive insight into the above-mentioned determinants by providing a systematic framework in which the multifaceted changes facing the globe, as mankind faces the new era, can be understood. Using this meta-theoretical framework as a point of departure, a comprehensive synthesis has been formulated which can be used as a premise from which scenarios concerning the future of mankind, environmentally, technologically, economically, socially and ultimately politically, can be sketched.

The central thread throughout Toffler's work is change, especially political change. When highlighting the driving forces which direct change it is important to keep in mind that there are certain critical uncertainties. In understanding how these driving forces are interdependent and how they "...transform one another, touching off powerful currents of change we gain a much clearer understanding of the giant wave of change" (Toffler, 1980:19). The **time-space compression** of this model is an extremely complex social differentiation where the facts and events are translated into a **beginning, middle and end time sequence** (Harvey, 1989:240; Hall, 1992:301 and Massey, 1991:25-26). Within Toffler's model the **time-space compression** has found expression in three civilizational waves. Toffler and Toffler (1993:20) prefer the metaphoric concept **waves** because they are **dynamic** by nature. As these civilizational waves gain momentum, while carrying huge stores of potential and kinetic energy, they collide, releasing powerful crosscurrents and upheavals. Toffler and Toffler (1993:20) postulates that in this way, civilizations clash with deep rooted structural changes occurring on all levels of human society. When these historically conceptualised civilizational waves collide, Toffler and Toffler (1993:20) explain, **whole civilizations clash** and a new civilization is launched by each wave.

This universal view of civilization is given expression in the Toffler's *historic-spatial model* which encompasses the principal of universal progress or unilinear development of mankind (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:20; Strong, 1959:95). The analogy of the waves of changing civilizations is apt when seen in the light of Galileo's law of inertia which Strauss (1998; 65) explains "...implies that we at most speak of the origin of a change in motion! All change presupposes a continuing basis".

From Toffler's perspective mankind has only experienced three major revolutions which brought such deep, radical changes that a new civilization emerged, i.e. the *First Wave Civilization*, the *Second Wave Civilization* and the *Third Wave Civilization*. Toffler (1980:254) explains that when "...we change the deep structure of civilization, we simultaneously rewrite all the codes by which we live". The central idea, which will be exposed as each wave is explored, is that, as there is a shift in the mode of production, the structures of the existing order crumble, resulting in periods of disequilibrium where the political component of society synergises to restore the balance in the system, thereby creating a new set of *rules of the game*. Toffler (1990:78) explains that the breakdown of the existing economic order is not a negative process, but a necessary step in the development process and the advancement of mankind. Here reference is made to Joseph Schumpeter who referred to this process as *creative destruction*. Therefore, Toffler postulates that where radical changes in the system of wealth production occur, a new civilization will emerge. The three systems of wealth production include the *agrarian*, the *industrial* and lastly the *information* systems. Toffler (1990:10) expands on this, stating that a revolutionary "...new system of wealth cannot spread without triggering personal, political and international conflict". Toffler and Toffler (1993:8), therefore, state that the history of mankind was subject to three major wealth producing revolutions, namely the agricultural, industrial and post-industrial (information) revolutions. Each of these revolutions took place within a specific societal context and because the parts cannot be separated from the whole, these revolutions were not only economic by nature but through enkaptic relations holistically revolutionised the environmental, technological, social and political components as well (Toffler, 1990:384). Marx and Toffler do however agree, as a result of economic deterministic thinking, that economic changes trigger a snowball effect of simultaneous changes in society.

Thus, political conflict is brought on by the differences among economic interest groups. The shift from the *First Wave* to the *Second Wave* had its origin in the conflict between the capitalistic ruling class and the proletariat. According to Lipson (1985:345), Aristotle regarded democracy as existing within the confines of the struggle between the *haves* and the *have nots*. Once again, this struggle between the *haves* and the *have nots* has emerged with the inequalities of the North-South system and is about to herald in the *Third Wave* with the revolutionaries of the Islamic world and other non-state actors trying to break the *Pax-Americana's* political economic power. Both Marx and Toffler have an analytical and dynamic approach to the historical, revolutionary reconstruction of society. Toffler's (1980:20) deterministic approach does, however, reflect the Marxist foundation of his life and world view.

Theorists, such as Huntington (1996), challenge this geo-economic school of thought and instead base civilization on ethnic and religious lines. Maclver and Page (1964:558-565) explain that deterministic thinkers such as Hegel, Feuerbach, Marx and Toffler place the order of civilization to be of primary importance and the order of culture of secondary importance. The supposition upon which this is based contextualises the economic structure as the foundation of the political-legal superstructure, resulting in a corresponding social consciousness. Toffler and Toffler's (1993:338-339) civilization subsume those of Huntington and rather postulate that "...we might think of it as a collision of super-civilizations". The term civilization, in this study, will therefore give reference to a universal super-civilization.

The purpose of studying these universal super-civilizations is to gain a greater understanding of our contemporary disposition. The study of these civilizations will create the understanding of the experiences, discoveries, and achievements that have shaped mankind's attitudes and the forces, events and individual leaders that have moulded our identity (Knapp, 1988:1). In order to highlight the uniqueness of each super-civilizational wave, attention must be drawn to the enkaptic relationship between the driving forces present in each wave. According to Toffler (1980:359) these driving forces, present in each wave have been manifested in the form of a **bio-sphere**, a **techno-sphere**, a **socio-sphere**, an **info-sphere**, a **power-sphere** and a super-ideology.

When changes occur at all these different levels at once the consequence is not merely the disintegration of the old society, but the creation of foundations for the new. To understand each civilizational wave in its totality and within Toffler's *historic-spatial model*, it is important to comprehend the enkaptic functionality, which Dooyeweerd (1958:51) regards as the "...interstructural coherence between different interwoven types of individual totalities", of its respective driving forces by highlighting the complex *structural interweaving* that occurs among them. The enkapsis of driving forces is important as even though these *alternatively-natured structures* or forces are interwoven they still manage to retain their unique character (Dooyeweerd, 1958:51 and Dooyeweerd, 1969:627; 694). Strauss (1998:84) expands on this by suggesting that the concrete enkaptulating functionality of these driving forces is driven by two primary functions, i.e. *foundational function* and the *qualifying/directive function*. The *foundational function* forms the spatial parameters of the driving forces, thereby highlighting its uniqueness, while the *directive function* directs the force in its enkaptic interweaving process. Take, for instance, that the state's uniqueness is found within its juridical function which in turn directs "...the way in which the state functions in all other aspects of reality" (Strauss, 1998:84). The *directive function* results in the underlying civilizational universal *code* or *rules of the game* in each wave. Toffler's *historic-spatial model*, therefore highlights the enkaptic relationship between driving forces and the three civilizational waves. Before transcending to the phase of exploring this relationship, the three civilizational waves, for the purpose of enlightenment, will have to be contextualised within Toffler's model. To grasp the full meaning and extent of Toffler's *historic-spatial model* and the deep structural changes mankind has experienced, an aetiological retreat into Toffler's three civilizational waves of change is needed.

The pre-scientific and scientific contexts of Toffler's contributions have been discussed above and the following section will concentrate on the theoretical and operational contexts of his *historic-spatial model* which are found in World 3: the world of everyday life (Figure 2.8). Figure 2.8 is diagrammatically represented as follows:

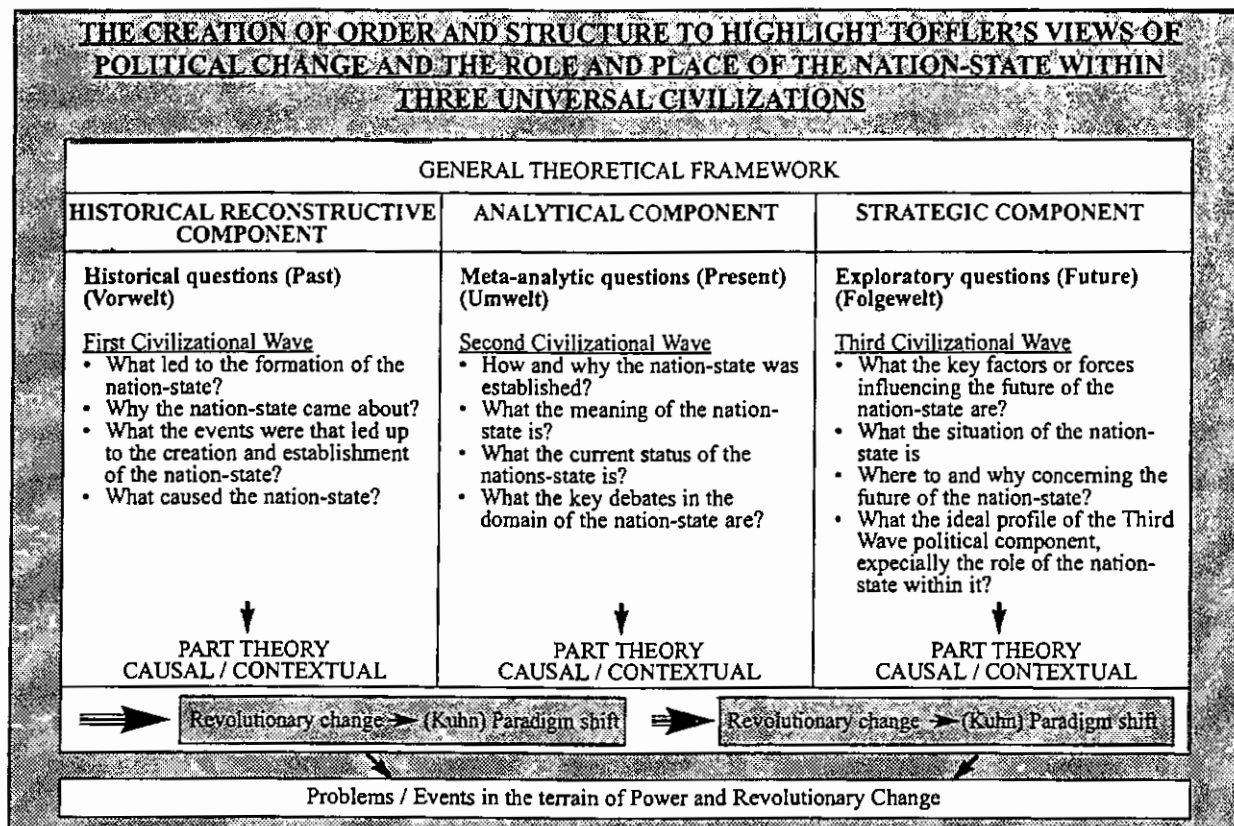


Figure 2.8: Toffler's historic-spatial model (meta-matrix) as applied to the meta-theoretical framework (adapted from Toffler, 1970; Toffler, 1980; Toffler, 1990; Toffler & Toffler, 1993; Duvenhage, 1994:69 and Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 75-79)

Within the theoretical context the meta-theoretical framework of Toffler's historic-spatial model is divided into three components, i.e. the **historical reconstructive component** (past/*vorwelt*), the **analytical component** (present/*umwelt*) and the **strategic component** (future/*folgewelt*). Toffler's First civilizational Wave finds expression within the idiosyncratic **vorwelt** which focuses on historical questions (what and why?).

The Second Civilizational Wave finds expression within the idiosyncratic *umwelt* which focuses on contemporary, meta-analytic questions (how and why?). The Third Civilizational Wave finds expression within the *folgewelt* which focuses on exploratory questions (where to and why?). This framework is laid out in his books, i.e. *Future Shock* (1970), which deals with the process of change, *Third Wave* (1980), which looks at the direction of change (where contemporary changes are leading us), *Powershift* (1990) which deals with the future (the control of changes still to come - who will shape them and how), and *War and Anti-war* which looks at the clash of these civilizational waves and the conflict that these discontinuities cause, thus highlighting revolutionary change.

Toffler (1980:110) suggests that each of these waves is unique (having a foundational function) and has its own worldview which is pre-organised and pre-constituted according to a civilizational code. It is when this code is questioned or challenged that discontinuities occur and subsequently revolutionary change arises. In *World 3: the world of everyday life* (Figure 2.7) has a phenomenological approach as it deals with aspects of reality and how this reality is perceived. The way mankind's world is pre-organised and perceived forms the worldview of each civilizational wave and dictates individual human behaviour within a given period. These periods of equilibrium are surrounded by uncertainty and are dependent on the relevance of the goals and objectives of mankind within that particular temporal-spatial context. Discontinuities arise out of *hypothetical relevance* where, for instance, the driving forces within each wave indicate that there is a movement towards something other than that which is familiar within a specific code or civilizational wave. Should a break or discontinuity arise within a given code or civilization, an anomaly or problem occurs resulting in *thematic or topical relevance*. *Thematic relevance* can only be understood within an idiosyncratic historical ideal type (Ritzer, 1992:121; Fouche, 1993:92-110). The applied epistemological approach allows for a full comprehension of pragmatic issues within *thematic relevance*. The pragmatic issue of concern in this study is the place and role of the state within each civilizational wave with specific focus on the future of the nation-state.

The application of the meta-matrix, as presented in Figure 2.6, to Toffler's contributions is represented in Figure 2.9

META-THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES
A FRAMEWORK FOR THE LIFE AND WORLD VIEW OF THE THEORIST

INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE

META-THEORETICAL (ONTOLOGICAL) ASSUMPTIONS

What is man? (Images of man)

Concerning the man and his world

What is the nature of the state / society / culture /
economic / technology / environment

**POPPER'S EXPLANATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN META-SCIENCE,
SCIENCE & EVERYDAY LIFE**

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

DETERMINANTS OF RESEARCH

DOMAIN ASSUMPTIONS

The theorists view of science and the implications thereof

- The search for valid and reliable knowledge
- The search for order and structure
- The choice of scientific methods

THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Theories, models, typologies, methods and techniques

RESEARCH STRATEGY

Assumptions about specific aspects of the research domain

- Disciplines: Philosophy of science, research methodology, research ethics
- Approaches: Empiricism, subjectism, substantialism, realism, rationalism, phenomenology, post-modernism, hermeneutics
- Methodologies: Conceptual analysis and critique, descriptive studies, exploratory studies, qualitative and quantitative techniques, deconstruction
- Object of inquiry: The world of science (World 2)

WORLD 2: THE WORLD OF SCIENCE (EPISTEMIC INTEREST)

The theorists point of departure within the world of science regarding conceptual frameworks: Theories, models, typologies, concepts, statements, definitions.

Disciplines: Social Sciences: Political Science, Sociology, Development Studies.

Natural Sciences: Entomology, Chemistry.

Theoretical approaches (Discipline specific): Modernisation theory, dependency theory, force theory, systems theory, dialectic theory, regionalisation theory, theory of international relations, chaos theory, political development and political decay

Methodologies: Case study, surveys, action research, scenarios.

Object of inquiry: Everyday life / Phenomenon (in World 1).

RESEARCH GOAL

RESEARCH DECISIONS

TOPIC

PROBLEM STATEMENT

RESEARCH DESIGN

METHODOLOGY

CONCLUSIONS

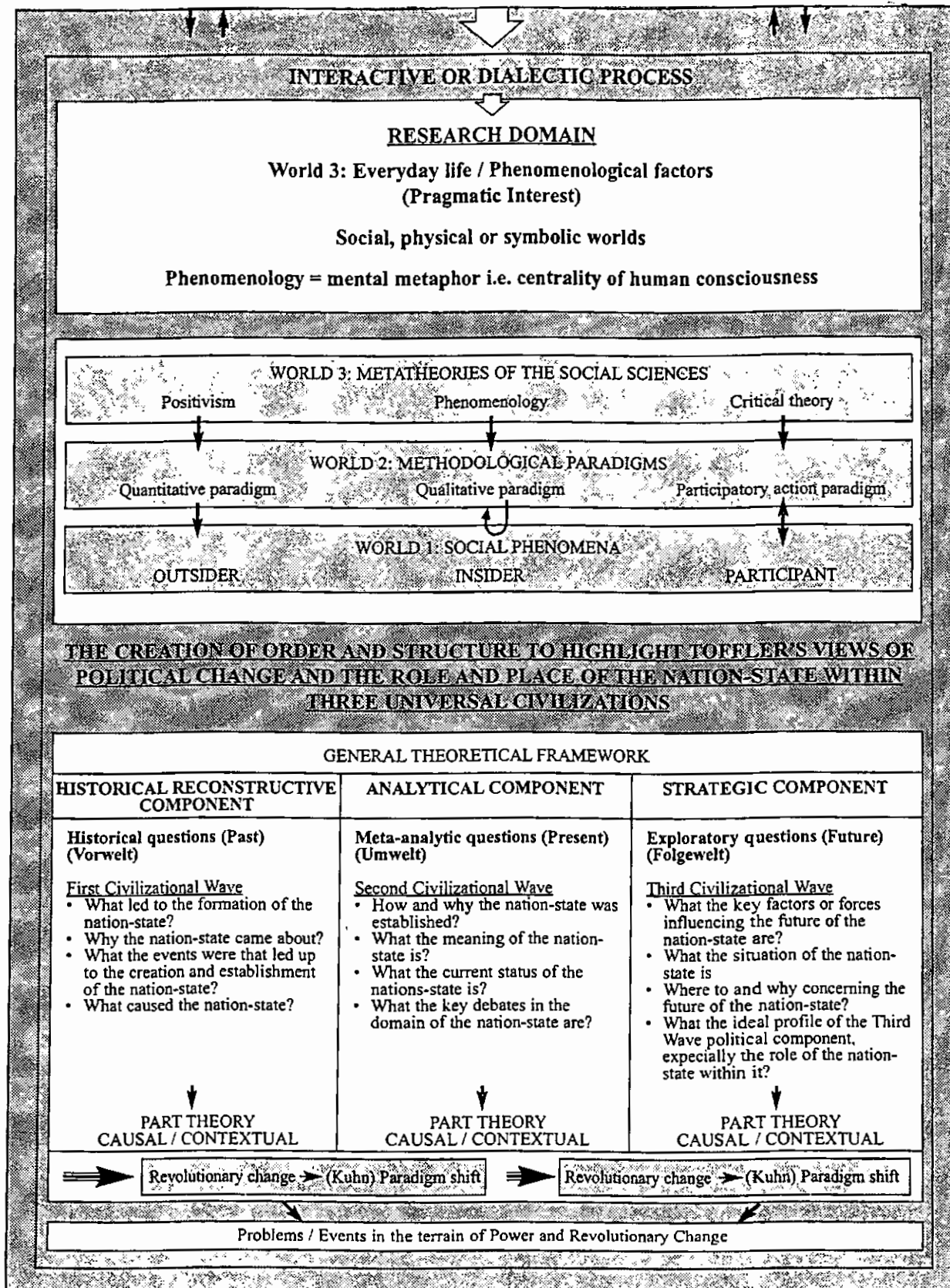


Figure 2.9: *A meta-theoretical framework or blueprint for the reconstruction and interpretation of Toffler's contributions (adapted from Toffler, 1970; Toffler, 1980; Toffler, 1990; Toffler and Toffler, 1993; Johnson et al, 1984: 80; 114-146; Mouton and Marais, 1990; Duvenhage, 1994;69; and Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 3-33).*

The three components of Toffler's meta-theoretical framework function within the parameters of universal civilizational power shifts and revolutionary change. The problems and/or events in the terrain of power and revolutionary change, therefore are highlighted within every component and consequently within each of the three universal civilizational waves. The central thesis of Toffler's model revolves around the revolutionary change in the power structures of society and the effect it has on every aspect of life. To contextualise and analyse the central thesis of Toffler's model the relationship between change, revolution and power must be explored (Toffler, 1990: xvii). The conceptualisation of change, revolution and power is required before a reconstruction and interpretation of Toffler's thoughts can be made.

3.1.1 Change

Change is a concept that is prone to multi-paradigmatic conceptualisation. Palmer (1989:7) complements Toffler's *Gestalt* views concerning the causes of change as well as the *foundational* and *qualifying/directive functions* thereof by defining change as an "...alteration of an existing state or condition. Social change is any alteration of existing social structures and relationships; economic change is any alteration of existing production or distribution patterns; political change is any alteration of existing political relationships, processes, or institutions. Change, of itself is neither good nor bad. It is merely an observed difference between a past and a present condition". To highlight the transformatory dialectic process from the past to the present condition Toffler (1980:59; 74) points out that every civilization "...has a hidden code - a set of rules or principles that run through all its activities like a repeated design". Sunter (1996:18) expands on this, referring to the *code* as the global *rules of the game*. At all levels of human society, changes had to be made to adapt to the requirements of the *code* or *rules of the game*. Toffler's model is intended to promulgate systematic organised knowledge and a system of assumptions with rules of procedure which will enable the prediction of the nature and behaviour of current phenomena and ultimately to present a scenario of the vectors and consequences of change currently on a global scale. Toffler (1970:13) refers to scenarios as *intellectual tools* used for understanding and gaining insight into both personal and social change.

The *time-space compression* within Toffler's model finds expression when conceptualising change. Huntington (1971:318) in his article *The Change to Change* defines political change as being analysed at three different levels where the "...rate, scope and direction of change in one component may be compared with the rate, scope and direction of change in other components". Toffler (1990:13) regards the *rate of change* to be at times more important than the *directions of change* and states that the "...*content* of change must include the consequences of pace itself as part of that content". The disequilibrium in the rates of change, in the different dimensions of the social structure, may result in social stresses or conflict, thereby endangering the functionality or survival of the whole. Toffler (1970:13) suggests that there must be a "...balance, not merely between rates of change in different sectors, but between the pace of environmental change and the limited pace of human response". Toffler (1970:18) focuses on mankind's response to change because it is on an individual level that the collision with a future civilization is most evident and even the citizens of the North, being technologically advanced, will find it more difficult to adjust to the constant demands for change that is a feature of our contemporary society.

Toffler's model is aimed at facilitating mankind's response to the tidal wave about to break upon the contemporary societal foundations on which Second Wave individuals depend. When exploring this concept of change, it is necessary to consider the key factors that propel events that cause change. Schwartz (1996:96; 101; 151) identifies these fundamental factors as driving forces which evolve with each civilizational wave. These driving forces find expression in the environmental, technological, economic, social and political domains within each wave. It is when these driving forces suddenly change dramatically and unpredictably, thereby causing societal disequilibrium, that this change is referred to as a revolution. These driving forces form the epistemic structure of the study and feature within every component or civilizational wave of the meta-theoretical framework. Change is a central concept of Toffler's wave theory. Toffler specifically focuses on the driving forces which bring about change, on revolutionary change which facilitates discontinuities in each civilizational wave, and the power shift from one civilizational wave to the next (refer to Figure 2.8). In light of this, revolution is the next concept that requires discussion before Toffler's contributions can be reconstructed and interpreted.

3.1.2 Revolution

Toffler and Toffler (1993:8) portray the history of mankind as subject to three major revolutions, namely, the agricultural, industrial and post-industrial information revolutions. Each of these revolutions took place within a specific societal context. Because of Toffler's *Gestalt* approach, the parts cannot be separated from the whole, and consequently these revolutions were not only economic by nature but holistically revolutionised the environmental, technological, economic, social and political components as well. A revolution changes the deepest structures of a phenomenon (the phenomenon being referred to as the *game*) and in Toffler and Toffler's (1993:33) view, a real revolution goes "...beyond that to change the game itself, including its rules, its equipment, the size and organisation of the teams, their training, doctrines, tactics, and just about everything else". This definition emphasises an all-encompassing social revolution and with change this holistic process occurs on many levels and in many instances simultaneously. With regard to political change, Toffler (1990:4-18) developed a *power theory*. The political and ideological need for Toffler's (1990:18; 285-286) historic-spatial model rests within the confines of a power base where he regards a *power shift* originating from a *power-history* and directed towards a *power-future*. The rate of political change determines the nature of the *power shift* or political revolution. Huntington (1968:264) complements this definition by pointing out that in his view a revolution occurs with "...rapid, fundamental and violent domestic change in the dominant values and myths of a society, in its political institutions and social structures, leadership and government activities and policies". Robertson (1993:393-394; 419) as with Huntington and Toffler focuses on the political component by defining revolution as a shift in political power. The power, which drives the environmental, technological, economic, social or political components of society, is central to political conflict. The revolutionary nature of a *power shift* may be reflected within the parameters of Kuhn's (1962) framework of a paradigmatic shift. In each civilizational wave, Toffler portrays periods of equilibrium when a *code* or *rules of the game* were implemented within that specific civilization.

General Smuts (1987:176) put the nature of this equilibrium in perspective by stating that it is the very "...nature of the equilibrium of the new structure thus to direct and regulate - thus to transpose and distribute the factors of equilibrium among its component elements, thus to rearrange and readjust and interchange elements of structure and function so as to constitute its new balance of structure and function, and to preserve it as a whole." However, a whirlpool of driving forces is always present, ready to bring about change. These driving forces bring to the fore problems, created by the internal and external environments, which the respective existing institutions were unable to solve. It is, for instance, the aim of a political revolution to change political institutions so as to adapt to the changing environment and to equip these institutions to deal with the pending crises. To measure whether these revolutions have been successful depends on whether the existing institution has been abandoned or redefined with the result that the transitional society is no longer under the extensive control of the present institution. The driving forces result in a **Gestalt switch** where the choice is made between competing political orders or codes and civilizational waves and it is a choice between incompatible views and ways of life. That is a power shift brought about by a clash of civilizations (Kuhn, 1962; Mouton, 1993:53-75). An example of this is the **Gestalt-switch** which occurred from within the stateless, undifferentiated, sub-national political order of the First Wave to a centralised nation-state, differentiated political order of the Second Wave. Gabriel Almond and Rustow, among others, also focused on **crisis change** where political change is a direct result of the dissatisfaction found within the existing order or situation. This dissatisfaction then finds expression within political action (Huntington, 1971: 320).

The revolutionary nature in which world forces shake civilization to its foundation leaves mankind little time to alter the set life or survival strategies. This radical change in behaviour also encompasses a change in the very institutions which establish the **rules of the game** and determine the very means of interaction among individuals (Migdal, 1988: 89-90). It is not the destruction of the old order that determines or creates a new order, but the driving forces in the world system that mould the "... reconstruction of social control and viable strategies of survival" for mankind (Migdal, 1988:140).

From the above discussion, it is clear, therefore, that for the purpose of this study the revolutionary nature of the political transformation from within an undifferentiated and a differentiated society is centred in power and changes within the structures of power. Toffler postulates that the driving forces, transcending from the environment, holistically change the existing order or universal civilizational wave. The rate of political change determines the nature of the political revolution. This premise forms the basis of Toffler's power theory which focuses on revolutionary change and ultimately on paradigmatic change or power shift to the next civilizational order. Before Toffler's power theory can be reconstructed and interpreted the concept *power* requires greater clarification.

3.1.3 Power

The nature of power has differed from one civilization to the next depending on environmental factors, the type of political and economic organisation and what Amin (1976) has termed "*the social formation*". Karl Marx regards *social formations* as a *Gestalt* view, with a foundational and qualifying function, which "...constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which corresponds definite forms of social consciousness" (Nelson, 1996:331).

Power, throughout the evolutionary process of mankind, has been a key component of political transformation in groups as well as in sub-national, national and supra-national organisations (Maclver and Page, 1964:598; Amin, 1976:16-18). Toffler (1990:4) conceptualises this political transformation as a *Power shift* where the very nature of power is not just transferred, but transformed. Toffler's (1990:14-16) *power theory* explains the quantitative and qualitative nature of power in terms of a *power triad*, consisting of *violence, wealth and knowledge*, which are the ultimate power levers, contained within the evolutionary process of mankind. Toffler (1990:467) explains that throughout history, individuals have expressed a variety of needs which occur at different societal levels which require various power tools. What is significant is that all power tools can be traced to the functional character of the *power triad*.

Toffler (1990:4) regards the *power triad* as the tools which are used to manipulate the behaviour of mankind in a predetermined way. The relevance of this *power triad* is that it reveals "...perhaps more clearly than before exactly how power is used to control our behaviour from cradle to cremation. Only when this is understood can we identify and transform those obsolete power structures that threaten our future" (Toffler, 1990:14). Social control and the social contract, formulated within the confines of the First Wave and destined for the political dynamics of the nation-state, has its roots in the quantitative nature of power where, "...the shadow of violence and force is embedded in the law, stands behind every act of government, and in the end every government relies on soldiers and police to enforce its will" (Toffler, 1990:15). One of the main disadvantages of using violence as a power tool is its singular dimensional utility or function, i.e. to punish. Violence is based on power and is therefore regarded as *low-quality* power. According to Toffler (1990:16), for a power shift to occur within the power triad "...a deep level of change in the very nature of power" has to occur. The *power shift* from the First Wave's Civilizational order to a more industrial, centralised order, created a shift in the power triad from an order, dominated by violence, to a focus on wealth as a *medium quality* power tool. The Second Wave Civilization is, therefore, based on the power of money or *plutocracy*. Weber (1964:156) explains that, as the nation-state became the main political unit towards the end of the First Wave, power became centralised around the state's leadership (executive authority) "...that has the ability or authority to make and implement the binding rules for all the people as well as the parameters of rule making for other social organisations in a given territory, using force if necessary to have its way". To achieve this status of the Weberian *ideal-type* depends on the degree of social control. The degree of social control is measured by three indicators, i.e. *compliance*, *participation* and *legitimation* (Migdal, 1988:32). Toffler (1990:16) uses Weber's *historical-ideal types* to explain which power tool controls each civilizational wave and the changes in power relationships, which he refers to as a power shift. Today mankind is riding a tidal wave which is about to break or discontinue the prominence of wealth systems and the political order within the power triad. Toffler (1990: 385) explains that today's "...*powershift*, as we have seen, has made two of the most basic sources of power – violence and wealth – increasingly dependent on the third source: knowledge". Knowledge, according to Toffler's (1990:15) power theory, is the *highest quality* of power that overrides all other factors.

In conclusion, Toffler's meta-theoretical framework ideographically consists of three waves. The first qualitative technique used for the purpose of mapping out the evolutionary path of the nation-state is a historical comparative research method. Weber refers to these contexts as *historical ideal types*. Marx, Weber and Toffler use the regression technique to highlight meaningful discontinuities in history (Toffler, 1990:xx, 18, 384-385, 464; Babbie and Mouton, 2001:399-404). The use of applied epistemology in this regard requires the use of a second qualitative technique, i.e. scenario-thinking together with the identification of predetermined elements and critical uncertainties (Toffler, 1980:14-20; Faure, 1991:41; and Schwartz, 1996:109-117). The link between historical comparative research techniques and scenarios is that scenario-thinkers focus on discontinuities that result from sudden, unpredictable, and dramatic changes (Schwartz, 1996:151). The *strategic component* of Toffler's meta-theoretical framework looks at the exploratory questions such as *where to and why concerning the nation-state?* thus, focuses on the contemporary discontinuity of the Second Wave Civilization. The use of scenario-thinking, as a qualitative method, will facilitate the research process when attempting to answer exploratory questions in light of the Third Wave Civilization (refer to Figure 2.8.). The clarification of the concepts revolutionary change and paradigmatic power shift form a key part of the process of reconstructing and interpreting Toffler's contributions as these concepts form the basis of his wave model and power theory. Without clarifying these concepts Toffler's contributions cannot be fully appreciated.

4. CONCLUSION

To fully understand Toffler's contributions a meta-matrix within a meta-theoretical framework has been sketched in Figure 2.9. Prior to an investigation into Toffler's scientific domain assumptions the pre-scientific context received the relevant attention. It was discovered that, although Toffler's *ideological problematic* lay within the Marxian realm, his scientific inquiry had shifted to within the phenomenological qualitative paradigm; its origin resting within the German idealistic tradition.

The phenomenological tradition contains contributions of amongst others, Dilthey (German Hermeneutics), Heidegger (German Idealism), Weber (German *Verstehen*), Blumer and George Herbert Mead (Symbolic Interactionism), Husserl and Schultz (Phenomenology), and Marx (Substantialism/Phenomenological Marxism) [refer to Figure 2.1 and 2.2]. From within this qualitative paradigm two qualitative research techniques were used, i.e. firstly the historical comparative technique, which contextualises Toffler's contributions into three components, i.e. the **historical reconstructive** component (past/*vorwelt*), the **analytic** component (present/*umwelt*), the **strategic** component (future/*folgewelt*), and secondly, scenario building. During the process of scenario building the driving forces (the environmental, technological, economic, social and political factors) were researched to determine the implications and the directions of changes that took place and are about to take place. These driving forces highlight the **rules of the game** or code that is unique to each civilizational wave. As scenario planners focus on the question, **where are the discontinuities likely to take place?**, the study focuses on the revolutionary changes or paradigmatic power shifts that resulted in one universal civilization replacing the previous civilization within the dialectic progression of mankind. The study focuses on the three core concepts of change, revolution and power. Revolutionary change and paradigmatic power shifts, form the basis of Toffler's wave model and power theory. The political power structure of each wave is of vital importance, especially within the Third Wave, as the study explores non-state actors struggling to take power from, and replace, the Westphalian institution: the nation-state (Toffler, 1990:450-461). This all takes place within the three components illustrated in the meta-theoretical framework in Figure 2.8.

In order to understand our current transitional, trans-national environment, a brief historical clarification is necessary. For this purpose, Chapter 3 includes an **historical reconstructive component** (refer to Figures 2.8 and 2.9) which highlights Toffler's views pertaining to the First Wave Civilization. This chapter focuses on certain historical questions, namely,

- **What led to the formation of the nation-state?**
- **Why the nation-state has come about?**
- **What the events were that led up to the creation and establishment of the nation-state?**
- **What caused the nation-state?**

This focus on the past (*Vorwelt*) will be structured within the parameters of the five driving forces mentioned above. The main emphasis, therefore, will be on the rise or creation of the nation-state.

The Second Wave Civilization will be discussed in Chapter 4 and will also sketch mankind's current, temporal, transitional situation, thereby highlighting the evolutionary as well as revolutionary process which will lead the Second Wave Civilization into the new millennium. This chapter focuses on the *analytical component* of the meta-theoretical framework and attempts to find answers to meta-analytical questions (refer to Figure 2.9). These questions include:

- *How and why the nation-state was established?*
- *What the meaning of the nation-state is?*
- *What the current status of the nation-state is?*
- *What the key debates in the domain of the nation-state are?*

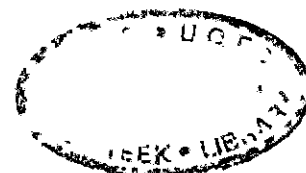
The focus of this chapter will be on the present or current (*umwelt*) status of the nation-state. The discussion will also be centred on the five driving forces, namely, the environmental, the technological, the economical, the sociological and political components.

As mankind undergoes a paradigmatic shift into the new millennium with its new Third Wave Civilization, it is of vital importance to establish what the code or blueprint for the Third Wave will be. In Chapter 5 the investigation into the first exploratory question *what the factors or forces influencing the future of the nation-state are*, will highlight the *strategic component* of the meta-theoretical framework for this study. The focus on a future (*folgewelt*) order will also be investigated within the parameters of the five driving forces.

Chapter 6 is an extension of the investigation into the Third Wave Civilizational code and focus, specifically, on Toffler's scenario for a new Third Wave political order. It is within this chapter that an in-depth investigation is conducted into the crisis of the nation-state and its role, if any, within this new political dispensation. Chapter 6 investigates the following exploratory questions, namely,

- ***What the situation of the nation-state is?***
- ***Where to and why concerning the future of the nation-state?***
- ***What the ideal political profile of the Third Wave political component, especially the role of the nation-state within it is?***

The study will therefore describe the power structure of the past and the present and explore the political struggle between the non-state actors or ***Global Gladiators*** and the nation-state who are struggling over future political power structures. The study will now focus on the ***historical reconstructive component*** of the First Wave Civilization as the first step in the dialectic process of Toffler's power theory.



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CHAPTER 3

THE FIRST WAVE CIVILIZATION

The Historical Reconstructive Component

The Origin of the Nation-State

1. INTRODUCTION

To sketch a scenario for a future civilization, it is important to obtain a thorough knowledge of the evolutionary socialisation process of man. Each human being is inherently a social creature who relates to other humans where the complexities of these relationships are formulated into groups. These groups in turn holistically function in what is known as society and society is dominated by a fundamental social order. The totality of the social structures, patterns of behaviour and systematic routine procedures of the social order constitute an institutionalised pattern of the way individuals relate to one another and to their world (Lipson, 1985:25). This social order and social character may be conceptualised within a civilization context (Toffler, 1980:129). Adams (1959:55) expands on this by stating that civilization has two distinguishing features. Firstly it, "...denotes the way a society is organised, the political, legal, and economic structures and relationships characteristic of men's lives and behaviour, (and secondly it indicates)...the meanings and values which are incorporated within such structures. These comprise the content of men's lives and institutions". To understand politics, especially the nature and extent of the nation-state, within the maze of a social matrix, a holistic picture or image of society should be obtained and it should proceed from an angle from which society itself begins (Lipson, 1985:23-24; refer also to Locke, 1689:47-48). To achieve this Toffler has developed a **historic-spatial model**, to contextualise the three civilization waves upon which his thesis is based, and suggests that a model is required to synergise global trends and thereby highlight the interconnectedness of these driving forces (Toffler, 1980:19-30). This model is referred to by Toffler (1980:19) as a "...semi-systematic model of civilization and our relationship to it". Toffler's contributions concerning the nation-state can be understood within this historic-spatial model which features within the meta-theoretical framework in Figure 2.9. In contemporary circles the

nation-state is seen as being in a state of crisis. Toffler's focus on political development of the nation-state occurs in three historic phases within the dialectical progression of the evolutionary socialisation process of mankind. Within these three waves the First Wave reconstructs the origin of the nation-state, the Second Wave analyses the establishment of the nation-state and the Third Wave explores the crisis and future of the nation-state. Toffler's contributions, therefore, can be seen as occurring on a macro-level in contrast to other theorists such as Huntington, who prefers to use a pluralistic civilizational approach instead of a universal civilizational approach. The change from one universal civilization to the next is evolutionary, but when the *hidden code* of each wave undergoes a radical transformation, a paradigmatic shift occurs. Reference, in this regard can be made to Kuhn's (1962) contributions regarding the paradigm shift.

The *time-space compression* of this model is an extremely complex social differentiation where the facts and events are translated into a *beginning, middle and end time sequence* (Harvey, 1989:240, Hall, 1992:301 and Massey, 1991:25-26). Within Toffler's model the *time-space compression* has found expression in three civilizational waves. Toffler and Toffler (1993:20) prefer the metaphoric concept *waves* because they are *dynamic* by nature. As these civilizational waves gain momentum, while carrying huge stores of potential and kinetic energy, they collide, releasing powerful crosscurrents and upheavals. He postulates that in this way civilizations clash with deep rooted structural changes occurring on all levels of human society. When these historically conceptualised civilizational waves collide, Toffler and Toffler (1993:20) explains, *whole civilizations clash* and a new civilization is launched by each wave. This universal view of civilization is given expression in Toffler's *historic-spatial model* which encompasses the principal of universal progress or unilinear development of mankind (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:20; Strong, 1959:95). The analogy of the waves of changing civilizations is apt when seen in the light of Galileo's law of inertia which Strauss (1998:65) explains "...implies that we at most speak of the origin of a change in motion! All change presupposes a continuing basis". Although Toffler's contributions and interpretations, especially with regard to the nation-state, can now be evaluated within the meta-theoretical framework as set out in the previous chapter (Figure 2.9), it is nevertheless important to consider the contributions and work of other theorists as their thoughts will shed light on the First Wave, especially with regard to the origin of the nation-state. It is of cardinal importance to use these contributions as Toffler's views can then be fully

understood within the evolutionary contextual progression of this meta-theoretical framework. The contributions of First Wave philosophers such as Marx, Hobbes and Machiavelli, amongst others, are vitally important in this regard as their work will shed light on the evolutionary political process which culminated in the formation of the nation-state.

The First Wave Civilization features within the **historical reconstructive component** of the meta-theoretical framework in Figure 2.9. The purpose of this component is to highlight the creation of the nation-state within the first phase of the evolutionary socialisation process of mankind. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this cannot be achieved without looking at the five driving forces driving the changes which led to the formation of the nation-state. An examination of these driving forces within the First Wave will assist in the attempt to answer **historical questions** such as **what led to the formation of the nation-state?** As the First Wave was based on a closed undifferentiated social structure, the driving forces are more interrelated than in the open differentiated Second Wave system and will therefore be discussed in clusters. The first section of this chapter will examine the environmental sphere (in which these driving forces operate); the economic and technological forces and lastly the socio-political sphere which drove the revolutionary change to a new **power-sphere**: the birth of the nation-state. It is also within the context of these driving forces that the next historical question requires attention, i.e. **what were the events which led to the formation of the nation-state?** While attempting to answer this question other questions come to mind, such as **what caused the formation of the nation-state?** As this chapter attempts to answer these questions, special attention will be given to the political dispensations of the early agrarian civilization which gave rise to the evolutionary steps leading to the creation of the nation-state. It is therefore imperative to trace the evolutionary steps of the social and political developmental phenomenon of the agrarian era which Toffler (1990:238) identifies as including "...city-states, dynasties and feudal empires" and which will be discussed later in this chapter. These will be shown to contain revolutionary social forces which will evolve to ultimately form the nation-state. Another reason why this era is considered is that it harboured the origin of the driving forces which will later prove to launch a powerful offensive against the nation-state. There are also features of the future Third Wave which, Toffler (1980:346-347) suggests, resemble those of the First Wave. Toffler (1980:347) states that there are peculiar events occurring that create a new relationship between the

First and Third Civilizational waves and indicate a kind of *dialectical* retreat. It is therefore important to view the developments which took place within the First Wave bearing this in mind. For Toffler, the common factor linking all the ancient empires was their agrarian roots. As the agrarian age dawned, Toffler (1990:10-11) highlighted the change in the global power structures resulting in a transformation in the political component. It is important to explore the nature and parameters of power which experienced revolutionary changes which drastically influenced the political component of this era. This highlights the prevalence of revolutionary political changes as highlighted in Chapter 2. However, before an attempt can be made to address the above mentioned historical questions, a brief recap of Toffler's thoughts is required.

2. THE THEORETICAL FOUNDATION OF TOFFLER'S THOUGHTS

Toffler's main political focus, as was the case with Weber, Marx and Machiavelli, was on aspects of power, who controls this power and what power structures are in place. Weber and Toffler differ from Marx in that they do not regard the individual as an economic being alone, but rather, from a *Gestalt* perspective. Weber, like Toffler, feels that the control of any group or structure is anchored in power (Pelser and Botes, 1992:11-12). Weber (1964:156) explains that, as the nation-state became the main political unit towards the end of the First Wave, power became centralised around the state's leadership (executive authority) "...that has the ability or authority to make and implement the binding rules for all the people as well as the parameters of rule making for other social organisations in a given territory, using force if necessary to have its way". Social control is the commodity which is fought over in the clash between state and non-state actors. To achieve this status of the Weberian *ideal-type* depends on the degree of social control. The degree of social control is measured by three indicators, i.e. *compliance*, *participation* and *legitimation*. By *compliance*, it is meant that the degree of social control is proportionate to the degree the population conforms to the demands made by the state. Conforming may be expressed in the second leg of the triad, i.e. *participation*. State leadership can increase social control by encouraging citizen participation in the *state-driven* or *state-run* projects or programs and the use of state services. The ultimate indicator of social control rests with the third and last leg of the triad, i.e. *legitimacy*.

Legitimacy indicates the acceptance of the *state's rules of the game* and that social control lies in the hands of the state (Migdal, 1988:32). In the struggle between state and non-state actors (*Global Gladiators*), non-state actors use "... the same currency of compliance, participation, and legitimacy to protect and strengthen their enclaves, in which they have also tried to determine how social life should be ordered and what the rules of the game should be" (Migdal, 1988: 33). This social control forms the basis of the social contract which will be dealt with later. It also lays the foundation according to which nation-states can be classified as either strong or weak states.

Toffler (1990:14-16) explains the quantitative and qualitative nature of power in terms of a power triad, consisting of violence, wealth and knowledge which are the ultimate power levers, contained within the evolutionary process of mankind. Toffler (1990:14) explains that this power "...involves the use of violence, wealth and knowledge to make people perform in a given way...revealing perhaps more clearly than before exactly how power is used to control our behaviour from cradle to cremation. Only when this is understood can we identify and transform those absolute power structures that threaten our future". Social control and the social contract, formulated within the confines of the First Wave and destined for the political dynamics of the nation-state, has its roots in the quantitative nature of power where, "...the shadow of violence and force is embedded in the law, stands behind every act of government, and in the end every government relies on soldiers and police to enforce its will" (Toffler, 1990:15). One of the main disadvantages of using violence as a power tool is its singular dimensional utility or function, i.e. to punish. Violence based on power is therefore regarded as *low-quality* power. According to Toffler (1990:16) for a power shift to occur within the power triad "...a deep level of change in the very nature of power" has to occur. Marx's thoughts are also centred on the nature of political power and its relationship with socio-economic organisation. His thoughts regarding the political institution are complimented by thinkers such as Machiavelli and Kautilya as well as neo-Machiavellian thinkers such as Pareto, Mosca and Michels (Pelser and Botes, 1992:2; 9).

To grasp the full meaning and extent of Toffler's *historic-spatial model* and the deep structural changes mankind has experienced, an aetiological retreat into Toffler's three civilizational waves of change is needed. In order to assess the direction and pattern of political development, especially with regard to the nation-state, the first driving force to

be considered would be the environment. It is here that "deeper and more fundamental forces" and pressures would be revealed (Schwartz, 1996:103). To appreciate the socio-political aspect of the First Wave Civilization, it is important to explore the parameters of the environment component as a driving force for the purpose of obtaining a *Gestalt* perspective. The environment forms the foundation from which all other driving forces transcend and form the building blocs in the scenario process (Schwartz, 1996:100-104). The agricultural revolution of the First Wave has its roots in the environment (Toffler, 1980:24). To examine these waves in context, the study will commence by examining the environmental component of the First Wave.

3. THE ENVIRONMENTAL COMPONENT OF THE FIRST WAVE CIVILIZATION

The central thesis of this work concerns the future of the nation-state which, as was explained in (Chapter 2), forms part of a global totality. The environment in which the nation-state functions is the origin of numerous driving forces which directly or indirectly influence the functions of the nation-state. Besides this aspect a successful scenario is formulated from processing the data which originates and is projected by the environment. Ilson (1984:565) defines the environment as "...the aggregate of circumstances surrounding an organism or group of organisms". It is within this environment that the *rules of the game* originate and are formulated. Schwartz (1996:106) explains that the environment is therefore an important driving force to be considered when a scenario is formulated as it is an expression of the enkaptic relationship between the driving forces and highlights the critical uncertainties which have to be considered. Human (1998:120-124) expands on this, stating that it is within the realms of the environment that a distinction is made between the present and the future, as well as between the external and internal spheres and where tensions among these dimensions could be identified. During the process of identifying critical uncertainties (refer to Chapter 2), which is a critical step in the scenario process, the environment plays a leading role as "...uncertainty and complexity form the basic fabric of the environment" (Human, 1998:122). The environmental component has three dimensions: the **natural, the external and internal environments.**

3.1 The Natural Environment

In reference to the diagram (Chapter 5 Figure 5.2), the outer parameters refer to the natural environment. Toffler (1980:359) explains that every civilization "...operates in and on the **biosphere** and reflects or alters the mix of population and resources". The incorporation of communication with population and resources results in the triad of **predetermined elements**. These three indicators are present prior to and during every clash of civilization. Toffler (1980:14) explains that the damage early man did to the environment was so small that no ideology was needed to justify the damage. In the First Wave land and natural resources were an integral part of the agrarian era. Toffler (1980:39; 42; 52) explains that humans, animals and nature's forces (sun, wind, and water) were used as a renewable source of energy. Huntington (1996:69) expands on this by pointing out that "...patterns of agriculture and social structure which goes with them are much more dependent on the natural environment than on patterns of industry. They vary with soil and climate and thus may give rise to different forms of landownership, social structure, and governments". The **biosphere**, while taken for granted in the agrarian era, is destined to play a decisive role in the future.

3.2 The External Environment Or International World Order

The second dimension to be considered when formulating futuristic scenarios is the data received from the environment in which the international world order functions. The international world order, Evans and Newhan (1998:269) explains, is "...based on the European state-system established at Westphalia in 1648: a multiplicity of sovereign states co-existing". Even though the international world found its full expression with the birth of the nation-state, theorists such as **Alberious Gentili (1552-1602)** and **Hugo Grotius (1558-1645)** predicted the co-existence of sovereign states (Mansbach, 1994:45). The feeling of co-existence was expressed in 1778 by a navy captain stating that he was a "...citizen of the world" (Noble et al, 1994:780). This is a feature which is prominent in the Third Wave where the issue of global citizenship requires specific attention.

3.3 *The Internal Environment*

The next circle represents the internal environment of the political component which is formed by national and sub-national politics. The main driving forces which operate in this area emerged from instances such as economics, technological advances, social and cultural interplay and ultimately in the political arena, which synergistically create a new order. The transformation, however, to this new order goes against the psychological and social make-up of mankind as *creatures of habit* (Human, 1998:23). Therefore before a new civilization can come into being mankind has to undergo a paradigm shift. Human (1998:46) expands on this by stating that transformation "...is of no value unless it also involves the transformation of the mind". The enkapitic relationship between the components of the internal environment and open communication channels play an integral part in this transformation process. Communication is a predetermined element, which will be discussed in each civilizational wave and forms an integral part of the *info-sphere*, which is also a key element of the environment.

Toffler (1980:167) explains that the *info-sphere* is the *mind model of reality* which portray our view of the world and that together these images locate mankind's view of reality in "...time, space, and the network of personal relationships around us. These images do not spring from nowhere. They are formed in ways we do not understand, out of signals or information reaching us from the environment". Human (1998:115) expands on this, stating that when the information received from the environment reflects a need or a crisis, a process of strategic analysis begins in the *real world* or the *present state* and strategic implementation ends in the end state or *ideal state*. The environment, therefore, moulds the unique life and worldview within each super-civilization wave. To explain the life and worldview of primitive man, it must be understood that it was pre-constituted and pre-organised in a sense that they found themselves in a world which was already meaningfully organised and accepted without question (Fouche, 1993:101). Palmer (1989:55-56; 67; 70) explains this by pointing out that the primitive traditional settlements resulted in isolation because of their geographic location and the limited communication which existed among traditional units. These communication gaps created and encouraged intense distrust and suspicion among settlements. The isolation, be it physical, social or intellectual, experienced by traditional societies resulted in their unquestioning dedication to the rules laid down by the traditions, customs, and

beliefs of their social units. These individuals did not have the knowledge to make a comparative judgement. Toffler (1990:362) expands on this by stating "...in the agrarian past, new ideas were often a threat to survival... (and the) ...very notion of freedom of thought was alien". This situation denied the right or opportunity to choose a new life or course for the future; a right which is expressed as the *highest freedom of all* (Human, 1998:1).

These ideas created a phenomenon or a phobia which Toffler (1990:374) refers to as *xenophobia* which means hatred of outsiders. The traditional individual goes through a process of cognitive dissonance, therefore rejecting all other information (Palmer, 1989:67, 70). Palmer (1989:67) explains that "...individuals conditioned by the rigidity of traditional structures and socialised into traditional cultures quite naturally, behave and possess attitudes and values that reflect the influence of their environment." The First Wave primitive individuals received all information from the family, the chief, the teacher or the priest. This information, from a very limited environment, moulded the primitive individual's images of reality. It must be remembered that the communication channels were very primitive and the communication within the *info-sphere* were transferred orally or by gesture (Toffler, 1980:42; 47; 167). Their limited knowledge enabled leaders to use supernatural elements and the accompanying superstition to manipulate their behaviour (Palmer, 1989:55-56). From the earliest of times, mankind has been faced with problems such as disease, birth, death, natural disasters and seasonal difficulties. They usually turned to the spirits for answers and unconditionally obeyed the customs constituted in their life and worldview. Stoker (1961:113) explains the life and worldview as the totality of man's answers to and convictions concerning fundamental questions related to the origin, meaning, destination, purpose and value of man and their relationship to God. Mouton (1993:6) refers to the manner in which primitive man solved his problem, i.e. man simply explained all unexplained phenomena in terms of a supernatural entity or being. Any phenomenon could then be understood by either reverting to its origin or by projecting it to its final supernatural goal. This formed fertile ground for the power the church would later exercise over the nations of Christianity, an aspect which will be discussed later on.

At the onset of the First Wave Civilization, an ideology was needed to galvanise large numbers of people to change from a nomadic culture to the new agricultural economy. A value system or life and worldview was needed which would enforce discipline, compelling mankind to man the irrigation systems and communal dykes. As the agricultural age commenced in Egypt, the ancient Egyptians developed an ideology which focused on life after death. The importance of this became visible when, according to the Thurow (1996:12), the palaces of the Pharaohs were made of mud, but their burial chambers were *monumental stone edifices*. The contrast here is striking as the technology used by the primitive agricultural sector, where not even a plough had been developed, stands in strong contrast to the technology which was needed to build the pyramids, a fact which is still debated by the scientific community today. With the Egyptian ideology focused on life after death, the belief fostered a social development which is centred on investment in the afterlife. A lifetime was spent collecting possessions for the journey into eternal life as is evident from the tombs of the Pharaohs. These factors formed the driving force which disciplined the early Egyptians to man the new agricultural economy. Religion, as an aspect of the environmental component of society, had now become an important and powerful driving force.

Powerful forces, emanating from religion in the 21st century had their origin during this era. In the Third Wave these forces will launch a powerful attack against the nation-state. As will be shown, religion formed an all encompassing power structure during the First Wave Civilization. According to Toffler (1990:450), at the advent of the Third Wave, there will be a resurrection of the religious forces which had their roots in the onset of the First Wave Civilization.

During the period of the Greek Empire, Vincent (1987:12) mentioned that the early Greek city-states had their own *religious cults*. Bultmann (1956:129) shows the influence of religion in politics even in these early years when the priesthood was virtually described as a *political office*. Religion was one of the factors which distinguished the ancient Greeks from other nations. Huntington (1996:42) states that religion is the most important objective element when pluralistic micro civilizations are defined and noted the analogy between the most important civilizations and the great religions of the world. It was also suggested that religion supersedes ethnicity and language because even if a nation has the same ethnic origins, if they differ on religious

grounds the potential does exist that conflict may arise. When Toffler (1990:364) addressed this issue he referred to the *forces at work* thereby referring to organised religion which had a monopoly over abstract religious knowledge especially during the agricultural era. Strauss (1998:111) expands on this by using the Roman Catholic Church as an example stating that while "...the institutional church is organised in local congregations, the church does not have an own territory, like the state. Every member of the congregation is personally bound to the faith authority of the church - wherever s/he may find him/herself". The church or religion, therefore, operates in the external and internal environments, thereby taking on a **supra-national, national and sub-national** character.

To explain the role of religion within the parameters of the environmental component of the First Wave Civilization, its evolutionary character within Toffler's historic-spatial model, for the purpose of clarity, will have to be highlighted. Adams et al (1986:12; 21) traced the earliest recorded history of religion to the city-states of **Sumer**. With the onset of the agricultural age, temples were erected to natural gods who were believed to protect the crops against natural disasters. These temples served as the first storage depots for food and seeds as well as for animals to be hired out. As they grew rich, temple officials and scribes built new temples and maintained the life flow of the economy, i.e. the irrigation system. Around these temples lived, not only the officials but the craftsman, who maintained the temples, as well as the scribes and merchants who emerged from these cities. The world's first true cities were built at **Ur** and **Eridu** in **Sumer, Mesopotamia**. Religious ceremonies were closely associated with the way these cities were governed. The status of the gods grew to such an extent that they were believed to protect the cities. This was especially visible in Egypt where the gods eventually became associated with kings. Most of the popular religions such as Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, and the spiritual leaders, Confucius and Lao-tze, all date from this time. What is important to remember is that all of these religions have survived into our time and they all have their roots centred in the agrarian era and endless planting and harvesting of crops. In contrast to the myriads of gods which served the agricultural revolution was Judaism, which was the ancestor of Christianity where a unitary all powerful God was served. Closely linked to Judaism was Islam which emerged in 7 AD. The religious forces rooted in these early times cannot be ignored especially not the resulting influences the church had on the growth of the state in the

Middle Ages (Brierly, 1963:144). Toffler (1990:450) suggests that the resurgence of religion is, yet again, a prominent threat to the state. The temple was a centralised structure of the early agrarian age which penetrated a fragmented society. Calvert (1996:144) argues that religion, the same as nationalism later, binds together elements which are distinct and different and formulates historic, present and future directions. Religion became an effective political tool through which the masses were mobilised and once amalgamated, controlled. This control would take on the form of repression or enticement to conflict. Brierly (1963:4) states that during the Middle Ages the church ruled supreme and civil authority was subjected to it. What is important to remember, as Strauss (1998:100) stresses, is that the Roman Catholic Church "...as a relatively differentiated superstructure, dominated the undifferentiated societal substructure".

With the Renaissance, from the late 14th to 17th centuries, came the end of the medieval period launching the modern era where mankind went through a major transformation in the way they perceived themselves and the world in which they found themselves. It was the Renaissance that ignited the fire that would spread the driving forces all over the globe, changing the very civilizational structures known to the agrarian society. This fire spread until it reached the Bastille leaving the First Wave Civilization in ashes and from these ashes rose an industrial era (Nelson, 1996:138). As the medieval agrarian order crumbled, Nelson (1996:138) explains, instead of the "...old, static, and hierarchical society of the medieval world there emerged a new and dynamic social order".

The three dimensional environmental processes, therefore, assist in the strategic analysis and identification of the First Wave Civilizational framework. The dawn of the First Wave evolutionised the contemporary political environment and the key component to an organised, differentiated society centred in power. The nature of this power has, however, differed from one civilization to the next depending on the environment, the type of political economic organisation and what Samir Amin (1976) has termed the **social formation**. Social formations, according to Marx's perspectives, are a **Gestalt** view which "...constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness" (Nelson, 1996:342). These driving forces have influenced the behaviour and caused political change in groups as well as in sub-national, national and supra-

national organisations. The type of social formation determines the mode of production and consequently the mechanism for allocating power and wealth among nations. Toffler's use of three civilizational waves has highlighted the differences in the social formations of each wave and the influence these have had on the dynamics of international systems. The differences in the universal characteristics of each wave are acknowledged, by among others, Karl Marx, Comte, Amin and Spencer (Amin, 1976:16-18).

The First Wave environmental component is based on the three **bio-spherical** dimensions, i.e. the natural environment, the external or international environment and the internal environment. The natural environment of the First Wave agrarian era was relatively ecologically friendly, using renewable energy sources like the sun, wind and water. The international environment only really started to feature as the agrarian system was in decay and the nation-state's birth which occurred with the signing of the peace treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The internal environment forms a base for the driving forces which occur within each civilization, i.e. the environmental, technological, economic, social and political forces which synergistically create a universal civilization and holistically need to be changed to bring about a new order. The **info-sphere** represents the **mind model of reality** which is made up of information obtained from the environment. Within the First Wave, religion played an important part in this mind model. The driving forces and the **info-sphere** within the environmental component formed the basis of the First Wave Civilizational code or **rules of the game** according to which the First Wave individuals **mind set** and behaviour were regulated.

4. THE ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL COMPONENTS OF THE FIRST WAVE CIVILIZATION

Toffler's emphasis on the causal nature of economics as a driving force, or economic deterministic approach originates from within the paradigmatic parameters of Marxism and subsequently economic liberalism on which his views are based. Toffler's (1990:10) thesis rests on the premise that a change in the manner of creating wealth triggers deep rooted changes in society. As a mode of production is supplanted by another one,

conflict occurs. Besides the personal, political and international conflict which arises as the means of wealth creation changes, bitter conflict also erupts between those whose power arises from the previous mode of production and the rising new elite. This results in a renewed struggle to gain control of the future. Toffler's views on economic power are complimented by Marx's *substantialist* strategy (Johnson et al, 1984:114-146). Toffler and Toffler (1993:22) have highlighted two historical events to illustrate this premise, i.e. the American Civil War where they cite the causes of the war as "...the industrial - commercial interests of the North to vanquish the agrarian elite's of the South," and the Meiji Revolution in Japan where the industrialists triumphed over the traditionalists. Toffler uses the change in wealth production as the basis of his work when he draws scenarios about the future. He expands broadly on the consequences of structural changes as the First Wave agrarian wealth production conceded to the Second Wave industrial based wealth production. From there he concentrates on the changes and consequences brought about by the receding industrial age as the Third Wave knowledge based economy permeates and diffuses globally.

Toffler's (1990:11) premise rests on the pillars of a new system of wealth creation transforming social structures as well as political systems where "...gigantic shifts in the global power structures" occur as a new wealth creation system shifts from one era to the next. Toffler's deterministic views may be correlated to Feurbach's teachings (which postulate economics as being the primary motivating force), Marx's doctrines (which focused on the economic driving forces where perpetual economic laws propel history forward) and Friedrich Engels (whose ideas focused on the *materialist conception of history* which manifests the importance of economic life and how the modes of production determine the *ideological and political superstructures*) [Baradat,1979:154; Heywood,1997:50-51]. In order to assess the magnitude and impact the economy has as a force driving history, this component needs to be investigated within the confines of Toffler's three civilizational waves.

The first turning point in the history of human social development can be dated to 8000 BC where the economic component in primitive societies was one of subsistence with man tilling the soil in a world which was economically underdeveloped. Land was the basis of the economy with life in general organised around the village. The family unit was the most important element functioning as an economic production unit using humans, animals and nature's forces (sun, wind, and water) as a renewable source of

energy (Toffler, 1980:27; 28; 39; 43; 52). Huntington (1996:69) expands on this by pointing out that "...patterns of agriculture and the social structure which goes with them are much more dependent on the natural environment than on patterns of industry. They vary with soil and climate and thus may give rise to different forms of landownership, social structure, and governments". It was at this point in history that the qualitative techniques of forecasting and scenario sketching were used to observe the flow of the three rivers which converged at this point to form the Nile River. If the water colour was clear the White Nile would dominate the flow and flooding would be mild and late; if the water was dark the Blue Nile would dominate to ensure a bumper harvest and if the water was green brown an early catastrophic flood would be brought down by the Atbara. As the Nile River Valley flooded yearly, the rich fertile deposits of mud needed no ploughs or fertilisers: two key technological innovations which had not yet been invented (Thurow, 1996:12; Schwartz, 1996:100).

This primitive existence had, however, produced the lack of incentives to produce more mainly because of a lack of proper storage for long periods, proper roads for transporting produce and the fact that surplus production was confiscated by the landlords or traditional leaders. Commerce existed in limited forms where merchants travelled vast distances to trade goods such as slaves, cocoa, pepper, spices and various drugs to European markets (Toffler, 1980:52).

