

## ANNUAL REPORT 1999

In 1999, the Toda Institute had a bumper crop. Four years of collaborative international research on its main research project, Human Security and Global Governance (HUGG), began to bear fruit. The first three volumes of the Toda Institute Book Series were published in 1999, while the next three volumes were approaching publication for 2000. The list and its contents reveal global scholarly collaboration, for which we are deeply grateful:

*Worlds Apart: Human Security and Global Governance*, edited by Majid Tehranian. London: I. B. Tauris, 1999

*Asian Peace: Security and Governance in the Asia-Pacific Region*, edited by Majid Tehranian. London: I. B. Tauris, 1999

*Not By Bread Alone: Food Security and Governance in Africa*, edited by Adelan Ogunrinade, Ruth Oniang'o, and Julian May. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand Press, 1999

*Nuclear Disarmament: Obstacles to Banishing the Bomb*, edited by Jozef Goldblat. London: I. B. Tauris, 2000

*Managing the Global: Globalization, Employment, and Quality of Life*, edited by Don Lamberton. London: I. B. Tauris, 2000

*Worlds on the Move: Globalization, Migration, and Cultural Security*, edited by Jonathan Friedman and Shalini Randeria. London: I. B. Tauris, 2000

As part of its HUGG West Asia, Peace and Policy, the Institute's journal, also published a special issue on the problems and prospects for a new regional security regime in the Persian Gulf. The Institute's new brochure reflects the increasing depth and breadth of its work. Among others, this includes collaborations with the Berlin House of World Cultures in a conference on cultural security, with the University of Hawaii in a project on

international refugees, and with the Queens College on a project on peace in Northern Ireland.

Preparations for the next phase of the Institute's research project also were completed in 1999. Three consecutive and collaborative international conferences were planned for the years 2000—2002 to take place in Okinawa, Moscow, and Beijing. All three conferences focus on "Dialogue of Civilizations: A New Peace Agenda for a New Millennium." The first conference comes at the end of four years of the HUGG Project. It may be viewed as the epilogue of the previous conferences and publications, as well as the prologue to a new phase. All three conferences focus on a new peace agenda on the basis of our past findings and future projections. While the Okinawa conference focuses on cultural responses to institutional challenges and different cultural visions for global institutional transformation for peace, the Moscow and Beijing conferences will concentrate on the problems of the world's northern and southern hemispheres.

As a new century and millennium unfold, the Toda Institute hopes to make its contribution as part of a growing global civil society and an international peace movement. This movement is ecumenical in spirit, drawing from the wisdom of all past civilizations but laying the foundations for a global civilization unique in all human history. Instead of attending to details of the Institute's projects, which can be read elsewhere (see the Institute brochure and journal), this report presents a perspective on the new peace movement—and within that context, a projection of the Toda Institute's mission in the new century.

### **The Growing Global Civil Society**

As *The Economist* (December 11, 1999, 20-21), among other sources, has recently noted, a growing global civil society is beginning to make its impact on the world scene. In response to the forces of globalization from above, led by the Global 1000 transnational corporations (TNCs) and the major industrial states (OECD 29), a global peace movement from below is also taking shape. Although at times this movement may appear as reactive and sometimes reactionary as in the fundamentalist religious movements, its overall impact must be considered as progressive. If continued and firmly institutionalized, its net effect will be to check and balance the forces of the global market and national states that have so far led the way without much attention to the desperate needs and aspirations of four-fifths of humanity.

Despite its social inequities, global capitalism—or Pancapitalism for short—has

created a dynamic world economy. It has induced a new international division of labor in which the previously industrialized countries (PICs) have led the new high technology industries in weaponry, computers, aerospace, telecommunications, biotechnology, and genetic engineering. At the same time, the newly industrialized countries (NICs) are taking over the old labor-intensive industries such as textiles, steel, microprocessing, shipbuilding, and so on. This has led to higher standards of living for vast numbers in East and South Asia as well as Latin America. But it also has led to unemployment and a tangible lowering of standards of living for the aristocracy of the world's working classes in North America and Western Europe. The confrontation in Seattle at the World Trade Organization conference of 1999 between advocates of globalization and the antiglobalization forces led by the American labor unions must be understood as part of this drama.

Pancapitalism also has unwittingly brought about Marshall McLuhan's global village in ways that he could not foresee. Instead of a homogenized mass society, it has empowered the unheard voices to be heard. Time and again in recent years, the peripheries have challenged the centers of power through their tele-access to the new information and communication technologies (ICTs). In Iran, through the use of cassette tapes and long-distance telephony that transmitted the Ayatollah's messages from Paris, the Shah's regime came to an end. In the Philippines, through the use of radio and pamphlets, the world witnessed the fall of the Marcos regime directly on global television (notably CNN). In China, through the use of fax machines, the students let the rest of the world learn of their challenge to the Beijing potentates. In the Soviet Union, through the use of computer networks, Yeltsin's messages of defiance against the military coup mobilized the Russian population. In Mexico, through the use of laptops and the Internet, the Chiapas brought their grievances against the government to the attention of the world community. In Ottawa, in 1997, about 130 states signed a treaty to ban landmines that was pushed by a coalition of a thousand Internet-mobilized, nongovernmental organizations. In Seattle, in 1999, the World Trade Organization's meeting was sabotaged by a coalition of American workers and militants. In the Vatican, through the use of the Internet, a Jubilee 2000 movement has been mobilized to demand debt forgiveness for the less developed countries.

