Making Global Society for Citizens!

— a citizens' perspective on processes and effects of globalization —

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市民のための地球社会とは? ----グローバル化の過程と影響への市民的視座----

現代世界に国民国家間の諸関係を中心とする国際社会が存在することは疑いない。しかし、核戦争の危険からテロリズムの脅威へ、国家間および国家内における貧富の格差の複雑化、環境破壊の地球的規模への拡大、人口爆発と少子高齢化の錯綜など、今日の人類が直面している重要問題の多くが国際社会の枠組内での解決の可能性を超えてしまっており、それを超える新しい社会の出現を把握するための新しい概念が必要とされている。それを世界社会と呼ぶことも可能であるが、米ソ冷戦が終結して「二つの世界」および「第三世界」の意義が縮小し、地球環境問題が最大の問題となってきている今、地球社会の概念こそが必要である。

・地球社会の概念は、社会を共同性、階層性、システム性、および生態系内在性の相克と重層化としてとらえる視点から、共同性と階層性の相克の、宗教、国家、市場、都市による一次システム化、すなわち帝国を超えて普及してきた二次システム化、すなわち政教分離と民主主義と科学技術にもとづく市民社会(市場的都市的社会)の地球的規模への拡大の過程と結果としてとらえることができる。現状では、その共同性はあまりにも弱く、その階層性はあまりにも険しく複雑に見えるが、それは地球社会としてのシステム化があまりに不十分であるからであり、そういう状態のまま地球環境の危機という生態系内在性の厳しさを露呈しているのが、地球社会の現実である。

その危機的状況を打開するために、市民の立場からする、言語問題に配慮した地球的情報化の積極的活用、国際組織の限界と「帝国」的世界システムの批判、イデオロギーから宗教への「改心」を克服する新たな主体的意識の高揚、および NGOsや NPOs などによる積極的な対抗地球社会形成が必要である。世界経済会議に対抗してくり返されてきた世界社会フォーラムのような活動が、今後ますます能動的に展開されていかなければならない。

1 International Society, World Society and Global Society

Can we discuss Global Society at all? It depends on how we define it, and how to define it or anything crucial is not arbitrary, but depends on how we reflect on our social way of life.

Existing International Society

There will be no argument on the existence of an international society.

In our contemporary world there are about two hundred states which have, in principle, sovereignty to integrate their societies mutually exclusively. Though they vary from over a billion to about ten thousand in the population size, they are nation states in a wider sense and have memberships in the United Nations.

The UN is, different from a nation state which is charged with sovereignty by the people, simply a coordinating organization of the states representing their peoples, but it has been performing important roles in keeping security and in various resolutions of economic, social and cultural problems. In this sense we can say there is an international society which is quite loosely integrated by the UN. In this international society we as individuals can have various relationships with other individuals all over the world, but only through the premise that we are citizens belonging to anyone of nation states.

From Nuclear Wars to Terrorism

After World War II toward the 21st century, however, there have emerged serious problems we cannot adequately grasp and cannot resolve in the framework of international society.

First, problems of war and peace. Since the development and the actual use of atomic bombs to show their terrible effects at the end of World War II, a clear difference has appeared of capacities to perform a war as the enactment of state sovereignty between nuclear and non-nuclear states. It has become impossible to say both are 'equal'. And after a while it has become also clear that even the big nuclear powers cannot do a total war unless they owe a risk of the human extinction.

There are still wars all over the world even after the end of the Cold War between USA and USSR and the collapse of the latter, most of them are not wars between sovereign states but ethnic conflicts in a wider sense. Since most of them are under the control of sovereign states, the international society can as hardly launch into their resolutions as their control are strong.

Since September 11, 2001, the situation has become more complicated due to the global terrorism against the Superpower and its allies and due to the military actions against it which have been alleged as the 'war against terrorism'. To cope with the global terrorism the UN should have a legitimate security system backed up by the orthodox UN Army and this means the international society would transcend itself into something beyond it. The United States has not taken actions toward that direction but been trying to build its own world-ruling system by making light of, or sometimes even neglecting the UN.

Complication of Gaps between the Rich and the Poor

Secondly, gaps between the rich and the poor. After World War II, the United States and its allies who got its aid despite victory or defeated got into roads of economic growth and reached the level of 'affluent society' in the 1960s and 1970s. However, Asian, African and Latin American nations, who entered into

processes of nation building after Independence or Restart as independent, could not attain economic development enough to be politically independent. The gaps between them and advanced nations were increasingly widened. It became clear that the Soviet, East European and Chinese nations had been poorer than imagined after the socialist system collapsed or after 'Reform and Open' was launched even though they had seemed to pursue their own development as socialist nations.

