

# Chapter 1

## Johan Galtung, the Father of Peace Studies

**Abstract** This brief overview of Johan Galtung's life and work begins with some of his childhood experiences (such as his father being imprisoned in a Nazi concentration camp) that shaped his determination to work for peace. It surveys some of his main new concepts and theories (such as direct, structural and cultural violence, negative and positive peace, rank discordance as a factor of genocide, and peaceful conflict transformation, among many others). It summarizes his contributions in mediating in over one hundred international conflicts, founding peace institutes around the world, publishing over 160 books and over 1,600 articles, teaching thousands of people around the world in conflict resolution and peace building, and inspiring many to devote their lives to peace.

### 1.1 Introduction

Johan Galtung's parents and ancestors were mainly medical doctors and nurses for several generations. So when Johan was born on 24 October 1930, an uncle congratulated his parents saying, "Today a new doctor is born!" Johan indeed became a kind of doctor, but rather than treating individuals, his patients are entire societies with their pathologies, for which he developed diagnosis, prognosis and therapy, using the terms he heard repeatedly at the dinner table.

On 9 April 1940, when Johan Galtung was nine years old, the German warship *Blücher*, with over 2,000 soldiers and sailors on board, led a flotilla into Oslo Fjord to conquer Oslo and occupy Norway. An old torpedo hit the ship, and it burst into flames and sank. Many of the soldiers could swim ashore, but suffered from burns in their throats. Johan's father, an ear-nose-throat surgeon, feverishly operated day and night to save the lives of as many of those soldiers as possible. Johan asked his father, "Were you not sometimes tempted to let your scalpel slip a little?" His father answered, "Absolutely not! The most essential duty of a physician is to save lives, anyone's life, without distinction." This left a deep impression on little Johan.

In 1944, Johan's father was taken with other prominent Norwegians to a Nazi concentration camp in Norway. Every day, his family feared to hear on the radio the news, "In retaliation for English bombing, Dr. Galtung was executed today." But fortunately, one month before the end of the war, his father returned home unharmed. This reinforced Johan's determination to work for the prevention of war.

In 1951, Johan Galtung studied in Helsinki with a scholarship. He asked the librarian for books about peace research. She did not have any, and wrote to the Central Library in Sweden, which had a much larger collection. The answer came, "There are no such books." Johan found this strange. There were thousands of books about war and military strategy research, why should there be no books about research for peace? This was a missing discipline, and he decided that this was his life's calling. He has contributed original research and insights to many areas of intellectual inquiry, having so far published over 160 books and over 1,600 book chapters and articles in scholarly and popular journals. 40 of his books have been translated into 34 languages, for a total of 134 book translations, making him the so far most cited author in the field of peace studies.<sup>1</sup>

Thanks in large part to his tireless efforts, there are today peace studies programmes at universities throughout the world, and a growing number of schools teach children how to handle conflicts constructively. In the United States alone, there are over 500 peace studies programmes at colleges and universities.

School children are enthusiastically practicing the TRANSCEND<sup>2</sup> method of finding mutually acceptable solutions to challenging personal conflicts, and numerous professionals around the world are learning and applying the method. The main focus of the TRANSCEND method<sup>3</sup> is not to merely identify who is guilty and punish those, the traditional legal approach, but to create an attractive new reality acceptable to all those involved. A new organization, Lawyers for Dialogue, is propagating this new approach among their colleagues.

Galtung has also helped mediate in over one hundred international conflicts, often successfully, and in this way helped prevent wars and saved many lives. He is sought by Presidents and Prime Ministers, because he does not necessarily tell them what they like to hear, nor the opposite, but creative insights they do not hear elsewhere. He focuses on positive proposals, not merely criticism of what is wrong. He has also been a frequent consultant to various United Nations agencies.

Galtung has held numerous visiting professorships all over the world. He fluently speaks and lectures in eight languages (Norwegian, English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Danish and Swedish), all learned the hard way after age 20.

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<sup>1</sup> A list of his books is given [Chap. 2](#). A complete list of his publications, regularly updated, can be found on [www.transcend.org/galtung/#publications](http://www.transcend.org/galtung/#publications). Many reports are available for free download at [www.transcend.org](http://www.transcend.org). The covers of his selected major books are at: [http://www.afes-press-books.de/html/SpringerBriefs\\_PSP06.htm](http://www.afes-press-books.de/html/SpringerBriefs_PSP06.htm).

<sup>2</sup> Transcend means 'going beyond' and refers to Galtung's main institutional basis that is introduced below.

<sup>3</sup> The 'Transcend method' is introduced below.



**Photo 1.1** Johan Galtung. Photo in personal possession of the author

He never reads his lectures, but speaks freely from memory, in well-structured, logical and original ways that are easy to remember. Then he writes up his speeches after he has given them. He is often invited to give the keynote address at international conferences.

Anita Kemp (1985) conducted a survey among 133 peace researchers, many of them members of the International Peace Research Association, which Johan Galtung had helped found in 1964. To the question, “Which person, dead or alive, has influenced your thinking the most”, many names were given, but nearly half (44 per cent) mentioned Johan Galtung, with the next runnerup receiving 12 per cent. He has inspired a generation of dedicated peace workers around the world.