Although some may lament this phenomenon as a shift of power to "unelected and unaccountable special interest groups," others consider it the rise of a global civil society capable of challenging the states and the TNCs (*ibid.*, *The Economist*). A greater balance between states, markets, and civil society—the democratic holy trinity—might be emerging.

In our own era of globalization, markets have rapidly grown in power and reach, while smaller and medium-sized states have lost much of their sovereignty and power. Mobilization of civil societies is a force that can somewhat correct this imbalance. Thanks largely to the global communication networks developed by transnational media corporations (TMCs), ICTs have assisted civil societies to mobilize against the mounting domination of the Global 1000.

An emerging global village is not, however, “global.” Computers, telephones, and modems are the linchpins of the “global” in the so-called global village. However, as pointed out by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), four-fifths of the world’s people have no telephone. Half of the world’s population has never used a telephone. The sixty-seven highest income countries account for only 15 percent of the world’s population, but they are served by 71 percent of the world’s main telephone lines. The lowest-income countries account for 59 percent of the world’s population but only 4 percent of main telephone lines. If we consider the latest ICTs such as cable, satellites, mainframe, and personal computers, the global gaps will appear even more staggering.

A global village is nonetheless emerging for those plugged into the corporate and knowledge networks in the midst of many global ghettos for the poor. A neo-feudal regime is in formation. Instead of the moats around the medieval castles, we now have the ghettos of the rich and the poor each cordoned off by electronic surveillance. What separates the two worlds is not so much physical location as cyber-access. You may live in New York’s ghettos and yet have no tele-access. If you are part of the transnational corporate community in New Delhi, you are certain to have tele-access to the headquarters in New York, London, or Tokyo. The two worlds of rich and poor live in separate physical and moral geographies, colliding sometimes in wars, riots, terrorism, and the Internet. Can such a world survive for long? As a feudal regime buttressed by severe security measures, maybe. As a modern democratic system, probably not.

### **Toda Institute’s Mission**

In such a world context, peace scholars and activists cannot afford to be complacent. The world continues to be an increasingly dangerous place. Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, including their planned or accidental use, mounting manufacturing and trade in conventional arms, and the development of new high-tech weapons, such as those employed in the bombing of Iraq and Kosovo, all add to national and international

insecurities. As documented in the United Nations Human Development reports, increasing global warming and pollution, growing gaps in wealth and income within and among nations, as well as natural and human-made disasters, are lowering the quality of life for the majority of humanity.

As a Chinese saying wisely reminds us, however, it is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness a thousand times. This is where the mission of the peace movement and peace institutes should come into play. As the micro and macro challenges to our understanding of the problems of positive peace and order, the Toda's Institute's focus on the dual problems of human security and global governance will continue in the near future. During the past four years, the Institute has managed to consider such issues as nuclear, cultural, and employment security in the context of a globalized economy. It has also focused on problems of national and international security in two particular regions, including the Asia-Pacific region and the Persian Gulf. In collaboration with others, it also has addressed the problems of institutional reform in the United Nations system and global governance. But many other vital human security issues—such as gender, child, water, and environmental security—remain to be studied. In a globalizing world, all these security issues must be studied in the context of clash or dialogue of cultures and alternative visions of the future. All the conflicting perspectives will continue to converge on issues of governance at the local, national, regional, and global levels.

The Toda Institute's mission, therefore, will continue to be studies of the problems of human security and global governance with a focus on positive peace and order remedies and recommendations to the policy community. This mission, as in the past four years, will be undertaken in collaboration with other peace and policy research centers and institutes throughout the world. Priority will be given, however, to the empowering of the unheard voices in an international communication order currently dominated by the voices of wealth and power. In this enterprise, the Toda Institute looks to all peace scholars, policy makers, and community leaders for collaboration.

### **Acknowledgements**

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- Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, Copenhagen (Research Director Bjoern Moeller)
- Center for Islamic and Arab Studies of the Australian National University, Canberra (Director Amin Saikal)
- Institute of Political and International Studies of Tehran (Directors Seyyed Sadeq Kharrazi and Seyyed Kazem Sajjadpour)
- Berlin House of World Cultures (Director Hans-Georg Knopp)
- City University of New York, Queens College (President Allan Sessoms and Vice President Hamid Shirvani)
- University of Hawaii at Manoa (Professor Anthony Marsella)
- College of Social Sciences, University of Hawaii at Manoa (Dean Richard Dubanoski)
- Matsunaga Institute for Peace, University of Hawaii (Director Ralph Summy)
- School of Politics of La Trobe University, Melbourne (Professor Joseph Camilleri)
- Focus on the Global South, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok (Dr. Kamal Malhotra)

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of the above and those members of the International Advisory Council who have counseled us from time to time represents a labor of love for a just world without wars.

There are few pursuits as rewarding as peacemaking. There are also few pursuits that can be as humbling. The Toda Institute has offered its director and collaborators an exceptional opportunity to be exhilarated and humbled. Words are too inadequate as expressions of gratitude for this challenging opportunity.

Respectfully Submitted,

Majid Tehranian

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