

The world has entered another perilous period of history. Since September 11, 2001, state and non-state terrorists have waged an unprecedented, global civil war. The 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States persuaded the Bush Administration to turn away from its professed neo-isolationist foreign policies toward a new unilateral interventionism. In formal declarations, the U. S. government has adopted a policy of pre-emptive strikes against specific nations, which it labels as the “Axis of Evil,” as well as against any other powers that possess weapons of mass destruction. As the first targets of this policy, Iraq and North Korea stood as the crisis spots on the world map. Against all logic, however, this policy is being pursued while the nuclear powers themselves refuse to undertake serious disarmament negotiations.

Following the destruction of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, the U. S. forces began preparing for an invasion of Iraq. To disarm Iraq and to eliminate Saddam Hussein’s regime is the ostensible aim of this policy. Although the United Nations is being involved in multilateral decision-making, unilateral actions tend to dominate. A unilateral U. S. invasion of Iraq followed by a redrawing of the Middle East map may initiate a period of history similar to that of the interwar period. Unilateralism during the 1930s led to a failure of the League of Nations collective security system and the onset of World War II. William Butler Yeats’s cry of anguish during that age of impending disaster seems telling today:

Things fall apart; the center cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity.

Current circumstances require all peace-seeking people to work for the pursuit of peace through peaceful means. This can be best achieved by:
the application of the rules of international law,
multilateral decision making through the United Nations, and
conflict resolution through adjudication, mediation, arbitration, and negotiation.
Peace and policy research centers such as the Toda Institute must focus not only on current affairs but also on the forces shaping the future. They must offer analyses as well remedies.

GRAD AT OXFORD

In response to this challenge, during 2001-2002, the Toda Institute initiated a major new international collaborative research project on globalization, regionalization, and democratization (GRAD). The project is based on three long term and significant trends, each of which is expected to have a varying but significant impact on different world regions and social groups. A key project goal is to achieve a dialogue among the different perspectives and civilizations. Each GRAD research team will therefore include members from as many world regions as possible. The principal aim of the GRAD project is to study global problems globally rather than to simply examine issues through the intellectual and political prisms dominated by more advanced countries and regions. GRAD aims to empower scholars from the less developed countries and thus to enrich international discourse on peace and policy.

At an inaugural international conference held on March 17-20, 2002 at Magdalen College, Oxford University, about 70 peace scholars from all five continents met to discuss the conceptual, methodological, and financial parameters of the project. Another 30 peace scholars met on March 29-31, 2002 in Limassol, Cyprus, to focus on peace building in West Asia. Involving the participants of both conferences, the GRAD project is subject to the following terms of reference: A GRAD Consortium of 30 research centers from 18 countries and 5 continents will oversee the project (See [Appendix I](#)).

Toda Institute will sponsor an annual conference to enable GRAD project participants to meet, review, and plan their research activities.

In collaboration with other research centers, the Toda Institute will cover conference expenses.

However, GRAD participants are expected to pay for their own transportation expenses.

An independent team of scholars will evaluate the first three years of the GRAD project.

The nine Action Research Teams (ARTs) that emerged from the Oxford and Limassol conferences focus on a variety of topics (See [Appendix II](#)).

The Toda Institute provided a set of contracts for the ART Coordinator(s) and Participants providing for research expenses and honoraria.

Before each annual GRAD conference, research teams will be required to submit concrete research output for consideration by their colleagues. Research output may consist of manuscripts for articles, monographs, books, radio, television, or Internet documentaries. Each output will go through a blind review process before publication or broadcast.

Toda Institute will have the right of refusal to publish the GRAD research output. Should the Toda Institute release its copyright, the author(s) may publish or broadcast work in any medium. Publication must include acknowledgement of Toda Institute support.

