

***IR /PO 721 War, Guilt and World Politics**

Professor Thomas Berger

Fall 2004

Hours: TuTh 3:30-5:00

Meeting: IRC 220 152 Bay State Road

Office: Rm. 447, 152 Bay State Rd.

Phone: (617)353-8992

Office Hours: Tues 11-12, Weds 10-12 and Thurs 11-12 & 1-3

And by appointment

E-Mail: tuberger@bu.edu

Over the past decade there has been a new, international emphasis on confronting historical injustices and atrocities. In recent years a string of world political leaders have offered apologies for the past conduct of their nations – American President Bill Clinton apologizing for slavery, French President Jacques Chirac acknowledging the French state's complicity in rounding up Jews for extermination by the Nazis, the Pope recognizing that the Catholic Church historically bore some responsibility for the rise of anti-Semitism – and the list could easily be expanded *ad infinitum*. In many instances these acts of public contrition go beyond mere rhetoric and have led to offers of various forms of compensation. Even more dramatically, there has been a proliferation of international tribunals charged with punishing human rights violators and rectifying past injustices. This apparent violation of the principle of national sovereignty in the name of universal justice and human rights appears to mark a *novum* in world affairs.

Does this new concern with guilt and justice in world affairs reflect a fundamental transformation of the international system – the emergence of a global civil society and a nascent global legal order? Or is it only a temporary phase in world politics, the product of an accidental and probably short-lived concatenations of domestic political moods and the cold hard calculations of national interest?

Beyond the overarching question of the future of the international society other, there are other, related, political issues, such as how and why do nations define their history in the ways they do? Is there a natural pattern – or set of common processes – by which nations deal with the past, and in particular aspects of their past which were in some sense shameful? What are the practical and moral lessons that they draw from their understanding of the past? What are the impetuses and impediments to creating a common international or bi-national definition of the past, or at least arriving at definitions of the past that are mutually reconcilable? To what extent does the success or failure of such projects have practical consequences for domestic and international politics?

This course explores these questions on hand of a number of concrete case studies, including the development of international war crimes tribunal, the German struggle to come to terms with the Holocaust both domestically and in Europe, Japan's efforts to deal with the legacies of its Imperialist legacy, France's belated recognition of the wrongs committed in its name under Vichy and in Algeria, and U.S. debates over some of the darker sides of its history.

Required Texts:

Elazar Barkan, The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001) **ISBN:** 0801868076

David Bass, To Stay the Hand of Vengeance: International War Crimes Tribunals (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000) **ISBN:** 0691092788

Geoffrey Robertson, Crimes Against Humanity: The Struggle for Global Justice (New York: The New Press, 2002) **ISBN:** 1565846680

Bill Niven, Facing the Nazi Past: United Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich (New York and London: Routledge: 2002)

Henry Rousso, The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991) **ISBN:** 067493539X

Ruti G. Teitel, Transitional Justice (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 2000) **ISBN:** 0195151267

Required texts are available at the book store. All required course readings are available in the Reserve Reading Room of Mugar Library.

Prerequisite for Undergraduates: Consent of the Instructor

Requirements

Students are expected to produce a 20-30 page term paper on a topic related to the subject of the course. The paper is due one week after the last class. Students are urged to make an early appointment to discuss term paper topics no later than the fourth week of the course. A brief written summary of the progress made on the term paper, is to be submitted by the end of the ninth week. I am willing to look over drafts of the term paper up to one week before they are due and to give general comments.

The final grade will be based 75% on the term paper and 25% on class participation.

Students are required to have completed the required readings prior to class meetings. Recommended readings (marked with a *) are included on syllabus for those students who are looking to do further research on the topic (possibly for their term papers).

Please consult the handout, “Guidelines for Writing Term Papers.” Note **the penalties for Plagiarism are severe**. Please consult the Code of Academic Conduct on the subject.

I. Introduction

National Identity and the Politics of Memory

No required readings

Recommended Readings:

Mary Fullbrook, Historical Theory: ways of Imagining the Past (New York and London: Routledge, 2002)

David Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), especially chapters 1, 2 and 5 (144)

Patrick H. Hutton, History and the Art of Memory, (Hanover, VT: University of Vermont, 1993), especially chapters 1, 4, 5, 6 and 8 (91 pages)

II. The Quest for Justice in the International System – The Liberal Interpretation

Readings:

Elazar Barkan, The Guilt of Nations, Introduction and Conclusions (67 pages)

Geoffrey Robertson, Crimes Against Humanity: The Struggle for Global Justice chapters 1 and 2 (80)

Thomas Risse, Stephen Roppe and Kathryn Sikkink ,eds., The Power of Human Rights International Norms and Domestic Change (Cambridge, 1999), chapter 1 (38)

Recommended:

* Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998)

