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# Course Outline

## Dynamics of Reconciliation

Learning to Transform Relationships



The Apartheid Museum at Johannesburg



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## **Introduction<sup>1</sup>**

The post-Cold War rise in ethno-nationalist conflicts around the world highlights both the necessity and the difficulty of personal, social and structural reconciliation in the aftermath of political violence and armed conflict. However, whilst the importance of post-conflict reconciliation has becoming ever more apparent in the last few decades, so too does uncertainty and disagreement among both practitioners and scholars about what reconciliation means and how it can be achieved. Reconciliation Studies seeks to develop a fuller, more complex, and more systematic understanding of theoretical and practical approaches to reconciliation. This module ‘Dynamics of Reconciliation’ explores the key challenges in transforming personal, social and structural relationships that have been damaged or destroyed by conflict. As such, it serves as an introductory course for the study of social and political reconciliation at postgraduate level. *A key question in this course is why personal, social and structural relationships need to be addressed after conflict.* It draws material and examples from Northern Ireland, where recent experience and ongoing challenges have many lessons to offer in this regard, and from other places of violent conflict and post-conflict division around the world.

## **Learning outcomes**

On successful completion of the module students should be able to:

- clarify different understandings of the term ‘reconciliation’;
- analyse the importance and difficulties of social and structural relationships in the aftermath of conflict;
- critically evaluate key dynamics in typical approaches to reconciliation, including the place of forgiveness, apology, truth and justice;
- show confidence and familiarity with academic approaches and expectations at postgraduate level and participate actively in class discussions;
- explore current debates and viewpoints in the academic literature and develop an informed and reasoned appreciation and critique of them;
- present persuasive written work with analytic arguments based on evidence, reading and reason.

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<sup>1</sup> Earlier versions of this course were originally developed and taught at the Irish School of Ecumenics by Joseph Liechty (2001-02) and then Wilhelm Verwoerd (2002-2004). I gratefully acknowledge their help in shaping the current format of the course, and the many insights they shared whilst teaching it, though they are in no way responsible for any failings the course may have developed since then.



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### **Introductory reading**

The Introductory text for the course is: David Bloomfield *et al.* (eds), *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict: A Handbook* (Stockholm: IDEA, 2003). Each week has required reading from this book to be read before class. The book is available to order from:

<http://www.idea.int/publications/reconciliation/index.cfm>

or as a PDF at [http://www.idea.int/publications/reconciliation/upload/reconciliation\\_full.pdf](http://www.idea.int/publications/reconciliation/upload/reconciliation_full.pdf). A full hard-copy of the PDF is also available in the library for easy copying.

### **Weekly recommended reading**

Copies of highly recommended readings for each weekly session are listed below and are available in the *Dynamics of Reconciliation: Readings Folder* in the library. Additional Further Reading suggestions will be given each week.

### **Core texts**

Ten very useful core texts for the course that might be read in any order are as follows (with the asterisk marking those of particular significance).

Digester, Paul E. *Political Forgiveness*. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Du Toit, Fanie, *Learning to Live Together: Practices of Social Reconciliation*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2002.

Govier, Trudy. *Forgiveness and Revenge*. London: Routledge, 2002.

Hamber, Brandon and Gráinne Kelly. *A Place for Reconciliation? Conflict and Locality in Northern Ireland*. Democratic Dialogue Report 18. Belfast: September, 2005. Available as PDF at [http://www.democraticdialogue.org/documents/R18\\_000.pdf](http://www.democraticdialogue.org/documents/R18_000.pdf)

\* Lederach, John Paul. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 1997.

\* Minow, Martha. *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*. Boston: Beacon, 1998.

\* Porter, Norman. *The Elusive Quest: Reconciliation in Northern Ireland*. Belfast: Blackstaff, 2003.

Rigby, Andrew. *Justice and Reconciliation After the Violence*. London: Lynne Rienner, 2001.

Tavuchis, Nicolas. *Mea culpa: A Sociology of Apology and Reconciliation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991.



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Villa-Vicencio, Charles. and E. Doxtader, eds. *Pieces of the Puzzle: Keywords on Reconciliation and Transitional Justice*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2005.

