

ANNUAL REPORT

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***Toda Institute
For Global Peace and Policy Research
3-10-18 Kita-Aoyama, Minato-ku
Tokyo 107, JAPAN
Tel.: 81-3-5469-0321; Fax: 81-3-5469-0320
Email: todainst@mb.infoweb.or.jp***

***Honolulu Center:
1600 Kapiolani Blvd., Suite 1111
Honolulu, Hawaii 96814, USA
Tel.: 808-955-8231; Fax: 808-955-6476
Email: toda@toda.org; Webpage: <http://www.toda.org>***

In its third year, 1998, the Toda Institute continued a robust life. The Institute's initial decision to focus on a single research topic instead of diffusing its efforts into many different directions has begun to bear fruit. As the world embarks upon a new century, the issue of Human Security and Global Governance (HUGG) is gaining even greater importance and urgency. The topic has focused the institute's research program on a single most important issue while allowing it the flexibility to broaden and deepen its research program into several different aspects of human security by collaborating with a diversity of peace and policy institutes around the world. Moreover, the Institute's decision to focus on *process* as much as on *outcome* has committed it to the dialogical methods of peace research, education, and action. It has accented the truth of the Gandhian wisdom that there is no way to peace; peace is *the way*. *Satyagraha* (truth seeking through sustained dialogue) is the method.

This report briefly reviews the changing global peace and policy environment and reports on the progress of the HUGG project as well as the institute's newly launched publication and fellowship programs. The report concludes with recommendations for the Institute's future policies and programs.

THE CHANGING GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT

1998 may be viewed, in retrospect, as a turning point in international affairs. The Pollyannaish Neo-Liberalism of Post-Cold War years that viewed the world in terms of the triumph of capitalism over communism, vindicating the market vis-a-vis the regulatory functions of government and civil society forces, came to an abrupt end by the East Asian and Russian economic crashes. 1998 brought about a new sober recognition of the gravity of threats to international peace and security through the domestic and international breakdowns in East Asia, South Asia, East Europe, and West Asia (better known by the colonial label of "the Middle East).

The breakdown, in 1997, of what had come to be known as the East Asian Economic Miracle has predictably led to a series of domestic political consequences that vary in severity from country to country. It is significant to note that countries with greater democratic institutions or more responsible regulations of short-term and speculative international capital flows have been less badly hurt. Regulating short-term international capital flows in its own drive toward a market economy, China is the least affected by the regional economic crisis. Its growth prospects for the coming year are over 7 percent. At the opposite extreme, Indonesia with a poverty-stricken population of nearly 200 million and an authoritarian and corrupt government is suffering the most both economically and politically. Together, the East Asian economies lost billions of dollars of their assets through devaluation, flight of domestic and foreign capital, resulting unemployment, and significant declines in quality of life. In 1998, the GDP of Indonesia, South Korea, and Thailand fell respectively by 15% and 6-7%. The burden has fallen mainly on the low-income groups. The resultant human misery has brought about political crises, particularly in Indonesia and Malaysia, and threatens the stability of the entire region in the coming years.

In South Asia, the nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan led to an open testing of their nuclear bombs. As if reminders were necessary, it became evident once

again that so long as the existing nuclear powers do not agree to complete nuclear disarmament, proliferation will continue. In a vicious circle of nuclear rivalry, states that have the capability to develop nuclear weapons will persist in doing so. States that do not have the capability will resort to the poor country's nuclear arms, namely chemical and biological weapons. Stockpiles of such weapons of mass destruction (WMD), in turn, will increase the risks of both accidental and intentional use.

States acquire WMD for offensive, defensive, or symbolic purposes. A total abolition of WMD will obviate all three purposes. Today, however, we still have eight nuclear states. Ironically, arms control in Cold War years worked more effectively than in the post-Cold War era. Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties (SALT I and II) and the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty were signed, respectively in 1971, 1979, and 1972. The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties (START I & II) were concluded in the immediate afterglow of the Cold War in 1991 and 1993. Since then arms control has come to a virtual standstill. However, rust has achieved what moral and intellectual arguments could not. Russian nuclear weapons are rusting away while the U. S. superiority is so embarrassingly transparent that to maintain the numbers allowed under START II is clearly to squander the American taxpayers' money. Even if START III were concluded and nuclear missiles were sharply reduced from 6,000 to 3,000 and 2,000, there would be sufficient to totally destroy the world. In addition, deadly stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons are proliferating around the world among both big and small states.