SACWA IV IN CYPRUS

Following the Oxford Conference, the International Commission for Security and Cooperation in West Asia (SACWA) met in Limassol, Cyprus, for the fourth time. Co-sponsored by the Center for World Dialogue (Cyprus) and the Toda Institute, the meeting launched a new phase of this peace-building project. SACWA was formed in 1998-99 at a time when prospects for peace in the Middle East region seemed more encouraging than in 2002. Under the joint chairmanship of Ambassador Nasser al-Khalifa of Qatar and Majid Tehranian of the Toda Institute, its aim was to provide a second diplomatic track to foster enhanced communication among the Persian Gulf states and the five permanent members of the U. N. Security Council. Prior to SACWA, the United States, Iran, and Iraq had had no diplomatic representation for over a decade. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Iraq continue to have confrontational relations with each other. Despite these challenges, in its meetings in Istanbul (1999), Limassol (2000), and Doha (2001), SACWA achieved a high measure of common understanding among its participants, including senior diplomats and scholars from the Persian Gulf states, US, UK, France, Russia, and China. A volume entitled *Bridging a Gulf: Peace building in West Asia*, which will be published in 2003, includes contributions from the first three SACWA Conferences.

As global and regional tensions have intensified, in 2002 SACWA was merged with the GRAD project to undertake research on the long-term prospects for West Asian security and democracy. Two research teams were formed at Limassol focusing on democratization, education, and regional security. Since Limassol, each team has attempted to obtain participation and funding

from a variety of sources in order to achieve greater effectiveness.

IPRA IN KOREA

On July 1-5, 2002, over 200 peace researchers, educators, and activists from around the world met at the biannual International Peace Research Association (IPRA) conference on the campus of Kyung Hee University in Suwon City, Korea to discuss issues related to the theme of the conference, "Globalization, Governance, and Social Justice: New Challenges for Peace Research." The Toda Institute director participated in the conference and was elected to the IPRA Council.

IPRA-TODA MIDDLE EAST PEACE COMMISSION

The new IPRA Council approved the formation of an IPRA-Toda Middle East Peace Commission. The first meeting of the Commission will take place on February 1-2, 2003 in Honolulu to consider its mission and plans. The Commission will include distinguished scholars and diplomats whose mandate is to search for a durable peace in the Middle East region. It will focus on the international legal aspects of the conflicts, including those between Israelis and Palestinians, Iran and Iraq, Iran and United Arab Emirates, Kurds, and their neighbors, and Afghanistan and its neighbors. It will offer recommendations on how to resolve these conflicts peacefully through negotiation, mediation, arbitration, or adjudication. The Commission Report will be presented to the IPRA Conference 2004 (For the Commission's Terms of Reference, see [Appendix III](#)).

HONOLULU PEACE SYMPOSIUM

To mark the tragedy of September 11, 2001, an international exhibition and peace symposium was held on September 15, 2002 at the East West Center in Honolulu. The exhibition celebrated The Pioneers of Non-Violence, including Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Daisaku Ikeda. An afternoon peace symposium focused on the theme of "Violence in a Non-Violent World: Terrorism and Global Change." Two panels that focused on "Terrorism And Global Change" and "Regional Conflicts And Peace Building" were held in the afternoon. Participants in the first panel included Arun Gandhi (grandson of Mahatma Gandhi) and Lawrence Carter (Dean of Morehouse College). The second panel included Glenn Paige, University of Hawai'i Emeritus Professor and Center for Global Non-violence, Farideh Farhi on the Middle East, Arun R. Swamy and Saleem Ahmed on the India-Pakistan conflicts, and Majid Tehranian on Oil Wars. Jay Heffron of Soka University of America moderated the panels. Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research in collaboration with the Globalization Research Center and Matsunaga Institute for Peace of the University of Hawai'i were the co-sponsors of the peace symposium.

TODA INSTITUTE BOOK SERIES

In 2002, two more of the volumes in the Institute Book Series reached publication (for other volumes in the series, see [Appendix IV](#)). A third volume published in 2002 was the result of a collaborative project involving the Institute. The three volumes are summarized below:

Managing The Global: Globalization, Employment, And Quality Of Life, edited by Donald Lamberton. London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002

This volume is a timely response to the challenges facing the world in a lop-sided globalization. Chapters by well-known international scholars highlight the successes and failures of globalization in developed and developing countries. They demonstrate that lop-sided globalization has emphasized efficiency at the cost of equity, growth at the cost of sustainability, and corporate welfare at the cost of social welfare. It argues that if the current trends continue, the 21st century will be characterized by growing gaps among and within nations and a struggle between haves and have-nots, as well as protracted struggles between globalism and tribalism. The volume defines strategic alternatives as targeting growth, investing in human capital and prioritizing equity and environment or achieving an optimal balance among the three competing and complementary objectives.