### ***Further reading***

The introductory and recommended readings for each week give a good basis for active participation in class. However, at postgraduate level there is always an expectation that students will go beyond the basic texts and explore a wider literature. Substantial further reading from the class handouts for each week and/or the further reading list below is expected, and will be a necessary part of preparing an essay in response to this course. Copies of some of the further reading suggestions are in an 'Additional Readings' folder in the library. You are also expected to browse the shelves, use the bibliography and take personal initiative in exploring the academic literature.

### ***Journalistic sources***

Politically informed journalism (TV, radio, newspapers, blogs and websites) is an excellent supplement to more analytic academic reading but should not be seen as an alternative to it.

### ***Films that may be of interest***

Films can also be an excellent supplement to academic reading but are no alternatives to it. Films that focus on a human story often encourage a more personal engagement with the issues, which can help to dramatise the questions that the course addresses. A film of potential interest for each theme is listed under the weekly sessions below. These suggestions are normally available from the ISE library. The weekly handouts will often give further suggestions of relevant films but these are less likely to be in the library.

### ***Creative Literature and the Arts***

Novels, dramas, poetry, the arts and other resources can stimulate and challenge the imagination and open new perspectives. They are an excellent supplement but as with journalistic sources and films they are no replacement for scholarly analytic literature.



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### ***AV resource***

'Healing the Wounds of War' was produced for BBC World Service – World Learning – by Rosemary Hartill and Associates. In 12 weekly episodes it explores different ways in which people around the globe have begun to recover from the devastating effects of violent destruction. From Week 4 onwards we will be listening to some of the episodes during class, and other episodes will be recommended as additional AV Resources. You can also listen again to the material at any time on the ISE computers whilst you are on-site but for copyright reasons **please do not make your own copies**, because we have been given special permission to use these for the course, which we wish to respect. Further AV Resources will also be indicated for some weeks.

### ***Electronic resources***

Lecture resources will be placed on the [www.ecumenics.ie](http://www.ecumenics.ie) and/or the TCD Web/CT site. Further electronic resources can be found in the M.Phil resources folder on the ISE computers.



### **Weekly sessions**

#### **29 September Week 1      Academic Study and Reconciliation**

*Theme:* The academic study of reconciliation as a critical and constructive field of study, and an indication of how Reconciliation Studies fits into the broader field of Ecumenics and the work of the School.

*Required reading:* Anthony Weston, *A Rulebook for Arguments*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn 2000, pp. xi-xiv.

*Highly recommended reading:* Robert H. Thouless, *Straight and Crooked Thinking*. London: Pan Books, rev edn. 1953, pp. 170-76.

*Additional AV resources:*

'Healing the Wounds of War' Programme 1: Remembering To Forget (3 January 2002). Ways of remembering that can bring closure on the past

*Possible film:* *Rashomon* (1950). Directed by Akira Kurosawa. 88 mins. A Japanese film that explores the subjectivity of different perspectives on a violent event.

#### **6 October      Week 2      The Meaning of Reconciliation**

*Theme:* Different ways in which the term reconciliation is used, and an investigation of some of the more nuanced definitions and their significance in Reconciliation Studies.

*Required reading before class:* David Bloomfield *et al.*, eds, *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict: A Handbook*. Stockholm: IDEA, 2003), pp. 10-18.

*Highly recommended reading:* Fanie Du Toit, *Learning to Live Together: Practices of Social Reconciliation*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2002, pp. 295-305.

*Possible film:* *Battle of Algiers*. (1965) 136 mins. Directed by Gillo Pontecorvo. Dramatization based on France's response to the Algerian uprising in 1954-57 and its willingness to meet terror with torture.

#### **13 October      Week 3      The Process, Dynamics and Context of Reconciliation**

*Theme:* Reconciliation as a multi-strand process and a multi-level goal at the social and political level as well as the individual level, and an investigation of the contextual factors that shape reconciliation.

*Required reading before class:* David Bloomfield *et al.*, eds, *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict*, pp. 19-39 and 40-53.



