

**AMERICAN UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL SERVICE (SIS)  
INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION PROGRAM (IPCR)  
RECONCILIATION AND JUSTICE IN POST CONFLICT CONTEXT**

**Spring 2017**

**Instructor: Philip Gamaghelyan      Class: Thursday 5.30pm-8.00pm  
Email: gamaghel@american.edu      Classroom: SIS- 102**

**Office Hours: by appointment**

**COURSE OBJECTIVES AND DESCRIPTION**

This course explores the complexity and multiple dimensions of the relationship between reconciliation and justice in conflict and post conflict contexts, the challenges and opportunities involved.

The course applies the theoretical frameworks studied to examine past, recent and contemporary conflicts, including those that are on path to resolution (Northern Ireland and Bosnia), one where the direct violence is long in the past yet the societies never reconciled (the memory of the Armenian Genocide and its effect on present-day Turkish-Armenian relations), as well as conflicts where violence is on-going (Syria, Ukraine, and Nagorno-Karabakh). In all these cases conflict resolution efforts have been undertaken both on official and civil society levels, showcasing the struggle (in absence of complementarity) between efforts aimed at advancing political settlement on the one hand, demands for justice on another, and the need for historical reconciliation on the other.

The major questions that will be explored in this course are: What are the variations of approaches to reconciliation and to justice? Are reconciliation and justice mutually exclusive? Can the reframing of concepts of justice and reconciliation, or perhaps of the concept of conflict itself, make them complementary? Finally, how can our learning translate into practice?

**ACADEMIC INTEGRITY CODE**

All students must adhere to the Academic Integrity Code (<http://www.american.edu/provost/registrar/regulations/reg80.cfm>). As the code states, "By enrolling at American University and then each semester when registering for classes, students acknowledge their commitment to the Code. As members of the academic community, students must become familiar with their rights and their responsibilities. In each course, they are responsible for knowing the requirements and restrictions regarding research and writing, examinations of whatever kind, collaborative work, the use of study aids, the appropriateness of assistance, and other issues. Students are responsible for learning the conventions of documentation and acknowledgment of sources. American University expects students to complete all examinations, tests, papers, creative projects, and assignments of any kind according to the highest ethical standards, as set forth either explicitly or implicitly in this Code or by the direction of

instructors."

### **DISABILITY SUPPORT SERVICES**

If you experience difficulty in this course for any reason, please don't hesitate to consult with me. In addition to the resources of the department, a wide range of services is available to support you in your efforts to meet the course requirements. **Academic Support Center** (x3360, MGC 243) offers study skills workshops, individual instruction, tutor referrals, and services for students with learning disabilities. Writing support is available in the ASC Writing Lab or in the Writing Center, Battelle 228. **Counseling Center** (x3500, MGC 214) offers counseling and consultations regarding personal concerns, self-help information, and connections to off-campus mental health resources.

**Disability Support Services** (x3315, MGC 206) offers technical and practical support and assistance with accommodations for students with physical, medical, or psychological disabilities. If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please notify me in a timely manner with a letter from the Academic Support Center or Disability Support Services so that we can make arrangements to address your needs.

### **EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS**

In the event of a declared pandemic (influenza or other communicable disease), American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction of the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence due to illness. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of a declared pandemic or other emergency, students should refer to the AU Web site ([www.prepared.american.edu](http://www.prepared.american.edu)) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean's office for course and school/college-specific information.

### **COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND EXPECTATIONS**

The final grade will be based on:

- 25% - Participation
- 25% - Class Facilitation
- 25% - Short Reflective Essays
- 25% - Final Paper

#### **Participation**

Participation will be evaluated based both on your attendance and on your contributions to our class discussions. To receive a high grade for participation you should be an active and regular contributor to our discussions, as well as a generous listener. In other words,

it is not only your presence and quantity of your contributions that matter but also the quality and your ability to listen openly to others' perspectives.

As this is a discussion-based class, the use of lap-tops is highly discouraged.

### **Class Facilitation**

The students will be paired up and, as a pair, will be responsible for choosing one class session and acting as a facilitators/lecturers/trainers for an hour of our discussion. The focus should be on the topic of the week. You are encouraged to approach this task creatively! You may assign your own readings, stage a simulation, or help us draw connections to practices of reconciliation and justice or to other important questions for the field of conflict resolution.

