

Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research

2003 may be considered a defining moment in the post-Cold War era. The U.S. invasion of Iraq demonstrated the possibilities and limitations of unilateral policies in a multi-polar world. In defiance of some of its own allies and much of the rest of the world, the United States could and did overthrow the tyrannical regimes in Afghanistan and Iraq. But the tasks of reconstruction in both countries as well as the struggle against terrorism have proved daunting. As in the case of the war in Vietnam, the rising rate of casualties and suicide among U.S. soldiers is an indicator of a self-inflicting problem. Since March 2003, over 500 American soldiers have died, and another 21 have committed suicide in occupied Iraq. The untold damage to Afghan and Iraqi citizens and infrastructure is another tragic cost of relying on militarist policies. Fortunately, the United States seems to be turning to the United Nations to pursue the reconstruction efforts.

Multilateralism demands a culture of cooperative rather than competitive security. It calls for responding to the challenges of the 21st century rather than taking refuge in the 19th and 20th century imperial policies. Whether generated by state or opposition groups, terrorism is a unilateralist approach to solving human problems. It aims at generating terror and paralysis in "the enemy." It often leads to counter-intuitive effects, including outrage, defiance, and counter-terrorism in "the enemy" camp. Both state and opposition terrorism have deep economic, political, and cultural roots. They cannot easily lend themselves to quick military victories. That lesson, however, has yet to be learned by those in charge. In the face of such cultural lags in understanding the new world conditions, peace and policy research institutes have a moral responsibility to focus on the tragic lessons of militarism.

#### THE HUGG PROJECT

During the past eight years of its research activities, the Toda Institute has focused on the roots of violence in international affairs. The Institute's research program has gone through two phases. In phase I (1996-2000), we focused on the theme of Human Security and Global Governance (The HUGG Project). Ten volumes emerged out of this phase focusing on the different aspects of human security and how the world is managing or mismanaging them. Human security issues such as the growing gaps among and within nations, Asian security, African food security, nuclear disarmament, employment security, Persian Gulf security, cultural security, dialogue among civilizations, democratization of global governance, and Eurasian security were among the topics that were studied.

#### THE GRAD PROJECT

In Phase II (2001-2004), the Institute initiated a project on three major world trends, including globalization, regionalization, and democratization (The GRAD Project). Over 100 peace and policy scholars from all five continents actively participated in this research program. The first conference of the GRAD Project took place at Magdalen College, Oxford University, March 17-20, 2002. The second conference took place in collaboration with Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, Canada, on June 14-16, 2003. In collaboration with the Hungarian Academy of Science and the Budapest International Business School, the third conference will take place in Budapest, on July 1-3, 2004.

The GRAD research program has led to the organization of ten sub-projects focusing on the democratization of Afghanistan, world media, diasporic professional women, global cities, religious reconciliation, peace education, political Islam in Southeast Asia, Caucasian regionalism, and global security. Two volumes have already emerged out of the project. Other

publications, including television documentaries, are anticipated to emerge in due course.

The GRAD Project working groups started at different times and have progressed at different rates of speed. Some projects have resulted in finished manuscripts leading to contracts with academic publishers. Others are still in progress. The following brief account cannot do justice to the complexity of each project and the level of serious work that it has generated among its participants.

The following reports by the project coordinators or reporters reveal the broad range and reach of the GRAD project:

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#### Afghanistan Reconstruction - led by John D. Montgomery

This project has led to publication of the book, *Beyond Reconstruction in Afghanistan: Lessons from Development Experience*, to be published by Palgrave/MacMillan/St. Martin's Press.

#### Table of Contents:

Chapter 1: Introduction, by John D. Montgomery

Chapter 2: International Goals and Strategies for Afghanistan's Development: Reconstruction and Beyond, by Dennis A. Rondinelli

Chapter 3: Supporting Postwar Aspirations in an Islamic Society, by John D. Montgomery

Chapter 4: Between Reconstruction and Restoration: Three Historical Case Studies, by John M. Heffron

Chapter 5: The Afghan Experience with International Assistance, by Yuri V. Bossin

Chapter 6: Lessons from Post-Aid Conflict Experience, by Robert J. Muscat.