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*Highly recommended reading:* John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 1997. pp. 19-35.

*Possible film:* *Gandhi*. (1982) Directed by Richard Attenborough. 188 mins. The life of Mahatma Gandhi and his movement for non-violence (*ahimsa*).

20 October    Week 4            **Victims and Survivors**

*Theme:* The challenges that face victims and survivors in the aftermath of conflict.

*Case Study:* Northern Ireland

*Required reading:* David Bloomfield *et al.*, eds, *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict*, pp. 54-66.

*Highly recommended reading:* Marie Smyth, 'Putting the Past in its Place: Issues of Victimhood and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland's Peace Process', in Nigel Biggar (ed.), *Burying the Past: Making Peace and Doing Justice after Civil Conflict*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2001. pp. 125-53.

*Additional AV resources:*

'Healing the Wounds of War' Programme 1: Remembering To Forget (3 January 2002). Ways of remembering that can bring closure on the past.

*Possible film:* *Omagh*. (2004) 115 mins. Directed by Pete Travis. The film focuses on the impact that the Real IRA bomb in Omagh in 1998 had on the relatives of the 29 people killed. It was made by RTE and Channel 4 and first screened in June 2004.

27 October    Week 5            **Case Study: Visit to Corrymeela (Date TBC)**

*Theme:* Group visit to the Corrymeela community centre at Ballycastle. Case study focus on their work for reconciliation, including workshops with Corrymeela staff.

*Required reading before trip:* David Stevens, *Learning in Corrymeela* (Belfast: Corrymeela, 2006); see also the Corrymeela website [www.corrymeela.org](http://www.corrymeela.org)

*Highly recommended reading:* Alf McCreary, *In War and Peace: The Story of Corrymeela*: Belfast: The Brehon Press, 2007.

*Possible film:* *Holy Cross*. (2003). 90 mins. Directed by Mark Brozel. Dramatization based on the dispute in North Belfast between residents of Glenbryn and Ardoyne around access to Holy Cross primary school.

3 November Week 6    **Combatants and Offenders**

*Theme:* The moral and political issues in dealing with combatants and offenders/perpetrators, including the responsibility of beneficiaries and bystanders.

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*Case Study:* Germany Post World II

*Required reading:* David Bloomfield *et al.*, eds, *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict*, pp. 67-96.

*Highly recommended reading:* Wilhelm J. Verwoerd, 'On Our Moral Responsibility for Past Violations', *Alternation*, 8 (1), 2001. pp. 219-242.

*Additional AV resources:*

'Healing the Wounds of War' Programme 2: Purging The Past (10 January 2002). Different ways by which people try to come to terms with the past.

'Healing the Wounds of War' Programme 9: Demobilising The Fighters (28 February 2002). Demobilising soldiers and demilitarising society.

*Possible film:* *Schindler's List*. (1993) 195 mins. Directed by Steven Spielberg. Based on a book by Thomas Keneally. The story of Oskar Schindler, a Catholic industrialist, who turned from bystander (and beneficiary) to opponent of the Nazi regime.

10 November Week 7            **Study Week** [No class]

17 November Week 8           **Trauma, Trust and Healing**

*Theme:* Trauma and the search for healing in the aftermath of conflict.

*Required reading:* David Bloomfield *et al.*, eds, *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict*, pp. 77-96.

*Highly recommended reading:* Trudy Govier and Wilhelm J. Verwoerd, 'Trust and the Problem of National Reconciliation', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 32 (2) (2002), pp.178-205.

*In-class AV resource:* 'Healing the Wounds of War' Programme 4: Writing History (24 January 2002). Ways in which partial and selective accounts of history can obstruct personal and political healing.

*Possible film:* *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989) 145 mins. Directed by Oliver Stone. Based on the story of Ron Kovic. After being paralyzed in the Vietnam war, Kovic has to build a new life and struggles with his fears, anger and sense of being betrayed by his government and the country. Along with *Platoon* (1986) and *Heaven and Earth* (1993) this film is part of an Oliver Stone trilogy exploring the impact of the Vietnam war on US soldiers and their family and friends.

