

## **Justice, Forgiveness and Reconciliation**

Government 396

Fall 2006

Professor Verdeja

Office: PAC 322

The past is not dead. It is not even past.

Faulkner, *Requiem for a Nun*

The struggle of humanity against power is the struggle of memory against forgetfulness.

Kundera, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*

The need to let suffering speak is a condition of all truth. For suffering is objectivity that weighs upon the subject...

Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*

This seminar will investigate the possibilities and limitations of justice and forgiveness in societies emerging from a recent history of massive political violence. What are the moral and practical tools available for reconciliation, and how should reconciliation be understood? We will look at the uses of truth commissions and trials in transitional societies, as well as the roles of civil society and political elites, and consider how transitional political constraints affect ethical demands for accountability, victim recognition, truth-telling, the establishment of the rule of law and the fostering of reciprocal norms of respect and tolerance.

### **I. Course Expectations and Requirements:**

**It is essential that the readings be done before class in order to make an effective discussion possible.** As a seminar, it is the responsibility of all participants to make

class discussion fruitful, and that will be possible only if everyone has completed the readings and has thought about the issues they raise. The assignments are rather substantial, so it is crucial that you budget your reading time accordingly.

Because this is a small seminar, students are required to attend every class. Students who miss more than one class will have their final grade reduced by one letter grade per class missed. There are absolutely no exceptions to this rule.

In addition to the readings and class participation, each student will give two oral presentations to the class; the presentations should briefly summarize the main points in the readings, and present some critical issues for discussion. Specifically, they should:

1. state and explain the key concepts used by the author;
2. state the main thesis (in the case of articles or excerpts) or main theses (in the case of longer works) succinctly;
3. State the core argument(s) of the text supporting the author's thesis/theses;
4. Be prepared to give your own evaluation of the persuasiveness of the main thesis/theses.

A sign up sheet will be posted for students to choose the weeks on which they give presentations. The sign up sheet will be available immediately after the first class. Some weeks there may be three students presenting.

There will be two types of written assignments.

- A. All students will write four two-page "reaction" papers on the readings for a particular week. These papers must be handed in at the beginning of class (no late papers will be accepted under any circumstances, including accidents and sickness). These papers are for weeks when you are not presenting.
- B. Students are also expected to write a 20-25 page term paper. The term paper may be on any topic bearing on the questions raised by the class, and it will involve library research. A short, one-page description of the paper and bibliography will be due **November 16<sup>th</sup>** and the final papers will be due **December 18<sup>th</sup>**. Late papers will be downgraded one letter grade per day, no exceptions.

**Grading and summary of assignments:** oral presentations: 15%; four reaction papers: 25%; term paper: 40%; participation: 20%.

Some points regarding your papers:

1. Establish a focus. A good paper has a thesis, a central idea or claim that it is making, and it presents an argument supporting that thesis. You should be able to make an outline of your paper, which will at the same time be the skeleton of the argument you are making. It is often helpful to write out the outline – in sentence form, not simply as a list of topics – before writing the paper or, at least, the final draft. A good way to think about your paper is to ask yourself, “What do I want my readers to believe after they have read my paper? What reasons can I offer them to think that?” If you can answer these questions succinctly, you’re off to an excellent start.
2. Title. The title should express the main idea or focus of your paper, preparing your reader to see immediately what you’re going to say, and why it’s interesting.
3. Structure and organization. The paper should have a clear structure, with an introduction presenting the central question or problem you are addressing, a body that sets out a logical development of the reasons and evidence you are offering, and a conclusion that ties the paper together. In the longer paper it is often useful to provide section headings. The introduction should generally state your main thesis, and provide an overview of the structure of the argument, to make it easier for your reader to follow it.

Some specific points:

1. Please NUMBER your pages and staple the paper.
2. All quotations, paraphrases, and direct use of another's ideas (even if not quoted) MUST BE cited. Using parenthetical references (author’s last name, page number) with a bibliography is fine; you do not have to use footnotes or endnotes. Footnotes can be used to present additional ideas, qualifications, or other points that would detract from the flow of the paper.
3. Avoid non-scholarly sources, particularly from the web (for example, do not use Wikipedia). These are often unreliable and incomplete.
4. Avoid common but egregious errors such as misuse of too, to or two; there, they're, or their; its or it's; affect or effect; then or than.
5. Stamp out sexism. If you mean men and women or he and she, say so. Don't assume that "man" or "men" refer to human beings generally. There are lots of ways of

writing that avoid the awkwardness of, for example, saying he or she over and over again. For help, you might consult Williams (see #6) or a more specialized guide such as *The Handbook of Nonsexist Writing* by Miller and Smith.

