

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

**Fall 2014**

**Instructor: Phil Gamaghelyan      Class: Thursday 8.10pm-10.40pm  
Email: gamaghel@american.edu      Classroom: SIS 355  
Office:      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. It also aims at developing a deeper understanding of the challenges and opportunities involved in applying and designing a reconciliation project in conflict and post-conflict contexts.

The course applies the theoretical frameworks studied to examine past, recent and contemporary conflicts, including one that is on path to resolution (Northern Ireland), 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 inter relations), and finally on-going conflicts, such as in Syria, Crimea 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 justice? Are reconciliation, justice and politics all mutually exclusive? Can the reframing of concepts of justice, reconciliation or politics make them complementary? How do these theories 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.

### **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. 2007.

Fitzduff, Mari. *Beyond Violence. Conflict Resolution Process in Northern Ireland*. United Nations University Press (October 30, 2002).

Rigby, Andrew. *Justice and Reconciliation after Violence*. Lynne Rienner. 2001.

Shaw, Rosalind and Lars Waldorf, eds. *Localizing Transitional Justice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2010

### **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.

### **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. You are encouraged to approach this task creatively! In addition to helping us draw out key themes of the readings for that week, you may assign your own readings, stage a simulation, or help us draw connections to practices of conflict resolution/transformation or to other important questions for our field.

### **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 10, 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 10 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 December 9, 2014 electronically. In this short final 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 present 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 ten (10) and 12 (twelve) 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.

### **COURSE OUTLINE**

### Week 1. Aug 28

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

### Week 2. Sept. 4

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

1. Lou 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).

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

4. Positivism & Post-Positivism. Research Methods Knowledge Base. Available at: <http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/positvsm.php>
5. Anti-positivism. History Learning Site. Available at: [http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/anti\\_positivism.htm](http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/anti_positivism.htm)

### Week 3. Sept. 11

#### **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).
4. Andrew Rigby, Chapter 3. Spain: Amnesty and Amnesia (in: Rigby, 2001).
5. 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.

#### **Recommended Readings:**

1. Mica Estrada-Hollenbeck. The Attainment of Justice through Restoration. (in: Abu-Nimer, 2001).
2. Andrew Rigby: Chapter 4. Truth and Justice As Far As Possible: The Latin America Experience. (in: Rigby, 2001)

### Week 4. Sept. 18

#### **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. Dwyer, Leslie 2009. “A politics of silences: violence, memory and treacherous speech in

post- 1965 Bali.” In Alex Hinton and Kevin O’Neill, eds., *Genocide, Truth, Memory and Representation: Anthropological Approaches*. Durham: Duke University Press. Available on Blackboard.

### **Week 5. Sept. 25**

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

1. Donald Shriver. *The Long Road to Reconciliation: Some Moral Stepping-Stones*. (in: Rothstein, 1999).
2. Daly and Sarkin. Chapter 7. *Reconciliation Redirected* (Daly and Sarkin 2007).
3. Daly and Sarkin. Chapter 9. *The Mechanics of Reconciliation* (Daly and Sarkin 2007).
4. Andrew Rigby: Chapter 9: *Toward a Culture of Reconciliation* (in: Rigby, 2001).
5. 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.crsprogramquality.org/storage/pubs/peacebuilding/pursuing\\_just\\_peace.pdf](http://www.crsprogramquality.org/storage/pubs/peacebuilding/pursuing_just_peace.pdf) (pp. 5-43).

### **Week 6 Oct. 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. Daly and Sarkin. Chapter 2. *The Divided Self* (Daly and Sarkin 2007).
4. Jean Bethke Elshtain. *Politics and Forgiveness*. (in Biggar, 2000).

### **Week 7 Oct. 9**

#### **Conceptualizing reconciliation in state building context:**

1. Charles Tilly. “Warmaking and Statemaking as Organized Crime”. Available on Blackboard.
2. Charles Tilly *Coercion, Capital, and the European States*. Available on Blackboard.
3. Daly and Sarkin. *The Lay of the Land*. (in Daly and Sarkin 2007)
4. Andrew Rigby: Chapter 2. *European Purges After World War II* (in: Rigby, 2001).

### **Week 8. Oct. 16**

#### **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).

#### **Recommended Readings:**

1. Martha Minow. *Innovative Responses to the Past*. (in: Biggar, 2000).
2. Marie Smyth. *Putting the Past in Its Place: Issues of Victimhood and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland’s Peace process*. (in: Biggar, 2000).
3. Terence McCaughy. *Northern Ireland: Burying the Hatchet, Not the Past*. (in Biggar,

2000).

### **Week 9. October 23**

#### **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 10. Oct. 30**

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

1. Lewis Rasmussen. *Negotiating Revolution: Toward Integrating Relationship Building and Reconciliation into Official Peace Negotiations*. (in Abu-Nimer, 2001).
2. Wendy Lambourn. *Justice and Reconciliation: Post Conflict Peacebuilding in Cambodia and Rwanda*. (Abu-Nimer, 2001).
3. Daly and Sarkin. Chapter 8. *Politics and Money* (Daly and Sarkin 2007).

#### **Movie: Caché (Hidden)**

### **Applied Examples of Reconciliation Attempts in Post-Conflict, Historical Conflict and Present-Day conflict contexts**

### **Week 11. Nov. 6**

#### **Reconciliation in Northern Ireland: Post Good Friday Agreement (post-conflict)**

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

1. Mari Fitzduff. *Beyond Violence. Conflict Resolution Process in Northern Ireland*.
2. Mari Fitzduff. *The Challenge to History: Justice, Coexistence, and Reconciliation Work in Northern Ireland*. (Abu-Nimer, 2001)

### **Week 12. Nov. 13**

#### **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 Libaridyan. *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: Ararat**

### **Week 13. Nov. 20**

#### **Processes 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. Further readings TBD in class as the time approaches as these conflicts evolve.

**Week 14. Dec. 4**

**Conclusions, Final Papers, Evaluation**