The world economic structure has been drastically changing with the Asian NIEs who first entered into the roads of economic growth, South East Asian Nations who sooner or later followed the former, China who began its rapid economic growth to follow them after Reform and Open, India who got on its road of economic growth after the liberalization in 1991 and Brazil, Russia and others who began to do their rapid economic growth following all these forerunners. We cannot simply say that the gaps between rich advanced and poor developing nations have been widening, but we have to realize that some developing nations have been following up rich nations due to their rapid economic growth even if we do not mention some other rich nations with their oil resources. Among these nations, however, the internal gaps between the rich and the poor have been drastically growing as we see examples in China.

On the other hand, the internal gaps between the rich and the poor have been widening among advanced capitalist nations, especially in the United Kingdom and the United States, who have been taking the neo-liberalist policies since the 1980s. England is originally a pretty much classified society and is more and more so after it abandoned its welfare state 'from cradle to grave'. It has been said in the United States that the classified structure has been changed into an 'hourglass' type due to the polarization of middle classes although it used to be said that the class structure would become more and more diamond-typed with the increase of middle class people. In Japan, where the neo-liberal policies have been strengthened under the coalition government led by the Liberal Democratic Party after the collapse of the '1955 System' in 1993, the move toward a 'disparity society' have been pointed out seriously from various sides.

Thus, the gaps of the rich and the poor have been made more and more complicated as the other gaps added to the basic ones between the advanced capitalist and most developing nations, such as the gaps between the oil-producing or economically developing and the other developing nations, the internal gaps within the drastically developing nations and especially the internal gaps within the advanced capitalist nations who have been running toward neo-liberalism. And the most important through these changes is that these gaps and disparities have become more and more generated through global mechanisms created by activities of multi-national corporations who have been actually dominating the processes of production and distribution of basic re-

sources such as oil, iron, food, cars, ships, aircrafts, hard and soft information devices and so forth.

Expansion of Environmental Disruption to the Global Scale

Thirdly, the problem of environmental disruption. The contemporary environmental disruption was originated in World War II. The unprecedented world war itself was an enormous environmental disruption and the nuclear arms developed and actually used at the end of this war disrupted not only humans and their society but their environment. Then the nuclear military buildup competition after the war disrupted by nuclear explosions and contaminated by radioactivity various places on the earth. Moreover, even the atomic power plants, diffused as the 'peaceful' use of nuclear technology, have more or less disrupted the environment so as to damage humans and their societies even when they did not go to the worst cases such as the Three Mile Island or Chernobyl accidents.

Against this background, various types of industrial pollution have been brought about in the advanced capitalist countries which just built up affluent societies. Major forms have been the disruption of agricultural field ecology ('Silent Spring'), the water, air and soil pollution as the effects of such projects as making heavy and chemical industrial complexes (Yokkaichi, Kawasaki and others in Japan), and traffic jams, noises and air pollution by the overuse of cars in major cities all over the world (Tokyo was the symbol of the 'pollution-advanced' Japan in the 1960s and the 1970s). These cases of environmental disruption jeopardized the life of inhabitants and citizens who just began to experience an affluent society so that many of them rose in strong anti-pollution movements. In effects the governments and enterprises came to implement various regulations to prevent or mitigate major types of pollution while they dumped industrial wastes or pollution itself in the public sea or 'exported' to developing countries which had almost no regulations.

Many developing countries without oil resources, besides receiving these wastes and pollution, could not but make their own environmental disruption in not only secondary but primary industries by deforestation for industrialization and such agribusinesses as changing fields into culture ponds for precious fish so as to aggravate the environmental disruption in the global scale. Socialist countries, whose inner situations had not been clear due to the tall information barriers up to the 1970s, showed as or even more serious conditions than those of developing countries as China's Reform and Open and the Soviet Perestroika and Glasnost went on. Thus, in the world after the end of the Cold War, the environmental disruption has become really global as the global warming with depletion of the ozone layer brought about by the accumulation of industrial overuses and misuses of fossil fuel and others on the basis of the military and 'peaceful' overuses and misuses of nuclear energy.

Entanglement of Population Explosion and Aging with Low Birthrate

Fourthly, population problems. While the affluent societies of the advanced capitalist countries have become rapidly aged due to the improvement of nutrition and medical treatment, the population explosion have been continuing because of poverty, religion, insufficient spread of birth control and others among developing countries which restarted or became independent to start their nation building and economic growth for it. The world population grew 2.6 times more in 55 years from 2.5 billion in 1950 to 6.5 billion in 2005. More and more of this population have been migrating not only within the borders but beyond borders as the economic growth has spread from advanced to developing nations. In 2005 the number of migrant workers including refugees reached 86 million¹.