**Photo 1.2** Johan Galtung at the TRANSCEND meeting in Grenzach-Wyhlen, Germany, 15 August 2012. Photo by Stacy Hughes, USA

Johan Galtung was a conscientious objector. He served twelve months as cook and in geographic surveys, the same period as those who did military service. Those opting for a civilian alternative were required to serve an additional six months. Johan agreed to do so, but only if he could work for peace during that time. That was refused by the government, and he was put in jail with murderers and other dangerous criminals for six months. While in jail, he completed his first book, *Gandhi's Political Ethics*, together with his mentor, Arne Naess, a deep ecologist. As assistant of Naess, Galtung searched through Gandhi's voluminous writings and extracted, among many other ideas, 68 norms for behaviour in conflict.

After completing two PhD equivalents, in Mathematics (1956) and Sociology (1957), he was invited to teach mathematical sociology at Columbia University in New York. Before his first class he cleaned the blackboard. One of his students, most of whom were older than he, came to him and said, "You better sit down, the professor may come in any moment." Johan had to explain to him that he was the professor.



**Photo 1.3** Johan Galtung. Photo by Fernando Montiel, Mexico

While at Columbia University, he mediated his first conflict, over desegregation in the school system in the southern states. Through his senior colleague, Professor Otto Klineberg, he got in contact with people in Charlottesville, Virginia, Thomas Jefferson's town. The Ku Klux Klan had already burned a cross, and people were afraid of violence. Three groups were pitted against each other, the white integrationists, the white segregationists, and the blacks. The integrationists tended to be immigrants, but also included Sarah Patton Boyle, a member of the 'First



Families of Virginia'. The cross had been burning outside of her window, as a 'traitor of her class'. After some thousand interviews it became clear to Galtung that even if most people were afraid of violence, very few were ready to commit any and that solutions that could be relatively acceptable to everybody were there for everybody to discover. The segregationists feared revenge from the blacks, whom they had mistreated, but it turned out that the blacks only really wanted equal rights of opportunity for access to the American Dream, which they finally achieved to a large extent.

Instead of writing a book about the conflict, what researchers had typically done up to now, Galtung felt it was his responsibility to mediate, to contribute to a peaceful solution of the conflict and to help prevent future violence. He did so successfully.

In 1960, Galtung was offered tenure at Columbia University, but he preferred to return to Europe to build up peace studies there.

On 1 January 1959, Johan Galtung and his then wife Ingrid Eide founded the *International Peace Research Institute in Oslo* (PRIO), the world's first research institute with the word peace in its name. Since then, Galtung has helped found numerous peace institutes around the world, which are thriving today. Without his initiative and constant intellectual support and encouragement, many of them would not exist. In 1964, he founded the *Journal of Peace Research*, which remains one of the leading journals in this field.

Galtung and his colleagues at PRIO published their research findings in a series of working papers and sent them to about 400 social science institutes around the world, including the Institute for *World Economy and International Relations* (IMEMO) in Moscow. They received acknowledgements from many quarters, but never heard anything from IMEMO. It was as if the papers disappeared in a black hole in the universe. In 1982, when Galtung attended a conference at IMEMO, the librarian showed him a locked file cabinet in the basement of the library. Here was the entire collection of papers that he and his colleagues had been sending over the years. Surprisingly, the papers seemed to have passed through many hands, with numerous notes in the margins. In 1991, Vladimir Petrovsky, then Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, visited Johan Galtung in Oslo, thanking him for sending those papers. He explained that during the Brezhnev era, he was part of a group of young scholars who met frequently to discuss new ideas, being aware that their system needed reform. These papers on alternative approaches to peace, security and development provided them with valuable new concepts and concrete ideas how to proceed. Sowing seeds can have unforeseen long term consequences.

In 1966, Johan Galtung was asked by the Council of Europe to do a study of how countries in the Cold War viewed the future. Since they had only a small budget for the study, the method chosen was not a traditional public opinion survey, but a dialogue about predictions and possibilities of cooperation, with only one person in each country: the head of the political department in the Foreign Office, in 19 countries in Europe and North America, during the summer of 1967.

In Washington, the dialogue was with Zbigniew Brzezinski, in Moscow with Jurij Vorontsov. The most interesting answers came from the Warsaw Treaty



**Photo 1.4** Johan Galtung. Photo in the personal possession of the author

Organization countries outside the Soviet Union. They had done a lot of thinking about the future; they knew that they wanted peace, independence and cooperation. Galtung never argued, he only asked questions, to understand their world from the inside, not to have a verbal duel in order to try to convince them of anything. In other words, a true dialogue, not a debate. He probably got better information that way than the CIA, because they mainly listen secretly, without asking questions.