24 November Week 9           **Justice and Revenge**

*Theme:* The moral claims of justice, and the desire for revenge.

*Case Study:* Rwanda

*Required reading:* David Bloomfield *et al.*, eds. *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict*, pp. 97-121.



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*Highly recommended reading:* Wilhelm J. Verwoerd, 'Individual and/or Social Justice: Hard choices faced by the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission', *European Journal of Development Research*, 11 (2), (1999), pp. 115-140.

*In-class AV resource:* 'Healing the Wounds of War' Programme 7: People's Justice (14 February 2002). Gacaca as a form of community justice in Rwanda.

*Additional AV resource:* 'Healing the Wounds of War' Programme 3: Policing The Present (17 January 2002). The challenges of policing and security.

*Possible film:* *Hotel Rwanda*. (2004) 121 mins. Directed by Terry George. Based on the story of Paul Rusesabagina, a hotel manager who sheltered over a thousand Tutsis refugees from Hutu militias in Rwanda.

## 1 December Week 10 **Forgiveness**

*Theme:* The possibilities of forgiveness and its social and ethical challenges.

*Highly recommended reading:* P.E. Digeser, *Political Forgiveness*. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2001, pp. 33

*In-class AV resource:* 'Healing the Wounds of War' Programme 6: Burying The Dead (7 February 2002). How people have begun to bury their terrors as well as their dead after state terror in Central America.

*Additional AV resource:* *The Power of Forgiveness* (2007) 78 mins. Directed by Martin Doblmeier. Documentary exploring the role of forgiveness in different societies.

*Possible film:* *Unforgiven*. (1992) 131 mins. Directed by Clint Eastwood. William Munny reluctantly takes on one last job as a gun for hire, with the help of his old partner and a young man, to exact vengeance.

## 8 December Week 11 **Apology, Acknowledgment, Contrition, Reparation**

*Theme:* The need for acknowledgement and the recognition of responsibility.

*Required reading:* David Bloomfield *et al.*, eds. *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict*, pp. 145-62.

*Highly recommended reading:* Trudy Govier and Wilhelm J. Verwoerd, 'The Promise and Pitfalls of Apologies', *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 33(1), (2002), pp.67-82.

*In-class AV resource:* 'Healing the Wounds of War' Programme 8: Restoring Relationships (21 February 2002). A traditional Arab form of reconciliation.

*Additional AV resource:* 'Healing the Wounds of War' Programme Programme 10: Returning and Repairing. (7 March 2002). The challenges facing refugees returning to Bosnia-Herzegovina.



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*Possible film: Ararat.* (2002) Directed by Atom Egoyan. 115 mins. The film traces the struggles of an Armenian family in Canada to make the 1915 genocide more widely known and their own personal struggles as a family in the process.

## 15 December Week 12 **Conclusion: Dynamics of Reconciliation**

*Theme:* Summary of the course and reflection on the ‘dynamics of reconciliation’ in the light of the issues covered.

*Required reading:* David Bloomfield *et al.*, eds, *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict*, pp. 163-72.

*In-class AV resource:* ‘Healing the Wounds of War’ Programme 12: Looking Back, Looking Forward (21 March 2002). Rosemary Hartill looks back at the patterns that have emerged over the series, and explores what insights some recent experiments in justice and truth-telling have for the future.

*Additional AV resource:* ‘Healing the Wounds of War’ Programme 11: Sharing the Benefits. The challenge of addressing the causes of war, and assesses the success – or failure – of international efforts to boost the economy of Guatemala and other countries recovering from war.

*Possible film: Crash.* (2005). Directed by Paul Haggis. The film explores cross-cultural dynamics, urban tensions, ethnicity and racism in the ‘melting-pot’ of contemporary Los Angeles.

### **Workshops and Seminars**

Seminars and workshops last for 60 mins. *Everyone must do the required reading in advance of the seminar.* Over the course of the year all students are expected to lead at least one seminar. The role of the seminar leader is to guide the discussion. The facilitator does not repeat reading or offer an extended summary of it, instead they identify:

- Key issues
- Important insights
- Relationship to significant debates
- Unresolved problems
- Interesting questions
- Relevant background context

During the seminar everyone participates and takes active responsibility for the learning process. Workshops are facilitated by staff or guest speakers and emphasise discussion and interaction on the workshop theme.



