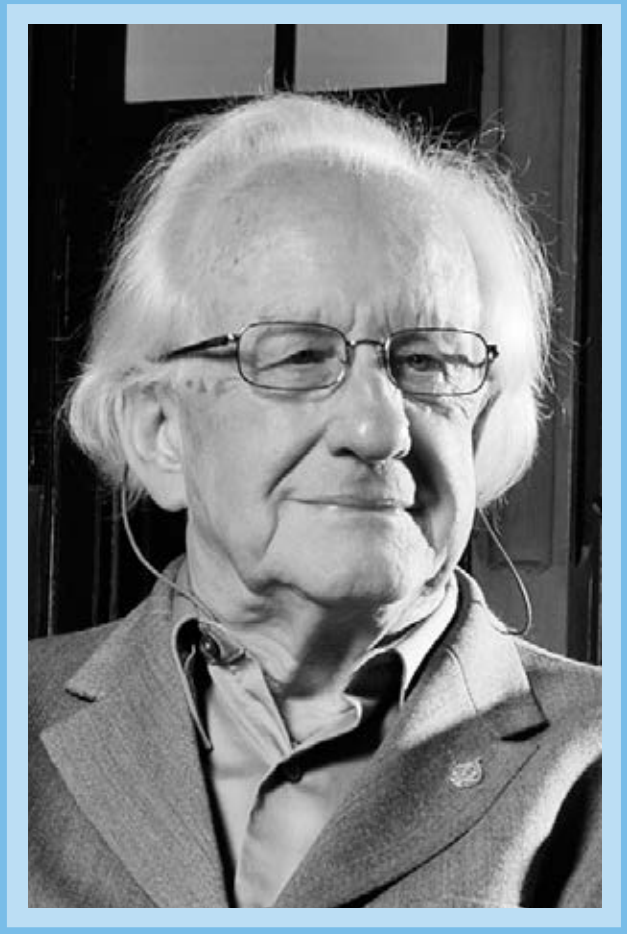
JOAN B. KROC

Distinguished Lecture Series

Johan Galtung

Breaking the Cycle of Violent Conflict

JOAN B. KROC
INSTITUTE FOR
PEACE & JUSTICE
UNIVERSITY OF SAN DIEGO



Fostering Peace, Cultivating Justice, Creating a Safer World

Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

Distinguished Lecture Series

Delivered on the 9th of December, 2010 at the

JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE

Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies
University of San Diego
San Diego, California

Johan Galtung

Breaking the Cycle of Violent Conflict

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JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR PEACE & JUSTICE

The mission of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) is to foster peace, cultivate justice and create a safer world. Through education, research and peace-making activities, the IPJ offers programs that advance scholarship and practice in conflict resolution and human rights.

The IPJ, a unit of the University of San Diego's Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, draws on Catholic social teaching that sees peace as inseparable from justice and acts to prevent and resolve conflicts that threaten local, national and international peace. The IPJ was established in 2000 through a generous gift from the late Joan B. Kroc to the University of San Diego to create an institute for the study and practice of peace and justice. Programming began in early 2001 and the building was dedicated in December 2001 with a conference, "Peacemaking with Justice: Policy for the 21st Century."

The Institute strives, in Joan B. Kroc's words, to "not only talk about peace, but to make peace." In its peacebuilding initiatives, the IPJ works with local partners to help strengthen their efforts to consolidate peace with justice in the communities in which they live. In Nepal, for example, the IPJ continues to work with Nepali groups to support inclusiveness and dialogue in the transition from armed conflict and monarchy to peace and multiparty democracy. In West Africa, the IPJ works with local human rights groups to strengthen their ability to pressure government for much needed reform and accountability.

The Women PeaceMakers Program documents the stories and best practices of international women leaders who are involved in human rights and peacemaking efforts in their home countries.

WorldLink, a year-round educational program for high school students from San Diego and Baja California, connects youth to global affairs.

Community outreach includes speakers, films, art and opportunities for discussion between community members, academics and practitioners on issues of peace and social justice, as well as dialogue with national and international leaders in government, nongovernmental organizations and the military.

In addition to the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies includes the Trans-Border Institute, which promotes border-related scholarship and an active role for the university in the cross-border community, and a master's program in Peace and Justice Studies to train future leaders in the field.

JOAN B. KROC DISTINGUISHED LECTURE SERIES

Endowed in 2003 by a generous gift to the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice from the late Joan Kroc, the Distinguished Lecture Series is a forum for high-level national and international leaders and policymakers to share their knowledge and perspectives on issues related to peace and justice. The goal of the series is to deepen understanding of how to prevent and resolve conflict and promote peace with justice.

The Distinguished Lecture Series offers the community at large an opportunity to engage with leaders who are working to forge new dialogues with parties in conflict and who seek to answer the question of how to create an enduring peace for tomorrow. The series, which is held at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice at the University of San Diego's Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, examines new developments in the search for effective tools to prevent and resolve conflict while protecting human rights and ensuring social justice.

DISTINGUISHED LECTURERS

April 15, 2003	Robert Edgar General Secretary, National Council of Churches *The Role of the Church in U.S. Foreign Policy*
May 8, 2003	Helen Caldicott President, Nuclear Policy Research Institute *The New Nuclear Danger*
October 15, 2003	Richard J. Goldstone Justice of the Constitutional Court of South Africa *The Role of International Law in Preventing Deadly Conflict*
January 14, 2004	Ambassador Donald K. Steinberg U.S. Department of State *Conflict, Gender and Human Rights: Lessons Learned from the Field*
April 14, 2004	General Anthony C. Zinni United States Marine Corps (retired) *From the Battlefield to the Negotiating Table: Preventing Deadly Conflict*
November 4, 2004	Hanan Ashrawi Secretary General – Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy *Concept, Context and Process in Peacemaking: The Palestinian-Israeli Experience*
November 17, 2004	Noeleen Heyzer Executive Director – U.N. Development Fund for Women *Women, War and Peace: Mobilizing for Security and Justice in the 21st Century*
February 10, 2005	The Honorable Lloyd Axworthy President, University of Winnipeg *The Responsibility to Protect: Prescription for a Global Public Domain*
March 31, 2005	Mary Robinson Former President of Ireland and U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights *Human Rights and Ethical Globalization*

October 27, 2005 His Excellency Ketumile Masire
Former President of the Republic of Botswana
Perspectives into the Conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Contemporary Peacebuilding Efforts

January 27, 2006 Ambassador Christopher R. Hill
U.S. Department of State
U.S. Policy in East Asia and the Pacific

March 9, 2006 William F. Schulz
Executive Director – Amnesty International USA
Tainted Legacy: 9/11 and the Ruin of Human Rights

September 7, 2006 Shirin Ebadi
2003 Nobel Peace Laureate
Iran Awakening: Human Rights, Women and Islam

October 18, 2006 Miria Matembe, Alma Viviana Pérez, Irene Santiago
Women, War and Peace: The Politics of Peacebuilding

April 12, 2007 The Honorable Gareth Evans
President – International Crisis Group
Preventing Mass Atrocities: Making "Never Again" a Reality

September 20, 2007 Kenneth Roth
Executive Director – Human Rights Watch
The Dynamics of Human Rights and the Environment

March 4, 2008 Jan Egeland
Former Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator for the U.N.
War, Peace and Climate Change: A Billion Lives in the Balance

April 17, 2008 Jane Goodall
Founder – Jane Goodall Institute and U.N. Messenger of Peace
Reason for Hope

September 24, 2008 The Honorable Louise Arbour
Former U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights
Integrating Security, Development and Human Rights

March 25, 2009 Ambassador Jan Eliasson
Former U.N. Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Darfur and Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs
Armed Conflict: The Cost to Civilians

October 8, 2009 Paul Farmer
Co-founder of Partners In Health and United Nations Deputy Special Envoy to Haiti
Development: Creating Sustainable Justice

November 18, 2009 William Ury
Co-founder and Senior Fellow of the Harvard Negotiation Project
From the Boardroom to the Border: Negotiating for Sustainable Agreements

February 25, 2010 Raymond Offenheiser
President – Oxfam America
Aid That Works: A 21st Century Vision for U.S. Foreign Assistance

September 29, 2010 Monica McWilliams
Chief Commissioner – Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission
From Peace Talks to Gender Justice

December 9, 2010 Johan Galtung
Founder – International Peace Research Institute
Breaking the Cycle of Violent Conflict

BIOGRAPHY OF JOHAN GALTUNG

Johan Galtung, Ph.D., of Norway, is one of the founders of peace studies as an academic discipline. Galtung's academic career spans more than 40 years during which he has been a visiting professor at 30 schools on five continents.

Galtung is the founder of TRANSCEND, a global peace, development and environment network, and TRANSCEND Peace University. He founded the world's first peace research institute in Oslo in 1959 and the *Journal of Peace Research* in 1964. He has published over 1,500 articles and more than 140 books, with translations into 33 languages, some of which are used in the curriculum of the M.A. program in Peace and Justice Studies at the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies.

Beyond the academy, Galtung has been a consultant to the United Nations and mediated in over 100 international conflicts. His dedication to peace has been recognized with 10 honorary doctorates and the Right Livelihood Award, Norwegian Literary Prize and other awards.

INTERVIEW WITH JOHAN GALTUNG

The following is an edited transcript of an interview with Johan Galtung, conducted on Dec. 10, 2010, by Milburn Line, executive director of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ), and Necla Tschirgi, professor in the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies at the University of San Diego.

ML: I went back and looked at "A Letter from Birmingham Jail," a discussion from Martin Luther King, Jr. of negative and positive peace. Do you want to tell us a little more about your relationship with that process, and how negative and positive peace interacted?

JG: That was 1963. It started with a book by Marie Jahoda on positive mental health in 1958, while at Columbia University. My background was a very medically involved physician's family, so at the dinner table conversations – which I think are very important for a little child – the key words I heard again and again were diagnosis, prognosis and therapy. My father was talking about the patients he'd had, my mother asked questions, and I was listening.

As usual, it was negative health: How do we cure a disease? But my father also had some indications about how we make the patient avoid the next disease. And then there was the book, *Current Concepts of Positive Mental Health*, by Marie Jahoda.

Since I systematically compare peace to health and violence to disease, the point of this story is that out of it came my thinking that there must be a positive approach. Of course, I knew about the strengths of the immune system, so this became a major concern: How do you create a social body so that it not only can take violence but can develop further? This was my problem with the medical approach. They saw positive health as protection against disease; they didn't see it as a way in which a person develops further. That's come only about 10 years ago, with the idea of positive psychology. It's a very new idea, and I've been arguing for decades at conferences that we have to move in a more positive direction. Security studies are so negative, bordering on the paranoid. I try to make peace studies positive.

I was talking with psychoanalysts some 10 years ago and arguing that, as a psychoanalyst, there is a more important question than "What was your relation to your mother when you were 3 years old?" I'm not saying it's not important, but there is another question that is more important: "What kind of person would you like to be in three years?" Then discuss that on a one-on-one basis with a psychoanalyst. You will very soon come to the limits of the psychoanalyst's contribution because he or she might not know – because you go into unexplored territory. So, positive peace became a major concern for me.

ML: What do you think of as your proudest achievements?

JG: I'm often asked that question, and to me the answer is the totality. It's the holistic approach to it – that it's diagnosis, prognosis and therapy. It is positive peace *and* negative peace. It is direct, structural *and* cultural violence. Multi-dimensional. Holistic. Then inside that holism, you sense forces and counter-forces, dialectics. This is pure Taoism. I didn't learn that at school. I learned it when I became more acquainted with Asian thinking, particularly through my Japanese wife. But that holism is not a dead thing; it's a live thing. And there are forces inside it that we should try to identify.

ML: This takes me to the other question I really wanted to ask you: the question of a biology of peace and an evolutionary concept of humanity that's moving more toward peace. Is that part of our evolutionary goal or path?

JG: I'm very skeptical about evolutionary theory. There is no doubt that we have moved from monocellular to more complex organisms, but whether they are better or worse I don't know. I know that the amoeba have a fantastic invulnerability and we are highly vulnerable, so it depends on what criteria you use.

The way I think about it is something like this: There is no tendency toward more peace, just like there's no tendency toward more health. We have been able to increase life expectancy not because it was a built-in tendency. It was because of hard work and research that we were able to identify the conditions for negative health and positive health. Positive health, you have done a sloppy job. Negative health, not too bad.

