Justice and Reconciliation in World Politics

Calls for justice and reconciliation in response to political catastrophes are widespread in contemporary world politics. What implications do these normative strivings have in relation to colonial injustice? Examining cases of colonial war, genocide, forced sexual labor, forcible incorporation, and dispossession, Lu demonstrates that international practices of justice and reconciliation have historically suffered from, and continue to reflect, colonial, statist, and other structural biases. The continued reproduction of structural injustice and alienation in modern domestic, international, and transnational orders generates contemporary duties of redress. How should we think about the responsibility of contemporary agents to address colonial structural injustices, and what implications follow for the transformation of international and transnational orders? Redressing the structural injustices implicated in or produced by colonial politics requires strategies of decolonization, decentering, and disalienation that go beyond interactional practices of justice and reconciliation, beyond victims and perpetrators, and beyond a statist world order.

CATHERINE LU is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at McGill University. Her research intersects political theory and international relations, focusing on critical and normative studies of humanitarianism and intervention in world politics; justice, reconciliation, and colonialism; and cosmopolitanism, global justice, and the world state. She is the author of *Just and Unjust Interventions in World Politics: Public and Private* (2006) and has held research fellowships from the School of Philosophy at the Australian National University, the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, and the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics at Harvard University, Massachusetts. Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-42011-2 — Justice and Reconciliation in World Politics Catherine Lu Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Cambridge Studies in International Relations: 145

Justice and Reconciliation in World Politics

EDITORS Evelyn Goh Christian Reus-Smit Nicholas J. Wheeler

EDITORIAL BOARD Jacqueline Best, Karin Fierke, William Grimes, Yuen Foong Khong, Andrew Kydd, Lily Ling, Andrew Linklater, Nicola Phillips, Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, Jacquie True, Leslie Vinjamuri, Alexander Wendt

Cambridge Studies in International Relations is a joint initiative of Cambridge University Press and the British International Studies Association (BISA). The series aims to publish the best new scholarship in international studies, irrespective of subject matter, methodological approach or theoretical perspective. The series seeks to bring the latest theoretical work in International Relations to bear on the most important problems and issues in global politics.

| | Cambridge Studies in International Relations |
|-----|--|
| 144 | Ayşe Zarakol (ed.) |
| | Hierarchies in World Politics |
| 143 | Lisbeth Zimmermann |
| | Global Norms with a Local Face |
| | Rule-of-Law Promotion and Norm-Translation |
| 142 | Alexandre Debs and Nuno P. Monteiro |
| | Nuclear Politics |
| 141 | Mathias Albert |
| | A theory of world politics |
| | |

Series list continues after index

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-42011-2 — Justice and Reconciliation in World Politics Catherine Lu Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Justice and Reconciliation in World Politics

CATHERINE LU McGill University, Montreal





University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia 4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi – 110002, India 79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108420112 DOI: 10.1017/9781108329491

© Catherine Lu 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-108-42011-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-42011-2 — Justice and Reconciliation in World Politics Catherine Lu Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

For Lorenz

Contents

| Acknowledgments | | <i>page</i> viii |
|--|--|------------------|
| Prelude: The Dream of Astyanax's Nurse | | XV |
| | Introduction | 1 |
| 1 | Justice and Reconciliation: Versailles, 1919 | 28 |
| 2 | Pathologies of Victimhood | 63 |
| 3 | Settling Accounts | 88 |
| 4 | Agents, Structures, and Colonial Injustice | 114 |
| 5 | History and Structural Injustice | 144 |
| 6 | Reconciliation and Alienation | 182 |
| 7 | Reparations | 217 |
| 8 | Beyond Reparations: Toward Structural Transformation | 248 |
| | Epilogue | 282 |
| References | | 283 |
| Index | | 303 |

Acknowledgments

This book represents over a decade of intellectual work that constituted a long and meandering journey of trying to understand problems of justice and reconciliation in political philosophy and contemporary world politics. Along the way, I have been fortified and sustained by the support of many people and institutions.

For their attentive and dynamic intellectual engagement, influence, and encouragement over various phases of this work, I would like to express deep gratitude to Arash Abizadeh, Pablo Gilabert, Jacob Levy, and Lea Ypi. Each of these scholar-friends has supportively engaged with my work and arguments over the years and pushed me gently and consistently to be more rigorous in argument, more clear in my thoughts, and more alive to their implications for the subject of this book. I am also especially thankful for David A. Welch, a stalwart mentor since the start of my academic career, who, in his usual, efficient fashion, promptly read and constructively commented on a penultimate draft of the manuscript. In addition, I am ever grateful to Robert E. Goodin for encouraging some of my initial work related to this project and, more recently, for reading the entire book manuscript and providing his typically candid criticism, sharp insights, and enthusiastic feedback. Words cannot express how indebted I am to these colleagues for their extraordinary intellectual, professional, and personal generosity and friendship.