### **Short Reflective Essays**

At least four short essays (approximately two (2) pages long, Times New Roman, 1,5 spaced) will be required over the course of the semester. These essays should:

- a. help evaluate your comprehension of the core of the theories discussed in the readings of that particular week (1/2 page);
- b. show your ability to apply the respective theory to explain the conflict of your choice (1 page);
- c. contain a personal reflection on questions that the readings of the week raised for you (1/2 page to 1 page).

The essays will be graded based on your ability to briefly summarize the core of the theories discussed and your ability to apply these theories to analyze a conflict. The third part of your paper, the reflection, will not be graded so you can freely explore and reflect on questions that the course materials raise for you. At the same time the reflections are a required part of the essay, so their absence will negatively affect the overall grade you receive for the essay.

You can submit "make up" essays, in case you are not satisfied with the grade you received for one or more of the previous essays. In this case the essays with the lowest grades will not count toward your final grade, and only the four essays that have higher grades will.

The essays should be submitted electronically between weeks 2 and 11 (with the exception of week 8), which are the weeks when we have theoretical readings assigned. Within these limits, you can choose yourself which are the exact weeks when you prefer to submit the essays. No essays will be accepted after Week 11. The essays will be returned to you electronically, containing comments and a grade.

*Important: the essays are due on Thursdays, before the start time of the class. The essays should be submitted electronically to gamaghel@american.edu. The header of each essay should clearly identify the name of the student, the week that the essay relates to and the number of the essay submitted. I will be trying to review the papers within 7 days of their submission. If you do not get my comments on your essays within 7 days after you submitted them, please approach me or e-mail me to ensure that the essay is not lost.*

## **Final Paper**

The final paper is due on April 22, 2016 electronically. In this paper you are asked to synthesize your learning from the entire class. The theoretical part of the paper should contain, but does not have to be limited to the following: nuanced discussion of the concepts of justice and reconciliation, their interrelationship and instrumentalization in conflict resolution process. In the essay, please outline your own position in regard to these concepts and their relationship. In the applied part of the paper please choose a conflict case and discuss how the justice and reconciliation theories we studied enhance your understanding of the conflict.

Please do not spend pages on presenting a background or description of your conflict that is separate from your analysis of the theories of justice and reconciliation. As we will discuss in class, every description is implicitly based on certain assumptions/theories we have about conflict. Our aim here is to make these assumptions explicit.

The paper should be between 12 and 15 pages long not including the bibliography, be 1,5 spaced and use 12pt Times New Roman font. Proper citations, a cover page, page numbering, footnotes, and bibliography are expected.

We will further discuss the requirements for the final paper towards the end of the semester.

## **GRADING CRITERIA**

Every student is expected to be an active participant in the discussion and analysis of the course material. Exams and papers will be evaluated according to the following grading criteria:

"F": Failing work.

"D": Lack of fundamental knowledge of the material or ability to apply the theories to practice, but sufficient basic knowledge for a passing grade.

"C": Satisfactory knowledge of the theories and limited ability to apply them to a case.

"B": Ability to have a nuanced discussion of the theories discussed in class and their interrelationship; satisfactory ability to reflect on these concepts and apply them to a case.

"A": Demonstrated ability for independent analysis, original insight, or creativity, coupled with deep knowledge of the subject at hand. Such level could be communicated through critical examination of the theories, their integration, advanced application to explain conflicts and critical reflection.

## **REQUIRED READINGS**

Abu-Nimer Mohammed. *Reconciliation, Justice, and Coexistence: Theory and Practice*, New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.

Biggar, Nigel. (ed.). *Burying the Past: Making Peace and Doing Justice After Civil Conflict*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2001.

Daly Erin and Sarkin, Jeremy (Eds.) *Reconciliation in Divided Societies: Finding Common Ground*. UPEN Press. 2010.