III. The Quest for Justice II – The Realist Interpretation

Readings:

David Bass, To Stay the Hand of Vengeance, whole book except the chapter on the Tribunal in the Hague

Jack Snyder and Leslie J. Vijamurthi, “Trials and Errors: Principal and Pragmatism in strategies of International Justice,” International Security 28:3 (Winter 2003), pp.5-44

Recommended:

Henry Kissinger, Does America Need a Foreign Policy? (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001) chapter 7 (48 pages)

Stephen Krasner, Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy (Princeton: 1999), especially introduction and conclusions

Jackson Nyamuya Naogoto, War Crimes and Realpolitik: International Justice from World War I to the 21st Century (Armonk, NY: Lynne Rienner, 2004)

Andrew Moravcsik, “The Origins of Human Rights Regimes,” International Organization, 54:2 (Spring 2000)

IV. (Re)Conciliation and Domestic Politics

Ruti G. Teitel, Transitional Justice (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 2000) Intro + Chapters 1-5 and 7 (207 pages)

Recommended:

Priscilla B. Hayner, Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocities (Taylor B. Francis, 2002)

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

Martha Minow, Memory, Law and Repair (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002)

Attention: Please come and see me to discuss possible term paper topics.

V. and VI. The Pioneers of Guilt – The German Speaking World’s Struggle with the Past (2 wks)

Readings:

Wk1:

Bill Niven, Facing the Nazi Past chapters 1 to 8

Barkan, The Guilt of Nations, chapter 1 (27 pages)

Wk2:

Bill Niven, chapter 9

Jeffrey Herf, Divided Memory: the Nazi Past in Two Germanys (Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 1997), conclusions (21 pages)

Hella Pick, Guilt Victim: Austria from the Holocaust to Haider (New York: IB Tauris, 2000), chapters I, X, XII (56 pages)

Lillian Gardner Feldman, “The Principle and Practice of ‘Reconciliation’ in German Foreign Policy,” International Affairs, 75:2 (April 1999)

Berger, Cultures of Antimilitarism

Recommended:

*Norbert Frei, Adenauer’s Germany and the Nazi Past: The Politics of Amnesty and Integration transl. by Joel Golb (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002) orig. 1997

*Saul Friedlander, Memory, History and the Extermination of the Jews of Europe (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1993)

* Ian Kershaw, The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation 4th edition (Edward Arnold, 2000) The ultimate crib notes on the historiography of the Third Reich

* Charles Maier The Unmasterable Past (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1988)

* Andrei Markovits and Simon Reich, The German Predicament: Memory and Power in the New Europe (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997)

* James Novick, The Holocaust in American Life (New York; Houghton Mifflin, 2000)

*James E. Young, The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993)

VII. and VII Japan and the Politics of Apology (2 wks)

Readings:

Wk 1:

George Hicks, Japan's War Memories: Amnesia or Concealment? (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997) whole book, (133 pages)

Barkan, The Guilt of Nations chapter 3, (19 pages)

Wk2:

Laura Heine and Mark Selden, eds., Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany and the United States (Armonk, NY; M.E. Sharpe, 2000), chapters 1 and 2 (71 pages)

Berger, Cultures of Antimilitarism

Recommended readings:

*Ian Buruma, The Wages of Guilt

*Haruko Taya Cook and Theodore F. Cook, Japan At War: An Oral History (New York: New Press, 1993)

* Yoshikuni Igarashi` Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000)

* James J. Orr, The Victim as Hero: Ideologies of Peace and National Identity in Postwar Japan (University of Hawai'i Press, 2001)

*Masahiro Yamamoto, Nanking: The Anatomy of a Massacare (New York: Praeger, 2000)

IX. France and the Vichy/Algiers Syndrome

Readings:

Henry Rousso, The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France Since 1944 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), Part 1 (216 pages)

Recommended Readings:

- *Eric Conan, Henry Rousso, Nathan Bracher, trans., Vichy: An Ever-Present Past (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth Press, 1998)
- *Robert Gildea, The Past in French History (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994)
- *Tony Judt, Past Imperfect: French Intellectuals, 1944-1956 (Berkeley, CA; University of California Press, 1994)
- *Herbert R. Lottman, The Purge: The Purification of French Collaborators after World War II (New York: William Morrow, 1986)
- *Peter Novick, Resistance versus Vichy: The Purge of Collaborators (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968)
- *Robert Paxton, Vichy France (New York; Columbia University Press, 2001)

Please send me an e-mail by the end of this week regarding progress made on the term paper so far. At a minimum identify the topic and the research question you hope to pursue. Ideally include a tentative bibliography and an outline for the paper.