In the aged advanced countries then the birth rate began to decrease. In Japan where the barrier is pretty high to the influx of migrant workers, the working population has been relatively and then absolutely decreasing so that the total population has begun to decrease. On the other hand, among the developing nations China has got some imbalance phenomena such as that of the male-female ratio and some immaturely rapid aging due to the strong birth control policy. In the intermediate and long run, these factors would promote the migration of population — especially of workers — beyond borders so as to tremble the bases of bio-political production and reproduction of all nation states.

Insufficient Effetiveness of the Concept 'World Society'

One way to define a new society which has been emerging through spouting problems breaking through the framework of international society is to call it a world society. There is a trend from Immanuel Kant through Georg Simmel to Tanaka (Kôtaro) and Takada (Yasuma) who discussed the history and peace of humankind from standpoints of a world citizen or world society while we have a recent example of social system theory by Niklas Luhmann which proposed a concept of world society which is an ultimate social system subsuming all kinds of social systems. Learning all these theories, we would like to propose a world society which consists of all humans who live on the earth. In this world society all nation states, international relations, international society and others are subsumed as its elements, actors, subsystems and so on.

This concept of world society was effective in so far as to criticize rough types of globalism such as that of 'world dynamics' which provoked 'limits of growth' as the effects of interaction of several factors and which actually rationalized some egoism of the advanced Big Powers in terms of resolving resources and environmental problems. The concept of world society had advantages to maintain that there were 'two worlds' of social systems which had different

principles of basic ownership, that there were many societies which had different degrees of economic growth and varieties of social organizations and cultures and that we need to recognize these complexities which could not be reduced even into nation states, international relations and the international society.

However, we have lost the reason to stick to the concept of world society criticizing the concepts of global or international society as the Cold War ended and as the Soviet and East-European socialist systems collapsed. On the other hand we have come to need more the concept of global society as global environmental problems become more and more serious. The real globalization has begun as the marketization doubly accelerated by informationalization and eletronization that rapidly ineffectualizes the difference of principles of the 'two worlds' or 'three worlds' by making some developing economies grow rapidly and by causing social and cultural changes common to both advanced and developing countries. Simultaneously the global environmental problems have become more and more serious so that we cannot manage to say simply that the world society exists in the global environment.

The Necessity of the Concept of Global Society

As the problem of global warming symbolizes, our society has intruded so much into the global environment as to be influenced seriously by its disruption. The earth has been losing its tolerance to endure outrageous activities of human societies patiently and to restore disrupted parts and places slowly but firmly. Humans cannot but internalize as much of the global environment as possible to establish the sustainability of their social systems in order to survive. This is the very reason why we should call our own society a *global society*.

The concept of global society, thus, goes beyond not only the concept of international society but that of world society. Not only connoting nation states, international relations, differences of diversifying social systems and various types of 'North-South problems', but subsuming ethnic diversities and cultural differences which are inherent in these phenomena, the global society has been internalizing the global environment so as to preserve its tolerance. While the ratio of cultivation, breeding and fish raising increases in food production with more and more responsibility coming to us to keep the air temperature, we, humans, inevitably advance to define the global society by ourselves by overcoming the limits of principles of social organization which have been diversifying and indulging ourselves socially, culturally, and so forth.

2 Community, Stratification, System and Ecology-boundness

We need a more detailed definition of society in order to show what kind of society the global society is. A society is a multi-layered relationships of community, stratification, system and ecology-boundness.

Contradictions of Community and Stratification

A society starts from a community where humans simply live together to share the life. Historically this is a long age of band society which lasted for several million years from the birth of humans to the agricultural revolution. It was an age of 'segmentary' society in the Durkheimian terminology. Humans survived as moving series (nomads) of several to ten or so units which consisted of a couple with a few to several children like 'nuclear families' in order to get food. Segmentary societies repeatedly extended from uni-segmentary to multi-segmentary ones, but did not develop the division of labor enough to become organic societies.

With the rapid increase of productive forces by the agricultural revolution, communities began to settle and expand with developing bonds from blood to regional ones. Residing and expanding communities collided each other, consolidated mostly through wars and generated stratifications as the results of differences of power. Stratifications used to be made through consolidation of communities putting the leaders of the powerful one on the top and center, its followers in the middle and the followers of the powerless in the bottom and periphery. Thus the latent ruling structures in the communities came to be manifest.