Shaw, Rosalind and Lars Waldorf, eds. *Localizing Transitional Justice*. Stanford:

Stanford University Press. 2010

## COURSE OUTLINE

### Week 1. Jan 19

- Introductions: why this course?
- What is reconciliation? What is justice?
- Syllabus

**On “how do we know what we know?”** Review the discussion of positivism, post-positivism and anti-positivism at:

1. The Relevance of Positivism in Social Science. Available at:  
<https://deepaktripathilibrary.wordpress.com/2008/01/21/the-relevance-of-positivism-in-social-science/>
2. Anti-positivism. History Learning Site. Available at:  
<http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/sociology/research-methods-in-sociology/anti-positivism/>

### Week 2. Jan 26

**On Reconciliation and Justice:** conditions for effective reconciliation; different approaches and paradigms of reconciliation.

1. Louis Kriesberg. Changing Forms of Coexistence. (in: Abu-Nimer, 2001).
2. Johan Galtung. After Violence, Reconstruction, Reconciliation, and Resolution: Coping with Visible and Invisible Effects of War and Violence. (in: Abu-Nimer, 2001).
3. Abu-Nimer, et. al. The Long Road to Reconciliation. (in: Abu-Nimer, 2001).
4. Pierre Hazan. Transitional Justice after September 11. (Ch 3 in Shaw, Rosalind and Lars Waldorf).

### Week 3. Feb 2

**On Justice:**

1. Joseph Montville. Justice and the Burden of History. (in Abu-Nimer, 2001)
2. Nigel Biggar. Making Peace or Doing Justice: Must We Choose? (in: Biggar, 2000)
3. Daly and Sarkin, Chapter 6. Truth, Forgiveness and Justice (Daly and Sarkin, 2007).

### Week 4. Feb 9

**Types of Justice:**

1. Robinson and Hudson. Restorative Justice: Typology and Critical Appraisal. Willamette Journal of International Law and Dispute Resolution, Vol. 23, Issue 2 (2016), pp. 335-366. Available on Blackboard.
2. Rodrigo Uprimny and Maria Paula Saffon. Transitional Justice, Restorative Justice and Reconciliation. Some Insights from the Colombian Case (2005). Available at:  
[http://www.global.wisc.edu/reconciliation/library/papers\\_open/saffon.pdf](http://www.global.wisc.edu/reconciliation/library/papers_open/saffon.pdf)  
Translation from Spanish of a chapter in: Rettberg, Angelika (comp.). Entre el perdón y el paredón. Preguntas y dilemas de la justicia transicional [Between Forgiveness and the Wall. Questions and Dilemmas of Transitional Justice]. Bogotá: Universidad de los

Andes – CESO – IDRC.

3. Mica Estrada-Hollenbeck. The Attainment of Justice through Restoration. (in: Abu-Nimer, 2001).

#### **Week 5. Feb 16**

##### **Critique of approaches to justice:**

1. Shaw, Rosalind and Lars Waldorf, eds. 2010. Localizing Transitional Justice. Stanford: Stanford University Press: Chapters: 1(Introduction); 2 (Whose Priorities Take Priority?); 4 (An Acknowledged Failure); and Afterword (Elevating Transitional Local Justice).
2. Kris Brown and Fionnuala Ní Aoláin. Through the Looking Glass: Transitional Justice Futures through the Lens of Nationalism, Feminism and Transformative Change. International Journal of Transitional Justice. 2015, 9, 127-149. Available on Blackboard.

#### **Week 6 Feb 23**

##### **Approaches to Reconciliation:**

1. Daly and Sarkin. Chapter 7. Reconciliation Redirected (Daly and Sarkin 2007).
2. Daly and Sarkin. Chapter 9. The Mechanics of Reconciliation (Daly and Sarkin 2007).
3. Steele, David. An Introductory Overview to Faith-Based Peacebuilding. In Pursuing Just Peace, Ed. by Mark M. Rogers, et al. (Baltimore: Catholic Relief Services, 2008). Available at <http://www.crs.org/sites/default/files/tools-research/pursuing-just-peace.pdf> (pp. 5-43).

#### **Week 7 Mar 2**

##### **On Forgiveness:**

1. Marc Gopin. Forgiveness as an Element of Conflict resolution in Religious Cultures: Walking the Tightrope of Reconciliation and Justice. (in: Abu-Nimer, 2001).
2. Donal Shriver. Where and When in Political Life is Justice Served by Forgiveness (in Biggar, 2000).
3. Jean Bethke Elshtain. Politics and Forgiveness (in Biggar, 2000).
4. Andrew Rigby: European Purges After World War II. Available on Blackboard.