The key economic and political turning point of the agricultural revolution came about when the tribal community transcended subsistence economy to a community which would produce and store surplus food. This brought about a new need, namely, the need for a protector to defend surplus produce (Toffler, 1990:524). The need for a protector, a need created by the agrarian revolution, created the first phase in the power shift to an agrarian age. This need for protection created the building blocks for the formation of a social contract and would later become the basic function of the nation-state. Under the feudal structures a primitive type of social contract was concluded where a **protector** was appointed to protect the surplus produce and, in return, would receive land. A second phase in the power shift to the agrarian age occurred when taxes were systematised by a collector being appointed (Adams et al, 1986:78; Toffler, 1990:524).

As the **rules of the game** governing the agrarian age now controlled two tools of social power which Toffler (1990:525) referred to as **violence** and **wealth** the "...embryonic state moved to a new level". The transitional revolutionary phase within the economic component resulted in a change in the mode of production. Toffler (1980:52) divides the First Wave economic component into a sector A and a sector B. He refers to sector A as the primitive economy and had the following characteristics: firstly it was large, and secondly produced products for own consumption thereby fusing the concepts **production** and **consumption**. The perception of this fusion was held by the ancient Greeks, Romans and medieval Europeans who even lacked a conceptual reference for **consumer**. A shift then occurred within Sector B, which Toffler refers to as civilised economies, had the following characteristics: firstly it was small; secondly the union of production and consumption was split and became separate entities, and lastly the products produced were destined for the market where trade or exchange would take place. Toffler (1980:54) explains that basically "...whenever producer and consumer are divorced, some mechanism is needed to mediate between them. This mechanism, whatever its form, is what I call the market". The means of exchange or trade was usually something with material substance which consisted of a built-in value (Toffler, 1990:60). This shift to manufacturing would prove to be an important developmental phase which had extensive political consequences promoting national wealth and power. List (1966:144-145) states that the "...power of producing is...infinitely more important than wealth itself. The prosperity of a nation is not ...greater in proportion in which it has amassed more wealth...but in the proportion in which it has more developed its powers of production".

Theorists such as Hamilton, List, Gilpin and Toffler promote the enkaptic relationship between the formation of economic nationalism and political nationalism. Gilpin (1981:112) argues that, since the early ages when the Greeks under Agamemnon came against Troy, the main objective was to gain control over the trade routes. This was the objective of states because such control would bring wealth and power. Gilpin (1981:112;114) explains that the importance of trade routes was due to the fact that the state gained revenue from two sources, i.e. taxation of internal trade as well as land and international trade tax. He concludes that the "...dynamics of the cycle of empires were built on the economic reality of primitive agriculture and taxation of trade". The struggle to control the branch lines of these main trade routes has served as a source of constant

conflict. Therefore, when trade routes changed either in control or location, the results were so dramatic that it became a deciding factor in the rise and fall of Empires. An example here is the Byzantine Empire or later Roman Empire which survived for 1000 years because it controlled the trade routes. Weber (1968:1092) warns that scholars must not overlook trade as a constant in the "...development of strong, centralised patrimonial bureaucracies".

It is, therefore, evident that imperial economies were command economies where the state had power over the goods and services of the society. As the primary creators of empires rested with the elite which included soldiers, bureaucrats and autocrats, they directed all wealth and power to their own advantage. This continued from 900 to 1700 when political organisations were transferred by two driving forces. The first was the creation of the market economy and secondly, the invention of military weapons such as the longbow, gunpowder and the establishment of professional armies. The fiscal crises of the feudal structures were produced by the escalation in the costs of government, especially the military and the tax base of the government which was unable to generate sufficient revenue from the agricultural based economy. The feudal lords lacked financial capabilities and the feudal mode of organisation lacked the structures to cope. It was obvious that a larger and different form of political organisation was needed to cope with the expanded trade and to collect revenue (Gilpin, 1981:118). A struggle among the rulers which Gilpin (1981:119) refers to as a *Darwinian struggle* commenced from which the strong eventually emerged to create the new nation-state. Besides gold and silver, substances such as salt, copper, cotton, cloth and cowry shells, among others, all served as money (Ilson et al, 1984:401). In contrast to this, Toffler (1980:62) reasoned that industrialised nations in the Second Wave suppressed all non-governmental currencies and in its place a standardised, single state dominated currency was introduced. From the above it has become apparent that there was a paradigm shift from a unipolar to a bipolar economic system. These factors united and, ultimately, resulted in the birth of the nation-state:

In summary: Toffler (1990:10) places the emphasis on the influence of the economy on other societal structures. Economic determinism is an element of Marx's influence on Toffler's thoughts which is present throughout his work. Toffler (1980:52) divides the economic component of the First Wave into the primitive economic sectors and the

civilised economic sectors. The primitive economic sector was one of subsistence and fused the concepts of production and consumption. As the shift occurred to a more civilised economic sector, the union between production and consumption was split and became separate entities which required a mediating mechanism, i.e. the market. The market was expanded to a national level and resulted in an enkaptic relationship between economic nationalism and political nationalism. Technological advances included the inventions of military weapons such as the longbow, gunpowder and the establishment of professional armies. With the invention of money and a shift to a national market, a standardised, centralised, single state dominated currency was introduced to accommodate its corresponding or enkaptic relationship to the new political structure, i.e. the nation-state. The economic and technological component of the First Wave was strongly related to the agrarian revolution. It was within this component that powerful forces originated that influenced the environment and the driving forces which transcended from it in such a manner that the first *super-struggle* between the agrarian reactionaries and the architects of the industrial era occurred. This in turn led to a sequence of events which would launch powerful forces which would lead to the decay of the agrarian economic system which influenced the political system driving the agrarian age. This led to fertile ground for the birth of the nation-state. The rise of this key political element, which was destined to change the nature of power forever, will now be discussed within the socio-political component of the study. The study will proceed by examining the main societal structures which made up Toffler's agrarian age and formed the milieu for a corresponding political component. By examining the early empires such as the Greek city-states, the Roman Empire, the Feudal structures, the Standestaat and the Absolute State, the main characteristics of each phase, which ultimately influenced or directly led to the formation of the nation-state, will be highlighted.

5. THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL COMPONENTS OF THE FIRST WAVE CIVILIZATION

Toffler (1980:36) regards industrialisation and a communication system as one of the key predetermined elements driving the changes leading up to the Second Wave Civilization and is a key part of the social component. What is needed, therefore, is to examine the effect it had on the agrarian social system and how this triggered the shift to the Second Wave industrial age. To understand the societal structures, the relationship between man

and society has firstly to be explored. Society and humans are inseparable and depend on each other for their very survival. Dooyeweerd (1958:54) explains that "...only the transcendent root community of mankind forms the ultimate basis of temporal human society... [and that]...community structures cannot occur outside a correlative enkapsis with interindividual structures". Each human being is inherently a social creature who relates to other humans where the complexities of these relationships are formulated by groups. These groups in turn holistically function in what is known as society and society is dominated by a fundamental social order. The social order of society is based on sociological laws which may be divided into natural and normative laws. Natural laws may be defined in ecological terms, while normative laws may be explained in terms of moral codes of conduct. Both these laws are composite elements of man's environment, namely his/her natural and societal environment (Lipson, 1985:23-24; Popper, 1945: 57; 67; 76). Toffler (1980:35) divides the society of the First Wave Civilization into two categories, i.e. the *primitive* and *civilised* societies. Within the *primitive* social order, people lived in small bands of nomadic entities or tribes with hunting and gathering their only means of sustainability, while the *civilised society* was centred within the agricultural society. From the beginning of time mankind functioned within a *primitive* social order. It must, however, be remembered that the societal formation of each wave is characterised by a *solitary unitary character* and a *permanent authority structure* which gives it a status known as a consociational bond. The state, university, the economic sector, cultural association and the family are all examples of consociational bonds which function enkaptically. The *primitive social order*, however, lacked a *permanent authority structure* and took on the dimension of *an undifferentiated society*, (i.e. a traditional society or community). The undifferentiated communities of the First Wave included the family; the guilds of the middle ages and the feudal communities (Toffler, 1980:35; Strauss, 1998:94-99). Tonnies (1955) refers to the *primitive society* as being a *Gemeinschaft* (community) and not a *Gesellschaft* (a society). Vincent (1987:25) explains that a *Gemeinschaft* implies "...a face-to-face relationship based on family kinship, neighbourhood and friendship," and where man sustained himself by hunting or fishing.

It is within this *primitive*, traditional community that man and animal were so closely related that even in their living styles they depended on nature's laws to direct their code of behaviour. The Bushman may be used to illustrate *primitive* man who has survived for centuries without institutions or consociational bonds such as the state. These *primitive* individuals sustained themselves by hunting and within this context nature and society took on a monolithic dimension (Ronan, 1985:6). Popper (1945:57) and Easton (1965:61) regard the primitive society as a *closed society* which is regulated by natural laws, not susceptible to its environmental influences and it is only when this *closed society* is in the process of decay, that the differences between *society* and *nature* may be theoretically understood. Palmer (1989:12; 54) expands on this by pointing out that it is within the *primitive* communities that the evolutionary process of change is regarded as "...the starting point of the development process. They are the benchmark against which the processes of social, political and economic development are measured". Toffler and Toffler (1993:38-39) reason, that the agricultural revolution hastened the drive towards political development and the consequential formation of the nation-state.

Primitive man can be traced to the *Palaeolithic Age* (approximately 7,000-10,000 years ago). It was during the *Palaeolithic Age* that the first phase of Toffler's historic-spatial model, the first cyclical evolutionary wave, was set in motion. The First Wave, in its embryonic phase, started in about 8000 BC (Toffler, 1980:28). A change in the creation of wealth (i.e. subsistence by agriculture), the rise of the cities, the formation of a *Gesellschaft*, a population increase, changes in the environment (climate and resources) and improved communications (the use of writing) were all *predetermined elements* preparing mankind for the new *Neolithic Age*, which resulted in the agricultural revolution and the rise of the First Wave agrarian super-civilization (Toffler, 1980:28; Knapp, 1988:11-15). These are the same three *predetermined elements*, i.e. population, environmental issues and communications which will be present as the decaying Second Wave gives way to the Third Wave. One of the first settlements occurred in and around the African continent in the Nile River Valley where changing human needs as a result of "...loss of mobility, population growth, and the accumulation of goods" resulted in new methods of wealth creation which had huge "implications for subsequent stages in the rise to civilisation" (Knapp, 1988:15). It was during this period that the family became the basic unit or the centre of the traditionalist's universe and not the nation-state. Their commitments and loyalties started at the bottom of the primitive

hierarchy and worked their way up to the top by proceeding through the tribe, the clan to ethnic groups or religious sects (Palmer, 1989:57-58; 69). Toffler (1980:42; 47) describes the family unit within the *socio-sphere* as being connected to the land, functioning as an economic production unit and structured in a multi-generational household which remained a stationary unit. The *primitive* society was concerned with satisfying the most basic human need, i.e. food and security, where each family catered only for the needs of its members fulfilling only their basic needs (Toffler, 1980:35). At this point, *primitive* life seemed infinite and human advancement evolved in a retarded manner. *Primitive* man lived in a state of nature, a condition lacking a *permanent authority structure* where mankind functioned without the institutional constraints of a social contract thereby formulating an undifferentiated society.

The transitional phase to a more open, differentiated society is what Toffler (1980:35) refers to as being based within *civilised societies*. The *civilised world*, "...was precisely that part of the planet on which most people worked the soil. For wherever agriculture arose, civilisation took root" (Toffler, 1980:35). This is the phase of the First Wave which was literally based in the soil and all of mankind's activities flowed from it. Instead of solely extracting their needs from the environment in which they lived, agrarian man tilled the soil (Toffler & Toffler, 1993:24). This transitional phase was described as *evolutionary transcendence*, but Strauss (1989:113) explains that the "...flow of evolutionary events are, however, not always smooth and uniform; it also contains crises and turning points which, viewed in retrospect, may appear to be breaks of continuity. The origin of life was one such crisis, radical enough to deserve the name of transcendence. The origin of man was another".

The developmental nature of motivation and the need for human advancement are so closely related, it becomes necessary to adjust society, thereby creating an ideal physical and social environment which ensures human development. To create such an environment for the agrarian individual, the process of institutionalisation became necessary. Mc Naughton (1996:7) expands on this stating that the "...need and desire for order is man's most basic instinct once he has provided for himself in a material sense. Good order is the foundation of all good things". In a plural civilizational sense this process took root in the eighth and ninth centuries and Huntington (1996:50) explains that by "...1500 the renaissance of European culture was well underway and social pluralism, expanding commerce, and technological achievements provided the basis for

a new era in global politics". Toffler (1980:27-35) explains that as technology changed and the agricultural revolution took root, new political empires arose such as China, India, Greece and Rome. The West's decision to be the first to adopt the modernisation culture, established it as a dominant force in a global or universal civilization. The rise of the West was accompanied by characteristics which distinguished it from other micro or pluralist civilizations thereby also ensuring it to be of a stable and ordered nature. These characteristics include: classical literature, western Christianity, European languages, separation of spiritual and temporal authority, representative bodies and individualism. The rise of the west hastened the process of the striving for a modern open system (Huntington, 1996:70-71; 234). Preston (1996:45) explains the shift to a modern open system as the "...dynamics of change within the political-economic, social-institutional and cultural spheres in the overall process of the shift to the modern world".

The shift to the modern world was an evolutionary process where mankind experienced institutionalisation in different forms. One of the earliest examples of institutionalisation includes: **The Greek city-states; the Roman Empire; the Feudal structure; the Standestaat; the Absolute state; and finally the Nation-State** (Toffler, 1980:35-50; Toffler 1990:238; Venter, 1991:50-52). These phases in the evolutionary steps to the formation of the nation-state possibly provide answers to the historical question posed within Toffler's meta-theoretical framework, i.e. ***what were the events which led up to the formation of the nation-state?*** These events included the end of traditionalism and the rise of institutionalisation to facilitate the process to modernism. This process, Toffler (1990:238) explains, resulted as the "...spread of agriculture wiped out tribal groupings, hunting bands, and other social and political arrangements, replacing them with city-states, dynastic kingdoms and feudal empires" (Toffler, 1990:238). These evolutionary institutionalised steps will now be discussed within a socio-political context.

5.1 The Greek City-States

As Toffler (1980:35) cites the Greek and Roman societies as examples of the early agrarian civilizations a closer examination of their political structures reveals the origin of instances such as democracy and trans-national behaviour which are two key elements upon which the Third Wave Civilization is based and which play a key role in the crisis of the nation-state. The Greek city-states were vital in the political evolutionary process of

man towards the formation of the nation-state. As will be highlighted, the "...classical model of democracy is based on the *polis*, or city-states of ancient Greece" (Heywood, 1997:70). Out of the realms of the Greek civilization emerged numerous philosophers, destined to influence later thinkers and theorists, who were the architects of what would later become known as the nation-state. The contributions of these philosophers will be discussed in the next section.

5.1.1 The Social Component Of The Greek City-States

With the rise of the West, institutionalisation found expression in the social and political organisation of the Greek city-states (Toffler, 1990:238). The city-states or *polis* were independent units which initially functioned in isolation and the concepts state and society took on a monolithic dimension. Vincent (1987:22) defines a *polis* as "...deriving out of the family (a characteristic *society orientated group*) ... (and)...was a religious, ethical, communal, kin and military grouping rooted in human socio-ability". No distinction could be made, in this undifferentiated society, between the social, religious, economic and political existence of the citizens of the *polis* (Venter, 1991:50; Holsti, 1992:28-35). Venter (1991:50) explains that the city-state or *polis* was "...a stronghold (*acropolis*) against attacks from barbarians, a political institution (*politeia*) to maintain law and order amongst its citizens, and a religious institution or church (*kyriakon*) to tend to the spiritual needs of the inhabitants...(thereby)...creating the ordered totality of the individual's life". An important characteristic of the *polis* was that it did not differentiate between the citizens private and public sectors within the social milieu (Venter, 1991:50). The most influential of all the city-states were Athens and Sparta. There were a number of reasons for this. Firstly, from Athens emerged the embryo of a democratic form of government and it was also in Athens that Aristotle established his school of philosophy, which was a research centre which would later lay the foundations of Christian theology and Islamic philosophy (Heywood, 1997:5; 7).

5.1.2 The Political Component of the Greek City-States

The *polis* in the 15th century saw the rise of the great philosophers who still play a crucial role in the understanding of contemporary political structures. These include the normative philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, St Augustine and Aquinas (Viotti and

Kauppi, 1993:37-38). The preferred political structure within the *polis*, as advocated by Aristotle, was the *polity* or *rule by the people*. Aspects such as public participation, official accountability and the *rule of law* featured strongly within the *polity*. However, the promotion of these democratic values and principles of good governance were ineffective without procedural and institutional support structures (Lipson, 1985:204-205; Van Niekerk et al, 2001:65-66).

In contrast to today, Ancient Greece, especially Athens, had the best agricultural land. Typically of the agrarian age, the wealth from this area produced powerful city-states and it developed into the centre of trade between the eastern and western Mediterranean. One of the most important parallels to emerge from this era is the division between internal and international politics. Mansbach (1994:30) views internal politics as vertical and hierarchical, while international politics is horizontal by nature. Mansbach (1994:30) classed the behaviour between the Greek city-states as *trans-national behaviour*. It was at this time that Thucydides, and later Migdal (1988) in the Third Wave focused on the inequalities in the balance of power among states as well as the concept of strong states vs. weak states. Whether it was in the era of Thucydides, or within the city-states, or Migdal's (1988) era of the nation-state, "... the strong do what they have the power to do and the weak accept what they have to accept" (Viotti and Kauppi, 1993:37-38). The political crisis which arose was that leaders and soldiers often betrayed their city-states and interchanged officially and unofficially, causing great internal division (Mansbach, 1994:30). Therefore, although ancient Greece had recorded the first historical revelation of an international society with a geographical area and cultural uniformity, it lacked "...a single political entity or state" (Boyles, 1997:37). The Greek city-states showed astonishing insight into political issues yet to come, not only in terms of sub-national political structures and direct democracy but there were also "... embryonic mass-production factories in ancient Greece and Rome...(and)...oil was drilled in one of the Greek islands in 400 BC", therefore, indicating the birth of industrialisation in its early phases (Toffler, 1980:36).

The first stages of socio-political decay originated out of the realm of direct democracy as the structures of the polis were characterised by extensive legal freedom of citizens.

The reason for this is that the unrestricted principle resulted in a focus on sub-national, tradition-bound politics which could not be expanded to a bigger territory. This would consequently be counter-productive to the evolutionary steps taken towards the establishment of the nation-state (Du Plessis, 1941: 9-11). Through many territorial wars social disorder arose and with it the need for a new political order. This disorder left the *polis* with two alternatives; a scenario, namely that either the city-states "...would have had to unite into one large territorial empire..." or they would be swept up by the predatorily peripheral actors of the *polis* (Vincent, 1987:29). This placed the political order in a crisis and Vincent (1987:29) explains that with a period of change or stress on the existing order the *codes* or *rules of the game* could be altered and thus the shift to the new phase of institutionalisation, i.e. the rise of the Roman Empire, would result.

In Summary: The main phenomenon to emerge from this era and which directly influenced the ultimate birth of the nation-state was the emergence of institutionalisation. Still problematic, however, was the fusion of the public and private sectors within an undifferentiated society. It is also within this institutionalisation phase that the concept of political analysis originated in the form of political philosophy culminating within the realm of ancient Greece. The contributions of men such as Plato and Aristotle laid the foundations for future thinkers such as Hobbes and Bodin to embrace the concept of sovereignty, the cornerstone of the nation-state. Finally, from these early philosophers the foundations of the Christian and Islamic philosophy emerged. Toffler highlights the fact that the *polis* provided a greater political understanding of sub-national political structures, direct democracy, and the first signs of industrialism as the Greeks started drilling for oil. The importance of this for the current emerging of the Third Wave Civilization will be discussed at greater lengths in the sections to come.

5.2 The Roman Empire

The rise of the larger territorial units, such as the Roman Empire, with a structure which commanded "...extensive military power rendered the city-states obsolete" (Holsti, 1992:35). An analogy can be made with the emergence of huge territorial structures in the Third Wave in response to a decaying nation-state.

5.2.1 *The Social Component of the Roman Empire*

The Roman Empire is one of the most important institutions in the history of mankind as it laid the foundations for many sectors of society that contributed to the existing order today (Toffler, 1980:36). The Roman Empire or **Imperium** became an extension of the **polis**, namely, it was a "...more encompassing and universal public institution" (Venter, 1991:50). The **Imperium** was obtained by a consul or emperor via **lex regia** and stipulated that "...all the powers were derived and conferred by the people" which later formed the basis of Justinian's law code (Vincent, 1987:32). The most distinguishing feature of the Empire was that, unlike the **polis**, there were separate private and public spheres where politics functioned according to a specific **code** or **rules of the game** which became known as the **law** (Venter, 1991:50). It was here that the foundations of a differentiated society were laid. Vincent (1987:22) explains that the "...first appearance of the word society is in Roman law, in the late Republic and early Empire, with the term **societas**".

Vincent (1987:23) characterises the **societas** as:

- ◆ the Roman law sense, a legalistic way of characterising certain groups
- ◆ society used to describe a particular type of civil state
- ◆ society as an aggregate of contracting individuals independent of the state
- ◆ society seen as a collection of groups as in the pluralist tradition.

The separation of the private and public sectors is a critical issue and debate destined to feature within the Third Wave global governance structures.

5.2.2 *The Political Component of the Roman Empire*

Prior to the advent of the modern era, political organisations were divided into sub-national and supra-national political relations. The former, according to Gilpin (1981:110), constituted the empire which was the "...predominant form of political organisations", while city-states and feudalism formed the centre of sub-national politics.

Therefore, Gilpin (1981:111) argues that world politics of the pre-modern era was centred in the rise and fall of powerful empires. Largely, these empires had different religions and norms and as a result, they had few values, principles and interests in common. Consequently few common structures or institutions evolved. Gilpin (1981:110-111) and Toffler (1980:35) refer to a *cycle of empires* and place the principle determinant of these cycles as an "...underlying agricultural based social formation". Gilpin (1981:110) defines these *cycle of empires* as a "...political form usually characterised by the centralization of power in an emperor or sovereign". These empires are similar to contemporary structures which Huntington (1996:302) refers to as *universal empires* that take the form of a "...complex system of confederations, federations, regimes, and other types of cooperative institutions that embody at the civilisational level its commitment to democratic and pluralistic politics". The European Union (EU), the African Union (AU) and the amalgamation of the Asia - Pacific Rim states are examples of contemporary *universal empires*. Gilpin (1981:111) also refers to the concept of *universal empires*, not only in a contemporary sense, but as the primary feature of pre-modern politics. The empires of the pre-modern era, however, were not bound by common values and interests, like democracy and human rights which forms the cornerstone of contemporary structures, but were separated by religious, economic and other issues. Very weak institutions and rulers were available to regulate the relations among these empires or to facilitate any conflict which arose. As the empires were not bound by humanitarian international law, questionable war tactics existed. Germ warfare, for instance, was used where militants catapulted corpses over city walls, thereby infecting the populace with the black plague (Lemonick, 2001:56).

Toffler (1990:372-373) uses Green eco-fundamentalism as an example of a contemporary *universal empire* or regime. In Germany today, the green movement which is militantly and aggressively promoted, has its roots in Nazi-ideology. Hitler promoted pre-industrialism, encouraged the use of the *organic*, and insisted on physical fitness. As a result of this, "... (N)azi propagandists exalted the Middle Ages (especially the time when the Holy Roman Empire dominated Europe) as a period when *Kultur* reached its *highest peak*" (Toffler, 1990:373).

One of the most noteworthy empires to emerge in this period was the Roman Empire. Thurow (1996:13) attributes the rise of the Roman Empire to their ideology, their ability to organise and their *vocation to dominate*. Their ideology was responsible for an outstanding economic achievement and according to Thurow (1996:14), the *Pax Romania* offered shelter and security to 50 million people on three continents. This empire unleashed driving forces which still influence the world especially with regard to political structures. An example here is language and in the legal codes where Latin is evident in documents and conversation. Reid (1999:109) relates that the struggle between the governing elite and the masses culminated in a written code which emerged in 450 BC. Emperor Justinian compiled the "...Digests, the Institutes and the Revised Code" which was completed in AD 534. This deep respect the Romans had for law is of cardinal importance as it deeply influenced modern democratic political systems. In Ancient Rome, the process of law making was bicameral and legislation had to be passed by the *comitia*, i.e. the assembly of Roman citizens for which the senate or upper classes was needed. Legislation was ultimately issued in the name of the people. When America launched their democracy, republican Rome served as their model. As was the case with the Rome of 509-49 BC, laws required two legislative bodies and a pattern was established which has been perpetuated in most democratic constitutions (Reid, 1999:110). Rome, according to Lipson (1985: 343), "...was the giant of antiquity, forming an antithesis to the *polis*" where the focus shifted away from the privileged towards the notion of political equality.

Viotti and Kauppi (1993:39) state that Machiavelli's theoretical foundation originated with the Greek and Roman scripts. Machiavelli also expanded on Thucydide's thoughts on power, the balance of power, and the conflict between city-states with his primary focus centring on national security. With the rule of law in its embryonic phase, this public power emerged as a supreme form of public power which Venter (1991:50) has identified as the beginnings of the concept of sovereignty. Heywood (1997:143) explains that sovereignty is a principle which advocates "...absolute and unlimited power". It can be said that the most important concept to emerge from the Roman Empire is the contribution of the Roman law which "...contributed most to the theory of sovereignty" (Vincent, 1987:32). Expanding on this, Venter (1991: 53) placed the sovereign state as a supreme political power which enjoys recognition by the international community. This ties it conclusively into the nation-state whose main pillar rests on sovereignty as will be

shown later. According to Lipson (1985:205) the ancient Romans lay the foundations for the judiciary and the legal codes which structure our society today. These ancient political architects promoted the idea of the *Trias Politica* or what is known as the Separation of Powers. The fall of this extensive system of the Roman Empire was a result of political instability which once again left social disorder resulting in the creation of new political needs.

In summary: the Imperium or Roman Empire laid the foundation of a differentiated society where the public and private sectors are separated. Where the city-states focused on sub-national politics the Roman Empire focused on supra-national politics. The Romans also lay the foundations of the rule of law which would become the nucleus of the nation-state. Toffler points out that although the empires of the agrarian civilization differed on many levels with each other there was a fundamental similarity in that the way of life, family, culture, economy and politics were all rooted in the land. Universal regimes or empires once again surfaced within contemporary global governance structures. The decaying empires of the agrarian era and new political needs opened the door for the next institutionalisation phase: the feudal structure.

5.3 The Feudal Structure

The feudal structure was the turning point away from the agrarian era towards the industrial era. The agrarian era, Toffler (1980:28) explains, remained unchallenged between 1650 and 1750. For Toffler (1980:37) the end of the feudal structure was of intrinsic historical importance as the abolition of the feudal era by 1876 was a visible manifestation of the collision of the First and Second Waves.

5.3.1 The Social Component of the Feudal Structure

Heywood (1997:405) defines feudalism as a structure of "...agrarian-based production characterised by fixed social hierarchies and a rigid pattern of obligations". The separate public realm which was inherited from the Roman Empire was deepened in the feudal structure. It needs to be stressed once again that feudality emerged from the ruins of the Roman Empire. With the rise of feudalism and bureaucratic institutions, during the middle ages, there existed a period of order, structure and stability. Mc Naughton

(1996:7) explains that "... every individual knew his position within the structure, understood his rights and duties and rarely questioned ... (the structure resulting in)...long periods of peace and order". The need for order was finally achieving actualisation.

Out of this period of equilibrium rose two powerful public institutions, namely the Roman Catholic Church, which wielded **spiritual** power, and the Holy Roman Empire, which wielded **temporal** power. Hierarchically the church, under the pope, was divided into hierarchies such as archbishops, bishops, priests and parishes, while the other was served by political entities with a hierarchal structure of kings, princes, dukes, and other nobility each with some form of authority (Venter, 1991:51). As characteristic of an undifferentiated society, many of the above actors generated their own particular laws. The church canon laws are one example. These laws placed all their subjects in the **Republica Christiana** under divine authority. This placed the church, with its spiritual body, the clergy, as higher than all civil authority. The Holy Roman Empire, on the other hand, was a universal society (Vincent, 1987:15-16). Venter (1991:51) explains that the "...jurisdictions of emperor and pope were not clearly demarcated, and a long and bitter power struggle ensued". Once again, there was a period of disequibrated social disorder and the rise of new political needs. For Toffler (1990:451) this aspect is of cardinal importance to the survival of the nation-state as the doctrines expressed by the medieval popes can be seen in the doctrines of the present religious forces threatening to take power from the nation-state. Within the contemporary political environment religion is launching an attack on secularism which is a corner stone of the nation-state. Another parallel, he highlights, is the resulting bloody state/religion conflict of medieval times of which there is resurgence in the Third Wave.

The struggle between the English King John and his barons ended with the signing of the Magna Carta in 1215 and Vincent (1987:188) expands on this by stating that the feudal barons "...in constructing the Magna Carta...virtually legalised rebellion, making the king's authority a contractual thing". The significance of the signing of this treaty would later find expression in the nation-state and the social contract. The implication of the social contract on medieval mankind is the ultimate attainment of an institution which would ensure the realisation of the need for order and the shift away from a **state of nature** (Heywood, 1997:87; Van den Bergh, 1983:114). Heywood (1997:87) explains

that to achieve this "...individuals therefore seek to escape the state of nature by entering into a social contract, recognising that only a sovereign power can secure order and stability". The process of a paradigm shift, moving in the direction of modernisation, had now been set in motion and the old primitive feudal order was now in decay (Kemp, 1985:53).

5.3.2 The Political Component of the Feudal Structure

The political component of, what Toffler (1980:35) refers to as the *primitive society* is structured within a *closed society* (Popper, 1945:175-189; Easton, 1965:61). To explain the political component of the *primitive societies*, a structural rather than a systems analysis will be used. A structural analysis being, as Waltz (1979:91) explains, an analysis of the political units of an era such as the Greek city-states, empires, nations or feudal structures, while a systems analysis, refers to the interaction of self-determining units. The reason for using a structural analysis includes the contextual nature of the First Wave which takes place within feudalism and it is therefore incorrect to use the term feudal system or feudal state as it is a misuse of terms. The feudal condition of society would not only render a weak state but would negate the state totally (Brierly: 1963:4).

The authoritarian and decentralised forms of political power in *primitive societies* were not consolidated into nation-states but lay the foundations thereof. Easton (1967:109) expands on this stating that "...the state comes into existence when there is a fixed territory, a stable government, and a set population" and therefore, according to this modern conceptualisation of the state, no state existed before the 17th century. The origin of the state concept, however, may be traced to 15 June 1215 with the signing of the *Magna Carta* which laid the foundation for the creation of the first constitution (Van den Bergh, 1983:114). This was the beginning of the transition to the modern state. Although the sparsity of the population and the primitive economic conditions were among the factors preventing a strong central government, the two main obstacles were feudalism and the church. The period between the 12th and 16th centuries showed evidence of the feudal concept being amalgamated into the national state (Brierly, 1963:2-4).

Force, as a tool of power, came strongly to the fore during the feudal era as this period was characterised by a **contractual system** contained within the military and political liaisons of the nobility (Toffler, 1990:13). This contractual system was based on the exchange principle of military and political services in return for labour and land (Van Niekerk et al, 2001:44). Despite this political interplay it is interesting to note that sovereignty did not lie with the nobility as they were submissive to the church and the Holy Roman Empire. The jurisdictions of these actors were not clearly defined and this would consequently lead to a long and bitter power struggle where the nation-state would ultimately emerge as the world power. The formation of the feudal structures were, according to Huntington (1968:148), vertically organised according to bloodline. Machiavelli (s.a.:14-15) who lived during the Renaissance period (1469-1527) explained that the "...kingdoms known to history have been governed in two ways either by a prince and his servants, who, as ministers by his grace and permission, assist in governing the realm; or by a prince and by barons, who hold their position not by the favour of the ruler but by antiquity of blood". Feudalism, with its vertical distribution of power, had received power by the **right of inheritance** and not by the will of the people. Even Louis the XIV of the old order stated **I am the state** (Anon, 1996:19). On the other hand, the hierarchical bureaucratic organisation of the feudal society, which started during the Renaissance and is still characteristic of the state today, introduced institutionalism, which equipped society and individuals to develop. Wiechers and Bredenkamp (1996:27) expanded on this by stressing that "...there is one exceedingly important element which our modern state has not fundamentally altered but only enormously enlarged and strengthened. That is precisely the element of administrative organisation, the formation of a corps of officials of what we call bureaucracy, which is active and powerful and constitutes the structure of the state". The bureaucratisation process led to the contractual and constitutional foundation of the authoritative function of the state (Wiechers and Bredenkamp, 1996:27). This structure ensured the evolutionary replacement and power shift of the aristocracy with middle class legal administrators.

The role of the nobility and the church, functioning within undefined parameters, led to a situation where the Roman Empire had been succeeded by a theocracy which is "...a government based on organised religion in this case Latin Christendom" (Jackson, 1997:38). The rise of the Islamic Empire highlighted the fusion of religion and political

authority which dominated the international arena. The medieval *ecclesiastical-political order*, commencing in the 16th century, was influenced by the progressive political theology of Martin Luther and the Protestant Reformation in 1517 (Jackson, 1997:38)

Nossal (1998:202) regards the use of coercion by the church in medieval times, as a means to ensure the submission of kings and the populace, as an act of terrorism. Pope Innocent the third's excommunication of King John by means of an interdict was an illustration of the church's terror tactics. The use of terror as a political instrument, by means of an interdict, meant that "...no one was permitted to receive any of the Christian sacraments. This was a frightful situation for those who believed that without the sacraments they would suffer hellfire for all eternity; the interdict was nothing less than a terrorist act". The visible manifestation of the coercive tactics used by the church resulted in what became known as the inquisition. The inventions of the printing press empowered the populace with a greater understanding of their realm of reality which until the Renaissance was largely controlled by the church. The rebirth of mankind as a *political animal*, capable of determining social formations and creating political authority, transformed the very nature of societal power structures. This rebirth was an attempt to launch mankind into the mindset of the modern world where the Renaissance period emerged to promote exploration and scientific discovery but above all political transformation. Contemporary Africa is entering a similar phase with the launch of the new African Renaissance (Nossal, 1998:151). To explain the creation of political authority reference is made to one of the greatest political theorists, namely, Machiavelli. Machiavelli's explanations of power and authority moved away from the universal Christian approach of the Greek and Roman political theorists such as Aristotle, Livy, Cicero and Polybius to a more humanist and secular approach. The knowledge these theorists provided empowered the populace who were now no longer terrorised by the church. The collapse of the feudal order saw the rise of a global movement, which would break down the dominance of the church by means of violent bloody wars. This gave rise to the notion of sovereignty (Nossal, 1998:204). As the fear and awe with which the church was perceived crumbled it was easy to break the political authority it held. In Germany, especially, the princes used the conflict between the church and the state to further independence from these religious enigmas and promote national consciousness. King Henry VIII's rebellion against the church was institutionalised with the English Parliament passing the Act of Supremacy in 1534 declaring him the head of

the Catholic Church in England (Mansbach, 1994, 42-44). MacIver and Page (1964:491) point out that religion has a predisposition to the danger that its obsession with issues of power may distract its leaders and the institution from its primary *spiritual mission* as had been the case in the 14th and 15th century with the Roman Catholic Church and with Islam in our contemporary political power struggles (Toffler, 1990:451).

The feudal society has, therefore, been characterised by a power struggle between the nobility and non-state actors or what Migdal (1988:140) and Toffler (1990:451) refer to as *Global Gladiators* who wished to "...maintain social control in an undifferentiated society"...(and to)..."gain direct access to the population's manpower and revenues". Machiavelli (1532), in his work *The Prince*, promoted the art and science of statecraft or political dynamics thereby encouraging the *prince* to centralise his control, within a territory by a state organisation, by building security structures (armed forces and police), and revenue collecting agencies. Migdal (1988:140) added to Machiavelli's train of thought by stating that what was of vital importance was the ability of the ruler to organise these structures and to use loyal followers to manage these structures or agencies. The shift away from the use of mercenaries to the use of national security forces laid the foundation for a social contract between the nation-state and its citizens. Machiavelli's thoughts resulted in the western culture obtaining an ordered and structured military institution which was regarded as superior in the area of organisation, training of its soldiers, disciplining them, improved infrastructure, logistics, weapons and medical services (Huntington,1996:51). The increased power of the West within the global arena, as Huntington (1996:51) explains, was "...not by the superiority of its ideas or values or religion but rather by the superiority in applying organised violence. Westerners often forget this fact, non-westerners never do". The foresight of Machiavelli (1532:49-50) highlights the evolutionary nature of the emerging nation-state as he uses the Roman Empire and the French Monarch to indicate the collapse of the First Wave. The Romans hired Gothic mercenaries to protect them and from that moment on their power and structures were in decay. The French turned to the Swiss mercenaries which resulted in a similar structural decay as had been the case with the Romans thereby highlighting Machiavelli's (1532) point that "...without national arms no Principdom is safe".

Joseph Schumpeter (1954:14) states that the transformation to the money economy and military innovations resulted in greater government expenditure, especially the military budget, and insufficient tax acquisitions ultimately causing the fiscal crisis of feudalism. The fiscal crisis had political consequences as the political organisations of the feudal era were now unable to protect their subjects and to survive the changes in the social formation. Hobbes (1588-1679) complemented Machiavelli and regarded a centralised political authority as a solution to this problem. This idea sowed the seed which would later blossom into the concept of a social contract (Gilpin, 1981:119; Viotti and Kauppi, 1993:40). The idea of a social contract, as captured by Hobbes, was that "...there must be some coercive power to compel men equally to the performance of their covenants, by the terror of some punishment, greater than the benefit they expect by the breach of their covenant" (Viotti and Kauppi, 1993:40). It was when the feudal law became fragmented that it was replaced by the court system which resulted in a behavioural shift from obeying the rules dictated by local lords to the dictates of state leaders. The establishment of the army, police and the judiciary would facilitate the shift of social control into the hands of the state (Migdal, 1988:22). Toffler and Toffler (1993:41) place feudalism within the realm of a decentralised agrarian society and social control would only be monopolised when the state control over the military would be monopolised. This would only emerge with the birth of the nation-state.

The need for a security structure or organisation gave rise to the *Standestaat* where the medieval guilds took advantage of the feudal institutions which were in a process of decay. The feudal era clearly highlighted the onset of the clash between the First and Second Wave Civilization. It was during this institutionalisation phase that the *Magna Carta* was signed which laid the foundation for the creation of the first constitution and was the beginning of the transition to the modern state. It was during this period that a national military became established and a bureaucratisation process which led to the contractual and constitutional function of the state. For Toffler the feudal era was a period where religion played a prominent role within the political environment and that before the nation-state would monopolise control over security issues its political status was prominent. The next institutionalisation phase to start the groundwork for attaining a nation-state within a differentiated society was the *Standestaat*.

5.4 *The Standestaat*

It is during this time that conditions similar to those experienced today existed. According to Toffler (1990:450) this period would give rise to actors who could today prove to bring about the "...biggest change in global affairs since the rise of the nation-state". These actors will be discussed shortly. Another factor to emerge and which would re-emerge during the Third Wave was the shift of political focus from sub-national structures to national structures. The focus in the Third Wave will shift from national to supra-national structures.

5.4.1 *The Social Component of the Standestaat*

Venter (1991:51) defines the *Standestaat* as a "...Stand, or estate... [which] was a specific socially stratified unit (what we would call a *class* today)". The *Standestaat* was given a social status, which would receive public acknowledgement and certain privileges. It was the clerics, the nobility and especially the guilds that found this structure to be profitable (Venter, 1991:51). The American pluralists, the Guilds and the syndicalists and other groups were thus "...resisting the growth of the state and public power...(which)...amounts to a feudal anarchy among contending occupational groups and rejects the state entirely" (Vincent,1987:184). This lay the foundation for the revolt of non-state actors or, what Toffler (1990: 451) refers to as, *Global Gladiators* against the state. This revolt would occur once again prior to the onset of the Third Wave civilization. *Global Gladiators*, like *religion*, and the mercantilists or what Toffler refers to as the *corporate condottieri*, increased the pace in the race against the nation-state. The reason for the revolt against the state was that this new concept of a nation-state was threatening the power structures of these non-state actors who received status, legitimacy and wealth by protecting the towns. The guilds or *corporate condottieri* were one of these non-state actors, an association which consolidated the business sector into a formidable force, which were service providers and protectors. The guilds set the rules and their subjects in turn were protected for compliance and punished for disobedience. The social contract was now being moulded to take its position in a new differentiated, centralised society (Adams et al, 1986:92-93). Despite this positive contribution the guilds stood in the way of change and development because, as Strauss (1998:99) explains, "...the undifferentiated nature of the guilds, encompassing all the

spheres of life, stood in the way of the realisation of a consociational bond characteristic of a genuine state". According to Maslow (1970) the domination of the guilds was a result of their ability to provide for mankind's fundamental need for security. As the need for security is a vital element within the process of self-actualisation in which mankind's humanness finds expression, it is important to remember that it is not the only element within this process. The inability of the guilds to provide a **Gestalt** perspective to satisfy the fundamental needs of mankind resulted in a regression of mankind's developmental process (Krech et al., 1969:438). As will be seen during the next section, when the political component of **Standestaat** is discussed, Toffler forwards an argument which correlates the emergence of guilds and the struggle between state and non-state actors to the struggle between the **Global Gladiators** and the state in the contemporary political environment. Toffler suggests that the monopoly of violence lay in the hands of the **corporate condottieri** which were later destined to shift to the nation-state. The political component of the **Standestaat** will now be discussed.

5.4.2 The Political Component of the Standestaat

As mentioned above, the use of mercenaries is noted during most of the institutionalisation phases of the First Wave, i.e. during the Roman Empire, the feudal era and even in Rome (Vatican) by Pope Julius II. Machiavelli (1532:48) argued against the use of the **condottieri**, or as Toffler (1990:453) refers to mercenaries, **the corporate condottieri**, and promoted national armed forces structured within a more centralised authority. Hobden et al (1997:141) explain that these medieval non-state actors or **Global Gladiators** have been classified by the World System Theorists, such as Wallerstein, with Marxist leanings, as **anti-systemic movements**. Wallerstein (1991:268) describes their role within the dominant political structure as being schizophrenic in that they **simultaneously undermine and reinforce** this structure.

The nobility of medieval times could not control their **over mighty subjects** who had the support of their own personal mercenaries or **condottieri** (Toffler, 1990: 453; Lipson, 1985:52). The use of the **condottieri** resulted in their monopolisation of military power as these mercenaries were so skilled in the art of war that no deaths occurred during battles except by accident (Nossal, 1998:130).

The significance of the *Standestaat* in the evolutionary process of the nation-state was that the mercantilists or guilds shifted the political focus from a sub-national political environment to a national political environment. Sub-national political units of the feudal era were now merging into larger structures thereby giving rise to the institutionalised phase of the absolute state (Lipson, 1985:148; Venter, 1991:52). Today the *corporate condottieri* is shifting the political focus from the national to the supra-national levels (Toffler, 1990:453).

The *Standestaat* represented the non-state actors or *Global Gladiators* who resisted the growth towards the nation-state. This led to a revolt by non-state actors, which is a similar occurrence in today's political environment especially with regard to religious fundamentalists or mercantilists (*corporate condottieri*), which increased the pace in the race against the nation-state. The reason for this revolt was that the rise of the nation-state would threaten the legitimacy, wealth and power structures of the *Standestaat* which had been earned by being protector and service provider to the populace. These two commodities will once again be fought over prior to the establishment of the Third Wave (refer to Chapter 6). Mercenaries, not a national army, were used by the *Standestaat* to provide security. It was this social contract which would be taken over by the nation-state within a new differentiated centralised society.

In conclusion the *Standestaat* saw the rise of actors which acted against the emerging nation-state. These actors are emerging again with the onset of the Third Wave. During the *Standestaat* a political shift, from sub-national to national political structures, occurred.

The next institutional phase, i.e. the absolute state, is a transitional phase into the modern era and the birth of the nation-state concept.

5.5 The Absolute State

During this phase the ground work had been laid for the establishment of the nation-state. There were, however, key elements missing preventing the final step in the creation of the nation-state. Toffler (1980:92) explains that the key elements that were absent included the following: territories or borders "...were ill-defined, governmental

rights fuzzy. The power of the state was not yet standardised ... (and)...emperors typically ruled over a patchwork of tiny locally-governed communities. Political control was not yet uniform”.

5.5.1 The Social Component of the Absolute State

The absolute state, based in Roman law, separates the private and public spheres of society. Through the emergence of this new public authority, Vincent (1987:45) explains, “...the first theoretical and self conscious formulation of the idea of the state”, was realised. The smaller feudal entities, in the period 1400-1600, lost their independence and were amalgamated into larger units such as England and France (Venter, 1991:52; Ray, 1998:165). Bodin (1576) in his work **The Six Books of the Commonwealth** differentiates between different levels of sovereignty. The absolute monarchs“...were constrained by the existence of higher law in the form of the will of God or natural law... (while on another level sovereignty is portrayed as)...a monopoly of coercive power implying that the sovereign was entirely unconstrained” (Heywood, 1997:26). Even though sovereignty was initially conceptualised in Rome it became formulated towards the end of the 16th century as a response to new political needs, originating out of the social disorder arising from the wars of religion which reached a climax during the Thirty Years War. Toffler (1990:452) draws an analogy between this occurrence in the First Wave and the rise of a religious resurgence in the Third Wave. These forces would launch an attack on secularism and by doing so would attack the very core of the industrial era, placing the nation-state in crisis. Vincent (1987:126) explains this by stating that “...arising from the chaos that was flowing from the sharpened appeal to the right of resistance to the monarch in internal political and religious struggles, it challenged the validity of that ancient right by asserting that to free the ruler from restraint was the lesser evil in the light of the pressing need for order”. This pressing need for order would result in the emergence of a political institution that would serve mankind to this very day, i.e. the nation-state.

5.5.2 The Political Component of the Absolute State

Toffler (1990:365) aligns this period in man’s history with the forces of religion coupled to those of the elite of the agrarian age battling with the newly emerging “...industrial modernism and mass democracy”. During the 16th century the Protestant Reformation

launched one of the most forceful driving forces in political history. Under its impact the medieval ecclesiastical political order began to crumble and Luther's political theology enthroned the supremacy of the king as well as the legitimacy of his kingdom. Jackson (1997:35;38) mentions the fact that the papacy of the Renaissance era, which was well known for corruption and nepotism, actually nurtured the structuring and expansion of the international society as it features in the modern world. Martin Luther separated the political legitimacy of the state from the medieval *Republica Christiana* or theology. To document the legal practice of this new phenomenon, international law, in the form of the first international legal texts, appeared. As the conflict with the church and the state became resolved a new means of political rule emerged known as the absolute state. The main criteria which warrant the highlighting of absolutism is that Vincent (1987:44) regards absolutism as the "...first theoretical and self conscious formulation of the idea of the state". Many of its elements were later incorporated into modern theories of the state. The two main criteria which can class absolutism as a driving force are firstly that absolutism formed a decisive break with feudalism and secondly constitutionalism, together with absolutism, are rooted in the Middle Ages with both having foundations of Roman law. One of the most important elements of absolutism is the sovereignty theory and the promotion of centralised power, although no intention of mass mobilisation existed (Vincent, 1987:45-47). Toffler (1980:67) advances an argument that centralization would advance to form one of the six principles of the Second Wave with its centralized political dispensation, i.e. the nation-state.

The most important contributions to the absolutist theory and its key concept, absolute sovereignty, were made by Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes. Bodin's work *Six livres de la république (1576)* rejected the division of political authority within a known territory and offered a comprehensive account of the classical and contemporary laws of absolute sovereignty within political structures. It was this division of political authority which had resulted in the Wars of Religion. Bodin's work was aimed at developing a theory of Royal absolutism which he promoted as a means of bringing order to a society of chaos. The sum of these religious wars became known as the Thirty Years War which lasted from 1618 to 1648. Hobbes in his work *Leviathan (1651)* regarded sovereignty as a *monopoly of coercive power*. Both Bodin and Hobbes's views were an extension of the Aristotelian line of thought (Nossal, 1998:209; Heywood, 1997:26)

The Thirty Years War between 1618 and 1648, which was one of great atrocity and violence, left Europe in a state of decay. As it progressed the power structures of the agrarian weakened. This war was ended on the 24 October 1648 with the signing of the Peace Treaties of Westphalia. The treaties addressed "... religious issues, confirming the rights of private worship, liberty of conscience and emigration in some lands" and the institutionalisation of the changes of the state in terms of sovereignty (Nossal, 1998:209). The Peace of Westphalia resulted in the old order giving way to the new order. At the conclusion of the war the feudal structure as a political organisation lay in ruins. Sovereignty lay at the epicentre of this new order, which Mansbach (1994:G22) conceptualises as "...the status of states as legal equals under international law, according to which they are supreme internally and subject to no higher external authority". State sovereignty which had displaced the medieval *Republica Christiana* or theocracy, originated in the 17th century and would eventually evolve and emerge in the bodies of international law such as the Charter of the United Nations and the Geneva Convention. Therefore, the multinational treaties of Westphalia were conceptualised as the foundation of ***secular international law*** or as the ***public law of Europe***. The three principles of the Westphalian International Society were as follows:

- ◆ The sovereign is not subject to any higher authority
- ◆ Outsiders have no right to intervene in a sovereign jurisdiction on religious grounds
- ◆ The balance of power.

The latter principle, in which a hegemonic power could not rise and dominate others, was later threatened by Napoleon's efforts to control Europe. This resulted in British and American foreign policies adopting a motion of intervention to restore the balance of power (Jackson, 1997:40; Hindsley, 1986:168).

The Peace of Westphalia resulted, for the first time in history, in bringing together all the major powers and is known to date the European state system. What the treaties actually confirmed was the end of the idea of a commonwealth of universal Christianity governed by the Pope or Holy Roman Empire and the emergence of equality among sovereign independent states. This event is regarded as the turning point in human history and described the consequences as mankind moving from the old world into the new world of the sovereign state (Gilpin, 1981, 36; Mansbach, 1994:45). Finally, the Absolute State saw the emergence of larger territorial areas which became countries.

The notion of sovereignty emerged where the authority rested on a single office. Both these aspects developed holistically in the nation-state. The principle of *legibus solutus* placed the monarch as the source of law which later became eminent in the centralised power structures of the nation-state. Absolutism was also seen by many as the *cradle of nationalism* which was the ideology of the nation-state. The guilds of this era also evolved into the trade unions which became prominent during the nation-state era (Vincent, 1987: 27; 48; 113; 185; Venter, 1991:52).

In summary: the Absolute State formed the ground work to the transition to the nation-state. What was absent within the Absolute State, however, was a standardized, centralized, uniform state structure. The Absolute State, in which the monarch was the source of law, separated the private and public sectors, and through which the populace was made conscious of a bigger and new political structure to come, i.e. the nation-state. As the agrarian structures shifted into a process of decay, sovereignty, a concept conceptualised in the Roman Empire, was used to bring about order and structure to this decaying agrarian order. The time had come for the nation-state to replace the agrarian order and herald in the Second Wave industrial civilization. The final institutionalisation phase of the First Wave was realised with the establishment of the nation-state within a differentiated society. This New World Order of the twentieth century had its foundation within the nation-state and the rise of this new political unit, which would be a dominant feature of the next century, will now be discussed.

5.6 The Nation-State

The following section represents the final phase of the historical/reconstruction component and the historical questions posed in the meta-theoretical framework (Chapter 2 Figure 2.9), i.e. *what where the events which led up to the nation-state?* The subsequent chapters will be formulated around the nation-state concept and in the light of the importance of it for this study, the arguments in this section will be centred on the historical-reconstructive questions pertaining to the origin and nature of the nation-state. The events leading to the formation of the nation-state have been presented in previous sections and the main aim of this section is to briefly focus on the crystallisation of the nation-state by focusing on the historical question of *what actually caused the nation-state?* From Toffler's (1990:10-11) perspectives the ancient monarchies gave way to new political institutions. Within the parameters of these new political institutions,

the new elite included bureaucrats and corporate chieftains. The old power system of the First Wave Civilization gave way to the new universal civilization and the global political power structures changed in the wake of the birth of the nation-state. Toffler (1980:82) noted that as the "...Second Wave revolutionaries toppled the elite of the First Wave Civilization they had to draw up new constitutions, design new institutions and set up government structures". The rise of the modern nation-state was built upon the triad of the rule of law (which included the expansion of the judicial court system), a national army and a tax collecting system. The rule of law, which replaced the undifferentiated feudal law, resulted in a shift of power to regulate social behaviour in the hands of the state (Migdal, 1988:22).

5.6.1 *The Social Component of the Nation-State*

Evans and Newhan (1998:515) explain that although the concept of sovereignty and a central government were introduced in the period of the absolute state, it was consolidated and accepted with the Treaty of Westphalia. The treaty marked the end of the Thirty Year's War and separated the entities of church and the state. The nation-state was born into violence with two-thirds of the population being wiped out. Sovereignty became the focal point in the post-Westphalian era (Mansbach, 1994:44). The Peace Treaty of Westphalia, for Mansbach (1994:45), was a turning point of the agrarian age and marked "the end of an epoch and the opening of another ...(and a shift)...from the old into the new world". Even though the process of shifting to a new order is evolutionary, what is needed is a total revolution that would change the power structures and rewrite the code or rules which upheld society. During this period a revolutionary tidal wave resulted in chaos and the total structure was in disarray. Firstly, the fall of feudalism had caused political upheavals. Secondly, as was the case prior to the agrarian revolution, there was once again a population explosion where the total population of Europe, for instance, jumped from 100 million in 1650 to 170 million prior to the French Revolution. Thirdly, the scientific and industrial revolutions resulted in the realisation that the answer to the imbalance between the size of the population and the ability to sustain mankind lay not with the earth, as projected during the agricultural revolution, but with the power of technology (Kennedy, 1994:3-9). Population explosion,

environmental exploitation and technological communication are key predetermined elements present before a revolutionary civilizational change occurs.

As today, especially in Africa, there was famine, unemployment, crime, disease and a population explosion. Accompanying a structure in decay came the prophets of doom, such as Malthus (1798), and theorists such as Godwin and Condorcet. The scenario for the future had been sketched, i.e. the reactionaries felt that the end of the First Wave would result in the end of mankind and the revolutionaries believed that the industrialisation of the Second Wave would result in the progression of mankind. Kennedy (1994:4) explains that on the eve "...of the French Revolution, Paris had a total of between 600,000 and 700,000 people, including up to 100,000 vagrants - combustible materials for a social explosion". It was this social explosion which launched mankind into an industrial age and into the next super-civilization, i.e. the Second Wave Civilization.

5.6.2 The Political Component of the Nation-State

According to Toffler's (1980:109) reasoning, the incoming Second Wave organised the decaying agrarian structure into *discreet nation-states*. Because the Second Wave needed the resources from the rest of the world the old agrarian structure was remodelled and society was sucked into a capitalistic system thereby creating an integrated market. The nation-state for Toffler and Toffler (1993:27) is a "product of the industrial revolution". A broad outline of the transition from the absolute state to the birth of the nation-state will follow.

Early liberal normative philosophers such as Locke and Montesquieu offered a critical view of the absolute state theories and promoted the ideas of a constitutional government. The absolute state was ended in 1688 with the Glorious Revolution which resulted in a constitutional monarchy, under William of Orange, in Britain. Locke's work, *The Two Treaties of Government* in 1690, provided some kind of justification for this political transformation and argued that "...sovereignty resided with the people, not the monarch, and he advocated a system of limited government to provide protection of natural rights, notably the rights to life, liberty and property" (Heywood, 1997:26:43). The Glorious Revolution of 1688 resulted in the supremacy of the Parliament. Both Locke and Montesquieu promoted the idea of a separation of powers (Deluis et al, 2000:52; Sabine

et al, 1973:500-514; Heywood, 1997:26:294). **Advocate Charles-Louis de Secondat Montesquieu**, in his work ***The Spirit of the Law*** in 1748, built on the ***Trias Politica***, and the constitutional organisation of judicial powers, originating in the work of Plato, Polybius and Locke. As an advocate his contribution lay in the emphasis on the importance of an independent judicial power which would result in a ***system of checks and balances*** for the three branches of the ***Trias Politica***, i.e. executive, legislative and judicial. The principle of the separation of powers would later lay the foundation of the American Constitution of 1787 (Sabine et al, 1973:514; Heywood, 1997:26).

With the formation of the nation-state, ***violence*** as a tool of power was transformed from an unrestricted, uncontrolled dimension within an undifferentiated society to a monopolised and legitimised violence within a differentiated society. Toffler (1990:38) explains that with the implementation of the ***Trias Politica*** "...violence has been sublimated into law. All business depends upon law. Every contract, every promissory note, is ultimately backed by the law. And behind every law, good or evil, we find a barrel of a gun". The clash between the First and Second Wave can be depicted by the French peasants rejecting the ***Trias Politica*** turning to religion and the church praying to be delivered from ***all evil and from justice*** (Migdal, 1988:xiii).

In summary: even though the concept of a sovereign central government was introduced in the period of the absolute state it consolidated with the Treaty of Westphalia which marked the end of the Thirty Years War and ultimately separated the Church and the state. As was the case prior to the agrarian era, the three ***predetermined elements***, i.e. the environmental concerns, population explosion and communication and technological advancement were strongly visible prior to the Second Wave industrial civilization. In Europe the population jumped from 100 million in 1650 to 170 million prior to the French revolution. An imbalance arose between the size of the population and the ability to sustain mankind. There were also marked advances in communication and technology. As with the contemporary global situation, prior to the Second Wave, universal problems such as famine, unemployment, crime, disease and population explosion became prominent. Prophets of doom felt that the end of the agrarian order would mean the end of mankind. Chaos became a strong feature of the socio-political component of the First Wave. The political confusion was ended by the Glorious Revolution of 1688 which

resulted in the supremacy of the parliament and a constitutional government and the promotion of the separation of powers.

In conclusion: the social component of the First Wave functioned within a dual dimension, i.e. firstly, the primitive closed community (*gemeinschaft*) and secondly, the shift to a more open civilised society (*gesellschaft*). This shift from an undifferentiated **closed system** to a more differentiated **open system** followed an evolutionary process where mankind experienced different forms of institutionalisation, eventually culminating within the realm of the nation-state. The first institutionalisation phase was the Greek city-state also known as the *polis*. The *polis* did not differentiate between the citizen's private and public sectors. The political structure of the *polis* promoted a *polity* and by implication democratic values and principles such as public participation and official accountability. The Roman Empire, the next institutional phase, differed from the *polis* in that it separated the private and public sector and moved away from sub-national towards supra-national levels of politics. This great empire laid the foundations for the judiciary and the legal codes while promoting the idea of the *Trias Politica* or the Separation of Powers. The feudal structure was the institutional phase which represented the turning point in the agrarian First Wave Civilization. The separate public realm, which was inherited from the Roman Empire, deepened in the feudal structure. The origin of the nation-state concept may be traced to this phase with the signing of the *Magna Carta* which laid the foundation for the creation of the first constitution. The *feudal* structure was vertically organised according to bloodline. The later half of the feudal institutional phase saw the creation of a hierarchical bureaucratic organisation which was a characteristic of contemporary nation-state. The formation of a **corps of officials** formed the bureaucratisation process which led to the contractual and constitutional foundation of the authoritative function of the state. This structure ensured the evolutionary replacement and power shift of the aristocracy with middle class legal administrators. The *Standestaat* was an institutionalised phase which tried to counteract the progressive step towards the formation of the nation-state. This reaction by the non-state actors or *Global Gladiators*, which included the clerics, the nobility and the guilds, was aimed at counteracting the rise of a political structure, i.e. the nation-state. The nation-state threatened to take away the power structures of these non-state actors who received status, legitimacy and wealth by providing protection and becoming the main service provider. These *Global Gladiators* or **anti-systemic movements** used

mercenaries instead of national armed forces. The **Standestaat** shifted the focus away from the sub-national and supra-national levels to a national level. The **absolute state** formed the ground work to the transition to the nation-state. What was absent however was a standardized, centralized, and uniform state structure. The absolute state laid the pathway for the establishment of sovereignty. Even though the concept of a sovereign central government was introduced in the period of the absolute state, it was consolidated with the Treaty of Westphalia which marked the end of the Thirty Years War and ultimately separated the church and the state. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 resulted in the supremacy of the parliament, a constitutional government and the promotion of the separation of powers which is still characteristic of the nation-state.

6. CONCLUSION

Toffler's First Wave Civilization, based on agriculture, focused on land and all issues surrounding the land as decisive in social and political decision-making. The evolutionary, socialisation process of man was rooted in the First Wave with the family forming the basic unit. A primitive kind of social contract existed with closed isolated structures. Disequilibrium set in as the subsistence economy moved to the market. The family as the basic political unit experienced a power shift as the nation-state emerged. As the closed society shifted to an open society, tribalism was replaced by nationalism. With the onset of the nation-state, citizen protection became institutionalised as the social contract shifted from the family to the state. This power shift, down the ages, has always been a cataclysmic factor which has hurled mankind into a state of chaotic change.

In this chapter, the five phases of institutionalisation were highlighted and the redeeming features of each were documented. The similarities between the First and Second Waves were also established. These will be summarised briefly below. Which driving forces and the depth of their involvement in conditions which ultimately led to the formation of the nation-state was researched and answers to the questions of the causes or events which led to the formation of the nation-state were highlighted. Toffler's perspectives and explanations of these events received special attention and his contributions, in this regard, were examined. It was established that the nation-state had no single cause, by a single independent variable, but resulted from the five driving

forces as well as three predetermined elements. Finally, the reactionaries of the First Wave encountered the revolutionaries of the Second Wave with resulting conflict on a global scale and the nation-state was born.

The Greek city-states, the Roman Empire, the feudal states, *Standestaat* and the Absolute state supplied answers to what were the events which led to the nation-state. Traditionalism was replaced by institutionalism from which emerged modernism. Agriculture wiped out tribal groupings replacing them with "city-states dynastic kingdoms and feudal empires" (Toffler, 1990:238). In the Greek city-states and Roman Empire were found the origins of democracy and trans-national behaviour which are key elements in the crises of nation-states and Third Wave Civilizations.

For Toffler (1990:238) institutionalisation found expression in the social and political organisations of the Greek city-states. In Athens an embryonic form of demographic government emerged. It was the home of philosophers which lay the foundation of Christian theology and Islamic philosophy which would later, in the form of religious resurgence, launch an assault on the nation-state. Concepts such as rule by the people and the rule of law featured strongly in the *polity*. A difference between internal and international politics also emerged, while the behaviour between the states was classed as trans-national. Besides forms of sub-national political structures, embryonic mass production factories also started to emerge.