In a world torn apart between riches and poverty, complacency and resentment, and technological power and vulnerability, the risks of proliferation of WMD are simply mind-boggling. It is therefore far more realistic to put an end to these weapons than, in delusions of deterrence, to continue building stockpiles. To do otherwise would be, as E. P. Thompson has aptly put it, to let "the unthinkable become thinkable without thinking."

In Eastern Europe, the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and Soviet Union took new turns. While the civil war in Bosnia somewhat subsided, another civil war in Kosovo between Albanians (the vast majority) and their Serbian overlords continued into a new blood feud characterized by extreme brutality. Threats of intervention by NATO somewhat blunted the Serbian policies of repression but it has failed to bring the war to a peaceful conclusion. In Russia, the failure of the state to regulate its emerging Mafia Capitalism has led to a severe economic and financial breakdown. The political backlash was a change of government and a return to more statist policies. However, the resulting economic hardship on the Russian workers, soldiers, and civil service employees, who have failed to receive their salaries for months, may lead to more disastrous political consequences.

In West Asia, the continued tensions in the Persian Gulf and Israel-Palestine led, in 1998, to renewed cycles of violence. Iraq's refusal to cooperate with UNSCOM and the subsequent bombing by the United State have further undermined the prospects for a peaceful ending of the economic sanctions on that country. The peace process between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples typically took one step forward and two steps back. Reached through the mediation efforts of the United States, the Wye Accord has created

further divisions within the ranks of Israelis and Palestinians. The extremists in both camps once again have resorted to violence to settle land and settlement conflicts. In Afghanistan, the civil war entered a new phase in which one Pushtu faction, the Taliban, took military control of some 90 percent of the country by terrorizing the other ethnic groups, including the Tajiks, Hizarahs, and Uzbeks. Adopting a fanatical version of Islam, the Taliban also trampled upon the rights of women by pushing them out of schools and professions into the confines of households. This human rights violation is being carried out in a country that has historically been a tolerant multiethnic society with women occupying critical positions in the medical and educational professions.

In the face of these flagrant violations of human security, the institutions of global governance have thus far failed to respond adequately. The IMF and World Bank responses to the Asian and Russian currency fiascoes have been hesitant, partial, and controversial. The IMF rescue operations have proved to be too little and too late. Some analysts also have argued that an indiscriminate salvaging of speculative capital in such crises only encourages further speculation and corruption in the future. A more long-range approach such as Japan's proposal for an Asian Monetary Fund has been shelved because of US opposition. On the political front, NATO rather than UN intervention has been employed as a threat in the management of the Kosovo conflict. Moreover, despite objections from China, Russian, and France, the United State acted unilaterally to bomb Iraq in December 1998. In the meantime, the United States has continued to refuse to pay its past dues to the UN totaling over \$1.6 billion. The remark by the British foreign secretary at a UN podium best summarized the mood of the moment: "You can't have representation without taxation."

This cursory report card for 1998 may sound much too gloomy, but if it rings true at all, it calls attention to the need for all peace-loving peoples and organizations to search for alternatives to the current haphazard methods of global conflict management. Regional cooperation as a bridge between national and global governance opens up one such more relevant and effective avenue. The European Union has led the way in this direction, but ASEAN, APEC, MERCOSOUR, NAFTA, and ECO provide other examples of promising regionalism. EU took a giant step forward on January 1, 1999, toward a unified European currency (the Euro). However, APEC and ASEAN as the next two most visible regional groupings failed to respond in any significant way to the East Asian financial crisis.

Fortunately, however, there is no dearth of efforts by the global civil society to correct what the government and market forces have wrought. To cite just two examples:

- The example of the Landmine Ban Treaty of 1997 is being emulated by a number of other grassroots efforts, including the Abolition 2000 coalition aiming at nuclear disarmament. The alliance of NGOs and middle powers such as Canada, Australia, and Scandinavian countries brought about a success, employing Internet and other methods of transnational communication. This method of focusing a sustained

dialogue on critical issue facing the international community provides a promising future for resolving world conflicts.

- Similarly, the Toda Institute's triple-track diplomatic initiative through the establishment of an International Commission for Security and Cooperation in West Asia (SACWA) is leading to a first meeting in Istanbul, Turkey, on March 6-7, 1999. Countries such as Iran, Iraq, and the United States that do not have diplomatic relations will have an opportunity through SACWA to conduct informal negotiations through sustained dialogue in order to pave the way for peace in this volatile region.