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20 October    Workshop    **Incorporating Gender Analysis**

*Required reading before workshop:* Jennifer Turpin, 'Many Faces: Women Confronting War' in Lois Ann Lorentzen and Jennifer Turpin (eds.), *The Women and War Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 1998, pp. 3-18.

17 November Seminar    **Reconciliation**

Student-led seminar presentation. Daniel Bar-Tal and Gemma H. Bennink, 'The Nature of Reconciliation as an Outcome and as a Process' in Bar-Simon-Tob, Yaacov, ed. *From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 11-38.

1 December Seminar    **Reconciliation**

Student-led seminar presentation. *Required reading for seminar:* Susan Dwyer, 'Reconciliation for Realists', *Ethics & International Affairs*, 13 (1999), pp. 81-98.

### **Essay tutorials**

*Students should arrange for at least 30 minutes of tutorials to discuss an essay plan and appropriate reading.* These can be booked through the sign-up sheets on the noticeboard. It is usually best to have an initial consultation when first planning to answer a question and a further consultation when you have prepared a draft. If you require further guidance than you should book more time for tutorials.

### **Essay questions**

*In exceptional circumstances other questions may be added to this list but only through prior agreement with the course lecturer.*

1. What is to be gained from the academic study of reconciliation as a process? What guiding principles should govern study and research in this area.
2. How would you best define the term 'reconciliation' as a post-conflict challenge? In answering this question, explain why definitions of the term 'reconciliation' are often unclear and contested.
3. 'Now is not the right time for talk of reconciliation'. Why is there often reluctance in the aftermath of conflict to talk in terms of 'reconciliation'? Does this matter, and if it does, how should this be addressed?



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4. How are the 'dynamics of reconciliation' presented in different ways by different contributors to the field of study? Critically evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of different views with reference to one or more post-conflict societies.
  5. What issues do victims and survivors face in coming to terms with political violence and its legacies? How might policy makers address the difficulties faced by individuals and by a society as a whole?
  6. What practical difficulties are involved in the reintegration of perpetrators into society as part of a national reconciliation process and how can these best be addressed? Illustrate your answer with specific examples from one or more recent social conflicts.
  7. To what extent is trust a fundamental prerequisite for a healing process and what steps can be taken to generate a sense of trust when it is only weak or entirely absent?
  8. Is the inclination to revenge as naturally human as the inclination to mercy? What relevance do such questions have to debates about both the desirability and the viability of political reconciliation?
  9. Critically evaluate the extent to which political forgiveness should be responsive to repentance and/or apology by perpetrators.



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### **Further reading list**

- Allen, J. 'Balancing Justice and Social Unity: Political Theory and the Idea of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission', *University of Toronto Law Journal*, 49 (1999), pp. 315-353.
- Arendt, H. *The Human Condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958.
- Aristotle. *The Nicomachean Ethics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Asmal, K., Asmal, L. and R.S. Roberts, *Reconciliation Through Truth: A Reckoning of Apartheid's Criminal Governance*. Cape Town: David Phillip, 1996.
- Bar-Simon-Tob, Yaacov, ed. *From Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Bland, Byron. 'The Post-Troubles Trouble: The Politics of Reconciliation in Northern Ireland' Unpublished paper.
- Bloomfield, David, *et al.*, eds. *Reconciliation After Violent Conflict: A Handbook*. Stockholm: IDEA, 2003.
- Bloomfield, Kenneth. *We Will Remember Them: Report of the Northern Ireland Victims Commissioner*. Belfast: HMSO, 29 April 1998. Available in PDF at <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/victims/docs/bloomfield98.pdf>
- Bianchi, H. *Justice as Sanctuary: Toward a System of Crime Control*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Boraine, A. and J. Levy, eds. *The Healing of a Nation?* Cape Town: IDASA, 1995.
- Bouris, Erica. *Complex Political Victims*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2007.
- Braithwaite, J. *Crime, Shame, and Reintegration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Brudholm, Thomas. *Resentment's Virtue: Jean Am'ery and the Refusal to Forgive*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008.
- Cole, Elizabeth A. *Teaching the Violent Past: History Education and Reconciliation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007.
- Combs, Nancy Armoury. *Guilty Pleas in International Criminal Law: Constructing a Restorative Justice Approach*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Community Dialogue. *Dealing with the Past: From Victimhood to Survival?* Belfast: Community Dialogue, 6 January 2005. Available in PDF from <http://www.communitydialogue.org/>
- Consedine, J. *Restorative Justice: Healing the Effects of Crime*. Lyttelton: Ploughshares Publications, 1995.
- Crocker, D. 'Insiders and Outsiders in International Development Ethics', *Ethics and International Affairs* (1991), 5, pp. 149-173.
- Crocker, D. 'Reckoning with Past Wrongs: A Normative Framework', *Ethics and International Affairs*, 13 (1999), pp. 43-64.