This manuscript was markedly improved in its final stages by perceptive and constructive comments from two anonymous reviewers for Cambridge University Press. I would also like to thank the editors of the Cambridge Studies in International Relations series for including this work in their series, thereby continuing to promote deeper dialogue and intellectual engagement between scholars in political theory, international relations, and various other subfields.

Over the course of the book's transmutations, I have benefited the most from my colleagues in the Department of Political Science at

Acknowledgments

McGill University, as well as from those in History, Philosophy, and Law, who have created an intellectually and personally supportive environment for academic flourishing. My gratitude for their collegial engagement goes especially to Arash Abizadeh, Megan Bradley, Gaëlle Fiasse, Jacob Levy, Lorenz Lüthi, Victor Muñiz-Fraticelli, Frédéric Mégret, Alan Patten, Vincent Pouliot, René Provost, William Clare Roberts, Christa Scholtz, Hasana Sharp, Natalie Stoljar, Christina Tarnopolsky, Kristin Voigt, Daniel Weinstock, and Yves Winter. From the wider Montreal community, I am also indebted to Amandine Catala, Ryoa Chung, Peter Dietsch, Pablo Gilabert, and Cynthia Milton for their insights and support. Our many conversations over the years have been supported by numerous research communities, including the Research Group on Constitutional Studies (RGCS) of McGill's Yan P. Lin Centre for the Study of Freedom and Global Orders in the Ancient and Modern Worlds; the Montreal-wide Groupe de Recherche Interuniversitaire en Philosophie Politique (GRIPP); the Centre for International Peace and Security Studies (CIPSS); McGill's Centre for Human Rights and Legal Pluralism (CHRLP); and the Centre de Recherche en Éthique (CRÉ) at the Université de Montréal.

I have appreciated greatly the diverse and stimulating insights of many postdoctoral fellows as well as graduate and undergraduate students who took my seminars, wrote research papers and master's theses, or participated in workshops and seminars on themes related to this book project. Among the many postdoctoral fellows and graduate students, I am especially grateful to Daniel Silvermint, Mohamed Sesay, Aberdeen Berry, Lou Pingeot, Derval Ryan, Benjamin Thompson, Raphaëlle Mathieu-Bédard, Yann Allard-Tremblay, Briana McGinnis, Robert Sparling, Tim Waligore, and Caleb Yong for their critical feedback and discussions that helped to refine and improve some of the book's main arguments. I would also like to thank, in chronological order, Kristin Rawls (2007), Raphaëlle Mathieu-Bédard (2014), Robert Creamer (2015), and Mohamed Sesay (2015) for providing valuable research assistance. In addition, I am very grateful to two undergraduate students, Nayla-Joy Zein and Kelsey Brady, who were especially helpful with more mundane tasks related to producing the final manuscript. For their steady and prompt technical assistance with computer issues, I must also thank Marc Desrochers and Mark Grant.

ix

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-42011-2 — Justice and Reconciliation in World Politics Catherine Lu Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

х

Acknowledgments

I was able to complete the bulk of this book project while on sabbatical leave in 2015–2016, as a visitor with the Government Department at the London School of Economics and Political Science. I am grateful to the political theory group - Katrin Flikschuh (my official host), Leigh Jenco, Chandran Kukathas, Christian List, Anne Phillips, Kai Spiekermann, Laura Valentini, and Lea Ypi, as well as fellow visitor Peter Niesen, from the University of Hamburg - for a thoroughly welcoming, stimulating, and intellectually productive year. I am especially indebted to Laura for organizing a workshop on the manuscript in June 2016 and to all the participants who engaged so thoughtfully and helpfully with the book, especially Katrin Flikschuh, Mollie Gerver, Jakob Huber, Kimberly Hutchings, Nimrod Kovner, Carmen Pavel, Kai Spiekermann, Laura Valentini, Anahi Wiedenbrug, and Lea Ypi. In addition, I would like to thank the people and institutions that provided me with further opportunities to present and discuss parts of this work during my year in the UK: Lorenzo Zucca and Ori Herstein (King's College London), Leigh Jenco and Lea Ypi (London School of Economics), Jeff Howard (University College London), Chandran Kukathas and Tom Poole (London School of Economics), David Miller (Nuffield College), Clare Chambers and Duncan Bell (University of Cambridge), Martin O'Neill (University of York), Lynn Dobson and Kieran Oberman (University of Edinburgh), and Anthony Lang (University of St. Andrews). While I am sorry not to be able to identify all the participants of the seminars and workshops where I presented my work, I would like to express my appreciation for all the constructive discussions, including with Duncan Bell, Chris Brown, Daniel Butt, Sarah Fine, Mervyn Frost, Amanda Greene, Simon Hope, Mathias Koenig-Archibugi, Margaret Kohn, Matthew Kramer, Terry Macdonald, Mihaela Mihai, Jeanne Morefield, Peter Niesen, Robert Nichols, Alasia Nuti, Cornelia Navari, Avia Pasternak, Massimo Renzo, Andrea Sangiovanni, Robbie Shilliam, Ashwini Vasanthakumar, Leif Wenar, and Robin Zheng.

