WESTERN UNIVERSITY Department of Political Science

POL 4427g TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

Winter Term 2014 Instructor: Dr. Cristina Badescu Wednesday 1:30-3:30 pm Office Location: SSC 4097 Location: SSC 4255 Office Hours: Wednesday 3:30-5:00 pm

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Course Description

In this seminar course we discuss some of the leading debates within the topic of transitional justice. Gross violations of human rights will be the reference point for a critical reflection on various transitional justice mechanisms. The twentieth century was often referred to as 'the age of atrocity', as it produced some of the bloodiest and most atrocious massacres in history. This was also the age in which mechanisms to deal with these crimes were systematically developed and implemented. Nonetheless, there is still significant debate about the efficacy and appropriateness of various kinds of mechanisms that have come into being to respond to atrocities. Apart from the various types of instruments, the results that each of these has been able to achieve also come under intense scrutiny.

The course seeks to critically examine a number of these mechanisms and instruments. They can be grouped into three broad categories, around which the course is structured: first, retributive justice, which encompasses the idea that those who perpetrate atrocities should be held accountable and punished, as criminals are; second, restorative justice, which emphasizes the overriding need to restore the possibility of a just and peaceful future, in the aftermath of atrocity; and, third, restitutive justice, which is centered on the idea that the victims of atrocity deserve compensation.

This course focuses on the conceptual framework surrounding the three approaches (retributive, restorative and restitutive), while also covering both historical and more contemporary uses of each, through the use of selected case studies. As such, the readings for each week blend theoretical accounts with historical discussions and critical assessments.

There is no text-book for this course. The weekly readings will be posted on the OWL site for the course, unless the links are provided in the course outline.

Important Notice re: Prerequisites/Antirequisites

Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites.

Office of the Dean, Faculty of Social Science

Grade Distribution

Essay (due April 2)	50%
Seminar Presentation	25%
Seminar Participation	25%

Essay

You will be required to write one term essay of 15-20 typed, double-spaced pages, or between 3750-5000 words. The topic of the paper may be selected from the list of topics provided below. The completed paper must be submitted at the beginning of class on Wednesday, April 2, 2014. A late penalty of 10% per day will be applied to papers submitted at any point after the class commences on April 2.

Essays must be submitted to Turnitin.com, using the link on WebCT/OWL, prior to the start of class on April 2.

Essay Topics:

Topic 1: Theoretical approaches

This essay topic asks you to focus on one or more of the theoretical approaches (retributive, restorative, restitutive) used in the course and to critically evaluate the approach(es) you select. You may choose to illustrate your points by use of a case study, where appropriate, although this is not required. You may consider only one approach, or you may compare and contrast different approaches.

Topic 2: Instrument or mechanism of justice after atrocity

This topic asks you to consider one instrument or mechanism that has been or may be used to promote some form of justice after atrocity and to evaluate its strengths and weaknesses, as well as provide an assessment of where it might best be used. You may choose to illustrate your points by use of a case study, where appropriate, although this is not required.

<u>Topic 3</u>: Case study of an instance of the use of one instrument or mechanism This topic asks you to look at a specific use of one of the instruments of justice after atrocity, which has been used. By definition, therefore, in choosing this option, you will be looking at something which has already taken place. You are, however, asked to evaluate the mechanism and *not* the event. Therefore, you must also take care not to dwell on the event(s) itself, but rather to make the instrument or mechanism the focus of your essay.

Your paper will be graded for:

Content (50%)	Clarity of your research question, consistency of the central argument, relevance of the analysis, ability to synthesize material, and strength of your thesis	
Structure (20%)	General organization of your paper, and the quality of your introduction and conclusion	

Research (20%)	The relevance and quality of your sources, and the argumentation based on the	
	relevant literature	
Style (10%)	Quality and consistency of the reference system, bibliography, grammar, and	
	syntax	

Seminar Presentation

Each week, a group of two or more students will present the main points and arguments of the case study as they relate to that week's main theme, also drawing on themes covered earlier in the term, to the class. Each presentation should be approximately 20-25 minutes in length, and must include a brief hand-out for students in the class that includes the main themes represented in the case study as well as questions for discussion. As the presentation is expected to be a joint project between the students involved, all students in the group will be graded together. Student presenters are expected to refer to material beyond that assigned to the class.

Seminar Participation

This assessment will be based on regular contributions to the class discussion, reflecting some grasp of the relevant materials and some analytical abilities in applying those materials in the discussion.

This is an upper-level seminar course where students are expected to come to class already having completed the readings each week and prepared with relevant questions and ideas in order to participate actively in general discussion and debate.