6. There are a number of excellent guides for good writing. Strunk and White *The Elements of Style* is a classic, especially for grammar and word usage; it also offers a useful set of “principles of composition.” I especially recommend Joseph Williams, *Style: Toward Grace and Clarity*. His work is particularly helpful in offering examples of how awkward passages can be rewritten, using rules or principles that are fairly concrete and address specific issues such as clarity, cohesion, emphasis, etc. (these are all chapter headings in his book). Anthony Weston, *A Rulebook for Arguments*, offers a helpful discussion of how to develop (and express) an argument in a tight, logical way.

**II. Books:** The following books have been ordered at the bookstore and are on reserve. In some cases, we will not be reading an entire book, so you may wish to use the reserve room rather than purchase every book.

Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (Penguin Books, 1994)

Priscilla Hayner *Unspeakable Truths: Facing the Challenge of Truth Commissions* (Taylor & Francis Group, 2002)

Geoffrey Robertson *Crimes Against Humanity: The Struggle for Global Justice* (New Press, 2003)

Martha Minow *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence* (Beacon Press, 1999)

Roy L. Brooks (editor) *When Sorry Isn't Enough: The Controversy over Apologies and Reparations for Human Injustice* (New York University Press, 1999)

Elazar Barkan *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001)

Simon Wiesenthal *The Sunflower: On the Possibilities and Limits of Forgiveness*  
(Schocken Revised Expand edition, 1998)

John Borneman *Settling Accounts: Violence, Justice and Accountability in Postsocialist Europe* (Princeton University Press, 1997)

Carlos Nino *Radical Evil on Trial*  
(Yale University Press, 1998)

Barahona de Brito, Alexandra, Carmen Gonzalez-Enriquez, and Paloma Aguilar (editors)  
*The Politics of Memory: Transitional Justice in Democratizing Societies* (Oxford University Press, 2001)

Lawrence Weschler *A Miracle, A Universe: Settling Accounts with Torturers*  
(University of Chicago Press, 1998)

Readings and sources: Each date listed in the syllabus includes the assignments that must be completed by that date, as well as suggested readings that further delve into that particular topic. Additionally, I include below a list of useful general resources and journals that may help you with your final papers. In all cases, I am here to help, so don't hesitate to ask for recommendations.

The library can also provide research help with your papers through "personal research sessions." For more information, go to  
<http://www.wesleyan.edu/libr/services/personalresearch.html>.

### **III. General References**

Below are general reference materials that may be of help. There are additional supplementary references listed for each class. All of these readings should be available in the library.

Kritz, Neil J. (ed.) *Transitional Justice: How Emerging Democracies Reckon with Former Regimes* (Washington: United States Institute for Peace, 1995). 3 volumes.

De Greiff, Pablo (ed.) *The Handbook of Reparations* (Oxford, 2006).

Elster, Jon *Closing the Books: Transitional Justice in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge, 2005).

Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Johns Hopkins, 1996).

Munck, Gerardo and Carol Skalnick Leff "Modes of Transition and Democratization: South America and Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective" *Comparative Politics*, vol. 29 no. 3 (April 1997).

Charney, Israel (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Genocide* (ABC-Clio Inc, 1999). 2 volumes.

Ratner, Steven and Jason Abrams *Accountability for Human Rights Atrocities in International Law* Second Edition (Oxford, 2001).

Roht-Arriaza, Naomi *Impunity and Human Rights in International Law and Practice* (Oxford, 1995).

Baehr, Peter *Human Rights: Universality in Practice* (Palgrave, 2001).

Ball, Howard *Prosecuting War Crimes and Genocide: The Twentieth Century Experience* (Kansas, 1999).