Arising from these dialogues during the Cold War came an idea: a United Nations' Security Commission for Europe, where all parties could sit together and



**Photo 1.5** Johan Galtung in discussion with peace researchers during an excursion prior to the IPRA Conference in Sydney in July 2010. Photo in possession of Hans Günter Brauch

discuss the problems rather than planning nuclear mass destruction. In May 1968 the final report was discussed at the parliamentary gathering of the Council of Europe. The spokesman for the committee, a conservative Frenchman, said,

A Mr. Galtung suggests that we should sit together with Communists and discuss the problems. Anybody who suggests... that is himself a Communist! The chairman obviously did not understand what Nelson Mandela and Yasser Arafat later aptly expressed, Peace is something you make with your adversaries, not with your friends.

The report had been sent to all nineteen countries that had participated in the study. This paved the way for invitations from foreign offices in some countries. In Prague, Galtung presented the content of the report to about seventy foreign office people and others, particularly emphasizing the Security Commission. The Foreign Minister said that the idea was excellent, but that the time was not ripe. But Gandhi argued that the time is always ripe, that the place is here and the time is now.

Twenty-five years later, in 1993, there was a conference in Luxembourg about the world after the Cold War. Galtung's task was as usual to present some solution proposals. Afterwards, Jaroslav Sidevy, ambassador of the Czech Republic to France, approached him and said, "You don't know me, Professor Galtung, but many years ago you gave a talk at the Foreign Office in Prague, I was a young assistant at the time, seated way back in the room. You presented a proposal for a UN Security Commission in Europe and the Foreign Minister said that the time



was not ripe. After that came the spring of Prague 1968, I was a dissident and after the Soviet invasion was sent to the countryside, like Dubcek. I was a teacher, and that lasted until the end of the Cold War in 1989. At that time I was called to the foreign office as deputy minister. Our main problem was to get the Soviet troops out of the country. So we wrote a letter to Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, asking him to please withdraw the Soviet troops from our country. The answer was disappointing: “No, we want to modernize the Warsaw Treaty, the Soviet Union will become less dominant, there will be more dialogue, more democracy”. We had a crisis meeting and I said: “Maybe the time is ripe for the Galtung plan from 1967?” We sent the plan to Shevardnadze and got as an answer: “The plan is excellent, I am coming next week.” Shevardnadze said that what mattered to him was a ‘successor system’ to the Cold War, not military alliances, to discuss problems and make decisions together. We agreed that he should pull out his troops and that this ‘successor plan’ could be a common position in the Paris negotiations in fall of 1990, the negotiations that would mark an end to the Cold War. The troops were withdrawn, and the communiqué went in that direction. You, Professor Galtung, were the father of the idea, and I was its executor”, he said.

To be there when the time is ripe one evidently has to be there ahead of time. As Schopenhauer said, every new idea will first be ridiculed, then violently opposed, and finally taken as self-evident. But maybe Schopenhauer omitted a phase before all this: the big silence. Countless proposals are dying by being silenced to death; that is why we need peace journalism.

In “A structural theory of imperialism”, one of his most cited articles, Galtung (1971) showed how the centre of the Centre, in collusion with the centre of the Periphery and the periphery of the Centre, exploits the poorest people, the periphery of the Periphery.<sup>4</sup> One of Galtung’s many new concepts and theories is the classification of violence into three types: direct, structural and cultural violence. Direct violence is intentional, directed against a specific group or person, and involves hurting or killing people, but it also includes verbal violence.

Early in 1969, Galtung was working at a Centre for Gandhian Studies in Varanasi, India. One evening, he sat on the flat roof of the building observing homeless people sleeping in the street, children crying from hunger, and sick people waiting to die, with nobody caring for them. It struck him that this is a form of violence as much as violent crime or war, even if nobody walks around with a stick or gun intentionally hitting or shooting people. They suffer a slow death from hunger, preventable and curable diseases and other agonies caused by neglect, inaction, gross inequality and unjust structures of society, including from lack of freedom and democracy that enables people to help shape their lives. He created

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<sup>4</sup> From 1962–1964, Galtung was a Visiting Professor at the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) in Santiago de Chile. There he was inspired and participated in the debate of the school of ‘dependencia’. His article on imperialism helped to stimulate much interest of younger scholars and students to study the contributions on ‘dependencia theory’ by many Latin American scholars.

the term ‘structural violence’ (Galtung 1969) for such phenomena, in contrast to ‘direct violence’. Direct violence is an act of commission whereas structural violence is based on numerous acts of omission and escape attention in cultures, like Western and Christian weak on attention to acts of omission, according to Galtung.