Toffler (1980:36) places the Roman Empire as one of the most important institutions as it laid the foundation for many sectors of society which are still prominent in today's society. The foundations for a differentiated society were laid down. Power came from the people and the public and private sectors were separated. From this emerged the Justinian law code. A deep sense of law laid the foundations of democracy and with the rule of law the foundations of the concept of sovereignty were also laid. The word society emerged. These issues featured prominently in the nation-state and are critical for the debate which features in the Third Wave global governance structures. Toffler (1980:36) places the birth of industrialisation with the early phases of life in Greece and Rome. The agricultural era also exhibited the notions of universal empires which resemble today's federations and regimes and already exhibited the embryonic origins, prominent today, of terrorist tactics such as germ warfare. The Romans laid the foundations of the

judiciary and legal code without which the nation-state would not have reached its ultimate limits as a world power.

Toffler (1980:37) cited the feudal structures as a turning point towards the industrial era. Its demise according to Toffler (1980:37) was the first manifestation of the collision between the First and Second Waves. It was during those times that a long and bitter power struggle between organised religion and the state existed. The resurgence of this struggle has yet again emerged as the Second and Third Waves collide. The fusion of religious power and political power was prominent during the First Wave. This is noteworthy as the resurrection of religious fundamentalism with the fusion of religion and political power is again threatening the future of the nation-state. As was the case in the First Wave, terrorism also played a role in the state-religious conflict. It is noteworthy to emphasize the disequibrated social order that resulted. Toffler (1998:451) places special emphasis on these events because they have again emerged and severely threaten the power of the nation-state. The signing of the Magna Carta is of special importance as it later found expression in the nation-state, the social contract, and was the foundation of the first constitution. Bloody wars broke the power of religion and nationalism and national consciousness emerged. The ideology of the nation-state started to form.

For Toffler (1990:450) the *Standestaat* was of particular importance as many actors also present today, emerged during this time. These non-state actors revolted against the state. Today Toffler notes a resurgence of them in the form of *Global Gladiators* who have also launched a powerful offensive against the nation-state. The Absolute State provided the final key elements necessary for the transformation to the nation-state, e.g. the notion of sovereignty, which was conceptualised in Rome, became formulated. The validity of the ancient right of kings and church was finally challenged and a new order emerged. Toffler (1990:365) sums this period up by elevating the debate to the final power struggle between the elite of the agrarian era and those of the incoming industrial era. This situation could again be prominent as the elite of the Second and Third Waves collide.

Technology came to play an important role in promoting the change to the industrial age. It was mostly a response to a population explosion which the agrarian society could not cope with. The environment in which all these events played out was also investigated. The technological components, according to Toffler (1980:27-35), was important as the technological changes led to new political empires such as those of Greece and Rome. The economic driving force saw the second pillar of Toffler's power triad, i.e. wealth being established in the First Wave. The final driving force which propelled man into the industrial age was the fiscal crises of the feudal structures. It was evident that the agrarian age lacked the organisation and structures to cope and a new political organisation was needed. Toffler and Toffler (1993:38-39) place the agricultural revolution as a hastening drive to political development which would culminate in the formation of the nation-state.

The nation-state revolutionaries systematically attacked the agrarian era by changing land tenure forms, implementing new ways and methods of taxation and lastly by revolutionising means of transportation. This resulted in the weakening and demise of the old social and political order of the First Wave (Migdal, 1988:56). The changes in the land tenure laws occurred virtually simultaneously in a number of countries around the globe. Migdal (1988:57) explains that it was as if "...in a flash government after government came to see the hidden potential of changing landholding rights". These changes were not limited to the Western world, but also occurred in South America (1850), East Asia (1850's), Mexico (1856), the Ottoman Empire (1858), British occupied India (1858), and Egypt (1858) among others. The changes brought about in the land tenure laws attacked the heart of the agrarian societies" (Migdal, 1988:57). By attacking the land tenure laws the power seekers of the second wave rendered the First Wave strategies of survival obsolete and shook the forms of social control to its foundation. Increased taxation, no longer received in kind but in cash, and improved transportation put pressure on the existing social control resulting in rapid universal transformation from the first wave to the Second Wave Civilization (Migdal, 1988:66-80).

The question remains: *why do people modify their behaviour and accept the changes in the rules of the game?* The answer to this question lies in the nature of the transformation. Migdal (1988:90) explains that mankind adjust better to incremental rather than radical change and where change is incremental people "...are willing to

change the rules when expected benefits of the new institutional arrangements outweigh expected costs". The evolutionary nature of incrementalism reduces the potential conflict and maintains the equilibrium within the system. Incrementalism, therefore, results in the preservation of the very essence of statecraft, i.e. the political system (Dye, 1992:34-36; Hanekom, 1987:84-85). The political component within a universal civilisation, holistically speaking, functions according to a code or laws and therefore change occurs slowly as environmental forces penetrate the embryonic parameters of society. Migdal (1988:90) explains that as these driving forces converge on the First Wave, incremental change precipitated *rapid institutional disintegration*.

The First Wave was now in a crisis, unable to deal with anomalies, as conceptualised by Kuhn (1962), placing pressure on the system. Anomalies such as changes in land tenure laws, taxation and transportation, the Thirty Years War, the Black Death, the expansion of the market economy, a series of revolts and civil wars and the birth of the nation - state fed at the heart of the social control within the First Wave Civilization. Migdal (1988:92) explains that only a "...severe crisis ...could induce people to abandon in droves tried and tested strategies for survival, even when those strategies demand unspeakable hardships. The weakening of society through the crumbling of social control has occurred broadly only at rare moments in history".

As violence or force, wealth and knowledge are the power tools of each civilizational wave, a fundamental change in the status of this power triad results in a new paradigm or new era coming into being. Violence was the main source of power during the whole First Wave Civilization. Toffler (1990:15) explains that social control and the social contract formulated within the confines of the First Wave and destined for the political dynamics of the nation-state, have their roots in the quantitative nature of power where, "... the shadow of violence and force embedded in the law, stands behind every act of government, and in the end every government relies on soldiers and police to enforce its will". One of the main disadvantages of using violence as a tool of power is its singular dimensional utility or function to punish. Violence based on power, therefore, is regarded as *low-quality power*. In the First Wave Civilization, Toffler (1990:41-42) concludes that in "...sum, the rise of the industrial nation-state brought the systematic monopolisation of violence, the sublimation of violence into law, and the growing dependence of the population on money".

CRITERIA	HISTORICAL COMPONENT
<i>Driving Forces</i>	<i>First Wave Civilization</i>
<i>Key Concepts</i>	<i>AGRARIAN</i>
<i>Symbol</i>	<i>Hoe</i>
<i>Power</i>	<i>Violence</i>
<i>Environment</i>	<i>Optimum utilisation</i> <i>Renewable energy</i> <i>Dependent</i>
<i>Technology</i>	<i>Writing skills</i> <i>Steam engines</i> <i>Guns</i> <i>Biological weapons</i>
<i>Economic</i>	<i>Subsistence</i> <i>Production and consumption fused</i> <i>Ecologically dependent</i> <i>Farmer</i>
<i>Social</i>	<i>Closed</i> <i>Undifferentiated</i> <i>Gemeinschaft</i> <i>Culture as survival</i> <i>Agri-reality</i>
<i>Political</i>	<i>Sub-national</i> <i>Decentralized</i> <i>Polity</i> <i>Local governance</i> <i>Parochial</i> <i>Roman Law</i>
<i>Administration</i>	<i>Family-based</i> <i>Top-down</i> <i>Traditional</i> <i>Force</i>
<i>Code</i>	<i>Decentralized</i> <i>Diversification</i> <i>Organic</i> <i>Unsynchronized</i> <i>De-concentrated</i> <i>De-massification</i>

Figure 3.1: The First Wave Civilization

Today we are on the brink of a new paradigmatic power shift, but before the discussion can move to this existing era, the next cumulative wave, which is the Second Wave Civilization, will have to be investigated.

CHAPTER 4

THE SECOND WAVE CIVILIZATION

The Analytical Component

The Establishment of the Nation-State

1. INTRODUCTION

Three hundred years ago an event occurred which shook the ancient agrarian society to its roots (Toffler, 1980:24). Toffler (1980:35) described it as a ***concussive shock wave*** which rolled across the earth at tremendous speed "...demolishing ancient societies and creating a whole new civilization". The event referred to was the Industrial Revolution. Toffler and Toffler (1993:8) explain that the Industrial Revolution triggered a Second Wave of change which would affect and transform the way millions would make a living and the way they would experience the new world in which they found themselves. Higgot (1983:xii) explains this as a cognitive shift with "...the transformation of thinking from essentially a religio-superstitious view of ***the way the world works*** to a view which emphasises the importance of science, technology and rationality". This transformation process brought with it a new wave and with it the emergence of a new kind of civilization. As the new industrial elite, created by the Industrial Revolution, gained power, they conquered the First Wave elite as well as the political order of the agrarian era and their tribal units (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:23). After the industrial elite had won the struggle for power in their own countries, the struggle for world power began. According to Toffler and Toffler (1993:8; 23), this struggle was to determine the shape of world affairs which remains a feature of the contemporary dispensation. This struggle brought change on a global scale, especially in the political arenas. Toffler and Toffler (1993:20) describe this wave movement not only in political terms, but from a holistic perspective of industrialisation as it spread across the globe, appearing simultaneously in one or more states.

For Toffler (1990:12-14), one of the most important elements of the transformation from the First Wave to the Second Wave was the alteration in the dynamics of the **power triad** where force was replaced by wealth as the epicentre within the confines of this triad. Lipson (1985:87) refers to the term **plutocracy**, which means **the power of wealth**, which can be used as a conceptualisation of this period.

As can be seen from the meta-theoretical framework set out in Chapter 2 in Figure 2.9, this chapter will explore the **analytical component** of Toffler's meta-theoretical framework. The **analytical component** of Toffler's historic-spatial model attempts to find answers to **meta-analytical** questions in light of the present problems concerning the nation-state. These include **how and why the nation-state was established, what the meaning of the nation-state is, what the current status of the nation-state is and what the key debates in the domain of the nation-state are?** (Readers are referred to the relevant sections of the meta-theoretical framework as discussed earlier).

Toffler's reasoning, which places the manner of wealth creation at the root of deep rooted change in society at all levels, sees industrialism as replacing the agrarian age. When the meaning of the nation-state is explored, the focus will fall on the driving forces on which scenario building depends, i.e. the environmental, technological, economic, social and political driving forces. It will be shown how the force vectors which originate in these areas contribute to the origin of the nation-state. Toffler's perspectives on these events will be prominent, but the contributions of other authors especially Weber, Marx, Easton, Fukuyama and Schwartz, are invaluable for the process of understanding Toffler's contributions pertaining to the origin, current status and key debates concerning the nation-state. As a clear picture forms of the structural composition of the nation-state vulnerable areas which will later face attack from Third Wave forces will emerge. This will serve as a response to the meta-analytical question in Chapter 2 Figure 2.9 regarding the current status of the nation-state. It will also highlight the key debate concerning the nation-state and its future.

From Toffler's (1980:59) perspective, as was the case with the First Wave, the Second Wave also contained a set of **hidden codes, principles or rules of the game**. This code was based on six basic principles which affected every aspect of life, whereby it became an inter-related process according to which the behaviour of most of the people

on the globe was programmed. These principles include: ***standardization, specialization, synchronization, concentration, maximization and centralization.*** ***Second Wave people defended these principles, but Third Wave people are in opposition to them (Toffler, 1980:60).*** These principles led to the deep entrenchment of bureaucracy and institutionalism. This took on global proportions as these revolutionary waves went crashing through the Second Wave Civilization. The nature and extent of these principles, contained in the blueprint of the Second Wave Civilization, will now be examined within the environmental, technological, economic, social and political components as driving forces (Toffler, 1980:59-74). These principles are applied especially to the dynamics of the nation-state. It is important to remember that Toffler's contributions regarding the nation-state are derived from the assumption that the systems analysis of the nation-state dynamics is well known and he has chosen to use an alternative heretical approach to explain the analytical component of the Second Wave. Toffler has explained the establishment of the nation-state in terms of the code of the Second Wave as mentioned above. As the Third Wave of change, with a new code, moves in, Toffler (1980:255) postulates a change in the Second Wave code which will hurl the nation-state into a crisis.

The environmental component is the first driving force to be analysed in the process leading to the establishment of the Second Wave Civilization and attempts to initiate the process in answering the first meta-analytic question i.e. ***how and why did the nation-state come about?***

2. THE ENVIRONMENTAL COMPONENT OF THE SECOND WAVE CIVILIZATION

As was previously stated, driving forces originate in the environment and can cause deep-rooted changes. An example here is science and technology. For Schwartz (1996:62), the environment "literally shapes the future". He reasons that scientific innovations, once released, cannot be retrieved, nor can their impact be legislated away.

Schwartz (1996:15) points out that the power of science has made the environment unpredictable. Science in the form of active knowledge invades and transforms the mass environment to such a degree that the very essence of mankind is changed. With the industrial age, mankind occupied an environment their forefathers would not have recognised (Toffler 1980:130). This became very evident with the onset of the industrial age. As its influences permeated mankind's environment, their mindset and how they perceived and experienced reality changed. The reaction of the broader society changed at such a deep level that a social paradigm shift was inevitable which resulted in a new belief system (Schwartz, 1996:66). As the Second Wave Civilization spread across the globe, the environment it permeated then diffused, creating a new reality in the social sphere of the industrial age. Added to this were new driving forces, emanating from the environment, bringing about a new way of perceiving reality. With industrialisation came a powerful global view to support and justify the new system of production. Toffler (1980:110) refers to this worldview of the industrial society as the *indust-reality*. He expands on this concept by referring to the *package of premises* which was a set of ideas used by scientists and philosophers, among others, to explain industrial reality to the Second Wave individual.

Toffler (1980:111) reasons that *indust-reality* was supported by three basic ideas. The *first premise* is centred in the exploitation of nature. Capitalists and socialists, although they disagreed about the division of the fruits of industrialism, exploited nature. Industrialists used up huge amounts of natural resources sometimes deforesting whole regions while factories, motor vehicles and power stations pumped huge volumes of poisonous gasses into the atmosphere. The main concern was about three kinds of gaseous affluent, i.e. carbon dioxide produced from fossil fuels such as coal and petrol in furnaces, power stations and motor vehicles, and sulphur dioxide caused by combustion with resulting impurities in these fuels, as well as and lastly ozone depletion gasses from aerosols. Carbon dioxide also trapped the sun's heat causing climatic changes, melting ice caps and altered agricultural patterns (Hall, 1992:122). By the late 20th century these problems had acquired a global dimension requiring a global solution.

The **second premise** focused on industrialism being fed into the Second Wave social environment. Through industrialism, civilisation had progressed to higher level in the evolutionary process of mankind. This mindset originated in the work of Charles Darwin and Toffler (1980:113) who regards this as cultural arrogance which rationalised imperialism in such a way that moral justification for the exploitation of underdeveloped non-industrial regions was manifested. From this mindset, non-industrial nations developed notions of inferiority.

The **final premise** feeding into the environment and forming the core belief of the **indust-reality** was the idea that history itself was evolving towards a good life for humanity. All three principles were eagerly supported by Marx, even if he bitterly criticised imperialism and capitalism. He even advocated that industrialism was "...the most advanced form of society" (Toffler, 1980:113). Supporting these views were thinkers such as Hegel, Kant, Leibniz, Darwin and Adam Smith. The environment of the industrial individual was therefore permeated by three key concepts, i.e. war with nature, evolution and the progress principle. Toffler (1980:113) reasoned that this formed the "...ammunition used by the agents of industry as they explained and justified it to the world". The Industrial individual used these elements and driving forces, which emanated from the environment of the industrial age, to create new images of reality and to mould their perception of the world around them.

The political environment evolved along the lines of the industrial premises set by the Second Wave. By the mid 19th century the environment in which mankind functioned was neatly cleavaged into two sharply divided spectrums, namely clearly defined left and right wing dimensions. After World War II doctrinal lines became sharply drawn between two camps as the USA and Soviet Union entered into the Cold War. Each side spent huge amounts of money to spread their respective doctrines and ideologies to non-industrial nations. For Toffler (1980:111), even if both sides supported different ideologies, political dogma and propaganda, their super-ideology was the same as they both "...preached the superiority of industrialism ... [and both were]...passionate apostles of **indust-reality**".

When managing natural resources the main problem is, especially since the Second Wave utilised non-replaceable energy resources, the scarcity of resources. An evaluation technique, the *contingent valuation technique*, was developed to determine "...what people would be willing to pay to conserve an environmental resource in its natural state" (Schwella et al, 1996:296). Societal debates and conflicts will arise from time to time especially about industrial development and its effect on the environment. Such societal conflicts could lead to a demand from environmentally sensitive individuals for an environmental impact assessment, which Fuggle (1992:764) defines as a "...administrative or regulatory process by which the environmental impact of a project is determined".

The governance of the social formation of the Second Wave Civilization forms the environment's political component. Public managers need to assess the non-static environment which forms the parameters in which they are given the leverage to govern. Within the environmental political component, the public manager has to assess political ideologies, ideas and philosophies penetrating the environment within which they have to operate. The public manager, however, cannot function within a micro national environment alone. International political and economic structures, such as the United Nations, The African Union and The European Union, among others, need to be analysed by public managers as part of a macro environment. A holistic view of the environment is needed to identify trends and for public managers then to act accordingly (Schwella et al, 1996:19).

The driving forces, i.e. environment, technology, economics, social and politics forces, which literally shape the future, originate in the environment. These driving forces brought about a new phenomenological dimension to the industrial Second Wave society, i.e. *indust-reality*. The industrial Second Wave utilised non-replaceable energy resources which consequently had a devastating effect on the environment. The use of weapons of mass destruction had ecologically disastrous consequences. The environment is the regulator of the driving forces such as politics, economics, technological and social components of the civilizational wave as featured within the historic-spatial existence of the evolutionary process of mankind. The environment is like the rudders of a boat steering it in a certain direction but influenced by the currents (driving forces) of the water. The technological component is one of the driving forces

which originate from the environment. Science and technology played a leading role in shaping, influencing and harbouring influential forces which formed the background and environment from which the nation-state emerged. The technological component will be discussed in the next section as an important driving force in the environment in which the nation-state became established.

3. THE TECHNOLOGICAL COMPONENT OF THE SECOND WAVE CIVILIZATION

Toffler and Toffler (1993:8; 44) designate industrialisation as causing the onset of the Second Wave Civilization 300 years ago. It was within the realms of technology that the Second Wave received what Toffler (1980:40) refers to as its defining stamp. Technology drove the mode of production which in turn led to the Second Wave political unit which was the nation-state. Second Wave technology produced goods too large for the local market. This in turn led to a consolidated single national economy which in turn needed a single national political structure.

Within the industrial era technology involved a mechanical approach to the manufacturing and distribution of services and goods (Schwella et al, 1996:20). Technology has been conceptualised by Robbins (1990:176) as the "...information, equipment, techniques and processes required to transform organisational inputs into outputs". Toffler (1980:41) expands on this conceptualisation by highlighting three subsystems, i.e. energy, production and distribution contained in a more encompassing system he calls the *techno-sphere*.

To understand the energy sub-system of the Second Wave the nature and extent of transformation from the agrarian First Wave must be understood. The Second Wave technology used irreplaceable energy sources such as coal, gas, and oil from fossil fuel unlike the energy slaves such as human resources, animals and natural resources (sun, water and wind) utilised in the First Wave. The Second Wave industrial era also transformed the social infrastructures such as roads, railways, canals and "...places of trade" like the first department stores. An undisputed power shift had therefore taken place from the agricultural *techno-sphere* to an industrial *techno-sphere* (Toffler, 1980:38-41).

Gigantic technological advances using these irreplaceable fossil fuels initiated the industrial revolution. For Gilpin (1975:67) a "...cluster of technological breakthroughs" launched the Industrial Revolution and placed Great Britain at the nucleus of the world economy". The greatest innovations occurred in the field of steam-power, textiles and metallurgy which was later followed by giant innovations in industry such as electricity, chemicals and steel. First Wave technology such as catapults, levers, winchers and hoists were invented to accommodate human and animal resources. Second Wave technology, on the other hand, went further than augmenting muscles, it was pushed to new levels with the invention of giant electromechanical machines which, Toffler (1980:40) explains, could "...hear, see and touch with greater accuracy and precision than human beings". Devices such as electromechanical machines formed interconnected systems in a single location, creating factories and assembly lines which mass produced goods.

With the advent of mass production and assembly lines, Toffler and Toffler (1993:47) also refer to *industrial death* when they note the change in warfare as the industrial era was launched. During the French Revolution, war itself changed dramatically. As seen in the context of the revolution, the French had invented *total war* which Hobsbawm (1996:34) explains as "...the mobilisation of a nation's resources through conscription, rationing and rigidly controlled war, economy, and virtual abolition, at home and abroad, of the distinction between soldiers and civilians". The distinction between soldiers and civilians was not made in the First Wave and the Marxists viewed primitive man fighting a life and death struggle with nature. According to Toffler (1980:112) with the rise of an industrial era, a transformation occurred with the creation of a class society in which he postulates that the war of "...man against nature, was unfortunately transformed into a war of man against man". As the Second Wave Civilization arose to challenge the First Wave, a total military revolution occurred where, according to Toffler and Toffler (1993:37), one example of a military aspect to flow from the First Wave into the Second Wave was the separation of soldier and civilian and the emergence of an officer-ship. Prior to the 1800's a professional officer's corps did not exist. Another innovation of man dating from this period was the invention of artillery.

Toffler and Toffler (1993:79) yet again direct our attention to the prime criteria governing warfare by stating that there is a connection between the way we make war and the way we make wealth. With mass production came mass destruction. The *machine age* gave birth to the machine gun and other revolutionary kinds of firepower, thereby heralding in the age of mechanised warfare where absolute war and mass destruction became the true aim of war. The stage was set for a civilization which for Toffler and Toffler (1993:20) was a "...civilization of war and weapons". The Nazi mass murder of 6 million Jews occurring in *true factory style*, the atomic bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima and the threat of global destruction during the cold war reached unparalleled levels of mass destruction (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:47). The idea of an entire nation at war coupled to the mass armies of the nation-state is for Toffler and Toffler (1993:44; 45) the mark which speaks of the crises of the agrarian regime and the rise of the industrial age. As the Second Wave Civilization rolled over Europe and spread to the rest of the globe, extensive changes occurred in society and as Toffler and Toffler (1993:20) explain, a transformation of this nature does not manifest itself without conflict. Global upheaval was therefore unavoidable. The visible manifestation of this social conflict was extensive war, which for the first time in the history of mankind, occurred on a global scale such as had never before been experienced. During the Second Wave, the national governments of the nation-state held what Toffler and Toffler (1993:299) refer to as the *monopoly of violence*, but this idea is seriously challenged as we approach the Third Wave. The idea that the national governments are the only forces which can mobilise and muster a military force is now obsolete. With the strike force of the nation-state being challenged from military units which are not subject to central government control, there is a serious challenge to the future of the nation-state (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:299). Among these threatening the nation-state are drug cartels, ethnic and religious fundamental units, as was the case in Bosnia, the Middle East, Kosovo, Chechnya, Tajikistan, India, Sudan and Nigeria (Huntington, 2002:8). The whole concept of war, violence and conflict within the Third Wave Civilization will have to be redefined. Beaufrè (1974:1) explains this by stating that "...these new types of conflict will be so different from the old type that their basic form will follow principles quite alien to those which have governed warfare for several centuries. It is this revolution which must be understood". If warfare is practised within an old paradigm using the tools or weapons of the new paradigm, only disaster will follow. The latest attack on the Twin Towers in New York highlighted the use of new weapons such as chemical and biological attacks which caught the U.S. government

and its citizens by surprise. The decentralised network of Osama Bin Laden has cells in approximately 40 countries ready for a synchronised attack on the non-Muslim world (Huntington, 2002:9). For Toffler and Toffler (1993:43) "...every revolution in the system for creating wealth triggered a corresponding revolution in the system for making war". The basis for this transformation is firmly rooted in the innovations brought about by changes in science and technology.

Gilpin (1981:125) reasons that the two main factors to contribute to gaining power and wealth are economical efficiency and technological advance. In contrast to agriculture forming the basis for wealth and power in the agrarian age, productive technology formed the basis of wealth and power in the industrial age. Technology was one of the most powerful driving forces to launch the industrial era. Toffler theorises that a process that had been in progress for thousands of years suddenly changed as a result of, amongst other factors, advancement in technology. Thurow (1996:7) borrowed the phrase punctuated equilibrium from the evolutionary biologists to describe events that occurred with the onset of the Second Wave. The most powerful force which caused this disequilibrium was military innovations such as the crossbow, longbow, pike and gunpowder. The feudal lords lacked funds to support this technological innovation and a fiscal crisis resulted. Schumpeter (1954:14) cited that the consequential mounting costs and inadequate tax systems of the feudal government, which was based on agrarian structures, could not meet these costs and resulted in a fiscal crisis. New economic and political structures were needed and were generated as the industrial era became entrenched within the Second Wave Civilization. As the innovators of the railway system spread to Europe, continental powers such as those of Germany, the USSR and the USA developed. In the modern era, American industrial and economic hegemony was founded on advanced technology especially in the fields of electronics, petrochemicals and automobiles.

Gilpin (1981:125) regards technology as an important driving force which influences global power and which-ever global actor breaks through the present technological slump will become the "...technological innovators and global power of the future". He proves this hypothesis by indicating that during the industrial revolution, power and wealth were gained through the efficiency of the economy and the advancement of technology. The question then inevitably proceeds to the dilemma of technological

restriction such as nuclear power and its possible exploitation for political ends. This greatly affected the war potential of countries especially that of the superpowers. In Toffler and Toffler's (1993:48) view, Clausewitz's writings focused on war as a continuance of politics and the military "...as an instrument of political policy" resulting in his famous work *Absolute War (Fom Kriege)*. The war of the industrial age had reached its ultimate limits with one of the biggest and most violent events occurring *intra-industrial* where Second Wave countries such as Britain and Germany pursued world domination.

At the heart of the industrial age is the machine which was mainly housed in factories. Toffler (1980:40; 41) ties Henry Ford into giant factories, assembly lines as well as manufacture and distribution. *Fordism* was a term which offered an explanation for the economic, cultural and political transformation which occurred as the nation-state became operational. By contrast, *post-Fordism* can be seen as a term offering an explanation for the phenomena emerging in the Third Wave, such as decentralization and social fragmentation which will find expression in political fragmentation (Heywood, 1997:180). This political fragmentation can be seen as one of the factors which contributed to the crises of the nation-state. Parallel to the crises of the nation-state is the crisis in *Fordism*. At the centre of the crisis Hall et al, (1992:7) has placed labour and the shift from people manning the machines to those functioning in a, knowledge based, mode of production which is driven by the computer. This shifts the mode of production to *modes of information* and the people who operate these modes of information he classes as *knowledge workers*. The Cartesian manufacturing process of the Second Wave occurred in factories with the use of assembly lines. For Toffler, Henry Ford promoted the factory to mammoth heights. The Second Wave factories were centred in massification (mass production) and centralisation. These two principles formed the foundational character of all industry, social life and politics thereby reflecting the mechanised character of the Second Wave Civilization.

Mass production technology, having established its roots in *Fordism* (a concept formulated by Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci in the 1930's), has structural limitations. Before examining the causal nature of the crisis of *Fordism* and industrialism, its nature and extent needs to be placed in perspective.

Under the broad conceptualisation of the term **Fordism** a few features have been highlighted (Hall, 1992:184-185):

- ◆ The combination of standardised parts, special purpose machinery, the fragmentation of labour skills, and the moving assembly line.
- ◆ Economies of scale reaped through large-scale mass production.
- ◆ Long runs of standardised goods linked to a system of protected national markets.
- ◆ A concentration of highly paid, semi-skilled **mass workers** in large factories.
- ◆ A hierarchical, bureaucratic form of work organisation, characterised by a centralised management.
- ◆ State management of the national economy through a range of policies which regulated levels of income, demand and welfare.
- ◆ And finally, and most importantly, the link between mass production and mass consumption that enabled the whole process to reproduce itself.

It should be noted that the underlying features of **Fordism** may be correlated with the underlying principles of the Second Wave code such as standardisation, concentration, centralisation, amongst others (Toffler, 1980:59-74). It is clear that there is a correlation between technological advances and the advent of the nation-state. Society was fascinated by technology and even Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were inventors as well as political revolutionaries (Toffler, 1980:85). The analogy of the machine even extended to economics which was referred to as a system and politics as a machine, namely, the machine of government. This mechanistic view extended to all spheres of life. Toffler (1980:85) concludes that the "...revolutionary founders of the Second Wave societies invented political institutions" which reflected the mechanistic characteristics of the "...early industrial Machine" (Toffler, 1980:85). The turning point of the Second Wave occurred in about 1955; as industrialism and **Fordism** entered a decaying phase which Toffler (1980:28) explains was the beginning of the Third Wave.

The decline of **Fordism** within the industrial Second Wave took root in the late 1960's with the role of computerised information. It was out of this crisis where the early Marxist jargon of **modes of production** shifted to the **modes of information**, where **material production** shifted to a **knowledge-based economy** and the use of a **manual labourer** shifted to the use of a **knowledge worker** (administrators, designers,

marketers, etc.). The root cause of the structural crisis of **Fordism** therefore lay in the **Fordist labour process** (Hall, 1992:7, 184-187). The structures of mass production technology had a dehumanising influence on the worker, resulting in minimal social interaction and a general alienation of the employee from the complexities of the task to be completed. This environment might have suited the blue collar worker, but it was a dysfunctional environment for the **knowledge worker** (Bendix, 2001:510-511). During the industrial era, both private and public managers were conditioned bureaucrats using catchphrases such as **standardisation, bureaucracy, administration, control, centralisation, single issue, and hierarchical**, among others, in their traditional methods of planning. With the shift to a post-industrial era, the private and public manager was no longer entrenched in the **power of the office** and **driven by the desk** but was now a **revocrat**, meaning driven by the **power of change**. The Third Wave **revocrats** use catch phrases such as **openness, transformation, leadership, diversity, change, multiple issues, non-hierarchical, and community orientated**, among others when focussing on the dynamics of strategic planning (Human, 1998:73-84; Van Niekerk et al, 2001:245-252). The organisational transition from **industrialism** to **informationalism** brought with it a series of technological and scientific innovations such as the discovery of the transistor (1947), the integrated circuit (1957), the microprocessor (1971) and other innovations in the field of microelectronics. The core focus of the **new technological paradigm** of the post-industrial era was based on information processing. This **new technological paradigm** will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter (Castells, 1989:12-15, 17-19, 28-32).

In conclusion the industrial **techno-sphere** of the Second Wave was based on the invention of the machine. Technological innovations required the use of irreplaceable fossil fuels. The machine age also resulted in the machine gun and mechanised warfare. Mechanised warfare required a professional officer's corps and a national defence force which monopolised violence. Toffler reasons that better means of tax collection funded the national defence force which in turn could provide better protection to the nation-state and its citizens, thereby realising the fundamental nature of the social contract. Productive technology formed the basis of wealth and power during the industrial age. Mass destruction and mass production were both firmly based on the **techno-sphere**. Mass production technology has its roots in **Fordism**, which promoted standardisation, centralisation and concentration, amongst others, and required mass blue collar workers.

Fordism shifted into a process of decay from 1955 when the focus then shifted from production to information. This shift meant a shift from material based production to a knowledge based economy and from a blue collar worker to a knowledge worker. Due to the enkapitic relationship of the driving forces of each wave, mass destruction, mass production and mass governance are key features of the Second Wave. Toffler sums up the technological driving force by referring to it as the defining stamp of the industrial revolution. This was especially true since it drove the mode of production which led to simultaneous changes in the economic component of the Second Wave. The economic component of the industrial Second Wave civilisation will now be discussed.

4. THE ECONOMIC COMPONENT OF THE SECOND WAVE CIVILIZATION

The economic component of this chapter is vitally important as it highlights Toffler's (1990:11) thesis of the wealth creation system determining a related political system. This section will also highlight Toffler's support for the views of theorists such as Marx, Weber and Feurbach. The economic component is in itself multi-faceted by nature. The allocation of scarce resources to various economic actors competing in a matrix environment, the kind of economic models governments choose as they come into power, economic philosophies, ideologies and ideas, all lay the foundation for international economic processes and structures. The Second Wave economic structures saw the rise of national and international institutions which influenced and regulated the economic component. These institutions included the national central banks, the Bretton Woods Institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation (Schwella et al, 1996:19-20). Depending on the influence of the underlying abstract factors mentioned above, the ideology of the ruling elite created a national economic component with definite features emanating from these decisions (Bendex, 2001:28-30). Despite the variation of the micro economic decisions of national decision-makers, Toffler's (1980) thesis is formulated around a macro monolithic code underlying the Second Wave economic component. This section will attempt to highlight Toffler's economic historical reconstruction of the Second Wave Civilization.

As previously explained, Toffler's Marxist background has resulted in an economic historical reconstruction based on economic determinism. For Marxists, it is **economic laws** which are the driving force propelling history forward (Heywood, 1997:51). This view is complemented by Weber (1968:1092) who suggests that the economy is a constant in the "...development of strong, centralised patrimonial bureaucracies..." which may not be overlooked. This philosophy is, according to Engels, based on a materialistic concept of history which holds forth the importance of economic life. It also offers a thought process in which the economic component, or as Marx conceptualises, it the **modes of production**, determines ideologies and political superstructures. From this economic component evolved two rival economic philosophies, i.e. capitalism and socialism. It even structured the political spectrum taking the form of right wing capitalism to left wing socialism with both consisting of doctrines resulting in strong independent ideologies. For two hundred years the fundamental clash between these two rival economic models strongly influenced national decision-makers as well as the international political spectrum. The choice of the economic model and the consequent distribution of wealth still shaped the nature of state power (Heywood, 1997:166, 184). Toffler's (1990:11) premise, centred on new systems of wealth creation leading to transformed social structures and a corresponding new political order, complemented Baradat's (1979:154) views as attention is drawn to Feurbach's teachings which postulate that every aspect of our lives is "...determined by our economic circumstances". Toffler (1990:11) expands on this school of thought, suggesting that even global power structures change with the paradigm shift from one economic order to the next.

In the **primitive** structures of the First Wave there was a fusion between the concepts production and consumption. With the Second Wave in its embryonic phase new needs arose within the economic sector where the union of production and consumption was split and became separate entities. The result of this split was that the products produced were now destined for the market where trade or exchange would take place. As Toffler (1980:54) points out, "...whenever producer and consumer are divorced, some mechanism is needed to mediate between them. This mechanism, whatever its form, is what I call the market". Instead of the decentralised subsistence economy of the agrarian First Wave Toffler (1980:53) places the market of the Second Wave at the vortex of existence. The economy had now changed and had become marketised.

What is significant about the change in the economic order is that within the parameters of the agrarian First Wave, individuals functioned within a *closed system* with hardly any inputs from the environment. As the environmental factors slowly penetrated the boundaries of an order, previously known to operate independently, a process of decay ensued. The fractured parts of the agrarian First Wave Civilization needed to be synergised into a new order to provide for progressive individual needs. The interaction with environmental factors resulted in the creation of an *open system* and the synergising process commencing with a new institution, i.e. *the market* (Popper 1945; Schwella et al, 1996:13, 14). Instead of the localisation of markets within the Agrarian civilisation, the progressive modernisers and builders of the Second Wave expanded the economy to a national centralised level by creating national markets. The split of the producer and the consumer also created a psychological frame of mind, which Toffler (1980:68) refers to as *macrophilia*, which is a state of infatuation with growth and bigness. *Macrophilia* will be discussed in depth in the political component of the Second Wave.

Toffler and Toffler's (1993:295) central idea is that the way we make money is synonymous with the way we govern ourselves and that the modernisers and builders of the national economy gave birth to what is presently known as the nation-state. Tax collection was rationalised by providing national governments with large funds. For the first time the population was linked with mass transport and mass communication components which filled the populace's psyche with mass nationalistic propaganda pumped out by the national mass media. The market became the centre of life which Toffler (1990:53) and Toffler (1980:53) describe as a nationalised economy with people being drawn into the monetary system. As commercial values became centralised, economic growth became the main goal of governments. During the 16th century gold and silver flowed into Europe and the money supply led to the economy becoming monetarised. The main aim of the state then was to collect bullion. As the market extended, the traditional structures gave way to more complex structures larger in scale; this was especially seen in the increase in military power, to an extent never seen before (Gilpin, 1981:131). Industrialisation had given the modern nation-state an effective means of collecting taxes while roads and communications had improved dramatically (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:47). Tax collection was rationalised, providing national governments with legal funds (Thurow, 1996:7-8). The monetarised economy and the

rise of the nation-state together gave the West the power to conquer earlier civilizations. As the market economy spread through Europe, states mobilised their resources and their growth and power increased resulting in super-structures. As the industrialisation of the Second Wave took root, where fields once stood, **smokestacks** penetrated the skies and factories, which Toffler (1990:10) refers to as **dark satanic mills**. This brought about a totally new way of life as well as a new system of power. In the First Wave, violence was the primary source of power, however, the power shift to the Second Wave saw money as the central source of power.

Goldenhagen (1996:165) suggests that the synchronisation of the Second Wave driving forces sets the standard for the way we make money, war or govern ourselves. An example of this is Hitler's Third Reich where ethnic cleansing campaigns took on Second Wave proportions (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:2; Goldenhagen, 1996:165). This ethnic cleansing process, Goldenhagen (1996:10, 165) explains, resembled production factories, describes the executions as **assembly line killings** and states that the "...belief exists that somehow only technology made horror on this scale possible. It is believed that the Germans slaughtered Jews by and largely in the gas chambers and that without gas chambers, modern means of transportation, and efficient bureaucracies, the Germans would have been unable to kill millions of Jews". According to Toffler and Toffler (1993:44) the Second Wave of change affected the way millions of people not only earned a living, but also the very foundations and structures of human life itself.

The change in the **mode of production**, with the use of iron, steel and textiles, as well as a change in the source of power, such as steam and combustion engines, was in itself a revolution. The start of the Industrial Revolution can be traced to Britain with their vast un-renewable resources of coal, iron ore, tin and copper. By 1861, England was producing 57 million tons of coal (Adams et al., 1986:162). At this time the first patent law was created and a concept of intellectual property fired entrepreneurs to lodge new inventions. Britain's defeat of the French empires of North America and India opened up large overseas markets for England's industrial and other merchandised manufactured goods. By 1870, the Industrial Revolution had spread to other parts of Europe. With the invention of the steam engines, huge amounts of capital equipment was centralised in a single location, and economies of scale emerged. Central to these mechanical productive powers was capital. The power was no longer with those who owned the

land, but with those who controlled the industry. Not land but mechanical energy now became the strategic ingredient to capitalism (Adams et al., 1986:162; Thurow, 1996:10-11).

To explain the transition from the agrarian era, based on divine doctrine, to the industrial era, based on the ideologies of capitalism, Bendix (2001:30-31) explains that capital refers to "...the materials that are necessary for production, trade and commerce. It consists of all tools, equipment, factories, raw materials and goods in the process, means of transporting goods and money. The essence of the capitalist system is said to be the existence of a class of capitalists who own the capitalist stock". This transition, as characteristic of our contemporary situation, involved the problem of increasing unemployment. This condition led to the implementation of the *Poor Laws* and the birth of what is currently known as the Welfare state. With the birth of the *sovereign individual* philosophers such as Hobbes, Locke and Bernard Mandeville encouraged the creation of an order where the individual was free to pursue their own interests. Adam Smith's work, *The Wealth of Nations*, in 1776, expanded on this and justified the capitalistic order by suggesting that to accommodate the *sovereign individual*, there should be a free market system to regulate the economy and to achieve this, a *Laissez-faire* approach is needed. This line of thought was, however, criticised by workers and thinkers such as Gracchus Baboeuf, Henri Saint-Simon, Pierre Joseph Proudhon and Karl Marx. As the twentieth first century dawned upon mankind, the *Fordist* industrial era was in a crisis, highlighting once again the critique against capitalism, with new technological innovations, increasing unemployment and the widening gap between the *haves* and the *have nots* (Bendix, 2001:30-39).

Toffler (1990:11) points out that with the increase of steam engines and *smokestacks* being followed by large political changes, a new political order was introduced into the Second Wave Industrial Civilization. The economic deterministic view, highlighted throughout Toffler's work, resulted in his suggestion that with the mass production of the *Fordist* era came a complementary political order: *mass democracy*. Toffler (1980:94) expands on this by stating that the nation-state is a Second Wave phenomenon which consists of a "...a single integrated political authority superimposed on or fused with a single integrated economy."

In conclusion: the Second Wave economy was based on the split between the consumer and the producer. The national market was created to act as a mediating mechanism between the two entities. With national economies come nationalism and the nation-state. The central idea of Toffler (1993:295) is that in the Second Wave, the way money was made was synonymous with the way the Second Wave was governed. The rise of the centralised banks led to the nation-state's monopoly of money. *Macrophilia* led to huge centralised production plants (factories). With the mass production of the *Fordist* era came mass democracy. Toffler's economic deterministic approach emphasises the two ideologies evolving from the Second Wave modes of production, i.e. right wing capitalism and left wing socialism. The clash between these two rival economic models strongly influenced national decision-makers as well as the international political spectrum. The economic component of the Second Wave was, therefore, characterised by the enkapitic relationship of a single integrated political order, a single integrated economic order, and a single integrated, differentiated society (*gesellschaft*). The social component of the Industrial Second Wave civilisation will now be discussed.

5. THE SOCIAL COMPONENT OF THE SECOND WAVE CIVILIZATION

During the Agrarian era of the First Wave, most people of the agricultural society were peasants living in isolated *closed* communities. Their aspects of reality were limited by the excommunication or lack of *inputs* from the external environment. The agrarian individual was unaware of the pending changes in the environment which would abruptly change the agrarian world as they knew it and herald in a new Second Wave Civilization. When a civilization changes, the structures of society change dramatically. Toffler and Toffler (1993:22) referred to these changes as the full development of "...what we came to call modernity, i.e. the mass industrial society" which would become the core of the Second Wave Civilization.

With the onset of the industrial Second Wave Civilization, bloody battles broke out between the industrialised elite and the agrarian landowners of which the church was the greatest landowner. The conflict between the industrial elite and agrarian landowners gained momentum as a middle class, consisting of people such as lawyers, teachers, merchants and such, developed resistance against the rural aristocracy. The rise of the

Industrial Revolution increased the power in the cities and resulted in the mobilization of the rural population in opposition to the emerging industrial elite (Huntington, 1968:73-74 and Duvenhage, 1989:73-78). This turmoil took the form of rebellions, strikes, civil insurrections, and border disputes. In most countries, these industrial versus the agrarian conflicts became what are known as master conflicts. The conflict which erupted as the waves clashed extended to personal, political and international conflict areas. For Toffler and Toffler (1993:22), civil war was the visible manifestation of the conflict which resulted as the Second Wave permeated and engulfed the First Wave. In America, the industrial north vanquished the agrarian south in a bloody civil war. First Wave agrarian traditionalists were also defeated during the Meiji revolution in Japan; the French peasants storming the Bastille in France; the Anglo Boer War in South Africa and the Czar's feudal Russia (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:22; Heywood, 1997:26). This uprising was also known as the green uprising. In the ensuing conflict the rural agrarian forces displayed strong fundamentalist tendencies where traditional values played a big role. The opposing forces of modernisation were mainly centred in industrialisation but also included political centralisation with a decrease in tradition, specialised and differentiated political institutions which encouraged public participation. The expansion of this political system to include the agrarian rural society promoted political stability and political development was possible (Kotze and Van Wyk, 1986:99 and Duvenhage, 1989:73). Ultimately the industrial elite won the struggle for world power (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:22-23; 45).

With industrialisation, the emphasis on wealth took precedence within Toffler's (1990:14) power triad. Lipson (1985:87) refers to this phenomenon as *plutocracy* which means the *power of wealth*. Toffler (1990:11) reasons that as the wealth creation structures shifted, there were "...gigantic shifts in global power structures".

Before the Industrial Revolution, illiteracy drove peasants to depend on the dogmas of the church or the tales told by travellers or even legends to form their images of phenomena or events. Whereas the social control of the agrarian age was centred in the hands of the church, the industrial age launched a revolutionary change in the cognitive reality of the industrial society. Higgot (1983: xii) reasons that this cognitive shift transformed thinking from religio-superstitions to the importance of science, technology and rationality. Another revolutionary social change to occur was in the realms of

organised religion. Toffler (1980:93) observes that the psychological horizons of man gradually expanded. Toffler (1990:12) centres his argument on Francis Bacon's saying that *knowledge is power*. Agrarian organised religion consisted of the religious elite, who had a monopoly on the "...production and distribution of knowledge before the Enlightenment or the birth of Western democracy". They controlled knowledge. With the onset of the Second Wave, a clash resulted in what Toffler (1990:365) refers to as "...secular forces that fought for industrial modernisation and mass democracy". The secular forces of the industrial era ultimately greatly subdued and weakened the hold organised religion had on communication, knowledge, society, the state and politics. Jackson (1997:35) reasons that man became liberated from the medieval *Republica Christiana* order and the *moral inhibitions* it imposed on society. This paradigm shift and power shift laid the foundations of the international society which is central to the political matrix of the contemporary global order. Van Creveld (1991:139) recalls that the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) was the first treaty in which God did not feature.

The onset of the industrial age had smashed the communication network of the First Wave Civilization. Mass production factories needed to move massive amounts of information which the First Wave channels were not equipped to handle. Huge technological innovations moving mass manufactured data to millions of consumers formed the basic principles of the factories of the industrial age (Toffler, 1980:47-49). A need arose not only to revolutionise the communications network of the First Wave but to recreate it. To project the images the enlightened individual had of the phenomena or events within the Second Wave Civilization, the church, which had been influential in advancing the image man had of his environment, was dethroned and was replaced by a powerful medium, *the media*. The social changes brought about by the media were radical and deeply affected the psychological perceptions people had of the world. Toffler and Toffler (1993:226) expand on this phenomenal power and state: "The new media changed not merely reality, but even more important, our perception of it". The media then, on a larger scale, was indeed a powerful tool for mobilizing society. Toffler (1980:94) explains that under the influence and impact of the media agrarian localism faded and as the nation-state became entrenched, national consciousness surfaced. The mass media of the Second Wave, however, wore the cloak of propaganda. The statesmen of the Second Wave, such as Smuts, Hitler, Kennedy, Reagan, Bush and revolutionaries such as Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden, among others, uses

propaganda as a technique to mobilise the masses and secure their powerbases. Toffler and Toffler's (1993:192) arguments about the future of the nation-state include the influence of propaganda and the media which they reason is about to play a politically explosive role in the new century especially with regards to politics and warfare.

Toffler and Toffler (1993:218) identify six tools used in propaganda and refer to these tools as "...wrenches designed to twist the mind". These six tools, as identified by Toffler and Toffler (1993:218-220) are as follows:

- ◆ **Atrocity accusations: both true and false atrocity stories have been a staple of war propaganda.** On the 9-10 November 1938 Third Reich propaganda minister, Joseph Goebbels, orchestrated the notorious *Kristallnacht*, a night of terror, in which Germans killed 100 Jews, sent 30000 Jews to concentration camps and demolished 7500 Jewish businesses. Goebbels had accused a Jew of killing a German diplomat, thereby justifying *Kristallnacht* (Goldenhagen, 1996:99-101). A contemporary example would be the September 11 2001 attack on the Twin Towers in New York, where Osama Bin Laden has been accused of being the master mind of the attack. Morrow (2001:50) explains that America justifies its attack on Afghanistan by stating that, "...if what happened on Tuesday does not give Americans the political will needed to exterminate men like Osama Bin Laden and those who conspire with them in evil mischief, then nothing ever will and we are in for a procession of black Tuesdays".
- ◆ **Inflation of the strikes:** For President Bush (sr)., the Gulf war would ensure a better world order; for Saddam Hussein, it was the questionable future of the entire Arab world and for Osama Bin Laden, his hatred for the U.S.A. was increased when in 1990 they invaded his homeland during a clash with Saddam Hussein. Osama Bin Laden regarded this invasion as a desecration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday/place (Beyer, 2001:58).
- ◆ **Demonisation and/or dehumanisation of the opponent:** In the Gulf War America was *the Great Satan*, Bush was the *Devil in the White House* and for Bush (sr)., Saddam Hussein was *Hitler*. U.S. officials regard Bin Laden as evil and guilty of "...the worst single massacres of civilians since Hitler's camps were shut down" (Beyer, 2001:58).

- ◆ **Polarisation: Those who are not with us are against us.** Bin Laden's al Qaeda network use very little electronic communications and operates in countries where the police and intelligence services are inadequate and where Bin Laden's propaganda has left them incorruptible to the U.S. **spooks** or intelligence agents. This has resulted in the C.I.A. being unable to penetrate previous terrorist groups. The only way to penetrate the Taliban was to demand the assistance of Mahmoud Ahmad, head of the Pakistani Inter-service Intelligence department, by Richard Armitage, U.S. Deputy Secretary of state, who told Ahmad "You're either 100% with us or 100% against us" (Elliot, 2001:52; Mc Allister, 2001:52).
- ◆ **Claim to divine sanctions:** As Hussein and Bin Laden draped their aggression in **Islamic Garb**, Bin Laden is recorded as saying that "...being killed for Allah's cause is a great honour achieved by only those who are the elite of the nation" (Beyer, 2001:62).
- ◆ **Meta-propaganda: The most powerful mind wrench of all propaganda.** It questions any input made by the enemy. In the words of Bin Laden, "...our work targets world infidels. Our enemy is the crusader alliance led by America, Britain and Israel. It is a crusader - Jewish alliance" (Beyer, 2001:62).

Each of these six criteria had as its ultimate aim the exploitation of the media in a quest to sway the mass emotions of a mass society (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:221). The media, in all three waves, are seen by Toffler as a tool which can be utilized by the Second Wave against the First Wave and by comparison, the incoming Third Wave against the Second Wave. In all cases it can be argued that the media is a tool which can be used to gain social control which can then be deployed to mobilise the masses.

The shift from the church to the media as a medium of communication also resulted in a shift away from God and religion to a **Renaissance Humanism** which placed man at the centre of a differentiated society within the unilateral civilisation. It was within this paradigm shift that the **sovereign individual** was born. This rational being would have to question the information conveyed by the media. Renè Descartes' watchword **Cogito, ergo sum** or **I think, therefore I am** portrayed the new role of the **sovereign individual**. It was the break with the church and the rise of the **sovereign individual** that jumpstarted the engine which set in motion the whole system of the modern era (Hall, 1992:281-283).

This *sovereign individual*, however, was totally intellectually free and as Toffler (1980:43-45) explains, education was a very important phase in the brainwashing or classical conditioning of the Second Wave individual to conform to the civilizational code or *rules of the game*. While educating the youths there was a dualistic curriculum which was typical of the development of the Second Wave individual. Firstly, there was an *overt curriculum* which consisted of general orientation including reading, writing, mathematics and others. Secondly, there was a *covert curriculum* which conditioned the individual from a young age to be punctual, obedient and to do repetitive work. Toffler (1980:42) here refers to a person's *socio-sphere* which is a "...new form of social organization". This is where the Second Wave individual experienced his/her *socio-sphere* as a movement from the nuclear family to the factory style school to giant corporations. From these main organisations various others emerged, such as libraries, political parties and trade unions, among others, which adapted "...many characteristics of the factory, its division of labour, its hierarchical structure and its metallic impersonality" (Toffler, 1980:45). The education system was also used by various statesmen and revolutionaries to influence or condition the way youths experienced certain aspects of the reality they were learning to analyse. Alfons Heck, a former Hitler youth, recalls a subject, *racial science*, which was built into their curricula to familiarise the German youth about Nazi propaganda (Goldenhagen, 1996:609). While studying engineering Osama Bin Laden was taught Islamic studies by a charismatic lecturer, of Palestinian origin, who influenced his thoughts and awoke the Islamic fundamentalist in him (Beyer, 2001:58).

When civilisations change, the structures of society change dramatically. As society experienced the production forms of the factory, namely, mass production, mass media, mass education and specially created institutions to serve them, society also changed (Toffler, 1980: 241).

In contrast to the multigenerational households which had formed the agrarian production units, the shift from the fields to the factories caused workers to migrate to the cities. Mass education formed a pliable regimented work force which resulted in a single integrated labour force which manned the factories. New ideas were beginning to circulate; ideas such as the rights of the individual, secularism which separated the

church from the state and the new contractual relationships in which contracts became customary in everyday business and financial affairs. This was later extended to include the Rousseauian notion of a social contract. This phenomenon led to the signing of peace treaties and agreements after wars (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:21, 22, 294).

The social eruption which occurred as the two waves collided was tremendous. The peasants from the land were transformed into urban workers subordinate to the new elite (Toffler, 1990:11-12). Interdependent workers were required to man the heavy industrial machines which Toffler (1990:203) refers to as **brute technology**. This was especially true in the coal mines where workers toiled under appalling conditions. The factories of the industrial era, which Toffler (1990:10) refers to as the **dark satanic mills** created "...a new system of power and a new way of life". This revolutionary mode of production transformed the very structure of the social order culminating into what is known as a differentiated society. This was fertile ground for the birth of the nation-state.

Toffler (1980:36), points out that industrialism "...was more than smokestacks and assembly lines. It was a rich, many sided social system that touched every aspect of human life and attacked every feature of the First Wave past...[assembled] like a machine - to form the most powerful, adhesive and expansive social system the world had ever known: Second Wave Civilization". The power of wealth (**plutocracy**) formed the core of the differentiated society within the industrial era. The secular forces driving the industrial modernisation liberated mankind from the medieval **Republica Christiana** order and the moral inhibitions it imposed on society. This paradigm opened society and led to the foundations of the international society. The rise of the mass media and propaganda tools were used to radically alter the psychological perceptions people had of the world and to mobilise society. The media as communication medium resulted in a shift away from religion to a **Renaissance Humanism** in which the sovereign individual was born. The industrial society was characterised by mass production, mass media, and mass education, amongst others. Mass education was used to facilitate the socialisation process of instilling the notions of an integrated labour force, secularism, nationalism, the social contract and human rights.

In conclusion: Toffler, therefore, views the **socio-sphere** as emerging from a six principled code which programmed the behaviour of millions of people who lived during the industrial era. Within the social component of the Second Wave emerged the Second Wave elite, who were the architects of the industrial revolution. As these orchestrated the building of the Second Wave Civilization, there was a gigantic shift in global power which transformed the political structures. The next section will concentrate on the political component of the Second Wave Civilization, namely, the nation-state.

6. THE POLITICAL COMPONENT OF THE SECOND WAVE CIVILIZATION

Toffler and Toffler (1993:295) accredit the builders of the Second Wave societies, who created the national markets, with the creation of the nation-state. In this section, emphasis will be placed on the forces giving rise to the nation-state as well as its constituent parts, i.e. the nation and the state. An amalgamation of these two entities will be shown to have formed the most powerful political force yet known to mankind. An analysis of its constituent parts will also reveal exactly where the nation-state is susceptible to attack from incoming Third Wave forces. This section attempts to answer the second meta-analytical question, i.e. ***what the meaning of the nation-state is?***

Currently, the main political entity in the global system is the nation-state. Heywood (1997:117) identifies the nation-state as a "...form of political organisation and a political ideal". He reasons that, as a political community, it is held together by citizenship and nationality. He therefore places the nation-state as an alternative to the city-states as well as to multi-national empires. Depending on which school of thought emerges alternate views of the nation-state emerge.

Schulze (1994:7) and Easton (1967:109) advance the argument that modern research is moving away from the idea that a state, as a political entity in the modern definition, existed in medieval Europe. In the light of the deep rooted division in political theory concerning the origin of the state, the debate concerning the state will be limited to the period of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. There are various views regarding the origin of the nation-state and the relationship between the nation and the state. Toffler's

Gestalt perspective promotes a view where the driving forces surrounding the nation-state, which have an enkaptic relationship, where a national economic, mass technological, nationalistic, state-centric, territorially bound Second Wave system is synonymous and synchronised. Toffler acknowledged the existence of political structure such as city-states, feudalism, absolute states, and others which existed prior to the Treaty of Westphalia, but he argues that the nation-state was born as an entity which emerged out of the ashes of the decaying agrarian order (Toffler, 1990:238). For liberals and socialists it is centred in civil loyalty, while for conservatives and nationalists it resides in ethnic unity. For the realists, conflicting national interest forces states into conflict with the entire system of nation-states which continually border on anarchy. For them power is catalytic for conflict. Power is often reflected by and manifest in military aspects which are used to protect the nation-state (Balaam and Veseth, 1996:32).

To understand the direction and status of the events which heralded in powerful forces which threatened the nation-state to such a degree that the *crises of the nation-state* is referred to, a division of its constituent parts is warranted (Heywood, 1997:117). If the term nation-state is divided into its constituent parts, the terms nation and state reveal a few marked differences.

A. THE NATION

Toffler's (1990:239) **Gestalt** perspective comes to the fore when discussing the nation and he explains that the "... age of mass democracy was also the age of immense concentrations of power at the level of the nation. This concentration reflected the rise of mass production, technology and national markets". The nation is of great importance as a political term because it ties into the idea of nationalism, which advocates an independent life under one political system with the right to demand an equal standing in the world order (Robertson, 1993:333). Heywood (1997:103) has formulated arguments which have augmented the status of the nation. He has credited the birth of new states, the reshaping of regimes as well as the decay of empires with the resulting redrawing of borders to the influence of the nation as a unit of political rule. The term nation, which is derived from the Latin word *nasci* simply means **to be born** (Heywood, 1997:104). Its constitution reflects a matrix of complex phenomena which are moulded by an even more complex collection of variables which are prominently featured by three factors. Firstly, in a nation, the people are united by cultural variables such as language, tradition

and history, and secondly, by political variables where a political community is formed. This psychological variable of civic and national consciousness forwards loyalty in the form of patriotism. As the Third Wave Civilization moves in, these three factors will come under severe attack will emerge later in the work.

During the French Revolution, feudalism and localism were displaced by Rousseau's ideas of popular sovereignty in which the nation or people were identified as sovereign (Vincent, 1987:26). Feudalism was displaced by concepts such as settled boundaries, centralised rule, bureaucracy and a uniform language. As the power and resources of the state developed through industrialisation, the state increasingly used nationalism to unify the nation (Vincent, 1987:27).

The basic difference between nations offers an explanation of the common origin, geographic area, identity and ideals of a certain group. This gives legitimacy to the ruling authority. These ideals it aspired to enabled manipulation of a wide spectrum of variables which Vincent (1987:27) identifies as "... myths, symbols, feelings, while often using religion, culture, tradition, history and language". By using nationalistic symbols and emotive artefacts, the state made adequate use of nationalism to mobilise the population and to establish strong political centralisation This was evident in the three major geo-political eruptions of the twentieth century, i.e. both world wars and the collapse of communism. During these events, the nation emerged as a powerful political organisation. The nation can thus be tied into global upheaval (Heywood, 1997:117). Nationalism can characteristically be associated with liberal and democratic movements, but can also be associated with regressive and reactionary movements. This explains why Heywood (1997:104) reasons that a nation is a *psycho-political construct*.

B. THE STATE

The state, in contrast to the nation, poses the formal rights of sovereignty and its governing apparatus. Chronologically, states also predate the existence of the nation. While states are strongly rooted in judicial aspects, nations are rooted in emotive stances. From this, it can be deduced that while the state is embedded in the law, the nations are, according to Vincent (1987:29), *emotive artifices*. Membership of a state depends on the law but membership of a nation depends on variables such as "... birth, bloodline, culture, tradition and so on" (Vincent, 1987:29). Further, the survival,

protection and nurturing of the nation can only be assured by a powerful agency such as the state. The state has the monopoly to use force legitimately and everyone within that state is subject to its laws and rules. Therefore, it is only the state that can protect the national economy (Nossal, 1998:303). This ensured the sovereignty of the state and highlights the area that the state has no higher authority to which it must answer. All citizen rights and security emerge from the state. In his famous definition of the state, Max Weber mentions the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory as a control mechanism (Weber, 1976:156). From this flows the unwritten law or contract in which the state offers protection and security in exchange for the liberty of the individual. This forms the basis of the start of civil society. Crockatt (1997:104) reasons that civil society is essential for democracy to be fully functional. By a civil society is meant a network which consists of social institutions and practices. Factors such as economic relations, religion and other social affiliations "...underlie strict political institutions" (Crockatt, 1997:104 and Dunne, 1997:114). Crockatt therefore forwards the view that every state is a *Machstaat* or power state. Furthermore it is only the state that can protect the national economy. Toffler (1990:244-245) adds that "...mass democracy implies the existence of masses...(and)...are designed to respond mainly to mass inputs - mass movements, mass political parties, mass media".

C. THE NATION-STATE

Max Weber refers to the nation-state as a "...secular organisation of the nation's power" (Schulze, 1994:197). The architects of the nation-state namely, Prince Metternich, the British Foreign Minister, Lord Castlereigh, and his advisor, Friedrich von Gentz, advised against national unity as future bloody wars and ruin were predicted for such a unified nation-state. For the architects shaping the new political order, "...the idea of a state deriving its power from an entire nation was a revolutionary idea" (Schulze, 1994:198). Everywhere, there was an urge to retain the pre-revolutionary political order. Toffler's premise of the conflict between the First and Second Wave elite as they battled for control of the future emerges strongly. Rousseau's contributing to the formation of the constitution after the French revolution, and John Locke's contributions after the Glorious revolution of 1688, visualised unification of citizens into a nation. The emergence of France and England as nation-states influenced the rest of Europe. The revolutionary example of the French national constitution was followed by Spain (1820) and Belgium

(1831). England set the example for the Netherlands and Scandinavian countries. European powers feared the concentration of power in Italy and Germany to such a degree that the Treaty of Westphalia guaranteed the existence of the 300 German principalities. The Germans and Italians had other ideas and two massive European powers as nation-states emerged. The transition to the nation-state in Europe was characterised by tremendous social upheaval. For Schulte (1994:230), the unification did not evolve from dialogue but from bloody conflict. The German Holy Roman Empire was replaced by the German Union (*Deutscher Bund*) with its constitutional organ, the *Bundestag* (Schulze, 1994:205&231). Other countries responded in similar fashions. In this system of the nation-state, the nation was "...supreme and absolute: *Du bist nichts Dein Volk ist alles* (Thou art nought, thy people is all)" (Schulze, 1994:245). From this, each nation-state advanced a *Volks geist* (which was manifested by music, language, culture and tradition) (Heywood, 1997:105). All these variables were manifested in nationalism, the most powerful ideology of the industrial age.

As the nation and the state merged to form the nation-state "...social, psychology and political phenomena" merged to form a single actor (Balaam and Veseth; 1996:25). Harris (1976:278) reasons that for such a union, the "... geographic boundaries between state and nation should be the same". The modern nation-state is defined by Balaam and Veseth (1996:6) as a "...legal entity that has a well defined territory and population, with a government capable of exercising sovereignty". Machiavelli's thoughts ushered in new metaphysical and epistemological assumptions which separated ethics and politics. What emerged was an emphasis on power which evolved to great heights with the emergence of the nation-state. For Nelson (1996:251) the main premise of the nation-state is the consolidation and centralisation of power. From a realist's view power itself is a destabilising factor in world politics.