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- Crocker, D. 'Retribution and Reconciliation', *Report from the Institute of Philosophy and Public Policy, University of Maryland*, 20 (1), (2000), pp. 1-6.
- Daly, Erin and Jeremy Sarkin. *Reconciliation in Divided Societies: Finding Common Ground*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.
- Davies, Miranda ed. *Women and Violence: Realities and Responses Worldwide*. London: Zed Books, 1994.
- Digeser, P.E. *Political Forgiveness*. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Downie, R.S. 'Forgiveness', *Philosophical Quarterly*, 15, 1965, pp. 128-134.
- Du Toit, F. *Learning to Live Together: Practices of Social Reconciliation*. Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2002.
- Dworkin, R., *Taking Rights Seriously*. London: Gerald Duckworth, 1978.
- Dwyer, S., 'Reconciliation for Realists', *Ethics & International Affairs*, 13 (1999), pp. 81-98.
- Dyzenhaus, D. *Judging the Judges, Judging Ourselves: Truth, Reconciliation and the Apartheid Legal Order*. Oxford: Hart Publishing, 1998.
- Encyclopedia Judaica*. Jerusalem: Keter Publications, 1971, 6, pp. 1433-1437.
- Enright, R.D. *Forgiveness is a Choice*. Washington: APA Life Tools, 2001.
- Faith and Politics Group, *A Time to Heal: Perspectives on Reconciliation*. Belfast: Faith and Politics Group, 2002.
- Flew, Anthony. *Thinking about Thinking*. London: Fontana/Collins, 1975.
- Fraser, N. 'From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a "Post-Socialist" Age', *New Left Review*, 212, (1995), pp. 68-93.
- Frost, Brian. *Struggling to Forgive: Nelson Mandela and South Africa's Search for Reconciliation*. London: HarperCollins, 1998.
- Gibney, Mark, Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann, Jean-Marc Coicaud and Niklaus Steiner (eds.) *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Press, 2008.
- Gobodo-Madikizela, P. *A Human Being Died That Night: A Story of Forgiveness*. Cape Town: David Phillip, 2003.
- Golding, M. 'Forgiveness and Regret', *Philosophical Forum*, 16, (1986), pp. 121-137.
- Govier, Trudy and Wilhelm J. Verwoerd 'The Promise and Pitfalls of Apologies', *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 33(1), (2002), pp.67-82.
- Govier, Trudy. *Social Trust and Human Communities*. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.
- Govier, Trudy. *Dilemmas of Trust*. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998.
- Govier, Trudy. 'Forgiveness and the Unforgivable', *American Philosophical Quarterly*, 36 (1), (1999), pp. 59 – 75.
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- Govier, Trudy. *Forgiveness and Revenge*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Govier, Trudy. *Taking Wrongs Seriously: Acknowledgment, Reconciliation, and the Politics of Sustainable Peace*. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 2006.
- Govier, Trudy and Wilhelm J. Verwoerd. 'Trust and the Problem of National Reconciliation', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 32 (2) (2002), pp.178-205.
- Govier, Trudy and Wilhelm J. Verwoerd., 'Taking Wrongs Seriously: A Qualified Defence of Public Apologies', *Saskatchewan Law Review*, 65, (2002), pp. 153-176.
- Govier, Trudy and Wilhelm J. Verwoerd. 'Trust and the Problem of National Reconciliation', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 32 (2), (2002), pp.178-205.
- Govier, Trudy and Wilhelm J. Verwoerd. 'Forgiveness: The Victim's Prerogative', *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 21(2), (2002), pp. 97-111.
- Govier, Trudy and Wilhelm J. Verwoerd. 'The Promise and Pitfalls of Apologies', *Journal of Social Philosophy*, 33(1), (2002), pp.67-82.
- Gutmann, A. and D. Thompson. 'The Moral Foundations of Truth Commissions', in R.I. Rotberg and D. Thompson (eds.), *Truth vs. Justice*, pp. 22-44.
- Hamber, Brandon and Gráinne Kelly. *A Place for Reconciliation? Conflict and Locality in Northern Ireland*. Democratic Dialogue Report 18. Belfast: September, 2005. Available as PDF at [http://www.democraticdialogue.org/documents/R18\\_000.pdf](http://www.democraticdialogue.org/documents/R18_000.pdf)
- Hampton, J. 'The Retributive Idea', in J. Murphy and J. Hampton, *Forgiveness and Mercy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Harvey, J., 'Forgiveness as an Obligation of the Moral Life', *International Journal of Moral and Social Studies*, 8, (1993), pp. 211 – 221.
- Harvey, J. 'The Emerging Practice of Institutional Apologies', *International Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 9 (2), 1995, pp. 57 – 65.
- Hayner, P. *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity*, London: Routledge, 2001.
- Helmick, R.G. and R.L. Petersen, eds. *Forgiveness and Reconciliation: Religion, Public Policy and Conflict Transformation*. London: Templeton Foundation Press, 2001.
- Holmgren, M.. 'Self-forgiveness and Responsible Moral Agency', *Journal of Value Inquiry*, 32, (1998), pp. 75-91.
- Humphrey, Michael. *The Politics of Atrocity and Reconciliation: From Terror to Trauma*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Ignatieff, M. 'Articles of Faith', *Index on Censorship*, 5, (1996), pp. 112-121.
- Jacoby, S. *Wild Justice: The Evolution of Revenge*, New York: Harper and Row, 1983.
- James, W. and L. Van De Vijver. *After the TRC: Reflections on Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa*, Cape Town: David Phillip; Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000.