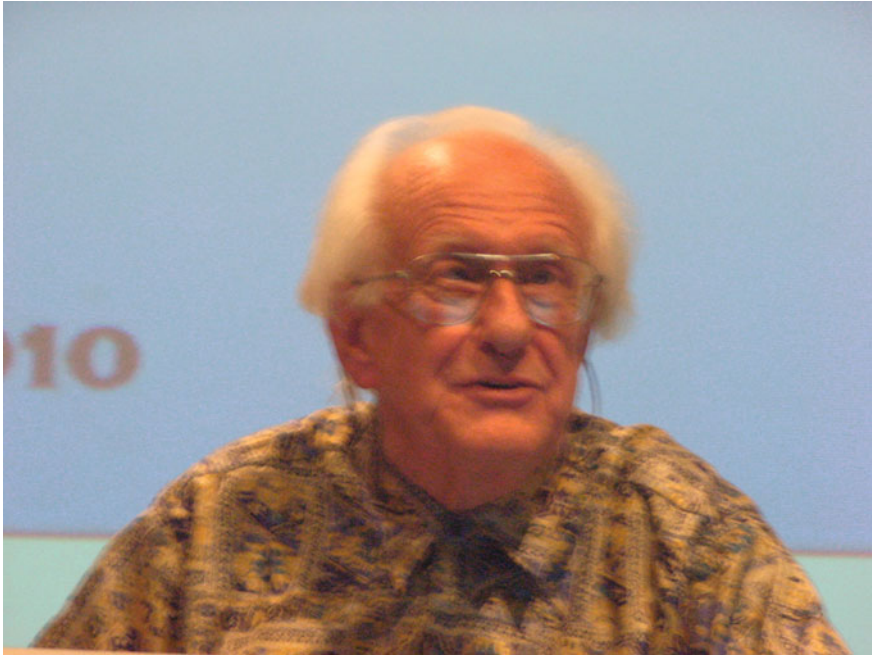
Later Galtung (1990) added the concept of ‘cultural violence’—the intellectual justification for direct and structural violence through nationalism, racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination and prejudice in education, the media, literature, films, the arts, street names, monuments celebrating war ‘heroes’, etc.

Köhler and Alcock (1976) sought to estimate the relative size of direct and structural violence. They observed a positive correlation between per capita income and life expectancy across countries, which increases rapidly at first, and then makes only small gains as income increases further. It is clear that increasing the annual per capita income from 100 to 200 dollars extends life expectancy considerably more than increasing it from 20,000 to 20,100 dollars. If per capita income had been equally distributed across all countries, 14 million lives could have been saved during the year 1965. They did not have data on income inequality within countries, so this is a low, conservative estimate of the extent of structural violence. During the same year, about 140,000 people died in all international and civil wars. Therefore, structural violence is at least one hundred times greater than direct violence. Zimmerman and Leitenberg (1979) pointed out that structural violence is equivalent to 236 Hiroshima bombs being dropped on the children of the world each year. But because the suffering is diffuse, not concentrated in one place at one time, it is ignored by the media.

Galtung (2010b, 2012) has promoted a living economy, with its main focus on the satisfaction of basic human needs of those most in need, as opposed to today’s killing economy, which causes the avoidable death of over 100,000 people every day, many of them children, from hunger and preventable or curable diseases. Negative peace consists of the absence of those three forms of violence, and positive peace includes mutually beneficial cooperation on an equal basis and mutual learning to heal past violence and prevent future violence.

Peace studies, like health studies (medicine) are clearly value-oriented: to save and promote life for all, to meet the basic needs for security, well-being, freedom, identity and a liveable environment (the opposites of death, misery, oppression, alienation and environmental degradation). Some have argued that peace studies are not a science, because they are not ‘valuefree’. With the same argument, one would conclude that a doctor is unscientific if she or he seeks to protect people’s health, or an engineer is unscientific if he wishes to design a bridge that will not collapse. This is obviously wrong. There is a definite need for applied value-oriented sciences that seek to promote desirable goals. Yet they must strictly follow scientific principles of seeking truth. A doctor who falsified medical test results would not help his patients.

The goal of peace studies is to train not only theorists, but also practitioners who can apply what they have learned. Galtung has characterized ‘value-free’ science as follows. You don’t feel well and go to see a doctor. He examines you



**Photo 1.6** Johan Galtung during a plenary discussion at the IPRA Conference in Sydney in July 2010. Photo was taken and permission was granted by Hans Günter Brauch

and says, “You have a very interesting disease, I will describe it in my next scientific publication.” You ask, “But don’t you have a cure for me?” He protests, “Oh no! I am value-free. I do not intervene.”

One particular endeavour of peace professionals, besides conciliation (healing the effects of past violence) and peace building (preventing future violence), is conflict transformation. A conflict involves attitudes (‘enemy images’ and ‘friend images’), behaviour (violent or nonviolent, verbal or physical) and contradictions (incompatible goals), the ABC triangle. Conflicts can rarely be completely ‘resolved’ so that they simply disappear, but they can and must be transformed from being fought with violent means to being conducted by peaceful means, e.g. through dialogue. In this way, conflicts can have a constructive function by helping bring about desirable change. In analogy to medical terminology, conflicts are analyzed in terms of diagnosis (sources of a conflict), prognosis (likely trends without intervention), therapy (proposed interventions to prevent or reduce violence) and also therapy of the past, or ‘counter-factual history’ (what could have been done differently in the past, by whom, to prevent or reduce violence). This can provide valuable lessons for the future.