This is the genesis of class society, therefore it is one-sided to explain its genesis by only endogenous factors such as the beginning of division of labor on the basis of increasing productive forces and the genesis of 'private' ownership. The basis of society is a community so that ethnic groups such as tribes, folks etc. are more fundamental than classes which become manifest through ethnic conflicts even though existing latently.

Empires as the Primary Social Systems

As multiplication of communal and stratified layers began on the basis of increasing productive forces through the agricultural revolution, horizontal and vertical expansion of a society would advance like a snowball. However, if humans had not got some symbolism by then to organize their society through explaining the genesis of the world with some supranational powers or so, Sisyphean works would have been infinitely repeated to make snowballs everywhere to be accumulated so as to fall down in vain.

Religion, in this sense, must have been the first apparatus to systematize

societies by interrelating many communities and stratifications into a high pyramidal structure with plausible explanations of contradictions between the basic solidarity and complicated vertical relationships of the rulers and the ruled. For example Japan's archaic myth is supposed to have been typically constructed through integrating myths of various conquered tribes into a central myth of the final winner. As sociology of religion shows, social controlling aspects of religion would be socially reified into such state apparatuses as the king, armies, bureaucracies and so forth against the background of world-viewing aspects of the same religion. Then states would build cities to make the basis of empire and to control the market that would disorderly expand, so that civilized social forms would emerge as complexes of cities and villages.

Thus the first total system of human society was an empire as a primary social system which would integrate accumulated relationships of many communities and tall stratifications with such major apparatuses as religion, state, market and cities. The reason why the primary social system of humans must have been an empire was that we needed an emperor to exalt him up to a singular point in order to intermediate this shore (the empirical) and the other shore (the transcendental) as far as we used symbolism that was activated only by our belief in the supernatural entity. Empires were repeatedly built in Mesopotamia, Africa, Eurasia and North and South Americas so as to exist up to the Qing Dynasty and the Ottoman Empire of Turkey in the twentieth century.

Globalization of Civil Society as the Secondary Social System

The secondary system of human society that would confront and finally drive away empires is the civil society. It emerged in cities and markets, grew through Renaissance, Great Voyages, Reformation and Bourgeois Revolutions against Absolutism, and finally spread all over the world. The civil society externalized and infinitely expanded a human community as a world market on the one hand, internalized and minimized it into nuclear families backed up by the romantic love myth on the other, and constructed a new stratification on the capital-labor relations through employment of labor forces relatively liberated from communities by capitals evolved from money as media in the market.

The civil society as the secondary total social system is also a system to intermediate contradictory multi-layered relationships of human communities and stratifications. However, principles of the intermediation are, contrary to those of the primary system, first, separation of politics from religion and secondly, civic democracy based on the universal suffrage. The symbolism based on our belief in the supernatural power being kept in a distance, science and technology orienting to the methodological recognition and operation of nature and a state in the form of separated legislative, administrative and judicial

powers become the keys to systemic integration from the top. And from the bottom, this system is continuously shaken by the global marketization and urbanization, that is to say, by the confrontation between the capital accumulation and the labor and small production activities, and by the expansion of urban way of life in the universally urbanized social forms.

The civil society is from the origin a global and universal system. However, since such universality could not be instantly built in any region, nations as 'imagined communities', quasi-universal worlds, were invented and various forms of nationalism were adopted as ways of expanding the civil society system. Thus, being created in the rapidly globalizing market, some powerful nation state systems competed and warred against each other to colonize all the other world and finally brought about the international society through two world wars and the world society through all these processes stated above in the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. Moreover, since the environmental disruption became serious into the crisis of the global ecology through all these processes, the ecology-boundness of human society became one hundred percent visualized so that the concept of global society as an ultimate concept of human society has come to be needed.

Global Society as Negation of Negation of Human Community

Global Society is, first, as seen as the aspect of community, the de facto impossibility of total wars among nation states who have various sizes and organizations reflecting different degrees of maturity as a civil society. Such a war has become impossible any more as one between the Pact among Japan, Germany and Italy and the Allies of Britain, France, USA, China and Soviet Union. The United States and the Soviet Union came to realize the impossibility of any hot war through the competition of nuclear arms development and military buildup and reached peace especially by the latter's 'withdrawal' because of the impossibility to maintain economically its military buildup system.