See the table below for criteria used to evaluate seminar participation:

Grade	Attendance	Discussion	Reading
5	Always	Excellent: offers analysis and	Clearly has done and prepared
		comments; always has ideas on	questions on virtually all readings;
		themes of reading; takes care not to	intelligently uses this understanding
		dominate	and these questions in discussion
4	Almost	Very Good: thoughtful comments and	Has done most readings; provides
	always	questions for the most part; willing,	competent analysis of reading when
		able and frequent contributor	prompted by others
3	Frequent	Good: has basic grasp of key	Displays familiarity with most
		concepts and occasional ideas on the	readings, but tends not to analyze
		main theme of the reading; arguments	them or to relate them to the course
		are sporadic and at times incomplete	material
		or poorly supported	
2	Occasional	Somewhat Poor: remarks in class	Actual knowledge of material is
		marked by misunderstandings of key	outweighed by improvised comments
		concepts; seldom contributes	and remarks
		effectively to discussion of main	
		themes	
0-1	Rare	Poor: rarely speaks	Little or no apparent familiarity with
			assigned material

Academic Dishonesty

Many different types of actions may be considered academically dishonest. These might include, although not exhaustively, the following: cheating, submission of work not authored by you, double submission, fabrication, plagiarism. You are advised to familiarize yourself with the guidelines set out in the Handbook of Academic and Scholarship Policy. These may be found at the following url: http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/scholoff.pdf

Students with Disabilities

Any student with a disability is advised to contact the Coordinator for Services for Students with Disabilities in order that arrangements can be made through them to accommodate that student. The Centre for Student Development is located in UCC Suite 210; They can be reached by telephone at (519)661-2147, by email at ssc@sdc.uwo.ca, or on the web at http://www.sdc.uwo.ca/ssd/

Other Resources

There are many resources at UWO designed to assist you in your learning. You are strongly advised to utilize these services. The Student Development Centre offers many services, including Effective Writing Programs and Learning Skills Services. The Student Development Centre is located in UCC Suite 210; they can be reached by telephone at (519)661-2147, exams@sdc.uwo.ca, by email at http://www.sdc.uwo.ca/ssd/. You should also become familiar with the services offered by the University Library System. The D.B. Weldon Library may be contacted by telephone at (519)661-3162 or by email at dbwref@lib.uwo.ca, on the web http://www.lib.uwo.ca/weldon/#.

Writing Style

Essays **must** be formatted using Chicago/Turabian style, with footnotes, not in-text citations. Students are advised to consult a writer's handbook when composing their essays in order to see how to format things like bibliography and footnotes. One such excellent handbook is *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* by Kate L. Turabian. A useful link may be found at the following url: http://www.wisc.edu/writing/Handbook/DocChicago.html.

As this is an upper-level seminar, grammatical, spelling and other errors are not acceptable. You are responsible for your own work, and, as such, must be careful to proofread your work before turning it in.

Policy on Late Penalties

There is no grace period, unless you have been granted an extension. Reasonable extensions for the submission of papers can be granted for good reasons, which do not include exams in

other classes or multiple assignments coming due at the same time (plan ahead in order to finish some of them early). Should you request an extension, please *do so in advance* if possible and provide relevant documentation. Please keep in mind that extensions are granted only under extreme circumstances, and you must show documentation of your reason for requesting an extension.

Course outline by topic:

Week 1: January 8 – Introduction

Distribution of syllabus; outline of topics to be covered, objectives of the course, student responsibilities, seminar presentations and class materials.

Week 2: January 15 – Three Categories of Justice

- Neil J. Kritz, "The Dilemmas of Transitional Justice," in *Transitional Justice*, Vol. III (Washington: United States Institute for Peace Press, 1995) xxi-xxxii.
- Luc Huyse, "Justice", in "*Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: A Handbook*", eds. David Bloomfield, Teresa Barnes, and Luc Huyse (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2003) 97-115.
- Martha Minow, "Chapter 6: Facing History," in *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998) 118-147.

I. Retributive Justice

Week 3: January 22 – Clarifying the Concept of Retribution

- Trudy Govier, "Chapter 1: Revenge and Retribution," in *Forgiveness and Revenge* (New York: Routledge, 2002) 1-22.
- Martha Minow, "Chapter 3: Trials," in *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998) 25-51.

Case Study: Nuremberg

David Luban, "Chapter 7: The Legacies of Nuremberg," in *Legal Modernism* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994) 335-378.