Through many years of research and practice, Galtung (1998, 2000, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2010a) has developed the TRANSCEND method of peaceful conflict transformation. He has observed that “bringing the conflict parties to the table” for



**Photo 1.7** Johan Galtung teaching at the World Peace Academy in Basel in March 2012. Photo was taken and permission was granted by Bikash Subedi, Nepal

direct negotiations, as most mediators try to do, can be counterproductive, because it tends to lead to a stream of mutual accusations and a shouting match, and can often exacerbate a conflict instead of resolving it. He has found that it is more effective to apply a three-step approach, the TRANSCEND method:

- (1) Through individual dialogues with all the many parties involved directly and indirectly in a conflict, also those the mediator may dislike, seek to understand their goals, fears and concerns and win their confidence.
- (2) Distinguish between legitimate goals, which affirm human needs, and illegitimate goals, which violate human needs. Whatever we demand from other parties, we must be willing to grant to others. For example, self-determination is a legitimate goal, ruling over others is not.
- (3) Bridge the gap between all legitimate but seemingly contradictory goals through mutually acceptable, desirable solutions sustainable into the future, which embody creativity, empathy and nonviolence, building a new reality.

Two examples may illustrate this approach. The first is an interpersonal conflict: A husband and wife grew increasingly apart. The husband, a businessman selling bicycles, brought his accounting books home and pored over red and black figures in the evening. His wife, who had become increasingly interested in her spiritual life and was fascinated with Buddhism, felt disgusted by her husband's

materialism. She blamed him, “Why are you only interested in money?” He retorted, “If it were not for these black figures, you would not live so well. Look at your good food and fancy clothes, and our nice house that you enjoy!” She protested, “I don’t need all those external luxuries. I prefer a rich inner life.” There was a risk that the marriage could end in divorce. Both had developed affairs. Johan Galtung was asked for advice. He found that both had some legitimate goals, such as providing an income for the family, and an interest in spirituality. What was illegitimate was that both tried to convert their spouse to become like themselves, to adopt their own value system. How to bridge the legitimate goals? The best is a ‘joint project’ that combines the interests of both partners. He suggested that they open a Buddhist bookstore together. It took only one week until the wife began to develop an interest in red and black figures. And after about a month, the husband for the first time read one of the books he was selling. They are still happily married.

A second example deals with an international conflict: In the peace treaty of Rio de Janeiro of 1942, after a border war in 1941, Peru and Ecuador had failed to draw the border high up in the Andes Mountains. Later, they agreed that the border should run along the watershed in the upper Amazon basin. But depending on rainfall, the watershed shifted back and forth. They then tried a river as the border, but it came and went, depending on precipitation and glaciers’ melting. Since



**Photo 1.8** Johan Galtung teaching at the World Peace Academy in Basel, Switzerland in 2011. Photo was taken and permission was granted by Stacy Hughes, USA



1942, Ecuador and Peru have fought three wars over this barely inhabited 500 Km<sup>2</sup> territory and were about to engage in another round of war. The Peruvian air force had already made plans to bombard Ecuador's capital city Quito.

At a peace conference in Guatemala in 1995, Johan Galtung was invited to meet with Ecuador's chief negotiator in the border talks with Peru, a former President. Galtung patiently listened to him complain about Peru's inflexibility and stubbornness. But he also always carefully listens to what people do not say. The negotiator never said that each square metre of territory must belong to one and only one country, because he assumed this to be obvious. That was a principle built into the peace treaty of Westphalia in 1648. So Galtung asked him what he thought of the idea of making the disputed border territory into a jointly administered 'binational zone with a natural park', attracting tourists to bring additional income to both countries. The ExPresident said, "In 30 years of negotiations, I have never heard such a proposal. This is very creative but I am afraid it is too creative, it will take at least 30 years to get used to such an entirely new idea, and another 30 years to implement it. It does not help us now." But out of curiosity, he proposed it to Peru in the next round of peace negotiations, and to his surprise, Peru accepted it with some minor modifications. This led to the Peace treaty signed in Brasilia on 27 October 1998. This zone has since been implemented, and free trade zones, where merchants from the two countries can exchange goods duty-free, have been added.

Galtung pointed out that this initiative cost only \$125, \$25 to extend a ticket from Bogota and \$100 for one night at the hotel and a dinner. By comparison, the 1991 Gulf War to expel Iraq from Kuwait cost \$100 billion, not counting the destruction it caused. Most of all, peaceful conflict transformation before violence begins can save many lives.

Most governments wait until a conflict erupts in war and then intervene with military force, instead of seeking a peaceful solution long before it leads to violence. Such a policy is comparable to driving a car with closed eyes, waiting until we hit an obstacle and then calling an ambulance, instead of anticipating dangers and avoiding them.

We need many more trained mediators who can help transform conflicts peacefully before they lead to violence. Violence is to an unresolved conflict like smoke to fire. To get rid of the smoke, it is necessary to extinguish the fire. And to prevent or end violence, it is necessary to transform the underlying conflict.

There are two approaches to mediation. Some insist that a mediator should only play the role of facilitator and conciliator, without offering any suggestions; the parties alone have the right to propose solution. The mediator should only ensure that the parties do not deviate from the agreed topic and that they focus on solutions instead of accusations about the past.

The second approach about mediation, advocated also by Galtung, recommends that the mediator ought to help the parties by informing them how similar conflicts have been successfully solved elsewhere, and by offering sensible proposals that meet the main goals of all conflict parties, but leave it to the parties to decide

whether or not they accept the proposals. If a doctor who was aware of a cure were to insist that the patient discover it by herself that would be unethical.