Against this background there have been many conflicts and wars which would cut across this vulnerable human community. After the collapse of Soviet and East-European systems, movements toward independence which had been oppressed have been activated, while ethnic conflicts which had been forced to be underground have come up to the surface. Stimulated in a sense by them, there have come out sometimes violently many ethnic conflicts some of which were immanent in the ex-colonialist empires and ex-imperialist countries and others were caused by one-sided divide-and-rules or annexations in the ex-colonized or ex-subordinated countries.

Besides them, global terrorism has been spreading since September Eleven that attacked the very centers of the United States. And in the 'War against Terrorism', the United States and its allies have been creating 'wars' of a new

type to collapse 'problem states' like Afghanistan and Iraq by the one-sided attack of the Super Power. As results, global terrorism has been spreading more and more around the world.

Considering these facts, it seems that Global Society does not have its own shape as far as seen from the aspect of community. However, it is by itself the reality of global community that it has become impossible for nation states to war against each other in the international society, that it has become also impossible for even nuclear Big Powers to continue the Cold War between two or more worlds, and that there have been gushing out ethnic conflicts and terrorist activities which had been oppressed by the Big Powers. If we see crucially inadequate the 'Empire'-like ways the United States and its allies have been taking to sublate these negativities, citizens of Global Society should find a way to overcome these 'negative communities' to consolidate the foundation of a new global system instead of a 'New Empire'.

Global Society as Complex Stratification of Stratifications

Global Society is, secondly, as seen from the aspect of stratification, a huge stratification on the top of which are the United States, Japan and major West-European nations, the former imperialist nations who have succeeded in economic growth in the anti-communist allies after World War II. Among these nations, West Germany, Japan and Italy succeeded in so remarkable economic growth that the power balance changed toward some relative decline of statuses of the United States, Britain and France. However, the American economy has regained power by information economy since the 1980s, European Integration has substantially advanced while Japan becoming more depending on the US, and then the global power structure seems to have been being bipolarized into the US-Japan and the EU. Simultaneously within these major nations the differentiation has grown of those going upward and those going downward so that stratifications have been taking hourglass-shapes (moves toward 'Disparity Society').

Ex-socialist nations, who had been pretending to have their own stratification structures during the Cold War age, were actually incorporated into the global stratification structures by China's Reform and Open and the collapse of the Soviet and East-European systems. Asian NIEs, who got on the wave of economic growth in the 1970s, have been rising up into the upper part of the global stratification structures in the order of Singapore, Taiwan, (South) Korea. China and India, who got on the rails of economic growth in the 1980s to 1990s, have been playing more and more important roles in the world economy with their huge volumes of national economy multiplied by their voluminous populations while their per capita incomes are still low with the internal disparities rapidly expanding. Russia out of the ex-Soviet Union and Brazil after Mexico in the Lain America have been expanding their internal disparities

with the economic growth.

Thus in the back of the visual globalization has been growing a gigantic pyramid-shaped stratification structures of the global scale, on the top of which are hour-glass-shaping stratification structures of the advanced countries. And it is big corporations, who are mostly multi-national and settling their head-of-fices actually in these countries, that have been forming these global stratification structures. These have been being produced and reproduced by employment of humans and production and consumption of goods, information and services through activities of industries of hard-and-soft wares of computers, global air and sea transportation networks backed up by car and railway networks and many industries concerning resources, food, clothes, houses, machines and so forth. Brought about by these activities, over eighty million migrant workers have been showing the reality of global stratification structures forced out of the fragile envelopes of the international society.

Global Society as Ecology-Boundness Shown by Global Environmental Disruption

Global Society should be systematized in a way to intermediate communities and stratifications in making the former peacefully co-existing and the latter more plausible. Yet as a matter of fact, being very much insufficiently done so, it has been facing the general crisis of global ecology. As far as national societies and the international society are concerned, the former have been pretty much stratified so as to systematize the latter to some extent and then the crisis of global ecology has become acute as environmental and population problems caused by the expenses of national and international developments. Global Society, however, taking over these serious environmental and population problems, should be systematized from the beginning in the perspective that it could survive only in the global ecology.

Then, first if seen from the global ecology as the outer environment of Global Society, the environmental disruption, starting from the industrialization and urbanization of civil societies, expanded to the really global scale with the air pollution as the acid rain, the ozone hole and others appearing beyond the borders, the water pollution from national and international rivers to all the oceans and industrial wastes and pollution factories, in the advanced countries, exported to developing from advanced countries, and increasing in developing countries themselves. The global warming is the final effects of the global expansion of industrialization and urbanization that, generating all these pollutions, has been summing them up into a global crisis by accumulated green-house-effect gasses which have been immanent in these two processes from the beginning. The global warming is, in this respect, symbolizing the development of all kinds of environmental disruption into the crisis of global ecology.