Week 4: January 29 – International Crime

The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (1998), Articles 1-33, (available from http://www.icc-cpi.int/NR/rdonlyres/ADD16852-AEE9-4757-ABE7-9CDC7CF02886/283503/RomeStatutEng1.pdf)

Richard Vernon, "What is Crime Against Humanity?" in *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 10.3 (2002): 231-249.

"Genocide Convention" (available from

http://www.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/Treaty.xsp?action=openDocument&document Id=1507EE9200C58C5EC12563F6005FB3E5)

Case study: International Criminal Court: Situation in Kenya

International Criminal Court, "Situation in Kenya," (available from http://www.icc-cpi.int/en_menus/icc/situations%20and%20cases/situations/situation%20icc%20010 9/Pages/situation%20index.aspx)

What's in Blue? Insights on the work of the UN Security Council, "AU Request for ICC Deferral of Kenyan Situation" (available from http://www.whatsinblue.org/2013/11/aurequest-for-icc-deferral-of-kenyan-situation.php).

Week 5: February 5 – Individual versus Collective Responsibility

Larry May, "Chapter 8: Prosecuting State Leaders for Crimes Against Humanity", in *Crimes against Humanity: A Normative Account* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 139-156.

Christopher Browning, "Chapter 18: Ordinary Men," in *Ordinary Men* (New York: Harper Collins, 1998) 159-189.

Case study: My Lai Massacre

Stanley Bates "My Lai and Vietnam", in *Individual and Collective Responsibility*, ed. Peter French (Rochester: Schenkman Books, 1972) 191-209.

Doug Linder, "An Introduction to the My Lai Courts-Martial," Social Science Research Network, 2007 (available from

http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1029398).

II. Restorative justice

Week 6: February 12 – Clarifying the Concept of Restorative Justice

Mark Freeman and Priscilla B. Hayner. "Truth-Telling", in "*Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: A Handbook*", eds. David Bloomfield, Teresa Barnes, and Luc Huyse (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2003) 122-138.

Joanna R. Quinn, "Are Truth Commissions Useful in Promoting Restorative Justice?" in *Crosscurrents*, 4th ed., ed. Mark Charlton (Toronto: Nelson Canada, 2004).

Richard Ashby Wilson, "Challenging Human Rights as Restorative Justice," in *Crosscurrents*, 4th ed., ed. Mark Charlton (Toronto: Nelson Canada, 2004).

Case study: Uganda's Truth Commission

Joanna R. Quinn, "Constraints: The Un-Doing of the Ugandan Truth Commission," in *Human Rights Quarterly* 26.2 (May 2004): 401-427.

Week 7: February 19 – No classes (reading week)

Week 8: February 26 – Trials versus Truth Commissions

- Darryl Robinson, "Serving the Interests of Justice", in *Bringing Power to Justice: The Prospects of the International Criminal Court*, eds. Joanna Harrington, Michael Milde and Richard Vernon (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006) 210-243.
- Martha Minow, "The Hope for Healing: What can Truth Commissions do?" in *Truth versus Justice: The Morality of Truth Commissions*, eds. Robert I. Rotberg and Dennis Thompson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000) 235-260.
- Priscilla Hayner, "Chapter 7: Truth versus Justice: Is it a Trade-Off?" in *Unspeakable Truths* (London: Routledge, 2002) 86-106.

Case study: South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Alex Boraine, "Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: The Third Way" in *Truth versus Justice: The Morality of Truth Commissions*, eds. Robert Rotberg and Dennis Thompson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000) 141-157.

Week 9: March 5 – Reconciliation, Forgiveness, Apology

- Trudy Govier, "Chapter 8: Forgiveness and Reconciliation," in *Forgiveness and Revenge* (New York: Routledge, 2002) 141-157.
- Michael Feher, "Terms of Reconciliation", in *Human Rights in Political Transitions: Gettysburg to Bosnia* (New York: Zone Books, 1999) 325-338.
- Kathleen A. Gill, "The Moral Functions of an Apology", in *Injustice and Rectification*, ed. Rodney Roberts (New York: Lang, 2002) 111-129.

Case study: Rwanda's Healing Process after Genocide

- Charles Mironko and Ephrem Rurangwa, "Post-Genocide Justice and Security Reform", in Constructing Justice and Security after War, ed. Charles Call (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2007) only 193-212.
- Ervin Staub, "Justice, Healing, and Reconciliation: How the People's Courts in Rwanda can Promote Them", in *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 10:1, (2004) 25-32.

III. Restitutive Justice

Week 10: March 12 - Framework and Context

Naomi Roht-Arriaza, "Reparations in the Aftermath of Repression and Mass Violence," in *My Neighbour, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass*

- *Atrocity*, eds. Eric Stover and Harvey M. Weinstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 121-139.
- Conor McCarthy, "Reparations under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and Reparative Justice Theory", *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, Vol. 3, 2009, 250–271.