As the following progress report shows, the Toda Institute's contributions to the process of bridging the dialogical gap between government, business, media, and civil society is attracting significant collaboration from all over the world.

THE HUGG PROJECT

In addition to continuing with its past HUGG projects, the Toda Institute launched the following five new initiatives in 1998:

HUGG UN

In collaboration with the School of Politics, La Trobe University, and Focus on the Global South, an International Workshop on Global Governance was held in Melbourne, Australia, on March 23-24, 1998. Led by Professors Joseph Camilleri (La Trobe University), Kamal Malhotra (Focus on Global South), and Majid Tehranian, the HUGG UN Working Group met for two days to review the plans and procedures of the project. Other members of the Working Group, including Professors Stephen Gill (York University), John Langmore (United Nations, NYC), and Kinhide Mushakoji (Meijigakuin University), joined the deliberations via audio teleconferencing. The group decided to focus on three themes, including humanitarian intervention, international financial flows, and global governance reform. The next two meetings of the project will be held in Bangkok and New York. The project will end by the presentation of its report and recommendations to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. An Eminent Persons Advisory Group will review the report prior to its publication and will assist in its dissemination and consideration by the international community. Members of this group include Gareth Evans (Former Foreign Minister of Australia and currently an MP), Richard Falk (Princeton University), Boutros Boutros Ghali (former UN Secretary-General, currently Secretary-General of Francophonie Organization), Noeleen Heyser (UNIFEM), and Javad Zarif (Deputy Foreign Minister of Iran representing the Organization of Islamic Conference).

HUGG Berlin

In collaboration with the Berlin House of World Cultures, on June 1-3, 1998, the Institute held an International Workshop on "Cultural Security and Global Governance: Migration and Negotiations of Identity" in Honolulu. This was the first phase in the three stages of the project developing the themes and subthemes of the project. Second, an international conference will be convened in Berlin on October 3-5, 1999, with the

participation of a select number of leading world scholars. Third, the conference papers will be revised and edited for publication and dissemination. The Honolulu workshop resulted in the following proposed themes:

1. *Globalization And Cultural Security: Flows Of Capital, People, And Ideas*

While transborder flows of capital are taking place rapidly, movements of people and labor are severely constrained by the prevailing international migration regimes. However, the tensions created by the impact of transnational capital on individuals are massive, creating immense socio-cultural insecurities. In response to the neo-liberal global regime of capital, the periphery populations are migrating from rural to urban areas and from periphery urban to center urban areas. The resulting clashes of cultures have led to a significant rise of ethnic and cultural politics. Cultural fundamentalism is thus manifesting itself as strongly as the neo-liberal and neo-conservative politics. The religious as well as secular, humanist cultural traditions of civility are thus under siege leading to scapegoating and sometimes genocidal catastrophes. To restore the traditions of civility, new cultural policies are urgently called for.

2. *Migration And Negotiations Of Racial, Ethnic, Gender, And Class Identities*

- migration affects gender roles
- race, etc. are negotiable cultural constructions
- hybridity is the product of identity negotiations
- complex bundling of class, ethnicity, race, etc.
- national policies of homogenization, e.g. language policies
- backlash politics in Europe and the United States: reactionary politics
- democratization of polity to be inclusive: nation as an unfinished project

3. *Negotiating Identity In The Arts, Media, And Everyday Life*

- cultural stereotyping and counter-stereotyping
- representation of the other
- institutional constraints
- tourism and cultural exploitation for profit
- scapegoating: justification of fear and insecurity, e.g. Islam, Arabs
- artists as cultural antennas
- distinction between commercial and authentic art
- media mobilization aims at cultural homogenization

4. *Time, Space, Memory, And Identity In Migration*

- acknowledgement of diversity of time and space
- ethnic neighborhoods in cities
- changing urban scene: symbolic and functional spaces
- tension between spontaneous and manipulative urban development

5. *Migration Regimes And Movements Of People*

- comparative studies of migration regimes
- impact of unification of Europe for its migration regimes
- NAFTA and the emerging North American migration regime

- ASEAN and its regional migration regime
- migration as problem and opportunity, forced and voluntary
- migration as a tool of foreign policy to destabilize neighbors
- migration as domestic policy:
- European common asylum policy
- foreign remittances of migrants: national and international inequities