Dialogue Of Civilizations: A New Peace Agenda For A New Millennium, edited by Majid Tehrani and David W. Chappell. London: I. B. Tauris, 2002.

This volume includes contributions from nineteen peace scholars from eight major civilizations, including indigenous, Hindu, Buddhist, Confucian, Judaic, Christian, Islamic, and Secular Humanist. Part I of the book focuses on the scientific and religious perspectives on civilization. Part II deals with the peace and policy agendas facing the 21st century, including problems of war and peace, participatory development, human rights, economy, full employment, education, and multiculturalism. The book is highly recommended for adoption by courses on international relations, peace studies, religion, and civilization.

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

Emerging from a collaborative international project involving La Trobe University (Australia), Focus on the Global South (Thailand), and the Toda Institute (Japan and USA), this volume focuses on global governance reform. The volume is the longer version of an earlier publication, Reimagining the Future: Toward Democratic Governance (School of Politics, La Trobe University, 2000). It deals with the evolution of global governance, humanitarian interventions, and international financial flows. The volume offers short, medium, and long-term proposals for reform. The book is suitable for adoption in university courses on world politics and international organizations.

PEACE & POLICY 2002

This year's Peace & Policy focused on the theme of "Communicating for Peace." The issue was submitted as a report to the Globalization Commission of the State of the World Forum and included articles from media scholars. The Commission met for a second session on December 2-7, 2002 in Mexico City. The next issue of Peace & Policy will focus on "Violence in a Non-Violent World." It will include contributions from the Honolulu Peace Symposium.

HAWAII GLOBAL DIALOGUE

This monthly seminar, which started after September 11, 2001, continued during 2002 at the University of Hawai'i. Toda Institute, Globalization Research Center, Spark M. Matsunaga Institute for Peace, and Program in Humanitarian Intervention and Disaster Management are the co-sponsors of the program. The seminar's Statement of Purpose reads as follows: "Hawai'i Global Dialogue is an independent, non-sectarian, non-profit group of concerned citizens dedicated to fostering respectful, open dialogue toward envisioning a more equitable and peaceful global community. Founded in the wake of September 11, 2001 and the escalating processes of globalization it reflected, Hawai'i Global Dialogue will convene a monthly conversation on global, national, and local affairs. The group may also host various other public events. The Dialogue is supplemented with a listserv for virtual discussions of the same issues under <dialog-l@hawaii.edu>"

LOOKING BACK AND FORWARD

The role of a peace research institute in a turbulent world is not a comfortable one. There are always more challenges and opportunities than can be met, more studies that need to be done than can be done. However, as a network institute without its own research staff, the Toda Institute is fortunate to have the support and contributions of a growing network of some 500 distinguished scholars around the world. With the publication of ten volumes in its own book series and associated publications, the Institute has been rather productive. Annual publication of *Peace & Policy* focusing on the more current issues also has kept its readers in touch with the Institute's activities.

In its first four years (1996-2000), the Institute focused on Human Security and Global Governance, the HUGG Project. The publications in this phase have primarily emerged from conference papers. Starting in 2001, however, a new phase focusing on the GRAD project began. The GRAD research teams are composed of scholars from all over the world engaging each other in a dialogue and fieldwork focused on different research topics. Outcomes of this phase will be diverse, including books, articles, monographs, and documentaries. But in all cases, it will reflect multicultural perspectives more in tune with our multicultural world.

As a global peace and policy research network, the Toda Institute sees its mission to serve as a bridge among the world's diverse cultures and civilizations. The Institute is also trying to contribute to the building of a new global culture of peace that respects diversity in unity. Building a peaceful civilization requires global citizens with a keen sense of responsibility. Peace scholars can be the vanguard in that journey.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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possible.

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