Another of many important theories and concepts developed by Johan Galtung is the theory of 'rank discordance'. In many societies, a certain class controls all four forms of power: military, economic, cultural and political. There may be great inequality, but the situation is relatively stable, the underclass has little possibility to improve its situation, except perhaps in a revolution, a rare occurrence. There are also societies where a minority, often outsiders, has been able to establish itself in niches of economic and cultural power—through their talents, skills and hard work—but has little or no political and military power. This is a situation of 'rank discordance'. Examples of such minorities who enjoyed advantages in business, finance, academia and the media, but were weak politically and militarily, were the Armenians in Turkey 1915, the Chinese in Indonesia 1965, and the Tutsis among the majority Hutus in Rwanda in 1994, and also the Jews in Germany in the early 20th century. Added to this came the humiliating Versailles Treaty, Hitler's demagoguery, and willing executioners. Galtung suggests that if the Versailles treaty had been cancelled in 1924, and the German majority been lifted through education and employment into equality, we might have avoided World War II and the holocaust.

This can point the way towards a solution, as President Mahathir in Malaysia has enacted: 'positive discrimination', lifting the Malay majority to the level of the Chinese minority in economic and cultural terms, without lowering the level of the Chinese. This may well have prevented a massacre of Chinese in Malaysia, and shows how similar dangers can be averted elsewhere. Israel would gain from lifting the Arabs out of this social rank discordance.

Galtung fears and seeks to help prevent a coming wave of anti-Semitism in the USA, where Jews have leading roles in academia, the media and on Wall Street, but are a vulnerable minority without political or military power.

Because of such observations, Galtung has been falsely accused of 'anti-Semitism' and 'blaming the victims'. That is a complete misunderstanding! For over 40 years, he has defended Israel's right to exist as a state with Jewish characteristics, also in Arab countries, and he wishes only the best for Israel: lasting peace with its neighbours.

Unlike most others, he has offered a concrete peace plan for the Middle East: In 1964 he visited Israel and Gaza, holding many dialogues. In February 1971, as a Visiting Professor in Cairo (as a colleague of Boutros Boutros-Ghali), he made a proposal about a six-state solution, a Middle East Community of Israel with its five Arab neighbours, modelled after the 1958 European Economic Community. It would have open borders, a council of ministers, commissions for water, border patrols, economy; capitals in the two Jerusalem's; right of return, with numbers to be discussed, as Arafat emphasized. Palestine would be fully recognized, with the borders of with some exchanges: Israeli cantons on the West Bank and Palestinian cantons in northwest Israel. In addition, a Conference on Security and Cooperation in West Asia, with all parties at the table and all issues on the table, without time limit, like the 1972–1975 Helsinki Conference, leading to an Organization for

Security and Cooperation in West Asia, modelled after the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) since 1994.

True, Galtung has criticized Israel's disastrous current foreign policy, which advocates an attack on Iran to destroy its nuclear facilities, which would plunge the whole region into a mutually destructive war. But who is a better friend, when someone walks with closed eyes towards an abyss: the one who says, "Go right ahead, you are on the right track", or the one who says, "Stop, turn around, you are in grave danger!" A critic may be our best friend, saving us from a danger or folly.

Applying reason does not mean to justify, or to blame the victims, but to explain, understand, and then remove the causes!

After September 11, 2001, Galtung was on a podium discussion on Austrian television, which included the US Ambassador in Vienna. When Galtung observed that we must try to understand why this terrorist act occurred, the Ambassador was furious and asked, "So you are trying to justify what happened?" Galtung had to explain that nothing can justify such an atrocity, but if we fail to understand why it happened, we cannot prevent a future recurrence.

By 1993 Galtung had had experience with about twenty conflicts, including the following:

- Northern Ireland since 1970, a concrete proposal put forward in Dublin in 1997, and in a committee meeting in the British House of Commons in 1998. The proposal foresees self-rule, without army, security guaranteed jointly by England and Ireland, in cooperation with OSCE and the UN. Numerous dialogues at all levels are to be encouraged. Conflict resolution affecting millions is too important to be left to a few politicians-diplomats-statesmen, a remnant of feudal phases in history. A Truth and Reconciliation Commission like in South Africa and other conflict resolution-reconciliation cultures could assist in the process.
- When Galtung was Visiting Professor in New Delhi in 1971, the daughter of sheik Abdullah, the leader of the Kashmiri independence movement, invited him and his wife to dinner; Abdullah was under house arrest. Galtung proposed greater autonomy for some parts of the Indian federation, as member states of the European Union have different relations to Brussels. Greater flexibility will serve them all. As a first step, there should be reunion of families, cultural cooperation and local economic cooperation. This is needed everywhere, also to overcome the effects of globalization. The Valley could become Indo Pak territory to start with, gradually attaining autonomy, even independence, and they could all come together in a KAFTA, Kashmir Free Trade Association with open borders, as a community with passport also carrying the word Kashmir.
- Korea since 1972, filled with dialogues with Koreans in North and South and in Japan, with proposals about national unification in a two-state confederation and countless very concrete proposals after that, such as restoring the rail link between North and South, which has been interrupted since the Korean War. Galtung met with Kim Dae Jung in 1975 while he was under house arrest. Later

as President, Kim initiated the ‘sunshine policy’ of improving relations with North Korea.