Chapter 7: The Rule of Law as a Goal in Afghanistan, by Charles H. Norchi.

Chapter 8: Economic Growth and Development Policy in Afghanistan: Lessons from Experience in Developing Countries, by Dennis A. Rondinelli

Chapter 9: Ethnic Diversity and the Structure of Government, by Milton J. Esman.

Chapter 10: Warlordism and Development in Afghanistan, by Kamoludin N. Abdullaev

Chapter 11: Health, Human Security, and Social Reconstruction in Afghanistan, by Paula Gutlove, Gordon Thompson, & Jacob Hale Russell

Chapter 12: Afghan Neighborhood and Future Stability: A Regional Approach to Reconstruction and Development, by Eden Naby & R.N. Frye

Chapter 13: Reconstruction, Development, and Nation-Building: Prospects for Afghanistan, by Dennis A. Rondinelli & John D. Montgomery

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#### Media Democracy - led by Robert A. Hackett

Out of this project emerged the book manuscript, *Global Mediation?: Democratizing Public Communication in the Era of Pan-Capitalism*, which is contracted for publication with Rowan and Littlefield Press.

#### Table of Contents:

Preface, by Majid Tehranian

Introduction, by Robert Hackett and Yuezhi Zhao

Civil Society and Media in 'Globalizing' Africa: What Prospects for Democratic Public Communication?, by Arthur-Martins Aginam  
Social Engineering: Transnational Broadcasting and Its Impact on Peace in the Middle East, by Hussein Y. Amin  
Globalization, Regionalization and Democratization: The Interaction of Three Paradigms in the Field of Mass Communication, by Kai Hafez  
A Global Dialogue for Democracy and Democratic Media, by Jake Lynch & Annabel McGoldrick  
The Democratic Deficit of American Corporate Media: Global Implications and Prospects for Reform, by Robert W. McChesney, interviewed by Robert A. Hackett  
Democratizing Communication Globally: Building a Transnational Advocacy Campaign, by Seán Ó Siochrú  
The Iraq Conflict and the Media: Embedded with War Rather than with Peace and Democracy, by Jan Øberg  
Changing Political Cultures and Media under Globalism in Latin America, by Javier Protzel  
Constructing Collective Identities and Democratic Media in a Globalizing World: Israel as a Test Case, by Dov Shinar  
Western Media and Transition Societies in Eastern Europe (tentative title), by Colin Sparks  
Globalization, Communication, Democratization: Toward Gender Equality, by Annabelle Sreberny  
Media Globalization or Media Democratization: Indian Media at the Crossroads, by Pradip Thomas  
The Politics of Media Democratization and Globalization: Evidence from China, by Yuezhi Zhao

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#### Cities and Civil Societies - led by Mike Douglass

Out of this project emerged 13 papers on various aspects of civic space in Pacific Asia cities, in cyberspace and at global events. In addition to the GRAD meeting in Vancouver, June 14-16, 2003, the team met again in Singapore, August 11-12, 2003, and provided evaluations of all the papers in preparation for final drafts and submissions for publication as a book at the end of 2003. The team is continuing discussion on what it would undertake if it were to carry on and join with the 2004 GRAD program.