Then somebody had a brilliant idea. It was an Austrian, and his idea was essentially washing hands. Of course that revolutionized childbirth by reducing mortality from as high as 20 percent down to much below 1 percent.

Do you know where he heard it? I know the story and it's kind of fascinating. He was walking in the streets of Vienna and met a garbage man and struck up a conversation. He asked the garbage man, "Tell me one thing: You are handling all this stinking garbage. How come you don't smell?" It was a good question. And he said, "Doctor, I'll tell you how. It's something called chlorine, and I have a little wash in it."

So the man said, "Why did you call me doctor? I do happen to be a doctor." And he said, "Well, when I talk to people high up, I either say 'Baron' if they look stupid or 'Doctor' if they look bright." He laughed since he was in the doctor category. And that became a revolution.

Now the health people discovered another thing too: If you can regulate temperature and humidity, in other words, good clothes and good housing – and in addition hygiene – up it goes. The doctors and physicians say, "Where are we in all this?", and the answer is, they play a minor role.

The basic things are simple, so we call it conflict hygiene. What corresponds to washing hands? Something very simple: What does the other guy want? Could it be reasonable? That kind of thing. It's very simple, very basic. But you have to talk with him to know.

I'm saying that this chlorine approach is essentially negative health. I have had many conferences between peace research and health research people to exchange experiences, and we are better at positive peace than they are at positive health. We have a lot of theories that they could apply.

NT: This goes right into the heart of the methodology issue. Many of us use the health-peace analogy in different ways. One way I've heard it used is that peace studies is, in a sense, where medicine was in the Middle Ages – when there was a lot of experimentation and research, but no consolidated body of knowledge on how to do it and no standards in terms of what worked and didn't work. There's a lot of experimentation today in peace work, some of it useful but much of it basically not.

On the one hand you're arguing, and I fully agree with you, that you need immense knowledge because this is difficult work – for example, if you didn't understand Osama bin Laden and what he meant when he said, "We haven't forgotten what happened 80 years ago." Most people had no idea what the reference was.

JG: Yes, "more than 80 years ago," he said. I interpreted "more than" to be maximum 85, so I went in immediately: What happened 85 years ago? 1916, the Sykes-Picot Treaty. 1917, the Balfour Declaration. 1918, the occupation of Istanbul.

NT: Back to the methodology, to be able to pick up on all that, you have to know history, you have to know psychoanalysis, and you have to know culture. As peacemakers, how do we develop this knowledge? You have been working with groups of people – how do you develop the collaborative?

JG: The question is, how do I get that knowledge? I have two methods, and they are very simple and don't take much time. The first one is the Penguin dictionary of psychoanalysis or medicine or some historical period. They are extremely good. You start at any point and you follow the stars. Of course,

two Ph.D.'s help – one is good, but two are even better because you have two different angles. I can pick up a book, the Penguin dictionary of theology or whatever it is, and two weeks later I know something. That's one method.

The second method is we go to a specialist in the field and ask him, *What's cooking? What's new in your field?* You don't demand of him that he should ask the same question of you; you're just grateful if he answers. Those specialists will be more than willing to talk, and they will tell you immediately that there is this and that misunderstanding by this and that school. Then they'll tell you what that misunderstanding is and how their school is correct. That doesn't matter though. You can go to another school to get their view of his school. The point is, you ask and you listen. If you combine these two approaches, you can catch up on a lot.

Having said that, you have to build the knowledge inside one person. It's not enough to cooperate with others. It has to be inside you, because that's what starts cooking and coming together. If you have a good cooperative team, they can ask each other, but it's not a question of me knowing what you think and you knowing what I think. It's more a question of me working on it and making something new – integrating, at the higher level. The method is dialogue, not debate.

In the book that I have written called *50 Years: 25 Intellectual Landscapes Explored*, I tell about the first task I had. I was badly equipped, and I was 22 years old. I decided to try to liberate the peace concept from the state system because my experience was that when they talk about peace, it means between two wars. They will call it a peace treaty, but it became in itself one source of the next war: the (second) Peace Treaty of Versailles.

I was 22 and I decided, *This ain't good enough. There must be something more to it*. You have religious people talking about inner peace, peace with God, and much later came peace with nature and so on. I wanted to integrate it all and get to a higher level for the peace concept. This was one of the basic things in the beginning, and out of that came the idea of

"transnational": It cannot be the peace of the victor to dictate, and it cannot be linked to the state system only. It must be beyond that. And out of that came "transdisciplinary" – because political scientists told me, *Why do you worry about this? It's unnecessary. We do the peace studies*. Depending on my mood that day, if I was in a bad mood I would say, "Yes, I know that you think that, and you have done a lousy job. I cannot accept it."

"I decided to try to liberate the peace concept from the state system because my experience was that when they talk about peace, it means between two wars."

The psychoanalysts all have interesting ideas, and another field that comes out very well in my thinking is international law. They invented a revolutionary idea: one state, one vote. So there is some kind of equality between states. I became convinced at an early stage that equality, or much better, equity, is a key to peace. They had some of that idea – one state, one vote – whereas the economists never came up with any idea about equity, of mutual and equal benefit. Their idea was that if buyer and seller agree, that's it. That defines a market. And I said, "It ain't good enough."

NT: We're now dealing with a new generation of peace practitioners and peace students. I know that you've been working with a group of people in Canada who are trying to develop peace professionals and certification – trying to professionalize peace work so that people have the empathy and all of the social skills, arts skills and analysis together. As a school that's trying to teach students and practitioners, how do we give the students the skills to do that type of really deep analysis?

JG: Practice. They need to practice at an early stage with simple conflicts in groups of friends, with simple problems. To your brief review of medical

history, let me just add two points. You're absolutely right in saying that there were lots of experiments, and there were actually lots of skills – amputation for instance, even trepanation. And you had people who had hammers and saws and all kinds of instruments. Then you had, on the other hand, people at the university who were speculating: that the blood had been intoxicated, and you had to use leeches to get rid of the blood, and there were four elements in the balance. You had lots of schools of thought, and most of them today would be considered relatively crazy. The skills survived better.

But then you had a third element, and that was disease as God's punishment. That is, disease is essentially a sign from God that you are not to his liking. And, he may dislike you so much that your death is imminent. It may also be a warning – maybe you can fight your way out of it. There's something similar in violence – that God is behind and appoints the winner. So if you have the sharper blade and hold the other boy down on the floor, then it means you are right. It means the girl is yours for the taking. It's the same with wars: You have the right to dictate the conditions if you are a winner. In other words, there are higher forces that command the game.

The following things had to happen. First of all, you had to diminish the religious factor. Secondly, you had to bring theory and practice together. The people with the hammer and the saw for amputation and so on knew nothing about the four elements and things of that kind. Somehow these two approaches have to come together.

I could say the same with peace theory people. On one hand are the military continuing politics by violent means, and on the other diplomats continuing wars by verbal means, pursuing their nation's interests. Somehow they have to come together for human and world interests. It is the wrong game because the military are not transnational – they want their own victory – nor are the diplomats transnational. Then both the skill people and the theory people have to become better. One way of becoming better is for theory people to learn from the skill people, and the skill people from the theory people.

My experience is that your entrance card to all of this is that you have a therapy, good, well thought-through proposals. If they catch their interest, they will be quite willing to listen to your diagnosis. But I follow the Bible in the sense that you should recognize the tree by its fruits – and the fruits are what you advise, not how you analyze. When I meet somebody who has a peace theory, I say, "Fine, sounds interesting. How do you apply it in Afghanistan?" It is a tough question, and he says, "I know nothing about Afghanistan," or "I don't know."

I'd say, "Go back, do your homework." Or I say, "Tell me a conflict you know something about." And you know what the next question is: "How do you apply it to that one?" Either he passes that test or he doesn't, and I have taught him a lesson. So, you shall know the tree by its fruits.

I have read a lot of medical history because it was a model for me. A specialist in social medicine made a study of England in the 19th century. He had the point where they started washing hands and he had the point where they took care of humidity and heat and cold. And down went the disease immediately. Physicians, inoculation, surgery, etc., made little difference – hygiene, sanitation a lot.

NT: But our basic hygiene is dealing with conflict, right? And dealing with conflicts is the most difficult thing.

JG: It is and it is not. The reason I am able to summarize a complex conflict quickly is because I have a methodology: Who are the parties? What are their goals? Are these goals legitimate? Where are the incompatibilities? Is there a bridge anywhere, a new reality, accommodating legitimate goals?

The point is that there is a methodology, so you can memorize a lot because it hangs together by your methodology. You can recall it. These are not isolated facts, but they hang together by that holistic/dialectical approach and in good theories of reality.

ML: How do we convince policymakers of the methodology, and is that happening just by their own praxis? Secretary Robert Gates published a piece in *Foreign Affairs* about a year and a half ago, arguing for a 3D security architecture: defense, development and diplomacy. He said that we have not spent enough time doing the development and diplomacy that would give us a better security architecture. Are people in those positions learning the methodology?

JG: I always read him and I always listen to him, because he is bright and open. To answer the question, I will of course say he is 50 years behind time because he hasn't picked up on peace studies. The security studies are dominating the field. Security studies are academically institutionalized paranoia – you're always doing worst case analysis. You're always assuming that there is an enemy out there who is waiting for his chance, whereas my assumption is there is a difficult conflict out there that is waiting for its solution and nobody comes. So I would of course like Mr. Gates to say that and draw conclusions about cooperation for mutual and equal benefit, not for Western development and Western interests.

NT: Much of foreign policy and diplomacy does not deal with conflict transformation; they deal with something else. Peace studies are not part of their mental landscape, and that's the problem.

ML: How do we convince them that the better relationships over time are arguably built through the peace lens versus the security lens?

JG: I often do that through the example of marriage. How do you find most happiness? Is it by being on guard against your spouse, or is it by designing projects for mutual and equal benefit? Do you see marriage as a battle, or do you see it as maximum cooperation about interesting projects?

You can also take examples from companies. You're a very hard-driving CEO and on top of you is the board of trustees, and they say, "We want our investment back. Minimum to the workers and maximum from the clients. Get the money back with sizeable interest." One day you find you're bankrupt; you have an enormous mental discontent within the company; you have absenteeism; you have strikes; and you may have silent sabotage by doing low quality work. Take that as opposed to another CEO who shares more or less the conditions of work with the workers – maybe the salary ratio is 4 to 1, not 500 to 1. And the board of trustees says, "We'll be happy with a 5 percent return. We don't need 50 percent in one year" – mutual and more equal benefit, and then you can have a more reasonable company.

"Security studies are academically institutionalized paranoia – you're always doing worst case analysis. You're always assuming that there is an enemy out there who is waiting for his chance, whereas my assumption is there is a difficult conflict out there that is waiting for its solution and nobody comes."

Now, if the only thing you are after is profit, go for the first one. Then leave the expenses in terms of broken bodies, broken nerves, ill mental health and everything – push that onto society and let them take care of that. If you call that a healthy system, you are wrong and you'll be punished. The United States is now being punished.

You can have examples from other fields, but you also have to take examples from politics and history. Take the Nordic community: People don't know that we were fighting wars for 800 years, destroying each other. There was a census taken in some kind of Swedish community because the king wanted able-bodied men. He found nobody because the Danes had killed all of them. Today the Nordic countries are very cooperative ("mutual and equal benefit") and so well-working that we don't even notice it. We just take it for granted. Right now, our economy is better than the Swedish one, and we have Swedes all over the place because we have a Nordic labor market.

They're not guaranteed a job, but if they can find it the fact that they are Swedish is no impediment at all. We have grown together.

NT: How do you assess the European Union as a mechanism for peace in Europe? I was with you the day Norway voted against joining the European Union and I remember you gave a passionate talk about being proud of the Norwegians for staying out. Are you still happy with that?

JG: One thing is what the European Union has done in terms of integrating Germany, which I find fantastic. Another thing is whether Norway should join. I have changed my view, but not in the sense that I say Norway should join, but in the sense that I don't care. I'll tell you why: Norway is unable to develop an alternative.

The alternative, to my mind, would be a global policy, interacting with the whole world positively and not only being European. Norway voted, as you said, against in '72 and in '94, and I was active in the campaign. There were two types of reasons for "no." One was that the European Union was too big, and the other that the union was too small. Don't underestimate a sailor; Norway is a nation of sailors who've been all over the world. There was localism, and cosmopolitanism, against regionalism.