From the wide support the nation-state has gained during the twenty first century, undeniable forces have emerged which seriously threatens the nation-state (Heywood, 1997:117). Internally, ethnic and regional politics are exerting centrifugal pressure on the nation-state. Advancing globalisation, especially cultural and economic globalisation, seriously threatens the social identity and belonging which the nation-state achieved. In contrast to the nation, which was a political entity, ethnic and regional groups are not political entities. Because of this lack of political power these groups are moving towards

federalism and confederacies to provide this power. As it occurs trans-nationally it forms an alternative to political nationalism (Heywood, 1997:118). External threats take on many forms which are all levelled at the nation-state. Heywood (1997:118) concentrates on three external threats, i.e. the onset of the nuclear age which has forced world peace to be monitored by international forces, a global market and a global culture. Toffler adds to these by forwarding the activities of a group he refers to as *Global Gladiators*. A closer look at these actors and phenomena which have placed the nation-state in crisis will follow.

According to Toffler (1990:11) the political pillars of the embryonic nation-state, at the onset of the Second Wave, rested on the power structures of the industrial elite as they wrested power from the agrarian elite. These power structures which diffused globally forming the nation-state still exist today.

One of the most important driving forces to consider before shifting to a new universal civilization is the governance and political transformation of the First Wave and the enfolding complexities of the industrialised, centralised Second Wave political dynamics (Toffler, 1980:401).

The next section seeks to initiate the investigation into the question, *what the key debates in the domain of the nation-state are?* The pre-modern era was characterised by political actors and entities which consisted of localised social formations or sub-national entities such as tribes, city-states, feudal entities and multiethnic empires. The cause of the transformation to the nation-state, which is the principle political actor of the Second Wave, is a complex and dynamic process debated by thinkers such as Wallerstein (1974), Thomas (1973) and Tilly (1975). Strayer (1970), and Schwartz (1996) focus their arguments on the evolutionary movement of the driving forces within the environment of the pre-modern society which made the nation-state the political innovative mechanism of the modern era. It was this mechanism, the nation-state, which was able to offer institutionalised solutions to the world of chaos of city-states and empires.

Prior to the 17th century, the concepts of wealth and power were separated. After the Thirty Years' War, mercantilists identified the increased focus on the economic dimensions of power and the transformation as such in progress (Gilpin, 1981:125). The nation-state, as political organisation, was a result of the power shift which had occurred from the pre-modern agrarian era where violence and force determined the distribution of power, to a modern era, where power was obtained through social control (compliance, participation, and legitimisation). Through social control the nation-state had the legitimate capacity to mobilise the wealth and participation of the people, thereby centralising power. This heralded in the Second Wave, where power was centred in wealth (Gilpin, 1981:22; Migdal, 1988:32 and Toffler, 1990:14). Schumpeter in Gilpin (1981:122) regards the relationship between wealth and power and the state as follows: "...the state liberated people to work and create wealth that could then be taxed for purposes of domestic welfare and national power".

During the Second Wave, the relationship between wealth and power would intensify as economic growth expanded through mass production which would ultimately alter the very nature of international relations (Gilpin, 1981:125). It was the Industrial Revolution that cemented the concepts wealth (economy) and power (politics). This relationship would change the very nature of the social formation of the pre-modern First Wave era. Hobbes (1651:62-63) suggests that the First Wave highlighted the relationship between violence and power as it was a civilization in a *state of nature*, within the disorder of an undifferentiated society. In a *state of nature* political and social formations are stateless, with an absence of state apparatus centred round the principles of self-help and violence (Nossal, 1998:52-53). The relationship of the First Wave found expression in global governance which is regarded as "... the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs...(which)...includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements" (Nossal, 1998:83).

The use of mercenaries in the First Wave ended with the rise of two formal institutions, i.e. the nation-state and its accompanying national army. With the emergence of the nation-state, as the Second Wave dawned on the First Wave Civilization, a power shift occurred, transferring violence as the main tool of power and social control to money and rewards as the prime motivator of human behaviour. Instead of mercenaries to provide protection, *private violence* was replaced by monopolised, institutionalised and

legitimate violence, i.e. **state violence** within a differentiated society. The power shift from a **low quality power** (from violence) to a, money producing, **medium quality power** increased mankind's dependence on a new commodity of the industrial era: money (Nossal, 1998:34; Toffler, 1990:38-41). Violence as a **low quality power** did not disappear with the onset of the modern industrial era of **plutocracy** (power of wealth). A need arose from the brutish character of the agrarian era, into which the nation-state was born, namely, a new security structure. This need resulted in the transformation of physical safety being the priority of **private violence** to **state violence** prioritising a need triad of protection, order and justice. What differentiates the nation-state from non-state actors is the ability to use force to balance the triad of **protection, order and justice**. To gain the power in a maize of non-state actors within the First Wave political environment the state needed to monopolise the security structure and be the "... sole possessor of coercive techniques" (Lipson, 1985:52;87).

In line with Toffler and Toffler's (1993:21) thesis, the force which drove agrarian politics to become obsolete and for a revolutionary new politics to emerge, was a new wealth generating mode of production, i.e. factory production. Migdal (1988:140) expands on this point by stating that it is not the destruction of the old order that determined or created a new order, but the way "...forces from the world system affected mightily all sorts of societies in their reconstruction of social control and viable strategies of survival". Political decay was imminent as revolutionary changes occurred as society was torn away from the First Wave Civilization and plunged into a Second Wave Civilization.

The winds of change, especially economic changes, were rapid, giving people insufficient time to allow adaptations to their life strategies within their changing environments. The institutions in which Second Wave individuals interacted, and which dictated their roles and rules of behaviour, also experienced this overwhelming call for transformation. Tried and tested life strategies are not easily abandoned and institutions only disintegrated in the midst of severe civilizational crises. As a result of the total civilizational disintegration of the First Wave, a new universally differentiated Second Wave Civilization had arisen where the birth of the nation-state had not incrementally changed, but reinvented the governance and political order of the First Wave (Toffler, 1980:401; Migdal, 1988:80-92). In a power struggle, certain techniques are applied to

create a power shift from one civilization to the next. These techniques include persuasion, inducement, manipulation, coercion, non-forceful sanctions and force (Nossal, 1998:90). These techniques were applied to each of the six principles of the Second Wave code to modify life strategies and the human behaviour of the industrial individual. Each of the six principles in the Second Wave code brought about significant economic and political changes around the globe. The political economic implications of the Second Wave code will now be discussed. An attempt will also be made to answer the meta-analytical question: *what the current status of the nation-state is?*

6.1 Standardization

The first principle, i.e. standardization is a key feature of *Fordism* and highlighted the Second Wave as a period of mass production. Mass production resulted in price standardization, product standardization, standardization of machinery, standardization of money and the standardization and mechanisation of politics as explained by Easton's (1965) work on the systems analysis. Mass production catered for the emergence of the *masses*. Mass democracies were a political reaction to mass production (Toffler, 1980:60-62; Toffler, 1990:244-245). Mass democracies, from Easton's (1965) perspective, were created to process mass inputs from the environment such as demands or support from the mass media, mass interest groups or mass political parties (Toffler, 1990:245).

Standardized economic and political changes in England, France and America spread globally, and the political and ideological impact of the French was so tremendous that Hobsbawn (1996:16) regards it as the landmark of all nation-states. Among the revolutionary ideas which started to emerge, Toffler and Toffler (1993:21) includes "...the idea of progress, the old doctrine of individual rights, the Rousseauian notion of a social contract, secularism, the separation of the church and state; the novel idea that leaders should be chosen by popular, not divine right". The crisis which emerged as feudalism was replaced by the Industrial Revolution was reflected in the French Revolution which set in motion revolutionary changes in the social system. The most fundamental change to evolve from this revolution was the fact that it was the first manifestation of a *mass social revolution*. Heywood (1997:40) observes that from this *mass social revolution*, developed a social philosophy or life and worldview which evolved into an ideology, a

concept first used by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy around 1796, which is a "...more or less coherent set of ideas that provide a basis for organised political action". Political relations are revolutionised, modified or preserved by these political actions.

To support emerging mass democracies, the liberalistic ideology emerged, its origin dating to about 300 years ago, as the feudal agrarian era was in decay and a market capitalist society developed into global proportions. Liberalism supported ideas pertaining to the sovereign individual, a rising middle class, freedom, consent, reason, equality, toleration and constitutionalism. As a political doctrine, liberalism, therefore, rejected feudalism and absolutism by promoting a constitutional, representative government catering for the masses. Locke's (1689) *Two Treatise of Government* laid the theoretical foundation for parliamentary supremacy. These ideas were transcended to American statesman Thomas Jefferson and found expression in the American Declaration of Independence. The political evolutions in England and America resulted in parliamentary supremacy in England and a Presidential system in America with constitutional supremacy (Lipson, 1985:211-213).

Liberalism was in effect a bourgeois or middle class movement striving to take control of the decaying agrarian First Wave order (Robertson, 1993:284). In England the bourgeois took control of the industrial era by means of the 1832 Reform Act which "...transferred the control of the House of Commons to the urban middle class" (Lipson, 1985:153).

Human freedom, liberty, and equality, which are promoted by a liberal state, took root in Europe and America after their respective revolutions. Hegel declared in 1806, after the battle of Jena, that the *end of history* had arrived advocating "...that there were no alternative principles or forms of social and political organisation that were superior to liberalism" (Deluis et al., 2000:50). Fukuyama (1990:23) expands on the school of thought by reasoning that with the *end of history*, ideological conflict is virtually ended. Only liberalism has survived in the form of liberal democracy (Held, 1992:21).

The Industrial Revolution had caused an upheaval in the core structure of power globally (Toffler, 1990:11). The economies which flowed from the Industrial Revolution were a powerful force which drove Britain and France into the Napoleonic wars in a final bid to seek hegemonic control of the world economy and ultimately to dominate the globe. With

the French defeated at Waterloo the *Pax Britannica*, which dominated international relations until World War II, brought the transitional order to an end (Gilpin, 1975:79-84).

The changes in the political systems brought about by the industrial revolution were deep rooted. For Heywood (1997:198), this process of change directly engaged in either political decay or political development. For Marxists, the English, American and French Revolutions were *bourgeoisie* revolutions changing the *mode of production*. The Russian revolution was seen as a *proletariat* revolution which would progress to socialism and ultimately to communism. Marxists regarded the *bourgeoisie* as an urban, rich and revolutionary class who helped to develop capitalism and control the means of production (Heywood, 1997:198-199). The *proletariat* originated in Rome and referred to the impropriated masses (Robertson, 1993:401). The Russian revolution was to have repercussions on a global scale for decades to come. Both Marxists and Capitalists perceived the Industrial era from different worldviews, but they were reacting to a universal principle: *standardization* which featured in all components of the differentiated Second Wave Civilization.

6.2 Specialization

Specialization, the second principle of the Second Wave code, was a principle highlighted by Adam Smith, who explained that it took eighteen different tasks to manufacture a single sewing pin. *Fordism* promoted the idea of *highly specialised repetitive labour* as it took 7882 tasks to complete the Model T Ford; 949 of these tasks needed strong workers, 670 could be done by legless workers, 2637 required one-legged workers, 715 needed one armed workers and 10 tasks could be completed by blind workers. Critics noted that this calculated account of Henry Ford emphasised the dehumanisation of the work and rejected the overspecialisation resulting from the Fordist methodology. Even politics had become a profession. Lenin even noted that professional revolutionaries had to assist the masses to bring about a revolution (Toffler, 1980:62-64). Within the social formation of the Second Wave, there were priests, educators, executives, and politicians, both communist and capitalist, who jointly created a *common mentality* and "...they believed that specialization was the *moving power of civilisation*" (Toffler, 1980:64).

6.3 Synchronization

The industrial civilization brought a mechanised economy which resulted in an adjustment to the life strategies of the Second Wave individual. Time and synchronization, the third principle, had become the centre of mankind's existence. The industrial individual was programmed into an existence of going to school at a certain time, having work schedules, scheduled coffee breaks, standard-length holidays, peak traffic times, and even in a parliamentary system, the executive and legislative terms were synchronized. The First Wave was structured around a **state of nature** which provided an organic model for its life strategies (Toffler, 1980:64-66). The First Wave, Toffler (1980:65) explains, "...flowed from the rhythm of the seasons and from biological processes, from the earth's rotation and the beat of the heart. Second Wave societies, by contrast, moved to the beat of the machine".

6.4 Concentration

The fourth principle, **concentration**, was a **key** component of the industrialised **Fordist** methodology. The Second Wave was based on concentrated fossil fuel deposits, urbanisation, the concentration of labourers under one roof, i.e. the factory, criminals being concentrated in correctional services, the mentally challenged concentrated in psychiatric facilities, and even children concentrated in schools. Interestingly, socialists, communists, and capitalists all agreed that the concentration of industry and production was efficient and effective and, as Toffler (1980:68) explains, even "...Lenin spoke of the **conversion of all citizens into workers and employees of one huge syndicate - the whole state**". The universalising component of the concentration principle of the Second Wave Civilizational code was so entrenched in the phenomenological aspects of the Second Wave individual that it transcended the ideological differences between communists and capitalists (Toffler, 1980:67-68). The ideological differences between the communists and capitalists resulted in a bipolar world order in which the USA dominated the West and the USSR dominated the East. A nuclear war was to be avoided at all costs for the sake of global preservation, but the two Superpowers concentrated their war in the countries of the South or Non-aligned Movement, with one of the main battlefields being the African continent (Heywood, 1997:28). In 1989, as the industrial age celebrated the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution and the US constitution, communism was in decay. As the superpower era passed, the international

political economy penetrated the nation-state's boundaries and introduced a trans-national trading structure (Fukuyama, 1992:125).

6.5 *Maximization*

The split between the producer and the consumer resulted in industrial societies, business, and politics developing a *macrophilia* mentality which was an infatuation with bigness and efficiency. This mentality was formulated into the fifth principle: *maximization*. This principle needed a measuring toolkit and this was realised by the use of a statistical design, i.e. the Gross National Product (GNP). The Second Wave governments used this toolkit in a short-sighted race to grow by increasing the GNP. This resulted in a move towards, especially in the USA, the support for a *big government* (Heywood, 1997:43). This competitive political edge resulted in greater economic inequalities in the world, especially in the absence of an environmental impact assessments or social and ecological risk assessment (Toffler, 1980:68-70).

During the 1960's, governments started to realise that, in the long term, the costs of the *macrophilia* mentality would outweigh the benefits. It, therefore, became apparent that a new approach with new skills and techniques was required for managing natural resources and also with regard to policy making. Inputs from all stakeholders, such as the public, interest groups, expert consultants from various sectors and business developers, provided trade suggestions and made recommendations to decision-makers to deal with these new environmental needs. A democratic value system, which included principles such as transparency; accountability; legality; legitimacy and public participation, together with technocratic feasibility formed the cornerstone of environmental policy and the decision-making process in democratic countries. The legality of government consideration in this regard was realised in 1969 with the passing of the National Environmental Policy Act in the USA. Constitutional variations of the Environmental Impact Assessment occurred from the one country to the next but there was consistency in the underlying principles thereof. The main reason for governmental consideration of the devastating effect of *maximization* was the adoption of the *Green political philosophy* by many voters (Schwella et al, 1996:294 - 298; Hall, 1992:151).

6.6 Centralization

New methods or techniques were created by Second Wave industrialists to move away from localised, decentralised economic and political components of the First Wave to the more centralized, integrated components of the industrial era. This set in motion the last principle of the Second Wave code, **centralization**.

The economic shift away from the Agrarian First Wave Civilization occurred with the rise of the industrial economic system by means of a tool used by Second Wave innovators, i.e. **the central bank**. Prior to the introduction of centralized political systems, William Patterson revolutionised the economy by introducing the Bank of England which became a template for all industrialised, centralized economic institutions of the Second Wave. In 1800, the **Banque de France** was established; in 1875 the **Reichsbank**; and later the **Bank of the United States** (Toffler, 1980:73). Regardless of ideology, Toffler (1980:73) explains, "...money flowed through every artery in Second Wave societies, both capitalist and socialist. Both needed, and therefore created, a centralized money pumping station. Central banking and centralized government marched hand in hand".

The political shift to the centralized industrial era became evident in the 1780's as the US fought to obtain a centralized Constitution to replace the decentralised **Article of Confederation**. Industrialists regarded a centralized government as a necessary tool for not only military and foreign policy-making, but also for economic maximisation. The constitution of 1787 was a legal tool used by Second Wave politicians to keep First Wave reactionaries spiralling into decay. An important feature of this constitution was that the political power was placed in the hands of the state rather than with the centralized government.

It is pertinent here to highlight a few differences between the state and government. While the **state** is extensive and includes all institutions of the public sector, the **government**, on the other hand, forms part of the state. The state is permanent and represents the common good, while the government is temporary and represents the ruling party. The government channels the state authority (Heywood, 1997:85-86). The process of limiting centralized power was realised with the **Trias Política** or the separation of the legislative, executive, and juridical powers. The US was not the only

country pressurised to transform political structures to a more centralized political system, but it was a feature taking root in France, Britain, Sweden, and Japan. Extreme examples of political centralization were also found in Marxist industrialized countries and later the Soviets centralized all political and economic structures. In 1850, Toffler (1980:72) explains, Marx "...called for a **decisive centralization of power in the hands of the state.**" The most common types of centralized governments were the presidential and the parliamentary which project the American and British views of liberal democracy. Britain, although having a decodified constitution, introduced codified constitutions in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa by the closure of the 19th century (Harris, 1976:87-88).

The behaviourist movement was a reaction to the traditionalists, historical, constitutional and legalistic approach to political science. The behavioural approach sort a more orderly political system, which is **standardized, synchronized, concentrated, maximized, specialized and centralized**, being governed by **universal laws** (Winter and Bellows, 1992:22-24). Easton (1965) offers a model to achieve an orderly political system. With the onset of the Second Wave, a new political order and a political system with new political tools were needed as the "...revolutionaries who created the industrial age could not govern with the leftover apparatus of feudalism" (Toffler, 1980:402).

As each country broke with its feudal past, a need arose to create a government, codify constitutions and to "...design almost from scratch new political institutions", a process in which many debates and conflicts revolved around the nature and extent of newly emerging political architecture (Toffler, 1980:82). To align the political architecture of the Second Wave with its corresponding mechanised industrial economy, Easton's systems analysis, based on a mechanised model, was used. The terminology of the political revolutionaries of the industrial era highlights the mechanistic mentality of Second Wave Statesman. Thomas Jefferson spoke of the **machinery of government**; James Madison suggested the need to "...remodel the system, to change the structure of political power, and to choose officials through successive filtration's (Toffler, 1980:84)." This new political architecture with a centralized representative government altered the traditional decision-making process of the First Wave with **mass inputs**, a phrase conceptualised by Easton (1960), causing a **decision implosion** thereby forcing open the once closed system (Toffler, 1980:450). To receive the **inputs**, from a newly defined diversified

society, into the new open system periodical voting procedures were put into operation. Toffler (1980:89) associates this process with the *batch processor* of the *Fordist* origin and explains that "...the public is allowed to choose between candidates at stipulated times, after which the formal *democratic machine* is switched off again".

It is important to remember that the code of the universal Second Wave Civilization was applied, in one way or another, to all industrial nation-states, whether they were socialist, communist or capitalist as they were influenced by the split of the consumer and producer and the consequential importance of the market. These six principles resulted in powerful bureaucratic organisations and mega organisations such as the United Nations, NATO and the World Bank (Toffler, 1980:73-74). To ensure the universal implementation of the Second Wave code, Toffler (1980:78) explains, "...came the biggest co-ordinator of all - the integrational engine of the system: *big government*". The *big government* was governed by the *Trias Politica* and the rule of law and was contractual by nature. This affected the Second Wave individual's psyche and the way he perceived every aspect of reality. Every aspect of life on a subconscious level revolved around negotiations, transactions, or contractual ties. There were labour contracts, marital contracts, and the *social contract* which all featured as an integral part of the Second Wave Civilization (Toffler, 1980:55-56).

Finally, this section attempted to answer the first question posed within the confines of the political component of the Second Wave, namely, *what the meaning of the nation-state is?* A nation consists of a common origin, identity, ideals and geographic area of a certain group and is regarded as a psycho-political construct. The monolithic term *state* already existed in medieval times within the decentralised *Gemeinschaft* (community). The modern conceptualisation of the state only took place with the fusion of the concept nation and state. The Second Wave industrial era, Toffler (1990:241) explains, was "... the great age of nation-building, which led to central control over small communities, city-states, regions and provinces. It was this consolidation that made national capitals the centre of enormous state power". State power prioritised the trilogy of *protection, order and justice* and used legitimate force to balance this triad.

The next meta-analytic question discussed within this component was ***what the current status of the nation-state is?*** Toffler answers this question by describing the place and role of the nation-state within the Second Wave code. The first principle of the code was standardization which highlighted the mechanisation of politics (as explained by Easton's systems analysis) which was expressed by mass democracy, constitutionalism, parliamentary supremacy or presidential systems, the ***Trias Politica***, the social contract and secularism. Standardization featured in both Marxism and Capitalism. The second principle was specialization. The rise of the nation-state had also seen the rise of politics as a profession. The third principle was synchronization, where all aspects of mechanised life were programmed, which included the synchronization, of executive and legislative terms. The fourth principle was concentration, where labourers were concentrated under one roof, the factory, criminals in jails, and children in schools, and socialists, communists or capitalists under the state. Maximization, the fifth principle encouraged ***macrophilia*** and the idea of a big government. The last principle was centralization, which promoted a centralized constitution and government. The Second Wave political component was thus based on centralised government, mass democracy, machinery of government, big government, ***Trias Politica*** and the Social contract.

7. CONCLUSION

Like a tidal wave, the Second Wave crashed upon the lives of the First Wave ruling elite and their subjects, bringing with it revolutionary changes in all components of society. Toffler (1980:35) refers to this wave as a ***concessive shock wave*** demolishing old ways and creating a whole new set of ***rules of the game*** for a new civilization. This wave brought with it the Industrial Revolution with its accompanying Reign of Terror. This Reign of Terror, in contrast to Clause 39 of the ***Magna Carta***, which according to Togni (1994:4), states that "...no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned ...or exiled or in any way destroyed ... except by the lawful judgement of his peers and according to the law of the land", created a new form of justice lying in the hands of the rebels. The temporal transitional frame of mind of mankind was one of uncertainty, anxiety and confusion. Weber (1976:50) expands on this by stating that, included in the evening prayers of peasants, was the phrase ***Deliver us from evil and from justice.***

The reactionaries of the First Wave had projected a negative association of justice which brushed off onto the state as an institution making the rules of justice. However, with the nation-state as the basic unit of the Second Wave, its relationship with its citizens had to be restored. Therefore, after each revolution, i.e. English, French and American Revolutions, came a set of the Bill of Rights. These were the *English Bill of Rights (1689)*, the *French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizen* and the *American Bill of Rights of 1791* (Togni,1994:4). Migdal (1988:4) expands on this by saying that the "...state organisation became the focal point for hopes of achieving broad goals of human dignity, prosperity, and equity; it was to be the chisel in the hands of the new sculptors. This new state, it was believed, could create a very different social order, a unified channel for people's passions that until now had run in countless different streams". This new channel, provided by the state, enabled the citizens to fulfil their needs and this led to increased levels of social control. The levels of social control, Migdal (1988:32) explains, are reflected by three indicators, i.e. *compliance, participation and legitimisation*. This resulted in the strengthening of the *social contract* to the extent that to this day the nation-state is still the basic unit of our universal civilization.

The nation-state now had the authority to regulate social behaviour and extract and control the resources. This enabled the state to increase its wealth and, as Toffler (1990:16), identifies wealth as the primary source of power in the Second Wave, the state was able to control its citizens. With wealth as the nucleus of the Second Wave civilization, the factory and capital, the pivot on which all other aspects of man's existence was based became programmed into an entity which served the factory's needs and requirements. With mass production came mass democracy and mass destruction. (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:44) The nation-state gained its full expression on this mass destruction with Hitler's Third Reich. By arousing the *spiritual instincts* of society, Hitler unified the masses into a powerful killing machine (Bullock, 1952:45. Therefore, as society itself changed. Toffler and Toffler (1993:22) explain that civilization had now become a mass industrial society. Society became loyal to the modern nation-state (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:44). The Second Wave has been holistically discussed and it may be comforting to know that this is not the first time in the history of mankind that a civilization is facing a new era thereby altering basic perceptions, ideas, values and institutions. Today, civilization stands on the brink of a post-industrial, post-modern

society. The shift to the new era will be a traumatic experience, but will also present new opportunities for human advancement (Korten, 1990:38).

The shift from the First to the Second Wave differs from the shift from the Second to the Third Wave in the following ways (Korten: 1990:33-39):

- ◆ Changes are now coming at a more rapid rate.
- ◆ All of the human society is engaged simultaneously.
- ◆ Currently available knowledge and technology give us far greater conscious awareness of the alternatives and increased opportunities of choice.
- ◆ Failure to make correct choices will limit the possibilities open to human society for many generations to come.
- ◆ A successful transition requires that we can take more significant steps than at any other point in human history toward the elimination of poverty and warfare from the human experience.

It was possible for the people of the Second Wave to identify with the signs of change from what was already institutionalised. If we can maintain that inward energy, that sense of self and maintain stability in our own lives, regardless of social crises, we will be able to identify, create and manipulate innovations which are characteristic of the Third Wave civilisation (Toffler, 1980:136). Korten (1990:39) agrees with this by stating that the "...choices to be made are too important to be left to the politicians, technocrats and bureaucrats. The people's voice must be heard in defining choices, as the people will bear their consequences".

An analysis of the *analytical component* and its subsequent meta-analytical questions results in the following conclusions. Firstly, with regard to the question *how and why the nation-state was established?* the study investigated the driving forces propelling the Second Wave and its key unit, i.e. the nation-state. With mass destruction came the destruction of the *environment* by means of pollution from factories, the use of non-replaceable energy resources, and the use of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. The Second Wave *technologies*, flared on by industrialisation, saw the rise of the factory or the dark satanic mills (Toffler, 1990:10). This led to the rise of *Fordism* and mass blue-collar workers working in large factories. The Second Wave *economy* gave rise to mass production of standardized goods, which became the mode of production. This was facilitated by the shift from subsistence economies to national markets. Mass production also went hand in hand with mass destruction. Genocide and

assembly line killings are characteristic of the Second Wave. With regard to the **social** component the Second Wave society differed from the closed undifferentiated First Wave community in that it emerged in a differentiated **gesellschaft** (society), redefining the meaning of justice, power, love, God and religion, among an array of social elements (Toffler, 1980:110). This transformation, Toffler (1980:110) explains, subverted and "...superseded ancient assumptions about time, space, matter, and causality. A powerful, coherent worldview emerged that not only explained but justified Second Wave reality..., (which)...might best be termed **indust-reality**". The **indust-reality** gave rise to the sovereign individual and new forms of social organisations i.e. mass educators, mass production and mass media, amongst others.

After an analysis of the driving forces the next question which was posed was **what the meaning of the nation-state is?** The rise of the sovereign individual resulted in a shift away from the communal or traditional ties and was replaced by patriotism not toward the family but for the nation and the subsequent creation of nationalism. Nationalism is a tool required for legitimacy of political authority and is promoted by symbolic propaganda tools to create mobilised masses and centralization. The need for protection, order and justice led to the formation of a standardized, centralized, political authority: the nation-state. To answer the next question, **what the current status of the nation-state is?** an investigation of the **political** driving force were required. The nation-state became **standardized** with the rise of mass interest groups, mass political parties, mass democracy and mass revolutions. **Standardized** politics led to political specialization where political professionals came to the fore. Even Lenin was regarded as a revolutionary specialist. Easton's (1965) systems analysis of state dynamics led to synchronization of politics where even in parliamentary systems, legislative and executive terms were **synchronized**. As factory workers were housed under one roof so civil servants were housed under the umbrellas or concentrated under the nation-state. **Maximzation** expanded on the idea of concentration to promote the idea of **big government**. **Centralization** is a key element of the nation-state and as the Second wave saw the rise of **centralized** banking so the state became centralised and promoted the **universal laws** of the **Trias Politica** based on the Second Wave code. To explain the current status of the nation-state and its enkaptic relationship with the other driving forces refer to the table below.

The Second Wave Civilization may be summarised in the following table.

CRITERIA	ANALYTICAL COMPONENT
<i>Driving Forces</i>	<i>Second Wave Civilization</i>
<i>Key Concepts</i>	<i>INDUSTRIAL</i>
<i>Symbol</i>	Assembly line
<i>Power</i>	<i>Money (plutocracy)</i>
<i>Environment</i>	Maximum utilisation Non-renewable energy Violent
<i>Technology</i>	Mass media Mass technology Nuclear Mass destruction
<i>Economic</i>	Mass economy Production & consumption split Ecologically Destructive Blue-collar worker
<i>Social</i>	Open Differentiated <i>Gesellschaft</i> Culture as profit Indust-reality
<i>Political</i>	Nation-state Centralized Mass democracy National governance Majority power <i>Trias Politica</i>
<i>Administration</i>	Weberian hierarchical Top-down Bureaucratic Allocation of values
<i>Code</i>	Centralized Standardized Specialization Synchronization Concentration Maximization

Figure 4.1: The Second Wave Civilization

The analysis of the Second Wave Civilization concludes with the last question, ***what the key debates in the domain of the nation-state are?*** Today, mankind stands at crossroads, faced with the alternative of remaining in the Second Wave paradigm or adopting the new paradigm of a Third Wave Civilization. Korten (1990:35) explains the paradigm concept as a "...set of basic ideas, thoughts or beliefs about the nature or reality. These beliefs serve as a lens through which we filter day-to-day perceptions of our world. Because of its influence on what we see, the lens of our belief system is a powerful determinant of how we act".

For over 200 years, civilization has been rooted in the realist paradigm, which originated with Thucydides who is regarded as the father of international relations and discipline, and which includes thinkers such as Machiavelli, Grotius, Von Clausewitz as well as modern theorists like Waltz and Gilpin (Viotti & Kauppi, 1993:37-42; 186; 197; 201). As the Industrial and French Revolutions were preceded by revolutionary thinkers/philosophers, the last few years of the twentieth century has seen the rise of philosophers demanding a ***new paradigm***. Viotti and Kauppi (1993:229) expand on this, stating that these include Joseph Nye calling for a ***world politics paradigm*** and Vasques: ***a new paradigm for global politics***. With all the demands made for a ***new paradigm***, common concepts such as ***transnational relational relations*** or ***issue phrases*** exist.

Figure 4.2. indicates the paradigm shift from Realism to Pluralism (a phrase in which we currently find ourselves) and ultimately to Globalism.

	REALISM	PLURALISM	GLOBALISM
Analytic unit(s)	1. State is the principal actor	1. State and nonstate actors are important	1. Classes, states, and societies, and nonstate actors operate as part of world capitalist system
View of actor(s)	2. State is unitary actor	2. State disaggregated into components, some of which may operate trans-nationally	2. International relations viewed from historical perspective, especially the continuous development of world capitalism
Behavioural dynamic	3. State is rational actor seeking to maximize its own interest or national objectives in foreign policy	3. Foreign policymaking and trans-national processes involve conflict, bargaining, coalition, and compromise - not necessarily resulting in optimal outcomes	3. Focus is on patterns of dominance within and among societies
Issues	4. National security issues are most important	4. Multiple agenda with socio-economic or welfare issues as, or more, important than national security questions	4. Economic factors are most important

Figure 4.2: Alternative images of international relations: underlying assumptions (Viotti & Kauppi 1993:10)

Viotti and Kauppi (1993:229) state that for the pluralist, "...the agenda of international politics is extensive. Although national security concerns are important, the pluralist is also concerned with a number of economic, social, and ecological issues arising from the growth of interdependence among states and societies in the twentieth century".

This corresponds to Clem Sunter's (1996) issues in *The High Road*, placing population growth and global warming high on the agenda. Whether Globalism will be the "new paradigm" for the Third Wave will be discussed later on. It is, however, important to point out that a correlation can be drawn between Globalism and Toffler's thoughts with the underlying assumption being categorised within economic determinism. Providing society with a new lens stimulates the flow of intense, giant social energy towards transforming human institutions (such as the nation-state) and behaviour on a global scale (Korten, 1990:35). The power struggle between Communism and Capitalism is dead and civilisation is now entering a phase where this struggle has been replaced by a struggle between **absolutists**, who believe their ideas to be superior, to those of others (e.g. feminists, environmental and religious fundamentalists) and **pluralists** who believe there is a little good in everything and where pursuing an optimal balance is important (Sunter, 1996:76-77).

Sunter (1996:77) expands on this by quoting Frederich van Zyl Slabbert, a pluralist, saying that the "...hardest are not between good and bad, but between good and good, where pursuing one good alternative means less good in another direction". The central idea of the **pluralist paradigm** is the interdependent components of environmental health, economic development and quality of life as contributing to the general well-being of a differentiated society, while the **absolutists** regard these components as independent forms (Sunter, 1996:77).

The nation-state has its roots in a realist paradigm. However, civilization presently finds itself in the pluralist paradigm which has a **trans-national** character, therefore requiring a re-conceptualization of the nation state. Rosecranz (1996:46; 51) offers the virtual state as an alternative to the nation-state as it has a **trans-national** character where it is "...a state that has downsized its territorial based production capacity". The borders of the new economy are not national but rather, **sub-national**, **supra-national** or **trans-national** (Toffler & Toffler, 1993:320). This places the political and economic component in the pluralist paradigm where the economic unit (**virtual corporation**) corresponds to the political unit (**virtual state**) (Toffler, 1990:238).

For Toffler (1980:31), the basic political question "...is not who controls the last days of the industrial society but who shapes the new civilization rapidly rising to replace it?" Toffler (1980:31) identifies two main groups struggling over the new civilization, namely those reactionaries of the industrial past and those who recognise global problems such as ecological problems and population explosion. These people realise that a nation-state cannot deal with global problems and that the framework of the industrial Second Wave order is not equipped to deal with these problems. The conflict between these groups is the **super-struggle** over a future civilization. With the transnational process of the virtual state and the call for welfare issues, the **trans-national** Second Wave Civilization, according to Viotti and Kauppi (1993:10), is centred in the pluralistic paradigm. Whether the Third Wave Civilization will be centred in a **globalistic paradigm** remains to be seen! The Third Wave and place of the nation-state in it will now be investigated.

CHAPTER 5

THE THIRD WAVE CIVILIZATION

The Strategic Component

The Crisis of the Nation-State

1. INTRODUCTION

As the sun dawns over a new civilization, a *new paradigm* is starting to fall into place. This new paradigm will be exclusive with its own *rules of the game* and a *hidden code* which is not a continuation of the Second Wave civilization. It is important to remember that regardless of all the uncertainties, what is certain, is change. Toffler (1980:141) explains that the future is "...fluid not frozen. It is constructed by our shifting and changing daily decisions, and each event influences all others... More importantly we will search out the hidden connections among events that on the surface are unrelated". Each of the three civilizational waves has a code or *rules of the game* which form the heart of the paradigm. The Third Wave is the final phase of Toffler's historic-spatial model and within this context, the focus will be placed on the *new paradigm* which is the key element separating the Second Wave *analytical* component from the Third Wave *strategic* component. The strategic component is the last dialectical component of Toffler's historic-spatial model within the meta-theoretical framework (Chapter 2 Figure 2.9).

It is within this component of the meta-theoretical framework that certain exploratory questions concerning the future (*Folgewelt*) of the nation-state are explored. These exploratory questions include:

- *What are the key factors or forces influencing the future of the nation-state?*
- *What is the current situation of the nation-state?*
- *Where to and why concerning the future of the nation-state?*
- *What is the ideal profile of the Third Wave political component, especially the role of the nation-state within it?*

As the Second Wave civilization is in a process of decay, mankind is faced with a world of unpredictability, chaos, change and uncertainty. Toffler attempts to create order out of this chaos by using scenario-building as a methodological approach to identifying a variety of pathways leading into a new post-industrial era (Toffler, 1980:3-240). Scenario-building requires the sketching of profiles of alternative courses the future could take (Van Willigen, 1986:168; Crous, 1990:88 and Schwartz, 1996:3-4; 151; 232). As Toffler's scientific contributions are based upon the phenomenological tradition (Chapter 2 – Figure 2.7) scenarios constitute an appropriate qualitative technique and also represent a phenomenological tool which is used to identify and order perceptions and assumptions about alternative futures. As civilization stands before the advent of a new era, needing a new synthesis, theorists are creatively designing the blueprint for our new wave, thereby creating a scenario. Toffler's scenario will specifically focus on sketching a possible future order, especially regarding the future of the nation-state. Wiechers (1989:70) explains that the requirements for being a scenario writer for our political development includes being "...a political expert, a historian and certainly also an economist, because whether politicians want to admit it or not, the economy is the thing which has made matters so complex and so difficult". When sketching a scenario for the future, it is important to take note of all the unknown variables which could affect choices made between alternative future worlds. What is needed for a new synthesis is to obtain a holistic view, i.e. a return to large-scale, macro thinking to put all the pieces of the puzzle together. Toffler (1980:142) suggests that when sketching a scenario, it is important to look for "...those streams of change that are shaking our lives, to reveal the underground connections among them, not simply because each of these is important in itself, but because of the way these streams of change run together to form even larger, deeper, swifter rivers of change that, in turn, flow into something still larger: the Third Wave". Schwartz (1996:102) expands on this by stating that the outcome of the scenario rests on the driving forces which propel events and that without these driving forces, no scenario is possible. Driving forces, predetermined elements and critical uncertainties, are interrelated elements of the dynamics of scenario development. The fluidity of the driving forces within the environment determines the rate of change as well as the future conditions created to deal with these changes (Toffler, 1980:18-19; Schwartz, 1996:108; 115). The aim of this chapter is to focus on the three interrelated elements which form a part of Toffler's scenario building process, i.e. driving forces, predetermined elements (environmental exploitation, population explosion, and

communication technology) and critical uncertainties. The purpose of this chapter is to present a background against which the crisis of the nation-state (Chapter 6) will be evaluated.

Before the crisis of the nation-state can be discussed, the forces which propel this crisis must be explored. The first section of the strategic component of the meta-theoretical framework focuses on this synthesis. The first piece of the puzzle in the synthesis of the Third Wave is to examine the driving forces underlying this process and their enkapitic relationship. To ask what has caused the Third Wave is not plausible because, Toffler (1980:269) explains, "...what we cannot find is *the* cause of the Third Wave in the sense of a single independent variable or link that pulls the chain. Indeed, to ask what *the* cause is may be the wrong question altogether... (and)...may be a Second Wave question". The question to be explored, therefore, as posed in the meta-theoretical framework in Figure 2.9 in Chapter 2, is *what the key factors or forces influencing the future of the nation-state are?* This is the central question which will be dealt with in this chapter. Schwartz (1996:105-108) identifies five driving forces, i.e. the environment, technology, economics social and politics, which play a role in the ultimate decisions reached. These driving forces are usually outside the control of individuals. The Third Wave Civilization is bringing with it "...revolutionary and self-reinforcing changes at all these different levels at once..., (and)...the consequence is not merely the disintegration of the old society but the creation of foundations for the new" (Toffler, 1980:360). The global political environment is changing at speeds unique in the evolutionary process of mankind. The forces propelling these changes are altering the very nature of power. The structures of power engulf the political component or *power-sphere*. The *power-sphere* of the Third Wave is a key element of this study, as it encompasses the political component and the future of the nation-state, and therefore addresses the remaining exploratory questions posed within the strategic component. Due to the complex nature of the *power-sphere*, it requires a separate chapter. The political component of the Third Wave is therefore discussed in the next chapter. Toffler (1990:3) explains that "...we live at a moment when the entire structure of power that held the world together is now disintegrating. A radically different structure of power is taking form. And this is happening at every level of human society" (Toffler, 1990:3). After identifying the driving forces, two subsequent elements need to be considered, namely, *predetermined elements* and *critical uncertainties*. These *predetermined*

elements are certainties which are not subject to changing events such as environmental exploitation, population explosion and global communication. If questions about the *predetermined elements* are asked, *critical uncertainties* are revealed. *Critical uncertainties*, Schwartz (1996:xiv), explains are *pivotal elements that will act unpredictably, and thus might influence your future*. In the Third Wave, mankind's consciousness will determine how these two elements will be received by the environment. Until recently, human beings have functioned within the parameters of a *national consciousness*, but with the creation of a world society, they have undertaken the evolutionary shift to a *trans-national consciousness*, which will ultimately lead to a *cosmic consciousness*. The *trans-national* or even *cosmic consciousness* has resulted in questioning the survival of the earth. The very existence and implementation of the Third Wave Civilization depend on the survival of the planet; therefore, three globally *predetermined elements*, namely, environmental exploitation, population explosion and global communication need to be addressed.

2. THE ENVIRONMENTAL COMPONENT OF THE THIRD WAVE CIVILIZATION

The environment is the first driving force propelling the need to design alternative systems and structures for a new Third Wave Civilization. As the nucleus of the study is centred on the future of the nation-state and formulating a scenario about its future, the data, which emanate from the environment in which the nation-state functions, need to be examined. From the environmental diagram in Figure 5.1, the outer parameters represent the natural environment of the nation-state. The second peripheral layer represents the international world order. Directly bordering the nation-state is the internal environment from which the technological, economic, social and political driving forces emanate. An analysis of the environment will follow to reveal the power of the driving forces emerging from it and how the nation-state is affected. The environment, in retrospect, has placed mankind's actions over the last 300 years in a negative light. The harsh reality of environmental exploitation is that it is threatening the very existence of mankind, thereby creating a need to transform the very way we interact, produce, consume, and manage our lives. Environmental exploitation will therefore be discussed as one of the key *predetermined elements* influencing Toffler's scenario about new Third Wave political systems and structures, and more specifically, its influence on the nation-state. The

discussion of the environment will be based on the framework of the environmental diagram indicated in Figure 5.1. As this study is concerned with the crisis of the nation-state, the general environment of the nation-state will now be diagrammatically represented as follows:

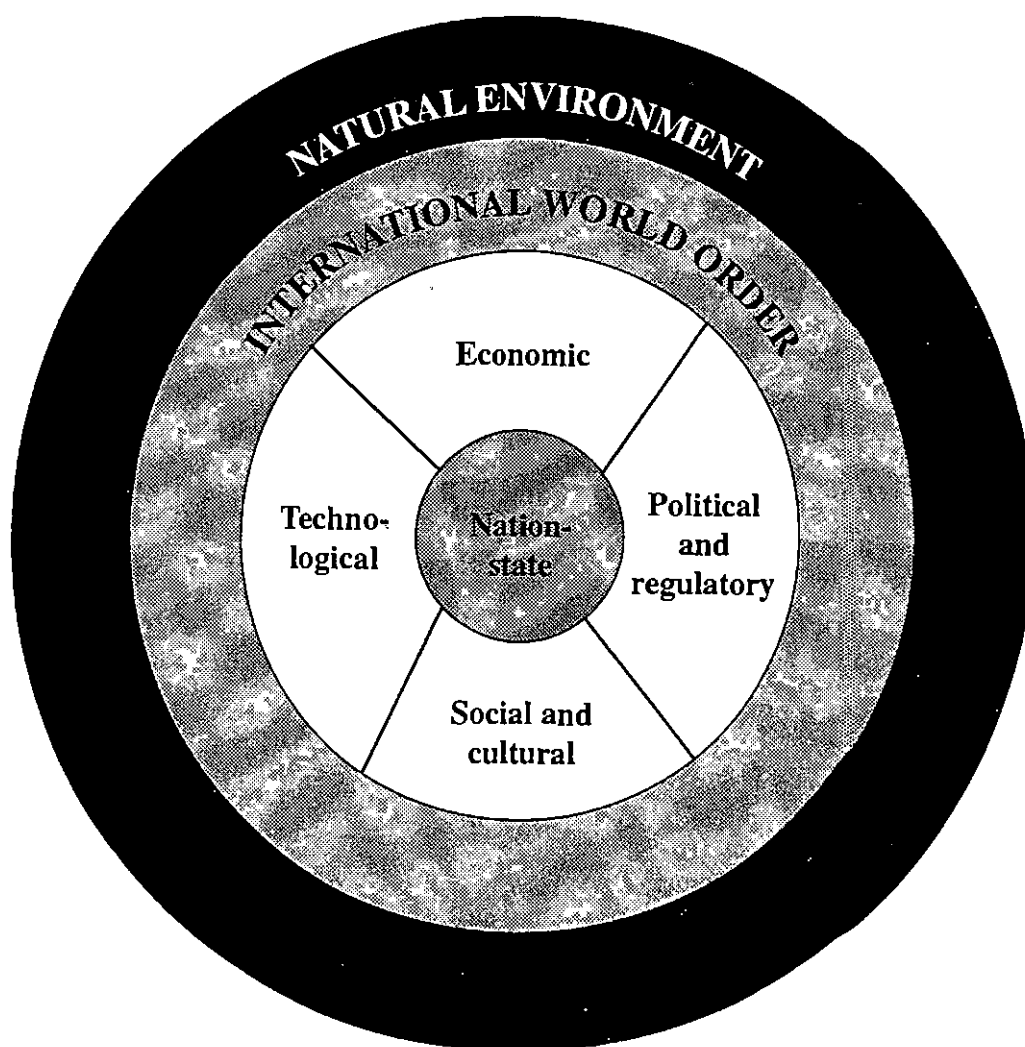


Figure 5.1: The general environment of the nation-state (Adapted from Shrivastava, 1994:26)

The diagram depicts the nation-state as not functioning as an isolated entity, but rather as an integrated part of a cosmic and global totality. As the focus of the study concerns the role and nature of the nation-state within Toffler's three civilizational waves, it is vitally important to highlight its foundational and directive/qualifying function within the environment. The outer parameter represents the physical or natural world of the globe. This environment includes all the ecological issues which are giving rise to the new fashionable *planetary consciousness* (Toffler, 1980:335). The circle representing the international world order, Shivastava (1994:25) explains, "... structures social life on earth. This world order shapes economic, social and political relationships within and between nation-states. Nation-states have their own unique economic, social, cultural, and political institutions, processes, and histories". This circle represents the external environment of the nation-state and is the arena where supra-national and/or global politics plays itself out. The inner circle refers to the internal environment of the nation-state, which is also shaped by interchangeable forces of the social, economic, technological and political aspects of society as a coherent totality. Within the limited parameters of this inner circle, sub-national and national politics find expression.

The driving forces are the most important factors when scanning the environment and initiating the process of scenario development. They also influence the outcome of events (Crous, 1990:94-96). Without the acknowledgement of driving forces, Schwartz (1996:102-103; 107) explains, "...there is no way to begin thinking through a scenario. Often, identifying driving forces reveals the presence of deeper, more fundamental forces behind them..., [although]...we have little control over driving forces. Our leverage for dealing with them comes from recognising them, and understanding their effect. Little by little then, as we act within society, our actions contribute to new driving forces which in turn will change the world once more".

As environmental exploitation is a key predetermined factor, the study will start investigating the environment of the Third Wave by firstly exploring the natural environment which surrounds the nation-state.

2.1 The Natural Environment

As industrialisation spread and populations expanded, whole regions of the globe sustained severe environmental damage. With the Second Wave reseeding it became obvious that the limits had been reached regarding toxic waste, depletion of forests and pollution of the air and oceans.

With the onset of the Third Wave the problem had taken on such global proportions that Greene (1997:314) concluded that environmental issues featured prominently on the agenda of "...political leaders, government officials, scientists, industrialists and concerned citizens" (Greene, 1997:314; Toffler, 1990:369). Toffler (1980:110-111) coined the phrase *indust-reality* when referring to the life and world view of the industrial society of the Second Wave civilisation where one of its core beliefs or assumptions was that "...nature was an object waiting to be exploited". Environmental exploitation is an issue that has threatened the very survival of mankind.

Sunter (1992:57 and 1996:57) has diagrammatically (Figure 5.2) presented the age of industrialisation in cycles of technological waves. These waves are explained in Figure 5.3 where it is apparent that a global society finds itself within the fifth Kondratieff Wave, therefore facing a global environmental crisis, suggesting *New Biotechnology* as an alternative energy resource.

Toffler (1980:134) emphasises these arguments by stating that, "...we have reached a turning point in the *war against nature*". The *war against nature* is explained by two factors. Firstly, the biosphere will simply no longer tolerate the industrial assault. Secondly, we can no longer rely indefinitely on non-renewable energy, until now the main subsidy of industrial development. These changes, by themselves, make the normal continuation of industrial civilization no longer possible. But they do mean all future technological advances will be shaped by new environmental constraints. Mc Kibben (1998:78) points out that the duration of the fifth Kondratieff Wave (compare Figure 5.2) will see the zenith of humankind in the future.

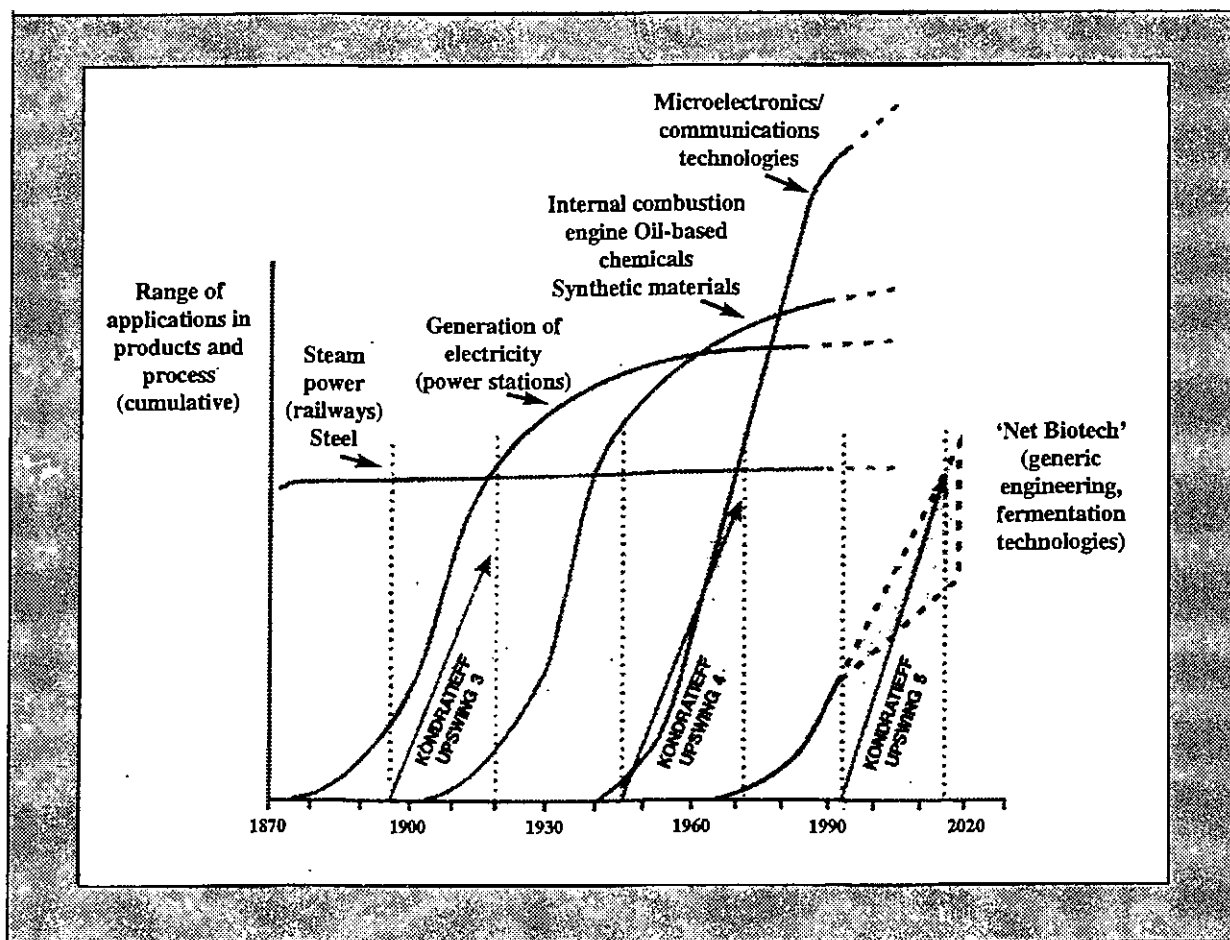


Figure 5.2: The diffusion of technological wave (Sunter, (1992:57).

Period of expansions	Period of adjustment	Cycle duration	Expansion catalyst	Adjustment catalyst	
KONDRATIEF 1	1798–26 1814	1815–33 1847	59	Industrial French Revolutions	Post-Napoleonic War recession
KONDRATIEF 2	1848–25 1872	1873–24 1896	49	Central European Revolutions	European & US financial panics/banking crisis
KONDRATIEF 3	1897–24 1920	1921–27 1947	51	Foreign Investment boom. Trade liberalisation	Post-War reparations. German financial crisis
KONDRATIEF 4	1948–26 1973	1974–21 1994	47	Bretton Woods, Marshall Plan, Colonial Independence	Bretton Woods collapse. OPEC oil crisis
KONDRATIEF 5	1995–26 2020	2021–25 2045	51	End of Communism, Third World Industrialisation	Global environment crisis?

Figure 5.3. Long-wave cycles in the age of industrialism, 1789-2045 (Sunter, 1996:57).

Mc Kibben (1998:73) emphasises environmental exploitation as a global problem when referring to Bill Clinton's speech to the United Nations, namely, "...we humans are changing the global climate. No nation can escape this danger. None can evade its responsibility to confront it, and we must all do our part". Every individual must play a role in improving our global environment (Schwartz, 1996:209). Will we see more production of toxins, more extinct species, less water resources and more soil erosion, or will Greenpeace campaigns, which include phasing out fossil fuels, succeed? Sunter (1996:87) expands on this by pointing out that Greenpeace has become one of the most influential global institutions with an annual budget of approximately \$143 million obtained through membership fees. (Harsant and Duvenhage, 2000:13-16).

Greene (1997:314) reasons that environmental problems are rooted in the "generation and distribution of wealth, knowledge and power..., (and added to these he includes)... energy consumption, industrialization, population growth, affluence and poverty". The problems emanating from these environmental issues are becoming broadly related to socio-economic processes which will inadvertently affect political processes. In the last three decades of the twentieth century, international environmental concerns have deepened to the level of being manifested as a major focus for international politics (Greene, 1997:315). Toffler (1990:369) reasons that disasters such as Chernobyl and the Alaska oil spill have propelled ecological problems to the top of the world agenda. Besides the nation-state, many other actors have joined the debate to solve advanced ecological problems facing the globe. Many of these actors have their own agendas and their operations and ideologies are in contrast to those of the nation-state.

In the 1950's, consensus had been reached on environmental issues. Resource protection, especially, that of wild life, came to the fore, but mainly as an economic resource. By the 1960's, environmental regimes developed. In 1972 the Stockholm Conference provided a structured framework of development in response to international environmental problems. Between 1970 and 1980, Greene (1997:315) reasons that "... environmental politics developed and matured". Besides the state, international organisations became key actors in international environmental politics. The entry of these actors has highlighted questions about institutions or civic actions which cause environmental problems. More importantly, the nation-state as the sole actor in the field of international relations is being challenged which, in turn, ultimately attacks the sovereignty of the nation-state. Environmental issues highlight state sovereignty as well as the tradition that international relations are state-centric.

The main actors to respond to environmental issues, besides the state, are non-state actors, such as environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs), scientists and social movements. The spectrum broadens to include international organisations and trans-national institutions, such as industrial associations. Joining these are supra-national organisations such as the European Union, which is playing a key role together with the state in solving environmental problems (Greene, 1997:316–320).

The environmentalists have devised a new ideology to deal with environmental issues. This comprehensive ideology offers new social and political objectives which demand respect for nature. Yearly (1992:151) reason that this ideology both counters the Enlightenment by favouring holism over individualism and support the Enlightenment by fostering concern for rights, e.g. animal rights. Mostly, this ideology rests heavily on a scientific mode of thinking. For Young (1994:136) this ideology offers a twofold critique of the present social order. Firstly, it is seen as unsustainable, because of the excessive use of raw materials and secondly, undesirable, because of environmental damage which it sustains. Green politics, according to Dobson (1990:159), falls in the realm of post-industrialism and a decentralised economy.

Environmental movements which Toffler (1990:369) sees as a "...survival response to planetary crises are split on ideological grounds". One group, which he refers to as the environmentalists, advocates a plea for less pollution and waste recycling, while the second group, which Toffler (1990:372) refers to as eco-theologues, advocates a deep hostility to democracy. For Toffler, this always occurs when humanity is in crises such as when the Second Wave receded in the advance of the Third Wave Civilization. (Toffler, 1990:372) Toffler (1990:373) warns that these green movement fundamentalists who advocate a return to past values are labouring for a power shift.

A factor which influences the entire question of environmental issues is the fact that they have taken on global dimensions. Most environmental issues are trans-national or global. The remainder which reflect national problems occur widely across the globe. These can then be fed into the global arena. Another factor which feeds into the system is the fact that environmental issues relate closely to socio-economic or political processes. Both these processes slot into the global system (Greene, 1997:315).

Environmental issues now reside almost exclusively in the international arena. International politics, because of the nature of its trans-national parameters, has to take cognisance of a whole spectrum of non-state actors. From this point of departure, a whole range of questions has emerged concerning aspects of environmental damage and solutions to these problems. Greene (1997:320) highlights questions such as the "...relationship between the *international* and *domestic* sphere for political activity".

Global environmental issues bridge local, national and international processes and raise questions about the impact and response to environmental problems. Greene (1997:321) also raises the question of the relationship between power, knowledge and interest. Environmental issues offer important areas for exploring power relations and patterns of interest.

One of the main role players to exert considerable influence in areas of application, knowledge and careful monitoring of the environment is the scientist. From the work so far, it can be concluded that in these aspects, authors such as Toffler and Greene postulate that knowledge, especially scientific and technological knowledge, play a deciding role in trans-national environmental affairs. Knowledge thus influences power and interests as it shapes the mindset of the international community. Greene (1997:321) reasons it is knowledge which "...affects patterns of influence and power". The knowledge based trans-national community of experts, i.e. the epistemic community, have shown themselves to be particularly influential (Risse-Kappen, 1997:3; 11). These scientists have established environmental regimes to protect the global environment (Little, 1997:236-237). This can be demonstrated in solutions formulated for oceanic or atmospheric pollution problems where a web of environmental damage is not rooted in the state, neither is it rooted in any act of national policy. The roots can rather be traced to the side effects of socio-economic processes emanating from factories, companies and individuals operating on an international and trans-national level. The environment is, therefore, regulated by two actors, namely, the state, which acts as a sovereign authority to legislate within their own territory, and non-state actors, who govern the international environment (Little, 1997:236-237). The main role players in the non-state category are manifested in two areas, i.e. supra-national organisations, for example, the EU, and international organisations such as multinational and transnational companies.

Two more factors in this category, which move against the nation-state, are firstly, international NGOs, of which there are about 5000 such as Greenpeace, who lobby both inter-state organisations and international regimes for their own gain. The second factor resides in the magnitude of the multinational corporations (MNC) which operate in this environment. The estimated number of these MNC stands at 7000, with gross sales, which are larger than the gross national product (GNP) of many countries, even the

major ones. The epistemic community in conjunction with INGO's and trans-national coalitions are often opposed to the economic goals of the powerful MNCs (Risse-Kappen, 1997:3; 11).

International environmental politics has offered a solution to environmental issues by focusing on regimes. Greene (1997:323) defines an international environment as an "...international social institution with (more or less) agreed upon principles, norms, rules, procedures and programmes" which determine the expectation of actors. It is worth noticing that neither the state nor treaties play an important role in these regimes. As social institutions, these regimes are allowed to disregard all boundaries. Regimes also allow parameters for the interaction between actors and power, knowledge and interests. The World Summit on Sustainable Development is the most recent example of an environmental regime.

In conclusion, it is obvious that international environmental politics highlights the aspect that international relations are no longer state centric. The ideology which serves it, as well as the regimes which operate trans-nationally, allows the nation-state a peripheral role in international environmental issues. Finally, reference should be made to Toffler's theory of social power which has placed the entire sector of the industrial age in crises, with the result that shifts in the economy, politics and global affairs are becoming evident. Highlighted here are the crises of the industrial age. Toffler has noted that there is a global response directed at survival of the ecological environment surrounding the nation-state. This response has emerged in the form of movements. Two aspects to emerge from these movements and which are relevant to the future of the nation-state are, firstly, that they operate on a global, trans-national level, and secondly, that they are hostile to democracy. Theorists such as Toffler conclude that these movements have evolved to the political arena with their agendas and operations in sharp contrast to those of the nation-state. Britain serves as an example where ecological movements enjoy a mass support numbering over 4 million and in that capacity, it is possible for them to influence government decision making. Toffler, supported by authors such as Dobson and Greene, advocates a Green political philosophy which Toffler regards as a threat to the nation-state because, in his estimate, they are labouring for a power shift.

The next spheres, influencing the nation-state are the international world order and the international environment of the nation-state. The study will, therefore, proceed to discuss these two spheres.

2.2. The International World Order

The international world order from the diagram in Figure 5.1 is mainly manifested in the global social matrix. From this emanates forces which shape the economic, technological social and political relationships both within and between nation-states. Toffler (1990:243) reasons that a new system of wealth creation has heralded in economic de-massification with accompanying high levels of social diversity. The Third Wave civilization is based on an intelligence environment. As energy is transformed, the technological base changes and a new *techno-sphere* are formed. Toffler (1980:217) refers to these two as giant currents flowing together to radically alter the structure of a production system. The intelligence environment is manifested in the form of computer and chip studded appliances. Toffler (1980:183) reasons that the extended structures of this environment, in the form of vocabulary responding computers, will greatly influence the economy as well as the culture of the Third Wave. This new wealth creation, Toffler (1990:24) reasons, has caused a social shift from the *proletariat* to the *cognitariat*.

The global world order is experiencing a shift from nation-state sovereignty to new supra-national political structures which will place more emphasis on this sphere of the environment.

The first predetermined element which adversely affects the environment of the nation-state is the ecological crises which are an inheritance of the industrial era. Schwartz (1996:112) places the ecological crises in demographics which advocates a "...slowly changing phenomenon". As was explained under the previous heading, the dimensions considered here are such that international organisations are needed to deal with problems leaving the nation-state on the periphery.