The tackling processes of Conferences of Parties based on the Framework Convention of Climate Change have been by themselves showing the actual limits of the activities of the international society or international groups in solving global environmental problems. This convention, being carried in the UN General Assembly in 1992, was enacted in 1994 so that the Conference of Parties began in 1995 and that the Kyoto Protocol was adopted in 1997. Yet the United States became indifferent as the change of Administration in 2001 and, although the treaty was made effective by Russia's ratification in 2005, there is no hope yet to reach the original goal that the total amount of emission of green-house-effect gasses should be cut back to the level of 1990. The limits of formula that the international society asks nations striving goals based on market principles could not be overcome unless by some global citizens' way of decision making and practice that controls even the arbitrary American way of unilateralism.

Global Society as Ecology-Boundness Appearing as Imbalanced Population Growth

The ecology-boundness of Global Society is also quite critical if seen from the aspect of population growth, human body nexus as the 'inner environment' of Global Society. The total world population will grow, in the intermediate estimation, from 6.1 billion of 2001 to 8.9 billion in 2050, but we cannot really know if we will be able to continue feeding this size of population because the production and distribution of food basically depends on the market and independent policies of nation states weakly coordinated by the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Food Program of the United Nations. Population growth must be greatly influenced by health and hygiene practices such as prevention and treatment of AIDS and other infections which also basically depend on different national policies enlightened and weakly coordinated by the World Health Organization.

If the increasing population managed to feed, the next problem would be that its increase and decrease would appear very unevenly in different areas. Advanced nations such as Japan and major European ones have already got into the phase of decrease and the advanced nations as a whole will get into the decreasing phase after the year of 2030, but this may not be the case in such a nation as the United States that embraces the pretty large 'Inner Third World'. On the other hand, developing nations will mostly move to put down the rate of increase while some complicated changes will be estimated in the 2030s such that India will take the number one status of the population size instead of China who has been taking pretty strong birth control policies of 'one child'. Only African nations are estimated to maintain relatively high increasing rates instead of the fears of AIDS contamination, frequent starvation and so on.

On these currents, shortage of labor forces will become more and more

serious to maintain their socio-economic systems of high-tech levels and welfare for the aged in the advanced countries going to more aging with more decreasing birth rates. Toward these pull factors there are quite strong push factors in the overpopulated developing countries so that, as we have seen, the multitude of more than 80 million migrant workers have already been generated. However, various forms of infringement of human rights frequently happen all over the world such as abuses of the aged, refuses of medical treatment for foreigners and so on, because the welfare systems have been made inside the nation states in the 'international' world and that the concept of global citizenship have not been recognized nor accepted in spite of accumulations of various practices and treatises since the World Declaration of Human Rights called 'the Preamble of Human Constitution'.

Global Society cannot get out of its crisis of existence if seen from 'Environment' and 'Body' aspects as the both sides of its ecology-boundness until empowered citizens increase enough to realize Global Society beyond nation states and the international society so as to systematize it into the Global Civil Society.

3 Informationalization, Organization, Citizens' Consciousness and Activities

Global Society, thus, should be and has been gradually systematized instead of its critical aspects of unstable community, enormous stratifications, vulnerable (global) environment and exploding (world) population, which shows that this is and should be a social system which is continuously internalizing its environment — a social and ecological system. This system is, as a matter of fact, still too weak, but we have to see it being formed under the surface of nation states and international society by breaking gradually through these limits. Four major routes of its formation are informationalization, organization, rising consciousness and activities of global citizens.

Overcoming Digital Divides and Language Barriers in Global Informationalization

As for informationalization, in terms of mass media, television has almost spread in not only advanced but most developing countries. Through its networks, images made by the global media such as major news services, CNN and BBC have been being distributed all over the world. People around the world are beginning to feel living in the same world by seeing the same or similar images everyday. Television has been overcoming even barriers of illiteracy which is still pretty high in some Asian and African countries. Sharing images of the world has been becoming the most basic process of globalization

in the visual and auditory senses.

Looking at the rate of users of the Internet, we find there being still serious digital divides in Asian and African countries where users' rates are still low including such great population powers as China and India. On the other hand, in and from China and India have been rapidly increasing, especially from the elite classes, those who have been becoming active, utilizing the Internet, in various fields of the world, which we have to see in connection with the expanding internal disparities in processes of economic growth of these two countries. There is an estimation that cellular phones will spread more rapidly than personal computers, because the former being cheaper and easier than the latter, so that the Internet uses by cellular phones will be rapidly spreading. If so, we will encounter problems raised by simplification of world images and views through simplified information, which is actually more serious than that we experienced when major media moved from newspapers to television. Education of media literacy will be needed all over the world as more and more media equipments spread.