In addition to the standard humanities and social science journals, the following journals frequently cover issues that we will discuss in class:

*Human Rights Quarterly*

*Journal of Genocide Research*

*Human Rights Review*

*Journal of Human Rights*  
*Journal of Peace Research*  
*Harvard Human Rights Journal*  
*Columbia Human Rights Review*  
*Holocaust and Genocide Studies*

The following websites also cover issues we will discuss in class:

Amnesty International  
<http://amnesty.org/>

Human Rights Watch  
<http://www.hrw.org>

Human Rights First  
<http://www.humanrightsfirst.org>

The International Center for Transitional Justice  
<http://www.ictj.org/>

International Crisis Group  
<http://crisisgroup.org>

#### **IV: Assignments.**

**NOTE:** Items marked by an asterisk (\*) are from assigned books.

#### **Session 1: Human Rights and the notion of Global Justice**

*September 7*

\*Robertson, Geoffrey *Crimes against Humanity*  
pp. 1-34

\*Barhona de Brito *The Politics of Memory*  
pp. 1-39

**Session 2: Justice after Nazism: Nuremberg, Eichmann**

*September 14*

\*Robertson, Geoffrey  
Chapter 6 “An End to Impunity?”  
pp. 203-242

Bass, Gary J. *Stay the Hand of Vengeance*  
Ch. 5 “Nuremberg”

\*Arendt, Hannah *Eichmann in Jerusalem*  
Chs. 1-8, and chs. 14-epilogue. (postscript optional).

Jaspers, Karl “The Question of German Guilt” (excerpt)

Schwan, Gesine “Political Consequences of Silenced Guilt” *Constellations*  
vl. 5 no. 3

**Suggested Readings:**

Cohen, David “Beyond Nuremberg: Individual Responsibility for War Crimes” in Hesse, Carla and Robert Post (ed.) *Human Rights in Political Transitions: Gettysburg to Bosnia*

Shklar, Judith *Legalism*

Niven, Bill *Facing the Past: united Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich*

Buruma, Ian *The Wages of Guilt: Memories of War in Germany and Japan*

### **Session 3: Transitions in other European countries Post WWII: France, Poland**

September 21

Gross, Jan T. "Neighbors: One day in 1941, half the population of a small town in Poland murdered the other half. Why?" *The New Yorker*, March 12, 2001.

Michnik, Adam "Poles and the Jews: How deep the guilt?" in Polonsky, Antony and Joanna Michlic (eds.) *The Neighbors Respond: The Controversy over the Jedwabne Massacre*

Wieseltier, Leon "Washington Diarist: Righteous" in Polonsky, Antony and Joanna Michlic (eds.) *The Neighbors Respond: The Controversy over the Jedwabne Massacre*

Paris, Erna "Through a Glass Darkly: France" in *Long Shadows: Truth, Lies and History*

Farmer, Sarah "Post War Justice in France: Bordeaux 1953" in Istvan Deak, Jan T Gross, Tony Judt (eds), *The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and its Aftermath*

Judt, Tony "The Past is Another Country: Myth and Memory in Post-War Europe" in Istvan Deak, Jan T Gross, Tony Judt (eds), *The Politics of Retribution in Europe: World War II and its Aftermath*

#### **Suggested Readings:**

Polonsky, Antony and Joanna Michlic (eds.) *The Neighbors Respond: The Controversy over the Jedwabne Massacre*

Gross, Jan T. *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz. An Essay in Historical Interpretation*

Marrus, Michael and Robert Paxton *Vichy France and the Jews*

Rousso, Richard *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944*

Wood, Nancy *Vectors of Memory: Legacies of Trauma in Postwar Europe*

Golsan, Richard *Vichy's Afterlife: History and Counterhistory in Postwar France*

Lottman, Herbert *The Purge: The Purification of French Collaborators After World War II*

#### **Session 4: Argentina**

*September 28*

\*Nino, Carlos *Radical Evil on Trial*

Chs. 2-5

Franco, Jean "Gender, Death and Resistance: Facing the Ethical Vacuum"

In Corradi, Juan et. al. (eds.) *Fear at the Edge: State Terror and Resistance in Latin America*

Garreton, Manuel "Fear in Military Regimes" In Corradi, Juan et. al. (eds.) *Fear at the Edge: State Terror and Resistance in Latin America*

\*Hayner, Priscilla *Unspeakable Truths*

chs. 2 and 3

*Nunca Mas (Never Again): Truth Report of the Commission on the Disappearance of Persons (Conadep)*. <http://www.nuncamas.org/index2.htm>

You should peruse the report, and read the short conclusion.