6. *Norms, Laws, And The Futures Of Citizenship*

- passports as the national imaginary
- multiple of identities and communities
- global civil society and citizenship cuts across nations and identities
- regional identities and citizenship
- captive nations within
- distinction between nationality and citizenship
- future of state, sovereignty, and citizenship
- porous borders: tension between domestic and foreign capital
- transnational flows of news, data, images: citizenship and gender roles: migrant women network in Southeast Asia,

HUGG Africa

The project on Food Security and Governance in Africa had its international conference in Durban, South Africa, June 19-21, 1998. Professors George Kent of the University of Hawaii, Julian May of University of Natal, and Ruth Oniang'o of Joho Kenyatta University acted as the leaders of the project in its first phase. Twenty-five African and Africanist scholars and three Toda Institute staff members attended the conference. The problems of food security in the sub-Saharan Africa were explored from a variety of perspectives, including food production and distribution, malnutrition and famines, and governmental policies at the national, regional, and global levels. Conference papers are being edited by Professors Adelane Ogunrinade, Ruth Oniang'o, and Julian May for a volume that will be published by the University Of Witwatersrand Press.

HUGG Sydney

In collaboration with the Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, Sydney University, an International Conference on Globalization, Employment, and Quality of Life, was held on November 28-30, 1998 in Sydney, Australia. Professors Stuart Rees of Sydney University and Majid Tehranian of the Toda Institute and University of Hawaii, chaired the sessions. Three keynote speakers addressed the conference on its three themes: Professor Walden Bello of the University of the Philippines on Globalization, Professor Frank Stilwell of Sydney University on Employment, and Hazel Henderson on Quality of Life. Each keynote speech was followed by extensive and intensive discussions of the issues it raised. Coming from a diversity of regions of the world and professional backgrounds (academic, political, business, and the media), the 25 conference participants thus shared their experiences and perspectives.

Professor Don Lamberton of the Australian National University is currently editing the conference papers for publication.

HUGG West Asia

The design and preparations for the Institute's major new initiative for peace and security in the West Asian region took place mostly in 1998. In this process, two major obstacles had to be overcome. First, the conflict over the name of the project was resolved by renaming it from HUGG Gulf to HUGG West Asia. The Arab participants would not have taken part in the project if the region were to be called by its historic name, the Persian Gulf. The Iranians would have refused participation if the project were to be called by what the Arabs seemed to prefer, namely "the Arab Gulf" or simply "the Gulf." A compromise was reached by calling the project HUGG West Asia, a label that more accurately fits the region than the colonial label of "the Middle East." The latter is a strategic military appellation devoid of any historical or cultural content that was coined by the U. S. Captain Alfred Mahan in the late 19th century to propose naval superiority through control of landmasses such as "the Middle East."

A second obstacle to overcome was the traditional suspicions and conspiracy theories that characterize the colonial past of the region. As an independent initiative supported by several peace and policy research institutes from outside of the region, the project has allayed the fears of partiality and manipulation. The co-sponsoring organizations include the Toda Institute, Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Center for Middle Eastern and Central Asian Studies of Australian National University, and a few others in negotiation. Other peace and policy NGOs are cordially invited to join the project.

The first meeting of the International Commission for Security and Cooperation in West Asia will be thus held on March 6-7, 1999, in Istanbul, Turkey. As a triple-track diplomatic initiative, the project consists of an International Commission acting as a second track while a third track of peace scholars would feed it with proposals to promote a regional non-aggression pact, an arms control agreement, and a regional cooperation organization. Mr. Yasushi Akashi, former UN Under-Secretary-General and current Director of the Hiroshima Peace Institute, has graciously accepted to chair the Commission until a permanent chair(s) is elected. Commission membership consists of representatives from the eight littoral states (Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Oman, and Qatar), the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (United States, Russia, Britain, France, and China), and the UN Secretary-General's office.

DOCTORAL FELLOWSHIPS

1998 was the inauguration year for the Toda Institute Doctoral Fellowship program. Three doctoral candidates were selected in a pool of applicants from all over the world to receive Doctoral Fellowship grants of \$5,000 each. The three young

scholars came from vastly different parts of the world and backgrounds yet all focused on searching for peaceful solutions to global problems:

- *ELIZABETH BOWEN*, PhD Candidate, Department of Social Work, Social Policy and Sociology, The University of Sydney, Thesis: “Changing Employment Patterns, the Meaning of Work, and Young People”
- *RIAD NASSER*, PhD Candidate, Department of Sociology, University of Maryland at College Park, Thesis: “Poststructuralism and National Identity: The Palestinians as the Necessary Other: National Identity Formation in Jordan and Israel”
- *RICHARD N. SALVADOR*, PhD Candidate, Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Thesis: “History and Politics in Belau: Decolonization and Nation-Building”

INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS

In 1998, the Institute made the following two institutional grants to the University of Hawaii:

- Matsunaga Institute for Peace, \$2,000, to support lecture series by Nobel Peace Laureate Jose Ramos-Horta.
- College of Social Sciences, \$5,000, to support a televised Seminar on Globalization and videotape series on Speaking Globally.