Through these processes problems of language will become more and more important. The ratio of English as a *de facto* global language has been being heightened due to the American victory in the Cold War, to the open of the Internet to the public and to the rapid development of global media before and especially after the end of the Cold War. In these tendencies, however, some people have started to insist the originalities of local Englishes as Singlish, Indish and so on in those nations who have been using English as official or common languages, and some other people even say that Globish (Global English) has been emerging. These movements to make a de facto global language of English will undoubtedly go more so that distances between Globish and native Englishes such as British and American ones will expand. Global citizens should be striving not to increase disadvantages of peoples whose languages are more or less far from English in their phonetic and grammatical structures.

Beyond Limits of International Organizations and 'Empire'-like World Ruling System

Turning to the organizing aspects, Global Society has been being organized toward overcoming insufficiencies of the international organizations by pointing out their fundamental limits or toward finding alternatives for them. The key of the international social organization after World War II has been the United Nations, yet this axis organization, that has two pillars of the General Assembly and the Security Council, was originally created by the Victory Big Powers to reorganize and manage the world for them as symbolized in the fact that the United States, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, France and China (originally Taiwan) were made the permanent members of the Security Coun-

cil who have vetoes. From this way to organize the world mainly by the United States and the Soviet Union, China, India and the Afro-Asian Conference began to dissent in the 1950s and the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries was organized in the 1960s. Moreover, based on the increased joining of the newly independent nations, the first United Nations Conference on Trade and Development was held in 1964 to bring about the Group 77 to enforce activities for creating a New International Economic Order.

Rising to the challenges of developing nations such as the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, major capitalist nations who have enjoyed the postwar economic growth like the United States, the United Kingdom, France, (West) Germany, Japan, Italy and Canada have been repeating the Economic Summit since 1975. Playing highly political roles in spite of the formal causes to discuss economic problems outside of the confrontations with the Soviet Union and China in the UN, this summit has greatly contributed to reorganize the world by marketization, informationalization and electronization in the 1980s and the 1990s, hand in hand with the neo-liberalism which has spread in major advanced countries since the end of the 1970s. With the Soviet Union having collapsed after failing in Perestroika (Reform), by Russia having been incorporated into this privileged group and by China and India having been gradually approaching it, the postwar ruling system of the international society has been being transformed fundamentally into a new one.

The Two Worlds disappeared, the Third World has become pretty ambiguous and the world power has been roughly one-dimensionalized. Therefore, some people say that a new 'Empire' has been constructed as a new ruling system of Global Society that is clearly beyond the international society. Although many people confuse it with the 'American Empire' or 'American Imperialism' because the center exists in the United States and despite that the behaviors of American government and corporations seem to be operations of the New Empire, its construction and duration will go much beyond the term and policies of the incumbent United States President and his administration. The Imperium the United States issues to the world based on its 'Founding Ideals' has been producing constructed powers and their practices by utilizing even the UN as a means in differentiating complex attitudes among major nations. To these motions there have been being raised strong — sometimes violent - protesting demonstrations against the Summits, Ministers' Conferences and so forth, of the people who have been citizenized in both advanced and developing countries based on the accumulations of the Third World movements.

Citizens' Consciousness after 'Conversion' from Ideologies into Religions

Thirdly, if we see citizens' consciousness in the global scale, the greatest

impact was certainly given by the collapse of the Soviet and East-European systems in 1989 to 1991. Among West-European and Japanese, not to mention American, citizens there was a belief to some extent that the surviving existence of the Soviet and East-European systems could be showing some evidence for alternative social systems based on different principles even though the former had so many problems. It is the fact, however, that the belief in even 'alternative systems', needless to say the 'true socialist system', was fundamentally shaken up by seeing continually the collapse of East-European systems, that of the Soviet Union itself due to failure of Perestroika, terrible disorganizing processes of Yugoslavia and even seemingly hopeless struggles of North Korea. In Japan the Socialist Party actually disappeared that had been keeping the 'Wall of One-Third' to protect the Pacifist Constitution by maintaining a Japanese type of socialism while in European countries many social democratic parties moved to be more or less reconciled with neo-liberalist trends even in spite of their achievements to take over the political power.