I have also incurred debts from other institutions that have significantly supported my intellectual journey. Thanks to a research fellowship from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, I was able to spend the 2010–2011 academic year with the Center for Transnational Relations, Foreign and Security Policy, of the Otto Suhr Institute for Political Science, at the Freie Universität Berlin. I am grateful to

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-42011-2 — Justice and Reconciliation in World Politics Catherine Lu Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Acknowledgments

Thomas Risse and Ingo Peters for supporting my application and making possible my first visit with German academia. In 2012 and 2014, I was also able to spend a few weeks as a visiting fellow with the Justitia Amplificata research group, while located at the Forschungskolleg Humanwissenschaften, an Institute for Advanced Studies of the Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main. I owe great thanks to Rainer Forst and Stefan Gosepath not only for their own intellectual support during these visits but also for providing an ideal environment in which I had the opportunity to benefit from conversations with many talented postdoctoral and visiting faculty fellows during those two summers. For making my visits so carefree, I am grateful to the excellent staff at the Forschungskolleg in Bad Homburg, especially Ingrid Rudolph and Beate Sutterlüty. For two months in 2013, I also made progress on parts of this manuscript while on a visiting Research School of Social Sciences fellowship with the School of Philosophy at the Australian National University. I would like to thank Christian Barry and Bob Goodin for making that visit possible, which enabled me to enjoy the company of another vibrant community of scholars, including Toni Erskine, Seth Lazar, and Nicholas Southwood. In addition to these research fellowships, I am indebted to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) for providing generous research funding throughout the course of this book project.

Several conferences contributed greatly in pivotal stages of this book project. Thanks to a Connection Grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Lea Ypi and I were able to bring together a stellar group of scholars for a conference on "Global Justice after Colonialism" at McGill University in May 2014. The conference bridged discussions about global justice, historical colonialism and its legacies, and contemporary practices of settler colonialism, and I am especially grateful to Senator Murray Sinclair (Mizanagheezhik Onaakonigewigimaa), Chief Commissioner of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, for his reflections on the challenges of reconciliation in settler colonial states such as Canada. I also benefited enormously from the rich discussions generated at a conference organized by Katrin Flikschuh and Martin Odei Ajei, "Normative Disorientation and Institutional Instability," which took place at the University of Ghana, Legon, in March 2015. Stefan Gosepath and Rainer Forst of the Justitia Amplificata Centre for Advanced Studies at the

xi

Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-42011-2 — Justice and Reconciliation in World Politics Catherine Lu Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Acknowledgments

Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main also made a significant contribution by supporting a conference on "Historical Injustice," held at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin in July 2015. I would like to thank them for funding the conference, Tamara Jugov and Lea Ypi for organizing it, and all the participants for the engaging conversations. Finally, I am grateful to the Yan P. Lin Centre at McGill University for making possible the inaugural conference of the Research Group on Global Justice in September 2016. I have presented ideas and arguments in this book at many diverse workshops, conferences, and seminars over the past fifteen years in Canada, the US, Germany, India, Japan, Australia, Ghana, and the UK, and while I cannot identify everyone, I would like to thank all the participants who took the time to engage with my ideas and help me to think through the problems in this book. In addition to those already mentioned, I would like to thank Farid Abdel-Nour, Ashok Acharya, Caesar Atuire, Paige Digeser, David Estlund, Volker Heins, Pablo Kalmanovitz, Jonathan Lear, Dvora Levinson, Robert Meister, Sankar Muthu, Jiewuh Song, Anna Stilz, Richard Vernon, Laurel Weldon, Melissa Williams, and Reinhard Wolf for illuminating discussions on themes related to this work.