2.3. *The Internal Environment*

The inner circles of the general environment, as shown in Figure 5.1, refer to the internal environment of the nation-state which in turn is shaped by the interchangeable forces of the social, economic, political and technological aspects of society as a coherent totality. As was stated in the introduction, sub-national and national politics find expression within these parameters. The social, economic, technological and political spheres will be discussed under their respective headings leaving us to focus on the national and sub-national spheres. The international environment is influenced by strong driving forces from the international environment which are increasingly seeking autonomy. Similarly, in accord with the decentralisation principles of the Third Wave, separatist movements are applying increasing pressure to the core of the nation-state (Toffler, 1980:322-323). Consequently, Toffler (1980:322-323) regards regional autonomy and secessionism as the outflow of these driving forces. Examples of brewing regional conflict are disputes between France and Corsica and Britain and Scotland. In France, separatist movements with their own terrorist arm are gaining support. In Scotland, separatist emotions run deep with separatists seeking autonomy over their North Sea oil industry (Toffler, 1980:323).

The environmental diagram in Figure 5.1 forms the framework of the *biosphere* and Toffler (1980:359) explains that every civilization "...operates in and on the *biosphere*, and reflects or alters the mix of population and resources". The exploitation of the environment represents the first *predetermined element*. Population explosion is the second *predetermined element* which features as an element of the social component which will be discussed under that section later in the chapter. Sunter (1992:29-30; 152) states that by the latter half of the 21st century, the world's population will reach twelve billion, as calculated at the current growth rate. Anstey (1991:39) expands on this by stating that 15 cities the size of Soweto will have to be built to compensate for South Africa's growing population. The United Nations has estimated that Asians and Africans will make up approximately 80% of humanity (Mc Kibben 1998:72). This creates the problem of stretching the distribution of resources to the limit. However, Mc Kibben (1998:73) raises an important issue in that population growth, "...in Rwanda, in Sudan, in El Salvador, in the slums of Lagos and in the highland hamlets of Chile, can devastate those places. But population growth in those places doesn't devastate the planet".

Mc Kibben (1998:73) explains that the average American consumes 40 to 50 times more than the average person born in the developing countries and he states that the "...57,5 million Northerners added to our population during this decade will add more greenhouse gases to the atmosphere than the roughly 900 million Southerners". However, as Sunter (1996:57) points out, with the fifth Kondratieff Wave, came the industrialisation of the South. The economic growth of developing nations is now faster than that of developed countries (McKibben, 1998:73). It is therefore vitally important to guide developing countries, like the African states, and provide them with the knowledge so as not to make the same mistakes as the rest of the globe and to remain environmentally friendly. (Harsant and Duvenhage, 2000:13-15). This knowledge provided by global communications could emphasise the fact that the "...rapid growth of population in the developing world undoubtedly will push up energy demands" (Schwartz, 1996:169).

Global communications is the third ***predetermined element*** and forms a part of the economic and technological components of the Third Wave which will be discussed later in the chapter. As civilization develops within the fifth Kondratieff Wave, diversification and development in communications has become a vital part of technological advancement (Sunter, 1996:59). Toffler (1980:353) expands on this by indicating that electronic communication systems are a necessary requirement in our global society. Schwartz (1996:179) refers to ***economic intelligence*** as the organising principle of the market world, and that in this concept coherence is achieved by a "...new way of organising society built around communication". It is imperative that this society understands the unpredictable trade dynamics. This communication upon which society is built, encourages "...co-operation, productivity, efficiency and organisational learning" (Schwartz, 1996:179). As civilization develops within the fifth Kondratieff Wave, diversification and development in communication have become a vital part of technological advancement (Sunter, 1996:59). Besides the computer, these electronic communication systems include, among others, radios which rely on solar power, satellite payphones, microwaves, satellite networks and fibre optics. Communication needs an adequate telecommunication infrastructure which can be used in political agendas to advance education which will ultimately lead to knowledge.

Toffler (1990:270) elevates the relationship between knowledge and democracy. He holds that information is a ***precondition for democracy***. These ***predetermined elements*** are interdependent with the environment and society as driving forces in the world today. These ***predetermined elements*** identify or highlight ***slow changing*** phenomena in the global environment which in turn cause alterations in society (Schwartz, 1996:111).

As is evident from the above information, the environment of the Third Wave civilization is different from that of both the First and Second Wave's environment. The ecological environment inherited from the industrial age is posing such serious problems that it has become a prominent political issue. The proportions and extent of the problem has warranted the deployment of a wide variety of actors. This challenges state sovereignty, especially since globalisation had propelled the issues into the international arena where it has become too expanded to be dealt with by the nation-state. In the international arena these issues can only be dealt with by a knowledge based approach which is the production unit of the Third Wave. It is within this environment that regimes, which are more fluid, complex and diverse, have been employed as a more influential political system to solve the problems of environmental issues.

The international world order highlights de-massification and social diversity as well as the intelligence environment epitomised by computers which have unleashed radical changes in society. These all exert forces from above, while the internal environment unleashes centrifugal forces, caused by de-massification, from below which seriously threaten the unity of the nation-state. An overall perspective clearly highlights the fact that the nation-state with a standardized policy is finding it increasingly more difficult to deal with the environmental forces unleashed by the Third Wave civilization.

Finally, the internal environment in which the nation-state functions is threatened by the ever increasing forces from the international environment which seeks autonomy. Besides these, the environment in which the nation-state operates is influenced by three predetermined elements, i.e. elements which cannot be changed. These include population explosion, global communication and the ecological crises. The magnitude of these predetermined elements operating in the nation-state warrants serious consideration when the future of the nation-state is considered. Another reason why they should be seriously considered is that they cause alterations in society. Theorists such

as Toffler, Schwartz and Greene include other factors which also affect society such as de-massification, environmental degradation and the influence of technology, in particular the effect of the computer, when the environment surrounding the nation-state is considered. It is precisely from this environment that the driving forces, which will ultimately influence the future of the nation-state, will originate.

In conclusion: the environmental component of the Third Wave has inherited the ecological destruction caused by the industrial elements of the Second Wave. Environmental exploitation is threatening the very survival of mankind and has been identified by Toffler as one of the key predetermined elements. The environment is divided into three main spheres, i.e. the natural, international and internal spheres. The natural environment of the Third Wave has highlighted the need for biotechnology as an alternative energy source. The focus on sustainable development has been promoted by Green political ideology and the rise of Green movements such as Greenpeace. Greenpeace is widely supported and receives annual membership fees amounting to \$143 million. The international sphere has focused on the creation of the intelligence environment and the shift from the industrial *proletariat* to a *cogniteriat*. The internal environment forms the sphere in which the driving forces originate as well as the predetermined elements (population explosion, environmental exploitation and global communication) which identify *slow changing* phenomena in the global environment which cause alterations in society. A prominent driving force operating in the environment is the technological component. Toffler's heretical description of the Third Wave technological component indicates a radical shift from the industrial Second Wave Civilisation.

The next section will investigate the extent and parameters of the influence this new technological paradigm of the Third Wave has had on the nation-state and how it correlates with Toffler's profile of the political component of the Third Wave which is discussed in Chapter 6. It is also important to bear in mind that global communication forms an integral part of the Third Wave's technological and economic component as a key predetermined element. Toffler refers to this as the *techno-sphere*. The technological component is, therefore, the next driving force to be discussed.

3. **THE TECHNOLOGICAL COMPONENT OF THE THIRD WAVE CIVILIZATION**

The second dimension of the global communication as a predetermined element is the technological component. Whereas the technological advances of the Second Wave were based on simple electromechanical principles, where large energy inputs were used and enormous amounts of waste fed into the atmosphere, the onset of the Third Wave was launched by new industries, which were totally different from these old industries. These industries were no longer primarily either electro-mechanical, nor entirely based on the technology of the industrial age. Instead, they arose from quantum electronics, nucleonic, space sciences, information theory and sciences such as molecular biology. Toffler (1980:150) relates that from these came new industries such as "...computers and data processing, aerospace, sophisticated petrochemicals, semi-conductors, advanced communications, and scores of others".

These new industries required smaller amounts of energy. Toffler (1980:152) cites the telephone as an example. Second Wave telephone systems needed very large amounts of copper wire laid underneath city streets, while modern telephones make use of fibre optic systems where hair-thin light-carrying fibre optic systems were used to convey messages. The energy requirements to manufacture copper wire are staggering when compared to fibre optic systems. Toffler (1980:152) reasons that one ton of coal will assist in produce 90 miles of copper wire, but 80 000 miles of fibre.

The electronic revolution as a low energy Third Wave industry is only one step in the shift toward the new *techno-sphere*. The space industry is fast forming a second emerging *techno-sphere*. In this sphere medicine and about 400 alloys, which cannot be manufactured on earth because of gravity, are manufactured in outer space. Another arm of the *techno-sphere* which was about to launch numerous industries is the biological revolution where revolutionary strides are being made. An example here is the use of bacteria which is capable of "... converting sunlight into electrochemical energy" (Toffler, 1980:159). Characteristic of the electronic revolution is the substitution of low energy utilisation in industry for the energy wasting industries of the Second Wave (Toffler, 1980:153).

The shift to the post-industrial, **post-Fordist** era of the Third Wave was not limited to the economic component as portrayed by Bell (1973). In the 1960's in France, a movement arose to question the industrial era and all its implications. The idea of this movement was conceptualised and analysed by Alain Touraine (1971) in his work **The Post-Industrial Society**. Touraine, as does Bell, also acknowledges the key role that knowledge and information would play within the parameters of the Third Wave Civilization. However, whereas Bell (1973) focuses primarily on the economic component, Touraine (1971) focuses mainly on the technological component within the **programmed society** of the Third Wave. As with Bell (1973), he too explores the role players who would gain control of knowledge and conceptualised these agents as a **technocracy**. Touraine (1971:174-175) suggests that this **programmed society** would experience a social division between the **technocrats** and **bureaucrats** (Allen, 1992:174-175). Human (1998:73-84) goes one step further and bridges the gap between the **technocrats** and **bureaucrats** by conceptualising a new Third Wave individual, the **revocrat**. The **revocrat** is **driven by change** to transform from being a single issue standardised, controlled individual to a multi-talented, multi-dimensional, cognitively complex individual. The **revocrat** adjusts life strategies to function within a complex and dynamic environment within a knowledge driven **programmed society**. In the 1970's, Toffler (1970:404-406) suggested that the **technocrat** was a decaying sector within the evolutionary process of mankind as civilization was being drawn towards **super-industrialism**. The **technocrat** is a **product of industrialism** and "...reflects the values of that vanishing era" (Toffler, 1970:405). As the **technocrat** is dissolving within the Second Wave Civilization, Toffler (1970:429) suggests that the **revocrat** and the **revolutionary elite** need to create the Third Wave Civilizational code based on a new value system of human rights and democracy. The **technocrat** has failed to recognise the increased speed at which information is sent through the system, and instead of channelling this information through the hierarchical bureaucratic ladder of the system, it should rather be send vertically in a **loop**. This information, Toffler (1970:430) explains, must "...pulse through this loop at accelerating speeds, with the output of one group becoming the input for many others, so that no group, however politically potent it may seem, can independently set goals for the whole". Sunter and Ilbury (2001:18) explain that bureaucratic centralisers function in a hierarchical manner in order to bring about change, but suggest that development should transcend from the centre. Decentralisation is therefore a key factor in the blueprint or **rules of the game** for the

Third Wave Civilization. The process of decentralisation is transforming the hierarchical technocratic public sector to more people-centred, community orientated and mission-driven organisations. Jonker (2001:243) explains that the "...ultimate objective is to transform government from a state bureaucracy to an innovative, flexible, and responsive organisation that is solutions orientated and continually seeks to identify mechanisms to enhance service delivery". The community's needs are prioritised and to address these needs, strategic planning is required to formulate action plans which subsequently then also transform managerial functions (Jonker, 2001:234-251). As decentralisation focuses on local issues and organisations, information communication technologies (ICT) are an integral part of the dynamic matrix of the public sector's multi-level managerial environment. Schwella et al, (1996:191) explain that the relationship between the organisation's structure, strategic planning and planning for ICTs is presented in the diagram (Figure 5.4):

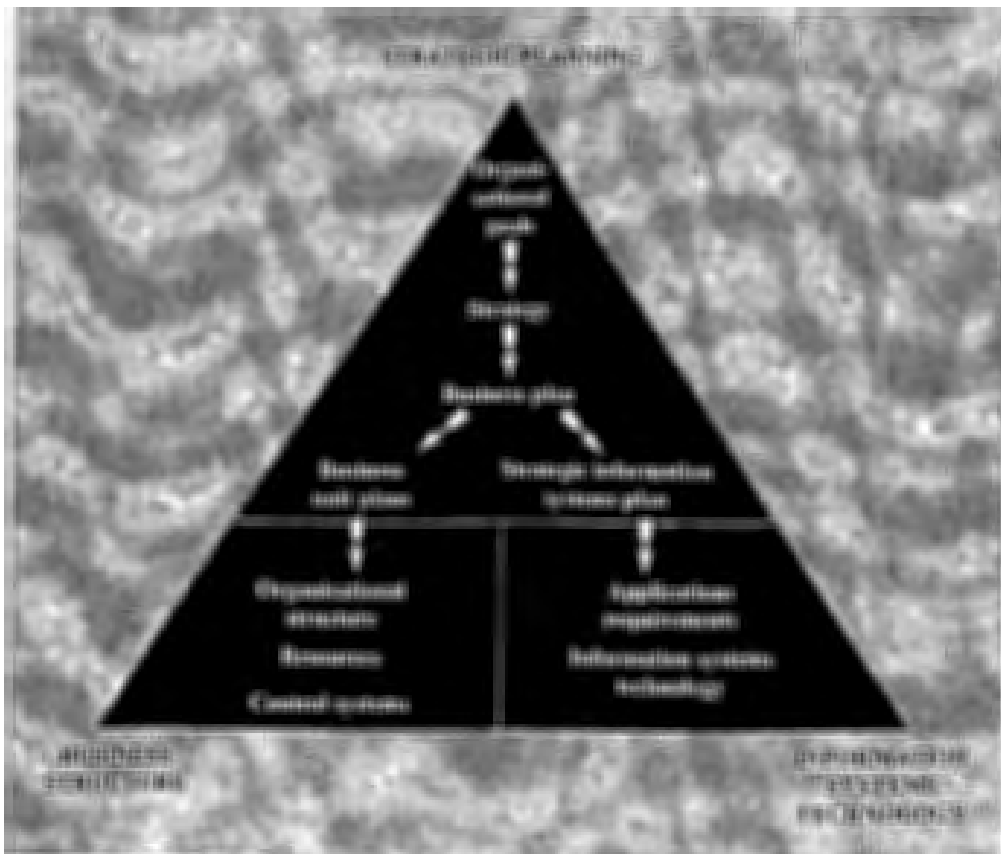


Figure 5.4.: The relationship between strategic planning and managing information systems planning (Schwella et al, 1996:191)

The new information communication technologies assist in greater decentralisation. Information, knowledge and ICT's are emphasised by both Post-*Fordism* and Post-Industrialisation (Allen, 1992:189-201). The shift to the new technological paradigm of the Third Wave is similar to the shift from the production items of the First Wave craft to the mass manufacture of the Second Wave industrial era.

The onset of globalisation has promoted the diffusion of an astonishing ensemble of technological advances. Technological advances in the field of Third Wave weapons are of particular interest as this has the potential to influence the future of the nation-state. Globalisation has made attacks like September 11 possible. A *supra-open, supra-differentiated* society has made the world more vulnerable to these attacks. This has led to a renewed focus on the nation-state's primary role of providing security and protection (Zakeria, 2001:16). The attack on the USA has resulted in the need for a global security plan. At the heart of this new paradigm of global security lies military technology and a *robotics revolution*. The *robotics revolution* is based on the idea that human soldiers are being replaced by new military technology such as the *Cypher* (flying surveillance vehicle), the *Predator* (reconnaissance plane which can launch an attack), the *Marvin* (ground surveillance vehicle), the *Fire Ant* (mobile antitank weapon), the *Fetch II* (minesweeper), the *Global Hawk* (high altitude surveillance aircraft) and the *Robart III* (ground patrol robot), amongst others (McGrath, 2001:40-44). Toffler and Toffler, 1993:147) point out that robots also make *ideal terrorists*. For Toffler & Toffler (1993:147) these devices are remote-controlled or tele-operated and are smart devices. This underlies Toffler & Toffler's (1993) inextricable connection between wealth production and the way we make war.

After Toffler highlights the classical technology of the Second Wave, which was based on uncomplicated electromechanical principles, he moves on to show that the technology of the Third Wave did not rely on the classical science of the Second Wave. A breakthrough, in a mixture of scientific disciplines, unknown two decades ago, such as quantum electronics, information theory, nucleonics, molecular biology, and space sciences, to name a few, for the first time transcended the boundaries of space and time. For him, the new sciences formed the basis from which arose the new technology of the Third Wave which would launch powerful new industries, such as the computer and data processing, sophisticated petrochemicals, advanced communications, aerospace and

many more. Toffler has identified four clusters of industries which, for him, will launch a major shift in economic power and which, in turn, will cause deep rooted social change which will necessitate political realignment. These clusters divide into electronics and computers, the space industry which has caused a giant leap beyond Second Wave technology, deep sea intelligent aquaculture, and genetics. Many of these are now being launched and will form a powerful driving force which will cause a change in the economy and from there driving forces will be launched which will shape future political structures. In line with this, West German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, and his advisors, displays this political shift, which is in line with technological advancement, by speaking of *strukturpolitik*. This induced a shift from traditional mass production industries to Third Wave industries and the political realignment to compliment this shift. For Toffler the new technological paradigm of the Third Wave will launch radical changes within the structures of the economic component which will influence the future of the nation-state. The enkapitic relationship between the technological and economic components of the Third Wave has produced what Toffler conceptualises as the *techno-sphere*. The economic component the Third Wave will be discussed in the next section.

4. THE ECONOMIC COMPONENT OF THE THIRD WAVE CIVILIZATION

Global communication is the last exponential curve or predetermined element that has a dual dimension within the economic and technological components of the Third Wave. The radical economic shift from the Second Wave economic component to the Third Wave Civilization first took root in the 1960's in the U.S.A. This transformation process was later conceptualised and projected by scenario writer *Daniel Bell (1973)* in his work *The Coming of the Post-Industrial Society*. Bell adopts a model to highlight the stages of economic development within the historical progression process of mankind. The three successive stages of economic development were identified as the *pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial* stages. Each phase or stage of economic development is dominated by a mode of production, i.e. *agriculture, manufacturing and services* (Allen, 1992:170-173).

Bell's (1973) stages of economic development, therefore, imply that with every radical shift "...a different set of dynamics is driving an economy. So identifying such a shift is not simply a question of tracing the connections between a variety of changes; it also involves an identification of which elements are key to the direction of change" (Allen, 1992:172). The dynamics or driving forces which shaped the Second Wave economy were raw materials, capital, labour, land and economic growth which were achieved by the application of machinery and energy, mass production and profit. The heart of the Third Wave post-industrial, post-*Fordist* economy, on the other hand, is driven by the dynamics of an economic triad, i.e. **knowledge, information and services** (Allen, 1992:174; Toffler and Toffler, 1993:71; 272).

Knowledge is an inexhaustible form of energy, whereas the energy sources of the Second Wave era were exhaustible or finite. For instance, whereas assembly lines were tied to certain production processes knowledge could be used by more than one company simultaneously. Knowledge is, therefore, inexhaustible and nonexclusive (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:72). Knowledge as a mode of production has transformed three sectors within the economic component of the Third Wave, i.e. the **type of work, occupational structure** and the creation of the **knowledge elites**. The **knowledge elites** and the **knowledge workers** have created a new work environment for the Third Wave.

The transition from the old Second Wave work environment to a new **knowledge-driven** work environment is one not free of conflict. Toffler (1980:396) explains that this "...system penalizes workers who show blind obedience. It rewards those who - within limits - talk back. Workers who seek meaning, who question authority, who want to exercise discretion, or who demand that their work be socially responsible may be regarded as troublemakers in Second Wave industries. But Third Wave industries cannot run without them". Sunter and Ilbury (2001:18) also distinguish between Second Wave factory workers and Third Wave knowledge workers and use Isaiah Berlin's essay **The Hedgehog and the Fox** to illustrate this point. The **hedgehogs** have the same characteristics as Plato, Hegel, Nietzsche, and Einstein, to name a few; with their main characteristic being **natural centralises** focusing on single-issue traditional planning.

The **foxes**, on the other hand, such as Aristotle, Locke, the Medicis, Bertrand Russel, the Rockefellers and the Rothschilds, focus on decentralisation, without losing power (Sunter & Ilbury, 2001:18-23).

The **foxes** do not only concentrate on single-issues but "...pursue many ends, often unrelated and even contradictory. Their thought is often scattered or diffused, moving on many levels, seizing upon the vast variety of experiences". (Sunter and Ilbury, 2001:23). It is the focus on searching for the knowledge of a variety of driving forces and phenomenological experiences that is facilitated by **foxy** futurist scenario thinkers. In other words **hedgehogs** are Second Wave reactionaries focused on single ideologies, excluding all other information or views and favouring the centralised nation-state approach. The **foxes**, on the other hand, absorb all information and diversified experiences that the environment can produce in order to create a synthesis with two contradicting views of possible futures and paths of action. The **foxes**, therefore, will facilitate the transformation to the Third Wave (Sunter & Ilbury, 2001:18-23).

Within the Third Wave economy, knowledge is expressed in the form of information, data, symbols and images (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:71). To understand the far reaching consequences of this, a closer look at the ten key features of the Third Wave economy as identified by Toffler and Toffler (1993:71-77) is needed.

These include the following factors of production where knowledge is the main resource of the Third Wave (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:71-77):

- ◆ **Intangible values**
- ◆ **De-massification**
- ◆ **Specialized workers**
- ◆ **Innovation**
- ◆ **Scales** (large numbers of floor workers are replaced by micro-differentiated work teams)
- ◆ **Organizations**
- ◆ **Systems Integration**
- ◆ **Infrastructure**
- ◆ **Acceleration, with information having to move faster than money.**

From these ten features of the Third Wave economy, a clearer picture of the changes and their consequences emerges. The most instrumental of these changes is knowledge which Toffler and Toffler (1993:194) regard as *non-linear*, which means that "...small inputs can cause disproportionate consequences", and where tiny bits of information at the right time can provide tactical and strategic advantages. This revolutionary leap is transformatory, reaching beyond the nation-state where the economy operates both locally and globally. The reason for this, Toffler (1970:429-430) explains, is that in "...complex, differentiated societies, vast amounts of information must flow at ever faster speeds between the formal organisations and subcultures that make up the whole, and between the layers and subcultures within these". Only political democracy, Toffler (1970:430) suggests, can facilitate this large influx of information and its conversion in the decision-making process within differentiated societies. For the post-industrial, post-*Fordist* society to cope with *mosaic inputs* of information, alternative *democratic feedback mechanisms* will have to be designed. Information and knowledge are, therefore, key components of the Third Wave Civilization. To illustrate this point, Toffler (1990:25) suggests that the top ten richest people in the world, during the industrial era were related to car makers, steel barons and oil moguls, yet in the Third Wave the top ten American billionaires made their fortunes from the media, communications or computers. Another contrast can be seen in the operations of labour unions. In the past, labour strikes, boycotts and disruptions formed their tactics but today Toffler (1990:27) observes they hire investment bankers, lawyers and tax experts, all with specialised knowledge. This indicates that knowledge has become one of their key weapons.

Toffler and Toffler (1993:19) also suggest that mankind is not entering a *geo-economic* era but instead a *geo-information era*. Besides knowledge as the first facet of the Third Wave economy, the new way of wealth creation is becoming increasingly more dependent on the transformation and exchange of data and information at a super-symbolic level. It is precisely in the realm of capital and money that one of the greatest onslaughts against the nation-state occurs. Toffler (1990:55) forwards the argument that globalised production needs rapid flowing fluid capital. This has caused the nation-state to lose fiscal control over its national economy which has resulted in a loss of power which has placed the nation-state in crisis.

A deeper dimension has been added by Toffler (1990:228) when he suggests that each system of wealth creation has a *unique metabolic rate*. Whereas the agrarian age was slower than the Second Wave industrial economy, the Third Wave economy operates at an unimaginable speed. Symbolic of the new pace is the hetero-junction microchip which is turned on and put off in "...two trillionth of a second" (Toffler, 1990:228). This in turn has led to metal or paper money being replaced by electronic information which has become the medium of exchange. As the industrial age is coming to an end so too will paper money, which was apart of it, become obsolete (Toffler, 1990:63). Third Wave money is symbolic and appeared firstly in the form of credit cards. Toffler (1990:61) records that Visa credit card firms run up bills that total \$570 million per day. In this primitive card system, the individual owes the firm and settles the account latter. As the French were responsible for the greatest revolutionary political changes at the onset of the industrial age they are, once again, responsible for a revolutionary invention at the onset of the Third Wave. Toffler (1990:62) explains that a French inventor, Roland Moreno, has patented the smart card which has a micro-chip embedded in it. Added to this is the latest *super - smart card* which can buy or sell shares. Jones (1996:36) explains that the smart card being designed contains a combination of face print, fingerprint, DNA and signature which is programmed into the card's microchip. Toffler (1990:62) explains that micro-chipped *smart cards* are just about fraud proof. This process is similar to the First Wave as the individual's activities were monitored by their family and other members of the community leaving little room for privacy. This card, which is made by the *Bull group*, has revolutionised banking (Toffler, 1990:62; Jones, 1996:36). Toffler (1990:63) refers to this kind of monetary exchange as para-money which can be manifested in a pre-paid magnetic card such as the 10 million cards sold per month by the phone company NTT in Japan with annual sales reflecting 214 billion yen. Not a single coin is exchanged and funds are transferred by wire, microwave or satellite. In America, social security transactions and U.S. federal agencies use credit cards. As the Third Wave Civilization rolls over the entire planet its progress is clearly visible. As suggested in the *New Dawn magazine*, Jones (1996:35) explains that the era of the smart card has begun. Mondex U.K., which is a global market leader in smart cards, has approached major institutions to form Mondex International for the purpose of becoming "...a truly global payment scheme". Thirty banks in 15 countries are negotiating to join countries which are already members such as Canada, China and Taiwan which had already made offers for Mondex cards. The rise of this electronic

money in the global economy is about to cause an upheaval in established power relations. For Toffler (1990:65), the apex of these power struggles is "...knowledge embedded in technology". This money, consisting of electronic impulses, is instantaneously transferred while it is monitored on a screen. To accommodate the speed at which electronic money flows banking hours have shifted to 24 hour services. As Toffler (1990:52) reasons, "...stocks, bonds, commodities and currencies trade non-stop".

The essence of electronic money is *speed*, which affects power as well as profits. Owing to the speed at which money is transferred, for instance, the floats in banks start to shrink and banks need to look elsewhere for revenue. Capital markets expanded and linked and as the velocity of electronic money increased so financial power shifted and the deepest structures of world finances changed (Toffler, 1990:50). As the global market grew, single institutions dwarfed. After World War II money power had centred in the southern tip of Manhattan Island in North America. Today's global economy pivots on a volatile world capital market. Old safety mechanisms designed by a world of closed national economies are obsolete. As capital flows easily across national boundaries at uncontrolled electronic speed, old financial regulations set up by nations to protect national economies are no longer effective. As power shift out of the hands of banks and the governments which regulate them, it becomes obvious that regulations at a supra-national level are needed. The manner of eliminating national currencies to form a single central bank, for instance, was recently the case when a single united all-European central bank was formed. Some countries attempt to counter such supra-nationalism, but the G8, which represents the eight largest industrial economies, are set to synchronise policies regarding currencies. Margaret Thatcher counteracted supra-nationalism in the defence of British sovereignty (Toffler, 1990:156). Africa is entering a similar phase attempting to create new inter-African political economic structures. These structures or institutions include: *the African Economic Community (AEC)* (established with the aim of fostering the integration of the cultural, social, and economic components of Africa and the *Pan- African Parliament (PAP)* (Kornegay, 2000:4). As was the case with the nation-state, most African countries follow the Westminster Style and once again the *African Union (AU)*, *PAP* and the *AEC* will not be modelled on America's federal system but on the European Union.

To establish the **AU** and the **PAP** a ministerial conference was held in 31 May - 2 June 2000 where a **Draft Constitutive Act of the African Union** was designed. A decision was taken to transform the **Organisation of African Union (OAU)** into the **AU** which would be an institution consisting of the following organs:

- ◆ **The Assembly as its supreme organ**
- ◆ **The Executive Council**
- ◆ **The Specialist Technical Committee**
- ◆ **The PAP**
- ◆ **The Court of Justice**
- ◆ **The Economic and Social Council**

(Kornegay, 2000:5)

[It is important, however, to mention that, for the purpose of this study, the African Union (AU) is only used as an example to illustrate the global tendency to form supra-national political economic structures. The AU is still in its formative stages and, as yet, has not been institutionalised.]

Toffler suggests that the contemporary global driving forces seek to culminate in a central world bank. Toffler (1990:56) reasons the stage is set for a "...titanic power struggle between the globalisers and the nationalists over the nature of new regulatory institutions in the world capital market". This reflects a head-on collision between the old industrial order and the new global system in which wealth is created. Within this scenario Toffler suggests that the current industrial order is in decay.

The main point to emerge is that under the global market system, the market is not subordinate to either society or the state. On the contrary, it regulates itself and is, according to Gilpin (1991:128), "...determined by economic *laws* such as those of supply and demand". These laws, which cannot be determined by states, have elevated the market system to an autonomous sphere.

As was seen in the previous chapters, the appearance of a new system of wealth creation changed every pillar of the previous power system.

Toffler's (1990:11) main thesis rests on the view that as the wealth creation system changes at the onset of the Third Wave, every pillar of the existing power system will change. This transformation will ultimately also include transforming politics and the nation-state. The extent of this transformation will be examined in the next chapter. As globalisation forms the background for the Third Wave economy, the next section examines the form in which globalisation is manifested.

4.1 Transnational Companies (TNC's)

As the previous passage is primarily centred on globalisation, it is pertinent to mention that globalisation is perceived in the form of companies, associations, conglomerates, corporations and syndicates which operate as trans-national networks. As globalisation, by means of companies, spread, the essence of the TNCs changed. Globalisation created a shift in the location of production from the companies' headquarters within the nation-state to the operational areas across national borders. This shift, therefore, was a transformation from the industrialised structured corporation to a new structure, i.e. the **Virtual Corporation**. These **Virtual Corporations** include people from various countries in their top management structures. The **Virtual Corporations** aim at profit maximisation by relocating specific phases of production to any location, on the globe. At these locations, the **Virtual Corporation** will extract machinery, materials, services or finances by means of **global sourcing**. The use of **global factories** only received prominence in the 1960's (Scholte, 1997:435). With regards to production, the various stages from the designs and research to marketing, it is no longer confined to a particular national economy within its national borders. As was the case in the First Wave agrarian civilization these MNCs or **corporate condottieri** are concentrating economic power in the hands of non-state actors. The Third Wave production lines span and link up across several countries, thereby penetrating the parameters of national boundaries. These Multinational Corporations include McDonalds, General Motors, BBC and Sky News, among others (Anon. 1996(a):30; Scholte, 1997:15).

4.2 *Sovereignty within the Third Wave Economic Component*

TNCs severely reduce the sovereignty of governments. The political structures, irrespective of leaders or ideologies, are not adequate in their speed, structure or scale to cope with a globalised economy. The revolutionary nature of the Third Wave economy will not only transform business, but government as well (Toffler, 1990:251). The basic relationship between bureaucrats and politicians will alter when bureaucracy is restructured. The use of force by the modern state, to achieve its goals, is becoming less viable as states increasingly need to negotiate with non-state actors such as Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) especially in the field of economics. It is no longer feasible to consider a particular country as a separate entity with its own particular economy. Even the two fundamental aspects of sovereignty, namely, the control of the state over its flow of money and foreign trade, have been greatly diminished. Governments no longer have control over the transactions taking place within the global economy (Willets, 1997:292-296).

At the end of the Cold War, trade was encouraged to no longer respect national boundaries. For Heywood (1997:151), economies, are "...independent elements within a global whole". The main point is that the global markets are dominated by MNCs and cause economic power to be concentrated in the hands of non-state actors where companies such as General Motors and Ford, for instance, control \$100,000,000,000 economic units (Heywood, 1997:151). To indicate the rate of growth of MNCs or TNCs, it should be noted that in the 1960s, as industrialisation began to decline, there were 3,500 MNCs. This number subsequently increased to 40,000 in 1995 (Scholte, 1997:433). The TNCs or MNCs have been described as follows: "in this world of more open borders, various globalists have described MNCs as *footloose* and *stateless*" (Scholte, 1997:434).

4.3 *Economic Trading Blocks*

In the 19th century, the UK dominated economic power, while in the 21st century, this role was taken over by the U.S.A. The U.S.A. have little fear of smaller states opening up their markets.

The new multi-polar global economies harbour another danger, i.e. the formation of rival trading blocks. Examples of these are the *European Union*, which Heywood (1997:152) refers to as the Fortress of Europe, and the *North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)* which includes Mexico, the USA and Canada. The East Asian trading bloc of Japan and China would dwarf NAFTA and Europe. Added to this is the emerging African Union which is a trading block in its formative stages. The most significant feature or driving force in the Third Wave global politics is the growth of international organisations which exercise power, not in a single state, but within several states in a global arena.

The nation-state can thus no longer be viewed as the most important political actor in the world as was set out by the Westphalia Treaty. The role of the state, therefore, has changed to one which promotes international competitiveness (Heywood, 1997:152-161).

Toffler (1990:10) reminds us that as the steam engines and smokestacks of the Second Wave increased, vast political changes on a global scale followed. As this revolutionary change in wealth production spread, it also triggered personal, political and international conflict. As the Second and Third Wave Civilizations clash, the ruling elite of both civilizations will enter a power struggle to gain control of the future similar to the one which occurred as the agrarian era was supplanted by the industrial age.

Every time society is launched into a major transformation, money changes and therefore capital, which is our wealth used for the purpose of increasing production, also changes. Throughout Toffler's work, a golden thread spans over three waves of civilisation, i.e. that the economy runs congruently with political structures. Walsh (1997:40) of *Time* magazine states that the economy "...broadly defined is shaping global politics and culture, so business leaders today have a much broader set of responsibilities". Marxist communist views, in favour of globalisation, suggest that economic order must be imposed to remove the need for a strong state (Mc Naughton, 1996:9). A global economy based on a world capitalist system of telecommunications, tourism and trade is suffocating nationalism and ethnic languages are dying at an alarming rate. Geary (1997:48) expands on this, stating that civilization could lose 95% of languages.

The largest portion of the world's capital, according to the National Times (Anon, 1996a:30) is owned by multinational companies or *virtual corporations* operating freely across national borders, thereby creating a redefined nation-state in the form of a *virtual state*. From this point of departure, a connection between the super symbolism of the Third Wave Civilization and future political structures will be highlighted. Before moving on to the political structure, the social component of the Third Wave will be discussed.

The central pillar of Toffler's thesis rests on the premise of the way wealth is created. In the Third Wave, the way wealth is created is determined by the onset of the computer and a knowledge based society. The dynamics driving this Third Wave economy is no longer dependant on raw material, capital, labour or land, but is rather driven by the dynamics of an economic triad, i.e. knowledge, information and service. This, in turn, has spawned different types of work, occupational structure, and a new knowledge elite who Sunter and Ilbury (2001) classes as foxes. Based on an economic deterministic approach, Toffler extends the all encompassing influence of economics to play a critical role in the development of future political structures. In his view, a powerful driving force is launched by the onset of electronic information which has become the medium of exchange in the Third Wave. The flow of his argument is centred on the phenomenon that electronic information, in the form of electronic data, has characteristics which change all structures it comes into contact with. The first characteristic he identifies is that the metabolic rate of the Third Wave, in contrast to the slow metabolic rate of the First Wave, operates at unimaginable speed. The second feature is that it operates across national borders beyond the control of the nation-state. His argument is extended by him, not only placing the economy as fast moving, but autonomous and beyond the control of the nation-state. This line of reasoning has placed the economy of the Second Wave, which was controlled by the nation-state and national markets, in decay. For him, this new mode of production has been manifested in various ways. Primarily he focuses on the power shift caused by this new form of economy. As the capital markets expanded, power shifted from the national market to the global market system. Electronic money, in the form of smart cards, operates beyond the central control of the nation-state. This, Toffler argues, has resulted in power shifting away from the banks and therefore the centralised governments they represent. Power thus shifted from the national currencies to supranational currencies such as the Euro, which can be found in a central bank. Academics and financial experts are arguing for a world central bank,

which Toffler reasons, will unleash a giant power struggle between the globalisers and the nationalists. As the economic system of the Second Wave, characterised by the factory, was influential in the political formation to the nation-state, so too the economic system of the Third Wave, i.e. where manufacture and capital is computerised, is influential in the formation of trans-national political structures. Toffler postulates that the way we make wealth is synonymous with the way we govern ourselves. Finally, institutions, driving this economy, take the form of trans-national companies which have greatly reduced the sovereignty of the nation-state. States now need to negotiate with non-state actors. Dominant in this field are MNCs which control the global economy and, with this, the nation-state has lost control over the flow of money and foreign trade, which thereby shifts power into the hands of non-state actors and trading blocs. Toffler finally shows that the role of the state is changing in the face of a changing economy which promotes international competition. Toffler subsequently advances the argument that new political structures will be needed in response to the changing economy. Toffler postulates that it is only with political democracy that this large influx of information and its conversion in the decision-making process, within a supra-differentiated society, will occur. The main difference between mass economy and the Third Wave economy is that where the production and distribution were split in the industrial era, the post-industrial era saw the rise of the *prosumer* where attention was no longer on production, but on service delivery. The driving forces which originate in the environment, i.e. the technological and economic components, all flow into the social component, causing deep-rooted structural changes. The next section will reflect on these changes with special focus on the influences society has on the future of the nation-state.

5. THE SOCIAL COMPONENT OF THE THIRD WAVE CIVILIZATION

The clash of civilizations between the Second and Third Wave is going to be extremely traumatic and stressful for mankind. The French revolution, in the First Wave, serves as an example of the violent nature of events and the *extreme social disruption* which occurs with the clash of civilizations. Toffler (1990:11) expects a power shift as the Second Wave recedes and the Third Wave approaches. This will not occur without conflict which Toffler (1990:11) concludes is about to deepen as bigger power struggles

emerge which will ultimately see the "...deepest power shift in human history". All aspects of the Second Wave societies are in social decay, from family structure, health services, economies, and especially the bureaucracies servicing the nation-state. The individual, in response to this decaying environment, is experiencing a **psychological turbulence**, resulting in depression, anxiety, and confusion. Individuals, especially the youth, are expressing dysfunctional behaviour as solid Second Wave societal foundations begin to crumble beneath them. Global increases in juvenile suicides, alcohol abuse, depression, crime, fundamentalism, vandalism, to name a few, are evidence of this. What mankind is experiencing is "...as though a bomb has gone off in our communal **psycho-sphere**" (Toffler, 1980:375). The Third Wave will bring order out of chaos and regards this enormous global social decay as its compost bed (Toffler, 1980:360).

Mankind's decaying **psycho-sphere** has resulted in the need for stability in an order of chaos, which in turn, has resulted in a dialectic retreat to religion, family, and other diversified units which provide a sense of stability. The focus of individuals is to find sanctuary in these units as they perceive decay in the global order which they expect to destruct at any moment. The first step in creating this order is to create a super-ideology for the new Third Wave Civilization. A super-ideology is a "...kit of powerful cultural assumptions that structure its view of reality and justify its operations" (Toffler, 1980:360). This ideology is not limited to a choice between Second Wave ideologies of communism or capitalism, but on a new ideology of **planetary consciousness** or globalisation which may in the future develop into a **cosmic consciousness** (Toffler, 1980:332). In the Second Wave, ideology was aimed at the members of nation-states and nationalistic views. The super-ideology of the Third Wave, Toffler (1980:334) explains, is based on globalistic tendencies and "...claims to speak for the whole world".

The Second Wave was based on a differentiated mass society, while the Third Wave is based on a supra-differentiated **world society**. This shift is fundamental, radical and non-incremental. The basic underlying element of the Third Wave is a **de-massified** or supra-differentiated society (Toffler, 1980:255). This basic element is the root of many conflicts between reactionaries set in Second Wave mindsets and Third Wave revolutionaries. The differences between these two societies are diagrammatically represented in Figure 5.5.

INDUSTRIAL (MODERN) SOCIETY	POSTINDUSTRIAL (POSTMODERN) SOCIETY
ECONOMIC Wealth creation: manufacturing Restricted capital & people movements	Wealth creation; Information/service Unrestricted capital & people movement
SOCIAL/CONSUMERS Authority vested in stable institutions Hierarchical, deferential social order Handed-down, inherited values Status reflected by things/externals National lifestyles Controlled/closed media Passive consumers	Institutional authority questioned Transference to media power Egalitarian social order tribes Discovered individual values Status reflected by experiences/internals Mixtures of global lifestyles/bazaars Open/free-access media Active/educated/moral consumers
MARKETING/BUSINESS Business activities backstage (covert) Mass media National markets Mass marketing	Business activities frontstage and transparent (overt) Fragmented specialist media Global markets Mass customization/relationship marketing

Figure 5.5: The difference between industrial and post-industrial societies (Sunter, 1996:81.)

The Third Wave, through de-massification, has given rise to groups with global interests and is therefore not limited to nationalism. This has led to a global struggle over "...the creation of new global institutions capable of fairly representing the pre-national as well as post-national peoples of the world" (Toffler, 1980:336). De-massification is a key element attacking the nation-state (Toffler, 1980: 366).

One key aspect of a system as it spreads is, as Toffler (1990:228) describes it, that each system has a **unique metabolic rate**, where the pace of the whole system is equated to the average rate of change occurring in various parts. The pace of the agrarian age moved slower than that of the industrial age. The way wealth is created in the Third Wave moves at unimaginable speed. Toffler (1990:228) refers to the example of the **hetero junction microchip** which, in two trillionth of a second, can be switched on or off. This acceleration is characteristic of the economy, and from the economy flow politics and the military. All the components of society are experiencing change simultaneously. In the **info-sphere** there is the rise of the **information elites**; an intelligent environment and de-massification of the mass media, while the **techno-sphere** is changing the energy system where combined revolutionary currents change the whole structure of production, coming from an era which made the factory into a cathedral, where work is now transferred back to the home. The **socio-sphere** is starting to correlate itself in the same direction reshaping family ties, schools and the business sector where the worker receives individual attention and is not merely a number (Toffler, 1980: 140; 217).

Every universal civilisation, Toffler (1980:359) explains, has a "...**socio-sphere** consisting of interrelated social institutions". Globalisation is not a new concept; however the temporal-spatial element of today's global society is totally different.

So what profile may be sketched of the Third Wave society? The following are suggested characteristics (Toffler, 1980:255-275; Annan, 2000:15):

- Global problems have no passports (society functions trans-nationally)
- It has a metabolic rate which travels at the speed of light
- It orientates society towards global diversity
- It presents new opportunities and choices to individuals
- It promotes collective action and the promotion of global interests
- Workers work flexitime
- Decentralisation
- Non-bureaucratic, non-hierarchical, matrix orientated organisations
- Knowledge, information and data orientated, focussing on computers.

Toffler (1980:275) regards these characteristics as not only "...the birth of new organisational forms but ... the birth of a new civilization. A new code book is taking form - a set of Third Wave principles, fresh ground rules for social survival". Toffler (1980:255) mentions that the **code book** of the Second Wave contained the principles such as **standardization, synchronization and maximization**. These principles gave rise to norms of punctuality and endless schedules. The new code book for the Third Wave, containing the **rules of the game**, is constructed on a de-massified economy and de-massification in all sectors of society. Included in the main areas under attack is centralization, while de-massification, especially of time, is gaining prominence (Toffler, 1980:261). For Toffler (1980:19) the Third Wave will use processes, principles and a new unique **super-ideology** to clarify its reality.

Toffler and Toffler (1993:21-22) reason that revolutionary changes are rooted in the way wealth is created. Toffler (1980:262) roots the Third Wave rhythms in "...deep psychological, economic and technological forces". From the latter force, the computer is responsible for the most revolutionary changes in society. For instance, it reshapes our schedules, our conceptions of time and our communication. Computer references permit interaction through terminals. The Electronic Information Exchange System using teleprinters and video screens allows communication in a delayed or instant manner. Thus time is redefined. Computers operate at an unimaginable speed which in turn causes data to be programmed in what Toffler (1980:263) calls **subliminal time**. Computers even introduce new vocabulary such as real-time which "...clarifies labels and re-conceptualize temporal phenomena". The temporal map of time has changed. The Third Wave is de-massifying time (Toffler, 1980:236). For example, banks which used to operate a 9-5 schedule now have automated banking systems in operation which function 24 hours a day. Multi-national firms have also introduced flexitime, an arrangement whereby workers choose their own time within predetermined limits. The old Second Wave concept of 9 to 5 schedules is progressively being replaced by flexitime as the Third Wave progresses (Toffler, 1990:256-260). During the Second Wave, people were **synchronized** to the machine with socio-economic consequences, thereby imprisoning society in a unified paradigm. With the speed at which the Third Wave technology moves, humans are progressively freed. The Society of the Third Wave is increasingly becoming more heterogeneous, characterised by an increase in social diversity. As the industrial age ends, so mass society will end with the de-

massified society of the Third Wave revealing a heightened ethnic and racial consciousness among groups such as ecological activists and industrialists. Unstable smaller groups now feed into the political system. If the political system experiences an overload, the possibility of political instability exists. These situations can deepen the crisis of the nation-state

The media once again influence the psychology of society by re-writing *the rules of the game* which ultimately influence social consciousness. Toffler and Toffler (1993:221) reason that a *multiplicity of channels* transfers information; among these are digital networks which relay vast volumes of data, voice and graphic material. Of great importance here are cable televisions which relay information directly from satellites to computer networks. These operate beyond the reach of either the nation-state or military sectors, across national borders. For Toffler and Toffler (1993:276), people running these systems challenge the existing political elite. Examples are digital networks such as Green-Net and Neo-Nazis each with their own nets (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:276). Central control is therefore directly threatened. Vast numbers of people, across national borders, receive huge amounts of information. This weakens the power of politicians and causes concern to military authorities (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:229).

For Toffler (1990; 374), the main area under attack as the Third Wave advances is national identity which, in turn, affects the nation-state. Cross-national interdependence has deepened with Third Wave technology, placing satellite receivers in the home. This communication network according to Toffler (1990; 374) "... threatens the national identity" of people. This is deepened where borders have been opened for economic reasons such as was the case with the E.U. Traditional, national sentiments are now displaced by supra-nationalism. This supra-nationalism has also emerged in the form of extremists manifested by religious, ecological or nationalistic groups. Because these groups have a deep rooted hatred of democratic values, Toffler (1990:374-378) reasons, that governments, which are influenced or controlled by these groups, soon lose their democratic values. An example here is where Islamic fundamentalism resulted in the 1979 Iranian revolution which ultimately ended in the founding of the world's first Islamic state (Heywood, 1997:61).

Fundamentalism, in modern society, needs serious consideration by nation-states. Firstly, it is supra-national by nature which Heywood (1997:154) stresses, gives it authority which exceeds that of the nation-state and therefore, fundamentalism is seen as a body with *global jurisdiction*. From the Latin word, *fundamentum* the word is rooted in the school of thought where its principles are recognized as important truths which cannot be challenged. Therefore the term conjures up visions of dogmatism and authoritarianism. The main fundamentalist movement, strongly opposed to the nation-state, which is progressively launching stronger attacks against the nation-state, is religious fundamentalism. Toffler (1990:368) regards the onslaught of fundamentalism as "...highly effective political action" hostile to secularism which he regards as the "philosophical base of mass democracy". The threats, Toffler (1990:368) argues, are twofold, i.e. firstly when religion combines totalitarianism with universalism and secondly, when religious fanatics are committed to "... theocratic control of the mind and behaviour of the individual". They aim to seize power not only over individual's lives, but also over nation-states and eventually globally.

The resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism is spreading rapidly and is also centred in knowledge. Even as their paradigm is rooted in the modern world, the West is still classed as the chief arch-villain (Tayob, 1995:28-37). Mansbach (1994:36) claims that the new paradigm sees conflict with the non-Muslim world as legitimate and virtuous. Huntington (1996:263) adds a warning by pointing out that Islam has, from its origin, been a religion of the sword which *glorifies military virtue*. He further warns that global politics is confronted by a Muslim population of a billion people who adhere to the religious doctrines demanded by a new revival of Islamic fundamentalism. Mansbach (1994:38) also warns that countries such as Iraq, Egypt, Afghanistan, Algeria and the Sudan are working militantly to a stateless Islamic world where secular institutions are replaced by a religious one. This federation, in its formative stages, is supra-national and driving information data across the borderless zones of these federations is the computer.

One of the main driving forces levelled at the destruction of the nation-state as the main political force of the world is the social contract. Theorists such as Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau use the social contract as a theoretical device which examines the "... grounds for political obligation", i.e. the grounds which propel individuals to obey the state (Heywood 1997:87). These philosophers rest their arguments on the postulation that the state exists because of a voluntary agreement by individuals who realise that only a sovereign power could safeguard their security and protect their liberty. Heywood (1997:87) advances Locke's argument that the state's function is to protect *life, liberty and property*. In the next chapter, the extent, nature and future of the social contract will be discussed. As the Second Wave wanes, its value systems are shattered. The *socio-sphere* of the Third Wave operates in a new environment which is no longer shaped or controlled by an ideology which is Marxist or Laissez-fair. The Third Wave has created a consciousness which is larger than nationalism, i.e. globalism with its own ideology which is called *planetary consciousness* (Toffler, 1980:335-336).

In conclusion, the most prominent feature of the social aspect of the Third Wave needs to be highlighted. As the end of the Second Wave approaches, Toffler places the Second Wave society in decay including the bureaucracies which serve the nation-state. As was evident from the French Revolution, which was a visible manifestation of extreme social upheaval, the social upheaval of our time is symptomatic of the clash between Toffler's Second and Third Wave Civilizations. In the wake of the resulting psychological turbulence, Toffler advocates a possible dialectic retreat to the First Wave social structures with expression in religion, family and diversified units which offer a sense of stability. Toffler places the changed mode of production at the root of the psychological changes. For him, the computer is identified as causing revolutionary changes in society. Social interaction occurs through terminals, teleprinters and video screens. The speed at which this interaction occurs has freed man from the standardised, unified paradigm of the Second Wave. As satellites relay information directly into the home, information is diffused away from the centralized control of the nation-state. This leaves social control slipping away from the nation-state and this is especially true as globalisation advances and information, in which vast volumes of data is relayed, transcends national borders.

In response to the social decay society experiences, as the industrial age disintegrates Toffler sees society as experiencing a power shift. For him this power shift will be manifested by three phenomena. Firstly, he forwards a response which postulates a dialectic retreat into religion. Worth mentioning here is the resurgence of religion in the form of Islamic fundamentalism which is launching a powerful onslaught against the nation-state. Emerging strongly is theocratic control fundamentalism has over the individual's mind and behaviour. Their low intensity war tactics make them a formidable enemy, especially as they are hostile to secularism. Secondly he reasons that as the differentiated society of the Second Wave is replaced by the supra-differentiated society of the Third Wave, man's consciousness will progress from nationalism to supra-nationalism. This will unleash powerful driving forces which will adversely affect the political dispensation of the Second Wave, the nation-state. Finally he reasons that the greatest power shift will occur as the elite, who had built up the industrial age and who are rooted in the ideology of that era, regarded by Sunter as *hedgehogs* who fight to retain the status quo, come up against the elite of the incoming Third Wave. These elite are driven by technological innovations such as the computer and operate in a knowledge based environment. These Sunter refers to as foxes. For Toffler, the conflict between the incoming Second Wave elite were the architects of the industrial age and the receding First Wave can be used as a base of comparison when measuring the conflict between the Second and Third Wave civilization as they battle for control of the future. Based on this knowledge Toffler predicts a victory for the Third Wave elite who will become the architects of the Third Wave knowledge based society and who he postulates will affect the political structures of the future, in particular the nation-state. The extent of this will be surveyed in Chapter 6.

6. CONCLUSION

As the Second Wave industrial era starts spiralling down into decay, mankind searches for visionary leaders who can provide a way forward in a maze of global uncertainty and despair. As the agrarian era disintegrated, similarly the industrial era was experiencing disorder, instability and general distopia. This clash of civilizations constituted the super-struggle over tomorrow. The clash of civilizations is a concept seated within a rainbow of multi-paradigmatic views within the contemporary scientific community. These multi-

paradigmatic views, concerning the clash of civilizations, include those of Samuel Huntington (who promotes the idea of a pluralistic civilization), Paul Kennedy (who suggests that the USA is in a process of decay) and Fukuyama's phrase *the end of history*, to name a few. Toffler has designed a historic-spatial model where the "...deepest economic and strategic change of all is the coming division of the world into three distinct, differing and potentially clashing civilizations that cannot be mapped using the conventional differences" (Toffler and Toffler, 1995:57). The concept civilization, according to Toffler and Toffler (1995:28;29), is the only term which can embrace all the driving forces, which facilitate the strategic changes occurring within the contemporary political environment, and include matters such as "...technology, family life, religion, culture, politics, business, hierarchy, leadership, values, sexual morality and epistemology. Swift and radical changes are occurring in every one of these dimensions of society. Change so many social, technological and cultural elements at once and you create not just a new society but the beginnings, at least, of a totally new civilization". (Toffler and Toffler, 1995:29). This *Gestalt* perspective highlights a simultaneous shift to a new paradigmatic code which is propelled by driving forces which are moving at a rapid pace toward the Third Wave civilization. These driving forces are the key factors involved in the transformation to the Third Wave. In order to answer the question *what the key factors influencing the future of the nation-state are?* Toffler (1980: 359) and Schwartz (1996: 105-106) have identified five main driving forces, i.e. the environmental, technological, economic, social and political forces. These driving forces alone do not provide sufficient information to sketch a scenario for the Third Wave. It is important to explore the predetermined elements and critical uncertainties which feature in the Third Wave and which are highlighted by three exponential curves. These include environmental exploitation, population explosion and global communication. Toffler (1980:369) refers to these predetermined elements as "...key forces for structural change on a planetary scale". Holistically, the five driving forces, i.e. environment, technology, economic, social and political forces, of the Third Wave are the "...cultural and epistemological changes of our time – perhaps as profound as those wrought by the Reformation and the Enlightenment combined" (Toffler, 1980:369). These driving forces, as well as the code or paradigm of the Third Wave are diagrammatically represented below in Figure 5.6.

CRITERIA	STRATEGIC COMPONENT
Driving forces	Third Wave Civilization
Key concepts	POST-INDUSTRIAL
Symbol	Computer
Power	Knowledge
Environment	Optimum utilisation Sustainable energy Non-violent
Technology	ITC Biotechnology Smart weapons Biological weapons
Economic	Smart economy Prosumer Ecologically friendly Knowledge worker
Social	Supra-open Supra-differentiated Weltgemeinschaft Global culture as communication Virtual reality
Political	Sub/supra-national Decentralised Mosaic democracy Global governance Minority power International law
Administration	Adhocracy Bottom-up People-driven Service delivery
Code	Decentralized Diversification Professionalisation Juxtaposition Particularisation De-massification

Figure 5.6: The Third Wave Civilization

The **psycho-social** component of the Third Wave is based on the **super-ideology** of globalisation. In the section on the First Wave, the focus was on the shift from a closed community (**gemeinschaft**), to an open society (**gesellschaft**), but today mankind is on the brink of new transformation from a **gemeinschaft** to a **super-open** world society

(*weldgesellschaft*). Annan (2000:15) prefers to call it a world community as the future trends are focused on sub-national diversified communities or *pivotal minorities* that operate globally within local parameters. What is vitally important is that the Third Wave highlights global cooperation in a global era attempting to establish global *rules of the game* within the confines of a global rule of law (Toffler, 1980:86; 427; Annan, 2000:15).

Within the environmental driving force the main predetermined element and critical uncertainty, is the environmental exploitation. Ecological decay, as highlighted within the sphere of the natural environment, has increased *planetary conscioussnesses* and placed sustainable development on the global agenda. The high priority of the ecological decay on the global agenda has created a shift from a *bio-sphere* to a *power-sphere* (Toffler, 1980:359). Therefore, the idea of sustainable development has become politicised, functioning within the international and internal spheres of the global environment. This was emphasised by the World Summit on Sustainable Development which was held in Johannesburg in 2002.

The social component of the Third Wave functions within the *socio-sphere*. At present mankind is experiencing a psychological disruption amidst the chaos as the Second Wave clashes with the Third Wave (Toffler, 1980:375). The youth are looking to contemporary leaders to provide a way forward in the midst of a decaying system. The current population explosion has resulted in a new global baby boom which has resulted in the rise of the *Global Teenager*. The prediction was that by 2001 there would be about 2 billion global teenagers, which is 500 times more than America's last baby boom, with most of them living in Asia, Africa and Latin America (Schwartz, 1996:118-134). Islamic fundamentalism has been encouraged by this global baby boom as there are at present high numbers of Muslim youth between the ages of 16 and 30 years. These educated youth face unemployment in their countries and subsequently "...migrate to the West, join fundamentalist organisations and political parties, and in small numbers enlist in Muslim guerrilla groups and terrorists" (Huntington, 2001:12).

The establishment and promotion of the global communications system function within a dual-dimension, i.e. the economic component and the technical component of the Third Wave. The economic component of the Third Wave functions within the *eco-sphere* (Toffler, 1980:359). The Third Wave post-industrial, post-*Fordist* era is based on the

dynamics of an economic triad, i.e. knowledge, information and services. The Third Wave's mode of production is based on services. The emphasis on service delivery is not limited to the global economy, but there is a specific focus on this aspect within the public sector (Toffler, 1980:254-255). Within the economic work, force there has been a shift from factory workers to knowledge workers. Third Wave knowledge workers struggle to function within Second Wave systems. Diversified mosaic inputs of information provide alternative **democratic feedback mechanisms**. This will be discussed in the next chapter. The global economy has seen the rise and empowerment of MNCs or TNCs, economic trading blocs and the virtual corporation.

The technological component of the Third Wave functions within the **techno-sphere** and facilitates the post-industrial economic triad of knowledge, information and services. Toffler (1990:113) describes the infrastructure of tomorrow as a **super-symbolic** society. Toffler and Toffler (1993:24) refer to the symbols of the First Wave as a **hoe**, the Second Wave the **assembly line** and the symbol the Third Wave as the **computer**. As stated before, the changes these representative symbols bring will be fundamental and will launch a new civilisation. As was the case with the First and Second Waves, the Third Wave also has its own economic requirements and from these would flow the political and military requirements. Knowledge is not only an element of the economic triad, but forms the key symbolic element of the Third Wave **power-sphere**. The very nature of power has undergone a deep-level change, moving civilisation into the information age.

The Third Wave civilization is still experiencing its birth pains and this transformation is a traumatic experience for mankind. Existing structures upon which mankind has depended are changing and this has resulted in anxiety, confusion and insecurity. What Toffler has highlighted in his work is that this is a temporal stage, and when the Third Wave code or **rules of the game** are in place, periods of equilibrium will occur. Once again a power shift has occurred, moving from wealth as the primary source of power to knowledge. Knowledge is the most versatile of all sources of power (Toffler, 1990:16).

Knowledge is conceptualised by Toffler (1990:18) as embracing "...information, data, images, and imagery, as well as attitudes, values, and other symbolic products of society, whether true, approximate, or even false". This emphasizes the important role the media will play in the future. Knowledge, force and wealth have been present in each wave and are inter-related to a degree. So what makes knowledge different from force and wealth? Both force and wealth are finite and limited and belong to the powerful and rich. Knowledge on the other hand, is *infinitely expandable*, unlimited and classless (Toffler, 1990:19). This power shift has resulted in a shift in social control where, in the past force and wealth lay in the hands of the nation-state and its ruling elite, those who had the knowledge to satisfy new diversified needs, now have the power.

All these driving forces, as discussed in this chapter, Toffler (1980:360) explains, enable us to "...for the first time identify these main features and even, to some extent, the interrelationships among them. Encouragingly, the embryonic Third Wave civilisation we find is not only coherent and workable in both ecological and economic terms, but-if we put our minds to it – could be made more decent and democratic than our own".

The aim of the strategic component of Toffler's historic-spatial model is to provide a toolkit for understanding the difference between proposals and tools designed to maintain the industrial era and those that assist in facilitating the transformation to the Third Wave civilization. This toolkit provides "... a fundamental skill needed by policy makers, politicians and politically active citizens today" (Toffler and Toffler, 1995:82). In order to manage the transformation from the Second Wave to the Third Wave, Toffler has provided a toolkit which enables politicians, decision-makers and politically active public participants to distinguish between the two civilization waves. This toolkit is based on a six principled typology with each civilizational wave at each end of the continuum. This continuum includes the code of the Second Wave, at the one end, and the code of the Third Wave, at the other end, which may be illustrated as follows:

- ***Standardization vs particularisation***
- ***Specialization vs professionalisation***
- ***Syncronization vs juxtaposition***
- ***Concentration vs de-massification***
- ***Maximisation vs diversification***
- ***Centralization vs decentralization***

Toffler suggests that an understanding of this continuum and the ability to identify which proposals are Second Wave initiatives and which are third wave initiatives constitutes visionary leadership of the future. For instance, the standardization of the Second Wave was based upon the factory model. It is very easy to identify Second Wave proposals. The education system is an example where despite changes it is still based on a factory model with children (raw material), and mass standardised education which is routinely inspected. The Third Wave is build upon post-factory models based on particularisation, individualism and customisation. Another example concerns centralizers (*hedgehogs*) who survive best in highly centralised structures and their Second Wave proposals will focus on centralized control while decentralizers (*foxes*) of the Third Wave move away from putting all the eggs in one basket, which implies decision overload. Toffler's toolkit is aimed at providing the Third Wave elite with the tools to not only manage the conflict arising from the clash of civilizations but to strategically initiate conflict transformation. This *master conflict* has occurred once before as the agrarian era experienced revolutionary change to accommodate the industrial era. The clash between the Second and Third Wave civilization therefore constitutes the next *master conflict* (Toffler and Toffler, 1995:28; 82).