- For Yugoslavia Galtung made many proposals since 1991, but all of them were in contradiction to US and German foreign policy and thus had no chance. In January 1997 there were two non-violent mass demonstrations against Milos- evic, one of them conducted from the senate room in the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Belgrade, where Galtung was as a consultant.
- In 2006, when the publication of a series of cartoons mocking the Prophet Mohammed in Denmark and other Western countries led to the burning of Danish flags and embassies in Muslim countries, Johan Galtung met on 13 February 2006 in Geneva with high representatives from Denmark and Islamic Clerics, and suggested that Denmark support an Islam West dialogue. It did, and the violent protests ended.

Johan Galtung has made many accurate predictions, based on keen observation of factors that others tend to ignore.

Based on a theory of synchronizing and mutually reinforcing contradictions, Galtung predicted in 1980 the end of the Soviet Empire within ten years, beginning at its weakest point, with the fall of the Berlin Wall. In the Soviet Union, there were five main contradictions: the working class wanting trade unions, the bourgeoisie wanting something to buy, the intellectuals wanting more freedom of expression and impression, minorities in search of autonomy, and the peasants wanting more freedom of movement. Very few believed him at the time, but it occurred on 9 November 1989, two months before his time limit 1990.

Based on a series of 14 growing contradictions, principal among them the contradiction between reality and the American Dream, he expects an end of the US Empire by 2020 (Galtung 2009), with a likely blossoming of the US Republic, once it is freed from the albatross of empire, now with a military budget almost equal to the rest of the world combined, and 830 military bases in 150 countries.

By seeing state terrorism and terrorism dialectically as breeding and nursing each other, he predicted a major terrorist attack on the US like 9/11. What ‘Blowback’ sees as ‘unintended consequences’ was highly foreseeable, given the last two centuries of the West unleashing enormities of violence on the Muslim world. How naïve to believe it would be absorbed and forgotten; how naïve not to see the possibility of nonviolent revolts against Soviet and US repression in client regimes, the German Democratic Republic and others in Eastern Europe, the ‘Arab spring’ in the Middle East!

By comparing the real economy of products for end consumption and the finance economy of products for buying and selling, he predicted economic crises such as those of 1987, 2008 and 2011. If the finance economy has a Dow Jones Index growth of 83 % in the two years 2009–2010, and the real economy a GNP growth of 4–6 %, the ratio 83:5 spells an asynchrony, with a crash as obvious prognosis.

Based on the contradiction between a finite nature and GNP growth measured by processing-trading natural resources, he predicted the ecological collapse.

Focusing instead on health and education, with very little cost to the environment, would make people, not “systems”, grow.

Based on the contradiction in the age-old colonial formula between suppliers of cheap resources and labour, and the Centre demand to live off the value-added, he predicted the 1973 “oil crisis”? That system had cracked politically in 1960 with massive decolonization and in 1973 it cracked economically at its weakest point, oil, and the demand being highly inelastic.

Based on the contradiction between an overwhelming—and mainly impoverished—shia majority and the Shah’s regime based on Westernization, installed by the CIA-MI6 coup of 1953 against the popularly elected President Mossadegh, he predicted the 1978 Iran revolution.

Brilliant Japanese social ‘both-and’ engineering overcame such cherished Western contradictions as State versus Capital, Capital versus Labour and Labour-intensive versus Capital-intensive production. That worked well for Japan, but they forgot contradictions in Japanese society at large, like men versus women, top universities versus all others, state-capital versus nongovernment-nonprofit, and indeed, the contradiction with the rest of the world. Galtung predicted that their push would produce counterforces: US limitations on imports, Third World protests, and imitations in China and the four Asian tigers, leading to a decline of the Japanese economy.

By seeing China’s three cultures, a *Daoist yin-yang* dialectic between a *Confucianism* legitimizing growth, and *Buddhism* legitimizing distribution, Galtung predicted the changes that seem to take place about every 9 years, with a four years confusion break 1976–1980.

As an outcome of the contradiction between the age-old Chinese class structure, *shi’h-nung-kung-shang* (intellectuals-rulers, farmers, artisans, merchants) and Deng Xiaoping’s 1980 policy favouring farmers by marketing their products, and merchants by putting their capital to use—leaving behind intellectuals and workers, Galtung predicted the Tiananmen uprising of spring 1989. Students and workers were both at Tiananmen. The workers were worst repressed. And the students won: the Party is now dominated by intellectuals.

Johan Galtung founded TRANSCEND in 1993 as a network for peace, development and the environment, with members who are both scholars and practitioners. Today it has over 500 members in about 70 countries throughout the world. When he founded the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) in 1959, it seemed obvious that there should be a building where the members meet and work together. With the emergence of the internet, it has become possible for people around the world to stay in contact and cooperate, without the need to be physically in the same location.