PUBLICATIONS

1998 saw the continuation and expansion of *Peace & Policy*, the Institute’s journal, into an increasingly circulated and respected periodical. 1999 will be the inauguration date of the Institute’s Book Series on Global Peace and Policy Problems.

Peace & Policy

Starting as a newsletter in 1996, *Peace & Policy* has gradually turned into a journal of opinion on global peace and policy issues. Volume 3, Nos. 1 and 2, came out this year in Spring and Fall 1998. Regular sections include Institute News, PeaceNotes, BookNotes, ConferenceNotes, and Letters to the Editor. However, each issue also includes several substantial articles by leading peace and policy scholars or policymakers from around the world. This year’s authors include the Nobel Peace Laureate Joseph Rotblat, Nuclear Peace Foundation President David Krieger, the late Mahbub ul-Haq (pioneer of the UNDP *Human Development Reports*), and the late T. V. Sathyamurthy, a leading Indian peace scholar and political scientist.

Book Series On Global Peace And Policy

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

Nuclear Disarmament: Obstacles To Overcome
 Edited By Jozef Goldblat. London: I. B. Tauris, 1999

Food Security And Governance In Africa
 Edited By Adelane Ogunrinade, Ruth Oniang'o, And Julian May
 Johannesburg: University Of Witwatersrand Press, 1999

Globalization, Employment, And Quality Of Life
 Edited By Don Lamberton. London: I. B. Tauris, 2000

Globalization, Migration, And Cultural Security
 Edited By Jonathan Friedman And Shalini Randeria. London: I. B. Tauris, 2000

MEDIA COVERAGE

1998 also witnessed a significant rise in the Institute's media coverage. In addition to the usual coverage of the international conferences in local media, the doctoral fellowships and the research program also received some coverage (see clippings). The following three media presentations were of particular note:

- The serialization of *Choose Dialogue*, a conversation between Daisaku Ikeda and Majid Tehranian, that is appearing in the monthly periodical *Ushio* (Japan), October 1998 to May 1999.
- Cover Story by Aimee Harris, "Planet Peace: The Toda Institute Plays a Part in Moving the World's Peoples Toward Common Ground," *Honolulu Weekly*, Volume 8, No. 51, December 23-29, 1998, pp. 4-6.
- Articles by the director:

"From Containment to Engagement," *Iranian Times*, February 5, 1998

"Containment or Engagement in the Gulf?" *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, February 7, 1998

"A Better Way in the Middle East," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, February 20, 1998

"United People's Assembly," *Iranian Times*, May 12, 1998

"Millennium," *Seiyko Shimbun*, June 6, 1998

"It's Time for a New Approach to Persian gulf Diplomacy," *Honolulu Star Bulletin*,
 November 28, 1998

"Agonizing Reappraisal," *Daily Star* (Beirut), November 1998

"U. S. Persian Gulf Policies," *Seikyō Shimbun* (Tokyo), December 12, 1998

"Uncertain Futures: Changing Paradigms and Global Communication," with Michael Ogden,

- Futures*, 30:2/3, March 1998, pp. 199-210,
 “Pancapitalism and Migration in Historical Perspective,” *International Political Science Journal*, 19:3, July 1998
 “Dialogue of Civilizations for Peace,” *Peace Review*, 10:1 (1998), 83-88.
 “Choose Dialogue,” with Daisaku Ikeda, *Ushio Magazine* (Tokyo), October-December 1998, January-May 1999.
 “Mapping Trends and Tensions in Global Governance,” *Social Alternatives*, 17:3, July 1998, 23-28

LOOKING FORWARD

After three years of the HUGG Project, the Institute is facing some critical choices on research strategy and direction. At the establishment of the Institute in 1996, the Board of Directors set the following four themes as the Institute’s research program for the future:

- Human Security and Global Governance
- Human Rights and Global Ethics
- Social Justice and Global Economy
- Cultural Identity and Global Citizenship

There was a sound logic to this choice. The four topics encompass the problematic of and aspirations for global democracy. Inspired by the exemplary lives of Josei Toda and Daisaku Ikeda, the Institute also chose “dialogue of civilizations for global citizenship” for its motto. It was felt that this research program and policy agenda could constitute a worthy challenge for the first four years.

