## Contents

**Preface**

### Part 1  Conflict Resolution: Perspectives and Assumptions

1.1 Peace-making as Realpolitik, Conflict Resolution and Oxymoron: the Record, the Challenge  
   *Carl G. Jacobsen*  
   3

1.2 Our War Culture’s Defining Parameters: Their Essence; Their Ramifications (external; domestic; ‘racism’; ‘borders’; ‘international law’)  
   *Carl G. Jacobsen and Kai Frithjof Brand-Jacobsen*  
   26

### Part 2  Conflict Formations for the Twenty-first Century

2.1 Leaving the Twentieth Century, Entering the Twenty-first: Some Basic Conflict Formations  
   *Johan Galtung*  
   51

2.2 Russia–China (India–Pakistan?): the New ‘Strategic Partnership’  
   *Carl G. Jacobsen*  
   66

2.3 New-Century Eurasian Conflict Dynamics  
   *Carl G. Jacobsen*  
   78

2.4 East Asia/South China Sea: Twenty-first Century Conflict Dynamics  
   *Carl G. Jacobsen*  
   91

### Part 3  A Practice for Peace: the TRANSCEND Approach

3.1 TRANSCEND: 40 Years, 40 Conflicts  
   *Johan Galtung*  
   101

3.2 40 Conflicts; 40 Perspectives  
   *Johan Galtung*  
   122
3.3 The State/Nation Dialectic: Some Tentative Conclusions
Johan Galtung

3.4 Crafting Peace: On the Psychology of the TRANSCEND Approach
Johan Galtung and Finn Tschudi

Part 4 In Lieu of a Conclusion: Other Thoughts towards a Road-Map

4.1 Beyond Mediation: Towards More Holistic Approaches to Peacebuilding and Peace Actor Empowerment
Kai Frithjof Brand-Jacobsen, with Carl G. Jacobsen

4.2 Beyond Security: New Approaches, New Perspectives, New Actors
Kai Frithjof Brand-Jacobsen, with Carl G. Jacobsen

Index