Case study: Comfort women

- Roy L. Brooks, "What Form Redress?" in *When Sorry Isn't Enough*, ed. Roy L. Brooks (New York: New York University Press, 1999) 87-91.
- Karen Parker and Jennifer F. Chew, "The Jugun Ianfu System," in *When Sorry Isn't Enough*, ed. Roy L. Brooks (New York: New York University Press, 1999) 95-100.
- George Hicks, "The Comfort Women Redress Movement," in *When Sorry Isn't Enough*, ed. Roy L. Brooks (New York: New York University Press, 1999) 113-125.
- "Japan's Official Responses to Reparations," in *When Sorry Isn't Enough*, ed. Roy L. Brooks (New York: New York University Press, 1999) 126-131.

Week 11: March 19 – Restitution

Elazar Barkan, "Chapter 12: Restitution for Slavery: Opportunity or Fantasy?" in *The Guilt of Nations* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000) 283-307.

Richard Vernon, "Against Restitution," Political Studies 51 (2003): 542-557.

"UN: Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power General Assembly Resolution 40/34 (Nov 29, 1995)," in *Transitional Justice*, Vol. III (Washington: United States Institute for Peace Press, 1995) 645-649.

Case study: Compensation claims for Nazi atrocities

Hubert Kim, "German Reparations: Institutionalized Insufficiency," in *When Sorry Isn't Enough*, ed. Roy L. Brooks (New York: New York University Press, 1999) 77-80.

United States Department of Justice Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, "German Compensation for National Socialist Crimes: March 6, 1996," in *When Sorry Isn't Enough*, ed. Roy L. Brooks (New York: New York University Press, 1999) 61-67.

Week 12: March 26 – Guest Lecture

*** Readings to be assigned by our Guest speaker ***

Week 13: April 2 - Concluding Discussion

Jon Elster, "Conclusion," in *Retribution and Reparation in the Transition to Democracy*, ed. Jon Elster (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 317-327.

United Nations Secretary General, *The Rule of Law and Transitional Justice in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies*, 23 Aug. 2004, S/2004/616, (available from http://www.refworld.org/docid/45069c434.html)

*** Essays due at beginning of class ***

APPENDIX TO UNDERGRADUATE COURSE OUTLINES DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Prerequisite checking - the student's responsibility

"Unless you have either the requisites for this course or written special permission from your Dean to enroll in it, you may be removed from this course and it will be deleted from your record. This decision may not be appealed. You will receive no adjustment to your fees in the event that you are dropped from a course for failing to have the necessary prerequisites."

Essay course requirements

With the exception of 1000-level courses, most courses in the Department of Political Science are essay courses. Total written assignments (excluding examinations) will be at least 3,000 words in Politics 1020E, at least 5,000 words in a full course numbered 2000 or above, and at least 2,500 words in a half course numbered 2000 or above.

Use of Personal Response Systems ("Clickers")

"Personal Response Systems ("clickers") may be used in some classes. If clickers are to be used in a class, it is the responsibility of the student to ensure that the device is activated and functional. Students must see their instructor if they have any concerns about whether the clicker is malfunctioning.

Students must use only their own clicker. If clicker records are used to compute a portion of the course grade:

- the use of somebody else's clicker in class constitutes a scholastic offence,
- the possession of a clicker belonging to another student will be interpreted as an attempt to commit a scholastic offence."

<u>Security and Confidentiality of Student Work</u> (refer to current *Western Academic Calendar* (http://www.westerncalendar.uwo.ca/)

"Submitting or Returning Student Assignments, Tests and Exams - All student assignments, tests and exams will be handled in a secure and confidential manner. Particularly in this respect, <u>leaving student work unattended</u> in public areas for pickup is not permitted."

Duplication of work

Undergraduate students who submit similar assignments on closely related topics in two different courses must obtain the consent of both instructors prior to the submission of the assignment. If prior approval is not obtained, each instructor reserves the right not to accept the assignment.

Grade adjustments

In order to ensure that comparable standards are applied in political science courses, the Department may require instructors to adjust final marks to conform to Departmental guidelines.

Academic Offences

"Scholastic offences are taken seriously and students are directed to read the appropriate policy, specifically, the definition of what constitutes a Scholastic Offence, at the following Web site: http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/appeals/scholoff.pdf ."