In developing countries, except East Asian, South East Asian and South Asian ones, where Marxism-Leninism, Maoism and their derivatives were exercising influences to some extent, we may say that many people have converted from these ideologies which were by themselves pretty much religious to religions themselves. Especially for Muslims, with consciousness changes 'from ideologies to religions', their poverty began to seem not only material but more spiritual to hurt their prides violently in the context of the doctrines and their daily beliefs. According to the survey data opened by an American agency, View Research Center, in the middle of 2003 just after the United States launched its war against Iraq, 71% of Palestine (the first), 55% of Jordan (the second), 45% of Pakistan (the second), and 58% of Indonesian (the third) people selected Usama Bin-Laden, the supposed leader of the Al-Qaeda, as 'the leader they trust as doing the right (percentages of multiple answers)².

Some people have talked about the 'Clash of Civilizations'. Are we retreating from the principle of 'separation of politics and religion' that has been spreading all over the world for a long period? I do not think even most people of the developing countries are doing so, not to mention citizens of the developed countries. The key to break through the status quo of bewilderment is the very concept of citizen. The most important is self government or self determination so that we have been diffusing universal suffrage system of 'one person, one vote' all over the world in order to practice it in societal scales. The principle of self government or self determination should be respected for this system to be spread in as many societies of different cultures — especially religions — as possible. I believe that China has been creating its own democracy by its own way and so will be doing most nations even strongly influenced by the Islam. Against terrorism we should take resolute but flexible attitudes, instead of such a simple and violent way as 'wars against terrorism', so that we

fight and isolate terrorists among the people on the acceptable principle of democracy.

Citizens' Activities as Counter Formation of Global Society by NGOs and NPOs

Lastly, based on all processes stated above, citizens' activities have been advancing all over the world in order to compensate for the insufficiencies of the international system and to overcome and level it up into the system of Global Society.

As for non-governmental organizations, the Oxfam was organized in 1942 and the Care International in 1945 originally to save victims of famines and other troubles by wars and they have been more and more actively working to help the poor of developing countries and victims of various disasters. NGOs had been working before the chapter 71 of the United Nations Charter which was proclaimed in 1945 and from which the word NGO began to be used commonly. Due to the same chapter, NGOs have been very often referred in connection with the UN Economic and Social Council, but we should not forget to include into this concept in a wider sense such peace organizations as the Movement against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs originated in Japan, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in England and so forth. Since the 1960s, in reaction to various aspects of postwar political and economic developments, many NGOs on human rights, environment, medical care, peace and others have been expanding their activities all over the world. Major ones are the Amnesty International, the World Wide Fund for Nature (originally World Wildlife Fund), the Green Peace International, the Doctors Without Borders (les Médecins Sans Frontiers), the International Campaign to Ban Landmines and so on. In Japan there are three to five hundred NGOs like AMDA (Association of Medical Doctors in Asia), Peace Wing Japan etc. while more than sixty thousand NGOs have been expanding their activities all over the world if we include national besides international ones.

Moreover, Non-Profit Organizations, which had been quite popular in Europe and North America, began to attract people's interest in Japan especially after the Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake in 1995. And, as the Law Concerning Promotion of Specific Non-Profit Organization Activities was enacted in 1998, many NPOs as body corporates were born on insurance, medical care, welfare, social education, environment, human rights, peace and so forth. The sheer number of them reached twenty-eight thousand by the end of 2006. As NGOs and NPOs are usually made distinction according to if their goals and activities being beyond the border or not, so we can say on this criterion that there are over ten times more NPOs around NGOs developing their activities all over the world. Citizens' activities have been developing in and out of the national and international societies so as to create the foundations for Global

Civil Society.

Based on these citizens' activities have been being activated many antiglobalism movements against the ruling system of the contemporary world, the typical example of which is the Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens (l'Association pour la Taxation des Transactions pour l'Aide aux Citoyens). The ATTAC was organized by active citizens based on Ignacio Ramonet's article 'Disarm the Markets (Désarmer les marches)' on Le Monde Diplomatique in 1998 to disorganize 'Market Powers' such as World Bank, International Money Fund, World Trade Organization etc. by adoption of Tobin Tax, abolishment of Tax Haven, more taxation on unearned income and other ways. Penetrating into many countries, it has been attracting many other anti-globalism movements. Confronting with the World Economic Forum held by the world top leaders in politics, administration and industries every year in Davos, Switzerland, the World Social Forum was first organized and successfully raised by such citizens' movements as ATTAC in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2001 and has been held there every year except 2004 when it was held in Mumbai, India, to enlarge participation from Asian and African countries.

Global Society has been gradually being formed as Global Civil Society by these citizens' movements who have been expanding their activities beyond not only national societies but the international society.

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