The European Union was by and large one state, one vote. No country has veto. In reality of course, the voices of the biggest ones count more, but it's less institutionalized. They aren't doing too badly. The fact that they rally together now to help the poorest is something; whether they do it well is another matter. They're much too eager about bailing out banks, for example. They should bail out people – stimulus rather than bail out.

ML: Is there a formula for peace leadership that you have any confidence in? There has been, for example, Mandela's Group of Elders, the Club of Madrid, the Club of Rome.

JG: My formula is one-on-one dialogues with all the parties.[1] Listen to them, understand them and empathize. Then you do your sifting for legitimacy. You're not going to accept all their goals. If I had Adolf Hitler at my side, I would ask him, "What is the Germany, the Europe, you would like to live in?" This would be my standard opening question. And his answer, number one, would be, "Without the Versailles Treaty." I would accept that answer. Then there would be a lot of other answers that I would not find legitimate. But I would accept that one, and would go ahead with that one. Then comes the most difficult part of leadership: the bridging formula. You are proposing something they cannot do, because they can only see their own angle. You see many more angles at the same time. It's very demanding.

The first time I tried that was in 1967, for the Council of Europe. And I cannot thank enough the director of cultural affairs who gave me that assignment: *Johan, could you imagine having talks with people high up, in countries in NATO, the Warsaw Treaty Organization and neutral, non-aligned, and find out what a peaceful future Europe could look like?* The question was absolutely brilliant. I had interviews in 19 countries and we had some discussions about whom to interview. The answer was the director of the division of political affairs in the foreign ministry – because foreign ministers come and go, and are often people who have been drinking coffee in the party office for the last 25 years, and that doesn't necessarily qualify.

There were 19 countries and I had 25 issues: What do we do about roads? How do we organize security better? How about economic cooperation? How about human rights? So you had a 25 x 19 matrix, which equals 475 combinations. You look at those, and suddenly you have an overview, and it struck me: *By god, I'm the only one in Europe who has this overview. Each country sees its own row, and I have the whole thing. I'm obliged to do something.*

What I did couldn't be simpler. I asked myself: *What is the solution or*

1 Galtung lays out his formula for dialogue in detail during his lecture starting on page 47 of this booklet.

organization they like most? And what's the problem they are most concerned about? The organization they liked most was the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, and they were most concerned about security. So I put two and two together and came up with a United Nations Security Commission for Europe. In '67 I was the first one to say it. It later became the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the Organization with the same name. I'm not the only one, but I contributed and am proud of that. The whole point about the method was holistic – to see the whole thing, the overview, from an intellectual helicopter, the matrix.

NT: Do you work individually, or do you work with people?

JG: We are often teams of two or three. I want them to chime into it, and I want them to control me, correct me. I want them to learn. For that particular job for the Council of Europe, I worked with my first wife – my Norwegian wife, a lovely person. We split up because I wanted to live in the world and she wanted to live in Norway. We were not able to solve that one.

NT: Are you able to apply your skills to your own marriage, and do you have a good marriage? The second question is, can you be a mediator in a conflict where you have very strong opinions or interests?

JG: Yes, you can have strong opinions for peace, but you should not be involved in alliances or conflicts, including personal conflict. The United States is an ally of Israel and has big problems with Hamas, so the United States is not qualified as the mediator. The European Union would be better, and in addition could serve as a model for a Middle East Community.

But you can have strong opinions. When I sit with American politicians, I have followed my own advice: Don't moralize; don't critique; and be constructive, creative, concrete – the three C's. They may not necessarily ask me, and I don't knock on doors but I come when I am asked – and today some do.

NT: And you use the same methodology in your marriage?

JG: Exactly the same. I've been married to my second and last wife, a wonderful person, for 42 years. I'm not saying that we haven't had our problems, but we have survived it well, exactly by designing good projects of cooperation. Joint mediation in East Asia is one.

I divide peace studies into three parts. The past: reconciliation. The present: mediation. The future: construction or projects. So if you have done something stupid, you simply say, "I wish it hadn't happened." I don't necessarily advise the word apologize, but instead "I wish it undone." You distance yourself from it. When it comes to mediation, I use the method I mentioned: mapping the conflict, legitimizing, bridging. Then comes the project: to insert into your marriage all kinds of cooperation for mutual and equal benefit.

"Don't moralize; don't critique; and be constructive, creative, concrete…"

My wife is Japanese, so she does not express love verbally. Most Japanese don't hug, and they dislike utterly the Western approach of *I love you, I love you, I love you*. They call it verbalism. But I know from the food she serves what the situation is. And I reciprocate my way. We have lots of projects together, and one of them is, as mentioned, joint mediation in Asia.

ML: The Council of Europe connects to the question of confederations that you've talked about: a confederation in Central Asia, a confederation in East Africa, a confederation in the Middle East.[2] If you're not optimistic about the leadership in the United Nations, how do you get to those confederations? It seems like there's a

2 In the Student Meeting on page 28 of this booklet, Galtung discusses several confederations as possible solutions to conflicts.

leadership vacuum for peace, so how can that leadership be built?

JG: At present yes, but it is growing quickly outside the West, in the Rest. The first thing is what we call sowing seeds: You get the idea floating around. I've been through a process where, after some floating, a politician picks it up and I suddenly hear myself being quoted without being named. That's OK. This is not a professor's footnotes game. It's the game of your ideas being useful. That's one method.

The second method is, of course, that you have a talk with somebody high up. No doubt that speeds up the process considerably. And the third method is one which I have used quite successfully: not to have a one-on-one talk with somebody high up, but to be invited to a conference high up. It's not so well known that top leaders in the world often meet without having a political agenda. They just want to discuss and they call in some people, and I'm quite often called in.

And there they are. I'm looking into their eyes and they into mine. And I try to be Triple C: creative, constructive, concrete. Sowing seeds.

I'll tell you one situation, just so you can enjoy the story. It was a meeting in the European Commission last year, June 4, 2009. It was the second time that I was invited. There were actually 900 people participating in it: NGOs, politicians, parliamentarians, foreign ministers and commissioners. They were divided into 18 commissions to discuss 18 major problems with 18 rapporteurs. And I was invited as the super rapporteur.

I had talked with the rapporteurs and said, "Don't be afraid. I'll ask you questions. You might feel it is the professor examining the student because I happen to know about all 18 issues, having worked on this for a long time. But we'll do it in a dialogical, gentle way. Don't be afraid." They were not, and I had 18 occasions to go into depth. All 18 rapporteurs gave their reports, then the dialogues and then I had half an hour for a final remark. What more can I ask for? I had very much of the European establishment in front of me and behind me.

Not as a special case but just as an example, one rapporteur reported about piracy off the coast of Somalia. He didn't know enough, so I said, "Yes, piracy is a crime. But it's also a crime to steal their seafood, to do fishing inside their zone, to rob a hungry population of its fish, and of seafood that is the major export product. To dump waste on their beaches, possibly including nuclear waste, is also a crime. Don't let us quarrel which crime is worse. Let us rather say that we have two crimes, which means we have a basis for meeting as equals. You can cancel your crime and I'll cancel mine."

"And the best way to do it is not to send NATO ships. The best way would be to have joint European-African patrolling of the coast, so that the trollers, especially from Denmark and Spain, don't come in and the pirates don't come in. The European and African Unions could organize that."

And I heard the most beautiful sound: I heard a scratching of pens from foreign ministers behind my back. Now, nothing has happened so far, but I know it is coming sooner or later.

NT: Sowing seeds. I think you've showed all of us that working on peace studies can be intellectually stimulating, personally satisfying and socially useful. And that's the best combination.

STUDENT MEETING

The following is an edited transcript of a private meeting between Johan Galtung and graduate students, alumni and faculty from the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, held on Dec. 9, 2010.

Johan Galtung: I'm facing 40 wonderful people: 25 women and 15 men, as far as I can judge. I have a Ph.D. in mathematics and a Ph.D. in sociology, so I was just exercising my skills counting and sorting. I think that's a good balance because, by and large, women are better peacebuilders than men. If you divide humanity into four types – male and female, young and old – then the difference between male and female is often seen in terms of women being more compassionate and men being more deductive. That is, designing action according to abstract principles, where, of course, law and human rights would be such abstract principles. And the difference between young and old is the difference between a closed gestalt, a closed frame of thinking, versus an open one. Usually the closing comes around 25, and after that most people are relatively frozen. There's no need for that though; you can keep open. And there's no reason why men should be deductive and women should be compassionate.

But if you start from that point of view, I can just share with you the conclusion I have. When you have a conflict, young people should meet young people, young women should meet young women, and you will have a searching, compassionate dialogue. Young men should meet young men, but old men should not meet. Whenever there are five of us together, there should be a little roving gang of young women breaking it up. So, how is that for an introduction?

Q: Mr. Galtung, thank you for joining us. I'm interested specifically in your theories of structural violence. More on a personal level, can you tell me how you became interested in the topic?

A: My question is, actually, why is it that people are not interested in it? Because there is a blind spot in many people's thinking. Structural violence churns out suffering and death. It can have the economic form of making basic satisfiers of human needs inaccessible for lack of cash or lack of possibilities for growing food. It can have the political form of repression. It can have the cultural form of alienation. And sooner or later, it will show up as suffering of various kinds – of the body, the mind, the spirit. But there is nobody who is responsible. There is no concrete person who wants it to happen, so structural violence is not maintained by commission like direct violence. It is maintained by 1 zillion acts of omission.

Direct violence is SPO – subject, predicate, object – with a clear subject behind the act and intention. Structural violence just happens, and it is churning out suffering. Maybe if you go back in history, somebody wanted it to be that way, the structure was established and then became a pattern, a habit – like the wall around West Berlin, for instance. There was nobody who wanted that every day, but on August 11, 1961, there was definitely somebody who wanted it.

Structural violence kills many more people than direct violence. The latter meets the naked eye, and you should be pretty blind not to see it. The former calls for some training.

Q: Can you talk about where you first started thinking about it?

A: That was actually in Zimbabwe, or what was at that time called South Rhodesia. In 1925 they got domestic autonomy from the crown, from London, and in 1965 came the unilateral declaration of independence. I was there very often because I was interested in seeing whether and how sanctions worked, which of course they did not, and I don't think they were intended to work either. They were intended to show that somebody is doing something and should be taken seriously – just like today.

But they were very proud that from 1925 to 1965 there hadn't been one single racial murder, they said, in other words no direct violence. Now at the same time 4 percent of the population, namely the white population, were holding and calling all the cards, running the whole economy, having a higher living standard, living twice as long as the black persons. And they called that "peace." So my thinking was very simple: *If this is called peace, I'm against it. And I am supposed to dedicate my life to developing peace studies. Something is wrong here.*

Structural violence was the conceptual answer. I had to introduce it as a type of violence. Since that time, the structural violence concept has been developed much, much further, with four different types: hierarchy, polyarchy, equiarchy and anarchy. There are different forms of violence in all four.

Q: My name is Esike Ebruke. I suspect you have information about my country Nigeria, and because it's burdening my heart I wanted to know: What approach do you think we can use to solve the problem of the Niger delta? It is holding the country ransom.

A: I have been to your country about 10 times and am relatively familiar with it. A couple of weeks ago I was in a neighboring country, Cameroon, and we were of course talking very much about the delta. The general kind of formula would be a loose federation with high autonomy for the parts and a super structure somewhere. You have changed your capital, which I think was a good idea, but it should be at some kind of neutral place. Probably it should be neither Muslim nor Christian nor African indigenous.

Nigeria in general and the delta in particular is the owner of its own resources, according to the less known human rights that the United States of America have not ratified: the economic, social and cultural rights of December 16, 1966. Everybody knows the Universal Declaration of December 10, 1948, which we are celebrating tomorrow.

Article One of the economic, social and cultural rights says that the proceeds

from the resources accrue to the people living there. That means they do not accrue to foreigners and they do not accrue only to the elite, or only to the center of a federation. There has to be a distribution formula with a high percentage to the delta. I will argue in that direction. I'll only want to add that this is exactly the reason, and a major reason, why the United States signed but never ratified that convention: The United States has the idea that the proceeds should accrue to somebody else, U.S. oil companies, via direct foreign investment and repatriated profits.

Q: My name is Young-Ai Kim from South Korea. I heard you were in Korea the day before yesterday. I'm sure both countries would like to be unified one day, but this is a long process. We have been making very strong efforts, but why is it so difficult and why is it getting worse?