Toffler regards the Third Wave interconnected events as part of a much larger phenomenon which he has identified as the death of industrialism. As was shown the Third Wave is profoundly revolutionary as it emerges from the destruction and decay of the industrial era. As his work progresses, a synthesis is revealed which highlights the relationship of various driving forces to each other. When they amalgamate into a holistic unit, a clear picture emerges of the way they transform each other. As their motion or force vectors overlap, powerful currents of change emerge. While focusing on the transformation these four driving forces have unleashed the next chapter will highlight Toffler's identification of the important division destined to arise in political dynamics and that, the motion and force thereof, as the third Wave emerges. His penetrating comprehensive synthesis of these events will culminate in an ultimate holistic approach in which the future of the nation-state will be illuminated which is the climax of this study. In this chapter the environment, technological, economic, and social driving forces were explored in order to answer the question *what the forces or factors influencing the nation-state are?* The last driving force is the political component of the Third Wave which functions within the *power-sphere*. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

THE POLITICAL COMPONENT OF THE THIRD WAVE CIVILIZATION-

The Crisis of the Nation-State

1. INTRODUCTION

Within the meta-theoretical framework, as discussed in Chapter 2 Figure 2.9, the Third Wave Civilization features in the final dialectical phase of this framework, i.e. the **strategic component**. It is within this strategic component that some pertinent questions are asked. The first question mentioned is ***what are the key factors or forces influencing the nation-state are?*** This question was dealt with in Chapter 5 where four of the driving forces were discussed. The reason for this question, Toffler (1980:450) explains, is that the "...creation of new political structures for the Third Wave Civilization will not come in a single climatic upheaval, but as a consequence of a thousand innovations and collisions at many levels in many places over a period of decades". The key factors driving the new Third Wave Civilization was therefore, discussed in Chapter 5. The driving forces, predetermined elements and critical uncertainties laid the foundation for exploring the political scenario Toffler has sketched for the Third Wave.

The last driving force, i.e. the political component, will be dealt with in this chapter to answer the following exploratory questions concerning the future (*Folgewelt*) of the **power-sphere**:

- ***What the situation of the nation-state is?***
- ***Where to and why concerning the future of the nation-state?***
- ***What the ideal profile of the Third Wave's political component is especially the role of the nation-state within it?***

The first question regarding the status of the nation-state will explore its current status within the rapidly changing global political environment. Within this context specific reference is given to the crisis of the nation-state. While examining the crisis of the nation-state, both internal and external threats to the nation-state will be explored. The nation-state is the key element or core of the Westphalia system. While exploring the crisis of the nation-state, it is important to note the external factors attacking its nucleus, i.e. its competency, form, autonomy and legitimacy. Before a new political dispensation can be designed and implemented for the Third Wave, these four elements of the nation-state must be declared unfit to serve the political needs of mankind in the future. The second question deals with Toffler's (1980:450-452) scenario, for the future of the nation-state. It is important to mention that this scenario is not the only scenario, but since the focus of this study is on the crisis of the nation-state and especially Toffler's perspectives on it, only this scenario will be explored at greater lengths. In other words, Toffler (1980:450) sketches two alternative futures for the political structures of the Third Wave which include the place and role of the nation-state within the Third Wave Civilization. The third and last question focuses on Toffler's thoughts about which alternative future or pathway is more plausible as well as the ideal profile of the alternative future which, in his view, is more probable to find fruition.

Toffler explores two main issues which form the cornerstone of this ideal profile, i.e.:

- **21st century democratic governance** (which includes the role of minorities and non-state actors/ global gladiators; semi-direct democracy and decision-making processes)
- **global governance** (which is divided into the public sector and a private sector)

These exploratory questions feature within the meta-theoretical framework which is diagrammatically represented as follows:

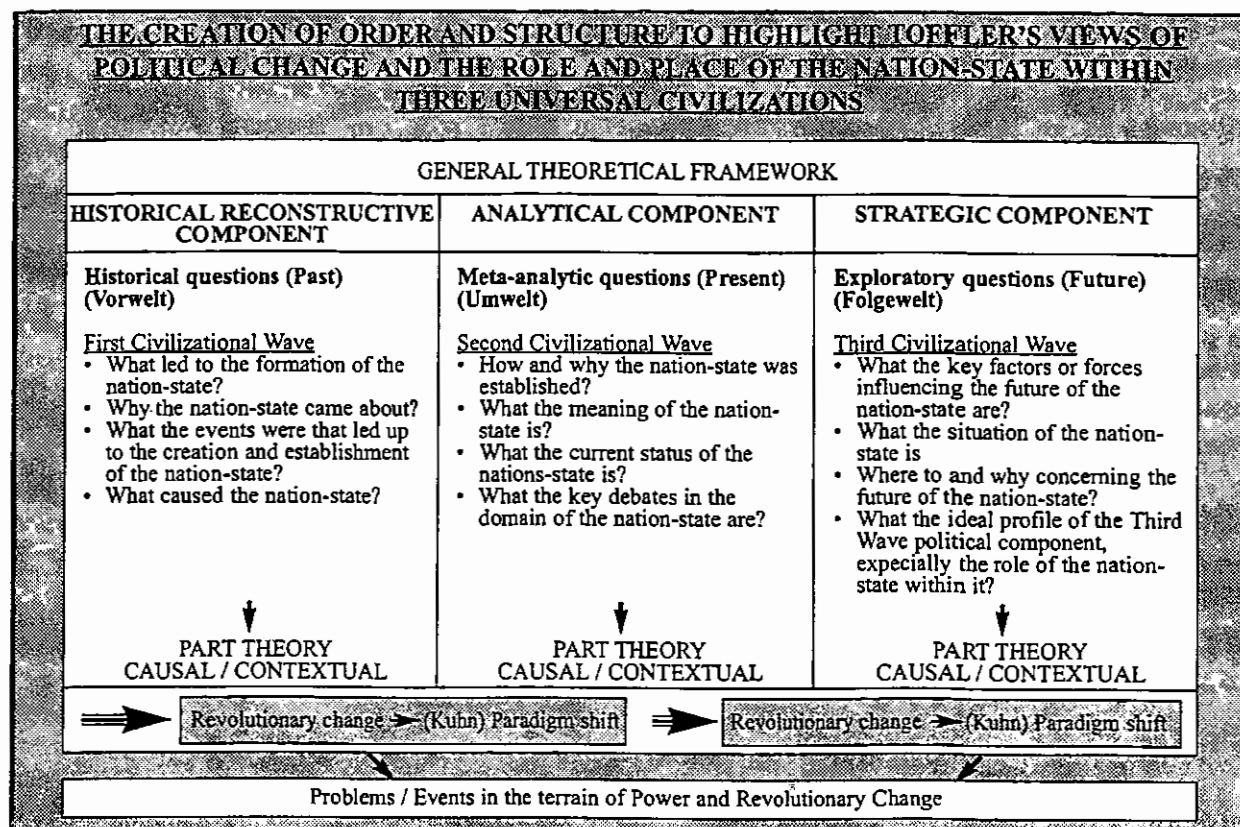


Figure 6.1: A meta-theoretical framework or blueprint for Toffler's contributions (adapted from Toffler, 1970; Toffler, 1980; Toffler, 1990; Toffler and Toffler, 1993; Duvenhage, 1994:69; and Babbie and Mouton, 2001:75-79)

The central focus of these three exploratory questions is centred within the nation-state. During the Second Wave Civilization, world politics or the **power-sphere** was centred around the Westphalia system, a nation-state system, which Toffler postulates formed the core principle that dominated world political affairs for three hundred years. This state system evolved to subsequently take on the formation of the nation-state during the 19th and 20th centuries. The Westphalia system, with its core principle of sovereignty

and statehood, formed a framework for governance. In this system the state was sovereign. For Scholte (1997:21) this state sovereignty needed a fixed location and jurisdiction which functioned within clearly marked boundaries on which strict surveillance was kept. The Westphalia state system, which was centred by the nation-state, therefore forms the political system of the industrial age. For Toffler (1980:73) a set of principles, namely **standardization, specialization, synchronization, maximization** and **centralization** form the basis of the industrial civilization and the environment in which the nation-state functioned. During the Second Wave industrial era, political power was concentrated at the level of the nation-state which meant having the ultimate sovereign authority within the borders of a certain geographical territory (Baradat, 1979:39). The United Nations has pointed out that the globe is made up of about 185 nation-states which are all equal in the eyes of international law. It must, however, be mentioned that the number of nation-states to date has exceeded this number to well over 200. The *National Times* (Anon, 1996a:30) explains that a "...majority of these 185 places are not nation-states in the strict meaning of the term, but survivals of older, cruder forms of political life". However, they have received the necessary recognition by the governments of the world. These basic units have, however, become less dominant and more integrated. The reason for this is the rise of new forces, which were created by scientific and technological discoveries of the Second Wave. These forces, to a certain extent, have attacked the nation-state's autonomy (Anon, 1996a:30). The *National Times* (Anon, 1996a:31) explains that "...the rise of new global forces has noticeably tamed the nation-state's old feeling of confident independence". These forces, which are thriving in the contemporary global anarchical order, such as the rise of rebellious fundamentalists in Afghanistan, the militancy of developing countries and the collapse of the American dollar, are feeding on the power and legitimacy of nation-states. What appears to be a system in decay is merely the emergence of the Third Wave civilization. The emergence of the new Third Wave Civilization, Toffler (1980:338) explains, "...could not but shatter old relationships, overthrow regimes, and send the financial system spiralling. What seems like chaos is actually a massive realignment of power to accommodate the new civilization".

As these forces descend upon the Second Wave Civilization, its code, as mentioned above, is under severe attack. The anomalies caused by the clash between the Second and Third Wave Civilizations, have resulted in an attack on the very heart or essence of the Second Wave code or paradigm. The paradigm shift to the Third Wave Civilization has drawn Toffler to explore the complex dynamics of political development in which the relationship between the motion of change and the forces which drive this change is highlighted. The creation of a new Third Wave Civilizational paradigm was a result of revolutionary change. This is illustrated in Figure 6.1 of this chapter which illustrates the meta-theoretical framework. The vectors of this confrontation will inevitably affect the nation-state and therefore the parameters thereof will have to be examined. In the Third Wave political environment, the term global is a common feature, e.g. there are global problems such as the global ecological crisis, a global village, global terrorism, global economy, and a global system. Strategic thinkers for the twenty-first century need to consider this global system. For Toffler and Toffler (1993:319), the present global system is centred in the knowledge intensive way in which wealth is created which in turn has led to the eruption of a new civilization. This has transformed the entire global system, from the speed of interaction to all other aspects of it which even includes a different kind of warfare. In order to understand this transformatory process, what is required is to examine or *x-ray our obsolete political system* (Toffler, 1980:82).

The exploratory questions of the strategic component (Figure 6.1) are questions which concern many contemporary thinkers, philosophers and theorists. Although Toffler's contributions and scenarios are the main focus of this chapter, the contributions of other theorists will also be used. Their fields of expertise will be consulted mainly to clarify Toffler's views and to offer solutions to the problems raised by Toffler. By presenting the contributions of other theorists regarding issues that Toffler has utilised to sketch a possible profile for the future, an indication can be obtained as to the acceptability of his thoughts by his peers in the scientific community.

In the next section of the study, an attempt will be made to answer the first exploratory question, concerning the crisis of the nation-state. The reason for assessing the current status of the nation-state comes down to the first rule of strategic planning, i.e. to determine the current status or situation before an ideal situation or profile can be sketched. This would include the **SWOT** (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and

threats) analysis. This analysis forms a key part of the next section which focuses mainly on the weaknesses and threats facing the nation-state today. Its strengths and opportunities will be discussed later on in this chapter.

2. THE CRISIS OF THE NATION-STATE

In order to formulate a comprehensive understanding of the future of the nation-state, its current meaning and status will be briefly documented. Key factors influencing its present status will be examined before an ultimate conclusion to the debate regarding the future of the nation-state can be reached.

As the future of mankind comes into question there is a need to x-ray the contemporary political system to assess the current status of the Second Wave Civilization. As the sun sets over the Second Wave Civilization, mankind is transcended deep into the phenomenological aspects of the current status within the temporal spatial dimension within the dialectical framework of the civilizational evolutionary process. A reflection on mankind's evolutionary retreat places us, in a position to view the destructive heritage the Second Wave has left us, where the majority of mankind lives in poverty, is illiterate, has limited or no access to basic services such as health care and water, and which has created irreparable ecological disasters. The main theme of the future will, therefore, focus on sustainable development and bridging the gap between the global rich and poor (Toffler, 1980: 82; 338-339; 367).

Lack of understanding, as well as an increase in local issues and demands, and de-massification which is too small for central governments to deal with effectively, are causing internal stresses on the nation-state. External pressures include the rise of the global economy, global civil society, multinational corporations, and the rise of globalisation as a new *supra-ideology* or *planetary consciousness* (Toffler, 1980:326-336). Increasing claims that the nation-state, with its core principle of sovereignty, is no longer the main component of global governance, has revealed the presence of powerful forces which threaten the future of the nation-state. Heywood (1997:117) refers to the *internal pressures* and *external threats* which have actually caused a *crisis of the*

nation-state. Centrifugal forces caused by regional politics and ethnic upsurges, constitute some of the internal pressures which, challenge the principles of the nation-state. External threats fall within the realm of supra-national bodies. Toffler (1980:336) explains, that because the crisis of the nation-state occurs at "...every level, from economics and politics to organizations and ideology, we are witnessing a devastating attack, from within and without, on that pillar of the Second Wave Civilization: the nation-state". The internal pressures or threats will now be discussed at greater length.

2.1 Internal Threats

Most of the armed conflicts since 1989 have been intra-state affairs, most of which have occurred "...with governments acting against their own citizens, through extreme corruption, violence, incompetence, or complete breakdown" (Mathews, 1997:51). The states, in these instances, are breaking the social contract with their citizens. The theory of the social contract was used by thinkers such as Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. Modern political philosophers, such as John Rawls, have revived the social contract. The main principle concerning the social contract examines "...the ground of political obligation" which obliges the individual to obey the state. In return, a sovereign power such as the state provides safeguards from "... the insecurity, disorder and brutality of the state of nature" (Heywood, 1997:87). As the nation-state faces an escalation of crime, especially from multi-national organisations such as the global Mafias, the nation-state's inability to protect the citizens will seriously question the validity of the social contract. This matter will receive closer attention later because it is crucial in the debate concerning the future of the nation-state. If this agreement is broken, then the state's monopoly over social control (especially with regard to legitimacy, compliance and participation) is seriously questioned. This lack of social control could result in a weak state (refer to Migdal (1988) for more information in this regard). As mankind battles against the chaos, which resulted from the clash of civilizations, as we enter the Third Wave, problems such as water shortage, pollution, disease, mass human migration across national boundaries and other ills occur while the nation-state's ability to combat these ills will diminish. As the need for solutions increases mankind's needs will escalate. The future shift of power will be transferred to the political organisation (either state or non-state actors) which will fulfil this need. The greatest need will be protection

which will place the social contract in a position of cardinal importance to the future of the nation-state.

These and numerous other potentially explosive intra-state or sub-national stresses or pressures are feeding at the boundaries and power of the nation-state (Toffler, 1980:326). One of the most important issues here is the attack on sovereignty. The main premise on which sovereignty is based is the territorial aspect. Clearly demarcated areas and jurisdiction, closely supervised and controlled by officials, was of cardinal importance to the sovereignty of the nation-state. The non-territorial nature of globalisation, where borders are dissolved by electronic permeation, has removed the territorial aspect which is the basic pre-requirement for sovereignty (Scholte, 1997:21). The process of globalisation highlights the process of trans-nationalisation especially of trade, information, capital and technology. Phenomena not bound by territory, such as trans-national companies, global stock and bond trading, telecommunications, satellite remote sensing and computer data transmission, are all beyond the control of the state. Toffler and Toffler (1993:272) name two other forces challenging national borders, i.e. firstly, the Third Wave economy where manufacture or service is based on knowledge which does not consider national boundaries and secondly, cross-border alliances such as capital flow, research and markets. The state, thus, has lost control over these phenomena which are not bonded by territorial space. Toffler (1990:55) reminds us that for global production and marketing, a prerequisite is the free flow of capital across national boundaries. For this to materialise, old financial rules and regulations as well as the obstructions the nation-state needed to protect national currency and national economies will become obsolete. Toffler (1990:55) cites an example in that foreign exchange and the electronic networks that drive them are experiencing "...explosive growth". New York, Tokyo and London alone trade \$200 billion daily. Of this, 90% is speculative trading. This is shifting power from the central banks and their controlling governments. As a result, the group of the eight largest economies, the G8, are formulating strategies and synchronising their policies regarding currencies and other variables concerned with finances. As globalisation advances, Toffler (1990:56) postulates a further weakening of the power of central banks and ultimately the nation-state which depends on fiscal control.

As sub-national and supra-national institutions attempt to establish unique characters, "...it will be harder for governments to manage economies with the traditional tools of central bank regulation, taxation, and financial controls....(which)...will produce radically different consequences in different parts of the same country" (Toffler, 1990:241). He further cites academics and financial experts as forwarding agreements for a world central bank. A counter argument is raised by Toffler (1990:56) himself when he presents the problems that the Third Wave does not favour centralised control, but an economy where both production and distribution are becoming more diverse, dispensed and decentralised. He therefore reasons, that entirely new institutions are needed to settle this historic power struggle. Yet national currency, the hallmark of sovereignty, has come under serious threat as globalisation advances. The nation-state with the onset of large world wide electronic money transfer is losing control over national currency. For Toffler (1990:323), the economic shell of the nation-state is permeable. These forces remove the preconditions of sovereignty. Phenomena such as trans-national companies, global ecology, computer data transmission and global trading are beyond the control of the state. As these phenomena defy territorial space, the state cannot exercise exclusive control over them.

As far as globalisation is concerned, the critical point of debate is centred in the general argument of Toffler (1990:55-56) and Held (1992:207-209) who postulate that the decline of sovereignty as being centred in the following:

- Nation-states can no longer control economic flows across their borders, rendering their internal policy instrument ineffective.
- A further reduction in state power is augmented by the scale and numerical growth of TNCs with many of them exceeding the size and power of numerous governments.
- Instances which, by tradition, resided with the nation-state such as defence, communication and economic control, now fall within the international-governmental arena.
- Sovereignty has been surrendered to large political units, e.g. the European Union, multilateral treaties such as NATO or international organizations such as the IMF.
- A system of global governance which displays development, that further limits state power, has developed.
- The basis is therefore in place for a supra-national state to emerge

Third Wave politics is epitomised by the increase in international organisations; they are trans-national because their jurisdiction transcends that of states in the international arena. These international organisations, from an historical prospective, Heywood (1997:153) explains are "...the most traditional form of political organization". Here the empire or global regimes serve as examples. As the sovereignty of the state declines sub-state authorities are playing a bigger role launching policy initiatives which bypass the central government. At the same time as policy making is shifting downwards, it also shifts upwards to supra-state authority areas. Global governance, Toffler (1980:322) explains, is no longer based on the central principle of sovereign statehood. As sovereignty declines, so the functions of the nation-state in its current capacity have changed. As the Second Wave civilization enters into a period of decay, the sovereign individuals of the industrial era are transcended deep into the phenomenological aspects of the current status and of the structures which govern them within the temporal-spatial dimension of the dialectical framework of the civilizational evolutionary process of mankind. This period of decay has resulted in the rise of incidents such as unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, no access to basic services and irreparable ecological disasters. These issues have placed tremendous pressure on the machinery of government, but especially local government. As a result, the social contract has weakened, leaving the nation-state exposed and vulnerable.

Finally, Toffler sums up these internal threats by showing that the forces forming the attack on the nation-state are manifested in a single phenomenon, i.e. the attack on sovereignty which is the main structural pillar of the nation-state. He weaves his argument around territorial aspects of the nation-state which had been removed by globalisation. In this process the nation-state has lost control of capital flow, research and markets. For Toffler this has levelled a powerful blow to the sovereignty of the nation-state as the financial rules with which the nation-state protected its national currency are fast becoming obsolete. Following this line of reasoning, Toffler feels that the national currency which was the hallmark of sovereignty is under severe attack. He further advocates that the entire structure will recede into decay as power shifts to larger economic amalgamated political units such as the EU, which requires a large centralised bank. With the formation of a world central bank, the power of the nation-state will decline further. The external threats or pressures facing the nation-state will now be discussed.

2.2 External Threats

As was shown, the core principle of sovereign statehood is no longer the main component of global governance. The state is still a key player, but global governance is shared by other parties. Their efforts can either compliment those of the state or override national governments. As the main force vector moving against the nation-state has emerged from globalisation, a closer consideration of how globalisation is theorised is warranted.

The debate on the causal logic and the driving forces underlying globalisation feature strongly within Toffler's historic-spatial model spanning over civilizations and are complemented by the work of three authors, Wallerstein (1983), Rosenau (1990) and Gilpin (1987) (McGrew 1992:69). Wallerstein focuses on the world systems theory and the "... dynamics of historical capitalism" which place the driving forces of globalisation in the logic of the *capitalist world economy* which has created a *universal economic space*. In McGrew (1992:69), Rosenau's contribution has geographic and social space while adhering to the significance of technology as a driving force. His theory postulates technological innovations such as the computer, satellites and jet propelled airlines which move goods, people and ideas very rapidly across space and time. Interdependence is also fostered by technology which has ushered in post-industrial politics where the nation-state has to share the global arena with trans-national corporations and movements. Gilpin (1987) places globalisation as a historic process in the arena of power politics with politico-military factors. These authors then place the causal logic of globalization within the industrial domain of economics, technology and politics, all residing within time space-parameters. Giddens (1990) places the origin of globalisation in multi-causal logic (McGrew, 1992:63-74). Time and space have taken on new dimensions where globalisation has, thus, altered our temporal world by compressing the spatial aspect thereof.

As networks, trans-national relations, corporations, religious and ethnic ties, as well as huge numbers of people flowing across national borders, a strong argument that society is moving away from the nation-state towards an emerging *world society* is emerging (McGrew, 1992:63). An example here is the European Union in which an integrated labour market causes the dispersal of citizens in countries other than their own.

Gemeinschaft (community) has also, therefore, changed, being replaced from having a local identity to having a supra-national identity **Weltgemeinschaft** (the global community). The political community is no longer exclusively subjected to the nation-state, but has been defined within the context of multilevel governance (Jackson 1997:181,182). McGrew (1992:78) forwards a view that theorists such as Perlmutter (1991) and Modelski (1972) present a powerful argument, backed by a substantial amount of literature, which places globalisation as the promoter of the first supra-national civilization. During these arguments, the interconnectedness caused by globalisation as it advances is causing an emerging infrastructure for the establishment of a **world society**. Similarly, to the shift from the First to the Second Wave the globe is, as yet, in a phase of transition which would cause an evolution from a **Weltgemeinschaft** (global community) to a **Weltgesellschaft** (global society) which is a horizontal organisation of multiple, permeable and overlapping social structures. A **world society** or **Weltgesellschaft** is a "...complex web of trans-national ties, which connects communities, households and individuals across national boundaries" (McGrew, 1992:78).

Toffler (1980:322) sums up the mosaic views about globalisation and global governance by pointing out that as the Third Wave Civilization "...thunders across the earth, the nation-state - the key political unit of the Second Wave era - is being squeezed by vice like pressures from above and below. One set of forces seeks to transfer political power downwards from the nation-state to sub-national regions and groups. The others seek to shift power upwards from the nation to trans-national agencies and organizations".

National sovereignty requires national solidarity, but globalisation with its trans-national companies and networks fosters loyalty which overrides this national solidarity. As is the case with the European Union, people are seeking a displacement of traditional nationalistic sentiments with **supra-nationalism** (Toffler, 1990:375). Nationalism, as a normative issue, which raises questions regarding value systems such as how people should live and to whom obedience is owed is being challenged by globalisation (Halliday, 1998:361). Global changes have broken down the older forms of solidarity and loyalty.

Globalisation is also centred in western corporate identities. Regionalism can then be seen as a mechanism to protect these values. Socio-political relations, from a local prospective, are therefore redefined. Butler, (1997:425) argues that regionalism will not only form a buffer or utilitarian device to break issues and fortifications against global challenges but, will formulate a device to promote a stabilising mechanism in the world order.

Sovereignty, legitimacy, changing global environments and the global economy have been mentioned as factors gnawing away at the power of the nation-state but it is important to highlight the attack on the very heart of the nation-state which, if changed, would result in a paradigmatic switch to a new global order. There are four main aspects which feature at the heart of the nation-state, i.e. its competency, form, autonomy and legitimacy, which need to be altered before such a paradigmatic shift would occur. The study will now explore the external factors attempting to alter these four aspects of the nation-state (Toffler, 1980:135; 238-239; 322; 326-336; 442; Toffler, 1990:323 and McGrew, 1992:87-93).

An attack on these four elements of the nation-state by external forces has resulted in the fact that the "...nation-state has become at best immobilized and at worst obsolete" (Frieden, 1991:427). This immobilisation of the nation-state will result in revolutionary change and ultimately to a paradigmatic shift which will require a new world political order.

Competency is the first element of the nation-state which is under attack. As capital flows across national boundaries, internal and external domains merge. As global interdependence escalates, variables such as drugs, national security and immigration are all exerting pressures too large for the state to handle. Escalated pressures from such areas as the trans-national economic arena generate needs in the political dimension which can only be satisfied by regimes or at regional or global levels (Toffler, 1980-326-336; Toffler, 1990:323). The **form** of the nation-state is the second element under attack. There is also a subtle alteration in the form of the state. As globalisation advances, an increasing number of inter-governmental organisations and international regimes are entering the political arena. For any sector of state policy, a corresponding international regulatory institution exists (Toffler, 1980:238-239). McGrew (1992:88)

gives the example of the IMF as an international monetary regime which is governed by international norms, rules and principles which are assisted by policy networks operating among banks, both trans-nationally, centrally and in finance ministries. Although states are, at present, juridically speaking, above these regimes, they are still enmeshed at various levels, especially at those of their regulatory or decision-making structures. Regimes, with *quasi supra-national* powers such as the European Community, where certain decisions are made by the majority of stockholders, can have the decisions made legally imposed in such a manner that the juridical sovereignty of member states can be compromised (McGrew, 1992:88, 89). The state has now become internationalised. The result of this is that for national and international goals to be achieved, "... collective policy making and coordination of policy between governments have become vital". The main factor to emerge from this is that policy is no longer decided by elected politicians of the traditional bodies of central government. In other words, there is a shift to global decision-making, which Toffler (1980:442) refers to as *decision-division*, which can occur above or below the nation-state. Because of the above, states have become sensitive to the relationship between the global political environment and global economic conditions.

Autonomy is the third element of the nation-state under attack from external pressures. As a result of the internationalisation of the state caused by globalisation, the autonomy of the state has been diminished. By autonomy is meant the capacity of the state to act independently in its policy objectives. As the Third Wave gains prominence, Toffler (1980:135) explains that contemporary Second Wave "...systems are in a crisis. Thus we find crisis in welfare systems. Crisis in the postal systems. Crisis in the school systems. Crisis in the health-delivery systems. Crisis in the urban systems. Crisis in the international financial systems. The nation-state is itself in a crisis. The Second Wave value system is in a crisis". In the arena of especially the economic domain, states no longer control the system. This is evident from foreign exchange, a decade ago already, which trades at \$650 billion a day (Frieden, 1991:428). This places macro-economic strategies beyond the autonomy of the nation-state. On the contrary, the macro-economic policies of different countries can augment a huge flow of capital (Webb, 1991:318). These factors curtailing the state's autonomy is not just vested in economics, but has branched out to include variables such as telecommunications, pollution and many more (McGrew, 1992:87-91). These factors mentioned above have in turn affected

the *legitimacy* of the state. This thesis rests on the fact that globalisation undermines the autonomy of the nation-state. The effectiveness of government is undermined and therefore, ultimately, so is the legitimacy and authority of the state. Global regimes as well as international organisations such as the IMF and the EC challenge the legitimacy and sovereignty of the state (Toffler, 1980:366 and McGrew, 1992:91-92).

National authorities can easily display the role of *local machinery* in the implication of regional and international policies. This threat from above is augmented by a threat from below, i.e. forces from the dynamics of globalisation such as the rise of ethnicity and environmentalism (McGrew, 1992:92).

It is therefore clear that authority, autonomy, form and legitimacy are being compromised by the rapid advancement of globalisation. Globalisation is instrumental in promoting national, ethnic and religious resurgence. New geographic dimensions such as cyberspace and communications via electromagnetic waves do not eliminate older forms of geographic criteria such as longitude and latitude, but only add supra-territorial space alongside old structures. Globalisation does not offer automatic peace as the 35 major global conflicts which raged in 1993 contested to (Weiss, 1994:18). The above arguments are still hotly debated in academic circles. The rise of globalisation has been decidedly linked to the dawn of post-modernity and the information age.

Globalisation has become one of the key external threats feeding on the boundaries of the nation-state. Global interdependence has also required nation-states to share the global arena with trans-national corporations and movements. Globalisation has also created a new supra-differentiated society which forms a world community (*Weltgemeinschaft*). Globalisation and global governance shifts the power to sub-national and supra-national levels. Before the political order of the industrial order can be changed four main aspects which feature at the heart of the nation-state, i.e. its competency, form, autonomy and legitimacy have to be altered. Global problems such as drugs, AIDS and global Mafias are exerting pressures too large for the state to handle, and consequently, they bring into question the competency of the nation-state. The form of the nation-state is changing as globalisation advances with an increasing number of inter-governmental organisations and international regimes entering the political arena. This has resulted in global decision-making and *decision-division*

occurring above or below the nation-state. This *decision-division* has affected the state's capacity to act independently in its policy objectives, thereby affecting its autonomy. An attack on the nation-state's autonomy has ultimately also resulted in undermining its authority or legitimacy.

Toffler approaches the future of the nation-state from a point of departure which asserts that there is no political structure which is not subject to change. From this premise he reasons that political structures which are not fluid move in a historical-spatial terrain. Influencing the predetermined environment in which the nation-state functions, he places internal forces which operate from within the realms of the nation-state and external forces which launch an attack from the international political arena. These attacks will occur within the matrix of a bigger struggle which, for him, is a super struggle between the Second and the Third Wave forces. The discussion relevant to the future of the nation-state will therefore focus on two approaches, i.e. the reactionary approach and the revolutionary approach which divides the approaches used by the elite of the Second and the Third Wave as they struggle for power and control over the future.

The debates around the current status of the nation-state have been explored and the focus of the study will now turn to the second exploratory question, i.e. *where to and why concerning the future of the nation-state?*

3. THE FUTURE OF THE NATION-STATE

The driving forces, predetermined elements and critical uncertainties have been identified and discussed and have laid the foundations for Toffler to select *scenario logics*. In order to select *scenario logics*, it is important to take note of the identified driving forces and global trends which are used to determine the axes along which the ultimate scenarios are determined. The aim of selecting *scenario logics* is to assist in the ultimate decision-making process. It is during this step or phase of the *scenario-generating process* that Toffler (1980:440) has selected two possible opposing alternative worlds for the Third Wave political structures and the nation-state. The selection of "...these axes are among the most important steps in the entire scenario-generating process" (Schwartz, 1996:243). In order to sketch a scenario for the nation-

state, two alternative visions (*scenario logics*) have to be determined. The clash between the two alternative futures is a *super-struggle* between the forces of the Second Wave and those of the Third Wave that will realign and reorganise the contemporary political global environment (Toffler, 1980:449). With this in mind, mankind is divided into two groups, i.e. reactionaries or revolutionaries, as Toffler (1980:450) explains that some "...generations are born to create (revolutionaries)..., others to maintain a civilization (reactionaries)". Sunter and Ilbury (2001), as mentioned in Chapter 5, refer to these two groups as *hedgehogs* and *foxes*. These *scenario logics* represent two alternative, radically different future worlds.

Once the *scenario logics* have been determined, the next step involves *fleshing out the scenario*, whereby a framework for each scenario is formulated or determined by paying attention to each and every key factor and/or trend. It is during this phase that Toffler (1980:440) debates in favour of the revolutionary new Third Wave as the most probable alternative future world. A framework for the first alternative future world or pathway needed to be sketched by Toffler. The first alternative refers to a reactionary approach which focuses on maintaining the current political structures and institutions.

These reactionaries' main aim is to reaffirm the need for government (Toffler, 1980:440; 449). The arguments for a decaying nation-state are strong, but it is important to look at the other side of the coin. The arguments for reaffirming the need of the nation-state are divided into four components, i.e. military power, nationalistic tendencies, international co-operation and interdependence. Firstly, state-centric activists maintain that security is the main issue underlying anti-localism. The nation-state to date is the only legitimate body to use violence, and is therefore a key element in preventing war and promoting peace. The legitimacy of the nation-state is reinforced by the rule of law and its primary task is to provide protection, justice and order. Secondly, nationalism still provides a strong argument against globalisation. The nation-state may be functionally redundant, but still provides an identity to its members. Toffler (1990:377) explains the reactionary views concerning nationalism by stating that "...reframing the concept of *nation* is one of the most emotional and important tasks in the world in the decisive decades before us, and maintaining national control over certain functions, rather than allowing them to be either localized or globalized, is essential. But blind tribalism and nationalism are both dangerous and regressive. And when linked to the notion of racial or God-conferred

superiority they give birth to violence or repression". This could result in a dialectic retreat to **11th century darkness** (Toffler, 1990:379). Thirdly, the cooperative global governance structures are not aimed at weakening the nation-state. On the contrary nation-states are empowered to promote national interests. Lastly, globalisation does not create interdependence but interconnectedness, as not all nations are exposed to common vulnerabilities resulting in the reinforcement of global inequalities (Toffler, 1990:415-421; McGrew, 1992:92-95).

The second alternative adopts a revolutionary approach which aims to render all Second Wave structures and institutions obsolete. It is important to remember that the second alternative future path is not merely an extension of the Second Wave Civilizational order, but presents a radically different alternative image of the future world, i.e. the Third Wave Civilization. The reason for this is that Toffler is sketching a scenario and not a prediction of the future (Toffler, 1980:3-240; Schwartz, 1996:4:6). These activists promote multi-level global governance and believe that the nation-state, as was conceptualised at Westphalia, will be altered at its core or nucleus (Toffler, 1990:449-450). A contemporary global trend which has been identified is that over 60% of all nation-states are governed by liberal democratic norms and principles (Goodhart, 2001:527-535). Toffler (1980:427; 440) has focused on the relationship between democracy and globalisation to highlight the differences between these reactionaries and revolutionaries. These reactionaries promote **mass democracy**, while revolutionaries promote **mosaic democracy**. In line with mass production during the Second Wave which manifested **mass democracy**, the fast moving electronic money of the Third Wave launched **mosaic democracy** (Toffler, 1990:245). **Mass democracy** implies the existence of the **masses**, but as diversity occurs, the **masses** will fall away and the homogeneous masses will give way to heterogeneous labour markets. In Toffler's (1990:245) view, this **mosaic democracy** is a response to the rise of mosaics in the economy. The most important aspect of this is that they operate according to their own rules. The mass democracy of the Second Wave was designed to cope with mass inputs and not with **mosaic inputs** (Toffler, 1990:245). Easton's (1965) system analysis will be highlighted to explain the differences between the two democracies. In a mass democracy, inputs from the masses were conducted at a slower pace using the laws of the political system and generalised expected feedback from a recognised centralised system, the nation-state. In a **mosaic democracy**, inputs occur from a mosaic of

sources such as uncontrolled pandemic diseases, religious fundamentalist groups, water shortages and uncontrolled crime, to name a few, each feeding into the system which had been infiltrated with members, each serving individual needs. In the democratic system, inputs are received from instances such as labour unions, political parties and recognised interest groups.

The inputs of a democratic system are organised and function according to certain rules and are mechanistic by nature, ensuring that there is a co-ordinated movement securing the functional ability and overall survival of the system. In a *mosaic democracy*, the entire system is therefore open to attack from religious fundamentalists and groups who seriously threaten the sovereignty of the nation-state. Each of these pivotal groups seeks their own autonomy and in so doing seriously threatens the sovereignty of the nation-state. The relationship between democracy and globalisation is highlighted by the focus on contemporary issues such as integrated markets, technological innovations, the empowerment of international regimes, the establishment of *hyper-modernity*, and decentralisation. Globalisation has resulted in, amongst others, the expansion of traditional democratic forms to regional and global levels, as well as the development of a global civil society and the remodelling of international organisations such as the United Nations (Goodhart, 2001:527-535).

In sum: Toffler's (1980:440) scenario concerning a new political order, the nation-state and democratic governance proposes two alternative futures. The first alternative focuses on the reactionaries who attempt to maintain the status quo of the Second Wave by trying to find "...powerful ways to open and democratize a system that is now near breakdown in which few, if any, feel adequately represented". The second alternative focuses on the revolutionaries who are trying to create or design radically new systems and structures for the Third Wave. Toffler (1980:440) is of the opinion that the second alternative is more probable and states that "...we must begin thinking outside the worn grooves of the past 300 years. We can no longer solve our problems with the ideologies, the models, or the left-over structures of the Second Wave past".

In this section Toffler focused on two issues, i.e. firstly to select scenario logics and secondly, to ***flesh out the scenario*** and choose one alternative future world which, in his opinion, would be most plausible. When ***selecting the scenario logics*** Toffler identified two alternative and radically different future worlds, i.e. the reactionaries (***hedgehogs***) who wish to protect and maintain the status quo of the contemporary order and the revolutionary (***foxes***) who wish to design a radically different new world order with unique structures and functions.

Based on Hegel's dialectical idealism, the choice of a future political order is seated within a new 21st century Third Wave Civilization which is so revolutionary that the Second Wave paradigm will be totally replaced.

As Toffler (1980:440) has chosen to take the revolutionary option, the next step in the ***scenario-generating process*** is to explore the implications of this decision. In the next section an attempt will be made to explain the profile he has sketched of what this alternative vision could look like. In this section, an attempt will therefore be made to find answers to the question: ***what the ideal profile of the Third Wave political component is, especially the role of the nation-state within it?***

4. A PROFILE OF AN ALTERNATIVE POLITICAL ORDER

The scenario that Toffler has sketched highlights the difference between two possible future political components. Firstly, reactionaries who function within the parameters of mass democracy utilise indirect democratic tactics to maintain the systems and structures of the Second Wave. The second alternative is manifested in the revolutionaries who are not incrementalists and who aim to create totally new Third Wave structures which will render Second Wave systems and structures obsolete. As was mentioned above, Toffler (1980:440) believes that the latter alternative is most likely to occur. The revolutionary creators of the Third Wave systems and structures function within the parameters of a ***mosaic democracy*** and utilise a type of direct democratic tactic. The scenario of indirect vs. direct democracy, Toffler (1980:440) explains, is a

shift from a current status to an ideal situation and is not an *utopian vision* without problems, but is one alternative in which systems and structures should be designed in line with the Third Wave. Toffler has chosen the second alternative view, not at random, but by scanning the environment and identifying certain signposts or clues.

Toffler (1980:451-452) identifies the leading indicators and signposts of the Third Wave's alternative political order as having a dual dimension. His first dimension is based on democratic governance with specific references to *minority power*, *semi-direct democracy* and *decision-division*, while the second dimension is based in global governance which is based on a three tiered public sector and an independent private sector.

This vision of an ideal state of the Third Wave political component is based on what Toffler (1980: 26) refers to as a "...revolutionary premise". This vision does not deny that a collective psychic disturbance of upheaval and turbulence dominates the global scene, but he does question the earth's spiralling down to destruction. Toffler (1980:26), on the contrary, does imply the move from the present state or situation to a desired state, i.e. a shift in mankind's consciousness to move into a desired future, thereby breaking with the past. The underlying convictions of this vision are that the changes we are experiencing are not random, but form a clear pattern which, under closer examination, will disclose a discernable format. Toffler's work flows from the assumption that our generation is experiencing the final stages of the industrial revolution. As mankind permeates the Third Wave Civilization, Toffler (1980:26), highlights the temporal transitional frame of mind of which disorientation, anxiety and confusion are characteristic of the present state of human affairs. Toffler offers a means of investigating the improvement of the human condition to a desired or ideal state. To explore Toffler's (1980:427) vision of the political component of the Third Wave and the nation-state's role in it, he suggests that the first step is for "... us to imagine completely novel alternatives, to discuss, dissent, debate, and design from the ground up, the democratic architecture of tomorrow". Due to the fact that Toffler's profile is tremendously complex and heretical, it is important to provide a diagrammatical representation to provide a clear picture of his profile of the Third Wave political component.

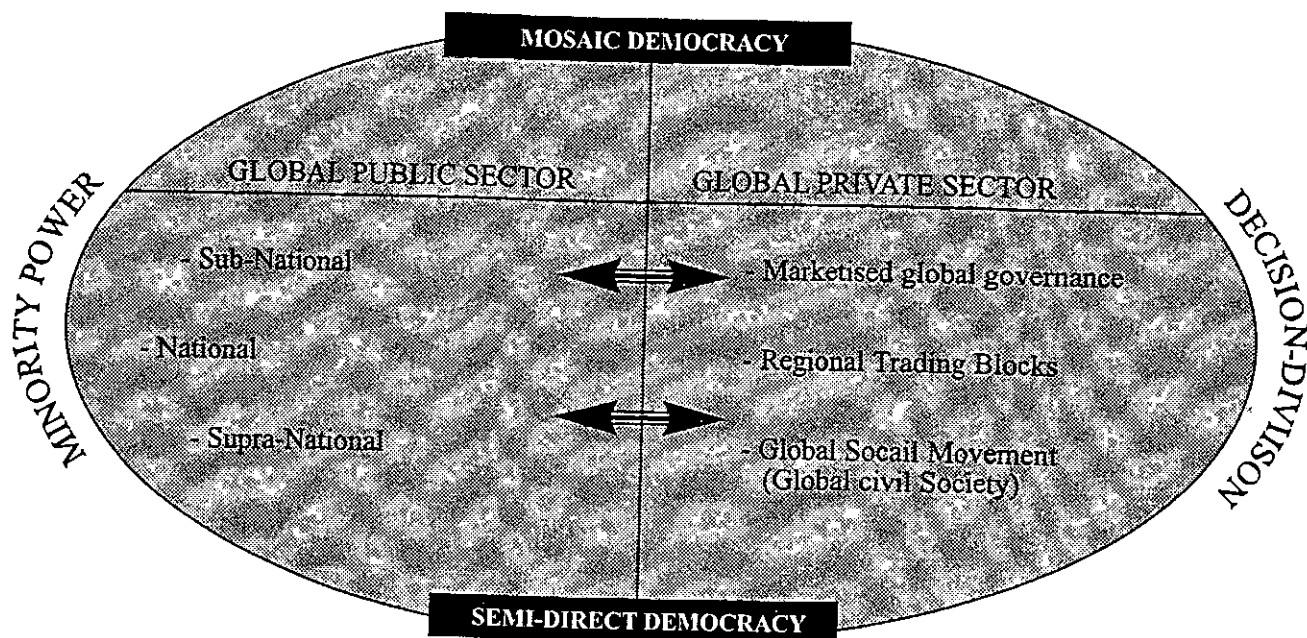


Figure 6.2: Toffler's profile of the political component, Third Wave Civilisation

Democratic governance, therefore, constitutes the first dimension of his profile of a future political order. Democratic governance will be discussed in the next section.

4.1 Democratic Governance

Historically, *mass democracy*, aligned with mass education, mass production, mass media, and mass consumption, met with the resistance of the agrarian reactionaries (traditionalists) and was embraced by industrial revolutionaries (modernists). The era of mass democracy is aligned with the age of centralised power based within the nation-state.

Mass democracy was based upon a mass society, characteristic of the Second Wave, but with increased social diversity came de-massification. As a decentralised, de-massified Third Wave emerges, a paradigmatic shift from mass democracy to a "...highly charged, fast moving *mosaic democracy*" occurs which has unique rules. This paradigmatic shift results in a re-definition of basic assumptions underlying mass democracy. To increase the chances of a relatively peaceful transformation, it is important to start designing alternative political structures and institutions of democratic governance, which Toffler (1980:451-452) suggests, should be based on "...minority power, semi-direct democracy and decision-division". This constitutes the first dimension of Toffler's profile of a future political order within the realm of democratic governance. These three principles will now be discussed at greater lengths. *Minority power* is the first principle of the political triad underlying democratic governance.

4.1.1 The Role of Minorities

The first principle to be discussed is the *role of minorities*. In the Second Wave, the electoral process and the ballot box were the main symbolic expressions of democracy, but they also severely restricted the normative qualitative dimensions of public opinion. The electoral process of the Second Wave uses purely quantitative instruments to assess public opinion, but fails to indicate to what extent the group or individual supports the candidate, or how threatened the minorities feel or if groups are open to bargaining or negotiating a policy issue. With modern information technological communications systems (ITC), it is no longer necessary for people to go to a polling station. Electoral processes need to be redesigned to *eliminate anti-minority biases* (Toffler, 1980:433). In order to facilitate this process, Toffler (1980:433) explains, in the future "...we may need to appoint diplomats or ambassadors whose job is not to mediate between countries but between minorities within each country". Political constituencies are splintering into small, single issue groups changing at high-speeds. These groups will challenge the existing role of the nation-state. These splintered groups will function within a supra-differentiated Third Wave society which will "... be based on a new distribution of power in which the nation, as such, is no longer as influential as it once was, while other institutions - from the trans-national corporation to the autonomous neighbourhood or even city-state - assume greater significance" (Toffler, 1980:366). This has led to what Toffler (1990:238-245) refers to as de-massification. The industrial age was epitomised by mass production coupled to mass consumption, distribution, media,

education and many more. A counterpart system, i.e. mass democracy, replaced outdated feudal agrarianism (Toffler, 1990:238). Toffler (1990:244) reasons that the homogeneous masses of the Second Wave Civilization are becoming heterogeneous as the economy and society de-massify. As de-massification deepens in every sector of society (be it in the market, family structures or the media), people's needs will change and, therefore, the political needs will change. Politicians find differentiated segments in society demanding diverse requirements from their constituents. Toffler (1990:245) postulates that this has caused the mass democracy of the Second Wave to transform into a ***mosaic democracy***. He reasons further that this mosaic democracy is the counterpart of the mosaic phenomena in the economy. This system is fast moving and mainly "... operates according to its own rules" (Toffler 1990:245). Toffler's thesis rests on the foundation that the mosaic nature of the economy brought on by the diversified market has spawned a ***mosaic democracy***. Another alternate view of democracy which favours decentralisation is, according to Heywood (1997:69), referred to as ***radical democracy***. In this approach, the basic rights of people reside in the fact that people participate in any decision altering their lives. Democracy here is the collective process used to achieve this. The parameters of this phenomenon span all social demands.

The mass democracies of the Second Wave cannot cope with demands fed into the political system and Toffler (1990:245) warns that democratic systems are in danger of attack by what he calls these ***pivotal minorities***. As long as the political system remains in a state of equilibrium, inputs from these groups can be tolerated. A danger is imposed when fanaticism attempts to impose totalitarian dogmas and launch religio-political attacks. Futurists like Toffler (1990:248), warn of potential instances such as holy wars and ***martyrdom-seeking warriors*** who are relevant opponents, toxic to democracy and to the nation-state. They pose an international as well as domestic threat. Politicians have to be visionary leaders to determine the politically correct time to position themselves at ***strategic political intersections*** to gain power. The power of minorities must not be underestimated. For instance, in 1919 a small political group held its first public gathering, attended by 111 people, where the speaker engrossed listeners for half an hour; the speaker being Adolf Hitler. Another example is the ***P-2 Masonic Lodge*** group, who tried to take over Italy. These minorities and global fundamentalists support high intensity aggressive ideologies that thrive on anarchical structures. The global changes have left the global system in chaos which leaves vacuums which these groups

try to fill. Chaos "...arms all those dangerous minorities who live for crisis in the hopes of catapulting themselves onto the national or global stage and transporting us all into a new Dark Age" (Toffler, 1990:248). These new power-seekers are conceptualised by Toffler (1990:450) as the **Global Gladiators**. **Global Gladiators**, who include a global civil society, will have to be given greater prominence within new global organisations. In the relationship between nation-states and **Global Gladiators**, Toffler (1980:244; 458) implies that governments "...will need new legal and social tools they now lack, if they are to referee increasingly complex, potentially violent disputes". The **Global Gladiators** will now be examined in depth.

For Toffler (1980:31) the basic political question is not "...who controls the last days of the industrial society but who shapes the new civilization rapidly rising to replace it?" As the reactionaries and revolutionaries struggle for power over the Third Wave, the **Global Gladiators** are feeding on the social instability and chaos this master conflict has caused. This has resulted in the main ideological struggle in the power shift era. This struggle is no longer between communist totalitarianism and capitalist democracy but rather highlights the super-struggle of the future, i.e. between the **Gladiators** who wish to drag mankind back to a kind of 11th century darkness (a dialectical retreat) or the thinkers of the Third Wave who wish to bring about 21st century democracy (Toffler, 1990:379). Thomas Hobbes (1651:187-188) offers an explanation of the term **gladiator** which in this sense is used to designate a struggle for dominance. He reasons that kings or sovereign persons are independent entities and because of this they display the characteristics of **Gladiators**. They point their weapons at one another, never taking their eyes off their neighbours in a continual ongoing process. In the First Wave the **Global Gladiators** took advantage of the anarchical transitional period prior to the nation-state's inauguration and have reappeared as the sun sets over the obsolete structures of the Second Wave. This has ignited the race for global dominance over the Third Wave Civilization. Toffler (1990:450) identifies these **Global Gladiators** as "...a new group of power seekers". What is different about this group is that they are suddenly seizing and controlling large areas of power which once was under the exclusive control of the state alone. They seriously challenge the future of the nation-state. He classes them as mighty forces which could bring "the biggest change in global affairs since the rise of the nation-state". Toffler (1990:450) names six powerful forces which are posing the greatest threat to the nation-state, i.e. the **resurrection of religion, the empire of**

cocaine, the dispersed oppressor, the corporate condattiere, the UN plus and new-styled organizations. Toffler (1990:459) reasons that a global revolution in political form is about to occur in which there will be a power shift as the *Global Gladiators* move in to challenge the power vested in the nation-state. The first *Global Gladiator* to be discussed is the resurrection of religion.

A. THE RESURRECTION OF RELIGION

The first *Global Gladiator* Toffler (1990:450) refers to is the *resurrection of religion*. By choosing the word resurrection, Toffler indicates that the use of religion, as a tool to control power and the state is not a new concept. Because organised religion is one of the most crucial driving forces influencing global politics as the Third Wave sets in, the discussion will be centred on Islam and Christianity which Huntington (1996:42) refers to as "...great missionary religions". They are both multi-national, multi-ethnic religions consisting of societies from various races. In Water's (1992:141) view, the great universal religions of the world, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism, all have a common factor. Each has a set of values which demand allegiances that exceed those of the state. Christianity, with a focus on the kingdom of God in an earthly manifestation and Islam as a social community have, since the medieval times, preceded the state. Both these religions had a mission of expanding globally. One of their strategies was to align themselves with the nations expanding their empires such as the Ottoman and British empires, to name a few, and to convert those they classed as infidels and heathens. Although modernisation and the assets of capitalism have briefly threatened them, the spread of liberal democracy and a capitalist economic system with a global value system is yet again proving to be an ally in the global expansion of these religions. What is important is, firstly, that they have all survived into our time and, secondly, that their roots were centred in the endless planting and harvesting of crops, i.e. in the agricultural age. In contrast to the myriads of gods which served the agricultural revolution was Judaism which was the ancestor of Christianity, where a unitary all powerful God was served. Closely linked to Judaism was Islam, which emerged in 7 AD.

Toffler (1990:252) reasons that religious revival is mainly manifested by the emergence of religious fundamentalism. He places the attack on secularism as emerging from within the fundamentalist's realm. Heywood (1997:60) regards fundamentalism as an ideology which places the revealed truth of religious doctrine before politics or social views. He names two possible causes, i.e. adjustment to modern secular culture and the failure of secularism to satisfy spiritual truths. Another social reason is that until 1970, the urban poor mainly attached themselves to socialism in one of its two forms, i.e. Islam or Marxist-Leninist forms. Fundamentalism is succeeding in filling the aspiration of these urban poor and is therefore supplanting social needs. Today Christian fundamentalism attacks secularism so forcefully, that Toffler (1990:366) regards its onslaught as a "...highly effective political action". The most important aspect of religious movements, even if they clash with one another is, according to Toffler (1990:368), that they form a united front which is hostile to secularism. As can be recalled, secularism, which propelled the Second Wave industrial society and which subdued the hold of organised religion on the state, is the main pillar of democracy in the modern age. Religious revival emerged and was closely followed by fundamental extremism (Toffler, 1990:365-366). Yet for Toffler in a multi-religious society, where the state and church is clearly divided, different religions add to the dynamics of democracy (Toffler, 1990:368) In his arguments the threats are twofold. Firstly, religion combines totalitarianism with universalism and secondly, religious revival breeds fanatics who are committed to "...theocratic control of the mind and behaviour of the individual" (Toffler, 1990; 368). The latter aim to seize power not only over individuals lives, but also from nations and eventually globally. Toffler (1990:368) refers to them as the **agents of a new Dark Age**. Toffler regards the **resurrection of religion** as a driving force which is seriously threatening the nation-state as can be seen from the main current conflicts such as those in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Afghanistan, Iraq, Nigeria and USA, to name a few. In these conflicts, the presence of Islamic fundamentalism is clearly evident. The resurgence of Islamic fundamentalism can be traced to after World War II when the Muslims in Islamic countries faced a legitimacy crisis. Secular ideologies did not supply political and social needs and as a result, militant Islamic views have emerged. Some schools of thought view Islamic resurgence as a "...consequence of the failed aspirations of the new states" (Tayob, 1995: XI). Toffler (1990:450) explains the impact of religious groups on global politics by using the Ayatollah Khomeini as an example. Khomeini called for a martyr to murder Salmon Rushdie, a British citizen, for his work *The Satanic Versus*. He sent a

clear message to the governments of the world that the matter was a global issue punishable by an act of terrorism. He challenged the fundamental rights of the nation-state, namely the protection of its citizens. He also lowered the sovereignty of Britain to being inferior to the Shiite sovereignty and proclaimed to the world that religion had the right to supersede the sovereignty of the nation-state. By announcing punishment he also challenged the structures of international law which is based on the nation-state as the cardinal unit of the world's political system (Toffler, 1990:451). This resembles the bloody church-state conflict of medieval times. It was also manifested and emphasised during the September 11 attack on America. The resurgence of religious fundamentalism has become an important *mosaic input* leading to the decay of the power centred nation-state.

In conclusion, Toffler regards religion as yet again taking on political dimensions as was the case during the middle ages. For him the global power game of the future cannot be understood unless cognisance is taken of the rising power of religion which he refers to as the resurgence of religion. The main point of contention will emerge from forces as they come in opposition to secularism which is the cornerstone of the nation-state. Similarly, the nation-state was a global response to the end of the religious political domination during the First Wave. Toffler focuses on the growing global power of religion by advancing an argument regarding the religious resurgence occurring in all fields of religion. He extracts Christianity and Islamic fundamentalism for special attention. Here he concentrates on the Catholic Church calling for a United Christian Europe which encompasses a population of 700 million. Toffler points out that these forces are gaining momentum as they advance on secularism. Toffler isolates variables which would influence the outcome of this confrontation such as, that they are multi-national and multi-ethnic with social allegiance that exceeds those of the state. Their allies are liberal democracy and a capitalist economy. Toffler places the main threat as emerging, firstly, when religion unites totalitarianism with universalism and secondly where theocratic control of the mind and behaviour of individuals occur. Primarily he extracts the dangers set by the resurgence of religion as being manifested in two parts. Firstly, they challenge the fundamental rights of the nation-state to protect citizens, and secondly, they regard the sovereign state as inferior to religious sovereignty. Toffler finally advances an argument which warns of a church/state conflict, which resembles the conflict of medieval times which would serve as a pointer as we move into the Third Wave. For him

this conflict, as was the case during the onset of the Second Wave, might result in a new political dispensation which would herald in a new stable world order. The second *Global Gladiator* and threat to the nation-state will now be discussed, namely *the empire of cocaine*.

B. THE EMPIRE OF COCAINE

Toffler (1990:452-453) reasons, that another force which is posing a serious threat to the nation-state is organised crime. In many cases they have larger armies, highly skilled intelligence networks, agencies and even highly institutionalised influential diplomatic services. Drug cartels, which are a network of families, have paralysed the Colombian government (Toffler, 1990:453). As the criminal element such as organised crime and terror activities escalate on a global scale, Van Creveld (1991:27) points to the brutal reality that military power with its fighter bombers, tanks and other high-tech equipment cannot defend political interests or civilians. Van Creveld (1991:224) warns that as "...the first duty of a social entity is to protect the lives of its members", the modern nation-state faced with threats from global Mafias, amongst others, may not survive. Crime is placed within the category of sub-national wars, which poses a threat to the social contract as it challenges the ability of the state to protect its citizens. As crime escalates, Van Creveld, Toffler and Kaplan are of the opinion that national armies will shrink and municipal police forces will be promoted. With the erosion of the nation-state the monopoly of armed forces will also erode and the line dividing crime and war will also fade. The inability of the state to protect its citizens, Kaplan (1994:74) predicts, will be the exact cause of the ultimate death of many nation-states. As these conditions spread one of the basic needs, based on Maslows' (1970) hierarchy of needs, i.e. personal security is not being met and this need will replace the political value of the average person.

Mathews (1997:51) indicates that of all the armed conflicts since 1989, a 100 have been intra-state affairs. Many conflicts, Mathews (1997:51) explains, began "... with governments acting against their own citizens, through extreme corruption, violence, incompetence, or complete breakdown, as in Somalia". The states, in these instances, are breaking the social contract with their citizens. Kaplan (1994:49) expands on this by stating that instead of *coups d'état*, states such as the Ivory Coast and Somalia are

subjected to a new form of insurgency which he describes as "...an anarchic implosion of criminal violence".

Elliot (1993:1) defines the global Mafia as being "Ruthless, Stateless, High Tech., and Deadly". Even though organised crime syndicates flourish in extreme chaos and anarchy, they function in a highly ordered and structured way. As with the First Wave structures the Mafias are hierarchical by nature, decentralised and have the family as the basic unit. If these families provide an alternative for citizens, a new social contract, to have their basic need for personal security met, the nation-state may lose its supporters. Elliot (1993:12) of *Newsweek* highlighted the fact that one of the most serious threats in history is the global Mafia. Tim Wirth, the USA's vice-secretary of state for global affairs, refers to the problem of organised crime as "...accelerating far beyond the abilities of current institutions", especially the nation-state. Sunter (1992:39) identifies crime as a global trade, trans-national in nature, with drugs being its most profitable export. He estimates that the 24 Mafia families in the USA show a profit margin of \$60 billion annually. Organized crime, as an unknown, invisible, trans-national enemy, poses a threat which the government is unable to deal with successfully. Toffler (1990:453) speaks of underground empires which in some cases have more power, wealth and status than many nations. As they operate underground and are non-bureaucratic, the extent of their operations surprises and confuses governments. International laws are totally inadequate to deal with them. They are potent adversaries since they are armed with computers, lasers precision targeting viruses to attack either people or computers and many more. As it fights to survive, the nation-state has to contend with corrupt crime cartels and syndicates including trans-nationally organised crime, readily available illegal and cheap arms and a massive influx of refugees who bring with them their ideologies, hatreds and differences which fuel resentment and competition among inhabitants.

Conflict which thus arises erupts into low-intensity conflict which, at present, is found mostly in developing countries. Van Creveld (1991:27) warns that this situation is about to spread to the rest of the world. Huntington (1996) has already pointed to the resurrection of Islam and other religions employing this type of warfare on a global scale.

Ultimately Toffler places organised crime in the realms of underground empires against which the law, whether it appears in the form of the nation-state or in the form of international law, is inadequate to deal with the problem. He reasons that organised crime presents a formidable enemy which is stateless and high-tech, i.e. armed with electronic devices such as computers and is lethal. He assesses that the military might of the nation-state is inadequate to deal with such an invisible enemy. The main danger, according to Toffler, is that the nation-state cannot protect its citizens, therefore, the social contract is threatened. Toffler, supported by Kaplan and Van Creveld, therefore, estimates that national armies will shrink and municipal forces will be promoted. Kaplan expands the argument further by postulating that security needs will replace political values with the result that the death of the nation-state can be expected. The third threat and *Global Gladiator*, namely the *dispersed oppressor* will now be discussed.

C. THE DISPERSED OPPRESSOR

The *dispersed oppressor*, also known as trans-national or multinational corporations, in the 20th century are a similar version of the guilds or *societas* of the 19th century First Wave Civilisation (Toffler, 1990:454; Nossal, 1998:134). The nation-state is finding it difficult to control these global corporations which function by transferring people, funds and operations across national boundaries. Toffler (1990:454) disputes the term multinational used to describe them as he reasons that these mega-firms are non-national. As an example, he cites General Motors as the largest stock holder of Isuzu. As finance is not under the strict control of nation-states any more Toffler (1990:454) calculates that approximately 600 *mega-firms* which are called multinationals have emerged. At present, Nossal (1998:127) explains that, in less than a decade, this number has increased to 40000 with most of them headquartered in the European Union, the USA and Japan. These corporations employ about 35 million people and have an income of \$10 trillion.

The strategic thinkers operating within this Washington-Berlin-Tokyo triad will have to strategically place themselves in the *inter-capitalistic struggle* for dominance over Third Wave power structures. Toffler (1990:449) explains that "...strategists in Washington, Tokyo, Brussels and Berlin may soon have to choose in the great triadic competition for world power". The danger to the nation-state, as Toffler (1990:454)

explains, occurs when companies from different countries are joined in such a way that global alliances are formed. This enables companies to merge with a resultant rise in acquisitions often from country to country at great speed. Besides drawing capital and managerial elite from many countries, the distribution of profits to shareholders also occurs in many countries. Toffler (1990:454) warns that as **super profits** are siphoned off countries, concepts such as economic nationalism will have to be reconsidered. Another threat Toffler (1990:454) highlights is when terrorists hostile to nation-states threaten or attack a trans-national company. Who is liable to protect such a company? If these mega-firms are threatened by hostile elements in a host country the next *Gladiator*, the *Corporate Condottiere*, might emerge.

In conclusion, Toffler highlights the fact that mega firms have formed global alliances and constellations shifting their allegiance from the nation-state to their own corporations. As they operate on international level, Toffler argues that their existence forces a rethink of concepts such as economic nationalism. These firms do not turn to nation-states for protection but, to the *corporate condottiere*, the next *Global Gladiator* to be discussed.

D. CORPORATE CONDOTTIERE

The criminal element which is crashing through the globe with its soldiers, be it guerrillas or drug cartels, are non bureaucratic where the only identity card or citizenship required is that of criminal (Toffler, 1990:453). With increased technology, like viruses, the nations are increasingly fighting unknown enemies and as Toffler (1990:455) explains, "... if state or intergovernmental forces cannot impose order, the day may dawn when perfectly ordinary trans-national corporations decide it is necessary to put their own brigades into the fields". Military might has been the forte of the nation-state. Even with this power intergovernmental forces may not be able to impose order.

Large corporations are already hiring armed bodyguards, security specialists and the like, to protect their companies. Toffler (1990:456) reasons that this could easily lead to mercenary troops. Toffler's (1990:455) resurgence of the *corporate condottiere* is a response to the inability of the nation-state to protect its citizens and especially the state's inability to stop terrorism. Nossal (1998:134) explains that the *corporate condottiere* refer to mercenaries who fought the European wars during the 15th and 16th

centuries. The *condottieres* were so skilled at fighting that no one was really killed. In the time of the rise of the nation-states, national armies overshadowed the mercenary armies. These mercenaries are reappearing in the contemporary global political environment. They have fought wars in Nigeria, the Sudan and the Congo and are also involved in coups such as those in the Seychelles (1977), Maldives (1988) and Cameroles (1978, 1989, and 1995). Since the 1990's mercenary activity has been corporatised. As companies they provide services to governments and multinationals. They offer services such as security, infantry, airborne operations, covert operations and general warfare. Many of these forces are South African based such as Executive Outcomes, Omega Support and Strategic Concepts.