#### Contents of Papers:

Bangkok. Sanam Luang (The Royal Ground): From a Historic Plaza to a Civic Space, by Pornpan Boonchuen  
Insurgent Civic Spaces: Global Governance, Control, and Resistance by Joseph Boski  
From Street Corners to Plaza: The Production of Festive Civic Space in Central Seoul by Myung-Rae Choo  
Civil Society for Itself and in the Public Sphere: Comparative Research on Globalization, Cities and Civic Space in Pacific Asia by Mike Douglass  
Civic Spaces in the Developmental City-state: Towards a New Civic Culture? by Limin Hee  
Civic Space and Integration in Chinese Peri-Urban Villages by Michael Leaf & Samantha Anderson  
The Internet, the City and Civic Space in Indonesia by Merlyna Lim

Governing Cities: Civic Spaces, Civil Society and Urban Politics by K.C. Ho  
State-society Relations, the City and Civic Spaces by Giok Ling Ooi  
Chinese Public Space: A Brief Account by Chye Kiang Heng  
On the Sidewalk in Hanoi: Civic Space in Context by David Koh  
Community Development and Re-construction of Grassroots Organizations in Urban China by Hanlong Lu  
Mosques in Globalizing Kuala Lumpur: Civic Spaces In Search of Relevance in a Turbulent Era by Morshidi Sirat

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#### Religion and Cultural Identity - led by Jeannie Lum

The common focal point of the team's research papers are captured in the questions:

What constitutes a global identity?

What are some of the constitutive elements that make up our sense of humanity, personal and collective identity, and the impact that various forces of globalization have had in shaping and altering our human sensibilities, culture, religious and philosophical beliefs, ethnic group practices at global, regional, national, and local levels?

The main theme of the book will be an examination of the constitutive elements of a global identity within the philosophical, political and social contexts of cultural and religious diversity and to make recommendations for education and policy-making. The papers emerging out of the project will also be edited by Jeannie Lum & Joseph Camilleri for a special issue of Toda Institute's journal publication, Peace & Policy.

#### Participants:

Josef Boehle  
Audrey Kitagawa  
Adelani Ogunrinade  
Joseph Camilleri  
Vladimir Korobov  
Fred Riggs  
Jerry Chang  
Christopher Leeds  
Johan Saravanamuttu  
Linda Groff  
Jeannie Lum  
Wolfgang Schmidt  
Bjarat Gupt  
Kamran Mofid  
Yosef Wosk  
Nadeem Kazmi  
Abdul Nurullaev

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#### Global and Regional Security - led by Barry Gills & reported by B. M. Jain

The project is focused on Regional Cooperation and Global Security. There are a plethora of bodies operating in the field of regional arrangements for cooperation that address security issues

across most of the regions of the globe. These entities have diverse historical and cultural backgrounds and different institutional frameworks and different capacities. The project studies the factors and forces for these differences found in local, historical, cultural, political, economic, psychological settings at international, regional and national situations specific to each, and to explore the consequences of these differences and divergences for the effectiveness of regional arrangements for cooperation and human security.

Proposed Outline of Volume:

Security in Globalization and Regional Processes: A Critique, drafted by Barry Gills & reviewed by Stein Tønnesson

The Bush Doctrine, Europe and East Asia, by Stein Tønnesson

Recent Changes in the U.S. Nuclear Weapon Policy by Michael Intriligator

Broadening the Concept of Security in East and Southeast Asia by Joseph Cheng

paper examining the influences of the United States counter-terrorism campaign, discussing its security policy in Asia in post September 11th, by Suqing Gan

paper on Middle East, emerging security and strategic scenario in the context of post-Iraq War road map for a lasting peace in this region, by Mohammad Selim

paper on Central Asia discussing recent changes in the security policy and cooperation approach of the U.S. towards the region in the aftermath of war in Afghanistan and Iraq, by Rafis Abazof

paper on creating an Asian Union along the lines of the European Union and examining

problems involved in implementing it, by Beni Prasad Agarwal

Towards a New Security Architecture, paper on South Asia and the U.S. by B.M. Jain

Structures in Unified Europe, paper examining the role of NATO in the European security arrangement by Hripsime Nalbandyan

The South Caucasus: New Security Issues in a Regional and International Context by Aghavni Karakhanian

paper on the interface of globalization, regionalization and democratization and their impact on South Africa by Hussein Solomon

paper by Olga Vorkunova

paper by Imre Lévai

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Middle East Peace - led by George Bisharat

The team has narrowed its focus to the Israel/Palestine conflict, viewed appropriate in light of events in the region, and their likely prominence in global attention in the coming few years, in light of the interests of both present and potential group participants, and as a first step in a research agenda that may ultimately return to a broader, regional view. It was further understood, that a regional perspective must be maintained even in this initial phase. The shift, therefore, is really one of emphasis. A project workshop is planned for 2004.