A: Yes, I was honored with the Korean DMZ Peace Prize. I have worked since 1972 on that. It was divided because of Japanese imperialism and because of superpower dictate. It was colonized in 1910, following the 1905 U.S.-Japan agreement between Katsura [Taro], who later became prime minister, and [William Howard] Taft, who later became president. Their agreement was that United States can colonize the Philippines and Japan can colonize Korea, and nobody will object to what the other does. And this was done in the name of "peace in East Asia." That's what they called it.

Now Japan and the United States are members of the Six-Party Talks[3] and have consistently sabotaged it together with the present South Korean administration. You know perfectly well about the Northern Limit Line[4] and the 12 mile limit, the contested waters. We don't have to go into details. On the 4th of October, 2007, North and South Korea signed the memorandum of exploring joint fisheries in that zone, and the present President Lee [Myung-bak] just dropped it, squashing years of patient work. To negotiate with North Korea is difficult, and with South Korea also difficult, but for two different reasons.

3 Comprised of North Korea, South Korea, Japan, China, Russia and the United States, the Six-Party Talks aim to find a peaceful solution to North Korea's nuclear weapon stock.

4 The disputed maritime border between North and South Korea in the Yellow Sea

North Korea is autocratic and partly crazy. South Korea is democratic. It used to be a military dictatorship and an extremely tough one, but in the early 1990s it became more democratic. For that reason it is changing administration every four years or so, and one administration can stand for the opposite of the former one, which means that they can cancel each other. From a North Korean point of view, South Korea is totally unreliable. You have one Korea that's democratic and unreliable and the other one that's autocratic and crazy, and the more unreliable South Korea is, the crazier the other becomes, and vice versa.

"A Swedish leading university said, 'What kind of nonsense is that? We have war studies. That should be good enough.' But I felt it was not good enough, so it came to me as a kind of lightning: That will be my life."

Let me add to this a factor you know because you are Korean: *han*. The French term for it is *ressentiment*. It's the inner feeling of having been offended, unjustly treated. You have a right to put on an offended face, and you have a right to behave accordingly, aggressively. Handle me with care. At the same time Koreans have a sort of missionary complex – they are very strong believers, but their neighbors are too big to be missionary objects. So, if you divide Korea in two, they will start missionary activity against each other, supported by that resentment. So part of the reason why unification doesn't work is Korean psychology, and this is something many Koreans don't like to hear. Do not take my han away from me.

The other part is a consistent sabotage by Japan, the United States and the present South Korean government. Everybody knows about the North-South divide in Korea, but not everybody knows about the east-west divide in South Korea, where the east is more feudal and conservative, and the west more liberal and, let us say, modern. Kim Dae Jung came from the west. The present South Korean president is from the east. There is an east-west pendulum.

If you want a prediction, mine is the following. I don't like it, but I'm just saying that it is likely to happen: South Korea in its loyalty to the United States will join the U.S. economy on the way down. North Korea will join China on the way up. North Korea will probably become a member of the biggest alliance in human history: the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, a very important factor in the world today – so important that it's never mentioned in U.S. media. That will cement and freeze the division between North and South Korea.

You may understand from the way I talk that I am relatively outspoken. My way of being diplomatic is to be undiplomatic. Outspokenness has its advantage.

Q: They call you the "father of peace studies," which would make peace studies your baby.

A: It's more grandfather these days, but go ahead.

Q: You've been there since its birth. I'm wondering your assessment of the evolution of peace studies and if you have a vision for it for the future.

A: This has been my life, and it started in a kind of interesting way. As a young boy I experienced my father being taken to a concentration camp during the German occupation of Norway and things of that kind became very real. The anti-war sentiment was very strong. In 1951 I had been president of the Norwegian National Union of Students for Foreign Affairs and was given a fellowship, which I used to study and find out whether I should object to military service or not.

I read lots of books against war. That was unproblematic but I wanted something about peace, so I went to the library of a university and said, "Could I have a book in peace studies?" The librarian looked and said, "Come back tomorrow. I'll probably find something." In the meantime she had called libraries in other universities in neighboring countries and came to the conclusion that there was no such thing as peace studies. A Swedish leading university said, "What kind of nonsense is that? We have war studies. That should be good enough."

But I felt it was not good enough, so it came to me as a kind of lightning: That will be my life. Just as simple as that. At that time I was a student of mathematics and physics, so it was quite clear I had to add something. That was in itself quite fascinating, so here I am – always studying.

I think peace studies is developing very well, in a very pluralistic way. There should be different types of peace studies. I think that's very important; it shouldn't be frozen into one dogma. I have one way of thinking, and sometimes I get the creeps when I see people imitating that too much without critiquing it – because the point is nobody has any monopoly on peace studies.

But I think there is a nucleus. I try to put it in four words: peace by peaceful means. Don't use peace as a pretext to use violence. That's been done too often. And I think it's a good idea to add some other words: peace with justice, peace with development, to get some kind of different angle to it. However, with justice there is the problem that there are at least four very different concepts of justice – punitive, restorative, distributive and equitative – and the question is of which one you are thinking. That's an interesting problem, but it's exactly because it is a problem that it's so fruitful to get into it. So I hope for diversity. I myself go for "peace and conflict" for negative peace, and "peace and development" for positive peace.

The second point I hope for is a link to practice. My model of peace studies

when I started was not social science. It was medicine. My father was a physician. His father was a physician, and his father was a physician. My mother was a nurse, and her father was the director of health in Norway. It was almost genetic that I should become a doctor, almost written in the stars. My uncle sent a cable: "A physician has been born." But even the most evil predictions can become counteracted, so it turned out OK.

"I think there is a nucleus. I try to put it in four words: peace by peaceful means. Don't use peace as a pretext to use violence. That's been done too often."

But the spirit of the physician, the interplay between theory and practice, diagnosis and therapy, has been very important. You test your theory in daily life, learn from your tests and revise your theory. You are not sitting in an office, going to the library, quoting Immanuel Kant. That's not the way of doing peace studies. The question is to find a good practice that you can engage in, and there are many of them.

Q: You've proposed creating Israel and a Middle Eastern community of the countries Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, a fully recognized Palestine and Egypt. What needs to fall into place for these even to be a possibility? And can any of this happen without the support of the United States?

A: Absolutely. The basic condition is that the United States withdraws from the scene. Any support from the United States is deadly, and I'll try to explain why. The alliance between Israel and the United States is not military. It's not economic. It's cultural. They came into being the same way: "chosen people," "a promised land." That land happened to be populated, and you push out the inhabitants because you have a divine mandate. That divine mandate

comes from Genesis 15,[5] and it was copied on the Mayflower in 1620 – by the priest and the pilgrims who were on it.

This bond between Judaism and American Christianity is the key problem today, because for Washington to deny Israel the right of expansion is to slap itself. If one goes, so does the other. The argument is very simple, and it's the argument that Israel uses all the time behind the scenes: If you deny us this, we shall start talking about what happened from 1607 in Virginia until about 1900, when the first 10 million Native Americans had been killed. That is a threat Israel uses, so this linkage is absolutely basic. It's the divine mandate.

To think of the United States as a mediator is ridiculous, not saying that the problem is unsolvable. I can share with you my position, growing out of hundreds of Middle East dialogues since 1964. I have no problems with the right of Jews to have a state with a Jewish character on the eastern side of the Mediterranean, but it has to have a limited territory. I think the best formula was the 1948 division plan by the United Nations. The next best is the June 4, 1967 line with some revisions. The Zionist idea has no limitation because the hard Zionist idea is not linked to territory but to the idea of 13.9 million Jews in one state – namely, all the Jews in the world.

A six-state solution with a limited Israel in a confederation, not federation, with the five bordering Arab countries – Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Palestine and Egypt – to accommodate Israel as a state with a Jewish character. I think those Arab states should be open for Jews to live in and to return to as citizens, because the idea has been that they should leave these countries and go to Israel. Muslim countries are much more friendly to Jews than Jews to Muslims, and that has to do with the Abrahamic religions in a temporal succession – Judaism, Christianity, Islam – and Islam seeing itself as the crowning achievement incorporating Judaism and Christianity.

I first developed that idea in 1971 when I was a visiting professor at the University of Cairo, modeled on the European community of 1958 accommodating Germany. It was proposed by two French politicians and has worked extremely well. It's contrary to the Zionist idea though: Judaism is a religion and Zionism is a geopolitical strategy, which is quite different.

5 Genesis 15:18 reads, "On that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram and said, 'To your descendants I give this land, from the Wadi of Egypt to the great river, the Euphrates.'" (New International Version)

This, I think, is probably the way it will end up. But before that Israel is now confronted with seven or eight major difficulties that they will not be able to handle. One is that we'll come to a point where the United States will see Israel as a burden, as a liability, and will say to Israel the same as they said to apartheid South Africa: regime change.

Q: My name is Michael Paul, and I have two questions about my country. Southern Sudan is preparing to vote for succession from the northern government. What do you see from your personal experience will be the outcome? Should the United States be involved? Or would the involvement of the U.S. endanger the country? Number two: We have been in a course on human security for the last three months, and we have struggled with the fuzziness of definitions. And we are taught about 27 definitions. What, in your estimation, would be the definition of human security?

A: I think I'll start with human security. I don't use that expression; I use "basic needs." That's for people to define, and I made empirical studies at the end of the 1970s in 50 countries. We asked people, "What is it that you cannot do without? What is non-negotiable?" Around the world, it became very clear that there were four answers that came up all the time.

Number one: to be alive, survival. Number two: with a minimum of physical well-being. Now the body is taken care of. Number three: with some freedom of choice. In most countries in the world there were three freedoms that were the basic ones: your profession, where to live and whom to marry. It was not the freedom of the market or the freedom of political party choice – though for some it was also that. The fourth one was for the spirit, the mind, to have something to live for – some identity, some meaning with life.

To me, human security is what you have when your life is protected with a minimum of physical well-being, options and meaning with life. It's a precise definition, and I stand for that one. The opposite of that is death, misery, repression and alienation. There you have four threats to security. But this is not the definition that big powers like. Big powers like a definition that makes them important as the protectors, even with a right to protect (and duty). You see, we emphasize very much that it is for people to define the precise meaning of these four terms, namely survival, well-being, freedom and identity. But big powers want to make that definition for them, so it very often becomes very self-serving.

"To me, human security is what you have when your life is protected with a minimum of physical well-being, options and meaning with life."

Back to Sudan – I'm reminded of the story of the genie that came out of a bottle. And the lady said, "Oh, you are a genie, can I have three wishes?"

"No, no, no, it's no longer three wishes because of the economic conditions. It's only one wish these days. That was in the old days that you had three wishes."

The lady said, "Well, my wish is peace in the Middle East."

And the genie said, "No, no, no, these people have been fighting each other for millennia. I cannot do that. I'll give you a chance. Give me another wish."

She said, "Well, come to think of it, I want a husband who is considerate, sweet, takes his share of the home work and watches the children at least 50 percent of the time."

And the genie said, "Can we get back to the Middle East, please?"

So I postponed Sudan. Sudan is an artificial construction of British colonialism. You are suffering the consequences. To know that it is an artificial construction, all you have to do is to look at the borders. Wherever you have straight lines as a border, you know Anglos were there – because they were ruling by means of rulers. It's the only language in the world where the instrument for drawing a straight line and for dominating is the same word – not by chance. You can look at the map of the United States too if you want an example. In addition, they had an excess of Euclidean geometry at school.

You can of course say, "Let's make the best out of it," so here are four points. Let me start at the bottom, in the southwest. I would say that the basic problem is land ownership, and that you had a tradition of public or collective ownership with private use – which to my mind is the best pattern I know of. There has to be a collective monitoring of whether you use the land well. But the northeastern corner, where Khartoum is located, decided that this was old-fashioned, meaning "We want to control the land because there is oil." That created an enormous number of nomads, and there were nomads there before. The rest, as they say, is history. I would revert to land ownership as the basic variable.

Number two: Sudan as a federation and not as a unitary state with half federal characteristics run by Khartoum. That means that the Muslims have no right to impose their Islam on the rest. It means cultural autonomy for the others. And for a country being so enormous, it could be a loose federation.

Number three: You have eight countries bordering Sudan, and the various factions inside Sudan make alliances with one. You can always rely on Eritrea and Ethiopia for being with opposing groups inside Sudan – so that you have a projection of outside conflicts inside Sudan. I think the solution to that is a confederation for Northeast Africa. Put them all together, open borders.