In sum, Toffler argues that the power of the nation-state, in the form of its military might, is exclusive. As conditions, such as the escalation of crime, threatens the security of citizens, non-state actors, which he terms the *corporate condotteire*, are moving in to solve problems related to security. The emergence of these high-tech security specialists underlines Toffler's views. He expects their activities to escalate with the nation-state's inability to cope with terrorism. He finally sounds a warning that these actors could easily be transformed into mercenary troops in opposition to the nation-state. These new actors have also placed pressure on the UN to transform, as traditionally it regarded the nation-state as the sole political actor requiring representation within its organisation. The *UN Plus* will now be discussed as the next *Global Gladiator*.

E. THE UN PLUS

Toffler and Toffler (1993:319-320) see the future of this organisation as having to be redefined as the basic unit of the world system. The nation-state, of which this organisation is a collection of, is changing because many existing nation-states are facing sub-national tribalism. Toffler and Toffler (1993:320) explain this by stating that "...states are going to splinter or transform, and the resultant units may not, in the modern sense, be integrated nations at all, but a variety of other entities from tribal federations to Third Wave city-states. The United Nations may find itself, in part, a club of ex-nations or faux nations – other kinds of political units merely dressed in the trappings of the nation". Helms (1996:2) of *Foreign Affairs* expands on this by stating that the United Nations itself is being transformed into a quasi-sovereign entity. Boutros-

Gali declared in 1992 that the nation-state is an outdated concept and as Helms (1996:3) explains that as "...the millennium approaches, the virus of centralisation is spreading to the global level and the United Nations is its carrier". The new Secretary-General of the United Nations has proposed, according to the *Economist* "...a Millennium Assembly in 2000, with a companion People's Assembly...defining what the UN is for in the 21st century" (Anon., 1997:39). With the above phenomena gaining momentum and scope Toffler (1990: 456) reasons that global chaos will result, unless new international laws which address the problems mentioned above are put into place. He proposes the establishment of a Global Council or Global Corporation in which large corporations are represented. The UN, which is a body of nation-states, would have to broaden to incorporate trans-national companies, religions and other entities. If such measures are not taken, these groups might well form a conglomerated counter organisation which would support the emerging needs of these entities.

In conclusion, Toffler points out that these actors are already sharing power with the nation-state. The last *Global Gladiator* accommodates these previous non-state actors in *new style global organisations* which are a prominent feature of the political component of the Third Wave Civilisation.

F. NEW STYLE GLOBAL ORGANIZATION

As power shifts from the nation-state to supra-national structures Toffler (1990:456) shifts his focus to the "architects of the new global order". In his analysis he draws a comparison between two models, i.e. the traditional vertical model where the power structure evolves in the form of "...high rise institutional architecture" and the alternate model where the power structure has been flattened by the advancing Third Wave economies (Toffler, 1990:457). He explains that the latter system includes complicated networks and regulatory agencies which deal with matters which are too large for the nation-state to handle. This section will examine the actors and the institutions they create. The question posed by Toffler (1990:457), is whether non-state actors or *Gladiators* should be represented in world organizations and this is closely related to the designs of new structures or organisations in the global arena and whether the power of the New World Order should flow horizontally or vertically. The European community is an example of a vertical organisation with the aim of building a *supra-*

government. Newhouse (1997:167) states that many of Europe's regional and big-city leaders, themselves gaining power, regard the nation-state to be "...too big to run everyday life, and too small to manage international affairs...where...two parallel and related processes have emerged. One is regionalism, the other globalization, instead of working through national capitals, European regions are linking themselves directly to the global economy". Newhouse (1997:84) concludes that regionalism constitutes the largest threat to the nation-state. Toffler (1990:459-460) predicts China to form a new entity with "...Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and perhaps a unified Korea... [which would emerge as]... a giant new Confucian Economic Community, countering the rise of Japan, while further strengthening the significance of religion as a factor in the world system". There is currently a debate about who should become a permanent member of the United Nations and how many permanent members there should be and it is during this debate that the new globally organised civilizations become apparent. These include the Organisation of Islamic Conference, the African Union and the Organisation of American States (Huntington, 1996:317). New styles of global institutions or supra-national structures such as the European Union or African Union "...play a key role alongside states as well as being able to regulate activities within their member states. International organizations, international financial institutions, trans-national organizations (such as industrial associations or environmental non-governmental organizations (NGOs), social movements, consumer groups and scientists can all play a key role...(and)...the policy process often acquires an important trans-national or international dimension which in practice can substantially limit national autonomy" (Greene, 1997:320).

Toffler and Toffler (1993:319) reason that the nation-state which is the main component of the global system is changing. For a start the economic base of the nation-state has shifted its parameters from a national market to regional and global markets. The dynamic sectors of this economic base function in a sub-national, supra-national or trans-national arena. Driving these systems is fast moving trans-national electronic money which is taking power away from national governments and the currencies they control. Besides the permeation of electronic money penetration, threats from the environment outside the nation-state are manifested by forces emanating from ideology, terrorism, information, religion, weapons, drugs and ethnicity, to name a few. Toffler and

Toffler (1993:321) reason that the global system of the Second Wave based on the nation-state is being transformed into a "...three tiered system based on states", i.e.:

- **Pre-national or sub-national levels** (local government, municipalities, ect)
- **Nation-states**
- **Post-national states.** The third tier of the system is regional technopoles, i.e. trans-national networks which operate beyond the nation-state parameters on a decentralised high technology basis (e.g. regional, international and global regimes such as the WSSD or the AU).

The end of the cold war resulted in a political vacuum in which non-state actors benefited by gaining more ground to lobby their causes. It was as a result of this new political climate that trans-national issues were identified and placed on the global agenda. International co-operation to manage these trans-national issues or interests is high on the global agenda, but since there is no world government, how can this be achieved (Vogler, 1997:222-239)? Even though to date there is no world government, Vogler (1997:239) maintains, that "...there are forms of international governance that can fulfil similar functions. These forms of governance can be described as regimes. This all encompassing term that includes the principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures that serve to co-ordinate international action." International environmental regimes, for instance, are centred by multi lateral treaties or conventions which consist of a set of rules and may function on a regional or global level. The rise of regimes has resulted in the decay of parameters which distinguish the **high politics** or supra-national politics of **state to state diplomacy** from **low politics** or sub-national politics. If sub-national and supra-national levels are not subordinate to the state within global governance, what implications does this have for the state? Elliot (1998:98) questions the effectiveness and durability of regimes "...in a system of international governance in which the sovereignty of states remains a fundamental organizing principle". Regimes differ from nation-states in that most nation-states focus on **legislative bargaining** to meet majority rule requirements while regimes focus on **institutional bargaining** resulting in **constitutional contracts** and functions under a **consensus rule**. Regimes, however, are not established without problems or limitations arising (Young, 1994: 27-28). These challenges result in the need for devising, "...a multivariate model of the (re)formation of international institutions. At a minimum, such a model should make it possible to understand substitution effects in the sense of alternating paths to the

creation of governance systems and interaction effects in the sense of multiple forces at work in the development of individual governance systems" (Young, 1994:28).

The question remains: can the global political order, consisting of nation-states in conflict with non-state actors or *Global Gladiators*, achieve the collective global governance needed to address trans-national issues? There is at present no global structure to enforce global rule of law, but only on the grounds of consensus. What is necessary therefore is not to deal with conflict management of or between nation-states and *Global Gladiators*, but conflict transformation. Politicians have to handle the unstable transition to a new world order which includes constant assaults from *Global Gladiators* competing for control over tomorrow's political institutions (Toffler, 1990:258). What is apparent though is that the nation-state is not going to go quietly. *Gladiator* to *Gladiator*, the fight is on to the death. This brings to mind Darwin's law of Natural Selection which places organic matter, which is exposed to severe competition, in a universal struggle for life, where only the fittest will survive. The second principle underlying Toffler's *mosaic democracy*, *semi-direct democracy*, will now be discussed.

4.1.2 Semi-Direct Democracy

The idea of polity or direct democracy is not new and can be traced back to the First Wave philosophers. On the eve of the Second Wave, French revolutionaries promoted direct democracies, Toffler (1980:438) explains, that even "...Marx and his followers frequently evoked the Paris Commune as a model of citizen participation in the making and execution of the laws". Toffler (1980:436) defines semi-direct democracy as building blocks of future political systems, with it a mixture of representation by authorities and individuals representing themselves. The reason why Toffler opts for a semi-direct democracy and not a polity is that a *polity* may have worked in the First Wave, but pragmatically the *supra-differentiated* global society of the Third Wave is too complex and dynamic, causing it to require a semi-direct democracy. Semi-direct democracy is centred on the issue of representation and indicates a shift away from traditional state-centric representation to greater representation by means of the public and private sectors. Due to the shift from traditional democracy to a *mosaic democracy*, traditional structures such as parliaments, assemblies or congresses cannot adequately represent

the *mosaic pivotal minorities*, let alone negotiate or bargain for their diverse interests. This results in the need and empowerment of civil society and the public itself (Toffler, 1980:436-437). Democratic governance creates a fertile ground for challenging the traditional role of the state (public sector) and for the private sector (civil society or Global Gladiators). Democratic governance, Burger (2001:72) explains, results in a "...redefinition of the role of the state with the emphasis shifting from direct service provision to maintenance and the creation of a level playing field for economic activity and empowerment of non-state actors". The democratic values underlying democratic governance, such as liberty, citizen participation, accountability, responsiveness and social equity, result in a demand from citizens for *high-performance service delivery* (Ismail et al, 1997:31-34; Burger, 2001:72). Since sub-national structures such as local government are close to grassroots, more emphasis is placed on devolution. The focus on sub-national politics and citizen participation require a closer look at decentralisation, a principle of the Third Wave code, as a shift away from the Second Wave principles, i.e. centralization. For Toffler (1980:59), each civilization has a hidden code which consists of six principles which govern it. These interrelated principles control every aspect of life from the economy and social life to war and politics. The focus here will be centred on the principle of centralization. The integrated economic structures of the Second Wave ultimately required a centralized power structure which was based on a centralized information and command structure. Operations were standardized and synchronized. (Toffler, 1980:71) The political system of the Second Wave functioned on identical lines. The most extreme political centralization was found in the Marxist industrial nations. Marx himself called for "... decisive centralization of power in the hands of the state" (Toffler, 1980:72). According to Toffler (1980:71-72) a strong central government was needed for economic growth, military strength and to sustain a foreign policy. In the centralized system, power was checked by the separation of powers in the form of separate legislative, executive and judicial powers. With the centralized government came centralized banking and centralized money. The most important aspect of the centralized institutions of the Second Wave was the central bank with centralized control of currency (Toffler, 1980:73). Money in the standardised currency is progressively under attack as electronic money, travelling at high speed, is beyond the regulating capacity of the nation-state (Toffler, 1980:335).

The onset of the Third Wave has generated powerful decentralizing dynamics mostly launched by globalisation (McGrew, 1992:75). These forces pose a serious challenge to the centralized power of the nation-state. Toffler (1990:239) advances thoughts of decentralization by using the example of cars and computers being no longer manufactured in a single country. These twin production changes require **direct political parallels** (Toffler, 1990:240). As this happens the pressure for change in high-tech nations to decentralize structures will increase. On one level power shifts upwards to supra-national agencies while on the next level the supra symbolic economy creates constitutions which radically shift power locally, nationally, and regionally. Toffler (1990:240-241) concludes that as these regions take on their own diversified culture and political character, their traditional tools such as central banks will become inadequate. As decentralization deepens it will trigger extremists who demand regional autonomy. Toffler (1990:241) gives the breaking up of Yugoslavia into Serbs, Croats, and Albanians as an example of Third Wave decentralisation.

It is a process of trial and error whereby governance which includes the execution of "...decentralized experiments...permit us to test new models of political decision-making at local and regional levels in advance of their application to national and trans-national levels" (Toffler, 1980:453). New service delivery innovative methods, for instance, are a policy initiative which is piloted at local levels first. Sub-national politics and especially civil society will have to lead the political transformation as public officials are not likely to challenge the very organisational institutions which give them status, money and power. Pressure groups will have to force change to occur. Finally Toffler's 21st century democracy is based on a political triad of **minority power** (which has seen an increase in mosaic inputs by **pivotal minorities** and the rise of the **Global Gladiators**), **semi-direct democracy** (which through decentralised structures creates a variety of channels for these **mosaic inputs**) and lastly how these **mosaic inputs** require **decision-division**. The focus will now be placed on the last principle underlying Toffler's **mosaic democracy**, i.e. **decision division**.

4.1.3 **Decision-making Processes**

The first step in this phase, Toffler (1980:452) explains, is to "...launch the widest public debate over the need for a new political system attuned to the needs of a Third Wave". It is important to direct the focus of the public and private sector to establishing new political systems and structures (Toffler, 1980:452). In this regard innovations in ITC such as computers, cell phones, satellites, and polling techniques have resulted in politically literate citizenry who can start to make political decisions themselves; an occurrence unique to the historical evolutionary process of mankind (Toffler, 1980:439). The empowerment of *pivotal minorities* and increasing direct representation is a fraction of the dialectic process. The third principle underlying global democratic governance is *decision-division*. The aim of this principle is to relocate the decision-making process away from centralization and shift it to an appropriate level; be it sub-national, national or supra-national governance levels, to solve the problem or issue. The shift from centralized policy-making analysis thereby increases the demand for public participation (Toffler, 1980:81). Contemporary problems or issues are not necessarily concentrated at a national level, but may occur within states or be trans-national by nature. Sub-national structures need to be revised, thereby empowering localities, municipalities, provinces, regions and global social movements to have greater decision-making powers to deal with local issues. To deal with trans-national issues requires the creation of new imaginative Third Wave institutions at a supra-national level to which problems and issues can be transferred and which have their own code of conduct to enforce these decisions at a global level. The supra-national structures must be alternative to the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, NATO, and the UN (Toffler, 1980:441-442). As soon as a trans-national issue gains priority on the global agenda, global decisions are taken concerning policies and rules needed to address the problem or issue. These decisions must include commitments, responsibilities, policies, implementation and monitoring measures. Global *knowledge-based* communities, i.e. *epistemic communities* of specialists or experts familiar with the problem and a comprehension of preferable policy responses have proved to be an integral part of this phase. *Epistemic communities* are regarded as "...knowledge-based trans-national communities of experts with shared understanding of an issue or problem or preferred policy responses" (Greene, 1997:334). Each policy differs in respect to benefits and costs. It is during this phase that political leaders use *active diplomacy* to obtain the

agreement that will meet their interests. Multi-lateral agreements need all stakeholders to be committed to a common cause or interest (Greene, 1997: 325-326).

Toffler (1980:442) explains that at a supra-national level, "...we are as politically primitive and underdeveloped today as we were at the national level when the industrial revolution began 300 years ago. By transferring some decisions up from the nation-state, we not only make it possible to act effectively at the level where many of our most explosive problems lie, but simultaneously reduce the decision burden at the overload centre – the nation-state. **Decision-division** is essential". The failure of nation-states to allow the free flow of new inputs which contradict the state is evident of a weak state. The main objective of leaders of a weak state is to hold on to their power base and not to alleviate poverty, build up the community or to provide effective and efficient service delivery. The commitment by the public sector to align itself to being a part of the Third Wave political order will "...systematically open the valves of public discussion" (Toffler, 1990:402). The expansion of political public participation emphasises a key element of the system's theory, i.e. feedback. Feedback presents itself in the form of **change amplifiers** and **change reducers** which underlie Toffler's scenario for democratic governance. The nature and extent of democratic governance, therefore, depends on the decision-making load. The greater the decision-making load, the greater the need for democratic participation (Toffler, 1980:316). The underlying assumption of democracy is that every individual who is affected by a decision has the right to participate in the decision-making process. In the future, Toffler (1990:458) explains that, as "...the world goes global, demands for cross-national political participation - and even cross-national voting – will bubble up from the vast populations who now feel themselves excluded from the decisions that shape their lives".

Democratic governance constitutes the first part of Toffler's profile of a future political order and focuses on a political triad of **minority power**, **semi-democratic democracy** and **decision-division**. An increase in minority power, in the future will require a redesigning of electoral processes to eradicate **anti-minority biases**. Political constituencies, consisting of **single-issue groups**, have led to de-massification. De-massification has led to the rise of **pivotal minorities** who Toffler has referred to as power-seekers whom he conceptualises as **Global Gladiators** who are posing the greatest threat to the nation-state, namely, the **resurrection of religion**, the **empire of**

cocaine, the *dispersed oppressor*, the *corporate condattiere*, the *UN plus* and *new-styled organisations*. The second point on the political triad underlying 21st century global governance, according to Toffler, is semi-direct democracy. Semi-direct democracy encourages citizen participation and the empowerment of civil society and the *Global Gladiators* and highlights the relationship between public and private sectors as key components of the Third Wave political order. Increased public participation, be it through the public or private sectors, shifts the focus away from Second Wave centralisation to Third Wave decentralisation. The onset of the Third Wave has generated powerful decentralising dynamics mostly launched by globalisation which challenges the centralised power of the nation-state and results in the third point on the political triad, i.e. *decision-division*. This lies at the core of the difference between Second Wave centralisation and Third Wave decentralisation. The idea behind *decision-division* is not to put one's eggs in one basket, i.e. to reduce the centralised decision-making burden of the nation-state. The commitment by the public sector to align itself with the Third Wave political order will systematically open the doors of parliament and promote public participation. Political participation within a *mosaic democracy* will function according to new Third Wave political systems and structures. The political triad of the 21st century mosaic democracy, i.e. *minority power*, *semi-direct democracy*, and *decision-division*, underpin the global governance of the Third Wave. The two key components of the Third Wave global governance are the global public and private sectors through which this political triad finds expression. Toffler suggests that it is important to direct the focus of the global public and the global private sectors to establish political systems and structures of the Third Wave Civilization.

The study will therefore now explore these systems and structures as profiled by Toffler within the realm of global governance.

4.2 Global Governance

Globalisation is not a new phenomenon, but it is regarded as a process or tool which gave rise to villages and city states in the First Wave agrarian civilization, facilitated the rise of the nation-states in the Second Wave and is now driving towards the creation of supra-national structures. Supra-nationalism is also known as universalisation and requires a *Gestalt* approach which emphasises the incorporation of all five driving forces. Universalisation is a fundamental element of globalisation. Supra-nationalism

creates the need for global governance especially at a supra-national level. Toffler and Toffler (1993:321) postulates that where mass democracy featured within the nation-state, *mosaic democracy* will be based on a three tiered system (sub-national, national, and supra-national) within a global public sector. Before a profile of a *mosaic democracy* can be sketched it is important to firstly conceptualise global governance.

Globalisation may be defined as a process whereby political, social, technological, economic or cultural relations, take on borderless and distanceless qualities which have incorporated mankind into a single global society (*weltgesellschaft*). Governance on the other hand, is regarded as a management toolkit to make, implement, and evaluate social rules (Schofte, 1997:14). Young (1994:15) defines global governance as a process involved in the "...establishment and operation of social institutions (in the sense of rules of the game that serve to define social practices, assign roles, and guide interactions among the occupants of these roles) capable of resolving conflicts, facilitating cooperation, or more generally, alleviating collective action problems in a world of interdependent actors". When administering governance systems it is important to establish organisations to manage these institutions. It is important to remember that institutions should not be adapted to fit in with pre-existing organisations but that it is the organisations which must be transformed to the requirements of the newly established governance systems. The effectiveness of governance systems is mainly determined by its behavioural impact while its performance, with regard to equity, efficiency and sustainability is equally important (Young, 1994:29-30). In order to increase its performance, contemporary governance systems focus on the "...shift in emphasis from government (the power to govern) to governance (the act of governing) which is linked to the global acknowledgement that organs of civil society need to be empowered to share the responsibility for governance... [I]n essence, government institutions require a new *citizen-orientated management* approach" (Ismail et al., 1997:3). This is done in order to accommodate the Third Wave *pivotal minorities* and *mosaic inputs*. It is important to remember that regimes or global governance systems have interest-based, knowledge-based and power-based explanations (Haas, 1995:168-169). Globalisation has resulted in a global initiative to adopt a *citizen management approach* and to transform the public sector so as to improve organisational effectiveness, efficiency and overall performance (Burger, 2001:63). It is within this context that globalisation, Burger (2001:63) explains, promotes "...a global inter-dependence which is causing a

reconfiguration of global and national governance boundaries and a radical restructuring of global governance structures". The transformation of the public sector resulting from the demands of democratic global governance patterns is aimed at decentralisation, streamlining government and privatisation. These three elements, within the context of service delivery, are not only advantageous to all tiers of government, but also to civil society or the private sector (Burger, 2001:65).

The levels of global governance are divided into two sectors: the global public and global private sectors. Before these two sectors can be discussed independently, it is important to remember that within nation-states, legislation provides guidelines which separate the private and public sectors. Within global governance structures, certain guidelines are needed to separate universal global private and public sectors. A global private sector is established as a result of the institutionalisation of a co-operative effort between private, non-state actors which function independently of nation-states. It is important that independent norms, principles and rules, aimed at regulating the behaviour of members, are formulated by the private sector (Haufler, 1995:100-102). The three levels of global governance, i.e. supra-national, national and sub-national structures, are subject to a system of *co-operative governance*. This system of *co-operative governance* suggests that "...each sphere is distinctive and has equal status" (Reddy, 2001:26). The spatial dimension of global governance is divided into a public sector which consists of sub-national (municipal and district councils), national and supra-national (regional, international, trans-national and global) levels and a private sector which consists of non-state actors (Toffler and Toffler, 1990:321; Goodhart, 2001:543-545).

The aim of this section is to explore the nature and extent of *mosaic democracy* within global governance systems. This investigation has a dual dimension, i.e. firstly, within the global public sector, and secondly, within the global private sector. An independent discussion of the global public sector will follow in the next section. Finally, it can be deduced from Toffler's perspectives that globalisation is a process whereby the driving forces (political, social, technological, economical and environmental) take on borderless, distance-less, qualities which have amalgamated mankind into a world society (*Weltgesellschaft*). Governance is a management toolkit to design the political *rules of the game*.

4.2.1. Public Sector

Post Cold War politics has, therefore, seen the rise of trans-national issues, facilitated by global communications networks, trans-national and global political action and an increase in the role played by civil society. Trans-nationalism has also broken down the barriers between sub-national and supra-national structures, thereby promoting the philosophy of *think global act local* (Vogler, 1997:240-245). The question is, could this philosophy, conceived within the Post Cold War political era, especially if it is "...linked together across frontiers by such powerful tools as the Internet, presages the emergence of a global *polity* that may ultimately subvert the international political system" (Vogler, 1997:244)? The aim of this section is to highlight Toffler's profile of *mosaic democracy* within a global public sector which is based on three key principles, i.e. *minority power*, *semi-direct democracy and decision-division*. Toffler and Toffler (1995:90) explain that "...we come with no easy blueprint for tomorrow's constitution. We mistrust those who think they already have the answers when we are still trying to formulate the questions. But the time has come for us to imagine completely novel alternatives, to discuss, dissent, debate, and design from the ground up the democratic architecture of tomorrow". Toffler postulates that a paradigm shift from a Second Wave state-centric public sector based on mass democracy to a global public sector based on *mosaic democracy* will form the blueprint of the Third Wave political component. The global public sector functions on a three tiered system, i.e. on sub-national, national and supra-national levels. The first level, i.e. the sub-national level, will have to be investigated.

A. SUB-NATIONAL

Minority power, the first *heretical principle* of the Third Wave political component, has realigned the political focus to a decentralised sub-national level within supra-differentiated societies. This indicates a shift away from concentration (one of the key principles of the Second Wave code) and majority rule to de-massification (one of the key Third Wave codes) and minority rule. The second half of the twentieth century has seen policy making descend to provincial or municipal levels. As the sovereignty of the state declines sub-state authorities play a bigger role in launching policy implementation. Local authorities develop trans-sovereign policies about matters such as pollution control

and crime prevention. Global capital flows and telecommunication webs often link cities instead of their respective central national governments. Scholte (1997:23) gives the example of US federal states operating diplomatic missions abroad independently of their national embassies. At present, institutions are undergoing vast reforms and restructuring that greatly differ from the industrial institutions. Contemporary institutions are focusing on decentralisation being "...less bureaucratic, less formal and move to smaller and more efficient units" (Cloete and Meyer, 2000:240). As the private sector is becoming synchronised with the public sector, hierarchies are being bypassed, thereby subverting the power of bureaucracies into decentralised units (Toffler,1990:255).The reason for this, Toffler (1990:255) explains is that "...as complexity grows, change accelerates, and bureaucratic responses lag as more and more problems pile up that bureaucracies cannot handle" (Toffler, 1990:255). As centralised bureaucracies shift into decay alternative service delivery methods are needed to manage these crises. Decentralisation empowers civil society to play a greater role in service delivery. Due to the lack of financial resources and up-dated technology governments are now "...less active in the delivery of goods and services and more involved in the facilitation of service delivery". This transformation requires new alternative innovative service delivery strategies which include the following (Cloete and Meyer, 2000:241):

- ***Outsourcing***
- ***Privatisation***
- ***Corporatization***
- ***Public-private partnerships***
- ***Lease agreements***

These strategies are explained in the next section.

Governments, when introducing these alternative methods of service delivery, should support private-public partnerships at local level first to test these alternative strategies and then expand to national levels (Toffler, 1990:251-255; Clayton et al, 2000:30). Pragmatically, new alternative service delivery strategies are mainly aimed at sub-national levels as devolved structures such as municipal and local authority which are closest to grassroots level. Theoretically national government, at present, controls the policy-making process, and therefore the blueprint of alternative service delivery policy initiatives will be discussed on a national level.

B. NATIONAL

At a national level the nation-state is severely influenced by a competitive and rapidly changing global political environment. The state has to transform its organisational development and improve service delivery in an attempt to re-affirm the need for government. Most governments, Toffler (1990:255) explains, are re-evaluating "...their make or buy decisions and questioning whether they should actually be running laboratories and laundries and performing thousands of other tasks that could be shifted to outside contractors. Governments are moving toward the principle that the task is to assure the delivery of services". Outsourcing, public-private partnerships, corporatisation and privatisation are alternative service delivery methods or strategies which offer solutions to this problem.

Privatisation is the first alternative service delivery (ASD) method discussed in this section. There is a global tendency for "...key government enterprises to be denationalized or their tasks contracted out to be performed by others. Privatization became a global buzzword...[and]...at a time when all governments face a kaleidoscopic, bewildering world environment, and privatization helps leaders focus on strategic priorities" (Toffler, 1990:252; 254). Privatisation has numerous disadvantages, but Toffler (1990:254) highlights a few advantages which include:

- Encouraging that government focuses on strategic priorities and not just the allocation of taxpayers resources.
- Ensuring that government remains in sync with the speed of a symbolic economy and pace of everyday life.
- Ensuring that government quickly and efficiently responds in retained and divested operations.

Privatisation, Toffler (1990:257-258) explains, and the "...looming redistribution of power to local, regional, and supra-national levels, points to basic changes in the size and shape of governments tomorrow. What we can expect to see, therefore, is a sharpened struggle between politicians and bureaucrats for control of the system as we make the perilous passage from a mass to a mosaic democracy".

The second ASD method is *public-private partnership*. The transformation in governments to an entrepreneurial process has required the utilisation of a technique used in the private sector called *business process re-engineering* (BPR) which aims at improving the organisation's performance. In the public sector this technique is known as organisational development which is an *interventional tool* used to manage an ever changing political environment. One of the core features of organisational development is the role played by mentors within the public sector. These individuals are more than just trainers; they are *knowledge workers*. The role of the mentor is to assist public servants to embrace change and to mould their thinking so as to adapt to the changing political environment. The mentor has to be a strategic planner sketching scenarios so as to determine the future needs of the public service and adopt their training tools and techniques to accommodate these needs and demands. The *mentors* have to act in concert with decision-makers and should therefore adhere to policy guidelines and incorporate these guidelines into the training material and programmes. These *mentors* main task is to identify problems within the organisation and recommend a solution. They are also, therefore, known as *organizational doctors* (Hilliard and Kemp, 2001:87-91). The private sector's technique, BPR, has an underlying improvement and progressive philosophy, which is regarded as a useful management tool in the public sector to improve service delivery, which is closely linked to organisation development. BPR is aimed at "...achieving gradual or progressive improvements in organisational performance by redesigning the processes through which an organisation operates... (and the)...main focus in BRP is a re-engineering, i.e. bringing about structural and other changes" (Hilliard and Kemp, 2001:91). The use of this technique in the private and public sectors highlights the synchronised transformation in business and government. This has resulted in closer cooperation among the public and private sectors and between public officials and non-state actors, thereby highlighting public-private partnerships as a new alternative service delivery strategy (Toffler, 1990:251-253).

Contracting/outsourcing is another method of ASD used by governments. Outsourcing refers to an agreement between a section or department or section of the public service, and individuals or groups within civil society. This civil society organisation will then render a particular service, but government is still responsible and accountable for the service delivery function. Whether "...the specific function is, or is not, appropriate for

private-sector contractors to perform, the drive toward contracting out is the mirror image of industry's reappraisal of vertical integration" (Toffler, 1990:255). To improve service as well as the effectiveness and efficiency of the public sector, provision must be made for an increased role "...of the private sector in public service provision through contracting-out, and reform state bureaucracies by introducing executive agencies, internal competition and performance-related pay" (Clayton et al, 2000:10). In order to achieve this it is important for states to empower civil society organisations to fulfil this role. Within the Third Wave the relationship between the public sector and civil society has to be transformed into a culture of partnership.

Toffler has suggested that within his profile of the political component of the Third Wave, the political focus will no longer solely be placed on the nation-state as the key political component, but will be shared by the sub-national and supra-national spheres. The supra-national level is the last leg of the political triad within the global public sector which is the first sector which features within the new Third Wave global governance structures.

C. SUPRA-NATIONAL

Supra-national politics holds forth a political community above (supra) the nation-state. It firstly combines a number of independent nation-states, i.e. sovereign political entities to form a new political authority. An example of such a political community is the European Union. The idea of Europe as an integrated single political community can be dated to before the 16th century Reformation. The papacy had supra-national authority over a large part of Europe. Later thinkers like Rousseau and Saint-Simon supported the notion of a politically amalgamated Europe. Even Winston Churchill advocated a **United States of Europe** (Heywood, 1997:155). As the deficiencies of the nation-state become apparent the EU served more prominently as a model. According to Nossal (1998:463) the European ideal was centred in economic rather than in political goals. In the endeavour to create a single market, national barriers which impeded wealth creation were eliminated. The most important was the creation of a central bank and a single European currency. The main goal behind such a political domain is economics, i.e. to create a single economic market. This was achieved by the removal of barriers to wealth creation such as technology, standardisation of transport infrastructure and many more.

Of paramount importance here is the creation of a single currency and a single central regional bank. Although national governments retain their sovereignty a "...supra-national layer of governmental structures" has been put in place to govern the "...economic coordination of the European area" (Nossal, 1998:463). In global politics the EU is a sovereign entity, since it governs the "...economic coordination of the European area" (Nossal, 1998:463). In global politics the EU governs, with power being exercised in the arena of adjudication, revenue collection and law enforcement.

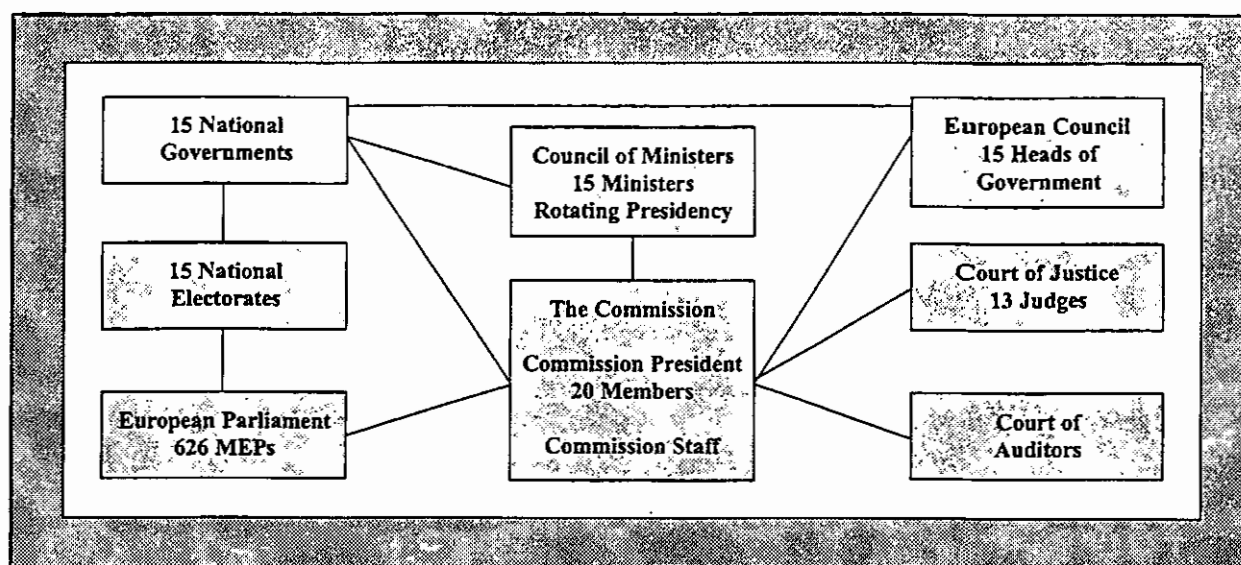


Figure 6.3: Supranational Governance: The Institutions of the EU (Nossal, 1998:446)

Supra-state agencies such as the UN and the AU have also reached new heights in conflict management and human rights issues. Many fields of global governance are still underdeveloped, caused by underfinanced structures which are poorly coordinated and the absence of effective reinforcements of decisions, to name a few. Scholte (1997:230) defines supra-national structures as *global governance agencies*. These supra-state authorities cover such aspects as macro-economic policies. Toffler and Toffler (1993:322) place the decision-making powers in the future with "... trans-national companies in alliance with city-regional governments". In their scenarios about future

politics, Toffler and Toffler (1993:321) include regional *technopoles*. These are regions, such as the German *Ruhrgebiete*, which are about to evolve as they acquire predominant socio-economic status, while trans-national companies together with city regional governments will have the real decision making power of the future. Toffler and Toffler (1993:321) refer to these as the "...high-tech archipelago". Supra-nationalism is different to federalism. In federalism self governing different units merge to form a single sovereign unit. Sovereign powers are shared between the "...central government and the government of each constituent unit" (Nossal, 1998:463). Supra-nationalism attempts to create a new "...form of political authority over the existing sovereign nation-state" (Nossal, 1998:463).

As globalisation is steering governance away from a single focus on the state to a multilayered complex of making rules, a critical political and normative question arises concerning the future of democracy in the globalised environment. On the surface globalisation seems to promote democracy which rests on collective powers, whereas state sovereignty rests on supreme and exclusive power. Yet global governance systems operate away from the democratic masses and largely fall within the realm of techno-politics where experts such as lawyers, chemists and economists make policies away from democratic scrutiny. In the globalised world, rules thus mainly emanate from the economic elite rather than through representative participatory democracy. As globalisation progresses, it will force the re-thinking of the principles of mass democracy. New forms of authenticity and rule in world politics have emerged such as trans-national and sub-national relations laws, as well as regulations emanating from the global market system and activities emanating from the global social group. The global market governance is centred in corporations which are rooted in inequalities and the rule of efficiency. Democracy features poorly in all the above examples. Scholte (1997:230) sums it up saying that "global governance agencies suffer from severe democratic deficits". A limitation of democratic governance at a supra-national level is the issue of legitimacy (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:321; Goodhart, 2001:543-555). Democratic institutions cannot simply be extended to a supra-national level "...without understanding whether and how their legitimacy depends upon their conceptual relationship with the political units in which they originally evolved; nor can we simply attempt to strengthen existing democratic institutions at the state level when the empirical assumption underpinning their legitimacy is increasingly suspect" (Goodhart, 2001:545-546).

Traditionally, governance is regarded as being only effective if a government is established; however, governance without government can exist within supra-national institutions or systems which play a role in solving collective action concerning global problems that "...pervade social relations under conditions of interdependence" (Young, 1994:16). The question, therefore, is not what centralised nation-state structures can be put into place to deal with trans-national issues, but what mechanisms or characteristics should supra-national political organisations have to ensure that governance without government succeeds. Issue-specific governance systems or regimes differ from each other in a number of ways such as in the territorial domain, functional and structural scope; the nature and extent of their membership, developmental stages, nature and extent of administrative apparatus and the degree of formalisation; they also continuously impinge on one another. This results in greater interdependence as regimes link to address *problem sets*. This may result in regimes joining or finding a place within more comprehensive global institutions. Traditionally political leaders had to focus only on national interests; however, in the global contemporary order, leaders are challenged by functioning on all levels of governance, i.e. supra-national and local levels. Political leaders need to get involved in negotiations during the establishment of regimes, while convincing the constituencies in the territories they govern that the decisions made at supra-national level are beneficial to national and local needs and interests (Young, 1994:16-26).

Visionary leadership and strategic planning is the cornerstone of supra-national politics. Not only are the political structures of the Third Wave heretical, but require a heretical management style unique to the new emerging civilisation. The public sector, as the first dimension within global governance, does not operate in isolation and has an enkaptic relationship with the private sector. The private sector is the second dimension of global governance and will be discussed in the next section.

4.2.2 Private Sector

The private sector is the second dimension of global governance. Toffler postulates that it provides a framework upon which civil society can be based and functions. Pivotal minorities find expression within this realm. Civil society may be defined as the

"...sphere of organisations and/or associations of organizations located between the family, the state, the government of the day, and the prevailing economic system in which people with common interests associate voluntarily. Amongst these organisations, they may have common, competing or conflicting values and interest" (Camay and Gordon, 2001:4). The private sector consists of a large number of non-state actors such as corporations, financial organisations or institutions, social movements or groups and individuals (Greene, 1997:320). Toffler highlights three main dimensions of the global private sector, i.e. marketised global governance, regional trade blocs and global social movements.

Marketised global governance is the first dimension of the private sector. Toffler (1990:56), bases his ideas on the revolutionary changes in which the Third Wave Civilization is destined to bring about totally new structures in the world capital markets. The decaying state-centric banking system has created a power struggle between Second Wave nationalists and Third Wave globalists. **Corporate private regimes** are established in order to cooperate over issues which are market, price and supply and demand related (Haufler, 1995:102). The political structures, irrespective of leaders or ideologies, are not adequate in speed, structures or scale to cope with a globalised economy. For Toffler (1990:251) the revolutionary economy of the Third Wave will transform business as well as government. During the Second Wave, Gilpin (1981:127) argued that the major goal of the state oriented towards the extension of exports and a favourable balance of payment. From this the state increased its awareness of the international economy as well as the place of the state in international circles. This led to the launching of the **world market economy**. Within this system, groups such as economic bodies, banks, companies and many more are termed non-state actors, which in the present system, have secondary status. During the industrial age the railways formed the infrastructure which placed the market on a national basis. The dramatic breakthrough of information technology has promoted the internationalisation of the economy. The computer and new materials have formed the infrastructure for the emerging world economy. These innovations have resulted in the emergence of great advances in telecommunications and manufacturing which allow for both standardised and customised production. The role played by technological development is forcing the state to provide the infrastructure required by the advanced technology and secondly the newly launched technologically intensive arms race is requiring the support of the state

(Castells, 1996:205-210). Under the global market system the market is not subordinate to either society or the state. On the contrary, it regulates itself and is, according to Gilpin (1981:128), "...determined by economic laws such as those of supply and demand". These laws have elevated the market system to autonomous spheres. This has led to the second dimension of the private sector, i.e. regional trading blocks.

The reason for forming **regional trading blocs**, Toffler (1990:457) explains, is based on the needs which the nation-state cannot supply. Rather than the old hierarchical structures of the nation-state, it is centred in networks of alliances, specialised agencies, and consortiums. While the 19th century saw economic power dominated by the UK, this role was taken over by the USA in the 20th century. Yet the multi-polar global economy does present another danger to the hegemonic power of the USA, which Heywood (1997:152) refers to as the **Fortress of Europe** and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) which includes Mexico, the USA and Canada. The East Asian trading bloc would dwarf NAFTA and Europe. Added to this is the newly emerged African Union. As new forms of wealth creation are designed and established, so old forms of economic development are shattered (Toffler, 1990:460). As with the public sector, the new global economy functions on all global governance levels, i.e. sub-national, national and supra-national levels leaving the old system in decay (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:320). Although trade within these blocs is open, economic interaction is regulated by an elaborated network of regulations (Schwartz, 1996:175). Negotiators meet through elaborate webs of electronic media. The global economy is simulated by computers and although it is not governed by any one, every bloc watches it carefully. As Schwartz (1996:175) states "...governments set the rules: corporations enforce them". A great concern for world peace is the tension which exists between these blocs. Schwartz (1996:176) reminds us that the arms trade is flourishing and all major trading blocs are in possession of nuclear weapons. Most conflicts though are economic, with computers playing a big role. For instance, cyber-terrorists crippled financial operations in London. By merely feeding a computer virus into London's sewerage system the entire economic system of London was paralysed. Historically, similar trading blocs have existed and were locked in a power struggle over economic and military supremacy. This struggle eventually resulted in the First World War in 1914. The potential energy between trading blocs can thus easily escalate and eventually culminate in global conflict. The main source of conflict is the issue over access to the market. Major commercial banks, which

are controlled by an army of traders, are armed with computers to manipulate credit rating. This new form of mercantilism can evolve to large scale economic competition which would then have the potential of a military confrontation (Schwartz, 1996:177). Butler (1997:427) argues that regionalism will not only form a buffer or utilitarian device to break issues such as security dilemmas, defence of local identities and fortifications against global challenges but will formulate a device to promote a stabilising mechanism in the world order. The process of globalisation highlights the process of transnationalisation, especially of trade, information, capital and technology. Globalisation is also centred in Western corporate identities and is often seen as threatening local customs and even identities. Regionalism can then be seen as a mechanism to protect these values. Socio-political relations from a local perspective are, therefore, redefined (Butler 1997:425). There is an interdependence which exists between marketised global governance, regional trading blocs and global social movements. **Global social movements**, the last leg of this triad, will now be discussed.

As the nation-state has been the key political element since 1648, with the signing of the Westphalia treaty, citizen action has been limited to occur within the realm of national governance and state sovereignty. The mobility, size and power of multinational corporations and the rise of global civil society have extended the parameters within which citizen action occurs, i.e. beyond the borders of the state sovereignty. The monopoly enjoyed by the centralized state system is being challenged by politically decentralised structures such as the global civil society. The rise of non-state actors or global civil society not only provides alternative perspectives, assumptions, and priorities but challenges the very ideology upon which state-centric governance is based (Turner, 1998:25-30).

The main feature of a global civil society is that it is not restricted to groups trying to influence policy, but to the "...attention they bring to problems that are not amenable to direct policy responses. Thus, the politics of global civil society is not oriented exclusively toward the state" (Turner, 1998:30).

The shift from national to global governance has resulted in the universalisation of issues or causes and has created a new global political environment which function within the realm of a global governance triad, i.e. supra-national, national and sub-national (Toffler, 1990:240; Hyden, 1996:99-100). Global civil society is altering the social, economic and political behaviour of mankind. This, together with new technological innovations, is facilitating the shift to a globalised citizenship. This paradigm shift from national citizenship to a global citizenship has empowered the global civil society to have the potential to form alternative types of democracies that function on a global scale. Civil society, however, does not always have a conflicting relationship with nation-states. NGOs, for instance, directly participate and have consultative status within formalised institutions of global governance. The co-operation between nation-states and NGOs is very visible in this instance. Liebenberg (1997:41) explains the civil society is an "...inherently pluralistic realm, distinct from yet interacting with the state and processes of production, consisting of numerous associations and organized around specific interests with the following characteristics in common: communally organized, independent, voluntary, autonomous, able to form links with other interesting groups and do not in any way seek to set themselves up as an alternative authority to the state." Civil society plays a very important role transforming the *global public opinion* and promoting activism at grass roots level to deal with trans-national issues, thereby also challenging the value-system of nation-states by prioritising an alternative set of assumptions and values. Diversity is one example of an alternative focus point and is an important feature of the Global civil society initiative. Diversity in this context goes beyond liberal pluralism of nation-states as it rejects state-centric systems, ideologies and sovereignty as excluding unconventional and minority groups (Turner, 1998:30-32). Discursive diversity, Turner (1998:32), explains, "...poses a fundamental theoretical challenge to the legitimacy of the state's monopoly of the use of force, for legitimacy is conditioned by the ideational framework of the governed". The rise of a global civil society and global citizenship has resulted in the quests for redefining citizen participation at levels of global governance. The evolution of global governance mechanisms has resulted in a wide variety of channels to promote citizen participation. Co-operation or links between the nation-state and civil society challenges the states institutional integrity as the "state is a condition, a certain relationship among human beings... [w]e destroy it by contracting other relationships by behaving differently toward one another" (Turner, 1998:37). The aim of civil society is not to replace the state-centric

system, but it does offer an alternative political order. The tension arising from the power struggles between traditional and alternative political orders can be explained from an anarchist approach (Tumer, 1998:39-41). Global civil society activists are not only regarded as trans-national pressure groups, but are seen as political actors. These political actors are placed under the spectrum of *world civic politics* (Wapner, 1995:313). Within *world civic politics*, the global civil society exists "...above the individual and below the state, but across national boundaries...[W]hen trans-national activists direct their efforts beyond the state, they are politicizing global civil society" (Wapner, 1995:313). The nation-state is not fully equipped to deal with trans-national or global issues and this has resulted in a transformatory shift from a state-centric world to a multi-centric world. The transformation has led to the rise of new trans-national structures such as the African Union, the European Union, and regimes like Greenpeace and the World Summit on Sustainable Development. The establishment and development of the global civil society arose from the local and national groups "...extending tentative feelers out around the world, forming effective communication channels around issues of common interest" (Elliot, 1998:129). The global civil society is not just an institutional phenomenon, but sets the stage or platform for political activity. The global civil society is not regarded as merely having a participatory role in global governance, but facilitates the shift towards "...decentralized globalism or a pluralistic world order" (Elliot, 1998:130-131). The main aim of the global civil society is that it is an expression of an alternative view or vision of political functions and practices which emphasise public participation, democratisation, the empowerment of minorities, equity, justice and the promotion of local decentralised governance, as well as increasing the focus on *polity* or rule by the people (Elliot, 1998:131). These functions empower civil society to becoming an integral part of agenda setting. Agenda setting is a process which requires the identification of problems or issues which need public action. Agenda setting, be it for a regime, global institution or a nation-state government, is a process which prioritises problems or issues, rallies for support and initiates lobbying decision-makers to take a certain course of action (Cloete and Meyer, 2000:97-100). The more pluralistic a society, Toffler postulates, the greater the tendency, hence the rise of pivotal minorities, for a greater the role to be played by interest groups in the decision-making process, hence decision-division. The underlying motivation of membership to interest groups is a drive to get a specific issue placed on the agenda or to lobby politicians to have the political will or commitment to place these issues on the agenda (Cloete and

Meyer, 2000:103-104). It is important to determine the extent to which civil society will "...be represented in the institutions now being planned for the world tomorrow" (Toffler, 1990:458)?

The relationship between the public and private sector is highlighted by the increased role of civil society. Trans-national activism has resulted in "...politicizing global civil society...(by)...identifying and manipulating instruments of power for shaping collective life ...(which helps to)...foster the evolution of a new form of global governance that encroaches on the previously sacred notion of state sovereignty" (Hyden, 1996:100). The relationship between the nation-state, the global civil society and democracy is twofold. Firstly, the global civil society assists the nation-state in the socialisation of people according to democratic norms, thereby establishing and developing a democratic culture, and secondly, assists in mobilisation of resources in a manner that the nation-state cannot. Within the Third Wave universal civilization, the dynamics of civil society, which in the past operated within the confines of the nation-state, have shifted to the establishment of a global civil society operating within the realm of a global governance triad. This global governance triad is interdependent and cooperative by nature. The development of a global civil society is essentially a political process or task. As civil society has no legal character, scientific evidence is an important part of the persuasion tactics to further its aims. Global civil society has highlighted the transformatory nature of the contemporary global political environment and has given rise to a new global consciousness. It presents an alternative political practice which has a normative and transformatory character. Within the parameters of the nation-state, a strong civil society can lead to more accountability and good governance. Civil society constitutes a sector in which a group of individuals pursues common goals and interests. The strength and participation of civil society depend on government legitimisation thereof and its willingness to make allowances for civil society to develop independently without placing pressure on it by means of unnecessary regulation (Landell-Mills, 1992:552; Hyden, 1996:92-106; Elliot, 1998:122-131).

The development from a civil society to a global civil society must be considered within the realm of the transformatory nature of the contemporary global political environment (Toffler, 1990:255; Landell-Mills, 1992:552-554). One of the most fundamental differences between the *world civic politics* and the nation-state is the rule of law. The nation-state is a legally sanctioned body which can use coercive means to enforce

compliance. Civic politics, on the other hand, has no legal status but relies on persuasive tactics to further its goals. However, when civic politics turns to instruments or mechanisms of global governance to reach its objectives the shift occurs from using non-political tactics to "...politicising global civil society" (Wapner, 1995:337-338). The contrast between civil society and the state has been emphasised mostly from within the German tradition especially by political philosophical thinkers like Hegel. It was from this tradition that civil society has been regarded as a "...sphere or movement of political order in which individuals engage in free association. Although it is an arena of particular needs, private interests, and divisiveness, it is one in which citizens can come together to realise joint aims. It is there that people engage in spontaneous, customary, and non-legalistic forms of association with the intention of pursuing great aims in common" (Wapner, 1995:338). This is, however, despite significant differences between the two political spheres, an enkaptic relationship between them. This enkaptic relationship is not the fundamental element which politicises the global civil society, but does facilitate the ability to utilise various instruments of global governance to motivate, alter or even revolutionise mankind's behaviour. The fundamental element underlying the *world civil politics* is the power struggles which occur within the global matrix of networks with the *res publico* (public domain) and the quality of governance used to manipulate this political environment (Wapner, 1995:339). Civil society and lobbyists have an advantage in the contemporary information age as technological innovations have created the opportunities for these groups to strategically link themselves to informal global and local networks. Some lobbyists and civil society groups may have more access to more resources and information than national structures (Meyer and Cloete, 2000:248).

As mankind enters the *information age*, knowledge has become a vital toolkit for good governance. In an unstable global political environment, where the public and private sectors still remain to set the parameters of their nature and role each is to play, within a changing political order, a power play is put into motion over the struggle for autonomy and legitimacy. This power struggle will result in the use of political tactics which Toffler (1990:259-271) refers to as *info-tactics*. These *info-tactics* are "...power plays and plays based on the manipulation of information – for the most part before it ever gets to the media" (Toffler, 1990: 259). The use of knowledge as a power toolkit is going to become increasingly important as the Third Wave Civilization starts to establish itself. The manipulation of information raises pertinent issues which challenge basic

democratic values (Toffler, 1990:259-260). The use of these *info-tactics* and the effect of democratic governance will briefly be discussed in the following section.

The first tactic is the *secrecy tactic*. Most democratic countries have the *access to information* principle featuring in some or other policy document. This is prevalent in the oldest democracies, like the USA, where in 1967, on the 4th of July, President Lyndon Johnson passed the *Freedom of Information Act*, as well as to new democracies such as South Africa where this principle is codified in Act 108 of 1996. However, contrary to this legislation, undemocratic pragmatism is followed, where governments are secretive about a variety of issues ranging from military affairs, and crime statistics to census statistics. The USA classifies about 20 million documents as secret. Gaining knowledge of these secrets and the underlying Machiavellian use of these secrets form a vital part of the power struggle between state and non-state actors. The classification of information as secret leads to a second *info-tactic*: *the guided leak tactic* (Toffler, 1990:261). *The guided leak tactic* focuses on disinformation which is as powerful as the truth. Leaking certain information to a predetermined target to achieve a strategic outcome is a powerful *info-tactic*. These *guided leaks*, Toffler (1990:260-261) explains, are "...informational missiles, consciously launched and precision-targeted". The *masked source tactic* is the next *info tactic*. *The masked source tactic* plays an important role in contemporary political power struggles. The sender or source is a key component of any transmission of information, data or knowledge as the source determines the degree of credibility given to it. Fundraising letters may be sent to possible donors by a supposed or front civil society movement which may be covertly controlled by a certain political party, or patriotic sounding movement or organisation which may be under foreign control (Toffler, 1990:262-263). The next *info-tactic* is the *routine slip tactic*. This *info-tactic* is a power tool which determines access to information. By keeping individuals *out of the loop*, their power is restricted. Power-shifters usually try to get the person in charge or at the top *out of the loop* (Toffler, 1990:264-265). These are just a few of the *info-tactics* Toffler (1990:259-271) identifies; however, the relevance for this study is not on the nature and extent of these tactics, but lies in the fact that transmission of knowledge, information and data is never *power-neutral*. Politicians know that *info-tactics* are power toolkits but the Machiavellian tactics is quickly becoming primitive. This power toolkit is about to undergo a major transformation, as Toffler (1990:271) explains, the "...struggle for power changes when

knowledge about knowledge becomes the prime source of power ... (and)...we are about to enter the era of meta-tactics in the mind work-mills we call government, moving the entire power game to an even higher level".

In conclusion: Toffler's profile of an alternative political order is based on democratic structures which differ from the Second Wave centralised mass democracy. Toffler refers to this alternative political order as mosaic democracy. Mosaic democracy is based on three building blocks, i.e. **minority power**, **semi-direct democracy** and **decision-division**. This triad of democratic governance constitutes the first dimension of Toffler's alternative Third Wave political order. The second dimension of Toffler's profile, global governance, provides a framework in which mosaic democracy can operate enaptically. Global governance has two key components, i.e. a global public sector and a global private sector. The global public sector of the Third Wave functions on three levels, i.e. sub-national, national and supra-national levels. Toffler suggests that the political triad of **mosaic democracy**, i.e. **minority power**, **semi-direct democracy** and **decision-division** underpin each of these three levels with service delivery, a Third Wave mode of production, as the key theme. The sub-national level receives more attention in the Third Wave with the rise of **pivotal minorities**. This has resulted in an increase in the demand for public participation which promotes a **semi-direct democracy** resulting in **decision-division** with policy making descending to provincial or municipal levels. In an increasingly competitive contemporary political environment, national levels have accepted the challenge to transform its organisational development programmes and improve service delivery in an attempt to re-affirm the need for government. **Decision-division** has resulted in a change or shift from national policy making to global policy making. Toffler postulates that in the future the decision-making powers will rest with an alliance between supra-national and sub-national levels.

Toffler suggests that visionary leadership and strategic planning is the cornerstone of not only supra-national politics but global governance as a whole. It is important to note that not only are the political structures of the Third Wave heretical, but also require a heretical management style unique to the new emerging civilisation. The private sector is the second component of global governance. Toffler postulates that it provides a framework upon which civil society can be based and on which it can function. Toffler highlights three main dimensions of the global private sector, i.e. marketised global

governance, regional trade blocs, and global social movements. An important aspect that was highlighted was the enkapitic relationship between the global public and private sectors. The rise of the global civil society and its increasing role in service delivery has altered the traditional social contract between nation-states and its citizens. Before the social contract is redefined or broken, the *rules of the game* and the place and role of the public and private sectors of global governance will have to be determined. Although theoretically these two sectors are supposed to complement each other, each one is trying to gain an advantage to determine the amount of power and jurisdiction allocated to each sector.

5. CONCLUSION

Mankind stands at a point in the historical evolutionary process, where the Third Wave is about to come crashing down on the systems and structures that provide security, order and justice. The post-Cold war era has, therefore, resulted in a traumatic transitional period for mankind filled with anxiety, confusion and insecurity. Global hysteria is facilitated by a "...steady diet of bad news" and doom prophets predicting the ultimate decay of mankind's existence (Toffler, 1980:25).

Huntington (1996:35) points out that this multi-dimensional international order is synonymous with or resembles the medieval era. There is a definite resemblance between the *Sheer Chaos* paradigm and the anarchist paradigm. The *Sheer Chaos* paradigm, Huntington (1996:35) explains, stresses "...the breakdown of governmental authority, the break-up of states; the intensification of tribal, ethnic, and religious conflict; the emergence of international criminal Mafias; refugees multiplying into the tens of millions; the proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction; the spread of terrorism; the prevalence of massacres and ethnic cleansing". This paradigm takes the clues or trends identified in the world and create order out of chaos. Anarchism, in contrast, Mc Naughton (1996: 9; 322) explains, means "an absence of government and oppose the very existence of a state. They propose a *weak state and a strong civil society*". Mc Naughton (1996:9) explains this return to First Wave norms by quoting *Reclus*, a nineteenth-century anarchist: "We know that, if our descendants are to reach their high destiny...they will owe it to their coming tighter more and more intimately, to

the incessant collaboration, to his mutual aid from which brotherhood grows little by little". Toffler (1980:346-347) points out that there is a peculiar turn of events occurring as mankind digests the thought of distinction, between old First Wave Civilizations which emphasise certain commonalities such as a focus on family, customs, traditions, religions, decentralisation, renewable energy, to name but a few. The focus on primitive structures highlights the role of the individual and communities; an occurrence which Toffler (1980:347) refers to as "...something that looks remarkably like a dialectical return". A shift to individual acknowledgement of humanity and the dependence on the earth and its life sustaining properties has resulted in a focus on **people-centred development** and the empowerment of **participatory local government** which depends on a **people-driven management approach** (Toffler, 1990:255 & Korten, 1990:218-227).

The task of the Third Wave individual is not to identify decay but to create "order out of chaos", thereby placing a wholly new order or civilization structure on a higher order (Toffler, 1980:319-346). It is interesting to note that, as mentioned in Chapter 2, Toffler with his roots centred in Marxism has not chosen the Marxist dialectical retreat as a possible future world for mankind, but has chosen the traditional German dialectical path of Hegel as a road to a possible future world. Toffler, therefore postulates not a world community (*Weltgemeinschaft*), but the ultimate world society (*Weltgesellschaft*).

Individuals need guidance, and a person with visionary leadership to show them the way. People usually look to the government or to its political leaders for this guidance, but should a civil society leader offers a better alternative than the state, it will weaken even further. It is also important to ask to what extent the nation-state can provide such guidance if it is also facing internal and external attacks on its structures. To answer this question the study had to explore the complexities surrounding the future of the nation-state. The strategic component of the meta-theoretical framework was used as a guideline to explore this issue. This component focuses on three exploratory questions, i.e. **what the situation of the nation-state is, where to and why concerning the nation-state, and what the ideal profile of the political component of the Third Wave, especially the role of the nation-state within it is?**, aimed at providing answers to the nature and extent of the nation-state within the new political component of the

Third Wave. The crisis of the nation-state has fundamentally a dualistic origin, namely, a combination of external threats and internal pressures. The rise of regional and ethnic politics has generated centrifugal or intra-state pressures. Toffler (1990:24; 248) explains this by stating that society is becoming increasingly heterogeneous and is characterised by an increase in social diversity. Mass society will end with the end of the industrial age. As people de-massify, their needs will be manifested in a rise of heightened ethnic and racial consciousness as well as groups such as ecological activists. Mass society is changing. Instead of politicians facing a big-predictable constituency, they now face a society which has splintered into smaller groups each feeding its own criteria into the political system. These groups are not as stable as those of the Second Wave were; they form and break only to reform again at high speed. Many of these groups seek autonomy. A few examples include the Jewish Defence league who, with US citizen support seeks to gain power in Israel. Groups such as these seek to impose totalitarian dogmas, not merely on other nations, but on the entire globe. Toffler (1990:248) cites numerous separatist movements as leaving trails of car bombs and bloodshed in defence of their national identity. The trend sees an escalation of holy wars and social groups fighting for autonomy. The increased demands in the new diversified society resulted in a paradigmatic shift from a mass democracy to a mosaic democracy. These threats are causing *anomalies* that have created the crisis of the nation-state and have resulted in a need for a paradigm shift to create systems and structures more suited to the needs of the Third Wave.

This shifts the focus of the study to the second question, i.e. *where to and why concerning the future of the nation-state?* This requires the exploration of the future of the nation-state. For Toffler (1980:31) the basic political question "...is not who controls the last days of the industrial society but who shapes the new civilization rapidly rising to replace it?" Toffler's (1980:31) scenario identifies two alternative future worlds which are represented by two opposing groups struggling over the new civilization, i.e. those reactionaries of the industrial past and the revolutionaries who recognise global problems such as ecological problems and population explosion. These people realise that a nation-state cannot deal with global problems and that the framework of the industrial Second Wave order is not equipped to deal with these problems. The conflict between these groups is the *super-struggle* over a future civilization.

The study then focuses on the last exploratory question i.e. ***what the ideal profile of the political component of the Third Wave, especially the role of the nation-state within it is?*** The shift to the Third Wave and its focus on ***people-centred development*** and ***people-driven*** government has created the need for Toffler (1980:451-452) to closely explore new systems of democratic governance with specific focus on ***mosaic democracy***. This new type of democracy is based on three basic principles, i.e. "...minority power, semi-direct democracy and decision-division" (Toffler, 1980:451-452).