#### **Suggested Readings:**

Timerman, Jacobo *Prisoner without a Name, Cell without a Number*

Goti, Malmud *Game Without End*

Verbistky, Horacio *Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior*

## **Session 5: Chile, Brazil, Uruguay**

October 5

\*Weschler, Lawrence *A Miracle, A Universe: Settling Accounts with Torturers*

Read all, except Afterward.

\*Baronha de Brito, Alexandra "Truth, Justice, Memory and Democratization in the Southern Cone," in Barahona de Brito, Alexandra, Carmen Gonzalez-Enriquez, and Paloma Aguilar (eds.) *The Politics of Memory: Transitional Justice in Democratizing Societies*

Chile, *Report of the Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation*

[http://www.usip.org/library/tc/doc/reports/chile/chile\\_1993\\_toc.html](http://www.usip.org/library/tc/doc/reports/chile/chile_1993_toc.html)

"Introduction to the English Edition"

part II, chs. 1 and 2;

part III, ch.1 sec. c.;

part III, ch. 4 (skim);

part IV, ch. 1, sec. d (skim);

part IV, ch. 4

\*Hayner, Priscilla *Unspeakable Truths* ch. 11

Becker, David, Elizabeth Lira, et. al. "Therapy with Victims of Political Repression in Chile: The Challenge of Social Reparation" *Journal of Social Issues*, vl. 46 no. 3 (1990)

\*Robertson, Geoffrey *Crimes Against Humanity*

"Ch. 10: The Case of General Pinochet"

Wilke, Christiane "A Particular Universality: Universal Jurisdiction for Crimes Against Humanity in Domestic Courts" *Constellations*, vl. 12 no. 1.

**Suggested Readings:**

Roninger, Luis and Mario Sznajder Ch. 6 “Oblivion and Memory in the Redemocratized Southern Cone,” and Ch. 7 “The Transformation of Collective Identities and Public Life in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay” in *The Legacy of Human Rights Violations in the Southern Cone: Argentina, Chile, Uruguay*

Payne, Leigh “Collaborators and the Politics of Memory in Chile” *Human Rights Review*, vol. 2 no. 3 (2001)

### **Session 6: El Salvador, Guatemala, Peru**

October 12

\*Sider, Rachel “War, Peace and Memory Politics in Central America”  
In Barahona de Brito, Alexandra, Carmen Gonzalez-Enriquez, and Paloma Aguilar (eds.)  
*The Politics of Memory: Transitional Justice in Democratizing Societies*.

Valji, Nahla *Race, Citizenship and Violence in Transitioning Societies: A Guatemalan case study* at: <http://www.csvr.org.za/papers/paprctp2.htm#executive>

\*Hayner, Priscilla *Unspeakable Truths* chs. 4, 6-10

Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission “General Conclusions”

Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission “Summary of Recommendations”

Crocker David “Transitional Justice and International Civil Society: Toward a Normative Framework” *Constellations* vol. 5 no. 4

Mendez, Juan “Accountability for Past Abuses” in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 19, May 1997.

**Suggested Readings:**

International Center for Transitional Justice and the Asociacion Pro Derechos Humanos  
“Design Parameters for a Reparations Program in Peru” at  
<http://www.ictj.org/americas/peru.asp>

### **Session 7: Eastern Europe After Communism**

*October 19*

\*Borneman, John *Settling Accounts*

Read all.

Elster, Jon “On Doing what one can: an argument against post-communist restitution and retribution” Kritz, *Transitional Justice* vl. 1 pp. 566-68

Ackerman, Bruce “The Mirage of Corrective Justice” in *The Future of Liberal Revolution*

#### **Suggested Readings:**

Markovits, Inga “Selective Memory: How Law Affects What We Remember and Forget about the Past – The Case of East Germany” *Law and Social Inquiry*, vol. 35 (2001)

Letki, Natalia “Lustration and Democratisation in East-Central Europe” *Europe-Asia Studies* vol. 54 no. 4 (June 2002)

Offe, Claus “Disqualification, Retribution, Restitution: Dilemmas of Justice in Post-Communist transitions” in Offe, Claus ed *Varieties of Transition: The East European and East German Experience*

Rosenberg, Tina *Haunted Land*

Cohen, Shari *Politics Without a Past: The Absence of History in Postcommunist Nationalism*