X. After “Ethnic Cleansing” - The International War Crimes Tribunals in the Former Yugoslavia

Gary Bass, To Stay the Hand of Vengeance, chapter on the Tribunal in the Hague

Geoffrey Robertson, Crimes Against Humanity: The Struggle for Global Justice, chapters 8, 9 and 11, (118)

Bass, “Milosevic in the Hague,” Foreign Affairs May/June, 2003

See also the review of the trial at the Hague at:
<http://www.diplomatiedjudiciaire.com/UK/Tpyuk/MilosevicUK.htm>
<http://hague.bard.edu/resources.html>

XI. Open

XII. Open

XIII. The Burdens of History in America

Barkan, The Guilt of Nations, chapters 2, 8 and 12 (96)

Laura Hein and Mark Sheldon, eds., Censoring History chapter 6 (22)

Michael J. Hogan, ed., Hiroshima in History and Memory (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) chapter 9 (32)

XIV. Course Conclusions

Possible readings for Open sections (depending on Class Interest):

The South African Truth Commission

Martin Meredith, Coming to Terms: South Africa's Search for the Truth (New York: Perseus Books, 1999) Chapters 2,3,4,5, 7,8, 12, 13, pp.224-227, 260-276, chapters 16 and 17 (154 pages)

Elisabeth Kiss, "Moral Ambition within and Beyond Political Constraints: Reflections on Restorative Justice" and Charles Maier, "Doing History, Doing Justice: The Narrative of the Historian and of the Truth Commission," both in Robert I. Rotberg and Dennis Thompson, eds., Truth v. Justice (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 68-93, 261-276 (40)

Priscilla Hayner "Same Species, Different Animal: how South Africa compares to Truth Commissions World Wide," in Charels Villa-Vicencio and Wilhelm Verwoerd, eds., Looking Back: reaching Forward: Reflection on the Truth Commission of South Africa (London: Zed Books, 1998), pp.32-41 (10)

Recommended:

*Neil J. Kritz, Transitional Justice: How Emerging Democracies deal with Former Regimes: Laws, Rulings and Reports (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1995) 3 Volumes

*Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, Latin America and Post Communist Europe, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) If you really want to get into this topic, it would be helpful to understand the general theoretical discussion of democratization. Linz and Stepan provide a superb overview

*A. James McAdams, ed., Transitional Justice and the Rule of Law in New Democracies (1997)

Guatemala

Amnesty International, Guatemala: The Human Rights Record (Kent, UK: Amnesty International Press, 1987) skim whole book

Rachel Seider, ed., Guatemala after the Peace Accords (London: London Institute of Latin American Studies, 1999) in the following order: pp.247-253, 147-195

Patrick Smith, "Memory without History: Who owns Latin America's Past?" The Washington Quarterly (Spring 2001), pp.59-72

Consuelo Cruz, "Identity and Persuasi0n: How Nations remember their Pasts and make their Futures," World Politics 52:3 (April 2000), pp.275-312 Contrast Cruz's position with that of Smith and others commenting on post-transition justice

Recommended:

*Carlos Santiago Nino, Radical Evil on Trial: (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998)

Former Soviet Union

Catherine Merridale, Night of Stone: Death and Memory in Twentieth Century Russia (New York: Penguin, 2002)

Istvan Deak, ed., The Politics of Retribution in Europe (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000)

Tina Rosenberg, The Haunted Land: Facing Europe's Ghosts after Communism (New York: Vintage, 1995)

A. James McAdams, Judging the Past in Unified Germany (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

The Middle East

David Shipler, Arab and Jew: Wounded Spirits in a Promised Land revised and updated version, (New York and London: Penguin Books, 2002) chapters 1-3, 18 and epilogue (195 pages)

Recommended:

Susan Slyomovics, The Object of Memory" Arab and Jew Narrate the Palestinian Village (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998)

Elie Podeh, "History and Memory in the Israeli Educational System: The Portrayal of the Arab-Israeli Conflict in History Textbooks (1948-2000)," *History and Memory* 12.1 (2000) 65-100. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/history_and_memory/v012/12.1podeh.html

Ahmad h. Sa'di, "Catastrophe, Memory and Identity: Al-Nakbah as a Component of Palestinian Identity," *Israel Studies* 7.2 (2000) 175-198.

http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/israel_studies/v007/7.2saadi.html

Anita Shapira, "Hirbet Hizah: Between Remembrance and Forgetting," *Jewish Social Studies* 7.1 (2000) 1-62.

http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/jewish_social_studies/v007/7.1shapira.html

Shibley Telhami and Michael Barnett, Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002) , especially chapters 1-3

Argentina's War Crime Tribunals

* Mark Osiel, Mass Atrocity, Collective Memory, and the Law (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction press, 1997)

The International Criminal Court

Sarah B. Sewall and Carl Kaysen, eds., The United States and the International Criminal Court (Rowman & Littlefield, 2000)