I am grateful to John Haslam for his prompt enthusiasm about the book project in August 2015, which spurred me to seek its conclusion, and for being a good shepherd of this manuscript as it worked its way through the review process. In addition, I am indebted to Saleema Nawaz Webster for her sharp editorial assistance on the fictional prelude, and I am very thankful to Anamika Singh and Holly Monteith, who provided assistance with the production process and copy editing of the entire book.

Some portions of this book are drawn from previous publications, which provide partial representations of various stages of my thinking about the problems addressed in this book. I would like to express my thanks to the editors of the journals or edited volumes in which these publications appeared and to the publishers for allowing me to include them in this book, as well as to all those who gave me valuable feedback in the production of those works. Parts of Sections II and III of Chapter 1 are drawn from "Justice and Moral Regeneration: Lessons from the Treaty of Versailles," *International Studies Review* 4, 3 (2002): 3–25, and "Reparations and Reconciliation," in *The Oxford Handbook of Ethics and War*, eds. Helen Frowe and Seth Lazar (2015), Chapter 28, reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press;

xii

Acknowledgments

and Section V of Chapter 1 is drawn from "Shame, Guilt and Reconciliation after War," *The European Journal of Social Theory* 11, 3 (August 2008): 367–83. The previous publication that most substantively launched this book project was "Colonialism as Structural Injustice: Historical Responsibility and Contemporary Redress," *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 19, 3 (September 2011): 261–81, which makes up over half of Chapter 4 and a small portion of Chapter 8 of this book. Small sections of Chapters 6 and 7 stem from "Reparations and Reconciliation," in *The Oxford Handbook of Ethics and War*, eds. Helen Frowe and Seth Lazar (2015), reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press, Chapter 28; and "Justice and Reparations in World Politics," in *Reparations: Interdisciplinary Inquiries*, eds. Rahul Kumar and Jon Miller (2007), reproduced by permission of Oxford University Press, 193–212.

It is impossible to thank enough the people who have sustained me over the course of this book project. My gratitude goes most deeply to Lorenz for his abiding attention, love, and support, through struggles personal and intellectual, which proved decisive in making this book, and many other gems in my life, a reality.

xiii

Prelude

The Dream of Astyanax's Nurse* (circa thirteenth century BCE)

The dream is the same every time.

With Astyanax clinging to her neck, she is on one of the city's high towers, surrounded by Achaean soldiers. Some have fear in their eyes, others, indifference. Or maybe just the weariness of war. She gazes searchingly at each of them, specimens of shattered humanity. She threatens and curses. She glares. Pleads. Cries. Begs.

It's of no use.

Astyanax is the only one affected, and his wailing pierces the battlements. Then, the soldiers close in. Overwhelming her with their fists and sweat, they pry Astyanax from her grasp. What has this infant ever done to them, other than be the son of Hector? How could this poor babe frighten anyone – he who was so afraid of his father's plumed helmet and spear that he could only hide in his nurse's bosom?

She lunges for him, but catches only his last wail. And then he is thrown –

These high and steep walls that were meant to protect! His cry is no more.

"O what a nurse am I!" she wails.

Who did it? Was it the son of Achilles, or Odysseus? Or was it Calchas, the prophet? Who gave the orders? Later, it was rumored that Astyanax leapt off the walls by himself. If only that were so.

In the dream, there is no time to settle accounts. She watches in horror as the priceless treasure, falling, dissolves. Then the world

^{*} In Greek mythology, Astyanax, "protector of the city," was the infant son of the Trojan warrior Hector and Andromache. During the sack of Troy, the Achaeans (Greeks) threw Astyanax off the high battlements of the city to avoid the possibility of future revenge. See Homer, *The Iliad of Homer*, trans. Richmond Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 6.390–502; and Euripides, *The Trojan Women*, trans. Nicholas Rudall (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1999). Thanks to Saleema Nawaz Webster for her editorial assistance with this prelude.

xvi

Prelude

dissolves – the soldiers, the towers, the city's walls – all fall away, their ashes scattering far and wide.

Only, the nurse remains, amidst a lonely vault of sand. O calamity! Is nothing left? As she peers upwards through the dense cloud of dust, a voice breaks through. Could it be Andromache?

"Dig, and look for the gems," the voice commands.

"Impossible!" she cries, grasping at the boundless sea of sand.

Always, at this point, the nurse is startled awake. There is sand underneath her fingernails. Did she see gleams, or was that part of the dream?

"Come," she says, struggling to stand. "We must dig."