In practice, however, the first three years of the Institute’s efforts have demonstrated that the enormity and complexity of its research program outrun its limited resources. By relying on international collaboration, the Institute has managed to overcome some of the resource problems. It has also enabled us to achieve a level of depth and breadth well beyond our own limited reach. By developing a dialogical method in peace and policy research, the Institute is breaking new grounds. The research output is no longer the result of arm chair speculation or well-funded foundation studies that gather dust in remote academic libraries. Rather, it is the organization of a network of epistemic communities (peace scholars, policymakers, and grassroots activists from all over the world) that are committed to sustained dialogue on protracted conflicts tearing the world apart. In this particular methodological approach, the research process is thus assuming as much importance as the outcome. For example, the spin-off effects of the Institute’s projects on nuclear disarmament, food security in Africa, and regional cooperation in West Asia, are simply incalculable. Part of the Institute’s motto has been, in fact, adopted by the United Nations declaration that designates 2001 as the Year of Dialogue Among Civilizations. At the suggestion of President Mohammad Khatami of Iran, in 1998, the UN General Assembly unanimously adopted this declaration.

Three years of the HUGG Project have demonstrated the practicality and productivity of our approach. But they have also shown that we are just beginning to scratch the surface of human security problems and global governance gaps. The HUGG project has managed to address such vital topics as the nuclear, East Asian, West Asian, socio-economic, cultural, and food security. But other grave issues such as environmental, communications, housing, gender, and generational security have yet to be put on the Institute's agenda. Most regions of the world have been also left out of the Institute's purview. Under the umbrella of human security, however, problems of human rights, social justice, global ethics, and cultural identity have been directly or indirectly addressed by the HUGG project.

The choice is thus to continue with the HUGG project for several more years or move on more explicitly to the next topic of our initial agenda. For three interlinked reasons, my recommendation is to continue with the HUGG Project with the caveat that human security also encompasses human rights, social justice, and cultural identity. First, every new research topic requires a major initial effort to catch up with the state of the art on that topic. The Institute has already invested considerable effort in that direction and has reached at the forefront of thinking on matters of human security and global governance. Second, the Institute has also become known for this line of research and expertise. To shift to a new topic would require new investment of energy in a new direction that may confuse the public about the Institute's major thrust. Finally, the Institute can subsume its commendable research agenda under the topic of human security and global governance in which it has already accumulated considerable intellectual capital. It can be safely said that problems of human security and global governance will stay with us for the better of the coming century.

To set its future course wisely, the Institute needs the wisdom of all of its friends and colleagues on this matter. Following any advice that we receive from the International Advisory Council on this report, it is ultimately the Board of Directors that must decide on which course to take and for a how long.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Without the unfailing support of the Institute Founder Daisaku Ikeda, Chairman Einosuke Akiya, as well as the Board of Directors and the International Advisory Council, the Institute would not have been able to achieve what it has within a short period of time. The Institute's small staff at its Tokyo headquarters and Honolulu center has faithfully provided the logistical support for the international conferences out of which the Toda Institute Book Series is emerging. Without the hard and dedicated work of Masaichi Ueda, Tomosaburo Hirano, Hiromu Yamaguchi, Koichi Taniguchi, Satoko Takahashi, Hau'oli Busby, Hiroshi Morita, and Aiko Nakao, the Toda Institute would not have been able to conduct its extensive international collaboration. Thanks are also due to the Institute's editor, Michael Macmillan, and webmaster, Anne Smith, for their competent services. My good teaching and research assistants, Audray Holm, Jan Huston, Allison Taguchi, and Randall Larsen, all helped enormously when the going was rough.

The collaborators in the Institute's international conferences and book series have worked beyond the call of duty. The book series thus represents a labor of love for a just

world without wars. The first step on that long and bumpy road is the complete elimination of weapons of mass destruction, of which nuclear weapons are morally the most destructive and practically the most indefensible.

There are few pursuits as rewarding as peacemaking. However, 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
Director, Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research
January 11, 1999