#### **Week 8. Mar 9**

##### **Reconciliation Attempts in Turkish-Armenian Context (post-violence, unresolved conflict):**

1. Gocek and Bardakjian. Foreword to the Dialogue Across an International Divide: Essays Towards a Turkish-Armenian Dialogue by Taner Akçam. Available at: [http://www.zoryaninstitute.org/dialogue/dialogue\\_akcamforeword.html](http://www.zoryaninstitute.org/dialogue/dialogue_akcamforeword.html)
2. Gerard Libaridian. Erdogan and his Armenian Problem. Turkish Policy Quarterly. (2013). Available at: [http://www.turkishpolicy.com/dosyalar/files/vol\\_12-no\\_1-libaridian.pdf](http://www.turkishpolicy.com/dosyalar/files/vol_12-no_1-libaridian.pdf)

##### **Movie Screening: Ararat**

**Mar 16: Spring Break. No Class**

### **Week 9. Mar 23**

#### **Dealing with the Past:**

1. Barbara Tint. "History, Memory and Intractable Conflict." *Conflict Resolution Quarterly* 27(3):239-256. 2010. Available on blackboard.
2. Ron Dudai and Hillel Cohen. Dealing with the Past when the Conflict is Still Present (in Rosalind and Waldorf. 2010).
3. Martha Minow. Innovative Responses to the Past. (in: Biggar, 2000).
4. Philip Gamaghelyan & Sergey Rumyansev History Education in the South Caucasus. *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Spring 2014. Available at: <http://www.turkishpolicy.com/article/981/history-education-in-the-south-caucasus-spring-2014/>

### **Week 10. Mar 30**

#### **Narrative and Discourse Analysis:**

1. Paul Ricoeur, "The Narrative Function." In Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics & the Human Sciences*. Available on Blackboard.
2. Sara Cobb. Fostering Coexistence in Identity-Based Conflicts: Towards a Narrative Approach. In A. Chayes and M. Minow, eds., *Imagine Coexistence*. Jossey Bass: San Francisco: pp. 294-310. 2004. Available on blackboard.
3. Phillips & Hardy, 2002. *Discourse Analysis*. Available on Blackboard.

### **Week 11. Apr 6**

#### **Structures, Political Agreements and Reconciliation:**

1. Andrew Rigby, Chapter 3. *Spain: Amnesty and Amnesia*. Available on Blackboard.
2. Madeleine Davis. Is Spain Recovering its Memory? *Breaking the Pacto del Olvido*. *Human Rights Quarterly*. 2005. Available on Blackboard.
3. Lewis Rasmussen. Negotiating Revolution: Toward Integrating Relationship Building and Reconciliation into Official Peace Negotiations. (in Abu-Nimer, 2001).
4. Wendy Lambourn. Justice and Reconciliation: Post Conflict Peacebuilding in Cambodia and Rwanda. (in Abu-Nimer, 2001).

### **Week 12. April 13**

#### **Reconciliation in Northern Ireland and Bosnia (post-conflict)**

##### **Required Readings:**

1. Mari Fitzduff. *The Challenge to History: Justice, Coexistence, and Reconciliation Work in Northern Ireland*. (Abu-Nimer, 2001)
2. Robert Hayden. *What's Reconciliation Got to do With It? The International Criminal*

Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) as Antiwar Profiteer. Available on Blackboard.

3. Clare Magill and Brandon Hamber. If They Don't Start Listening to Us, the Future Is Going to Look the Same as the Past: Young People and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Available on Blackboard.

### **Guest Lecture**

#### **Week 13. April 20**

##### **Reconciliation and Justice in Syria, Crimea and Nagorno-Karabakh (on-going conflicts):**

1. Philip Gamagheyan. A Caution Against Framing Syria as an Assad-Opposition Dichotomy. Turkish Policy Quarterly. 2013. Available at: [http://www.turkishpolicy.com/dosyalar/files/vol\\_12-no\\_3-gamaghelyan.pdf](http://www.turkishpolicy.com/dosyalar/files/vol_12-no_3-gamaghelyan.pdf)
2. As these conflicts continuously evolve, further readings will be determined as the time approaches.

#### **Week 14. April 27**

Wrap up, summaries, conclusions, evaluation

**FINAL PAPER DUE on April 29 at midnight**