## **Session 8: South Africa**

October 26

FILM: Long Night's Journey into Day

Tutu, Desmond *No Future Without Forgiveness*

Chp 2: "Nuremberg or National Amnesia? A Third Way"

Chp 11: "Without Forgiveness There Really is No Future"

Gutmann, Amy and Dennis Thompson "The Moral Foundations of Truth Commission" in Rotberg, Robert and Dennis Thompson *Truth v. Justice*

Ross, Fiona "Speech and Silence: Women's testimony in the first five weeks of public hearings of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission" in Das, Veena et. al. (eds.) *Remaking a World: Violence, Social Suffering and Recovery*

Wilson, Richard "Challenging Restorative Justice" *Human Rights Dialogue*, Series 2, no. 7 Winter 2002 (This includes a response by Paul Van Zyl and Vesuki Nesiah)

Mamdani, Mahmood "Amnesty or Impunity?" *Diacritics* (fall/winter 2002): pp. 333-59.

### **Suggested Readings:**

*Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation* at <http://www.csvr.org.za/index.htm>

James, Wimot and Linda Van de Vivjer (eds.) *After the TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*

Wilson, Richard *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Legitimizing the Post-Apartheid State*

Krog, Antjie *Country of My Skull*

Boraine, Alex *A Country Unmasked*

Govier, Trudy and Wilhelm Verwoerd "The Promise and Pitfalls of Apologies" *Journal of Social Philosophy* 33, Spring 2002

Nattrass, Nicoli "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission on Business and Apartheid: A Critical Evaluation" *African Affairs* 98, 1999

**Session 9: International Responses in the 90s and 00s: Rwanda, Bosnia and the International Criminal Tribunals**

*November 2*

Forsythe, David *Human Rights in International Relations*  
Chp. 4 "International Criminal Courts"

Bass, Gary "The Hague" *Stay the Hand of Vengeance*

Sarkin, Jeremy "The Necessity and Challenges of Establishing a Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Rwanda" *Human Rights Quarterly* 21.3 (1999)

Graybill, Lyn "Ten Years After, Rwanda Tries Reconciliation" *Current History* May 2004

Cobban, Helena "The Legacies of Collective Violence" *Boston Review of Books*  
April/May 2002

Des Forges, Alison and Kenneth Roth "Justice or Therapy? A Response to Helena Cobban" *Human Rights Watch*

\*Roberston, Geoffrey *Crimes Against Humanity*  
ch. 9 "The International Criminal Court"

Bolton, John "The Risks and Weaknesses of the International Criminal Court from America's Perspective" *Law and Contemporary Problems* Winter 2001 vl. 64

Suggested Readings:

Roht-Arriaza, Naomi "Reparations in the Aftermath of Repression and Mass Violence," in Stover, Eric and Harvey Weinstein (eds.) *My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity*

Des Forges, Alison and Timothy Longman "Legal Responses to Genocide" in Stover, Eric and Harvey Weinstein (eds.) *My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity*

Amnesty International "Rwanda: Gacaca: A Question of Justice" AI Index AFR 47/007/2002 (available at [amnesty.org](http://amnesty.org))

### **Session 10: Historical Injustices I: The United States and the Legacy of Slavery**

*November 9*

Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863  
<http://libertyonline.hypermall.com/Lincoln/gettysburg.html>

Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1865  
<http://libertyonline.hypermall.com/Lincoln/lincoln-2.html>

Meister, Robert "Forgiving and Forgetting: Lincoln and the Politics of National Recovery" in Hesse, Carla and Robert Post (eds.) *Human Rights in Political Transitions: Gettysburg to Bosnia*

\*Brooks, Roy (ed.), *When Sorry Isn't Enough*  
Chs: 53, 55-7, 59-61, 63-65

McCarthy, Thomas "Remarks on the Morality and Politics of Reparations for Slavery," conference paper for *Repairing the Past*, Yale University, October 2005.

\*Minow, Martha *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness*  
Ch. 5 "Reparations"

Suggested Readings:

Gary Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg*

Kirk Savage "The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument"  
in John Gillis ed. *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*

Andrew Valls "Racial Justice as Transitional Justice"  
*Polity* vi. 26, no. 1 2003, pp. 53-72

*Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*

**Session 11: Historical Injustices II: Indigenous Peoples in Settler Societies**

November 16

**One page description of final paper and bibliography due in class.**

\*Barkan, Elazar *The Guilt of Nations*  
selections tba.