On top of all of this, you have U.S.-Chinese rivalry. It has to do with resources. If you want oil to be a basis for your economy, process it yourself – and not necessarily only to gasoline. You can get 99 other products that are wonderful from oil. It's a fantastic resource. There's no law of nature saying that it should be used to propel cars around.

The Chinese are quite good at lifting the bottom people up by the ingenious Chinese approach to development at the bottom. The West has never learned how to do it. The West's economic theory is a stupid trickling down theory, and that trickle is very sparse indeed, nothing relative to the pumping up. Respect that the Chinese have a much better approach, although I would be careful with them. The basic thing is that you do it yourself.

My friend, this is what I see. But this is not today's agenda. You would not necessarily expect me to have the same agenda as what you find in mainstream politics. I will of course defend this because it is based on hundreds of dialogues with Sudanese, in Sudan and outside.

Q: Reflecting on your life, what was one of the most memorable cases of conflict resolution that you were involved in? And what was the main thing that you learned from that experience?

A: I have books about this. One is called *50 Years, 100 Peace & Conflict Perspectives* – it's now 140. You see, I have done more than an average foreign ministry, for the simple reason that I'm a free person. Rather than one instance in that book, let me give you one very basic point about nongovernmental mediation.

Mediation has to do with power. Conflict resolution has to do with power. And there are four types of power: economic, military, political, cultural. What some countries try to do economically is bribe the parties, like paying Israel and Egypt $1.5 billion every year to keep peace – this was the Camp David Agreement. To my mind it has nothing to do with peace; it's called bribery. And the money goes to the military on both sides. The second type of power is military. Instead of a carpet of gold, a carpet of bombs: *If you don't do what I say, you will suffer the consequences.* The third one is political: to have the United Nations Security Council pass a resolution. And the fourth one is cultural, and that's the power of ideas.

As a nongovernmental mediator, I fortunately do not have gold, so I cannot bribe. I do not have bombs, so I cannot kill, nor do I want to. I don't want to bribe either. I don't want to be backed by a resolution – I want to be totally free. And I don't want a mandate. So, what is it I have to offer? Only one thing: good ideas. It's the only thing I have. Now, somebody has a lot of gold and a lot of bombs and a Security Council resolution and might think you don't need ideas. This is called big power diplomacy.

My comparative advantage is the opposite profile. When I talk to the same foreign ministers and prime ministers and presidents and opposition leaders as they have talked with, they say that you can expect two things from Professor Galtung. First of all, that he is totally undiplomatic and says exactly what he thinks is the correct solution-oriented approach. And secondly, that he has fresh ideas. Now, that doesn't mean that we nongovernmental mediators succeed all the time. But when we succeed, it probably has a better basis because it's well thought-through ideas that are not bolstered by bribing and threats – or by a resolution in a country far away to which common people don't attach themselves.

For instance, I think I know what the Taliban want, what Hamas wants, what Hezbollah wants. I know what the State Department wants. And I know what Pentagon wants, to mention five of the most difficult actors. I've talked to all of them, and if you know what they want, maybe you can get some idea about what could reasonably accommodate their legitimate wishes. But they have to be legitimate. I find very few legitimate wishes in the State Department and Pentagon. I find more in the Taliban, Hamas and Hezbollah. What I find as goal number one for the Pentagon and State Department is

to win – just simply winning, and then dictating the results from a position of strength. That's very natural if you think you have a divine mandate; you have a feeling that what you say is the ultimate truth. Others may not agree with that – they might have some different views. And you see them as stupid, uninformed – or simply evil.

WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION

Milburn Line
Executive Director
Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

Good evening, and welcome to the final Distinguished Lecture of 2010 at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, being held on the eve of International Human Rights Day.

The theme of this year's lecture series is post-conflict challenges, and I want to focus on this for a moment because it defines an arena in which the institute is operating in a number of places around the world. As we celebrate our 10th anniversary, we are currently working in West Africa, Guatemala and Nepal, where devastating civil wars have come to an official end, but where the root causes and legacies of violent conflict have not been resolved. This is a time when sustained peacebuilding efforts, human rights advocacy and support for the inclusion of civil society can have a transformative effect. And this is why I know that the institute's staff, as well as the school faculty and students, will be listening as closely as anyone in the room tonight.

To introduce our speaker, I'd like to welcome to the podium Dr. Necla Tschirgi, professor of practice in human security and peacebuilding at the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies. A native of Turkey, Dr. Tschirgi holds

a B.A. and an M.A. in political science from the American University in Beirut, and a Ph.D. in political economy from the University of Toronto. Her extensive international career has spanned research, policy analysis and teaching. Over the last 15 years she has increasingly specialized in conflict prevention and peacebuilding, focusing on the nexus between security and development.

Prior to joining the University of San Diego faculty, Dr. Tschirgi served as an in-house consultant and senior policy advisor with the newly established Peacebuilding Support Office at the United Nations and was vice president of the International Peace Academy in New York. She also happens to be my neighbor at USD faculty housing down the hill, which has been a tremendous opportunity for my 2-year-old to learn firsthand that you can be a tremendous peacebuilding professional and a great salsa dancer at the same time.

Please welcome Dr. Tschirgi to the podium.

Necla Tschirgi
Professor of Practice, Human Security and Peacebuilding
Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies

What a wonderful introduction. Good evening and a very warm welcome to all of you. We at the Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies are honored to be hosting Professor Johan Galtung, who is one of the founders of peace studies and has shaped the field in the last 50 years through his prolific writing, research, teaching and applied peace work. Dr. Galtung is an extraordinary teacher and peace practitioner, whose impressive body of work draws inspiration from many sources, including Gandhian nonviolence, Eastern mysticism, medical sciences, Western enlightenment and the full range of social science disciplines. He is truly a trans-disciplinary and global thinker who has influenced successive generations of students and peace professionals around the world.

Dr. Galtung celebrated his 80th birthday a few months ago. His students and colleagues are publishing yet another volume to honor his contributions to the field of peace studies. I'm thrilled that our students had an opportunity to meet him in person this afternoon and to raise critical questions we have been studying throughout the semester. It is not often that students get a chance to meet and converse with pioneers in their field.

Professor Galtung dates his early introduction to war and peace to the German invasion of his native Norway when he was only 12 and witnessed

the arrest of his physician father. He was 17 when Mahatma Gandhi, the father of nonviolence, was assassinated. That left an indelible impression on him, leading to his lifelong commitment to peace by peaceful means. When the time came for his obligatory military service, he elected to do 18 months of social service. After 12 months, he requested that the remainder of his social service be spent in activities relevant to peace. Instead, he was sent to prison for six months of solitary confinement, where he was able to deepen his study of peace and nonviolence.

The Cold War and the threat of nuclear war galvanized Dr. Galtung and other pioneers of peace studies to search for new ways of thinking about war, violence and peace. At the time, peace research was considered a very radical and even dangerous idea. Luckily, the end of the Cold War opened up a new and more promising era for peace research, and there is some good news coming out of that research. Armed conflict declined steadily in the decade prior to 2003, as various wars came to an end and the number of battle-related deaths fell significantly. Using Dr. Galtung's incisive terminology, the post-Cold War era saw an extended period of "negative peace" – or the absence of overt, direct violence. Unfortunately, this does not mean that the world is a safer place and that the sources of war and violence have been eliminated. In fact, there is new evidence that the number of armed conflicts has increased by 25 percent from 2003 to 2008. Moreover, there are both new and persistent threats to peace, forcing all of us to think about how to achieve what Dr. Galtung calls "positive peace" by addressing the structural sources of violence.

Dr. Galtung has been celebrated as a provocative thinker, a social innovator and a tireless international activist. We in peace studies are proud to call him our intellectual mentor, for inspiring successive generations to bring the best of human knowledge, creativity and energy to address the roots of violence through research, dialogue and conflict transformation.

Breaking the Cycle of Violent Conflict

Johan Galtung

Ladies and gentlemen, Professor Tschirgi, thank you so much for that lovely introduction.

The basic thesis that I stand for is very simple. Wherever there is violence, there is an unresolved conflict. Unresolved conflict means that there is an incompatibility of goals – including means – that has not been resolved, has not been superseded, has not been transformed, has not been transcended. A conflict can be direct between actors who have conscious goals. It can also be structural between parties that have their interests. In other words, if you don't like violence, solve the conflict.

You may of course try to do something to the violent party: eliminate him, take him out. In one way or the other incapacitate him, and in all likelihood you have done nothing because the conflict is still there, unresolved.

So how do we handle that? The answer is mediation. The basic point about the method I stand for is not to get the parties together around the table. It is not to negotiate. It is not to arrive at a compromise.

What I stand for is a one-on-one meeting with a skilled mediator. One party at a time. For heaven's sake, don't bring them together. Don't have them talk too much with each other because if they start understanding each other, it usually becomes even worse. You may be protected by lack of understanding. Have them talk freely without the other party listening. Have them indicate where they see solutions, without the other party saying, "That's not what you said yesterday." Don't have them play theatre. Relax.

For the one-on-one dialogue, there is a rule for the mediator. Let every sentence end with a question mark. You see, negotiation is continuation of war by verbal means, and every sentence usually ends with an exclamation sign. That's the reason why the French word for debate is *débattre* – meaning "to beat." The goal in the debate is to win the debate by cornering the opponent and having him strangulate himself in contradictions – to corner him.

The way to do it is searching – questioning. The three stages are called mapping, legitimizing and bridging.

Mapping means: Who are the parties and what are their goals? In order to assess that, you have to meet all the parties. You have to make them feel comfortable. You have to make them feel that they have a listener who satisfies empathy. As everybody says, and I agree, empathy is not the same as sympathy. The mapping will always bring in more parties than you expected, and it will bring in a much more complex set of goals than you expected. I was once an observer to the Norwegian delegation to the Law of the Sea conference in Caracas in 1974, where there were about 150 parties with 150 goals. That's a matrix with 22,500 combinations. Try to keep that one in your head, all at the same time.

"For the one-on-one dialogue, there is a rule for the mediator. Let every sentence end with a question mark. You see, negotiation is continuation of war by verbal means, and every sentence usually ends with an exclamation sign."

You have to reduce it. You have to reduce the complexity, and there's a kind of rule in psychology that seven is about the maximum people can handle. Let's be generous and make it nine. I try often to get it down to three parties and three goals. For heaven's sake, avoid two parties, one goal. If you think the conflict is Saddam Hussein against the rest of the world, you have probably gone off on a wrong tangent – because if you do that, you have already polarized from the beginning. Keep it open, at least three by three.

Mapping the conflict comes first. Second is legitimizing. Look at the goals that they stand for and ask yourself, *Are these goals legitimate?* How do I know whether anything is legitimate? I use three criteria. The first is a rather flimsy

and not very good one: law. The reason why it's not very good is that it's usually an expression of old upper-class interests, and for that reason, very often unacceptable. But that's not always the case. It's usually status quo oriented, and it is quite obvious that if you want to resolve a deep conflict, you may have to change the status quo.

The second criterion is human rights, which we are celebrating tomorrow. They're a little bit vaguer; they're not institutionalized, but they cover a vast and broad field. Remember that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is not international law. It's a declaration. International law came on the 16th of December, 1966, with the two conventions. The first one is civil-political rights and is to a large extent a repetition of the Universal Declaration. That one has very much to do with direct conflict, with repression, with imposition of somebody else's culture. The second convention is equally important, economic and social rights, which have more to do with structural conflict. The first one is ratified by the United States of America. The second one is not ratified. We need both.

There is an East Asian approach, which has been enacted by Japan, by Taiwan, by China and is being enacted by South Korea. It will be enacted by North Korea. Economic-social rights first, civil-political rights second. I'm not saying that I agree or disagree; I'm just saying this is a way of doing it. Lift people up from the indignity of misery, and then as the Chinese say, open up. The Chinese are now in the opening up phase.

I was with my Japanese wife in China this September. The first meeting we had, not exactly organized by our hosts, was with two dissidents. The two dissidents explained very clearly that if we had met in the Mao Zedong period, they would have disappeared on the way to the meeting. If it had been organized 20 years ago, they would not have disappeared, but they would have been harassed. Today they get off scot-free, maybe – unless they stand for much more than freedom of expression, or unless they stand for what the Chinese call counter-revolution, going back to unfettered capitalism, in a system that today calls itself "capi-communism" or "commu-capitalism."