Submission of Course Requirements

ESSAYS, ASSIGNMENTS, TAKE-HOME EXAMS <u>MUST</u> BE SUBMITTED ACCORDING TO PROCEDURES SPECIFIED BY YOUR INSTRUCTOR (I.E., IN CLASS, DURING OFFICE HOURS, TA'S OFFICE HOURS) OR UNDER THE INSTRUCTOR'S OFFICE DOOR.

THE MAIN OFFICE DOES NOT DATE-STAMP OR ACCEPT ANY OF THE ABOVE.

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/

Students registered in Social Science should refer to http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/
http://counselling.ssc.uwo.ca/procedures/havingproblems.asp for information on Medical Policy, Term
Tests, Final Examinations, Late Assignments, Short Absences, Extended Absences, Documentation and other Academic Concerns. Non-Social Science students should refer to their home faculty's academic counselling office.

Plagiarism

"Plagiarism: Students must write their essays and assignments in their own words. Whenever students take an idea, or a passage from another author, they must acknowledge their debt both by using quotation marks where appropriate and by proper referencing such as footnotes or citations. Plagiarism is a major academic offence." (see Scholastic Offence Policy in the Western Academic Calendar).

<u>Plagiarism Checking:</u> "All required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to the commercial plagiarism detection software under license to the University for the detection of plagiarism. All papers submitted for such checking will be included as source documents in the reference database for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of papers subsequently submitted to the system. Use of the service is subject to the licensing agreement, currently between The University of Western Ontario and Turnitin.com (http://www.turnitin.com)."

<u>Multiple-choice tests/exams</u>: "Computer-marked multiple-choice tests and/or exams may be subject to submission for similarity review by software that will check for unusual coincidences in answer patterns that may indicate cheating."

Note: Information excerpted and quoted above are Senate regulations from the Handbook of Scholarship and Academic Policy. http://www.uwo.ca/univsec/handbook/

PLAGIARISM*

In writing scholarly papers, you must keep firmly in mind the need to avoid plagiarism. Plagiarism is the unacknowledged borrowing of another writer's words or ideas. Different forms of writing require different types of acknowledgement. The following rules pertain to the acknowledgements necessary in academic papers.

A. In using another writer's words, you must both place the words in quotation marks and acknowledge that the words are those of another writer.

You are plagiarizing if you use a sequence of words, a sentence or a paragraph taken from other writers without acknowledging them to be theirs. Acknowledgement is indicated either by (1) mentioning the author and work from which the words are borrowed in the text of your paper; or by (2) placing a footnote number at the end of the quotation in your text, and including a correspondingly numbered footnote at the bottom of the page (or in a separate reference section at the end of your essay). This footnote should indicate author, title of the work, place and date of publication, and page number.

Method (2) given above is usually preferable for academic essays because it provides the reader with more information about your sources and leaves your text uncluttered with parenthetical and tangential references. In either case words taken from another author must be enclosed in quotation marks or set off from your text by single spacing and indentation in such a way that they cannot be mistaken for your own words. Note that you cannot avoid indicating quotation simply by changing a word or phrase in a sentence or paragraph which is not your own.

B. In adopting other writers' ideas, you must acknowledge that they are theirs.

You are plagiarizing if you adopt, summarize, or paraphrase other writers' trains of argument, ideas or sequences of ideas without acknowledging their authorship according to the method of acknowledgement given in 'A' above. Since the words are your own, they need not be enclosed in quotation marks. Be certain, however, that the words you use are entirely your own; where you must use words or phrases from your source, these should be enclosed in quotation marks, as in 'A' above.

Clearly, it is possible for you to formulate arguments or ideas independently of another writer who has expounded the same ideas, and whom you have not read. Where you got your ideas is the important consideration here. Do not be afraid to present an argument or idea without acknowledgement to another writer, if you have arrived at it entirely independently. Acknowledge it if you have derived it from a source outside your own thinking on the subject.

In short, use of acknowledgements and, when necessary, quotation marks is necessary to distinguish clearly between what is yours and what is not. Since the rules have been explained to you, if you fail to make this distinction your instructor very likely will do so for you, and they will be forced to regard your omission as intentional literary theft. Plagiarism is a serious offence which may result in a student's receiving an 'F' in a course or, in extreme cases in their suspension from the University.

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Adopted by the council of the Faculty of Social Science, October, 1970; approved by the Dept. of History
August 13, 1991

Accessibility at Western: Please contact <u>poliscie@uwo.ca</u> if you require any information in plain text format, or if any other accommodation can make the course material and/or physical space accessible to you.

SUPPORT SERVICES

Students who are in emotional/mental distress should refer to Mental Health@Western http://www.uwo.ca/uwocom/mentalhealth/ for a complete list of options about how to obtain help.