Participants:

George Bisharat

George Irani

Catherine Rogers

Richard Falk

Alexandre Kedar

Keyvan Tabari

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### Pax Americana - led by John M. Heffron

The team will be focusing on the following research problems:

Influences of Pax Americana (PA) - Economic, Cultural, Political, and Military - with an effort to determine which countries are prototypes of each interaction.

What world conditions, if any, would make PA a moral and ethical good, advancing human dignity and reducing violence? Study the positive reception to PA and its causes. Develop a set of indicators that are necessary for making the world either better or worse and then measure the impact of PA using these indicators.

A study of world opinion of PA. Responses to PA worldwide.

"Follow the thrust." Looking at specific interventions and studying the consequences, following the changes in PA "on the ground."

The "reluctant dragon" syndrome. American unilateralism as the reluctant response to international anarchy and to the political paralysis of the UN and other international agencies.

The world according to Richard Falk - studying alternatives to PA in robust international rule of law, in the minimalization of force, and in solutions to the inequities of the world.

PA as a rule of law

Rhetoric versus reality of PA, comparing and contrasting public statements on the meaning and purpose of PA with the actual record of American interventionism.

Asymmetries of PA. The flow of money and arms and differentials between the objects of PA.

Risks of PA. Study the destabilizing effects of PA for a just and nonviolent world order.

Participants:

Kamoludin Abdullaev

Tomosaburo Hirano

Stuart Rees

Yuri Bossin

Saul Mendlovitz

John Heffron

John Montgomery

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### Women and Globalization - led by Katharine Tehranian

The research project focuses on Globalization, Women and Migration: Impact on Social Justice and Democracy. It looks at the different ways that globalization, in its many configurations, has had an impact on the lives of the professional middle class women migrants, with a particular interest in such issues as identity reformulation, disturbances in one's sense of belonging and other diasporic experiences in the site of displacement and emplacement.

The project was begun on the basis of a shared belief that women are a pivotal force in the world economy; that democracy is best defined as freedom of the individual and self-determination; that universally, gender is a principal issue in formulations and conceptions of social justice and human rights; and that cities are spatial configurations of power and sites of complexities of human ideals and struggles. The overarching hypothesis deals with the migration of women as not always based on economic incentives, but that a large percentage of educated/professional

women leave their homelands in search of freedom and self-determination.

The research project is primarily focused on the following issues:

Globalization and its impact on the restructuring of the world economy

Migration of women

Theories of power

Globalization and reformulations of patriarchal systems

Women, migration and self-determination

Globalization and layering of identity

Migration and images of "home" as "places in between"

The project is based on primary research, focused on interviews with women organized around discussions about diasporic/exilic experiences of women both as "subjects," and as "agents" in social, political, and economic structures of globalization; the dynamics of globalization, the impact of migration on identity reformulations and sense of belonging; and the nature of fears and hopes and images of home in the mental maps of such exilic women.

The first draft of the book is set to be completed by the GRAD conference in 2004 and the final book in press by the GRAD Conference in 2005.

Participants:

Kwok Bun Chan

Sara Horowitz

Gillian Youngs

Hilal Elver

Katharine Kia Tehranian

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Islam in Southeast Asia - led by Johan Saravanamuttu

The research will focus on political Islam in Southeast Asia in the backdrop of the events marked by the September 11, 2001 attacks on New York and followed in fairly rapid succession by the military intervention of the U.S. and its allies in Afghanistan in 2001 and in Iraq in 2003. Significant events in Southeast Asia post-9/11 were the Bali bombings of October 2002 and the Davao bombing incidents of 2002 and 2003.