I am talking about the ceremony tomorrow in my country. I think it's a mistake.[6] I take note of the fact that 30 million Chinese travel abroad every year, and 30 million come back. When I was for my first time in China in 1973, it was about zero. If somebody traveled abroad, he would not come back. There's some change there. I think one should celebrate that change.

I said that because human rights are a fantastic guide if you use the two conventions of 1966, not only one of them. But there is something that is even deeper than human rights: basic human needs. They are uncodified, controversial and non-institutionalized. I operate with four, based on extensive empirical research: survival, somatic well-being, freedom of the mind and identity of the spirit. But to me the human being is a combination of body, mind and spirit, and these four basic needs apply to all of them.

Let us now say that in order to answer the question of legitimation, you need an element of law, an element of human rights and an element of basic needs. I listen to the parties, and I kick out some of their goals. If a party has an excessive desire for pipelines through Afghanistan and a base to prepare for the coming war with China, we call those goals illegitimate. And I would like to encourage that party to analyze the conflict, if there is one, and try to see how it can be resolved.

A couple consisting of a business man and a wife are both in the crisis age around 45, where the projects they are used to – love and sex and marriage and raising children and establishing a bourgeois style of life – have somehow become routinized. The children have left the nest. She goes deeply into Buddhism, and he loves his business and prefers black figures to red. When I listen to them, they are quarreling like hell all of the time. I see nothing illegitimate in wanting black figures if you run a business, and nothing illegitimate in wanting a rich inner life through Buddhism. What's the problem? Why can't he just do his business and she her meditation?

6 The Nobel Peace Prize Ceremony held an empty chair for the 2010 recipient, imprisoned Chinese dissident Liu Xiaobo. Neither he nor his wife was permitted to travel to Oslo, Norway, for the ceremony.

No, you see, that's not what they want. If that was the whole thing, they could do what is known now as separation under one roof. She has Buddhism in one corner of the house and he has accounting in one corner, and there's a line drawn across the table in the living room.

You don't move your accounting books across that line.

Keep these Buddhist things away from me.

If you want to meditate, do it when I'm in the office.

That would be a sloppy compromise. And what they wanted was not that. They wanted the other to convert to their position. They wanted their own lifestyle to define the program for the whole marriage, and the other resisted. There's an important difference. It was a question of power: Who calls the theme of the marriage?

In the meantime, they had of course established some relationships, she to a man, he to a woman. If you are mediating, you get those stories. And by and large, after having done this for more than 50 years, I sometimes feel, *Can't they come up with something new?*

My proposal was to run a Buddhist bookstore together: business to him, Buddhism to her. I advised them to put 50 percent capital into it each. After one week, she got an intense interest in black and red figures. And he did something he had never thought he'd do in his life: He read a Buddhist book.

Now, you see what I'm doing. I tried to understand the conflict. I tried to design a project that is conflict-sensitive, respecting their legitimate goals. He is in it. She is in it. And they reported to me that very quickly the other relationships somehow disappeared, and they came together. That made me think: *What a lousy job I have done. Why didn't I think more of her friend and his mistress? I could have brought them together. Have I defined it as a two-party conflict instead of a four-party? Simple instead of complex?* Yes, I confess I did. There are always more parties than meet the naked eye.

"You start with a solution. Don't think that you can change their feelings and that's a solution. The solution is political in the real world."

Ecuador and Peru, fighting high up in the Andes. It was a zone where, after the war in '41 when each country was supported by an American oil company that bought all deposits in the Amazon, Ecuador lost one-third of its territory. It was a zone where they were unable to draw the border. The war lasted 54 years, killing enormous amounts of people. I was called in – and I have a tendency to be called in as a last resort. When things are absolutely hopeless, somebody says, "There is this guy, what's his name again? Gotlong, or something like that." Sometimes I wish that somebody could ask me to come to somewhat simpler conflicts.

The ex-president of Ecuador and I met in a room in Guatemala, and he said, "Mr. Galtung, you have lived much in Latin America, you speak Spanish, and you know the history of our war. How do we draw the border without inviting far worse?" And I said, "Your Excellency, if I may propose one thing, would it be possible …" And here you talk in the subjunctive mode: *Could you possibly think in terms of maybe one day coming to the tentative conclusion that you could ask a question about not drawing a border at all but administering the zone together?* Question mark.

This runs much better in Spanish than in English. English is a very bad mediation language. It is too, let us say, prescriptive, too placative – too declaratory. Norwegian is equally bad. Latin languages are good. German is good.

Anyhow, the ex-president said, "I have been to these conferences for 30 years and no one has proposed that. Very creative, Mr. Galtung – but too creative. It will take us at least 30 years to get used to the idea and 30 more years to realize it." It took three years. In three years the peace treaty in 1998 became exactly that. The zone has now lasted for 12 years and there hasn't been one shot fired in anger – nothing. It's been a very clear success.

What was happening? They both wanted access to that zone. They both wanted to own it. One of them said, "I love hiking. If I hike up in that zone, according to your plan, will I meet Peruvians?" I said, "Yes, you will meet Peruvians because they also love hiking."

"I don't like Peruvians" – a clear statement. So I said, and this is where a little sense of humor might help, "You can do it the way airplanes do it, you see. You hike from 4,500 to 5,000 meters. He has from 5,000 to 5,500 meters. Then there are 500 meters for Ecuadorians."

He said, "Now look, that's ridiculous." And then: "With some training, I can start loving Peruvians."

"You need empathy. You need nonviolence. You need creativity…"

Notice now that you don't start with loving Peruvians; you start with a solution. Don't think that you can change their feelings and that's a solution. The solution is political in the real world. Things have to happen. A Buddhist bookstore is not exactly an innovation in this world, but it was new for them. In other words, something new has to be brought in. A zone of that kind was actually the first one. Others had been working on it too, but in 1998 I was called in for a detailed discussion with the admiral staff and the general staff of Ecuador, and I was grilled for eight hours about details. We were

in business. When I didn't have an answer, I did just honestly say, "I don't know." But I indicated some method for exploring an answer.

For instance, what happens when one guy kills another guy in a binational zone? Which legal code applies? Interesting, and you can have lawyers going on for centuries discussing that one. You can produce a whole library of books about it, so it's a good pastime for the legal profession. You can say you apply the law depending on who is the perpetrator of the act. There are many answers. It's interesting because we live in a globalizing world and we will have many zones of that type.

Legitimacy: I came to the conclusion that Ecuador has a legitimate claim and Peru has one too. If both of them have a legitimate claim to the same thing, you have a problem, and my answer was, own it together. You can be creative – start your mind moving. You need empathy. You need nonviolence. You need creativity – because you are now moving from legitimizing to bridging, and bridging means that you have legitimate goals on both sides, or three sides or four sides. And your task is to help construct that reality above them that would make them feel comfortable – that overarching reality.

We have three stages. Mapping: traditional social science. Legitimizing: You have to know some law, human rights, ethics, the thinking behind basic needs, the human body, the human mind and the human spirit. You have to know all this, and you have to be at home in it. Bridging is an entirely different thing: It's intuition, creativity. It's close to art. Where do you have that school where you learn social science, law, human rights, ethics, philosophy and art all at the same time? The Joan Kroc School could be an answer to it.

Can you teach creativity? Yes, you can. You can give lots of examples; you can give exercises in it. And I would strongly recommend it. We have a big project actually in Norway called *Sabona*. Sabona is a Zulu word which means "I see you, I take you in." Not on, but in. I take you in. You are part of me, I am part of you. You bridge two spirits.

Our experience is that kids from 8 to 12 learn this almost immediately. *I don't like that guy, he is always troubling me.* And the point is made: Why don't you find out why he is so troublesome. What does he want? Ask him, and if you don't like to talk with him, have somebody else ask him. You may find that what he wants is actually not so unreasonable. And then you can sit down and find a way in which you can gel and things can come together. They understand this immediately and love it. They say, *How much more interesting than two equations of the first degree.* 3x+4y=7, 2x–5y=0: of course fascinating. But, even more fascinating: Ecuador and Peru wanting the same territory.

"That boy is destroying our snowman." You ask, find out, why does he do it?

"Nobody invited me to be playing." Ah, should we give him a try? Should we try once?

You can say that's a simple thing. But when the Norwegian foreign ministry was trying to do something in Israel-Palestine, they invited left-wing Israel and right-wing Palestine, but left-wing Palestine and right-wing Israel were not invited to be playing. So maybe they destroyed the snowman? Maybe right-wing Israel killed the prime minister? And maybe left-wing Palestine started with suicide belts? That's exactly what they did: *Ah-ha, we are not invited. You will be hearing from us.*

Don't get into the excuse made by, to be frank, the American nonsense of calling them spoilers. It's simply because you have forgotten to ask them. They are problematic, and they may change your little scheme because they may bring in new perspectives. Let them in. Stick to the line that you will never talk with Taliban, Hamas or Hezbollah, and you will reap the consequence. The consequences are now clear to everybody: endless war in Afghanistan, Israel-Palestine, Lebanon.

If we now go on from there, I'll try to summarize. The method is one-on-one dialogue. Point one: mapping. Point two: legitimizing. Point three: bridging – going on with the legitimate goals. What is it you need? Point one: empathy. Point two: nonviolence. You don't critique the parties. You don't moralize. I know of very few cases where somebody has become good because he has been told he is bad. Point three: creativity.

The approach is what we call "Triple C": Be constructive, concrete and creative. Try to show that there is a way out. Do not be afraid of proposing things. If you are a good mediator, you will have hundreds of indicated solutions in front of the parties. Don't assume that they know their own situation and the possibilities. Any mediator worth a grain of salt will have enough experience – partly self-made, partly from literature – to be a walking, ambulating laboratory of solutions. Don't be afraid of proposing, but don't command. Propose them with a question mark in the subjunctive mode. Make them fascinating, as delicacies on the menu for discussion, for dialogue.

"Don't be afraid of proposing, but don't command. Propose them with a question mark in the subjunctive mode. Make them fascinating, as delicacies on the menu for discussion, for dialogue."

Having said that, let's move straight to Afghanistan – make a little jump. It's my major concern, watching Afghanistan. It's nothing easy. The first thing you do is of course to ask the Taliban, "What do you want?" As a matter of fact, I have a way of formulating that question, which works quite well. It's a general formulation that I recommend: What does the Afghanistan look like where you would like to live? What does the Middle East look like where you would like to live? What does the marriage look like where you would like to be a party? What do the Andes Mountains high up look like that you would like to see?

In other words, you contextualize the goal, and that contextualization is

important. They'll tell you. I don't think I have, in my 50 years of experience, met anybody who's not more than willing to talk. The point is not that they're quiet, rather that they talk too much. Sooner or later you have to find a way of gently moving the conversation on.

The parties will of course start with saying how bad the other is. Then you say, "No, no, no, wait with that one. I guarantee you it's on the agenda, but I would like to hear what you want, your dreams. After that, how bad the other is. When you have told me how bad the other is, I might like to ask you: Was there some time in the past when the situation was good?"

Yes, he was nice to start with, but he was a hypocrite.

"Could you tell me an example of the hypocrisy? Was it nice hypocrisy, or was it bad hypocrisy? Give me an example." And then I might like to ask, "What are you most afraid of for the future?"

I'm afraid that the Zionists will keep expanding forever, and I'm afraid that they will throw us into the sea.

Now this combination of positive-negative, past-future is a very powerful dialogue agenda. If you ask the Taliban, what will they say? They say, "We want three things."

Point one: "We want Islam. We are dead against secularization." That incidentally throws out almost all the development projects because they come from infidels. To believe that water is neutral is naïve. And no school is neutral. The question is who is running it and in whose name? Is it in the name of Allah the Merciful, in the name of the Prophet, or is it in the name of some project coming from the West?

Point two: "We hate Kabul. We want a decentralized Afghanistan. We are 20,000 villages in a mountainous country. We are poor. We are seven or eight

nations. We don't want to be run from Kabul by a Pashtun-Tajik alliance connected to foreign powers that run the system through Kabul."

Point three: "We are sick and tired of being invaded. We have had enough."

Here you have three very clear goals: their own identity, a decentralized society and not being invaded. They seem to me legitimate. I have no problems with them. I have problems with other things they do, but not with that one. So let us look at the U.S. side, what are the goals? A base for a possible coming war with China and an oil pipeline. These, ladies and gentlemen, are the basic goals. That's the text, the subtext, the deep text, the super text and the context. Add up all of that and you get the pretext. And for your information, I'll be among those writing the post-text.