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- Jeffery, A. *The Truth about the Truth Commission*. Johannesburg: South African Institute for Race Relations, 1999.
- Johnson, C., ed. 'Retributivism', in *Philosophy of Law*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1993.
- Kelly, Gráinne and Brandon Hamber, eds. *Reconciliation: Rhetoric or Relevant*. Democratic Dialogue Report 17, (February 2005). Available as PDF at <http://www.brandonhamber.com/publications/report-dd17.pdf>
- Kiss, E. 'Moral Ambition Within and Beyond Political Constraints: Reflections on Restorative Justice', in R.I. Rotberg and D. Thompson (eds.).
- Knox, Colin and Pádraic Quirk. *Peace Building in Northern Ireland, Israel and South Africa: Transition, Transformation and Reconciliation*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000.
- Krog, Antjie. *Country of My Skull*, Johannesburg: Random House, 1998.
- Lang, B. 'Forgiveness', *American Philosophical Quarterly*, 31(2), (1994), pp.105-117.
- Lederach, John Paul. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace, 1997.
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- Levinson, S. 'Responsibility for Crimes of War', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 1, (1973), pp. 244-273.
- Liechty, Joseph and Cecelia Clegg. *Moving Beyond Sectarianism: Religion, Conflict, and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland*. Dublin: The Columba Press, 2001.
- Llewellyn, J. and R. Howse. 'Restorative Justice: a Conceptual Framework', Discussion Paper, Law Commission of Canada (1998), pp. 1-107.
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