Some basic questions that require analysis are:

How has the counter-hegemonic challenge of Islamic militancy and Islamic civil politics been met by the Southeast Asian region?

Is political Islam on the wax or on the wane in the light of the U.S. military actions in Afghanistan and Iraq?

Accordingly, the themes or topics to be addressed are as follows:

Civil manifestations of political Islam in Southeast Asia

Ideology and utopia in Islam in Southeast Asia

Contesting models of Islamic governance in Malaysia and Indonesia

Alternative models of Islamic governance in Southeast Asia

Political Islam and multiculturalism in Indonesia

Nonviolent perspectives of Southeast Asian Islam

## Gender, Islam and multiculturalism in Malaysia

Each of these themes will be the basis of research articles, contributing to a special issue of the journal, *Global Change, Peace and Security* to be published in mid 2004. The special volume may also contain one or two communications, a review essay and will also have reviews of books on political Islam. Team members will also be encouraged to write authored pieces or monographs of their own. Web pages may also be developed. The project planned a meeting of the team in Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang in 2003 discussing draft papers.

### Participants:

Syed Farid Alatas

Judith Nagat

Jan Stark

Jacques Bertrand

Johan Saravanamuttu

Maznah Mohamad

Chaiwat Satha-Anand

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## Regionalism in Caucasus - led by Aghavni Karakhanian

### Participants: TBA

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## THE PEACE PROJECT

Phase III (from 2005 onwards) of the Institute's research program will focus on Peace, Education, Art, Culture and Environment in a Globalizing World (The PEACE Project).

The forces of educational and cultural globalization have always had to contend, negotiate, and reconcile with the local education and cultural forces. This encounter has often resulted in a synthesis of the global and local. The new phase in the Toda Institute's research program will examine the educational and cultural problems and prospects of an emerging global society in confrontation and negotiation with the local circumstances. In keeping with its motto, *Dialogue of Civilizations for Global Citizenship*, the Institute will again seek to initiate collaborative and multinational projects. Peace and policy scholars all over the world are thus cordially invited to participate in this venture.

The following possible research topics are suggestive rather than exhaustive:

The role of electronic spheres of public discourse in peace movements, e.g. in the campaign against land mines, the Chinese democracy movement, or the U.S. presidential elections.

Global popular culture and homogenization in food, clothing, music, film, etc.

Labor migration and formation of diasporic communities

Intra-civilization dialogues in such traditions as the Judaic, Christian, Islamic, Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucian societies.

The role of religious faith in democratization

National and international communication policies, including the role of government censorship and trans-border communications such as the Aljazeera.

Language policies and conflict transformation

Peace poetry



Translation as a channel for global peace building  
Trafficking of women and children  
Evolving gender relations in different societies and classes  
Life style changes in urban and rural areas  
Inter-generational conflicts and reconciliation  
The role of cultural industries in global homogenization and differentiation  
Tourism as a channel for international understanding and stereotyping  
Truth and reconciliation in situations of protracted conflict  
Film as a channel for international understanding and stereotyping  
Global commons and intellectual property  
Science, technology, and education as globalizing forces  
Imagined civilizations and global conflict  
Distant learning methods and global citizenship  
Globalization of art and architecture  
Environment consequences of nuclear proliferation  
Peoples Bandung: the role of civil society in global governance  
The Institute will soon issue a call for project proposals. In the selection process, priority will be given to those projects that meet the following criteria:  
Commitment of a principal investigator  
Soundness of research concepts and methodology  
Cooperation among scholars from different continents  
Realistic output, budget, and schedule  
Probable impact on national or international policies  
Co-sponsorship by recognized research institution(s)  
Cost-sharing by the institutional co-sponsor(s)

#### PUBLICATIONS

Appendix I lists the publications of the Toda Institute Book Series. During the past seven years of its life, the Institute has published 14 volumes. Five of the volumes matured in 2003, four of them still in press. Some of the volumes have been adopted as texts in certain universities, e. g. Dialogue of Civilizations in a course on architecture at Ball State University. The same volume is currently under translation in Japanese and Persian.