The pretext is, of course, an effort to legitimize. I'm not saying there couldn't be some sincerity in it. I'm just saying that you have a conflict with three highly legitimate goals posited against two illegitimate. How do you solve that one?

We had a mediation in February 2001, before the war started on Oct. 7, 2001. The mediation couldn't be inside Afghanistan because of the Taliban brutality. In Peshawar there were 100 people in the room: one-third cabinet members, one-third sheiks, one-third professors – not very useful – and 10 ladies. When I say that thing about my own kind, it's because professors have the tendency to confuse books with reality. It's not quite the same thing. There is a difference. For instance, reality walks on two legs and talks, and the libraries don't do that.

Out of this one-week mediation, my Canadian-Norwegian group of TRANSCEND – the organization I founded together with Dietrich Fischer and my wife in 1993 – came up with five conclusions that I stand by today. And I am trying to make them known to the actors.

Point one: a coalition government. A former prime minister said, "The Taliban have to be in it. They are the moral nerve of our country. If you don't have Taliban, you will get heroin and corruption. One hundred percent Taliban is intolerable. Zero percent is a stupidity." I said, "How about 20?" He said, "18." I said, "How about 19?" He laughed, I laughed. I tried to bring in that you can be somewhat light with your wording. You can play on it. You can curl your lips in a genuine smile. You can laugh with your eyes and your body language. But be careful.

Point two: Afghanistan as a loose federation with very much local autonomy. The country in the world most similar to Afghanistan is Switzerland. It's a country that should play a major mediation role. They're even similar in two very important senses; the parts of Switzerland are replications of the context. Germany: German in Switzerland. Italy: Italian in Switzerland. France: French in Switzerland. And then there is a Swiss part that is genuinely Swiss, the Ladino speaking peoples – like the Hazara in Afghanistan. Now, this points to a federation with the capital in a small city, not Kabul.

Point three: a confederation with the bordering Muslim countries. Afghanistan is in them, and they are in Afghanistan. Confederation means community – a Central Asian community. That would be the five former Soviet Central Asian republics, Pakistan, Iran and Azad Kashmir. Add up all of that and you have eight countries in the context of Afghanistan, and Afghanistan as a neutral country like Switzerland.

Point four: priority to basic needs. It means food and water grown the way they find culturally acceptable. It means education and health and shelter. It means education for the whole nation and both genders. The Taliban are changing; they realize that their approach was wrong. They're telling me again and again the same thing: *Yes, we made mistakes, but we are not going to be told that by Americans or by feminists, and particularly not by American feminists.*

To whom do we listen?, they say. *To our brothers and sisters who are ahead of us.* Which are the advanced countries among the 56 Muslim countries? Tunisia, number one: since 1956, parity between the genders. A remarkable country. Turkey, very important. Indonesia. The southern part of the Philippines. They are more than willing to take the message, but remember this is an isolated country up in the Hindu Kush. Isolated from the world. Don't expect the waves of the world to reach them immediately. Don't blame them for being 50 years behind. There are many countries that are 50 or more years behind in many regards. You cannot assume that all countries in the world are synchronized. We ought to help them, and the way to help them is to facilitate their dialogue with those context countries I mentioned.

Point five: internal security. It's an extremely violent culture. The violence is linked to what they call insults – you can also say unresolved conflicts. I remember when we were asked in 2003 to come back to Kabul for a session with the minister of education about reducing violence in Afghanistan and introducing peace studies in the schools. We were asking for examples of violence: "What's the kind of insult that would lead to violence?" The woman minister of education, a very gentle, fine lady, said, "Well, you are driving on a highway and somebody passes you – a clear insult."

A very clear case. The reaction is violent. Somebody has a gun in your glove compartment. What else do you have a glove compartment for? Not for gloves; it's a pistol compartment. *Bang! Bang!* And the two back tires are flat. So we asked, "How much time between the insult and the violent reaction?" She said about five seconds: not much time for mediation – in the subjunctive mode, with creativity, empathy, nonviolence. Not much time.

So we chose another approach: "What happens if somebody says, 'Let's not react violently'?" And she said, "Somebody else will say you're not a man." I remember I said, "This one I have heard before. This one I know. Even we Canadians and Norwegians have heard this one."

"Ladies and gentlemen, minister of education, sit down at the 10 tables," I said. "Who can come up with the best answer when somebody says you are not a man? If you have only five seconds, the answer has to be very short."

Well, the gold medal went to "So what?" – question mark. And the silver medal went to something the Spanish speakers in the audience will understand immediately: "That's your problem, not my problem." *Eso es su problema, no es mi problema.* It's a little bit too long; it eats up too much of the five seconds. How successful this has been, I don't know. I'm just illustrating that it's a violent country. How do you handle that? By peacekeeping. Who can keep the peace? Not the United States, not the U.K., not NATO, not ISAF[7] – infidels all, with moralist hidden agendas. It's the brothers and sisters from the Muslim world – more or less the same countries I mentioned, incidentally. And they could combine it by talking about parity between genders. That's the kind of thing I'm peddling.

I remember sitting in the Rayburn Building next to the U.S. Congress with very famous congress people. It belongs to my game that I never tell names. They said, "Johan, fascinating. We have not heard this. CIA has never told us what Taliban stands for. But how can we bring this to the American voter? They're not interested in conflict solution. They're interested in one thing: winning. Are we winning or losing?"

I said, "Are you sure of that? Could it be that you engage with the American voters to do it differently? Solution rather than winning?" Let me stop that line of reasoning because I'm now coming to a rather important point, which is the following.

What are the options for the United States in this situation? Let me first ask you to look at the map. Which are the countries around Afghanistan thinking the kind of way that I have introduced you to? They are on an axis from Istanbul and Ankara, Turkey, through Afghanistan to Shanghai and Beijing,

7 International Security Assistance Force

China. China and Turkey are major actors. So is Iran. So is half of Pakistan – maybe the half some people don't like. What now are the U.S. options? Victory is out. I'll give you two reasons – maybe three – why it has been out all the time.

You are fighting three wars at the same time – against something defined as Muslim extremism, which in some cases is exactly that. But it's also people who just honestly have their faith as opposed to secularism. Against decentralization and local autonomy. And against people sick and tired of being invaded, like they have been five times in the modern era. You are fighting the wrong wars.

Point two: There are 1.57 billion[8] Muslims in the world and they are obligated by the Quran to defend this land by the sword when trampled upon. Remember, for them the borders between Islamic countries are fake; they're drawn by us. Reality is the *umma*: the community of the believers. When they flow into Afghanistan, they're not crossing a border. They're moving inside the umma.

Point three: There is nothing called capitulation in Islam to infidels. If you hope for some tent with some rickety camping equipment, a secretary, "sign on the dotted line" and things of that type, you are living in the world of fantasy. There may be some local capitulation, but Islam will never capitulate to anything else than another Islamic country, like Iran ultimately did to Iraq. They will not capitulate to infidels.

Do you want a war for eternity? Please, go on. It's been unwinnable from day one – from Oct. 7, 2001. And the prime minister I quoted told me when we had come to the five-point plan, "This plan is something of the best I've ever seen. The only problem is it cannot be realized because the U.S. is going to invade us in October." He said that in February 2001, which happens to be seven months before 9/11. Why? "Because they want a base

8 Pew Research Center, October 2009

for the coming war with China and they want a pipeline from Turkmenistan down to the Indian Ocean via Afghanistan and Pakistan." Evidently, he was well-informed. We'll put it that way. I looked at what was written under his finger when he was pointing to the map: "This is where they want the base." *Bagram*. Of course.

If you mediate, you may very quickly become much better informed than media. And, I repeat, the rule of the game is it is non-attributable. Having said that, you are now in a situation where victory is impossible. And defeat is impossible. The alternative to defeat is withdrawal.

I would hope for the United States to go in for conflict resolution. I've indicated points; others have other points. Call a conference for security and cooperation in Central Asia – not run by the United States, but by Central Asian countries. Then the United States as an observer will have the right to speak. Have we had that before? Yes, it was the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, called by Finland. It was very much a success, sabotaged by the United States after 1975, whereby the United States postponed the ending of the Cold War by, roughly speaking, 10 years. Let's just see to it that that doesn't happen again.

If the United States joins the conflict resolution, it will make itself relevant. What's the alternative to victory, defeat and withdrawal? There are two alternatives. Alternative number one: conflict resolution, where the U.S. has one very important and totally legitimate goal, which I haven't mentioned so far. It's the goal of not being attacked from Afghanistan. They never were; 9/11 had nothing to do with Afghanistan. The attack came from Saudi Arabia, via Germany, maybe technical schools in Hamburg, and via pilot schools in the United States. But not Afghanistan.

Alternative number two for the United States: to become irrelevant, as it became in Vietnam. Who then are relevant? They would be on the belt from Turkey to Beijing. Roads are already being planned, railroads are being

planned, the incorporation of Afghanistan as a neutral country in an East-West Asia through Central Asia is already being planned. The post-U.S. withdrawal is planned by somebody else. Why? How?

"You see the other party as somebody with whom you could work. I don't call it win-win; I call it transcendence. The reason for that is that you have to go beyond the present reality into something new."

Something mysterious about the United States of America is its inability to handle conflict. Not domestically. I have lived a long part of my life in this country, and I admire American ability to handle conflicts. There are fantastic Americans able to see the other sides and listen to other parties. Only it's not practiced in foreign affairs. When somebody's goal stands in the way of the United States', send the Marines – 240 plus times since 1805. Too much. You see, what is needed is the ability to understand that the other guy might have a legitimate point of view. If you don't want to understand that, then don't talk with him because it might be dangerous. He might even be persuasive, so rule him out. Kill him.

In April 1775, the English were complaining on the road to Concord, Mass., that they were being shot at by people who were not out in the open. They were hiding behind the hedges and the windows and shooting at them like savages, and they never came out in the open. Ladies and gentlemen, the savages won. That was the beginning of the War for Independence, and I have in front of me lots of descendants of savages. Savages have a tendency to win. England would have been wise if they'd had a dialogue with the people on the other side and understood that they had rather legitimate goals. Some of them were not so legitimate, but many of them were. They could have saved a lot of suffering from 1775 to 1812, when finally it was over.

So, ladies and gentlemen, your task is to make America involved with conflict resolution. There is nothing particularly tricky about it. But you have to learn the secret to it: The other side might have a legitimate point of view. If you try to combine it with your own – don't give up your own – and you try to be creative, you may get out of it so much more than victory.

"You have to learn the secret to it: The other side might have a legitimate point of view."

I ask people high up, "What is your goal?"

To win.

And I then say, "What happens then?"

Well then it's over. They will understand they have lost.

"If you had lost, would you have understood that you have lost?"

No, but I am made of a different material than them.

It takes about five minutes to turn that guy to understand that he is in for some problems. Mediation is painting on the wall a vision so attractive that the parties say:

Look, it's not exactly what I was hoping for, but I can go for that one.

I can walk in the Andes even if I meet Peruvians.

My husband doesn't have to become a Buddhist if we can work together on the Buddhist bookstore – and I would like him to read a book.

If my hysteric, esoteric wife, who is shouting and crying about meditation all the time, could only get a little sense of business, that would help a lot.

In other words, you see the other party as somebody with whom you could work. I don't call it win-win; I call it transcendence. The reason for that is that you have to go beyond the present reality into something new. One of the reasons why Americans are not good at this internationally is also sheer conservatism. They don't want anything new – they're *afraid* of something new. You should enjoy it. A zone in the Andes Mountains does not change the world radically, but it could be the beginning of something. It could serve as a model.

So, ladies and gentlemen, good luck to you. Thanks that this institution exists. And go ahead.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Questions from the audience were read by Executive Director Milburn Line.

ML: Thank you, Professor Galtung. Your discussion of Peru and Ecuador and the possibility of painting something on the wall that was attractive enough for people to stand down on the conflict makes me think of a pending conflict that is currently much on the minds of people: the referendum in Sudan. Would you speak to that, and is there a process in which that wall may be painted?

JG: It's a complicated conflict. I see the answer as a combination of four things. It has to do with land ownership in Darfur, and I think a basic key to it – this is not on the referendum – is public ownership, collective ownership and private use. In other words, you don't have private property but you have private use, monitored by the collectivity. It could be the tribe or it could be the government.