A ***supra-differentiated*** Third Wave Civilization has resulted in the rise of what Toffler (1990:245) refers to as ***pivotal minorities*** who thrive on the Third Wave anarchical transitional nature of the contemporary political order. In a mosaic democracy the entire system is therefore open to attack from religious fundamentalists and groups who seriously threaten the sovereignty of the nation-state. Each of these pivotal groups seeks their own autonomy and in doing so, seriously threaten the sovereignty of the nation-state. Toffler (1990:459) is of the opinion that there is going to be a global revolution in political forms and explains this when he states what civilization is experiencing is "...a significant shift of power from individual or groups of nation-states to the Global Gladiators. This amounts to nothing less than the next global revolution in politics forms". These Global Gladiators are a new group feeding like a cancer on the nation-state. The empowerment of these ***pivotal democracies*** has resulted in the demand for greater political participation which has resulted in the shift from limited democracies to semi-direct democracies, thereby increasing the idea of ***rule by the people***. This new type of polity has resulted in greater participation in the decision-making process. As ***pivotal minorities*** increases the mosaic inputs send into the political system, thereby increasing the pressure on its system instability occurs. Toffler (1980:452) suggests that ***decision-division*** is a possible solution to this problem. Toffler's profile of the political component of the Third Wave is diagrammatically represented as follows:

POST-INDUSTRIAL THIRD WAVE POLITICAL COMPONENT		
DRIVING FORCE	CRITERIA	
<i>Political</i>	Decentralised	
	Regions/ communities	
	Minority power	
<i>Administration</i>	Adhocracy, professional bureaucracy	
	Small groups	
	Flexible/ adaptive	
	Temporary	
	Organic	
	Flatter hierarchy	
	Decentralised	
TOFFLER'S PROFILE		
<i>Mosaic Democracy</i>	<i>Global Public Sector</i>	<i>Global Private Sector</i>
Minority power	Sub-national	Marketised global governance
Semi-direct democracy	National	Regional Trade Blocs
Decision-division	Supra-nationalism (Global Civil Society)	Global Social Movements

Figure 6.4: The political component of the Third Wave

As mankind is faced with global problems needing a global brain to find solutions, Toffler (1990:458) suggests that "cross-national political participation" and even "cross-national voting" be used in this process. This, however, will require new political systems. Toffler and Toffler (1993:321) suggest the use of a three tiered global governance system. This system is divided into a global public sector, consisting of sub-national, national and supra-national levels, and a global private sector, consisting of marketised global governance, regional trade blocs and global social movements. The increased participation of civil society has placed renewed interest on the relationship between the global public and global private sectors. These public and private sectors are currently

competing to position themselves with the new Third Wave systems and structures. One commonality is that both sectors use a *people-driven* management approach focusing on service delivery. Toffler has sketched a scenario for the future of the nation-state and provides a profile of a possible alternative structure. The next chapter will evaluate Toffler's dialectic view of the evolutionary socialisation process of mankind with specific reference to the nation-state.

CHAPTER 7

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

1. TOFFLER'S SCIENTIFIC CONTRIBUTIONS

At the onset of the 21st century mankind faced bewildering changes which affected all levels of human society. Futurists such as Toffler, Huntington, and Sunter, among others offer scenarios as a framework within which these changes can be explained. Of great importance here is the work of Toffler which has confirmed him to be a pioneer in the field of scenario formulation concerning strategic planning in mapping a cognitive view of the future. His thesis has presented a holistic, although revolutionary approach to the forces which commenced in the First Wave and which ultimately led to the formation of the nation-state and latter the crisis of the nation-state. Toffler's contributions are centred within a dialectic progression principle and the meta-theoretical framework, as laid out in (Figure 2.9 Chapter 2) which forms the blueprint for this study, offers a foundation for understanding Toffler's thoughts. The historic-spatial nature of the three dimensional theoretical framework is based on three components, i.e. the historical reconstructive (*past/ vorwelt*), the analytical (*present/ umwelt*) and the strategic (*future/ folgewelt*) components. Each component is viewed from Toffler's *Gestalt* approach, thereby looking at the environmental, technological, economic, social and political elements or driving forces driving the evolutionary and revolutionary changes within the socialisation process of mankind. The key theme that runs through each component is the place and role of the nation-state. The dialectical nature of this framework has recorded the rise and fall of the nation-state. This applied epistemological approach is based on three cognitive requirements, i.e. scenario, control (predetermined elements), and choices (critical uncertainties), and is found within the historic-spatial foundational context of Toffler's meta-matrix. Each component consists of driving forces, predetermined elements, critical uncertainties and a *hidden code*. A revolutionary paradigm-shift occurs when this *hidden code* or heart of each component is changed. This change

occurs when a simultaneous change occurs in all five driving forces which drive out the old order, resulting in a **Gestalt-switch** which then heralds in the new order.

The concurrent use of economic deterministic thoughts that underlie Toffler's work highlights the influence that Marxist dogma has had on his scientific contributions. It must, however, be mentioned that only elements of this **ideological problematic** (pre-scientific context) feature in his work, but his scientific contributions are primarily based within the German phenomenological tradition. This interplay between phenomenology and the critical theory has resulted in Toffler's contributions extending to phenomenological Marxism or Substantialism. Within the German tradition, Toffler's ideas can be mainly, but not exclusively linked to Husserl/Schulz (phenomenology), Heidegger (German idealism), Dilthey (German hermeneutics), Hegel (dialectics), Weber (German **Verstehen**; historical ideals types) and Kohler/Kafka/Lewin (**Gestalt** perspective). This constitutes the theoretical basis for Toffler's contributions. The scientific and operational contexts of Toffler's contributions are mainly centred round the crisis of the nation-state and a scenario which ultimately profiles the political dispensation of the Third Wave Civilization.

As the hour glass of the Second Wave industrial era started running out the globe is faced with a **vision of chaos**. Arising out of this chaos are global problems such as the escalation of crime beyond control, fuelled by international mafias, millions of refugees, weapons of mass destruction, the spread of AIDS, the spread of terrorism, the global ecological crisis, and unstable fluctuating financial markets as well as a sense of hopelessness engulfing whole continents. Alvin and Heidi Toffler acknowledge the temporal transitional frame of mind of a confused humanity. The Toffler's contributions offer an intellectual and consistent holistic view of mankind in a state of transition; a mere step in dialectical progression. They offer a ray of hope foreseeing not the end of mankind but just the beginning of a new era. For Toffler to sketch a scenario for a future civilization, it is important to obtain a thorough knowledge of the evolutionary socialisation of mankind. Toffler provides a **Gestalt** perspective of this dialectical progression; however, the political component, especially the place and role of the nation-state, will receive special attention in this study. In order to understand Toffler's contribution in this regard, a meta-theoretical framework was used as a blueprint for this study. This framework is diagrammatically represented below.

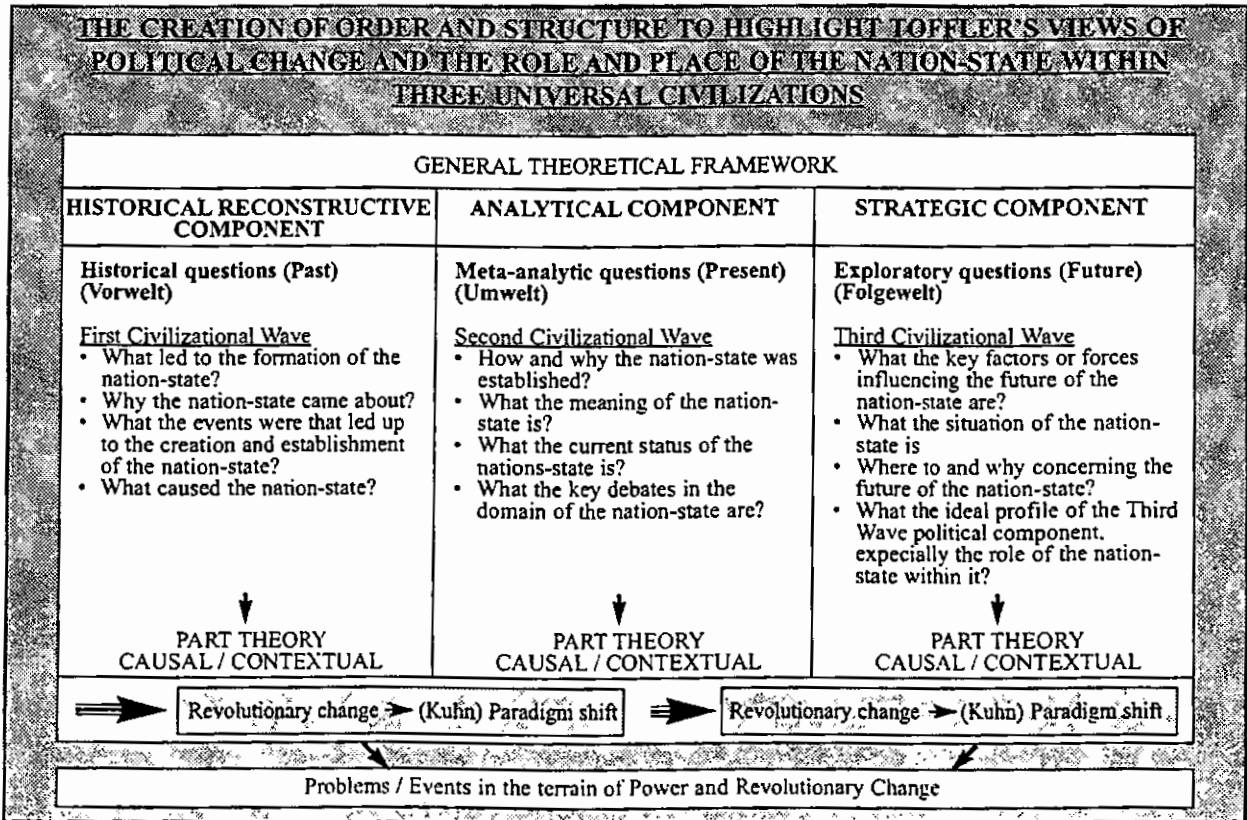


Figure 7.1: A blueprint or meta-matrix for understanding Toffler's contributions (adapted from Toffler, 1970; Toffler, 1980; Toffler, 1990; Toffler and Toffler, 1993; Duvenhage, 1994:69 and Babbie and Mouton, 2001:75-79).

The First Wave Civilization constitutes the historical reconstructive component of the meta-theoretical framework of Toffler's contributions which will be discussed in the next section.

1.1 THE FIRST WAVE CIVILIZATION

The Historical Reconstructive Component

The Origin of the Nation-State

The historical reconstructive (*Vorwelt*) component of the meta-theoretical framework of Toffler's contribution falls within the temporal-spatial dimension of the First Wave Civilization, which focuses on the origin of the nation-state. Toffler's contributions start with the evolution of the political development of mankind during this era which is based in the agrarian age. It is within this component that historical questions regarding the origin of the nation-state were posed, namely:

- ***What led to the formation of the nation-state?***
- ***Why the nation-state came about?***
- ***What the events were that led to the creation and establishment of the nation-state?***
- ***What caused the nation-state?***

Toffler postulates that the agricultural era formed the framework for the First Wave environmental, technological, economic, social and political driving forces to operate in. Toffler's contributions concerning the evolutionary political process of the agrarian age, which would evolve into the nation-state, took on a *Gestalt* perspective. By using these driving forces to determine political development, his contributions took on a macro dimension. The first driving force to be discussed was the *environment*. Toffler suggests that the main symbol of the agrarian era was the hoe, thus emphasising the importance of the natural environment. Mankind was totally dependent on the resources of the environment and focused on its optimal utilisation. Within this environment both the external and internal dimensions was epitomised by the *info-sphere*, where man's *mind model of reality* resided. This mind model of reality was primarily dominated by religion which was emphasised within an undifferentiated closed structure. The social control enforced by religion hurled mankind into what became known as the Dark Ages. This was primarily because all knowledge was lodged in the hands of the church. The 30 years war and the Treaty of Westphalia ended the power of the church and it was within this familiar environment of the agrarian individual that the rumblings of a revolution could be heard. The environment became fertile ground for the revolution that would shift mankind into the industrial age; the era in which the nation-state would reign

supreme. The **technological/economic** component of the agrarian age focuses on the change of modes of production. The economy was centred on the soil and based in a subsistence economy. Within the subsistence economy the concepts production and consumption were fused and it was only when these concepts split, that the market was formed which laid the foundation for a national market and, ultimately, a nation-state. Protection was of primary importance in the First Wave which was mainly achieved through hand to hand combat and by catapulting dead bodies riddled with deadly plagues into enemy camps (biological weapons). The invention of the gun led to a military revolution and the establishment of the use of an official officer's corps, instead of mercenaries, eventually leading to the formation of the national army which would ultimately be used to protect the nation-state. The **socio-political component of the First Wave** was the final phase in the revolutionary change to the nation-state.

Toffler places the primitive social order as a **gemeinschaft** (community) where the family, clan or tribe formed the main part of the undifferentiated closed First Wave Civilization. Toffler's epistemic journey to the birth of the nation-state occur within five phases, i.e. the Greek city-states, the Roman Empire, the feudal structures, the **Standestaat**, the Absolute State and the Nation-state. The first institutionalisation phase is the **Greek city-states** or the **polis** which hosted the philosophers who would influence the later architects of the industrial revolution and the nation-state. Toffler ties the **polis** strongly to the agrarian era and noted rudimentary technological advances which would later evolve to the industrial nature of the Second Wave. The **Roman Empire's** contributions can be centred in supplying the juridical **rules of the game** which became known as the law. Roman law formed the foundation for the judiciary and the legal code which structured and institutionalised the nation-state and which is still operational today. The **Trias Politica**, which advanced the notion of the separation of powers, was one of the main edifices to emerge from the Roman Empire. Toffler again places its roots in the agrarian era and states that it was at this stage of the First Wave that **Kultur** reached an all time high, laying the foundation for a society (**gesellschaft/societas**). Toffler suggests that the fall of the Roman Empire was a result of the fact that mercenaries were used for protection. The operations of these mercenaries placed the structure in decay and from its ruins emerged the feudal structure of the Middle Ages. The mercenary soldiers or **corporate condetteiri**, as Toffler refers to them, would again emerge during the Third Wave when the nation-states start to lose social control and the

social contract was threatened. Toffler highlights the power struggle between the advocates of the nation-state and the non-state actors of the First Wave and draws an analogy with the power struggle today between the nation-state and the **Global Gladiators** (non-state actors) which has resulted in the crisis of the nation-state. The **Standestaat** saw the guilds come up in opposition to the emerging new political structure. The **Absolute state** was a period well known for the Thirty Years war which broke the political power of the church and the control it had on society. The Treaties of Westphalia (1648) established the legitimacy of the state from the **Republica Christiana**. For Toffler this means the ultimate separation of the public and private spheres and was the start of the closure to the conflict between the First and Second Wave elites. Consequently the architects of the Second Wave Civilisation moved in to form the nation-state. This also concluded the shift from an undifferentiated closed community (**gemeinschaft**) to a differentiated open society (**gesellschaft**). These phases for Toffler traced the evolutionary political process through different forms of institutionalisation to eventually end in the nation-state. Strongly emphasised here is the emergence and progression of democracy which evolved from the **polis** where polity, and by implication, democratic values such as the principles of public participation and official accountability originated. There was also a shift from sub-national to national politics. The focus of Toffler's contributions rests with the political changes which ran concurrently with the changes of production. Toffler postulates that the way we create wealth is synonymous with the way we govern ourselves.

As violence or force, wealth and knowledge are the power tools of each civilizational wave a fundamental change in the status of this power triad results in a new paradigm or new era coming into being. Violence was the main source of power during the entire First Wave Civilization. Toffler (1990:15) explains that social control and the social contract formulated within the confines of the First Wave and destined for the political dynamics of the nation-state, have its roots in the quantitative nature of power where, "... the shadow of violence and force embedded in the law, stands behind every act of government, and in the end every government relies on soldiers and police to enforce its will". One of the main disadvantages of using violence as a tool of power is its singular dimensional utility or function to punish. Based on power, violence therefore, is regarded as **low-quality** power.

With regard to the First Wave Civilization, Toffler (1990:41-42) concludes that in "...sum, the rise of the industrial nation-state brought the systematic monopolisation of violence, the sublimination of violence into law, and the growing dependence of the population on money".

The main critique against Toffler, when considering political development in the agrarian era, was his lack of clear definitions and the insufficient drawing of amalgamated conclusions. The next component within Toffler's dialectical progression is the analytical component of the Second Wave civilisation where the nation-state became established. This will be discussed in the next section.

1.2. THE SECOND WAVE CIVILIZATION

The Analytical Component

The Establishment of the Nation-State

Like a tidal wave, the Second Wave crashed upon the lives of the ruling elite and their subjects, bringing with it revolutionary changes in all components of society. Toffler (1980:35) refers to this wave as a *concessive shock wave* demolishing old ways and creating a whole new set of *rules of the game* for a new civilization. This wave brought with it the Industrial Revolution. The reactionaries of the First Wave had projected a negative association of justice which brushed off onto the state as an institution making the rules of justice. However, with the nation-state as the basic unit of the Second Wave, its relationship with its citizens had to be restored. Therefore, after each revolution, i.e. the English, French and American Revolutions, came a set of the Bill of Rights. These were the *English Bill of Rights (1689)*, the *French Declaration of Rights of Man and of Citizen* and the *American Bill of Rights of 1791*. This resulted in the strengthening of the *social contract* to the extent that to this day the nation-state is still the basic unit of our universal civilization. The nation-state now had the authority to regulate social behaviour, and extract and control the resources. This enabled the state to increase its wealth and, as Toffler (1990:16) identifies wealth as the primary source of power in the Second Wave, the state was able to control its citizens. With wealth as the nucleus of the Second Wave Civilization, the factory and capital, the pivot on which all other aspects of man's existence was based, became programmed into an entity which served

the factory's needs and requirements. With mass production came mass democracy and mass destruction. Toffler and Toffler (1993:22) explain that civilization had now become a mass industrial society. Society became loyal to the modern nation-state (Toffler and Toffler, 1993:44). The establishment of the nation-state is discussed within the second component of Toffler's dialectical progression, i.e. the analytical component which focuses of the present (*umwelt*). Within this component certain meta-analytical questions are asked, i.e.:

- ***How and why the nation-state was established?***
- ***What the meaning of the nation-state is?***
- ***What is the current status of the nation-state?***
- ***What the key debates in the domain of the nation-state are?***

An analysis of the ***analytical component*** and its subsequent meta-analytical questions results in the following conclusions. Firstly with regard to the question ***how and why the nation-state was established?*** the study investigated the driving forces propelling the Second Wave and its key unit, i.e. the nation-state. Toffler uses the driving forces to form the parameters for a framework in which the meaning of the nation-state can be researched. With mass destruction came the destruction of the ***environment*** by means of pollution from factories, the use of non-replaceable energy resources, and the use of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. With regard to the ***social component*** the Second Wave society differed from the closed undifferentiated First Wave community in that it emerged in a differentiated ***gesellschaft*** (society) redefining the meaning of justice, power, love, God and religion, among an array of social elements (Toffler,1980:110). This transformation, Toffler (1980:110) explains, subverted and "...superseded ancient assumptions about time, space, matter, and causality. A powerful, coherent world view emerged that not only explained but justified Second Wave reality... [which]...might best be termed ***indust-reality***. The ***indust-reality*** gave rise to the sovereign individual and new forms of social organisations, i.e. mass educators, mass production, mass media, amongst others. The Second Wave ***technologies***, flared on by industrialisation, saw the rise of the factory or the ***dark satanic mills*** (Toffler, 1990:10). This led to the rise of ***Fordism*** and mass blue-collar workers working in large factories. The Second Wave ***economy*** gave rise to mass production of standardised goods which became the mode of production. This was facilitated by the shift from subsistence economies to national markets. Mass production

also went hand in hand with mass destruction. Genocide and **assembly line killings** were characteristic of the Second Wave. With regard to the question concerning the meaning of the nation-state Toffler offers a premise which places it as a product of the industrial revolution.

After an analysis of the driving forces, the next question which was posed is **what the meaning of the nation-state is?** The rise of the sovereign individual resulted in a shift away from the communal or traditional ties and was replaced by patriotism, not for the family, but for the nation and the subsequent creation of nationalism. Nationalism is a tool required for legitimacy of political authority and is promoted by symbolic propaganda tools to create mobilised masses and centralisation. The need for protection, order and justice led to the formation of a standardised, centralised, political authority: the nation-state.

To answer the next question, **what the current status of the nation-state is?** an investigation of the political driving force was required. The nation-state became standardized with the rise of mass interest groups, mass political parties, mass democracy and mass revolutions. Standardized politics led to political specialization where political professionals came to the fore. Even Lenin was regarded as a revolutionary specialist. Easton's (1965) systems analysis of state dynamics led to synchronization of politics where even in parliamentary systems legislative and executive terms were synchronized. As factory workers were housed under one roof so civil servants were housed under the umbrellas or concentrated under the nation-state. Maximization expanded on the idea of concentration to promote the idea of **big government**. Centralization is a key element of the nation-state and as the Second wave saw the rise of centralized banking so the state became centralized and promoted the universal laws of the **Trias Politica** based on the Second Wave code.

The analysis of the Second Wave Civilization is concluded by the last question, i.e. **what the key debates in the domain of the nation-state are?**

Today mankind stands at a cross-road faced with the alternative of remaining in the Second Wave paradigm or adopting the new paradigm of a Third Wave Civilization. Korten (1990:35) explains the paradigm concept as a "...set of basic ideas, thoughts or beliefs about the nature or reality. These beliefs serve as a lens through which we filter day-to-day perceptions of our world. Because of its influence on what we see, the lens of our belief system is a powerful determinant of how we act". For over 200 years civilization has been rooted in the realist paradigm, which originated with Thucydides, who is noted as being the father of international relations discipline, and which includes thinkers such as Machiavelli, Grotius, Von Clausewitz as well as modern theorists like Waltz and Gilpin (Viotti and Kauppi, 1993:37-42; 186; 197; 201). As the Industrial and French Revolutions were preceded by revolutionary thinkers/philosophers, the last few years of the twentieth century have seen the rise of philosophers demanding a *new paradigm*. Viotti and Kauppi (1993:229) expand on this stating that these include Joseph Nye calling for a *world politics paradigm* and Vasques: *a new paradigm for global politics*. With all the demands made for a *new paradigm* common concepts such as *trans-national relational relations* or *issue phrases* exist. Table 1 indicates the paradigm shift from Realism to Pluralism (a phrase in which we currently find ourselves) and ultimately to Globalism. The borders of the new economy are not national but are *sub-national*, *supra-national* or *trans-national* (Toffler & Toffler, 1993:320). This places the political and economic component in the pluralist paradigm where the economic unit (*virtual corporation*) is correlated to the political unit (*virtual state*) (Toffler, 1990:238).

For Toffler (1980:31) the basic political question "...is not who controls the last days of the industrial society but who shapes the new civilization rapidly rising to replace it". Toffler (1980:31) identifies two main groups struggling over the new civilization, namely, those reactionaries of the industrial past and those who recognise global problems, such as ecological problems and population explosion. These people realise that a nation-state cannot deal with global problems and that the framework of the industrial Second Wave order is not equipped to deal with these problems. The conflict between these groups is the *super-struggle* over a future civilization. Whether the Third Wave Civilization will be centred in a *globalistic paradigm* remains to be seen!

The Third Wave and place of the nation-state in it will now be investigated. The Second Wave has been holistically discussed and it may be comforting to know that this is not the first time in the history of mankind that a civilization is facing a new era thereby altering basic perceptions, ideas, values and institutions. Today civilization stands on the brink of a post-industrial, post-modern society.

1.3 THE THIRD WAVE CIVILIZATION

The Strategic Component

The Crisis of the Nation-State

Contemporary society stands at a point in the historical evolutionary process of mankind where the Third Wave is about to come crashing down on the systems and structures that provide security, order and justice. The post Cold War era has, therefore, resulted in a traumatic transitional period for mankind filled with anxiety, confusion and insecurity. Global hysteria is facilitated by daily reports of tragedies and doom prophets predicting the ultimate decay of mankind's very existence. As the Second Wave industrial era starts spiralling down into decay mankind searches for visionary leaders who can provide a way forward in a maze of global uncertainty and despair. It is important to ask to what extent the nation-state can provide such guidance. To answer this question the study had to explore the complexities surrounding the future of the nation-state. The strategic component of Toffler's meta-theoretical framework was used as a guideline to explore this issue.

The strategic component is the last section of Toffler's historic-spatial model within the meta-theoretical framework as outlined in Figure 7.1. This component required Toffler to think strategically especially with regard to the future of political organisations and the nation-state's role within it. ***Expansionistic strategic thinking*** was utilised in Toffler's assessment of the degree of future sustainability of the nation-state.

The first rule of *expansionistic strategic thinking* is to assess the current situation and then shift to an ideal state which poses creative solutions. However, before an ideal state can be profiled what needs to be determined is in what environment this ideal state will have to be implemented.

The aim of this study was, however, not to find solutions to the nation-states problems, but to assess possible future worlds in which creative solutions leading to the ideal state will have to be found. It is therefore important to sketch a scenario for the future of the nation-state before strategic planning around its future can be made. There is an important link between scenarios and strategic planning where this connection reveals a "...structural way of evaluating risk and rewards which enables decision-makers to choose strategic options against an explicit background of uncertainty" (Leemhuis, 1985:30). It is within the strategic component of the meta-theoretical framework (Chapter 2 Figure 2.9) that certain exploratory questions concerning the future (*Folgewelt*) of the nation-state are explored. These exploratory questions include:

- ***What are the key factors or forces influencing the nation-state?***
- ***What is the situation of the nation-state?***
- ***Where to and why concerning the future of the nation-state?***
- ***What is the ideal profile of the Third Wave political component, especially the role of the nation-state within it?***

As the Second Wave Civilization is in a process of decay mankind is faced with a world of unpredictability, chaos, change and uncertainty. Toffler attempts to create order out of this chaos by using scenario-building as a methodological approach to identifying a variety of pathways leading into a new post-industrial era (Toffler, 1980:3-240). Scenario-building requires the sketching of profiles of alternative courses the future could take (Van Willigen, 1986:168; Crous, 1990:88 and Schwartz, 1996:3-4; 151; 232). As Toffler's scientific contributions are based upon the phenomenological tradition (Chapter 2, Figure 2.6) scenarios are an appropriate qualitative technique and are also known as a phenomenological tool which is used to identify and order perceptions and assumptions about alternative futures. As civilization stands before the advent of a new era, needing a new synthesis, theorists are creatively designing the blueprint for our new wave, thereby creating a scenario. When sketching a scenario for the future it is

important to take note of all the unknown variables which could affect choices made between alternative future worlds. What is needed for a new synthesis is to obtain a holistic view, i.e. a return to large-scale, macro thinking to put all the pieces of the puzzle together. The outcome of the scenario rests on the driving forces which propel events. Without these driving forces, no scenario is possible. Driving forces, predetermined elements and critical uncertainties are interrelated elements of the dynamics of scenario development. The fluidity of the driving forces within the environment determines the rate of change as well as the future conditions created to deal with these changes (Toffler, 1980:18-19; Schwartz, 1996:108; 115). Before the crisis of the nation-state can be discussed, therefore, the forces which propel this crisis must be explored. The first section of the strategic component of Toffler's meta-theoretical framework focuses on this synthesis. The first piece of the puzzle in the synthesis of the Third Wave is to examine the driving forces underlying this process and their enkapitic relationship. The question to be explored, therefore, as posed in the meta-theoretical framework in Chapter 2 Figure 2.9, is ***what are the key factors or forces influencing the nation-state are?*** This is the central question which will be dealt with in this chapter. Schwartz (1996:105-108) identifies five driving forces, i.e. environment, technology, economics, social, and politics, which play a role in the ultimate decisions reached. These driving forces are usually outside the control of individuals. The global political environment is changing at speeds unique in the evolutionary process of mankind. The forces propelling these changes are altering the very nature of power. The structures of power engulf the political component or ***power-sphere***. The ***power-sphere*** of the Third Wave is a key element of this study as it encompasses the political component and the future of the nation-state and therefore addresses the remaining exploratory questions posed within the strategic component. Due to the complex nature of the ***power-sphere*** it required a separate chapter. The political component of the Third Wave is therefore discussed in the next section. After identifying the driving forces two subsequent elements need to be considered, namely ***predetermined elements*** and ***critical uncertainties***.

Within the ***environmental*** driving force the main predetermined element and critical uncertainty is environmental exploitation. Ecological decay, as highlighted within the sphere of the natural environment, has increased ***planetary conscioussnesses*** and placed sustainable development on the global agenda. The high priority of the ecological decay on the global agenda has created a shift from a ***bio-sphere*** to a ***power-sphere***

(Toffler, 1980:359). Therefore the idea of sustainable development has become politicised, functioning within the international and internal spheres of the global environment. This was emphasised by the World Summit on Sustainable Development which was held in Johannesburg in 2002. The establishment and promotion of the global communications system function within a dual-dimension, i.e. the economic component and the technical component of the Third Wave.

The **technological** component of the Third Wave functions within the **techno-sphere** and facilitates the post-industrial economic triad of knowledge, information and services. Toffler (1990:113) describes the infrastructure of tomorrow as a **super-symbolic** society. Toffler and Toffler (1993:24) refer to the symbols of the First Wave as a **hoe**, the Second Wave the **assembly line** and the symbol of the Third Wave as the **computer**. As stated before, the changes these representative symbols bring will be fundamental and will launch a new civilisation. As was the case with the First and Second Waves, the Third Wave also has its own economic requirements and from these would flow the political and military requirements. Knowledge is not only an element of the economic triad but forms the key symbolic element of the Third Wave **power-sphere**. The very nature of power has undergone a deep-level change moving civilisation into the information age.

The **economic** component of the Third Wave functions within the **eco-sphere** (Toffler, 1980:359). The Third Wave post-industrial, post-Fordist era is based on the dynamics of an economic triad, i.e. knowledge, information and services. The Third Wave's mode of production is based on services. The emphasis on service delivery is not limited to the global economy but there is a specific focus on this aspect within the public sector (Toffler, 1980:254-255). Within the economic work force there has been a shift from factory workers to knowledge workers. Third Wave knowledge workers struggle to function within Second Wave systems. Diversified mosaic inputs of information provide alternative **democratic feedback mechanisms**. The global economy has seen the rise and empowerment of MNCs or TNCs, economic trading blocs and the virtual corporation.

The **social** component of the Third Wave functions within the **socio-sphere**. At present mankind is experiencing a psychological disruption amidst the chaos as the Second Wave clashes with the Third Wave (Toffler, 1980:375). The **psycho-social** component of the Third Wave is based on the **super-ideology** of globalisation. In the section on the First Wave the focus was on the shift from a closed community (**gemeinschaft**), to an open society (**gesellschaft**), but today mankind's is at the brink of new transformation from a **gemeinschaft** to a **supra-open** world society (**weldegellschaft**). Annan (2000:15) prefers to call it a world community as the future trends are focused on sub-national diversified communities or **pivotal minorities** that operate globally within local parameters. What is vitally important is that the Third Wave highlights global cooperation in a global era attempting to establish global **rules of the game** within the confines of a global rule of law (Toffler, 1980:86; 427; Annan, 2000:15). The youth are looking to contemporary leaders to provide a way forward in the midst of a decaying system. The current population explosion has resulted in a new global baby boom which has resulted in the rise of the **Global Teenager**. The prediction was that by 2001 there would be about 2 billion global teenagers, which is 500 times more than America's last baby boom, with most of them living in Asia, Africa and Latin America (Schwartz, 1996:118-134). Islamic fundamentalism has been encouraged by this global baby boom as there are at present high numbers of Muslim youth between the ages of 16 and 30 years. These educated youth face unemployment in their countries and subsequently "...migrate to the West, join fundamentalist organisations and political parties, and in small numbers enlist in Muslim guerrilla groups and terrorists" (Huntington, 2001:12).

The **political** component is the last driving force of the Third Wave Civilization and shifts the focus of the study to the second question, i.e. **where to and why concerning the future of the nation-state?** This requires the exploration of the future of the nation-state. For Toffler (1980:31) the basic political question "...is not who controls the last days of the industrial society but who shapes the new civilization rapidly rising to replace it"? Toffler's (1980:31) scenario identifies two alternative future worlds which are represented by two opposing groups struggling over the new civilization, i.e. those reactionaries of the industrial past and the revolutionaries who recognise global problems such as ecological problems and population explosion. These people realise that a nation-state cannot deal with global problems and that the framework of the industrial Second Wave order is not equipped to deal with these problems. The conflict

between these groups is the super-struggle over a future civilization. The study then focuses on the last exploratory question, i.e. **what the ideal profile of the Third Wave political component, especially the nation-states role within it is?** The shift to the Third Wave and its focus on **people-centred development** and **people-driven** government has created the need for Toffler (1980:451-452) to closely explore new systems of democratic governance with specific focus on **mosaic democracy**. This new type democracy is based on three basic principles, i.e. "...minority power, semi-direct democracy and decision-division" (Toffler, 1980:451-452).

A **supra-differentiated** Third Wave Civilization has resulted in the rise of what Toffler (1990:245) refers to as **pivotal minorities** who thrive on the Third Wave anarchical transitional nature of the contemporary political order. In a mosaic democracy the entire system is therefore open to attack from religious fundamentalists and groups who seriously threaten the sovereignty of the nation-state. Each of these pivotal groups seeks their own autonomy and in doing so seriously threaten the sovereignty of the nation-state. Toffler (1990:459) is of the opinion that there is going to be a global revolution in political forms and explains this when he states what civilization is experiencing is "...a significant shift of power from individual or groups of nation-states to the Global Gladiators. This amounts to nothing less than the next global revolution in politics forms". These **Global Gladiators** are a new group feeding like a cancer on the nation-state. The empowerment of these **pivotal minorities** has resulted in the demand for greater political participation which has resulted in the shift from limited democracies to semi-direct democracies, thereby increasing the idea of **rule by the people**. This new type of polity has resulted in greater participation in the decision-making process. As **pivotal minorities** increase the **mosaic inputs**, send into the political system thereby increasing the pressure on its system instability occurs. Toffler (1980:452) suggests that **decision-division** is a possible solution to this problem. Toffler's profile of the political component of the Third Wave is diagrammatically represented as follows:

POST-INDUSTRIAL THIRD WAVE POLITICAL COMPONENT		
DRIVING FORCE	CRITERIA	
<i>Political</i>	Decentralised	
	Regions/ communities	
	Minority power	
<i>Administration</i>	Adhocracy, professional bureaucracy	
	Small groups	
	Flexible/ adaptive	
	Temporary	
	Organic	
	Flatter hierarchy	
	Decentralised	
TOFFLER'S PROFILE		
<i>Mosaic Democracy</i>	<i>Global Public Sector</i>	<i>Global Private Sector</i>
Minority power	Sub-national	Marketised global governance
Semi-direct democracy	National	Regional Trade Blocs
Decision-division	Supra-nationalism (Global Civil Society)	Global Social Movements

Figure 7.2.: The political component of the Third Wave

As mankind is faced with global problems needing a global brain to find solutions, Toffler (1990:458) suggests that "...cross-national political participation - and even cross-national voting" be used in this process. This, however, will require new political systems.

Toffler and Toffler (1993:321) suggest the use of a three tiered global governance system. This system is divided into a global public sector, consisting of sub-national, national and supra-national levels, and a global private sector, consisting of marketised global governance, regional trade blocs and global social movements. The increased participation of civil society has placed renewed interest on the relationship between the global public and global private sectors. These public and private sectors are currently competing to position themselves within the new Third Wave systems and structures. One commonality is that both sectors use a *people-driven* management approach focusing on service delivery. Toffler has sketched a scenario for the future of the nation-state and provided a profile of a possible alternative structure.

The Third Wave Civilization is still experiencing its birth pains and this transformation is a traumatic experience for mankind. Existing structures upon which mankind has depended are changing and this has resulted in anxiety, confusion and insecurity. What Toffler has highlighted in his work is that this is a temporal stage and when the Third Wave code or *rules of the game* are in place, periods of equilibrium will occur. Once again a power shift has occurred, moving from wealth as the primary source of power to knowledge. Knowledge is the most versatile of all sources of power (Toffler, 1990:16). Knowledge is conceptualised by Toffler (1990:18) as embracing "...information, data, images, and imagery, as well as attitudes, values, and other symbolic products of society, whether true, approximate, or even false". This emphasizes the important role the media will play in the future. Knowledge, force and wealth have been present in each wave and are inter-related to a degree. So what makes knowledge different from force and wealth? Both force and wealth are finite and limited and belong to the powerful and rich. Knowledge on the other hand, is *infinitely expandable*, unlimited and classless (Toffler, 1990:19). This power shift has resulted in a shift in social control where, in the past force and wealth lay in the hands of the nation-state and its ruling elite; those who have the knowledge to satisfy new diversified needs, now have the power.

The aim of the strategic component of Toffler's historic-spatial model is to provide a toolkit for understanding the difference between proposals and tools designed to maintain the industrial era and those that assist in facilitating the transformation to the Third Wave Civilization. This toolkit provides "... a fundamental skill needed by policy makers, politicians and politically active citizens today" (Toffler, 1995:82). In order to

manage the transformation from the Second Wave to the Third Wave Toffler has provided a toolkit which enables politicians, decision-makers and politically active public participants to distinguish between the two civilization waves. This toolkit is based on a six principled typology with each civilizational wave at each end of the continuum. This continuum includes the code of the Second Wave at the one end and the code of the Third Wave at the other end which may be illustrated as follows:

- ***Standardization vs particularization***
- ***Specialization vs professionalization***
- ***Synchronization vs juxtaposition***
- ***Concentration vs de-massification***
- ***Maximization vs diversification***
- ***Centralization vs decentralization***

Toffler suggests that an understanding of this continuum and the ability to identify which proposals are Second Wave initiatives and which are Third Wave initiatives constitutes the visionary leadership of the future.

With regard to the first principle, i.e. ***standardization vs. particularization***, the standardization of the Second Wave was based upon the factory model. It is very easy to identify Second Wave proposals. The education system is an example where despite changes it was still based on a factory model with children (raw material), and mass standardised education which was routinely inspected. The Third Wave is build upon post-factory models based on particularisation, individualism and customisation.

The second principle, i.e. ***specialization vs professionalization*** suggests that Second Wave proposals will not able to move away from specialized vertically integrated organisations while Third Wave proposals will be based on horizontal ***smart*** virtual organisations where Third Wave proposals depend solely on information technological communication (ITC) professionals.

The third principle, i.e. ***synchronization vs. juxtaposition*** highlights that Second Wave proposals are determined by a temporal-spatial dimension where work, ways of life and social practices are synchronized while the Third Wave forces the juxtaposition of different cultures, customs and social practices. This has resulted in a shift of power to minorities.

The fourth principle, i.e. ***concentration vs de-massification*** suggests that Second Wave advocates promote nuclear families, children in schools, adults in the office, criminals in jail, and politicians in parliament, while the Third Wave advocates promote diversified family structures (single parents, extended families, childless families, ect.), home-schooling, work-from-home, and politicians moving out to the people. The fifth principle, i.e. ***maximization vs. diversification*** suggests that the Second Wave promotes a mass economy, mass society, mass democracy, and the mass worker who mass reproduces, while the Third Wave proposals need knowledge workers who are individualistic, creative, innovative and are adaptable to computerised, customised production. The last principle, i.e. ***centralization vs. decentralization*** concerns centralizers (***hedgehogs***) who survive best in highly centralized structures and their Second Wave proposals will focus on centralized control while decentralizers (***foxes***) of the Third Wave move away from putting all the eggs in one basket which implies decision overload. Toffler's toolkit is aimed at providing the Third Wave elite with the tools to not only manage the conflict arising from the clash of civilizations, but to strategically initiate conflict transformation. This ***master conflict*** has occurred once before as the agrarian era experienced revolutionary change to accommodate the industrial era. The clash between the Second and Third Wave Civilization therefore constitutes the next ***master conflict*** (Toffler and Toffler, 1995:28; 82).

Toffler regards the Third Wave interconnected events as a part of a much larger phenomenon which he has identified as the death of industrialism. As was shown the Third Wave is profoundly revolutionary as it emerges from the destruction and decay of the industrial era. As his work progresses a synthesis is revealed which highlights the relationship of various driving forces to each other. When they amalgamate into a holistic unit, a clear picture emerges of the way they transform each other. As their motion or force vectors overlap, powerful currents of change emerge. The key points of Toffler's meta-theoretical framework are diagrammatically represented below.

CRITERIA	HISTORICAL COMPONENT	ANALYTICAL COMPONENT	STRATEGIC COMPONENT
<i>Driving Forces</i>	<i>First Wave</i>	<i>Second Wave</i>	<i>Third Wave</i>
Key Concepts:			POST-INDUSTRIAL
Symbol:			Computer
Power:	<i>violence</i>	<i>money</i>	<i>knowledge</i>
Environment:	optimum utilisation renewable energy	maximum utilisation non-renewable energy	optimum utilisation sustainable energy
Technology:	dependent writing skills organic guns biological weapons	violent mass media technology nuclear mass destruction	non-violent ITC biotechnology smart weapons biological weapons
Economic:	subsistence production & consumption fused ecologically dependent farmer	mass economy production & consumption split ecologically destructive blue-collar worker	smart economy prosumer ecologically friendly knowledge worker
Social:	closed undifferentiated Gemeinschaft culture as survival	open differentiated Gesellschaft culture as profit	supra-open supra-differentiated Weltgemeinschaft global culture as communication
Political:	agri-reality sub-national decentralised polity local governance parochial Roman law	indust-reality nation-state centralised mass democracy national governance majority power Trias Politica	virtual reality sub/supra-national decentralised mosaic democracy global governance minority power international law
Administration:	family-based	Weberian hierarchical	Adhocrcacy
Code:	Top-down traditional force decentralized diversification organic unsynchronized de-concentration de-massification	top-down bureaucratic allocation of values centralized standardized specialization synchronization concentration maximization	bottom-up people-driven service delivery decentralized diversification professionalisation juxtaposition particularization de-massification

Figure 7.3: Toffler's Three Civilizational Waves

With the dawn of the new millennium mankind is faced with a world of seemingly unpredictability, chaos, change, and uncertainty. Scenarios offer the opportunity to create order out of chaos. They offer a methodological approach to identifying a variety of pathways leading into the new post-industrial era (Toffler, 1980:3-240). Schwartz (1996:4; 6) defines scenarios as a "...tool for ordering one's perceptions about alternative future environments in which decisions might be played out. Scenarios are not predictions...they present alternative images of the future; they do not merely extrapolate the trends of the present". From this definition it becomes clear that applied epistemology can answer historical and meta-theoretical questions but it is the scenario technique which is needed to profile alternative futures thereby answering the exploratory question within the Third Wave strategic component, i.e. ***what the ideal profile of the political component of Third Wave, especially the nation-states role within it is?*** Leemhuis (1985: 30) offers a complimentary definition by arguing that scenarios "...should be a description of a possible future in which social, political, economic and technological developments evolve in an internally consistent order". This is answered by referring to the first question within the strategic component of Toffler's historic-spatial model, i.e. ***what are the key factors or forces influencing the nation-state are?*** Scenarios cannot be constructed as an aid to thinking about the future without first gaining a proper understanding of how these interactions have taken place in the past...(Leemhuis, 1985:30). This definition, therefore, suggests that within the meta-theoretical framework, applied epistemology precedes the use of the scenario technique.

Scenarios have a normative element to their development. Wack (1985: 140) explains this by pointing out that scenarios function in two worlds, i.e. one of facts and one of perceptions. Wack (1985:140) expands on this by stating that the purpose of scenarios is to "...gather and transform information of strategic significance into fresh perceptions. What scenarios therefore do are to alter the view of reality with the aim of not making an accurate prediction of the future, but to ensure that better decisions concerning the future can be made" (Schwartz, 1996:19). Scenarios, therefore, can be linked to the phenomenological approach. Within the strategic component of the meta-theoretical framework Toffler uses scenario building for the purpose of sketching a profile of future political structures, thereby choosing one of possible future worlds as being more probable. Toffler's use of scenario building will now be evaluated according to eight

steps of scenario development. Toffler's steps of scenario building have been explained at the hand of the meta-theoretical framework and the historical, analytic and strategic questions that underlie this framework. The steps in Toffler's scenario generating process are therefore discussed in light dialectic progression his historic-spatial model and include the following:

➤ **Step One: Identify focal issues or decisions**

Schwartz (1996:241) explains this by stating that what is needed is an inside out approach. That means that a specific issue or decision must be identified and expanded out towards the environment. For instance, the issue identified in this study is the crisis of the nation-state which was identified and is expanded to the external factors as depicted in Figure 5.2. This is based on the meta-theoretical framework of Toffler's views. The historical reconstructive component is featured in this step or phase and focuses on the questions ***what led to the nation-state and what were the events which led up to the formation of the nation-state?***

➤ **Step Two: Key forces in local environment**

The second step, Schwartz (1996:242) explains, regards the listing of the key factors influencing or determining the success or failure of that issue or decision. For instance, what factors will determine the future of a nation-state in crisis. These factors are formulated on a national or sub-national level of the internal environment. These are regarded as the micro-environmental factors. The analytical component of the meta-theoretical framework initiates this step asks the meta-analytical questions: ***what the current status of the nation-state is, and what the key debates in the domain of the nation-state are?***

➤ **Step Three: Driving forces**

This step involves the listing of driving forces in the macro environment or external environment that influence the key factors identified in Step 2. This is measured according to the five categories of driving forces, i.e. social, economic, political, technological, and ecological, which Schwartz (1996:105; 242) has identified. Schwartz (1996:242) expands on this by suggesting that in order "...to adequately define the driving forces research is usually required. This is the most research-intensive step in the process. Research may cover markets, new technologies, political factors, economic forces and so on." The strategic component initiates this step when attempting to answer the question ***what the key factors or forces influencing the nation-state?***

➤ **Step Four: Rank by importance and uncertainty**

This step involves the placing of key factors and driving forces in ranking order, following two basic criteria: firstly, they are ranked according to their degree of importance to ensure the successful resolution of the focal or key issue or decision identified in the first step. Secondly, their value is measured according to the degree of uncertainty contained or contextualised in these factors and/or trends. The aim is to identify two or three trends or factors that are the most pertinent and most uncertain (Schwartz, 1996:243). The second question in the strategic component, i.e. *what the situation of the nation-state is?* is posed here investigated the main internal and external threats facing the nation-state. It is also during this phase that Toffler (1980; 369) identifies population explosion, environmental exploitation and global communication as predetermined elements and critical uncertainties.

➤ **Step Five: Selecting scenario logics**

The exercise of ranking factors and trends determines the axes along which the ultimate scenarios will be distinguished, and Schwartz (1996:243) expands on this by stating that "...these axes are among the most important steps in the entire scenario-generating process". The aim of this step is to assist in the ultimate decision-making process. It is during this step that Toffler (1980:440) has selected two possible opposing, alternative future worlds for the Third Wave and the nation-state. The first is based on the reactionary approach driven by Second Wave elites who wish to maintain the nation-state and the contemporary political order, while the second is based on a revolutionary approach which is driven by Third Wave architects driving in the new Third Wave political order.

➤ **Step Six: Fleshing out the scenarios**

The framework for each scenario is formulated or determined by paying attention to each and every key factor and/or trend. The scenario is then designed in such a way so as to reveal the critical uncertainties, hidden connections and mutual implications. The pieces of the puzzle are then put together to sketch the ultimate scenario (Schwartz, 1996:243). It was during this phase that Toffler (1980:440) debated in favour of the revolutionary new Third Wave as the most plausible alternative future world.

➤ **Step Seven: Implications**

As soon as the scenarios have been laid out in detail, Schwartz (1996:246) explains, "...it is time to return to the focal issue or decision identified in step one to rehearse the future". To assess the possible implications of the choice made in step six Toffler (1980:26) attempts to answer the question **what the ideal profile of an alternative political and order and the role of the nation-state within it is?**

➤ **Step Eight: Selection of leading indicators and signposts**

By scanning the environment certain signposts or clues are identified that enable us to determine which of the scenarios is "...closest to the cause of history" (Schwartz, 1996:246). These signposts and indicators allow for an infinite monitoring of the scenario process (Schwartz, 1996: 246). Toffler (1980:451-452) identifies the leading indicators and signposts of the Third Wave alternatives political order as having a dual dimension. Firstly, based on democratic governance with specific reference to **minority power, semi-direct democracy** and **decision-division** and secondly, Toffler and Toffler (1993:321) identify three tiered global governance structures.

It is clear from the above discussion that Toffler has skilfully utilised both qualitative techniques, i.e. the historical comparative technique and the scenario building technique. The study now concludes with a brief evaluation of Toffler's thoughts.

2. AN EVALUATION OF TOFFLER'S THOUGHTS

As the homonisation process completes itself, mankind becomes aware of the fact that geographically there are no more places to go. This places mankind in the position of introspection. In this regard two related questions come to mind: Is there room for mankind in space (noosphere) and is the survival of the earth the only saviour for mankind? This homonisation process has given rise to globalisation and reference is made to the **global village**. To ensure the survival of the earth three exponential curves or predetermined elements have to be considered, namely, population explosion, environmental exploitation, and global communication. Toffler has highlighted these predetermined elements as occurring before every **clash of civilizations** and the

contemporary environment is no exception. As mankind stands at the brink of the next clash of civilizations, i.e. between the **Second and Third Waves**, the contemporary global environment is facing bewildering changes at all levels of human society. As the Second Wave Civilization enters a period of decay, its key political element, i.e. the nation-state is in a crisis. Alvin and Heidi Toffler acknowledge the temporal transitional frame of mind of a confused humanity. The Toffler's contributions offer an intellectual and consistent holistic view of mankind in a state of transition, a mere step in the dialectical progression, and offer a ray of hope, foreseeing not the end of mankind, but just the beginning of a new era. Toffler explains the sheer chaos mankind is experiencing is merely as a result of the **clash of civilizations**, i.e. the clash between the Second and Third Wave. It is not merely a transition from one civilization to the next but a radical transformation. As with the shift from the First to the Second Wave, this contemporary transformation will not transpire peacefully. Toffler refers to the clash between the Second and Third Wave as the **master conflict**. Toffler's main contribution in this regard rests with political change. There are many insightful contributions in this particular field by theorists such as Huntington, but what make Toffler's contributions unique or heretical is his **Gestalt** perspectives. Toffler's scientific contributions include a wave model or meta-matrix (refer to Figure 7.1) which features within the meta-theoretical framework or blueprint used in this study to understand his contribution's (refer to Chapter 2 Figure 2.9). This wave model provides a context for understanding political change. Toffler has also developed a corresponding power theory which offers an explanation for revolutionary political change according to a progressive principle. The **Gestalt** perspective provides a vast array of information which is inter-disciplinary and provides the reader with the **big picture** concerning the contemporary global political environment. One point of critique is that amidst this vast array of information. Toffler's main contributions concerning politics, change, revolution, and power are camouflaged. Metaphorically speaking, the meta-theoretical framework designed in Chapter 2 Figure 2.9 serves as a magnifying glass to search for the blue white diamond among the gems of his contributions. Toffler's wave model served as a guiding tool for the study to create a cognitive map for his contributions regarding the crisis of the nation-state. Toffler, acknowledged globally as a scenario thinker, sketched a scenario for the Third Wave political component and the future of the nation-state. These scenario logics included the selection of two possible opposing, alternative future worlds for the Third Wave and the nation-state. The first is based on the reactionary approach driven by

Second Wave elites who wish to maintain the nation-state and the contemporary political order while the second is based on a revolutionary approach which is driven by Third Wave architects driving in the new Third Wave political order. It is important to mention that when Toffler assessed the scenario logics he was forced to choose between the possible dialectical retreat to the Dark Ages which would be a result of a reactionary triumph and which has Marxist undertones or a dialectical progression which would result in the new Third Wave and which has German phenomenological undertones. It is interesting to note that Toffler's own thought shifted away from the Marxist framework making up Toffler's pre-scientific context to a thought deeply entrenched in the German phenomenological tradition. In his work Toffler admits that through academic growth his thoughts have undergone a gestalt-switch where he no longer regards himself as a Marxist.

In my opinion the profile that Toffler has sketched for the Third Wave is similar to the absolute state of the First Wave as the profile contains political religious wars and Second wave political jargon, such as mosaic inputs, based on Easton's mechanistic *Fordistic* system's analysis. It is my opinion the architects of the Third Wave, i.e. the *foxes* will design the final political product.

Although at times Toffler's ideas are fragmented, lacks clear conceptual orientation and insufficient conclusions there is no doubt that in times of extreme uncertainty, Toffler's contributions have been invaluable in providing mankind with hope as he points out the decaying Second Wave by no means implies the end of humanity, but only the beginning of a new era: The Third Wave.

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ABSTRACT

SUBJECT: The crisis of the nation-state: An evaluation and reconstruction of the perspectives of Alvin Toffler

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During the 1960's and 1970's, Toffler presented a glimpse of the future in his work which shook the world. What then seemed unimaginable is now becoming a reality. As mankind enters the new millennium, they are confronted with the realization of the nation-state's inability to forfeit durable solutions to trans-national issues such as overpopulation, environmental crises, endemic diseases such as AIDS, pollution, terrorism uncontrollable crime, global mafias, trans-national religious movements, the rise of multinational corporations and the use of private security organizations to protect citizens or state interests. The nation-state is not fully equipped to deal with many of these global problems. With the nation-state in crisis Toffler has provided a window on the future, especially the possible political environment, which has many global problems, in the 21st century. The shift from the Second Wave industrial civilization to the Third Wave post-industrial civilization is not destined to evolve peacefully. The reactionaries of the Second Wave (hedgehogs) wish to maintain the existing political order within an industrial society, while the revolutionaries (foxes) choose the radical

option of the Third Wave wish to render the Second Wave obsolete. Mankind is now entering this phase of the *master conflict* between the two civilizations. Toffler's contributions are aimed at providing a vision of the future so as to facilitate the shift to the next civilization in a peaceful and rational way.

The following factors have served as motivation for this study:

- The relevance of Toffler's contributions as mankind enters the 21st century.
- Toffler is an internationally recognized scenario thinker and offers a heretical perspective regarding the future of the nation-state.
- A gap that exists within the contemporary literature regarding the reconstruction and evaluation of Toffler's contributions with specific reference to the crisis of the nation-state.
- To address the problem of state power in a knowledge-based, computer-driven society.
- To explore the extent and parameters of the struggle between the industrial Second Wave elite and the post-industrial Third Wave elite for control of power in the Third Wave civilization.

The study attempts to make a contribution towards the following:

- The development of a meta-theoretical framework according to which Toffler's contributions may be reconstructed and evaluated.
- To determine Toffler's status and position within the identified field of study.
- To reconstruct and evaluate Toffler's contributions, regarding the future of the nation-state, by applying the meta-theoretical framework as designed for the purpose of this study.

- The role and influence of knowledge as a variable affecting the power of the nation-state needs to be explored seeing that the result thereof will affect humanity in a holistic manner.
- An assessment of Toffler's contributions regarding fundamental political development and political change with regard to the evolutionary development of the nation-state.
- Emphasis will be placed on Toffler's contributions regarding the continuum of the nation-state, namely the formation, current status, crises and future of the nation-state.

An evaluation and interpretation of Toffler's work have yielded in the following findings:

- Toffler has developed a wave model which divides the evolutionary socialization process of mankind into three universal civilizational waves, i.e. the First Wave agrarian civilization, the Second Wave industrial civilization and the Third Wave post-industrial civilization.
- Toffler has also developed, adjacent to the wave model, a power theory which suggests that as one universal civilizational wave is replaced by another one a power shift occurs, transforming its underlying code or paradigm.
- As mankind enters the Third Wave civilization a new blueprint or code has to be designed which is unique to the Third Wave.
- The revolutionary change to a new world order will result in a master conflict between the reactionaries of the Second Wave (hedgehogs) and the revolutionaries of the Third Wave (foxes).
- Toffler has chosen the Third Wave as a scenario logic and has sketched a profile of the Third Wave political dispensation.

- Toffler's work offers a heretical view of the future which the architects of the Third Wave can utilize so as to design a new world order.
- Toffler has not only revolutionized the way mankind views the world but also his own academic growth. When choosing an alternative future world he also underwent a transformation away from his Marxist background to the phenomenological thoughts deeply rooted in the German tradition.

In the wake of the *master conflict* in which the Second and Third Wave Civilizations battle for control of the future, Toffler recognizes a confused mankind. Instead of supporting the scenario which forwards a world spiraling into destruction, he offers a blueprint in which the radical changes affecting mankind can be understood. The focal point of this dissertation is his view of the crises of the nation-state, with man experiencing a confused transitional frame of mind. From this foundation Toffler's contributions serve as a tool which will enable mankind to understand the transitional period into the Third Wave. According to Toffler the current transitional period of conflict experienced by mankind will be followed by a period of equilibrium in which a new political dispensation will offer a new world which is radically different. His contributions will enable mankind, to conquer the crises-ridden stormy transitional period and make the correct decisions which will culminate in creating the new Third Wave Civilization.

OPSOMMING

ONDERWERP: Die krisis van die nasiestaat: 'n Evaluering en rekonstruksie van die perspektiewe van Alvin Toffler

KANDIDAAT: A.M. Harsant

STUDIELEIER: Professor A Duvenhage

GRAAD: Magister Societatis Scientiae

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Gedurende die era 1960 en 1970 het Toffler 'n toekomsblik in sy studies gegee wat die wêreld geskud het. Wat eers ondenkbaar was, het nou 'n realiteit geword. Soos die mensdom die nuwe millenium betree, word hulle daaglik gekonfronteer met die verwesening van die nasiestaat se onvermoë om geldige oplossings vir transnasionale strydvrage te vind. Daaronder ressorteer strydvrage rondom oorbevolking, die omgewingskrisis, inheemse siektes soos HIV-Vigs, besoedeling, terrorisme, onbeheerde misdaad, globale mafia's, transnasionale religieuse bewegings, die opkoms van multinasionale korporasies en die gebruik van private sekuriteitsorganisasies om landsburgers en staatsbelange te beskerm. Die nasiestaat is nie ten volle toegerus om al hierdie globale probleme te hanteer nie. Met die nasiestaat wat in 'n krisis verkeer, bied Toffler 'n vensterblik op die toekoms, veral ten opsigte van die moontlike politieke omgewing in die 21ste eeu, wat gebuk gaan onder talle globale probleme. Die verskuiwing van die Tweede Golf industriële beskawing na die Derde Golf post-industriële beskawing is nie bestem om vreedsaam te ontwikkel nie. Die reaksioniste van die Tweede Golf (hedehogs) wil die bestaande politieke orde in 'n industriële samelewing handhaaf, terwyl die rewolusioniste (foxes) die radikale opsie van die Derde Golf verkies en sodoende die Tweede Golf as uitgedien beskou.

Die mensdom is tans besig om die fase van die "meesterkonflik" tussen die twee beskawings te betree. Toffler se bydrae is gerig op die voorsiening van 'n toekomsvisie met die doel om die verskuiwing na die volgende beskawing te fasiliteer sodat dit vreedesaam en rasioneel kan geskied.

Die volgende faktore het as motivering vir die studie gedien:

- ⇒ Die relevansie van Toffler se bydrae soos wat die mensdom die 21 ste eeu betree.
- ⇒ Toffler is 'n internasionale erkende scenario denker en bied 'n alternatiewe perspektief op die nasiestaat se toekoms.
- ⇒ Daar is 'n leemte in die bestaande komtemporêre literatuur veral met betrekking tot die rekonstruksie en evaluering van Toffler se bydrae met spesifieke verwysing na die krisis van die nasiestaat.
- ⇒ Om die probleem van staatsmag in 'n inligtinggebaseerde, rekenaargedrewe samelewing aan te spreek.
- ⇒ Om die omvang van parameters van die stryd tussen die industriële Tweede Golf elite en die postindustriële Derdegolf-elite vir beheer oor mag in die Derdegolfbeskawing, te verken.

Die studie poog om 'n bydrae ten opsigte van die volgende te maak:

- ⇒ Die ontwikkeling van 'n metateoretiese raamwerk waarvolgens Toffler se bydrae gerekonstrueer en geëvalueer kan word.
- ⇒ Om Toffler se status en posisie in die geïdentifiseerde studieveld te bepaal.
- ⇒ Om Toffler se bydrae met betrekking tot die toekoms van die nasiestaat te rekonstrueer en te evalueer deur die metateoretiese raamwerk as ontwerp vir die doel van die studie toe te pas.
- ⇒ Die rol en invloed van kennis as 'n veranderlike wat die mag van die nasiestaat kan beïnvloed, moet verken word, aangesien die resultaat daarvan die mens in sy holistiese benadering kan beïnvloed.

- ⇒ 'n Beoordeling van Toffler se bydrae met betrekking tot fundamentele politieke ontwikkeling en politieke verandering rakende die evolusionêre ontwikkeling van die nasiestaat.
- ⇒ Klem sal gelê word op Toffler se bydrae met betrekking tot die kontinuïteit van die nasiestaat, naamlik die formasie, huidige status, krisis en toekoms van die nasiestaat.

'n Evaluasie en interpretasie van Toffler se werk het gelei tot die volgende bevindinge:

- ⇒ Toffler het 'n golfmodel ontwikkel wat die evolusionêre sosialiseringsproses van die mensdom in drie universele beskawingsgolwe verdeel het, naamlik die Eerste Golf agrariese beskawing, die Tweede Golf industriële beskawing en die Derde Golf post-industriële beskawing.
- ⇒ Toffler het ook naas die golfmodel, 'n magsteorie ontwikkel wat veronderstel dat wanneer een universele beskawingsgolf vervang word deur 'n ander, 'n magsverskuiwing plaasvind wat die onderliggende kode of paradigma transformeer.
- ⇒ Soos wat die mensdom die Derdegolfbeskawing betree, moet daar 'n nuwe bloudruk of kode ontwerp word wat ook uniek is aan die Derde Golf.
- ⇒ Die rewolusionêre verandering na 'n nuwe wêreldorde het die resultaat dat 'n "meesterkonflik" tussen die reaksioniste van die Tweede Golf (hedgehogs) en die rewolusioniste van die Derde Golf (foxes) die gevolg sal wees.
- ⇒ Toffler het die Derde Golf as 'n logiese scenario gekies en het ook 'n profiel van die Derde Golf politieke bedeling geskets.
- ⇒ Toffler se werk bied 'n alternatiewe siening van die toekoms wat die argitekte van die Derde Golf kan aanwend om die nuwe wêreldorde te skep.

⇒ Toffler het nie net die wyse waarop die mens die wêreld beskou nie, maar ook sy eie akademiese denke vernuwe. In sy keuse van 'n onkonvensionele alternatiewe toekomstige wêreldbeeld het hy ook 'n verandering weg van sy Marxistiese agtergrond ondergaan en het hy al sterker na fenomenologiese denke wat diep gewortel is in die Duitse tradisie, beweeg.

In die voetspore van die **meesterkonflik** waarin die Tweede- en die Derdegolfbeskawings 'n stryd voer vir die beheer oor die toekoms, erken Toffler die mens se wanordelike bestaan. In plaas daarvan om die scenario te ondersteun wat voorspel dat die wêreld in 'n spiraal na vernietiging sal lei, bied hy 'n bloudruk waarin die radikale verandering wat die mens beïnvloed, beter verstaan word. Die fokuspunt van hierdie verhandeling is Toffler se siening van die krisis waarin die nasiestaat verkeer en waarin die mens 'n wanordelike oorgangsraamwerk ervaar. Vanuit hierdie grondslag dien Toffler se bydrae is 'n instrument wat die mens in staat sal stel om die oorgangsperiode na die Derde Golf beter te verstaan. Volgens Toffler sal die huidige oorgangsperiode van konflik soos deur die mens tans ervaar word, opgevolg word deur 'n periode van ekwilibrium waarin 'n nuwe politieke bedeling 'n nuwe wêreld radikaal verskillend van die vorige, sal bied. Sy bydrae sal die mens in staat stel om die stormagtige krisis in die oorgangsperiode te bowe te kom en om die korrekte besluite te neem wat sal kulmineer in die skepping van 'n nuwe Derde Golf van Beskawing.