TRANSCEND (which means, ‘going beyond’), overcoming a contradiction) has four main fields of engagement: action, education/training, information and research.



- Action involves *mediation in conflicts*, from the personal to the global level, done by the TRANSCEND Peace Service, founded in 2010, but practiced already for over five decades before that by Galtung.
- For *education and training*, there is the *TRANSCEND Peace University* (TPU), which Galtung founded in 2000. He serves as its Rector. It offers courses online and onsite, in many places around the world. It is the first global online Peace University. Its faculty is drawn from leading scholars and practitioners in their fields internationally, and it has students on every continent. The participants are not only students, but also professionals seeking to improve their knowledge and skills. Galtung personally teaches on line courses on Advanced Conflict Transformation, Peace Economics and Advanced Peace Theory, with participants from around the world. He is also a frequent guest professor at many universities around the world. Among other places, he teaches four weeks every year at the World Peace Academy in Basel, Switzerland, which he helped found in 2009. He fascinates his audiences with original theories, and many concrete illustrations from personal experience, which make his theories come alive.
- For *information*, there is the *TRANSCEND University Press* (TUP), founded in 2008, which has so far published 11 books; *TRANSCEND University Press Popular* (TUPP), which has so far published 7 pocketbooks; and the *TRANSCEND Media Service* (TMS), founded in 2008, which every week publishes a number of articles dealing with peace and development, including an editorial by Johan Galtung. The articles are examples of ‘peace journalism’, which focuses on understanding the underlying causes of conflicts and proposals for solutions, not the traditional ‘war journalism’, which is limited to reporting how many were killed that day and who is ‘winning’.
- Research is done by members around the world, and is coordinated mainly at the Galtung Institute for Peace Theory and Peace Practice in Grenzach, Germany, bordering on Basel, founded in 2011.

TRANSCEND has regional centres throughout the world and a number of action programmes in which its members are engaged, including peaceful conflict transformation, peacebuilding, peace keeping, nonviolence, reconciliation, peace education, peace journalism, peace business, peace and gender, peace and the arts, and peaceful foreign policies. TRANSCEND members are also engaged in research on federalism, self determination, conflict transformation and psychological assumptions, the dialogue process, local and subsistence economics, models of global economic crises, understanding genocide, preventing terrorism and state terrorism, an early warning index of possible violent conflicts, and an index measuring and suggesting ways of transforming conflicts by peaceful means.

The work of TRANSCEND is done mostly on a voluntary basis. Any modest income for a few staff members has so far come from fees paid for courses and the sale of books. Not being paid by any sponsors gives TRANSCEND independence, without anyone restricting its freedom of expression.

Johan Galtung has two sons from his first marriage with Ingrid Eide from Norway: Harald, born 1962, a communications engineer; and Andreas, born 1958,

an informatics lawyer, author, musician and painter, who illustrated Johan's children's book *A Flying Orange tells Its Tale* (2003): an orange flies at night, visiting all kinds of people around the world, and observes how they handle conflict. It is "a book for children to read to their parents at bedtime, so that the parents can have better dreams".

From his second marriage with Fumiko Nishimura from Japan, with whom he has been married since 1969, he has a daughter, Irene (Greek *eirene*, peace), who got her PhD in law from the European University Institute in Florence in 2011, with a dissertation on the human right to food; and a son, Fredrik (Norwegian *fredsriket*, the kingdom of peace), born 1970, who got an MA in Political Science from the University of Hawaii in 1992. He is founder and chief executive of TIRI, an anti-corruption organization, and lives with his Israeli wife in Tel Aviv.

Johan Galtung's tireless work for peace has earned him thirteen honorary doctorates and professorships, and numerous awards, including a Right Livelihood Award (also known as Alternative Nobel Peace Prize) in 1987; the Bajaj International Award for Promoting Gandhian Values, 1993; the Norwegian Literary Prize Brage 2000; the First Morton Deutsch Conflict Resolution Award 2001; the Premio Hidalgo, Madrid 2005; Augsburg Golden Book of Peace 2005; Marburg Golden Book 2007; the DMZ Korean Peace Prize in 2010; the Erik Byes Minnepris, 2011; the Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan International Peace-BUILDER Award in 2011; and the Nepal Peace Prize 2013.

Through his activities as a skilful mediator and peacemaker, as a researcher with a highly creative, original mind, as a prolific author, as an inspiring teacher, and as a kind human being, has made significant contributions to a better world, and has encouraged many people, young and old, to work for the same ideals. For all these reasons, Johan Galtung is widely regarded as the principal founder—or father—of peace studies.

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## Author Biography

**Prof. Dr. Dietrich Fischer** is Director, TRANSCEND University Press. From 2009–2012 he was Academic Director of the World Peace Academy, Basel. From 2003–2009, he was Academic Director of the European University Center for Peace Studies in Stadtschlaining, Austria. Before that he was an Assistant Professor at New York University (1976–1986), a MacArthur Fellow in Peace and Security Studies at Princeton University (1986–1988) and a Professor at Pace University, New York (1988–2003). This article is partly based on Johan Galtung's (2000b) autobiography.