\*Brooks, Roy (ed.) *When Sorry Isn't Enough*  
chs. 43, 46.

Waldron, Jeremy  
"Superseding Historical Injustice" *Ethics* 103 (1992) pp. 4-28

Suggested Readings:

Stannard, David *American Holocaust: Columbus and the New World*

American Indian Movement at <http://www.aimovement.org/>

## **Session 12: Memory and History**

November 30

Osiel, Mark "Making Public Memory, Publicly" in Hesse, Carla and Robert Post (ed.)  
*Human Rights in Political Transitions: Gettysburg to Bosnia*

Renan, Ernst "What is a Nation?" in Eley, Geoff and Ronald Grigor Suny (eds.)  
*Becoming National*

\*Minow, Martha *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness*  
ch. 6 "Facing History"

Margalit, Avishai "Forgiving and Forgetting" in *The Ethics of Memory*

### **Suggested Readings:**

Habermas, Jurgen "On the Public Use of History" In *The Postnational Constellation*

Nietzsche, Friedrich "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life" (prologue, parts 1-3) in *Untimely Meditations*

Hartman, Geoffrey (ed.) *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory*

Brown, Wendy "Wounded Attachments," *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity*

Scheler, Max "Negative Feelings and the Destruction of Values: *Ressentiment*" in *On Feeling, Knowing, and Valuing*

Maier, Charles "A Surfeit of Memory? Reflections on History, Melancholy and Denial"  
*History and Memory* (no. 2 Fall/Winter 1993).

Herf, Jeffrey *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the two Germanys*

Novick, Peter *The Holocaust in American Life*

Cohen, Stanley *States of Denial: Knowing About Atrocities and Suffering*

**Session 13: Justice, Forgiveness and Reconciliation**

*December 7*

**Final paper due December 18<sup>th</sup>. Please email it to me.**

\*Wiesenthal, Simon *The Sunflower*

Book I: The Sunflower

Book II: The Symposium (following selections)

Jean Améry

Robert McAfee Brown

The Dalai Lama

Eugene J. Fisher

Hans Habe

Theodore M. Hesburgh

Susannah Heschel

Rodger Kamenetz

Lawrence L. Langer

Primo Levi

Cynthia Ozick

Dith Pran

Matthieu Ricard

Sidney Schachnow

Albert Speer

Tzvetan Todorov

Desmond Tutu

Arthur Waskow

Harry Wu

Aletta Norval “Memory, Identity and the (Im)possibility of Reconciliation: The Work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa”

*Constellations*, vl.5 no. 2

Schaap, Andrew "Political Reconciliation Through a Struggle for Recognition?" *Social and Legal Studies* vl. 13 no. 4

Arendt, Hannah "Forgiveness," in *The Human Condition*

Hampshire, Stuart "Basic Procedural Justice" in *Innocence and Experience*

\*Hayner, Priscilla *Unspeakable Truths*  
ch.12 "Leaving the Past Alone"

\*Minow, Martha *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness*  
Ch.2 "Vengeance and Forgiveness"

Suggested Readings:

Borneman, John "Reconciliation after Ethnic Cleansing: Listening, Retribution, Affiliation," *Public Culture*, vol. 14, no. 2 (2002). Responses are in vol. 15, no.1

Geras, Norman "The Contract of Mutual Indifference" in *The Contract of Mutual Indifference: Political Philosophy After the Holocaust*

Ricoeur, Paul "The Act of Judging" and "Sanction, Rehabilitation, Pardon" in *The Just*

Arendt, Hannah "Organized Guilt and Universal Responsibility" in *Essays In Understanding, 1930-1954*

Jankelevitch, Vladimir "Should we pardon them?" *Critical Inquiry* vol. 22 (1995/96), pp. 552-72

Murphy, Jeffrie and Jean Hampton *Forgiveness and Mercy*

Digeser, Peter *Political Forgiveness*

Hamber, Branson and Richard Wilson "Symbolic Closure through Memory, Reparation and Revenge in Post-conflict Societies" *Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2002)

Govier, Trudy *Forgiveness and Revenge*

Derrida, Jacques "On Forgiveness" in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*