The Institute's journal, Peace and Policy, changed its format in 2003. It is now published annually focusing on particular themes. The 2003 issue focused on "Violence in a Non-Violent World," including articles from a conference held by the Institute to commemorate the September 11th terrorist attacks on the United States.

#### CONFERENCES

On June 14-16, 2003, in collaboration with the Center for Dialogue of Simon Fraser University, the 2003 annual Toda Institute conference was held in Vancouver. Professor Richard Falk of Princeton University and University of California at Santa Barbara delivered the keynote address. Some 70 peace scholars from all five continents attended the conference and pursued their research projects in small working groups.

The Institute will celebrate its 8th anniversary by sponsoring a conference on the "U.S. in World Affairs," February 7-8, 2004, to be held in Honolulu. The conference brings peace scholars from Hawai'i and elsewhere together to focus on the limitations of unilateralism in a multi-polar world.

Professor Kevin Clements of the University of Queensland will be the keynote speaker.

In collaboration with the Hungarian Academy of Science and the International Business School-Budapest, the Institute's annual conference will take place on July 1-3, 2004 in Budapest, Hungary. The agenda will be a final review of the GRAD Project and the initiation of The PEAC Project.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Throughout its different phases of development, the Institute's founder Daisaku Ikeda, Chairman Einosuke Akiya, the Board of Directors, and the International Advisory Council, have been a source of constant support and encouragement. The Institute's dedicated staff in Tokyo and Honolulu has gone beyond its call of duty to ensure an efficient and responsive administration. Masaichi Ueda, Tomosaburo Hirano, Koichi Taniguchi, Hiroshi Morita, Satoko Takahashi, Hau`oli Busby, and Chie Sunada have thus promoted the Institute's unique mission. Farideh Farhi, Anne Smith, Maureen MacLeod, Susan Johnson, Celina Shinbutsu, have ably helped the institute to project itself through its work. Without this dream team, none of the Institute's achievements would have been possible.

Majid Tehranian

Professor, University of Hawai`i at Manoa

Director, Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research

Honolulu, Hawai`i, January 20, 2004

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#### APPENDIX I.

##### TODA INSTITUTE BOOK SERIES

On Global Peace and Policy

Series Editor: Majid Tehranian

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

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

Not By Bread Alone: Food Security and Governance in Africa, Edited by Adelani 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 & New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000

Reimagining the Future: Towards Democratic Governance, by Joseph A. Camilleri, Kamal Malhotra, Majid Tehranian, et al. Bundoora, Australia: The Department of Politics, La Trobe University, 2000.

Managing the Global: Globalization, Employment, and Quality of Life, edited by Don Lamberton. London & New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001.

Dialogue of Civilizations: A New Peace Agenda for a New Millennium, edited by Majid Tehranian and David W. Chappell. London & New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002.

Bridging a Gulf: Peacebuilding in West Asia, edited by Majid Tehranian. London & New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002

Democratizing Global Governance, edited by Joseph Camilleri and Esref Aksu. New York: Palgrave Press, 2002.

Passion for Peace: Exercising Power Creatively, by Stuart Rees. Sydney: University of New South Wales, 2003.

Beyond Reconstruction in Afghanistan: Lessons from Development Experience, edited by John D. Montgomery and Dennis A. Rondinelli. New York: Palgrave Macmillan Press, forthcoming.

Worlds on the Move: Globalization, Migration, and Cultural Security, edited by Jonathan Friedman and Shalini Randeria, forthcoming.

Eurasia: A New Peace Agenda, edited by Michael Intriligator, Alexander Nikitin, and Majid Tehranian, forthcoming.

Global Mediation? Democratizing Public Communication in the Era of Pan-Capitalism, edited by Robert A. Hackett and Yuezhi Zhao. Boulder, CO: Rowan and Littlefield, forthcoming.