Point two: a federation inside Sudan, with a high level of autonomy for the provinces. You can then discuss how many provinces there are. But the northeast has no right to dictate the faith and the conditions of the other parts. It may also be that the capital should not be Khartoum.

Point three: a community together with the neighboring countries, in order to try to reduce the interstate factor, which is considerable. That community would involve some eight or nine countries. If they could enter a community inside the setting of the African Union, it would be very strong. And Africa is so vast that there is space for other such communities – like Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda and the two Congos, with a highway from Dar Es Salaam to the port of Kinshasa. These are things I am discussing very much in Africa.

And point four: Sudan is suffering the African proverb, "When elephants fight, the grass is suffering. And when elephants make love, the grass is also suffering." Instead of being the object of rivalry between China and the United States, process the oil yourself. Don't give into it.

Now this is a complex formula, but I am afraid it is a complex situation and it's the best I can come up with.[9] I am not at all convinced that dividing the country is a solution.

ML: Have you articulated this to anyone? Or is anyone trying to sell to the parties that you can jointly administer a territory or come up with another attractive vision?

JG: I cannot say that, but I have planted it very many places. You see, you must face one thing. There is a limit to the complexity people can absorb. If you are a trained conflict specialist, you can handle more complexity than most people can. One of my weaknesses may very well be that what I come up with is too complex. Nevertheless, I find it important to say that I don't believe you can just approach one factor and then you hold the key to it all – you'll be disappointed.

We sow seeds; to nurse them into blossoming is far beyond our capacity.

ML: A question from a student in the audience: What is your vision for the future of peace education and the role of technology as a tool for it?

JG: I'm afraid that I'm not so happy about the word "technology." You see, we are dealing with people and we are dealing with dialogue. We are dealing with such factors as empathy. We do have a technology. We have a little carpet with four squares that we put on the floor. I've even had a foreign minister from a small country walking that carpet, and he enjoyed it thoroughly.

Field one is future constructive: What would you like to see?

Field two is past destructive: What is happening?

Field three is past constructive: What was good in the past?

9 See page 37 of this booklet for more on Dr. Galtung's perspective on Sudan.

Field four is future destructive: What are you afraid of?

Number one is the dream. Number two: reality. Number three: nostalgia. And number four is the nightmare. You have people who specialize in dreams; they are often called idealists. There are people who specialize in reality; they are often called realists. You have people who are permanent nostalgics, and you have people who are suffering from nightmares all the time and are always able to see the dark side of things. Maturity is to combine the four. Any tendency toward only one of them cuts off parts of reality.

We are training the children in this, and all I can say is that the kids understand it before the adults do. We have had kids go through a high number of conflicts based on two hours a week in the experimental schools. When they listen to their parents quarrel, they say, "Mom and dad, I think I see some possibility." The rector of that school has become partly unemployed because the classical method is to take the bad boy by the ear and then bring him to the rector, incidentally an absolutely lovely guy who then puts on his satanic face in order to frighten bad boy into good behavior. Not a very productive method.

I can only say that we have had good experiences, and that is the "technology" we use for peace education.

ML: A question about TRANSCEND Peace University: Are your courses transferable to U.S. universities?

JG: As we stand we have no agreement with any university, but we will be helpful if the student wants to get credit at some university. There are several reasons for this. One is that there are some universities that would like to guarantee credits, but they are usually fourth-rate universities who try to make themselves famous through that message. First-rate universities will start writing the courses directly. We are exploring a formula with the University of Basel in Switzerland where the World Peace Academy is located, recognized by that university for a master's degree in advanced studies.

But let me add a rider to that – we have designed the course mainly for practitioners, not for credit hungry students. As a matter of fact, we may not even like students because students are feeding on degrees and credits. They are credit-eating. They like soup with credits floating in it. They are drinking it, gulping it down, getting obese from credits. We like people in the field who want to know more about mediation, more about reconciliation, more about project peacebuilding, and so on. Peace practice.

Now, the two categories don't exclude each other. Though we are working on it, we haven't found a solution to it.

ML: Another question from a Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies (KSPS) master's student: Professor Galtung, you have written and spoken much about achieving peace through peaceful means. In a world and in a country that is quick to seek peace through violent means, what are the most creative and innovative ideas for peace by peaceful means that you would like students and practitioners of peace to live out in future generations?

JG: Let's make a definition of peace with not more than six words: cooperation for mutual and equal benefit. The best formula I know. Cooperation for mutual and equal benefit. Make it unequal and you're in trouble. Make it equal and you have no guarantee that there couldn't be some violence, but then you look at it and try to find the deeper roots. This is the formula for positive peace.

For negative peace, focus on the conflict. Formula: mapping, legitimizing, bridging. Creativity. It's only cost me 60 years to be able to concentrate it into less than one minute. You should have listened to me 40 years ago: incomprehensible. I have some tape recordings, and I don't even understand it myself. So it helps with some age. The first 50 years are the difficult ones; after that it becomes easier. Good luck to you.

"Let's make a definition of peace with not more than six words: cooperation for mutual and equal benefit. The best formula I know. This is the formula for positive peace."

ML: I hope to promote conflict resolution through my work. Other than being an academic, what can I do that would allow me to make a living?

JG: It is problematic. We have the organization TRANSCEND, founded in 1993, and I have a principle: Never accept honoraria for mediation and never be invited by the parties. When I was mediating in Nepal, it was the Nepal Human Rights Commission that invited me – not the royalists, not the Maoists, not the seven political parties. Also, never accept governmental funding, and be very careful about private foundations.

So, what do we live on? We live on fees for workshops and sales of books – like *The Fall of the U.S. Empire – And Then What?*[10] Most Americans should buy it. "Fall of the American empire?" you say. "We know that. It's the 'then what?' we are interested in." There is incidentally a third part of the book – "The Fall of the Roman Empire" – so you get the fall of two empires for the price of one. How about that one?

We try to survive by such methods, and we have remained independent. So I think you have to be an entrepreneur; you have to be imaginative to do it. But it is possible. And one day even governments in the West may go in for conflict resolution, not victory.

ML: Related to the American empire, what is your advice to President Obama and Congress for working together better instead of partisan politics where the American people lose?

JG: Do the following four things. It's very precise and very simple, and totally comprehensible.

Militarily, instead of military intervention, conflict resolution. Do we really have a conflict with China? Do we really have a problem with Cuba? With the Islamic world? Talk with them and find out what they stand for. That's one thing. You'll be surprised how reasonable they are.

Politically, negotiation – not arm twisting, not threatening. Negotiation means you put your cards on the table: *This is what I would like to see. What are your cards?* And then have a debate. I find the TRANSCEND message better: Let's have a dialogue and try to find something imaginative. But we are of course also open to negotiation; that's the common way of doing it.

Culturally, dialogue. That's point three. Don't assume that we have the answers to everything. There could be a couple of other people in human history who have thought out a couple of answers, too. For instance, when the financial crisis didn't hit the Islamic world, it could be that according to *Sharia* law, a bank should not lend more than 30 percent of its capital. Now look at that

10 See the Related Resources page at the end of this booklet for more on Galtung's published work.

compared to what happened in the United States. You may say that's not very dynamic. OK, but maybe the U.S. system was too dynamic? That could be.

How about sitting down and discussing with people: *How do you do it? Could you give me some advice? Could I give you some advice?* For mutual and equal benefit.

"The problem here is a science called economics. It's to my mind one of the major impediments to peace. The retraining of economists and the reshaping of economics as a science is a major challenge."

Then comes the tricky one: economics. Answer: mutual and equal benefit. Buying and selling as a contract between willing buyer and willing seller is *not* good enough because there are repercussions in the pyramids that the willing buyer and the willing seller are at the top of. Let us say the CEO of a transnational corporation and the president of a developing country sign a contract. They're both at the top of pyramids. What is the impact downstream in those pyramids? Always remember: mutual and equal benefit. Otherwise it could mean a catastrophe for one and bonuses for the other. In that case, the situation would become much worse.

The problem here is a science called economics. It's to my mind one of the major impediments to peace. The retraining of economists and the reshaping of economics as a science is a major challenge. If you take an average text in economics and you look up the word "exploitation," they would probably tell you: "see mining." If you look up the word "equity," they will tell you: "see mortgages." Now, exploitation and equity are the key words, more than growth.

Here you have four points: One is military, one is political, one is cultural and one is economic. Americans are very good at the first three, not so good at the

fourth one. That can be changed. That would be the advice for Mr. Obama.

ML: A related policy question: Can conflict resolution be institutionalized within the U.S. government with, for example, a cabinet-level department of peace?

JG: I think that's a very good question and I totally agree. It can be, and it's what Dennis Kucinich stands for.[11] The solution that he has launched in the House has 64 sponsors. I've been a consultant to it, and I think that could be exactly what could happen. He very wisely has domestic conflict and international conflict in it. He has conflict resolution, nonviolence and reconciliation as parts of it. There are subdivisions of the ministry or department, even more important than the title itself. He has, in a sense, scooped up the whole curriculum that we are running around with. Imagine if the United States does that. The world would love the United States of America, would embrace it.

"The people flow is illegal, the drug flow is illegal, the money flow is illegal, the arms flow is illegal, and all four are thriving. Why do we have it?"

Dennis has the light. Sixty-four does not the majority make; it has to grow a little. The United States is at an impasse. The kind of demand from people like you saying, "Look, our skills are not perfect but we have a lot of it, and we would love to work for that kind of thing" – it would be very important that people know there are people around who have something concrete to offer.

ML: We have a high-level delegation here from Mexico and the question from them is: How would you advise the government of Mexico to handle the narcos? Do you deal with them, and how?

11 U.S. Congressman Kucinich (D-OH) introduced H.R. 808, the Department of Peace and Nonviolence Bill.

JG: To insist that the United States seriously reduces the demand for drugs is the only valid approach. What you have now is drugs flowing from the White Triangle[12] via all the routes we know, more or less, into the United States. You also have people who flow, and in the other direction you have money and arms. The people flow is illegal, the drug flow is illegal, the money flow is illegal, the arms flow is illegal, and all four are thriving. Why do we have it?

Point one: There is something about U.S. society that makes people take drugs. There is also something about going back to 1968, the FBI preferring people taking drugs to becoming political. It's a way of neutralizing people. At that time it was LSD; today it would be, of course, coca derivatives of various kinds.

Point two: the extreme poverty at the bottom of Mexican society. When Pablo Escobar, a major drug baron, was finally killed in Colombia, 20,000 poor people came to the funeral out of gratitude. Don't believe that the drug barons put all the money in their own pockets. They use it for monetary or social distribution.

So, we have a psychological-spiritual emptiness in the U.S. and a social emptiness in Mexico. In addition to that, you have the wars between the gangs and with the government, hence the need for arms, and the killing. When it comes to the flow of people, the American dream is now a little suspect. For that reason it's going down, just like the violence between states. The state system is going down and the nation system is coming up, so you give the violence a new flow, like civil war.

This is a very intricate problem, but if you should put your finger at one point: the demand in the United States. "Just say no" – those three words are a little bit too little. You need a thorough analysis. You need alternatives. You need spiritual growth. You need to show people there are better ways out. The churches have provided such ways, but evidently they have not been sufficient. The decline of the U.S. empire will make more people take drugs because much of their egos are identified with the U.S. position in the world. They should be prepared for this, and they should love the decline of the empire: the United States normalizing, becoming a normal country, not swimming with an albatross around the neck.

I would add one point. Colombia designed a set of TV spots 15 years ago saying, *OK, we supply the drugs, and you have the demand. Why don't we agree on the following: We control the supply, you control the demand.* No U.S. channel accepted it. Colombia said, *We are going to pay for the spot.* It was rejected by all U.S. channels as bribery. Then the Colombian ambassador to the United Nations was called to the office of the U.S. ambassador: *If you continue on that line, we will increase the interest on your World Bank loans. And you know exactly how many children will die for each half-percent increase.* Colombia stopped it.

This is the kind of thing that doesn't work in the longer run. You cannot put all the blame on somebody else and quietly use it as a pretext to intervention. You ought to be able to see your side of it. I do not mean that *all* of it is U.S. demand, but it is a key factor. This has to be confronted openly, and it's a tough thing to work on. The question is just excellent, thank you.

12 The White Triangle consists of Colombia, Peru and Bolivia.

RELATED RESOURCES

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TRANSCEND University Press. For a full list of books by Johan Galtung, visit www.transcend.org/tup

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml

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